

Universitat de Lleida

Language policy and internationalisation: The experience of international students at a Catalan university

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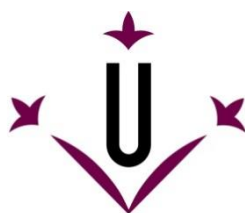
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Universitat de Lleida

**LANGUAGE POLICY AND INTERNATIONALISATION:
THE EXPERIENCE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AT A
CATALAN UNIVERSITY**

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ABSTRACT

The internationalisation of higher education (HE) has generated an increase in cross-cultural communication among students, academic and administrative staff. In such public universities as the University of Lleida (UdL), in the bilingual territory of Catalonia, the introduction of multilingual policies is a highly sensitive issue. Through its language and internationalisation policies, the UdL aims to reconcile the new multilingual reality and the demand for *lingua francas*, such as Spanish or English, with the efforts to revitalise the Catalan language, thereby contributing to reversing the language shift towards Spanish, the majority language. This process is not free from tensions and ambiguities, which this thesis seeks to investigate.

The data were ethnographically collected during the academic year 2010-2011 at the UdL. The participants were incoming international mobility students, their language instructors and content-subject lecturers, and the administrative staff responsible for their welfare at the university. The analysis was undertaken from a discourse analytical perspective using the notion of ‘stance’ (Du Bois, 2007; Jaffe, 2009) as the main analytical notion and it explores how students and staff position themselves towards the distribution of linguistic resources (1) to construct the identity of the university and (2) to develop competence in Catalan.

The analysis reveals that the UdL constructs itself as a monolingual institution in a bilingual context by ascribing great symbolic value to Catalan in the local community and encouraging students to affiliate with it. Given this stance, the international students articulate feelings of disappointment as they see their original expectations of learning Spanish, a language of much greater economic power in the global world, are compromised. The students, together with some voices from the teaching and administrative staff, challenge the institutional stance and claim for a more flexible system that enables them to affiliate with the campaign to revitalise Catalan and at the same time benefit from knowing and using Spanish and English as languages for intercultural communication. The study suggests that practices such as ‘translanguaging’ (Li and Zhu, 2013; Blackledge and Creese, 2010; García, 2009) may be more sustainable in a university located in a bilingual territory that aims to reconcile its responsibility to contribute to the revitalisation of Catalan with its aspiration to compete in the global educational market.

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Transcription conventions

: long sound

↑ shift to high pitch

↓ shift to low pitch

↗ rise

↘ fall

≈ latching

≡ uptake

[top begin overlap

] top end overlap

[botton begin overlap

] bottom end overlap

Δ faster

∇ slower

° softer

⊙ louder

☺ smile voice

[word] missing word

[...] text omitted

[laughs] description of communicative features that accompany language

[text] explanation of the researcher

(.) pause of less than one second

(1.5) pause of one second and a half

INTRODUCTION

Lights, Camera, Action!

Professor	Molt bé, bon dia a tothom. Avui parlarem del futur del sistema capitalista global	Well, good morning everyone. Today we will talk about the future of the global capitalist system
Student A	(<i>raises her hand</i>) por favor, señor	(<i>raises her hand</i>) excuse me, Sir
Professor	¿sí?	yes?
Student A	(<i>stands up</i>) ¿perdone pero podría dar la clase en castellano?	(<i>stands up</i>) excuse me, could you give the class in Spanish?
Student B	sí...	yeah...
Professor	Lo siento señorita pero no podrá ser. La mayoría de estudiantes son catalanes, o sea, que no creo que tenga que cambiar de idioma	I'm sorry, Miss, but it's impossible. The majority of students are Catalan and, I mean, I don't think I need to switch to another language
Student A	hay más de quince estudiantes Erasmus que no hablamos catalán y para usted no es un problema hablar español	there are over fifteen Erasmus students here who don't speak Catalan and for you speaking Spanish is not a problem
Professor	Mire, yo la entiendo perfectamente, señorita, de verdad, perfectamente, pero usted me tendría que entender a mí también. Estamos en Cataluña y aquí el catalán es idioma oficial. Si usted quiere hablar español, ¡se va a Madrid o se va a Sur América!	Miss, I perfectly understand your point, I really do. However, you should understand mine too. We are in Catalonia and here Catalan is the official language. If you'd like to speak Spanish, go to Madrid or South America!
Student B	oh...	oh...
All:	(<i>noise</i>)	(<i>noise</i>)

L'auberge espagnole (Klapisch, 2002)

For some international students coming to Catalonia, this could easily be a moment in their year abroad. This extract from the well-known film about the study abroad experience *L'auberge espagnole* (Klapisch, 2002) represents a point of convergence between the debates about the sociolinguistic context in Catalonia and the expectations of new international students arriving in the region. This thesis, however, is not a fictional story like the film, but examines the real-life experiences of international students at a Catalan university (the University of Lleida) as well as those of academic and administrative staff in the institution.

My personal interest and engagement in researching the multilingual and multicultural experience of mobility students is motivated by my own experience as a student and teacher abroad and as a foreign language learner. During my four years at university, I participated in two study-abroad programmes, the first one in the University of Queensland in Brisbane (Australia) in 2003 within the former Socrates framework and the second one at the Hogeschool Ghent (Belgium) in 2004-2005 within the Erasmus programme. Whereas in the first one, I saw a unique opportunity to visit the antipodes as well as learning an exotic variant

of English, in the second one I had no other interest than that of moving abroad for one term and Ghent simply happened to be recommended to me by one of my university classmates who had been there a year before. My lack of expectations in Belgium turned it into a stay full of surprises as I discovered an amazing country in architectural and cultural terms, with really open-minded local people and a language which I never planned to learn. The typological similarity with German and English let me learn Flemish at a survival level in a couple of months. My initial interest in interculturality and learning foreign languages was probably triggered by the summer holidays I had spent with my family for over 10 years at the seaside in a camp site on the Costa Daurada (Tarragona, Spain) where foreign families were an important proportion of the visitors residing there. During those holidays, there were many occasions when my sister and I had no other choice than to play with children whose gesture and mimic we had to decode to be able to participate in a game. Those summer holidays at the seaside may have unintentionally defined my subsequent interest in intercultural communication and foreign-language learning and may have produced the spark that set me on the journey towards this thesis.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the number of exchange students at the UdL has tended to grow, from 115 students in 2002/2003 to 331 in the 2012/2013 academic year. These figures indicate that the presence of incoming mobility students has almost trebled in 10 years (UdL, 2013a). The data are consistent with those provided by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which states that there were 3.7 million mobile students in 2009, an increase of 77% since 2000 (OECD, 2011). Teichler *et al.* (2011) state that over 50% of the current mobile students are enrolled in European higher-education institutions and that there is still room for further increases.

The internationalisation of higher education (HE) has generated a growth of cross-cultural communication among students, academic and administrative staff. Consequently, linguistic diversity within universities has increased significantly. The new multicultural reality has led HE institutions to reconsider their language policies in order to manage the increasing multilingual situation (Cots, 2008). In the 2010-2011 academic year, when the data were collected, the University of Lleida (UdL) received 292 incoming mobility students from 31 different countries. In order to manage the new multilingual reality, the UdL has developed a trilingual policy (UdL, 2008) that includes Catalan and Spanish as official languages, and English as a language of academic work. During the 2010-2011 academic year, the distribution of teaching languages at the UdL was as follows: Catalan represented around

65%, Spanish some 30% and English almost 5% of oral and written use and for teaching materials (UdL, 2013c) (the precise percentages are included in appendix 2). These numbers show that, although Catalan is a minority language in the context of Spain and even in the context of Catalonia, it is the majority language within the institution. In contrast, English, a widely spoken *lingua franca* in the global world, is a minority language in the institution. Spanish, the common official language in Spain, is not only the majority language at the state level as well as in Catalonia, but also a global language. However, within the university, it adopts a minority or a 'medium-sized' language position. In the last 10 years, Catalan has been the dominant medium of instruction at the UdL, with an average of 60% of the subjects being taught in Catalan (UdL, 2013c). At universities in Catalonia, Catalan is also the main language of instruction, with a presence which ranges from 60% to 85% (Cots *et al.*, 2012). In the case of the region of Lleida, where the UdL is located, the high presence of Catalan clearly reflects its dominant presence outside university. However, this situation is not the same across Catalonia. Cots *et al.* (2012) show that Catalan constitutes an unmarked language choice both at the UdL and in the Lleida area, but not in the rest of Catalonia. Thus, whereas in the Lleida area, 64.4% of the population consider Catalan their usual language, in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, Catalan is the habitual language for only 27.8% of the population (Idescat, 2008).

This thesis is part of a larger project, *International universities in bilingual communities (Catalonia, Basque Country and Wales): A research project* (FFI2008-00585/FILO, 2009-2012) funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, which focuses on the ambiguities and tensions between internationalisation and language policies in three universities in the bilingual territories of the Basque Country and Catalonia in Spain, and Wales in the United Kingdom, which are actively engaged in reversing the language shift towards the majority language within the process of political devolution. The project gathers data from four groups in each university: lecturers, domestic students, incoming mobility students and administrative staff. This thesis is set in the Catalan context and its participants are incoming mobility students, the academic staff who interacted with them, and two members of the administrative staff, one from the Office of International Relations (OIR) and one in charge of the Language Volunteer Service (LVS), with whom students have greater contact during their stay.

The research seeks to analyse the tensions that emerge from the distribution of linguistic resources in the context of an HE institution in Catalonia, the University of Lleida, and the

role that this distribution plays in (1) the project of identity-building in the institution and its sociolinguistic context and (2) the project of teaching and learning Catalan as a foreign language. In the first regard, the internationalisation of HE represents an opportunity as well as a necessity for universities to construct their identity, and by extension that of their locality, as an educational institution in the international HE market. Language is an important element in order to appear more attractive and draw a higher number of international students. In such bilingual contexts as Catalonia, immersed in the process of reversing the language shift to Spanish, the introduction of multilingual policies that make the language revitalisation of Catalan and the promotion of international languages such as Spanish and English compatible is a highly sensitive issue. Speakers of minority languages can feel threatened by the domination of *lingua francas* (such as Spanish or English) that facilitate communication in linguistically heterogeneous contexts and vindicate their right to use their own language. According to Baker (1992; as cited in Cots *et al.*, 2012), this can lead to the emergence of a ‘bunker attitude’, in which minority language speakers adopt a defensive stance to protect the minority language and reject multilingualism. The UdL is not outside the complexity of this situation. On one hand, the institution is perceived as a space for the social and economic promotion of the territory and, on the other, it is considered as an institution that needs to safeguard the cultural identity of its territory. In this context, the UdL’s attempt to reconcile these two positions involves tensions and ambiguities that I explore in this thesis.

One of the main motivations for students to enrol on a study abroad programme is to learn or practice a foreign language (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002). At universities in Catalonia, however, matters are not so straightforward and language learning and use have also become objects of explicit reflection and conflict alongside the development of particular language policies (Cots *et al.*, 2012). Whereas most international students know some Spanish on arriving in Catalonia, they often have no experience of Catalan, the dominant official language in education in Catalonia, and, in general, they show little interest in learning it (Atkinson and Moriarty, 2012). However, the notable presence of Catalan in higher education and the high symbolic value ascribed to Catalan in the local context may lead students to reconsider this option, and they may end up learning not only Spanish but also Catalan. International students at the UdL tend to be experienced foreign-language learners who speak a minimum of three languages (their mother tongue, English and some Spanish) and studying their process of acquiring Catalan may shed some light on the strategies they use to learn a foreign language within a multicultural and multilingual context such as that of the UdL. In this regard, Cenoz

and Gorter (2011) hold that although most research in second-language acquisition focuses on the relation between two languages (the mother tongue and the target language) in the process of language acquisition, studies where three or more languages are involved “can provide more interesting information because they show different strategies and directions in the use of languages that are not evident when only two languages are involved” (ibid: 341). The present study provides important insights into this issue because the process of learning Catalan as a foreign language is at an intersection between the trilingual language policies of the UdL, the bilingual territory of Catalonia and the linguistic and culturally heterogeneous profile of the international student body.

As this study will attempt to make clear, language policy is present from the documents to the practice (see Shohamy, 2006). Thus, this thesis considers that language policy is produced, reproduced, challenged and contested when, in the expression of their beliefs and in their practices, the members of the academic community take a stance (1) towards the mobilisation of linguistic resources to construct the identity of the institution and its socio-cultural context and (2) to teach and learn Catalan as a foreign language. The research questions for approaching these issues are the following:

1. What stances emerge towards the distribution and use of the languages of the institutional multilingual repertoire as means to construct the identity of the university and the national context where it is embedded?
 - a. How is this identity negotiated, contested and resisted in interaction?
 - b. How does this negotiation challenge the language policy of the university that aims at creating a multilingual and international university while contributing to the process of revitalisation of Catalan?
2. What stances emerge towards the distribution and management of pluri/multilingual resources in the endeavour to teach and learn Catalan as a foreign language in the pluri/multilingual context of study abroad at the UdL?
 - a. How is language learning negotiated within the teaching and learning practices in a multilingual foreign-language classroom?
 - b. How does this negotiation challenge the pedagogy for teaching and learning Catalan in a study abroad situation in the bilingual context of Catalonia?

The two research questions are answered in the conclusions and, for each of them, I reflect on how the construction of the identity of the institution and the sociolinguistic context, as well as the methodology employed to teach Catalan to study-abroad students, in the bilingual context of Catalonia are confronted with the institutional language policy.

The study is structured into three parts. Part I consists of the literature review and is divided into three chapters. Chapter 1 reviews prominent studies on the process of constructing national identity, the role that language plays within this process, and how this interconnection has evolved down to the 21st century. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first presents the process of construction of national identity and the role that language plays in it. It reflects upon how globalisation has reduced the monopoly that states have in determining the identity of their citizenry and how globalisation leads to the hybridisation of local contexts. It also reviews how the relation between language and national identity has evolved from a monolingual state ideology to the emergence of a supra-national body like the European Union, whose identity is built on the basis of its linguistic and cultural diversity. The chapter also includes a review of how the new economy has led nations to turn language and culture into commodities to be traded in a post-national world. The second part of chapter 1 is devoted to explaining the evolution of national identity and language within the context of Catalonia. It presents the socio-political context in Catalonia since 1930s and the way history has affected the role and status of Catalan as a language for identification.

Chapter 2 reviews different models of language-in-education policies in multilingual educational institutions. Language-in-education policies represent one of the main means that states have of defining the role of languages in society because they affect the development and perception of the students' multilingual repertoires. The chapter presents models of bi/multilingual education and focuses specifically on the case of higher-education institutions that aspire to become international and, among other measures, promote the introduction of global languages, such as English. Chapter 2 concludes with a review of the terminology that has been recently used to refer to the multiple use of languages and the stance that each of the terms project.

Chapter 3 deals with the process of language learning in study abroad and a multilingual setting. It presents individual and contextual factors that may affect the students' development of the target language during their stay abroad, such as their personality or the teaching methodology of the host institution. One of the factors that can affect the success of a student

in learning the target language while abroad is how plurilingualism is managed. The focus of the second half of this chapter presents plurilingualism as a resource that teachers and learners can resort to in order to acquire competence in the language they aim to learn. This chapter closes by reflecting on translanguaging as a strategy to scaffold the learning of the L2.

Part II includes two chapters about the research methodology used in this study. Chapter 4 presents ethnography as the methodology used for data collection. First, it presents the main premises of ethnographic research. Second, it divides the process of data collection into three parts: pre-field, field and post-field activities. Finally, the chapter concludes with a reflection on how language choice can affect the relationship of trust between the researcher and the participants when conducting research in a multilingual field.

Chapter 5 presents the methodology for analysing the data. It presents the three different perspectives that can be adopted for the analysis of discourse (the structural, functional and social perspectives) and positions this study within the social perspective. Interactional sociolinguistics is introduced as the approach adopted to discourse and, within this approach, the notion of stance is presented as the main conceptual tool for analysing how different members of the academic community orient themselves towards the distribution and learning of languages that construct the identity of the university and the cultural context.

Part III includes two chapters of analysis. Chapter 6 presents the analysis of how language is used by the university to construct both its cultural identity and that of its socio-political context, and confronts this with the way in which international students and university staff position themselves in this regard. This chapter includes observational data from events organised by the institution for international students, classes and interviews and focus groups with the three groups of participants: academic and administrative staff and international students. The analysis shows how the UdL constructs the identity of the university as a Catalan university by immersing international students in Catalan language and culture during the first two weeks of their stay. The distribution of languages at the UdL becomes an aspect that staff and students position themselves on at the same time as they project their own views on the cultural identity of the context. Three main stances emerge from the analysis. The Catalan language instructors project a dichotomised context where Catalan and Spanish are seen in a hostile relationship and they force students to position themselves in favour or against Catalan. The students, who appear to have internalised this dichotomised context, express feelings of vulnerability and being overwhelmed by the Catalan monolingual context in the UdL, as they see their expectations of learning Spanish jeopardised. The subject lecturers present a more nuanced stance as they try to reconcile their affiliation with Catalan,

one of the added values of the university and a feature that distinguishes it from other universities in Spain, with offering the best quality teaching, which, from their perspective, often implies a switch into Spanish or English, in compliance with an excessively rigid institutional language policy which forces them to choose *a priori* the teaching language and stick to it throughout the term.

Finally, chapter 7 analyses how international students and language instructors position themselves towards the use of plurilingualism as a resource in the second-language classroom and the tensions generated by the inclusion of other languages apart from the target language in class. The analysis includes data from two focus-group sessions, one with international students at the end of their stay and one with the language instructors. The analysis shows a focus of tension between monoglossic and heteroglossic approaches to language teaching and learning. Whereas students claim that instructors use a heteroglossic approach that includes Spanish as a bridge to Catalan within the classroom, the instructors find this option detrimental to the development of the target language. The analysis suggests that the typological distance between the international students who with non-Indo-European languages as their L1 and Catalan is a factor that affects these students' success in learning Catalan and that the introduction of plurilingualism as a resource to scaffold students' learning could lead to better results.

At the end, the conclusions present the findings of this research project to answer the research questions and propose the development of future research. The conclusions suggest that the internationalisation of the UdL should open space for more flexible forms of multilingualism and hybrid linguistic practices. These new practices may motivate international students to construct more nuanced stances and affiliate more willingly with the process of revitalisation of Catalan, while benefiting from knowing and using Spanish and English as commodities for intercultural communication. The study suggests that such practices as 'translanguaging' (Li and Zhu, 2013; Blackledge and Creese, 2010; García, 2009) may be more sustainable in a university with an increasingly multicultural and multilingual environment and may also be more competitive in the global educational market.

PART I: LITERATURE REVIEW

Part I includes three chapters of literature review. Chapter 1 reviews prominent studies in the analysis of how national identity is constructed and the role that language plays in this process. First, it presents how national identity is constructed and how globalisation has led to the hybridisation of local contexts. Second, it presents the evolution of the role of language to construct this identity in a post-national world. Finally, the last part of chapter 1 is devoted to explaining the evolution of language and national identity within the context of Catalonia. It reviews the evolution of the socio-political context of Catalonia since 1930s until the present and how this evolution affects the role and status of Catalan as a language for identification.

Chapter 2 presents language-in-education policies, one of the main means that states have to manipulate the role of languages in society and people's attitude towards them. After presenting the general mechanism of language policies, chapter 2 reviews models of bi/multilingual education, which affect the development of the students' multilingual repertoires. Next, it presents language policies in higher education institutions in the globalisation age with a special focus on how the introduction of such as English that enable intercultural communication affect the sociolinguistic situation of universities in bilingual contexts. Finally, chapter 2 reviews some of the different terminology that has proliferated in recent times to refer to the multiple use of language and that project and stance towards it.

Finally, chapter 3 deals with second and foreign language learning, one of the main motivations that lead students to enrol a study abroad programme. First, it presents contextual factors that may affect the students' development of the target language during their stay abroad. The second part of the chapter presents how the process of learning a foreign language can benefit from the students own plurilingual repertoires and their experience as language learners. This can be mainly achieved through the adoption of a heteroglossic approach in order to scaffold the students' acquisition of the L2 and develop plurilingualism through plurilingual practices. This is also more coherent with the students' plurilingual social lives. Finally, this chapter introduces the concept of translanguaging, a strategy that can be used within a heteroglossic approach for language education, and also how a focus on multilingualism may further facilitate the acquisition of the target language in plurilingual learners.

Chapter 1. Language and national identity

The internationalisation of higher education and student mobility programmes represents an opportunity for universities to construct their identity and, as in the case of Catalonia, contribute to the construction of the nation they are located in. National identity is a collective feeling built upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and sharing a set of attributes that distinguish one nation from another (Guibernau, 2007). This phenomenon is dynamic rather than static and although the specific national identity may remain over time, the elements that build it up may vary.

In the case of the UdL, Catalan appears as a means for constructing the identity of the university as a Catalan institution. The use of Catalan as the preferred language of instruction, which is dictated by the institutional language policies, affects international students' sojourn because they see it as an obstacle to their academic progress. In institutions located in territories with minority languages, as is the case of the UdL, minority language speakers may feel their identities threatened by the increasing presence of *lingua francas*, such as English, which facilitate communication among linguistically heterogeneous groups (Cots, 2008). In this type of context, national identity may not be blurred or weakened by the presence of several languages but rather emerge as a resistance identity (Castells, 2010).

The concept of national identity is an intrinsic element of the nation-state. However, different national identities can coexist within the same state. This is the case of Catalonia and the Basque Country in Spain or Scotland and England in Great Britain. In a situation of study abroad, the overlap between nation and state may lead to confusion for incoming mobility students, since they may expect to travel to a specific nation-state and find themselves in a different nation. This is the case of the incoming mobility students at the UdL, who expect to conduct their stay in the Spanish nation-state and struggle with the fact that the institution constructs its identity as a university in the Catalan nation. This is achieved mainly through the use of Catalan as the official and main language of instruction, a language that, according to Atkinson and Moriarty (2012), is rejected as such by the majority of sojourn students.

The present chapter reviews prominent studies connected with the construction of national identity and how language is used as a tool for its construction. The aim is to offer a panoramic view from the creation of nations to the collapse of the nation in the age of globalisation. This chapter reviews three main phenomena: (1) the evolution of the notion of national identity (section 1.1); (2) the role of language as a building block for national identity

(section 1.2); and (3) how the previous two phenomena occur in the context of Catalonia (section 1.3).

1.1. The construction of national identity

This section reviews a set of works frequently referred to in analyses of the construction of national identity (see for instance, Byrd Clark, 2009; Byram, 2008; Demont-Heinrich, 2005; Pujolar, 2007; Moyer and Martín-Rojo, 2007; Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998; Blackledge, 2000). These works share the belief that nation-states are not founded upon objective criteria but have to be imagined as communities, an idea that connects this research with a post-structuralist perspective, which holds that “identity is generally pluralized as ‘identities’, a fact that emphasizes that identities are not phenomena fixed for life, but as ongoing lifelong narratives in which individuals constantly attempt to maintain a sense of balance” (Block, 2008: 142; as cited in Jackson 2013). According to Jackson (2013) in a study abroad context, students’ identities are challenged in the new sociolinguistic and cultural context as they may be in conflict with the unfamiliar views and practices that they encounter.

1.1.1. The construction of nations and national identity

Nation-states are the world’s basic units of organisation today. However, the existence of nations is a relatively new invention in the history of humanity. Nations are a contingency and not a universal necessity (Gellner, 1988 [1983]: 19) even if people today may think that nations are inherent to the human condition. In his ground-breaking work *Nations and Nationalism*, Gellner (1988 [1983]) explains that nationalism is a political principle that holds that the national unit and the political unit must be the same (Gellner, 1988 [1983]). Nationalism can be both a ‘feeling’ and a ‘movement’. The nationalist feeling is the state of anger provoked by the violation of the previous principle or the satisfaction derived from achieving it. The nationalist movement works towards the unification of the national and political units. Gellner names a series of situations that violate the nationalist principle, such as a situation in which the political limits of the nation do not include all its members. Among these possible situations of violation, the author underlines that for nationalists, it is totally unacceptable for the leaders of the political unit to belong to a nation different from that of the people submitted to their government. More succinctly, for Gellner, nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy that prescribes that the ethnic limits must not be in conflict with the political ones and, specifically, the people who hold political power should not be distinguishable from those who live within the same state.

Nationalism emerged with the transformation of agricultural religious societies into industrial scientific societies. The shift consisted of a transition from a vertical social structure, where social status dictated the position of people in society, to a horizontal social system governed by individualistic and egalitarian principles, in which men and women made up a uniform mass abandoning their traditional role in the pre-industrial society. This shift was necessary to respond to the industrial societies' need for a vast and easily-replaceable working force. The creation of a uniform working-class mass can be achieved through the cultural homogenisation of a society, for which the main tool is an educational infrastructure which is sustained and supervised by the state. This supposes an intimate relationship between state and culture: on the one hand, the state maintains and supervises the construction and maintenance of its culture and, on the other, the differentiation of the same culture from other cultures in the world. Such differentiation explains the current division of the world into political units.

For Gellner, in order for two individuals to be considered to belong to the same nation, they must have a common culture, understood as a system of ideas and symbols, associations and patterns of behaviour and communication. The two individuals also need to recognise each other as belonging to the same nation. Gellner argues that nations are “the construct of convictions, fidelities and solidarities of men” (ibid: 20) and that two individuals are national fellow members only if they recognise in each other mutual rights and duties derived from their quality as fellow-members. For Gellner, the recognition of each other as part of the same category is what creates the nation and not the rest of qualities they may share.

However, what differentiates Gellner from other authors is the assumption that a true community exists deep inside, under the many layers of a nation and the part that is constructed is everything that goes beyond what the members of the original community can see. Therefore, he emphasizes a distinction between genuine communities, basically those in which their fellow members know each other face-to-face, and the falsity of the nation.

This distinction opens a space for Anderson (1991) to argue that all nations are imagined political communities because even though their members will never meet each other (not even hear about their fellow-members), they imagine that they belong to the same community and/or behave as if they did. For Anderson (ibid), communities are not distinguished by their falsehood or genuineness. Instead, he holds that what distinguishes a nation is the style in which it is imagined. Anderson (ibid) proposes three building blocks to account for how communities can be differently imagined:

1. Nations are imagined as *limited* because they all have boundaries (even if their size can vary dramatically) to establish the end of one nation and the beginning of the next.
2. Nations are imagined as *sovereign* because they dream of being independent from external authority.
3. Nations are imagined as a *community* because even if there may be inequalities and exploitation in all of them, the nation is considered to be a horizontal comradeship.

According to Anderson, mass printing, the media, and the obligatory homogeneous education are the means that have enabled a sense of national identity to be constructed among the citizens of a specific territory and a perception of themselves as fellow-members to grow.

It could be argued that Anderson's (1991) style of imagining nations is breaking down. Anderson holds that nations are imagined as limited, sovereign and as a community. However, in Özkirimli (2010), we find references to the break-up of the three aspects although not directly. First, the social geography is not only territorial, but there is a proliferation of the supraterritorial connections due to ICTs, which present the world as having no national geographical boundaries and therefore borders are irrelevant. Also, the sovereignty of the nation-state is becoming more interdependent on other countries at the economic and political level. Then, in the sense of the nation-state as a comradeship, we find that individuals become aware of belonging to a global world and their sense of comradeship may grow beyond national comradeship so producing individuals who may perceive themselves as world citizens or cosmopolitans. This issue is presented in section 1.1.2.

In general terms, the construction of national identity consists of identifying particularities that differentiate groups so their members can distinguish between "us-the nation" and "them-the foreigners" (Billig, 1995: 61). This way, individuals contribute to the maintenance of a global world order organised in nations. Individuals position themselves within a specific national group through discourse. For this reason, the sense of belonging to a national group is not fixed but rather needs to be built up and maintained (Billig, 1995). Even in the case of people born and educated in the same place, their national identity is a process under constant development and one that must be nurtured. In order to remind the individual of his/her national affiliation, it is necessary to reproduce it in ordinary life. The reproduction of national identity entails the recreation of a constellation of ideological habits, such as beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices. For this reason, Billig (ibid: 8) argues that, "national identity is to be found in the embodied habits of social life". Having a national identity is to be situated within a homeland which is, at the same time, situated within a world

organised into nations. This situation embraces many ways of being situated: it is physical, legal, social and emotional.

Drawing on Giddens, Billig (1995: 10) supports Anderson's idea that "nations have to be 'imagined' as communities and that the construction of a nation-state is not achieved through 'objective' means, such as a common language, a common territory or a common culture". For instance, one of the means to construct national identity is the national language. According to the same author, it may seem obvious that different languages exist, but languages are themselves ideological constructs that have been used to build up the order and hegemony of modern nation-states. The common assumption that languages exist naturally and not as ideological constructions is only one manifestation of how the conception of nationalism has penetrated contemporary people's common sense. The interrelationship between language and national identity will be the focus of the next section.

National identity contains a strong social psychological dimension. Billig (ibid:7) perceives it as a piece of "psychological machinery" that people carry in their daily life and that is kept quiet but latent at all times. The moments when nationalism is activated are usually those when the national status quo is under threat, such as an attempt to redraw the geographical boundaries of a state. This attempt to modify one of Anderson's nation- building blocks leads to patriotic exaltations that aim at bringing back the established national order. This is the case of the uproar in the Spanish central government faced with Catalonia's on-going claims for independence.

Billig's central thesis is that in established nations there is a constant and subtle reminding of nationhood, which he refers to as banal nationalism. Banal nationalism, such as the flags hanging from public buildings, allows nations to be reproduced in its people's ordinary life and feed their sense of nationhood. This is achieved within a broader world order organised in nations which need to make themselves constantly visible in order to persist. By means of actions such as flag waving or the celebration of traditions or historical events, nations establish links between what happened in the past and things in the present by presenting the primordial ties upon which national identity is based (Eller and Coughlan, 1993; as cited in Billig, 1995).

The subtlety of banal nationalism does not make it harmless. Nationalism possesses a paradoxical condition or, in Billig's words, "a Jekyll and Mr Hyde duality" (Billig, 1995: 7). This duality consists of a perception of nationalism as benign when it aims at protecting the interests of a minority ethnic group or the liberation of a colonised territory, while it is

considered injurious when it takes the form of fascism. Building on Arendt (1963), Billig considers that Western nation-states are far from being harmless since the institutions that are being reproduced have vast arsenals ready to be primed before political negotiation and a nation's citizenry is also ready to legitimize the use of that armament to preserve the nation-state.

The connection between geopolitical boundaries, a language, a culture and a state, which in modernity constituted the nation-state, is beginning to go out of date due to the increasing interconnectedness between states in the global era. This has led many scholars like Appadurai (1996) to think in terms of a post-national age. The following section turns to this issue.

1.1.2. The crisis of the nation-state

The process of globalisation that characterises late-modernity has shrunk the influence that the nation-state has in determining the identity of its people, their relationships and their practices (Appadurai, 1990, 1996; Blommaert, 2005; Özkirimli, 2005). Appadurai (1996: 11) argues that “globalisation is not the story of cultural homogenisation” because “different societies appropriate the materials of modernity differently” (ibid: 17). The increment in mobility and migration, as well as the access to new lifestyles through the new technologies, permits ordinary people to imagine themselves in different places and situations. The intercultural experiences that people accumulate through travelling or the media contribute to the creation of new hybrid identities, which are more flexible than those proposed by the nation-state. Consequently, the monopoly of the nation-state to shape the identity of its citizenry is broken.

In the new global cultural economy, human interactions generate global cultural flows and flows generate and transform people thus leading to greater diversity within societies. In this light, Appadurai (1990) proposes a vision of the global as a zone for imagining –reminding us of Anderson's (1983) idea of nations as imagined communities. For Appadurai (1990: 31), imagination is a form of social practice in the global world that is culturally organised, created through collective aspirations, negotiated between individuals and globally defined as a field of possibility. Contemporary people's acts of imagination are not based upon mere fantasy (such as escaping from their routines or an elite pastime) but are an everyday reality.

The way people imagine their global lives is evident in five dimensions of ordinary life (Appadurai, 1990: 33-35): (1) ethnoscaples, (2) mediascaples, (3) technoscaples, (4) financescaples, and (5) ideoscaples. These five ‘-scaples’ transmit the idea that globalisation

has a deterritorialising effect over different domains. According to Appadurai (ibid: 33) the suffix ‘-scape’ allows us to emphasize the “fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes”, which are spaces for constructing the new imagined worlds. *Ethnoscapes* refer to the shifting demographic landscape of the world, including people on the move (tourists, migrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and other moving groups and people) and stable communities. The boundaries of the imagined worlds are no longer those of the nation-state thanks to the media, communication technologies and the travel industry. *Technoscapes* represent the global configuration of the technologies and especially the movement across boundaries of these technologies, which generate increasingly complex relationships between money, politics and employment. For instance, Appadurai offers the example of a huge steel company in Libya, which may involve interests from India, China, Russia and Japan providing different components of new technological configurations. *Financescapes* refer to the flow of capital, currency, investment and speculation over territories. *Ideoscapes* refer to the flow of ideas, ideologies, counter-ideologies and images (for instance, freedom, democracy, welfare, rights or sovereignty) which are always subject to modifications by the context. *Mediascapes* refer to two phenomena: the generation and distribution of information through the mass media (newspapers, magazines, television or the film industry), and the images of the world created by those media that contribute to the constructions of narratives about the other and blur the boundary between what is fictional and what is real. In the field of sociolinguistics, some scholars dare to add *linguascapes* as another dimension to the previous five. This dimension will be presented in section 1.2, which specifically deals with how the shift from a national to a post-national world affects language(s).

The evolution of the daily reproduction of nations in these five dimensions has destabilised the way in which nations have been traditionally imagined. Appadurai (1996: 158) claims that today it is necessary “to think ourselves beyond the nation”. However, he adds that the nation-state fights to tolerate these changes and hungers after “the homogeneity of its citizens, the simultaneity of its presence, the consensuality of its narrative, and the stability of its citizens” (ibid: 177). The resistance of nations to becoming global indicates that we are living at a turning point where tensions between globalisation and nationalism may pop up within specific local contexts.

In order to understand the on-going shift from a national to a post-national era, it is necessary to bear in mind the distinction between the ‘state’ and the ‘nation-state’, because globalisation has different implications for each of these (Blommaert, 2005; Özkirimli, 2005). On one hand, to construct a nation-state, the state organises its polity with the goal of becoming a uniform

nation, which becomes harder with the increase in the mobility of people (Blommaert, 2005). This is the case of immigrant or exiled people who live in one state but may feel and claim the identity of their homelands, a phenomenon which Anderson (1998: 74) refers to as ‘long-distance nationalism’ (see Blackledge and Creese, 2009, for an instance of long-distance nationalism in the UK with one Turkish, one Chinese, one Gujarati and one Bengali complementary schools). It is also the case of people who live in the same state where they were born and raised, but who, due to their experiences travelling around the globe, claim to have transnational identities or world citizenship. In both cases, the nation-state is less of an influencing factor for determining individuals’ identity.

On the other hand, a state is a “formal, institutional construction” (Blommaert, 2005: 217) and although the nation-state may be currently “on its way out” (ibid: 218), it is not the same for the state. States today need to be interconnected within the world system, which leads to a certain loss of sovereignty (full sovereignty was one of the nation-states’ aspirations in modernity, as explained in section 1.1.1. However, according to Blommaert, the erosion of autonomy does not imply the disappearance of states, but a new form of ‘statism’ (ibid: 219). In the new situation, states receive pressures “from above and from below” (ibid) or, in other words, from international movements as well as from intra-national ones or what is normally defined as nationalisms. The states’ loss of authority mainly affects ‘hard’ domains, such as economy or international security, which leads to a reinforcement of the state’s authority in such symbolic domains as language and culture.

Although the continuity of nations and nationalism appears more uncertain than ever, the nation remains an important source of cultural and political identity (Özkirimli, 2005; Blackledge, 2005; Ariely, 2012). Castells (2006) considers that while globalisation may push some groups towards cosmopolitanism and new ideals such as ‘world citizenship’, other groups may respond to globalisation by strengthening their cultural identities as a way of constructing meaning in an age in which the *raison d’être* of the modern states seems to be vanishing (ibid: 62). Cosmopolitanism (see the following section 1.1.3) considers that this strengthening of particular cultural identities is essentially dangerous and fundamentalist, independently of whether it has an ethnical, nationalist or religious basis.

Castells (2010: 8) distinguishes among three types of identities from the empirical observation of groups: (1) legitimising identity, (2) resistance identity, and (3) project identity. The first type refers to the identities created by institutions and the state. For instance, the French state has created the French nation and not the other way around (i.e. the French nation did not

precede the French state). Castells (2006) holds that French national identity was achieved by repression and that its cultural roots are found only within a small portion of what we know today as France. Two other examples of a legitimising identity are the United States (ibid, 2006: 62-63) and the European citizenship (Byram, 2008), which does not emerge from the people but is led by the institutions.

The second type, 'resistance-based identity', is developed by groups who are in a devalued and/or stigmatized position, pushed towards the edges of society in cultural, political or social terms and who react to this pressure by constructing an identity that allows them to survive and resist assimilation by the system that subordinates them. These groups usually build upon history and self-identification, such as the eruption of the Indian movement in Latin America, which had been dormant until recently.

Finally, the 'project identities' are aimed at changing the whole social structure by introducing a new set of values. This type of identity is based on self-identification and changing people's position within society. The author considers that feminism and environmentalism are the most prominent examples because in both cases they have projected social values that have become dominant or at least very influential around the globe, and are being institutionalised and broadcasted in the media (Castells, 2010). For Castells, project identities often represent the result of resistance identities. For instance, feminism resists a situation of oppression and, as a result, creates and introduces a new set of values based on the notion of gender equity.

A national project identity can emerge as a type of resistance-based identity in the face of the ideals of cosmopolitanism and world citizenship. These ideals may cause a greater need for people to differentiate themselves and project their identities world-wide. The following section presents the interconnection between globalisation and localisation and the mediating role of higher education institutions in the endeavour to project the identity of the locality where they are situated onto the global context.

1.1.3. Glocalisation, cosmopolitanism and 'world spaces'

The encounter with foreign cultures through global networks often provokes a greater awareness of the national distinctiveness and leads to a determination to make it evident. This is due to the fact that the changes that globalisation entails, such as economic restructuring, the shrinking of national sovereignty and the rise in mass migration, altogether, create an atmosphere in which homogeneous national identities and security are under threat. For this reason, nationalism may represent the means of confronting this threat. Özkirimli (2005)

suggests there are two movements occurring simultaneously. On one hand, as we have already seen, the changes provoked by the processes of globalisation are undermining the stability of the national model. On the other hand, there is a movement “down below” (ibid: 126) in which people whose identities were previously kept under control in nation-states start rediscovering identities they had long forgotten. For Hall (1996: 343; as cited in Özkirimli, 2005) this tension is reproduced in the same individual who is split between the local and the global, “so at one and the same time, people feel part of the world and part of their village”.

To understand this discussion, Özkirimli (2005) considers it necessary to begin with a definition of the term ‘globalisation’. He finds Giddens’ definition of globalisation as the best one for understanding why this phenomenon affects nationalism. For Giddens globalisation is “the intensification of worldwide social relations, which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and *vice versa*” (1990: 64; as cited in Özkirimli, 2005). For Özkirimli, it is the degree of intensification of worldwide social relations that allows us to distinguish between globalisation today and earlier manifestations of the same phenomenon in past decades. The key aspect in contemporary globalisation is “the rise of global consciousness” (ibid: 129) or, in other words, the fact that the pressure of social, geographical and cultural arrangements is fading away and, most importantly, people are aware of it.

Globalisation is often seen as a phenomenon that invalidates locality. However, Özkirimli (2005), drawing on Robertson (1995), argues that although globalisation and localisation have often been perceived as opposing phenomena, localisation is embedded within globalisation. Globalisation has enabled the reconstruction and reproduction of local identities, and hence the local should not be considered the antithesis of globalisation, but rather as an aspect of it. Robertson (1995) coined the term ‘glocalisation’ to express that the global and the local are infiltrated in each other and provides four sorts of evidence: (1) local groups absorb information projected from the ‘centre’ (for instance, messages from the USA reach the smallest localities around the globe); (2) the bigger producers of ‘global culture’ (the Hollywood film industry or the CNN) adapt their contents to the different worldwide consumers, recognising the world’s heterogeneity but simultaneously contributing to the construction of difference; (3) ‘national’ symbolic resources are available for differentiated global interpretations and consumption, as in the case of Shakespeare’s plays, which are no longer English-only property due to the different cultural interpretations and staging conducted today worldwide; and (4) there is a considerable flux of ideas and practices flying from the Third World to the dominant world societies as well as from the local level towards

the global one (for instance, aspects of African dress which become fashionable in the Western world, food products and eating habits that were not previously found in Western societies).

The changes associated with globalisation in terms of cultural hybridity (Bhabha, 1994) contribute to the project of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism is “an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity” (Hannerz, 1990: 239). This definition emphasizes that the engagement with other cultures is sought by the cosmopolitan individual and, hence, it cannot be imposed. The distinctive feature of cosmopolitans is their willingness to immerse themselves and participate in other cultures. For this reason, being on the move is not enough to be cosmopolitan. Özkirimli (2005) considers that other typologies of travellers, such as tourists, exiles and migrants, among others, are not cosmopolitans. In the last two examples, they lack the willingness to travel, and although they may acquire cosmopolitan skills, they may as well not enjoy these. In the case of tourists, they are not considered participants in the intercultural encounters rather mere spectators. However, Larsen (2010) has recently suggested a ‘performance’ turn in the study of tourism encounters. Tourists are no longer taken as mere “travelling eyes” (Larsen, 2010: 323) but rather they constitute active agents with their own histories, who leave their input on the places they tour through their actions. However, the performance turn recognises that the tourist enclaves are staged cultural representations and the intercultural encounters remain at a superficial level. Cosmopolitans, according to Hannerz, are never quite at home again in the same way as other locals, because they may question the arbitrariness of having been born in a specific place and acquired a feeling of detachment. The new form of tourism may also affect the identity of the tourists, if their experiences are deep and significant for the people involved in them.

Roudometof (2005) argues that glocalisation allows for a twofold conception of cosmopolitanism. First, it means “situational openness” within local contexts and, second, detachment from local ties. Hence, glocalisation could be understood as internal globalisation leading to the growth of transnational spaces in individuals’ everyday lives, independently of whether they are transnationals or not. Roudometof focuses on the differences between cosmopolitans and locals, and he argues that they differ in the degrees of attachment to (1) a locality, (2) a state, (3) the local culture, and (4) economic, cultural and institutional protectionism. When participants in transnational spaces go with the global flow, they appear as cosmopolitans and when they position themselves against it, they appear as locals. Roudometof specifies that there may be different levels of attachment and proposes to

conceptualise attitudes in a continuum, from cosmopolitans to locals, understanding these as ideals and not stereotypes, and opening space for the existence of glocalised cosmopolitans.

However, cosmopolitanism and nationalism are also compatible ideologies within the same individual, a fact that Appiah (1997) refers to as a 'rooted cosmopolitanism'. Appiah reminds us that in order to negotiate the 'global village' of the contemporary world, a deep feeling of commitment to the local is necessary to have a sense of obligation to the universal and *vice versa*. The concept of 'rooted cosmopolitanism' conveys a paradoxical idea: whereas having roots means being embedded within a specific nation, a people and/or its history, being cosmopolitan means declaring oneself as a global citizen without roots. However, Appiah (2004: 216) considers that they are intrinsically related because the history of humankind could be described as a "process of globalisation", even though we normally use this term to refer to recent events. In fact, since the dawn of human history local histories have been configured by the movements of peoples and by sharing practices. In this situation, an individual can adhere to a national identity and simultaneously display a global identity and universal values. Appiah presents the example of his father, a Ghanaian and African nationalist who was equally enthusiastic about internationalism. Appiah celebrates that interactions occur in a world where multiple affiliations are available simultaneously and are increasingly becoming the norm.

In connection with higher education institutions, processes of internationalisation represent an opportunity for institutions to project their identity as a global institution but also their mission to remain authentic and reflect the identity of the territory where they are located. In this way, the local is brought up to the global and the global down to the local. A direct effect of the proliferation of intercultural encounters which result from the exchange of students, administrative and academic staff is the increase in the cultural options found within the same educational space and its surroundings. Robertson (1995: 39) adapts Balibar's (1991) concept of "world spaces" to refer to those "places in which the world-as-a-whole is potentially inserted" and claims that diversity also exists at the local level. Local spaces can be considered as 'micro' manifestations of the global and, therefore, it may not be adequate to perceive the local as a homogeneous cultural, ethnic, racial and linguistic enclave. This point reinforces Özkirimli's argument that the local and the global penetrate each other.

International student mobility programmes in higher education institutions represent world spaces, or micro manifestations of the global world order, thanks to the constellation of cultural, linguistic, ethnic and racial diversity that international students bring to the host

educational setting. The notion of international student might include not only incoming mobility students but also home students with international experience. Home students may also have built up a hybrid identity as a result of engaging in global education through formal exchange programs or experiences of moving around in the global world. In connection with the nation-state, this reality complicates the maintenance of the authenticity of a nation as its population becomes more complex and culturally hybrid. This, for Scholte (2005), leads to the formation of deterritorialised identities and contributes to blurring the distinction between nations, a phenomenon that receives the name of hybridization (Pieterse, 1994).

Global citizenship has become an added value in the international job market and this fact may lead students to see cosmopolitanism as an opportunity to increase their future job prospects. ‘Cosmopolitan capital’ emerges as a metamorphosis of Bourdieu’s cultural capital (1986) in the new global world order. For Block (2010: 298), this new form of capital defines the characteristics of the “well-educated and the well-travelled” and is made up by (1) patterns of behaviour, such as doing sports, reading, going shopping and travelling, (2) value systems dominated by capitalism, consumerism and conformism, and (3) a cosmopolitan cultural knowledge that includes technological skills (internet, emailing, etc.) and an appreciation of cinema, literature, music, art, etc. The enrolment in a study abroad programme may represent an opportunity to obtain cosmopolitan capital and the means to achieve this. However, we should take into account that the acquisition of cosmopolitan capital is based on acquiring multiple local capitals, which are often represented as elements of national identity. One of the main means that states have for constructing national identity is language (Billig, 1995: 24; Borneman and Fowler, 1997) and the changes that globalisation has caused also affect the role, status, value and use of languages in society. The following section (1.2) will focus on language as one of the main ideological constructs for the formation of national identity.

1.2. Language as a symbol of national identity

The construction of nations and national identity is achieved through a patchwork of factors such as language, religion, race, culture, history, economy or geography (Ager, 2001). These factors, far from being objective, are social constructions in themselves. This section focuses on the role of language as a means of constructing the national identity of a territory. This is the perspective that will be adopted in the following sections when dealing with the concept of language (1.2.1) and how globalisation affects its use, value and shape (1.2.2). This section

also considers the case of Europe as an interesting example of identity created on the basis of linguistic and cultural diversity (1.2.3).

1.2.1. One language, one nation

Language usually appears as the essence and the emblem of national identity and is commonly considered to be “*the central pillar of ethnic identity*” (Edwards, 1991:269; as cited in Billig, 1995). Similarly to geographical boundaries, languages as constructs serve to situate and delimit people. The fact that people no longer even question the ‘natural’ relationship between national identity and language provides evidence of how deeply it has penetrated into society. As regards the power of identification of languages, Anderson (1991: 154) writes:

“What the eye is to the lover –that particular, ordinary eye he or she is born with– language –whatever language history has made his or her mother-tongue– is to the patriot. Through that language, encountered at mother’s knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined, and futures dreamed”. (Anderson, 1991: 154)

Anderson’s statement emphasizes the function of language as an essential tool to distinguish individuals’ national membership. One of the main strategies of nation building is through the linguistic homogenization of its citizenry, not so much for communicative purposes but for the purpose of identification (Hobsbawm, 1990). Indeed, Billig (1995: 14) argues that those nations in which different linguistic groups co-exist are fragile and might break into pieces in periods of crisis.

The assumption that there is a natural link between a language and its speakers is a fairly recent phenomenon (Blackledge, 2000). In Medieval Europe, boundaries were not constructed based on linguistic differences. In fact, linguistic homogenisation became possible thanks to the printing industry, since it enabled the mass circulation and spread of one variety of language. The language variety that triumphed over others usually coincided with that of the ruling elite of a nationalistic movement. Two extremely well-known cases are those of France (Billig, 1995) and Italy (Hobsbawm, 1990) whose current official national languages were only known to a small elite when they gained their current status. These examples reflect the fact that in the construction of a nation, having a common language has little to do with allowing communication but is instead related with issues of power (Hobsbawm, 1990). Gramsci (1971) proposed that the control of the state could not endure without the agreement of the subordinated groups. Such an agreement is achieved through ideological persuasion, which often consists of a process of linguistic normalisation, after which people become

convinced that the domination of one variety over others is the natural state of things. Bourdieu (1977) calls it a situation of misrecognition (*méconnaissance*).

The symbolic domination of a group is a process full of contradictions. According to Blackledge (2004), it is full of ambiguities, weaknesses, shifts, and in constant friction with alternative counterhegemonies. This struggle for hegemony takes place at different scales: from the local (for instance, families, the workplace or communities), to the national (such as education policy or citizenship testing) and international (for instance, globalisation) (ibid). Blackledge states that the debate about language ideologies is not just about language, but also about the kind of society that a country imagines itself to be (Britain in his case). Although the different voices may activate opposing discourses about, on the one hand, multilingualism, pluralism and diversity and, on the other hand, monolingualism, assimilationism and homogeneity, the strongest voices are those of the most powerful institutions.

In this line, language ideologies can be used to integrate but also to exclude and divide or, in other words, decide ‘who is in’ and ‘who is out’ (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998). Belgium is an example of the power of language to justify the division of countries. When the leaders of the main Flemish parties declared that Belgium should be split into a confederation of two separate states, the division proposed was into a Dutch-speaking Flanders and a French-speaking Wallonia and the German-speaking minority should receive a special arrangement (*The Guardian*, 14 July 1994; as cited in Billig, 1995). The absence of an explanation about why language would bring people to accept this division confirms that it is generally taken as a natural fact that people speaking the same language should seek a common political identity (Billig, ibid).

The construction of a national language and, consequently, of other varieties that lack the status of national or standard language is underpinned by linguistic ideologies. Woolard (1998: 3) defines linguistic ideologies as “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world”. In other words, discourses about languages affect how people use a language and what their beliefs towards it are. Simultaneously, language use indexes people’s ideological positions in the broader social order and reproduces the existing social inequalities among social groups. The construction of national languages through the printing industry represents the “massification of specific language ideologies” (Blommaert, 2006: 241). For instance, Jaffe (1999) studies the language ideologies in Corsica, a territory where many local people believe that Corsican is not a ‘real’

language because it lacks an extended literary corpus. In the case of Corsica, the French state defines the linguistic policies, which are embedded in local institutions such as schools. Over the last three decades, Corsican nationalists have made language issues a central aspect to justify their claim for identity and political autonomy and have centred their strategy on revitalising Corsican on the development of literacy because it gives unity, autonomy and legitimacy to the language. The development of a corpus and the presence of the language in the print and broadcast media contribute to its normalisation and justifies claims that Corsican could be a subject at schools and also an official language. According to Jaffe (*ibid*) this type of language planning is based on an internalisation of a dominant French language ideology transmitted in schools.

Blommaert (2006: 244) distinguishes three effects of the phenomenon of a “monoglot ideology” (a concept introduced by Silverstein, 1996). In the first place, it informs practical language regimes in education and other crucial spheres of public life. This is achieved through language policies which are based on socio-political language ideologies, designed with the aim of achieving the socially desirable form of language use and the ideal linguistic landscape of a society. In other words, the monoglot ideology denies the existence of linguistic diversity but also prohibits it in the public domain and leads to the reduction of such diversity. Secondly, a monoglot ideology produces and regulates identities. The state guards the monoglot idealisation of ‘one language - one people - one country’ and offers and also ascribes ethnolinguistic identities to its citizenry. The most common identity propagated by the state is that of ‘monolingual speaker of the national language’. The state assumes that individuals are intrinsically monolingual and maintains this condition as the organic feature of being a national citizen. The state is also responsible for elaborating and maintaining the existence and value of ‘a language’ as a homogeneous system. An individual’s national identity and the language he or she speaks are referred to by the same name. Finally, the monoglot ideology has an enormous impact on scholarship. The monoglot image of ‘a language’ has informed language description and in turn, this description projects an image of ethnolinguistic and internal homogeneity and languages as bounded systems. According to Blommaert (2006), this notion still today affects works in linguistics and sociolinguistics since many authors assume the existence of a bounded rule-governed linguistic system and make ‘a language’ their unit of study.

Language ideology is also about the relationships of power between languages in the multilingual market. Blackledge (2005: 207) argues that in multilingual societies, while some speakers have a linguistic capital that gives them access to powerful social domains, others’

linguistic capital may give them access to less tangible rewards in terms of economic and social mobility. For instance, minority language speakers may see their possibilities for social mobility constrained and, consequently may consider whether they stick to their language identities and live a limited life or learn another language with a higher symbolic value and exit their linguistic group. May (2012: 135) sums up the logic of this argument in five steps:

1. Majority languages have instrumental value whereas minority languages are granted sentimental value although they are constructed as obstacles to social mobility and progress.
2. Learning a majority language provides individuals with greater economic and social mobility.
3. Learning a minority language may be important for cultural continuity but it delimits an individual's mobility and result in actual 'ghettoization'.
4. If minority language speakers are 'sensible' they will opt for mobility and modernity through the majority language.
5. The choice between majority or minority language is presented as oppositional, mutually exclusive.

May (ibid) concludes that majority language speakers enjoy the advantage of being the dominant group and they also value their cultural and linguistic membership. For this reason, it seems unfair of them to prevent minority language speakers from enjoying the same rights. The author suggests that the greatest challenge and opportunity for minority language speakers is the promotion of a more "pluralistic, open-ended interpretation of language and identity, recognising the potential for holding multiple, complementary cultural and linguistic identities at both individual and collective levels" (ibid: 140). This would make it unnecessary to have to abandon one linguistic identity to adopt another, which is "the major historical legacy of nationalism and the nation-state system" (ibid: 140). Multilingual identities are usually relegated to private or community life but there is no reason why multilingualism should be excluded from the public domain.

1.2.2. Multilingualism and the construction of national identity: the case of Europe

Multilingualism is often perceived as a threat to national unity –as in the cases of France, where the construction of national identity has historically been done at the expense of its linguistic diversity (Occitan, Breton, etc.) or Spain, where still today the campaign to revitalise the language in Catalonia is threatened by reforms in education from the central government. However, it also represents the distinguishing feature of an increasing number of

globalised, hybrid and multicultural societies. This is the case of the European Union (EU), an organisation that attempts to create a European identity based on cultural and linguistic heterogeneity. Paradoxically, the states that make up the EU have traditionally constructed their national identity on the basis of monolingualism, which again raises questions about what counts as a language and who has the power to make that decision. Is it the people? Who among the people? Is it institutional organisations? National or supranational ones?

The case of Europe is interesting because, even if in general terms there is a shared set of beliefs, values, behaviour, history or geography and attempts to create a common flag and a shared anthem, it is “obviously not possible to create a language comparable to a national language to symbolise the European identity or embody the shared beliefs and values in the way that a national language does” (Byram, 2008: 140). For this reason, Byram excludes the possibility of European identity being constructed analogously to national identity.

The sense of belonging to a national group is acquired and maintained in social interaction through language (Byram, 2008: 138). This fact emphasizes that language is not just a symbol of national identity but also embodies it. Byram (2008) discusses the implications of this for the construction of European identity and makes three points. Firstly, individuals may have many social identities and different degrees of attachment to them, such as in the cases of Andalusia and Catalonia in Spain or Scotland in Great Britain. In the case of the European identity, Byram holds that it may not appear to compete with national identity but it is an additional identity, comparable to the notion of ‘Asian identity’ that emerges in South and East Asia as a counter-balance to ‘Westernization’. In second place, only in cases where people may adopt two social identities of the same nature, tensions may arise because the values and beliefs associated with those groups may seem incompatible. This would be the case of an individual who claims to have two national identities, especially if these two identities appear to be in conflict as is the case nowadays with Ukrainian and Russian identities. Finally, Byram’s third point is that for the construction of European identity, as well as for the construction of national identities in general, schools can represent a valuable tool. Therefore, the introduction of a ‘European dimension’ into the curricula of schools across Europe would set off this process. One way of introducing the European dimension is by fostering multilingualism in schools. Byram notes that the older children grow, the more important their national identities are, and hence, the younger children start learning foreign languages, the less resistance they will show to accepting perspectives other than the national.

The acquisition of a European identity is based on the acquisition of plurilingual competence, a fact that may alter the taken-for-granted reality of nation building. Byram (2008) holds that linguistic diversity appears in the language education policy of the Council of Europe (2006) as one of the conditions *sine qua non* for the success of particular aspects of social policy, such as the exercise of democracy and social inclusion, accessing economic and employment opportunities, or the evolution of a European identity. Similarly, Beacco and Byram (2007: 9) argue that, since Europe is a multilingual territory (as a whole and in every part), the sense of belonging to Europe and the acceptance of a European identity depends on the ability to interact and communicate with other Europeans using the full range of one's linguistic repertoire. In this light, individuals are encouraged to become plurilingual or, in other words, to acquire linguistic competence in different languages at different stages and experience in different cultures (Council of Europe, 2001: 168). In this regard, Beacco (2005: 20; as cited in Byram, 2008) suggests that cultural and linguistic tolerance and respect needs to be instructed in order to develop "pluricultural and plurilingual capability" because even if plurilingualism may become a factor of people's everyday life, they need to become aware of their own linguistic diversity and value it.

1.2.3. Challenges to language and national identity

Nationalism has informed ideologies about language, culture, identity and the nation-state. However, globalisation, neoliberalism and the new economic order are challenging these former representations, as well as the hegemony of the state through its language policies and practices (Heller, 2011; Pujolar, 2007). The transformation that the world has witnessed in the last twenty years has consisted of a shift from a dominant political world order whose building blocks were nation-states, towards a dominant economic world order based on international business relationships. In this sense, Heller (2011: 20) argues that the new globalised economy has caused a discursive shift "from a discourse of rights to a discourse of profit". In the new international economic order languages have become strategic economic assets that are essential to facilitate communication among corporations which want to expand and be present in new markets. To achieve this goal, multilingualism becomes important for managing the mobility of people, products and ideas and to give them value.

In this light, multilingualism is seen as a positive value to be promoted and defended in western societies. However, according to Heller (2000) not all forms of bilingualism and multilingualism have the same recognition. The new economic order places some languages at the centre of power and status and makes those powerful languages coexist with other

forms of multilingualism that serve marginalised groups as assets for resisting the dominant groups. In short, bilingualism appears as a resource for exercising power but also for resisting it. Heller suggests that the form of bilingualism that has value in the postmodern world is grounded in the modern standardizing monolingual hegemonic ideologies, and for this reason, the linguistic practices can only change the traditional monolingual ideologies superficially. This author considers that there is a tension in the new economic order and globalisation between considering languages as primary symbols of identity that are intimately linked to the construction of 'nation-states' or as commodities, connected with the distribution of economic resources. Heller argues that this tension occurs in three fields of struggle (ibid: 12-13). The first site of struggle is between monolingualism and multilingualism. On one hand, in those contexts where multilingualism is connected with economic advantages (as in the case of fashionable and elite multilingualisms), monolingualism can appear as a tool for resistance. On the other hand, multilingual groups can use multilingualism as a way of resisting the attempt of states to exercise power over them by promoting linguistic homogenisation. The second site of struggle is the connection between global and local sites of control and selection. Heller suggests that there are two main possibilities in the processes of decision-making: they can be made centrally for numerous peoples and sites or they can allow smaller groups to have control over local decisions which are interrelated and interdependent with decisions taken in other places. The third site of struggle is local and refers to who decides what counts as criteria of selection or, in other words, who decides the standard linguistic forms or norms and about the access to bilingualism through education.

The growing presence of migrants from different linguistic backgrounds around the globe, especially in urban settings (e.g. Pennycook, 2007; Block, 2006), and the new dynamics of communication that are being enabled by the ICTs make migrants "the new social actors challenging the hegemonic linguistic construction of the nation-state from below" (Moyer and Martin Rojo, 2007: 139-140). Similarly, Blommaert (2005: 218) agrees that globalisation has "an eroding effect on nationalism" and specifically refers to the weak control that states have on the flourishing "transnational and transidiomatic linguistic and cultural practices". Even in those countries with the strongest monolingual language policies, Blommaert argues, multilingualism is the norm in daily practices. Flanders is a case in point: a territory where multilingual practices exist despite the rigid monolingual language policies in the domain of higher education.

However, the state still remains a crucial factor in the construction of discourses about ethnolinguistic identity. Blommaert (2005) recognises three main factors that explain the

central role of the state. The first is that the state is a switchboard between various scales. In particular, the state regulates the dynamics between the global world and the local world and manifests the state's relationship with 'the rest of the world'. For instance, a state often takes a position towards transnational models of language and language use, such as the value of local languages vis-à-vis global languages. A state can opt to promote global languages, such as English, through its language-in-education policy together with the promotion of local languages or, it can favour one over the other.

The second factor is that the state is the main organizer of its sociolinguistic regime and can define the differences between nationally valid languages (for instance, those languages taught in schools) and other linguistic varieties. The state is the central institution and uses the name of a language (e.g. Spanish, French, and Italian) as its central value, excluding varieties that do not follow standard norms.

Finally, the third factor is that the state can materialise the reproduction of a particular "regime of language" through the construction of an infrastructure for this purpose (e.g. an education system, the media and culture industries). Blommaert (2005) recognises that the regulation of languages and language use is polycentric, and other organisations (religious or political institutions) and grassroots initiatives can also adopt a positioning and influence people's orientation towards the state's central position. However, the author maintains that states are in stronger position. People have the opportunity to index their position vis-à-vis the state and express their ethnolinguistic identity in interaction through resources, such as language choice (see Jaffe, 2009, section 5.3) or evaluations of others' uses of language such as native/non-native or standard/non-standard varieties.

Pujolar (2007) argues that referring to the contemporary world as a post-national world does not mean that nations and nationalism are no longer important, and that there are strong arguments that maintain that nationalisms are on the increase. Following Heller (2002), the author argues that nationalisms are actually redesigning their strategies by presenting themselves as 'globalising nationalisms', more interested in finding resources and power on international markets and institutions rather than limiting themselves to the nation-state. In this endeavour, languages and linguistic ideologies are mobilized to support their strategies thereby challenging traditional monolingual state ideologies and facilitating the emergence of a post-national linguistic order, which "is emerging where ideological struggles converge around the management of multilingualism" (Pujolar, 2007: 90).

One of the most significant strategies that globalising nationalisms use to enter the international arena is by turning language and culture into commodities (Pujolar, 2007; Heller, 2003, 2008, 2010). Heller (2008: 516) maintains that “for most nation-states it becomes increasingly necessary to uniformise and commodify language and culture in order to compete effectively on international markets”. The commodification of a language or a culture consists of the transformation of linguistic or cultural features into skills or brands of authenticity to be consumed in the international marketplace. Heller (2010: 107) argues that this process raises contemporary tensions between linguistic ideologies and practices because “the commodification of language confronts monolingualism with multilingualism, standardization with variability, and prestige with authenticity in a market where linguistic resources have gained salience and value”. For instance, in the tourist industry, the commodification of language and culture leads to the creation of texts where the local language is mixed with other international languages to create exoticism and, at the same time, enable tourists to understand a message (e.g. Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010). The phenomenon of the commodification of languages manifests itself at two levels (Heller, 2010). First, languages are presented as goods that can be acquired and their sale generates profits, (such as the case of translation companies, language schools or tourist language guidebooks). Second, languages are deployed as linguistic resources necessary to put goods and services in circulation in the market. For instance, obtaining a job today depends to a great extent on communicative skills, including the skills in foreign or international languages which may be necessary to sell a product or to move to a foreign setting to work.

For Heller (2010) there are two theoretical premises that underpin the commodification of languages. Languages form part of individuals’ symbolic capital and can be mobilized in markets and exchanged with material capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1982; as cited in Heller 2010) and the study of language needs to be understood within the political and economic conditions that affect the construction of meaning and social relations (Gal, 1989; Irvine, 1989; as cited in Heller 2010).

In order to describe the processes of localisation and globalisation of languages in the contemporary world, some authors use the term ‘linguascape’ (Bolton and Kachru, 2006; Jaworski *et al.*, 2003; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010; Thurlow and Jaworski, 2011; Pujolar *et al.*, 2011). This term is inspired in Appadurai’s (1996) five ‘-scapes’ (see section 1.1.2) to indicate the global cultural fluxes. In this case, ‘linguascapes’ indicate the relationship between the ways in which some languages are no longer tied to a specific locality or community but rather operate globally in conjunction with the rest of ‘-scapes’. For instance,

Jaworski *et al.* (2003) show that, in the tourist industry, local languages are not used for communicative purposes but rather as ‘metonyms’ of the host culture and markers of exoticism (see also Urry, 2007) producing a new linguascape where languages are extracted from their traditional habitat and placed together with other languages (those of the tourists) that they would not normally encounter. In the tourist industry, the tourists enjoy the exoticism of the local language, which galvanises their stay and gives them a sense of cosmopolitanism, while maintaining the comfort of a language they can understand. The symbolic potential of the local languages is exploited and their status reduced to a set of fixed phrases and lexical units included in guidebook glossaries and exoticised linguascapes. Thus, local languages, together with other cultural markers, go through a process of manufacture and objectification that serve the tourism industry to perform the authenticity of touristic enclaves.

In connection with ‘globalising nationalisms’, Heller (2011) notes that the commodification of languages to claim national identity at the international level appears paradoxical. She analyses the use of the local language in Francophone Canada to mark the authenticity of local products linked to the history of its producing territory. She shows that the commodification of language as a nationalistic strategy is like a double-edged sword for two reasons: (1) although it can be used to signal and guarantee authenticity, it can limit the market’s reach; (2) the marketing of a culture is complicated, since not everybody may feel comfortable with it. Branding authenticity may present authentic objects in ways that feel inauthentic (see also Larsen, 2010). In line with Jaworski *et al.* (2003, see above), Heller (2011: 150) states that “commodification disconnects language from identity and therefore destabilizes the logic of ethnonationalist politics, which require them to be intertwined”.

The third and last section of this chapter moves towards the specific case of Catalonia. It will present how Catalan national identity is constructed by means of the Catalan language and how the connection between language and national identity has evolved to date.

1.3. Language and national identity in Catalonia

The Catalan language represents one of the pillars of national identity in Catalonia. Mercè Rodoreda, the most influential contemporary writer in Catalan language, who received the award Premi d’Honor de les Lletres Catalanes (Catalan Literary Lifetime Achievement Award) in 1980 positioned herself in this regard in 1976:

“When I intended to write I found that I didn’t know how to write a letter in Catalan and at that time school did not exist. I began to study it. Charged with logic I

couldn't conceive the possibility of going forth without such an important tool. We would find it absurd for a construction worker to raise a wall without cement or bricks or expect a train to travel without a railway. Language is the soul of a country and it deserves a great deal of attention.”

((Mercè Rodoreda, 1976 in Miró and Mohino, 2008: 254, my translation)

Rodoreda activates an essentialist discourse, which, according to Lladonosa-Latorre (2013), characterised Catalan society from the middle of the 19th century to the 1950s, but is still present today. Rodoreda's declaration underlines the relationship between language and national identity when she states that language constitutes the soul of a nation. This declaration serves as an example of the discourse that states language and nationhood in Catalonia are intrinsically related.

The following sections consist of an overview of the history of Catalan nationalism (1.3.1) and the role of language in its development (1.3.2), paying special attention to the current sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia and how the evolution of linguistic practices and ideologies due to globalisation may reflect a new era for language and national identity.

1.3.1. The evolution of Catalan national identity

The shape of Catalan nationalism in present times needs to be understood considering four phenomena that have marked its evolution in the 20th and 21st centuries: (1) a period of repression after the Spanish Civil War and during the dictatorship from the 1930s to the mid-1970s; (2) an important wave of immigration from other parts of Spain in the 1950s and 60s, which increased the cultural diversity of the Catalan society; (3) the process of political devolution in Catalonia with the democratic transition that involved a linguistic 'normalisation' which lasted until the early 1990s; and (4) the transformation of Catalan society through two different forms of globalisation: the arrival of a second wave of immigrants from around the globe and the eclosion of the ICTs.

Franco's dictatorship eroded the political, social, cultural and educational institutions in Catalonia. According to Lladonosa-Latorre (2013: 90) the actions taken against Catalan culture and language led to the loss of historical references in the following generations. For instance, the censorship of its use in the public life such as in the radio, the press, and schools, diminished its chances of being a language for the future and for young people. Any kind of expression of the Catalan identity was prosecuted and repressed and a new identity based on Spanish nationalism and Catholicism was imposed. As a result, Francoism directly eroded

Catalan national identity and supposed a regression that marked the collective identity. However, the dictatorship did not stop the Catalan language and a feeling of belonging to Catalan national identity from being expressed clandestinely.

In the 1950s, two events illustrated the transformation of Catalan society: (1) the emergence of a new mass and consumer society, and (2) its demographic transformation society through the wave of immigration that arrived from other parts of Spain in the 1950s and 1960s. The arrival of immigrants who carried their own cultural codes and value system brought an internal questioning of identity. The number of immigrants was higher than in previous moments of reception of immigration (such as in the 1930s before the Civil war) and the situation of the immigrants was more precarious than ever, with the creation of urban ghettos. There was a lack of places for intercultural contact and promotion and common symbols in the collective imaginary that immigrant groups could affiliate with, which led to a period of social polarisation.

The model of social incorporation in Catalonia since the beginning of the 20th century was expressed in terms of voluntary affiliation and, as in many other cases, followed an assimilationist model (Lladonosa-Latorre, 2013). The Nation was open and summed loyalties through three great symbolic features, language, cultural traditions and habits, and the incorporation of the class struggle to defend the national interests. With the democratic transition, the last symbolic factor was directed towards the reconstruction of a national identity that had been weakened during the dictatorship. Those immigrants who adopted Catalan language, cultural traditions and habits, and sympathized with the nationalist movement were identified as members of the community. On the contrary, those who did not speak Catalan, did not follow Catalan cultural traditions or manifested a low national sensitivity were considered foreigners. However, Lladonosa-Latorre (ibid: 153) holds that this was not a model of ethnic exclusion but a defensive system against a perception of Spanish aggressiveness. In fact, the construction of Catalan national identity and its sensitiveness cannot be understood without taking into account the controversy in the relationship between Spain and Catalonia.

Through the democratic transition and the approval of the Statute of Autonomy of 1979, the Catalan institutions obtained the power to recover collective social symbols, among which the Catalan language was maintained as an indisputable identity reference (Lladonosa-Latorre, 2013). The 1980s were characterised by the dichotomisation of the identity model in Catalonia, which coincided with a situation of political polarisation. The model confronted, on

one side, a traditionalist model of nationalistic characteristics and, on the other, a supposedly progressive cosmopolitan model based on multicultural values. Simultaneously, there were a few social changes that contributed to this dual environment, such as (1) the abandonment of rural and folkloric symbols as well as religious and family models, and (2) the appearance of a movement based on cosmopolitan urban values, laicism and the modernizing mass culture. Lladonosa-Latorre (2013) emphasises that Catalan identity has defined itself in contraposition with the Spanish one, a fact that needs to be considered to understand some exclusionary discourses that emerged in the process of identity construction in Catalonia.

The last stage in the construction of Catalan identity is based on a cultural model of polyhedral identity (Lladonosa-Latorre, 2013), the main characteristic of which is a crisis of values and their transmission, a break with modernity, a loss of the notion of the common good, a lack of solid social commitments, individualism, consumerism, hedonism and luddism. In connection with national identity, this phenomenon has led to the substitution of traditional factors for identification and loyalty (language, history, family model, etc.) by identities that are fluid, flexible, multiple, polyhedral and fragmented. Individual identities are rationally calculated according to gains and losses in each specific situation: familiarities, group identity or local territoriality, national or ethnic, global and supranational, sexual identities, multiple cultural identities, gender identities, political, religious identities. Post-modern individuals select and combine their identities according to their specific needs and restructure them continuously during their lives (also in Bauman, 2006).

For Lladonosa-Latorre (2013), from 1990 to 2010, Catalonia underwent various processes that added new elements to be considered in the analysis of the evolution of national identity and of the representation of the nation. These are:

1. The internationalisation of Catalonia and its external projection.
2. The strengthening of the European Union.
3. The consolidation of globalisation, with the arrival of immigration from other states with highly heterogeneous origins and different cultural identities and value systems.
4. The influence of the new interculturalist and multiculturalist discourses and the debates about citizenship at an academic and political level.
5. The knowledge of how other stateless nations, such as in Quebec or Flanders, have handled immigration.
6. The role of the new information and communication technologies in the configuration of identity.

7. The increment of support to sovereignist proposals and the debate about the exhaustion of the autonomic system in Spain.

For Ager (2001), the success of the Catalan language, compared to the case of Welsh, lies basically in the favourable economic conditions, a factor that he considers fundamental to effectively construct national identity without it remaining a “pipe-dream” (ibid: 36). People must see the advantages of engaging with a national identity in real terms. Woolard (1985) considers that during the repression of Catalan under the Franco dictatorship, Catalan maintained its prestige because the economically most powerful class in Catalonia were Catalan speakers. This fact protected Catalan during the repression and also set favourable conditions for it to become the language of the institutions after the dictatorship in 1975.

The evolution of the Catalan society has undoubtedly produced a reinterpretation and representation of the symbols, values, cultural elements and places of common memory that determine contemporary identity in Catalonia. In the following section we will see how this evolution has affected the relation between language and national identity in Catalonia.

1.3.2. Language and national identity in Catalonia

Similarly to the other contexts with nationalist movements, language ideologies in Catalonia during the modern period are based on the suggestion that the Catalan language is a bounded system upon which to build a Catalan national ideal. However, Woolard and Frekko (2013: 2) suggest that in recent years the discussion about the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia has moved beyond the polarisation between Catalonia and Spain, presented in section 1.3.1, even though it is still repeated in the media and political representations.

Catalonia gained political power with the end of Franco’s dictatorship, the democratic transition and the approval of the Statute of Autonomy in 1979. In 1981, the *Generalitat* (Catalan Government) started a campaign to restore Catalan to all spheres of public life, as to what it had been before the Civil War. During the dictatorship, language heterogeneity was seen as a threat to the unity of Spain and repressed through censorship and the prohibition of the use of the language, which left Catalan in a weakened situation. The campaign to revitalise the language also aimed at extending the use of Catalan among monolingual Spanish speakers, who then constituted half of the population in Catalonia, due to the great immigration of the 1950s/60s. Through the Law of Linguistic Normalisation (1983) Catalan was re-established as a language of instruction in schools and also the main language in the public administration. The schooling system progressively developed into an immersion

system inspired by the Canadian system with Spanish as a subject but not as a teaching language.

Traditionally, people used language as the main resource to embody their identities (Pujolar, 2011) and speaking Catalan was an index of Catalan identity and Spanish an index of Spanish identity. Catalan and Spanish occupied different positions in the sociolinguistic context due to political and socioeconomic divides (ibid). On one hand, most L1 speakers of Spanish had an immigrant background and were concentrated in the low and mid-skilled sections of the job market. On the other hand, native Catalan speakers would not normally identify themselves as 'bilingual' despite the fact that they and previous generations were proficient in Spanish. In this context, choosing Catalan as the usual language of communication equated to affiliation with a Catalan identity and the selection of Spanish, as a claim of Spanish identity or as an index of foreignness of the interlocutor. An individual who engaged with a Catalan identity could not simultaneously engage with the Spanish one and *vice versa*. This made Catalan and the Spanish identities mutually exclusive and created a dichotomised environment where language choice would constitute "the primary symbol of group affiliation" (Woolard, 1989:68).

The distribution of Catalan and Spanish has been connected with specific domains where one language or the other predominates (Pujolar, 2011: 367). Catalan is the dominant language in the schooling system and the autonomous administration, whereas Spanish dominates in the public offices of the central administration in Catalonia. Catalan is found in managerial and highly skilled professions and Spanish in the tourist sector and low-skilled professions such as the commercial sector and the mass media and telecommunications industry. However, according to Pujolar, the distribution is not categorical, and it depends on aspects such as the traditions within a family business. Besides, the two languages can also compete for hegemony in all domains. In this context, Pujolar argues that it is possible to talk about 'situated' codeswitching such as, for instance, using Catalan within the classroom context and Spanish in the playground (Vila, 1996; as cited in Pujolar, ibid). In bilingual interactions, conversational code-switching was usually prompted by the ethnolinguistic identity of the interlocutor (Pujolar, 2011), i.e. Catalan speakers would switch to Spanish with a Spanish speaker. Therefore, cases of code-switching also indicated how an individual would orient him/herself towards his/her interlocutor. For instance, Woolard (1989: 64) reports that during her fieldwork, her presence in a Catalan-speaking group often produced switches into Spanish. However, as we will see next, the conversational norms that ruled language choice in Catalonia have changed over the last two decades.

The language-in-education policies developed in Catalonia since achieving political autonomy in 1979 have established new relationships between the two languages on the public scene (Arnau and Vila, 2013). Bilingual practices among teenagers in public situations appeared to be interpreted as indexing dual identities simultaneously, i.e. Castilian-origin Catalans. This multivoicedness was also detected by Pujolar (1997), who shows how young people in Barcelona use code-switching for ironic or parodial purposes. For instance, speakers may switch from Spanish to Catalan to depict the other as weak or effeminate. This also projects the stance of the speaker towards the person s/he is parodying. In the same line of multivoicedness, Pujolar (2001) shows how codeswitching is used as a discursive strategy to indicate group membership. Spanish, the main code used by the participants was used as the 'we-code', whereas Catalan, which was used in fewer situations, appeared as the 'they-code' even when the speakers were native speakers of Catalan.

At present, there has been a reformulation of the relationship between language and national identity in Catalonia (Woolard, 2008). This shift consists of a move from exclusion (i.e. one or the other relationship) to simultaneity and inclusion (i.e. both/and relationship). The monolingual ideology seems to be losing strength for two reasons (Pujolar, 2011). First, codeswitching has dramatically increased in Catalan society and the correlation one-speaker-one-language is disappearing following the global tendency towards multilingualism (Pujolar, 2007). Native speakers of Spanish are bilingual now since they have had access to education in Catalan and, moreover, their presence in managerial positions and as skilled workers is increasing, which affects the components identifying language choice. Second, immigration is more heterogeneous than ever in socioeconomic, cultural and linguistic terms and this has produced new roles for the local languages. In this sense, Spanish has become a *lingua franc* among speakers of other languages within the job market in Catalonia (Pujolar, 2010; as cited in Pujolar, 2011).

However, the new scenario for linguistic practices and ideologies in Catalonia contains contradictions and ambivalences. According to Pujolar (2010) there has been a shift in the official discourses from language as a national symbol to language as a means for social cohesion in the multilingual Catalan society. In this endeavour, the administration treats Catalan as a fully functioning public language, whereas large sectors of the population, particularly those from older generations, treat Catalan as a minority language not to be used with strangers. In this context, Catalan appears as a language for identification whereas Spanish is used for practical communicative purposes, which contradicts the institutional message. Therefore, immigrants and new-comers find themselves in a situation where they

have to adjust to “different, competing, often blatantly contradictory linguistic ideologies and practices” (ibid: 240). Pujolar concludes that in his own view the tensions between Catalan and Spanish nationalist agendas clearly play a role in the processes of policy definition. Specifically, this fact can be seen through the absence of an explicit formulation of the role of Spanish in the design of the principles and policies of integration (ibid).

The tension between Catalan and Spanish nationalist agendas plays a role in the process of policy making and the interests of political parties may appear very obvious. However, Pujolar (2010) argues that other interests at work are less obvious. In a situation in which Spanish is a widely spoken local language and a language of wider communication, it may appear logical that it works as a lingua franca between locals and immigrants. This is also the stance taken by many Catalan speakers, who argue that it may increase the immigrants’ possibilities of employability outside Catalonia. This stance leads to a situation where immigrants cannot access employment where Catalan proficiency is required, which are those of the administration and the most demanded. From this angle, native Catalan speakers may be competing for resources and social position by impeding access to the Catalan language.

Within this competitive context, Frekko (2009) conducted an ethnographic study in a Catalan language class where native Catalan speakers with little schooling struggle with middle-class non-native speakers of Catalan. Both native and non-native speakers try to learn the standard form to be able to enter government jobs. The native speakers feel marginalised by the middle-class non-native speakers due to a gap between the typology of Catalan that native speakers learn in their daily lives and the normative Catalan learnt in formal education. In her study, the use of non-normative Catalan and Spanish within the class context was sanctioned by the teacher and the students with corrections and laughter, except for occasional translations. However, the same codes (non-standard Catalan and Spanish) were frequently used before and after the class. Frekko adds that the only code that had some ‘cachet’ besides normative Catalan was English and, hence, the students in the class who were competent in the foreign language or had been raised abroad supplemented their already considerable capital in the sociolinguistic market of the classroom. The author argues in this study that language policies for the revitalisation of the minority language have valued the ‘standard’ variety of Catalan, which besides its homogenising power, works to the detriment of native speakers and creates differentiation between native and non-native.

Higher education institutions represent a setting where incoming mobility students may find ambivalent messages about the two languages of the local linguistic repertoire and feel the

claim of those discourses to engage with them. On one hand, Spanish emerges as a widely spoken language of international scope and the language used in many interactions between the local and the international communities outside the educational institution. On the other hand, Catalan is the language promoted by the official discourse through language policy and the promotional campaigns that invite international students to engage with the local language. In this context, the promotion of the learning of Catalan represents a challenge for the Catalan administration. Atkinson and Moriarty (2012) explore the marketing of Catalan language acquisition to mobility students in Catalonia through the analysis of the webpage *Intercat* (www.intercat.cat), which is specifically designed to teach Catalan language and culture to incoming higher education mobility students. This endeavour represents a challenge for a stateless nation like Catalonia due to the powerful alternative available in the context: which represents learning Spanish, the only official language throughout Spain and a language of international scope. A significant number of international students in Catalonia are reluctant to learn or engage with Catalan, as they argue that they moved to Spain to improve their Spanish. In this light, the webpage aims to persuade international students to learn Catalan by presenting it as a commodity with a high symbolic value in Catalonia. The authors argue that the webpage displays tensions between different types of language ideology. Simultaneously, the webpage commodifies Catalan as a desirable product in the linguistic marketplace and draws on an ideology of nationhood as part of its rationale for promoting the acquisition of Catalan.

The most recent study on the restructuring of the interconnection between language and identity in Catalonia is a special issue edited by Woolard and Frekko (2013) on the situation of Catalan since the beginning of the 21st century. This innovative compilation shows that the orientation of communities from different backgrounds in Catalonia toward Catalan linguistic resources and their mobilisation escapes the political debates within which they were traditionally embedded. The review of these studies is important for the present research project because they show, from an ethnographic perspective, how ordinary language users have deconstructed the sociolinguistic boundaries in Catalonia and transformed them into more fluid identities (Frekko, 2013), which is, as the data analysis will show, the space where international students construct their discourses of hybrid multilingualism. Whereas in previous decades linguistic practices were located within an “overtly identitarian, particularist and nationalist discourse”, today many bilingual and ‘polylingual’ speakers “invoke universalistic and/or cosmopolitan frameworks for interpreting their own choices to choose Catalan” (ibid: 4). The studies within this compilation present different aspects of this shift:

(1) the loss of social authority of Catalan native speakers due to an ideological shift that moves away from authenticity as a source of authority towards anonymity; (2) linguistic cosmopolitanism evident in the new stances of speakers towards languages and in the mobilisation of linguistic resources; (3) a disjuncture between language policies and practices and the need to implement different language-in-education policies. In the following paragraphs, I give an overview of the contributions that examine and underpin the overall sociolinguistic restructuring in Catalonia.

The contributions by Pujolar and González (2013), Woolard (2013) and Soler-Carbonell (2013) focus on the loss of social authority of Catalan native speakers. Pujolar and González (2013) talk about the ‘de-ethnicization’ of the Catalan language. Catalan speakers have traditionally used the Catalan language as the main tool to embody their ethnolinguistic identity. However, the situation is changing due to three main factors related to the situation of old and new immigrants in Catalonia: (1) immigrants who arrived in the 50s-60s and their children are now Spanish-Catalan bilingual; (2) the linguistic and cultural diversity of the new immigration flows is a fact without precedents; and (3) access to the Catalan language has been made possible through education. The authors suggest that in terms of language choice, there is a shift from a collective to a personal paradigm, which means that it is linked to personal histories rather than ethnic affiliations. Young Catalan people today, independently of their origin, tend to rely on contextual factors to determine the adequate language of communication and the adscription of ethnolinguistic categories to their interlocutors. Therefore, language choice loses its power to set boundaries between speakers. In other words, Catalan appears as an unmarked language choice and becomes increasingly anonymous. The authors’ argument relies on life linguistic trajectories and in this context, they coin the term linguistic *mudes*. Linguistic *mudes* refer to the evolution of people’s language behaviour patterns, which are relevant to their self-presentation in ordinary life. Linguistic *mudes* are context dependent or, in other words, linked to a specific domain, and do not refer to the complete shift of the usual language of communication by the same individual. The study identifies six main moments for linguistic *mudes* in individuals’ lives (ibid: 140): (1) when entering primary school; (2) on starting high school; (3) beginning university; (4) when entering the labour market; (5) on creating a new family; and (6) on becoming a parent. The results show, first, that participants’ narratives often contain traces of traditional models of social categorisation associated with consistent language behaviour, but they simultaneously contest those traditional categorisations. Secondly, although language choice is being anonymised, those who adopt Catalan tend to be those who invest in academic

qualifications and, consequently the role of Catalan as an indicator of class is reinforced. Finally, the data suggest that a significant number of Catalan speakers expect Spanish speakers to accommodate and refuse to switch into Spanish, contrary to the traditional habit. In fact, those speakers who present a greater willingness to switch between languages are predominantly Spanish native speakers willing to switch into Catalan. This last aspect also shows a shift in the traditional accommodation patterns. Whereas in the past, Catalan speakers accommodated to Spanish, this tendency has now been inverted. Altogether, these facts undermine traditional ideologies even though they may be still used as a national symbol.

Woolard (2013) detects an evolution in the stance towards Catalan among the working class Spanish immigrant background students she first interviewed in 1987. Whereas at that time the students participating refused to use Catalan, twenty years later, except for one those students who were tracked back (one third of the original sample) declare having incorporated Catalan as a language of communication. Most of the students had abandoned the ideology of authenticity that made them reject Catalan in the past and emphasised that language was not owned by anyone in particular, i.e. of anonymity, a discourse that is characteristic of late-modernity. However, one of the interviewees maintained an ideology of authenticity based on a traditional ethno-nationalistic discourse. The stances towards Catalan emerging in this study represent a contrast between portraying Catalan as (1) a means to access new opportunities and becoming (2) a reference to people's origins, (3) a language as a tool for communication and (4) for group identity and a political stance. The appearance of the two stances, the 'old' and the 'new', is consistent with the presence of traces of traditional discourses and ambiguities in the new discourses about the anonymity of Catalan in present-day Catalonia found by Pujolar and González (2013).

Soler-Carbonell (2013) offers a comparative analysis of the situation of Catalonia and Estonia, two contexts where a medium-sized language (Catalan and Estonian, respectively) and a dominant international language (Spanish and Russian, respectively) are in contact. The two sociolinguistic situations differ significantly in terms of population (1.3 million in Estonia and 7.5 in Catalonia), the typological differences between the two languages in contact (Estonia and Russian are more distant than Catalan and Spanish), the number of L1 speakers within the territory and their political status (Catalonia is an autonomous community in Spain whereas Estonia is an independent country). However, the comparison is interesting to show how each language has evolved with a shift from repressive authoritarian regimes to democratic systems, a fact that enabled them to gain presence in public and institutional settings. The study also considers the effect of globalisation and late modernity. In connection

with the valorisation of a ‘medium-sized’ language by speakers of an ‘international’ language and by its L1 speakers and the language-ideological constructs employed in that process. The results show that Catalan and Estonian have resituated themselves in their ecolinguistic environment as languages worth knowing. In contemporary Catalonia and Estonia, the medium-sized languages are valued for their instrumental and pragmatic value by the new speakers and adopted, particularly, by younger middle-class and urban-based groups. However, the path that each language has run is different. On one hand, Estonian is perceived as the language of a sovereign state, a fact that influences people’s mental “language horizons” (Mackey, 1994; as cited in Soler-Carbonell, 2013: 161) and contributes to its perception as a language of interest for Russian speakers even though it maintains attributes of ethnic identification and a feeling of authenticity. On the other hand, Catalan has raised the interest of Spanish speakers in Catalonia as a means of achieving social mobility and socioeconomic promotion. In the context of globalisation, the native-like authentic features of the Catalan language are not central anymore, which facilitates that more people, with heterogeneous profiles, incorporate it into their language repertoire. The study concludes that by comparing both contexts, the routes of political independence and autonomy and the relaxation of the importance of the authentic features of the language, i.e. ‘de-authentication’, can positively affect a ‘medium-sized’ language. Independence in Catalonia in combination with the prestige attached to the language could make Catalan gain value as a useful language and open up the community of Catalan users beyond the native speakers. In the case of Estonia, the author argues that Estonian would need to progress towards becoming a less ethnic language and, as in the case of Catalonia, lead Russian and Estonian people to use it as a tool for communication and as a means for accessing new opportunities.

Frekko (2013) focuses on the interconnection between social class and native language in the establishment of linguistic legitimacy. Catalan ‘authentic’ ‘native speakers’ have lost social authority due to the commodification of the standard variety and its literate forms, which give access to government job positions. This sociolinguistic restructuring has been sponsored by the government through its language policy, which legitimises the standard variety while sacrificing the centrality of the native speaker. Frekko chooses to refer to Catalan as an institutionalised language instead of as a minoritised language. For the Catalan administration, only those individuals who finished secondary school after 1992 are automatically recognised as having the level of Catalan necessary to become a civil servant, independently of whether they are native speakers. This process creates social stratification between those who know the standard legitimated variety and those who do not. Adults in Catalonia over 40 years of

age did not have access to literacy in Catalan except for those from the powerful Catalan elite. In fact, through this social class Catalan, was maintained as a cult language during the years of linguistic repression and positioned as the language of the institutions when democracy was recovered. The data for this study come from a Catalan language course for adults. In this study, social class appears as a motivation for enrolling on the course as well as a factor that affects the outcome. The highest marks were obtained by middle-class students, none of whom were native Catalan speakers. The findings indicate a “disjuncture between public discourse and lived experience of language users” (Frekko, *ibid*: 174). The institutionalisation of the Catalan language makes the combination of middle-class students and native status positions the individuals on a higher level in the social stratification. The author concludes that being a middle-class native speaker of legitimate Catalan is the combination that opens access to the greatest linguistic capital.

The second theme of the special issue deals with the linguistic cosmopolitanism that emerges from the new stances that speakers take towards languages and the mobilisation of linguistic resources. Corona *et al.* (2013) study the case of new immigrant students, who have diversified the student body in Catalan schools and nowadays represent 10% of the total number of students in schools in Catalonia. These students generally reside in areas where Spanish is the main language of communication in everyday life. Although the students receive their education in Catalan, the majority of them use different varieties of Spanish for daily interactions. This study shows that in the case of students from Latin America, a new hybrid variety of Spanish emerges from the collision of the different varieties of Spanish spoken in South America but also integrating the vernacular Spanish and Catalan languages. The emergent variety is also acquired by students from other origins (a student from Pakistan) with no correlation between his country of origin and the variety of Spanish he is being socialised in. This peer-to-peer language socialisation and learning represents a challenge for their teachers and language-in-education policies. The study concludes that the variety of Spanish spoken in Barcelona appears as a *lingua franca* among immigrants and locals, and also between migrants from communities that do not share a common language. This is coherent with Pujolar (2010), who states that Spanish works as a *lingua franca* between local and immigrant communities in Catalonia. However, Corona *et al.*'s (2013) study argues that the Spanish used as a *lingua franca* is a hybrid variety that includes linguistic features of the vernacular languages and the inherited linguistic repertoires of the students. In this sense, the authors consider the Spanish language in Barcelona as a “neutral resource for communication unrelated to identity” (*ibid*: 191). Besides the emergence of a new variety, the study observes

that the variety is translocal and raises questions about the construction of new global communities where it is necessary to use shared transnational repertoires to gain membership. In this light, this variety also appears as a useful identification tool.

The last study in the special issue is by Newman *et al.* and it represents the third theme: the disjuncture between language policies and practices and the need to implement different language-in-education policies. Newman *et al.* (2013) study the discontinuity between linguistic practices of newly arrived Latin American students among peers at school and at home. Similar to Corona *et al.* (2013), the students in this study live in areas where Spanish is the language of daily interaction and Catalan is used almost exclusively at school. The socialisation of the newly arrived students in Catalan is assigned to the school through the 'reception class' (*aula d'acollida*), where they receive linguistic support and whose teachers represent the first institutional linguistic and cultural hosts. For this reason, the teachers' ideology on the appropriate domain of Catalan and the expectations they have of the students may condition students' language attitudes and behaviour. Through the study of the language practices in the reception classrooms of three secondary schools, the work explores (1) how the language policy in Catalonia is implemented; (2) how students react in terms of language attitudes; and (3) the connection between language policy implementation, the students' attitudes, and the broader significance of their responses inside and outside the school. The study finds tensions between the stance towards the role of Catalan represented by the language-in-education policy and the unsuccessful practical results the students obtain. On one hand, the language policy in Catalonia constructs Catalan as the element of cohesion in an increasingly multicultural and multilingual society and projects this idea from a cosmopolitan perspective since the language is used locally as a language of instruction but has contributions from all over the world through the new speakers. On the other hand, students' learning failure affects their socialisation and, consequently, they manifest a negative attitude toward Catalan and avoid using it. The authors argue that the students suffer a paradoxical situation because the goal for which the reception classrooms are created (linguistic and cultural integration) is the instrument that places them at a disadvantage within the school, discouraging their support of Catalan as a language of social cohesion. The authors argue that the disjuncture between the policy goals and results lies in a dysfunctional system to achieve them. They suggest three limitations: (1) the two-year support of the reception classroom isolates students; (2) the lack of resources, structures and training of the reception classroom teachers makes the process deficient; and (3) the lack of CLIL-like training of the content-subject teachers represents an obstacle for reinforcing the teaching received in the reception

classroom. The authors suggest that greater emphasis should be placed on the extent to which language socialisation can occur within a particular language classroom and how it can be promoted, especially in social contexts where the classroom is the main site for that socialisation and where the language to be promoted has a limited presence in the students' lives but is important for schooling. When the students being socialised feel marginalised, the endeavour may end up as, at best, a partial socialisation and, at worst, the development of negative attitude towards the language. The authors assert that the lack of competence in Catalan obstructs the educational progress and could create a linguistically based long-term social division.

The study by Newman *et al.* (2013) is very important in the context of our research since the analysis of the language policy and their implementation at the UdL shows similar results: a dysfunction between the goals and the results that derives from a deficient implementation and structure, even if the sojourn students, their teachers and the policies are well-intentioned.

This special issue is very important for the present study because it provides a contextual framework for interpreting the relation between language and national identity in Catalonia and challenges the traditional perspectives from the 20th century. However, as Pujolar (2010) states, Catalonia is now living at a turning point in which individuals have to respond to sometimes contradictory linguistic ideologies and practices. For this reason, in our study we can find (1) voices that continue reproducing a situation of exclusion between Catalan and Spanish languages and identities, and that usually pertain to the campaign for revitalising the language in Catalonia, and (2) cosmopolitan voices that favour the hybridization of linguistic and identity choices with which international students in Catalonia are confronted.

Summary

Chapter 1 has offered a review of prominent studies that analyse how national identity is constructed and the role that language plays in this process. First, we have seen the construction of national identity and how globalisation has reduced the monopoly of the state in determining the identity of its citizenry and how globalisation leads to the hybridisation of local contexts. Second, we have seen the evolution of the interconnection between language and national identity from a one-language – one-nation ideology to the emergence of a supra-national body, the European Union, whose main pillar for the construction of identity is its intrinsic linguistic and cultural diversity. Then we have also seen how the new economy has led nations to turn language and culture into commodities to be traded in a post-national world. Finally, the last part of this chapter is devoted to explaining the evolution of national identity and language within the context of Catalonia. First, it has offered a review of the evolution of the socio-political context in Catalonia since 1930s until the present, and second, it has explained how this evolution has affected the role and status of Catalan as a language for identification. The following chapter talks about language-in-education policies, one of the main means that states have to manipulate the role of languages in society and people's attitude towards them.

Chapter 2. Language-in-education policies

One of the consequences of the globalisation of higher education is the increase in linguistic and cultural diversity within the universities. Faced with this new reality, universities worldwide have designed language policies with two main aims: (1) to manage the increasingly multilingual situation within higher-educational institutions which emerges as a consequence of the transnational mobility of people and information; and (2) to compete in the global educational market. The policies adopted by international universities vary across countries and institutions depending on the country's own sociolinguistic situation and the universities' own approach to multilingualism.

Although it could be argued that multilingualism is the natural situation in many parts of the world (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002), its form varies considerably across contexts, and to a large extent, this is due to the language policies that are applied to it. This chapter is devoted to language-in-education policies in multilingual educational institutions. Section 2.1 presents how language policies work in general terms when they are applied to any institution. Section 2.2 focuses on language-in-education policies in multilingual school contexts. Section 2.3 refers to language policies in higher education institutions in the era of globalisation. The last section of this chapter reviews the different terminology that refers to the multiple use of language (section 2.4) and that project and take a stance towards it.

2.1. Language policy

This section introduces language policy as a mechanism which is negotiated at different layers of context by different agents. It also explains what the implications of a specific language policy may be for minority and majority language speakers in bilingual contexts.

Language policies (LPs) are “overt” and “covert” mechanisms to control how language is used in a way that generates group membership, shows socio-economic status and classifies people (Shohamy, 2006: xv). LPs affect language users' ideology about how to use language correctly in terms of, for instance, accent, grammar or language purity, and even define who has the right to use a language or a variety of language and in which circumstances. For Spolsky (2004, 2012), LP in a speech community is a concept that encompasses three components: language practices, language beliefs or ideology, and language planning or management. Language practices refer to the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up a speech community's linguistic repertoire. These are not a result of the language policies but rather are embedded in them. Language beliefs or ideology are the

values ascribed by the members of a speech community to each variety of the language and the importance of these values. Language planning or management stands for the specific efforts by some members of a speech community who have (or think they have) authority over other members to modify or influence language practices through any kind of linguistic intervention.

Halliday (2001; as cited in Wright, 2004) suggests that LP could be understood as the intersection between the design of language, i.e. the language planning, and the evolution of language, which can potentially collude:

Language planning is a highly complex set of activities involving the intersection of two very different and potentially conflicting themes: one that of ‘meaning’ common to all our activities with language, and other semiotics as well; the other theme that of ‘design’. If we start from the broad distinction between designed systems and evolved systems, then language planning means introducing design processes and design features into a system (namely language) which is naturally evolving. (Halliday 2001: 177; as cited in Wright, 2004)

Language planning involves three kinds of process (Cooper, 1989): corpus planning, status planning and acquisition planning. Corpus planning refers to the modification of the code itself, for instance, the lexical items introduced into a language and adapted to its linguistic conventions or left in the original form. Status planning is the attempt to affect the prestige of a language or variety positively or negatively, and includes such examples as the status of indigenous languages in post-colonial contexts or the status of English as a *lingua franca* in the global world. Finally, acquisition planning refers to the promotion of the acquisition of a language, whether it be a native or foreign language. Language policy responds to the attitude of a state or an institution towards languages and this attitude may be based on nationalist interests. Following Ager (2001), the goals pursued by language policies can be categorised into seven ‘i-goals’: (1) *identity* construction (states usually impose a sense of belonging on their citizens by instructing them the same language); (2) *ideology transmission* (states, groups or institutions impose a language or a standard variety as a consequence of an ideology); (3) *image creation* (the international projection of a language also projects the state where it is spoken); (4) *insecurity* (when states or groups do not trust others, they can exclude their languages from the official repertoire); (5) *inequality* (states, groups or institutions can confront situations of inequality by controlling language use); (6) *integration in a group* (language policies can forbid the use of non-official languages in specific contexts with the

aim of integrating outsiders); (7) *instrumental motor* (the social or professional promotion that knowing languages entails).

The ultimate aim of LP is, according to Shohamy (2006), to become language practices, or the other way around, language practices are *de facto* language policies. For this reason, anybody who decides what language to speak in a specific situation is, ultimately, a language planner, from parents at home to students at school. Language policies can be conducted by three types of agents: (1) individuals, (2) communities or groups, and (3) governments or institutions (Cooper, 1989). In this regard, Busch (2009) recognises that although language policies are a domain of the nation-state, there are other relevant actors in the process of decentralisation of states and glocalisation. These are the local authorities, which are more closely related to the people on the ground than central government, and, consequently, the language policy that they follow will have a greater impact. For instance, local authorities have greater power to control the linguistic landscape of a place (Shohamy, 2012).

Busch (2009) conducted a study around the LP that emerges between the staff of the central public library in Vienna and its users. The library is a meeting point between traditional and new groups of language users and where the top-down policies can obtain feedback to become more inclusive of the social heteroglossia of Vienna. In fact, although the employees sometimes adopt a top-down approach in which they choose the language of communication “with an explicit educational character” (ibid: 138), there are also moments of language negotiation. The study concludes that the library attracts numerous people with an immigrant background and it successfully negotiates a language policy that can foster social cohesion for three reasons. First, the access to the library is free and this encourages people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds to enter it and make use of the resources with no pressure to conform to a particular pattern of behaviour. Second, linguistic diversity is valued because of the choice of works that the library acquires: there is no difference made between foreign language learning and migrant languages, thus avoiding the appearance of language hierarchies. Third, the language policy emerges as a negotiation between the users and the members of the library staff, and all users are seen as customers who actively participate in recommending new materials that the library could acquire and who express their interests. The library, in this latter aspect, mediates between the interests of different groups of users. This study is relevant for the present research because the language policies at universities also operate in a similar way: language users (students, academic and administrative staff) can

negotiate their language practices, becoming language planners, and send feedback to the university language planners responsible for updating the institutional language policies.

Busch’s study also shows that LP can occur in two directions: top-down and bottom-up. On one hand, LP usually circulates from top to bottom when state authorities or institutions intervene in the practices and language ideologies of the people. On the other hand, the community affected by the policies simultaneously interprets, appropriates, and/or negotiates them from the bottom to the top at a level of human interaction (Cassels-Johnson, 2013). The contestation of the language policies is achieved at times through grass-roots initiatives that aim to propose alternatives to the government’s language policies (O’Rourke and Castillo, 2009). According to Cassels-Johnson (2013: 108), the dichotomy top-down/bottom-up “obfuscate[s] the varied and unpredictable ways that language policy agents interact with the policy process”. He argues that top-down and bottom-up notions merge in a highly complex, interacting and dynamic way which makes it impossible to distinguish one from the other. Cassels-Johnson (ibid) concludes that top-down and bottom-up are relative notions and offers the example of a US State Department of Education official for whom a federal educational policy may appear as a top-down policy but a school district policy will be bottom-up. However, in the case of a teacher working within the same district, the same school district policy will be a top-down policy. Similarly, for McCarty (2011), LP does not appear as a simple matter of top-down or bottom-up but as a multi-layered process that is produced in and through daily human interactions.

Chua and Baldauf (2011) present language policies on a continuum including four main stages: supra macro, macro, micro and infra micro (figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1. The relationships between macro and micro language planning (Chua and Baldauf, 2011: 939)

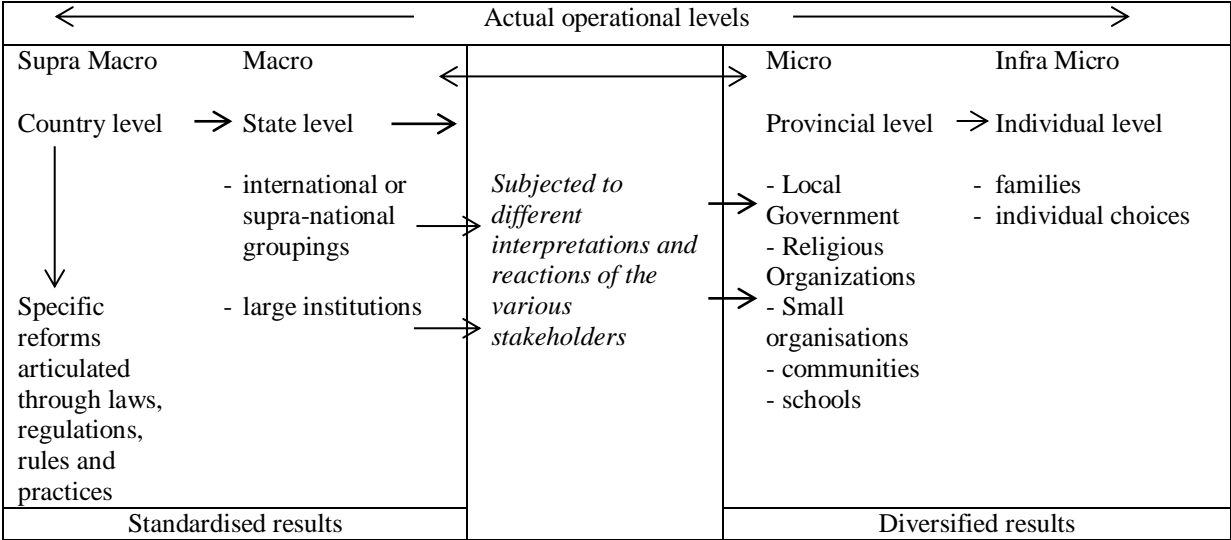


Figure 2.1 shows that there are four actual operational levels of language planning: supra macro, macro, micro and infra micro. The macro context includes large-scale planning made up of specific rules and practices aimed at producing standardised results. The micro context involves a series of contextual factors and actors, such as small organisations and schools, with each interpreting and carrying out the policies in different ways, a fact that produces diverse results. For this reason, the agents who apply the language policies may ultimately determine their effectiveness. Chua and Baldauf (ibid: 938) refer to this process as the “translation process”, which relates the macro to the micro (and infra micro) planning contexts that underlie macro planning. The same authors conclude that, as a consequence of these influences, the outcomes will not be standardised and the results may vary depending on the different interpretations found in the micro and infra micro contexts. This was the subject of research in Busch’s (2009) previous study and is also one of the aims of the present study within the context of the UdL, a higher education institution in Catalonia.

When institutions adopt a specific language policy, they simultaneously adopt an orientation towards language or varieties of language. Ruiz (1984) famously describes three main orientations to language: language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource. While widely-spoken languages are viewed as resources, minority languages are frequently viewed as problems. When LP takes a ‘language as a right’ orientation, it usually underlies a ‘language as a problem’ orientation. The ‘language as a problem’ orientation occurs when LP is designed by ruling elites who use their power to control the use of language to their own benefit. Crystal (2003: 9; as cited in Ricento, 2011: 125) holds that “a language has traditionally become an international language for one chief reason: the power of its people – especially their political and military power.” This is the case of many post-colonial contexts in which elites imposed a higher value for the colonial than the autochthonous languages (e.g. Hu, 2007, for the Hong Kong context). It is also the case of contexts with a high percentage of immigration from the same linguistic group, in which immigrants gradually abandon their mother tongue (e.g. Gounari, 2006, for Spanish in the United States), or of the context of globalisation, in which widely-spoken languages appear more useful because interpersonal communication has increased at both local and global levels (McCarty, 2003; Ricento, 2006).

Language discrimination and ideology does not only affect different languages but also varieties of languages. According to Blommaert (2006), ‘print capitalism’ has stimulated the propagation of standard varieties of national languages whose written form has more prestige

than the oral form. The written form was a language of the elite class because only educated elites had access to it and was imposed on the whole society as the only correct and pure language in contrast with dialects, jargons and other kinds of ‘vulgar’ oral languages spoken by the less-educated masses. With the aim of contesting the distinction among social groups and the inequalities produced by LP, part of the research has shifted towards a more critical approach (Tollefson, 1991). In this light, some of the research on LP today is aimed at revitalising indigenous languages and reversing the language shift and loss to which previous language policies had led.

The study of language as a right of individuals to use their native language has become an important field of research. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995) argue that the notion of linguistic human rights is important for communities to maintain their ethnolinguistic identity and difference from the dominant group and its language. They propose two broad levels at which linguistic human rights should be observed: individual and community rights. Individual rights refer to the rights of a person to “identify positively with their mother tongue, and to have their identification respected by others”, and community rights refer to the “right of a minority group to exist” (1995: 2).

The development of language rights is based on the notion that there are majority languages and minority languages, which are not distinguishable in number of speakers but in differences in relation to “power, status and entitlement” (May, 2009: 526). The value of the former and the stigmatization of the latter leads to a process of language shift and loss since there is an increasing pressure on minority language speakers to speak a majority one. The process of language shift goes through three stages. In the first stage, minority language speakers feel increasing pressure to adopt the majority language, especially for formal events, and this leads to a situation of diglossia, i.e. a situation of bilingualism within a society where one of the two languages of the bilingual repertoire enjoys higher prestige than the other (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967). The second stage is a period of bilingualism during which, although both languages are spoken, there are fewer speakers of the minority language within younger generations and the total number decreases. Finally, in the third stage the minority language is replaced by the majority language and, although there may remain some residues, it is no longer a language of communication.

In bilingual communities, the attitude of minority language speakers is not enough to preserve their language. De Bres (2008) argues that majority language speakers affect the status and role of the minority language and the long term success of the initiatives to revitalise the

minority language depends partially on the support of the dominant linguistic group. For this reason, de Bres (ibid) claims that majority language speakers are a target for practical language policy approaches aimed at generating tolerance. She includes the examples of three minority languages, Catalan in Catalonia, Welsh in Wales and Maori in New Zealand. In the case of Catalonia, the attitude of immigrants from other parts of Spain to Catalan in the 1980s diverged from that of native Catalan speakers. The former rejected Catalan being imposed on them when it was established as a compulsory language in some situations as “they did not want to face discrimination on linguistic grounds” (ibid: 467). Catalan native speakers wanted to appear tolerant towards the immigrant population and, for instance, switched from Catalan to Spanish when faced with a Spanish speaker to avoid seeming rude.

In recent years, the Catalan government has adopted a more proactive approach to changing the linguistic attitudes and ideologies of both native and non-native Catalan speakers and fostering the use of Catalan as a tool for social cohesion. The 2010 report *Informe de Política Lingüística* (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2010) on language policy recognised a context of increasing linguistic diversity mainly due to the immigration fluxes from foreign countries over the last 15 years and considered that Catalan could be a “bridge language”, a “meeting point”, and an “entrance” to Catalan society, and could favour equal opportunities (ibid: 125). The document presented Catalan as the common language in Catalonia and the language of social cohesion for two reasons: it is the autochthonous language (*llengua pròpia*) and it is Catalonia’s particular contribution to the linguistic and cultural diversity in the world:

“Davant d’un context de diversitat lingüística creixent, es fa necessària una llengua pont, un punt de trobada, una porta d’entrada a la catalanitat, que permeti a totes les persones que vivim a Catalunya comunicar-nos i afavorir la igualtat d’oportunitats. A Catalunya aquesta llengua comuna és la llengua catalana, que és la llengua pròpia del país, i és la nostra aportació singular a la diversitat cultural del món.” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2010: 125)

Although there had been several campaigns to promote the use of Catalan (Generalitat de Catalunya, 1982; 1985, 2003, 2005), none had been aimed at the foreign population. In order to achieve the goal of making Catalan a language of social cohesion, in 2009 the Generalitat de Catalunya started a campaign to promote its use as a language of communication between people from different origins and in situations where the switch into a majority language was made unnecessarily (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009). Unnecessary code-switching refers to, for instance, the systematic use of Spanish with foreigners without considering that they may

be competent in Catalan (e.g. Block, 2007). The campaign *Encomana el català* ('Spread Catalan', my translation) consisted of a television advertisement inspired in musical cinema where easily identifiable immigrant and local people spoke Catalan in ordinary public language domains. The campaign invited Catalan native speakers to get involved in the task of spreading Catalan through their everyday interactions. The aim was to raise awareness among Catalan native speakers to initiate conversations in Catalan and among the foreigners of the large number opportunities that daily life offered them to practice Catalan.

This section has reviewed relevant studies in the field of institutional LP that show how these policies are used not only to manage linguistic diversity within multilingual contexts but also to reverse the language shift in minority language contexts. One of the most effective resources of states for planning language use is through educational institutions because the instruction of a language affects its acquisition and increases or decreases the number of its speakers. The following section presents different models of bi/multilingual education and their aims.

2.2. Models of bi/multilingual education

This section deals with language-in-education policies in multilingual settings. Section 2.2.1 presents traditional models of bi/multilingual education. Section 2.2.2 deals with heteroglossic and monoglossic models. Section 2.2.3 presents a discussion of immersion education, which is the model applied in Catalonia. Finally, section 2.2.4 introduces linguistic distance between the languages included in the model of multilingual education as an issue that needs to be considered. In connection with the present research project, we need to understand that applying a specific model responds to a specific attitude towards the languages in the sociolinguistic context an institution is embedded in.

Educational institutions promote bi/multilingualism by applying models for bilingual and multilingual education. These models are actually examples of language policies in educational settings at a micro level (García, 2009) (see above, section 2.1). From the perspective of the students, the teaching task could be organised into two groups of programmes: (1) those aimed at developing the students' mother tongue or heritage language in a situation of migration; and (2) those aimed at achieving competence in a foreign language. This section first presents the traditional models of bilingual and multilingual education following two fundamental authors: Nancy Hornberger and Collin Baker. Second, this section also reviews Ofelia García's work on bilingual education, as one of the

outstanding contemporary authors in this field. Although these authors work on models designed for bilingual students and the students in our research are competent in more than two languages, for the purpose of this research, bilingualism is considered as a form of multilingualism with two or more languages compounding the students' linguistic repertoire. The third part of this section focuses on language immersion programmes, because this has been the traditional model in Catalonia since the late 1970s and the process of political devolution. Finally, the fourth subsection presents multilingual models in higher education, focusing mainly on the work of Jasone Cenoz (2009) and Inmaculada Fortanet-Gómez (2013).

2.2.1. Traditional models of bilingual education

This section reviews the traditional models of bilingual education which emerged at the beginning of the 1990s thanks to the work of researchers like Nancy Hornberger and Colin Baker. Hornberger's (1991) was one of the first attempts to propose an initial typology of bi/multilingual education models. Her typology distinguished three models, transitional, maintenance and enrichment, and the adoption of one model or another depended on the aims pursued by the institution. These aims are connected to the language, culture and social outcomes that the institution expects to achieve. The following table synthetizes the three types of model and the three goals that they pursue:

Table 2.1. Bilingual Education model types according to their goals (Hornberger, 1991: 222)

	Transitional Model	Maintenance Model	Enrichment Model
Linguistic Goal	Language shift	Language maintenance	Language development
Cultural Goal	Cultural assimilation	Strengthened cultural identity	Cultural pluralism
Social Goal	Social incorporation	Civil rights affirmation	Social autonomy

In general terms, the transitional model seems to be more oriented towards the assimilation of the student, the maintenance model appears more respectful with his/her mother tongue and cultural identity, and the enrichment model can be seen as a tool to promote diversity. This classification emphasises the cultural, linguistic and social goals of the programmes, and for this reason, one could argue that it is a product-oriented model.

Baker (2011), as shown below, includes Hornberger's 'cultural' aim within 'societal' and 'educational' aims, and contemplates two extra variables, with which he refers to two contextual factors: the status of the language from the perspective of the child, and the sociolinguistic situation of the vehicular language at school. Baker's famous work *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* has developed over two decades through five different editions (1993, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011). Although the present study

will refer to the latest edition of this book, it is important to bear in mind that it has been a reference work since the beginning of the 1990s. Baker (2011) considers that ‘bilingual education’ is an umbrella term that is ambiguous and opaque, and that it can be understood in two different ways: one that fosters bilingualism by promoting two languages, and another that consists basically of introducing bilingual students into a monolingual educational setting. Similarly to Hornberger (1991), Baker distinguishes between ‘transitional’ and ‘maintenance’ types of bilingual education. The transitional types have the ultimate aim of assimilating the children’s minority language and transforming them into speakers of the majority language, i.e. monolingual speakers. The maintenance type tries to maintain and even continue developing the child’s minority language together with its own culture and identity.

Baker’s typology of bilingual programs includes ten models for bilingual education organised into three main blocks (Baker, 2011): (1) monolingual forms of education for bilinguals, namely, submersion, submersion with support, and segregationist; (2) weak forms of bilingual education for bilinguals, namely transitional, mainstream with foreign language teaching, separatist; and (3) strong forms of bilingual education for bilingualism and biliteracy, namely immersion, maintenance of the heritage language, dual language in which one is majority and the other minority, and mainstream bilingual. The three groups constitute a continuum of bilingualism that ranges from less bilingual (full monolingual immersion, also known as ‘sink-or-swim’) through transitional programmes (those in which children receive help to adapt to the mainstream-classroom language) and finally, to monolingual immersion programmes in the foreign language, which would correspond to the strong forms of bilingual education.

According to Baker (2011) and Edwards (2009), all programmes are potentially effective, but their adequacy and success depend on the combination of four variables: (1) the situation of the student’s language(s), i.e. whether s/he is a minority or a majority language speaker or mixed; (2) the sociolinguistic situation of the language of the classroom, i.e. whether it is the majority language, the minority language or both (with an emphasis on the minority or majority language); (3) the societal and educational aims, i.e. whether it is assimilation, apartheid, enrichment, detachment, pluralism, maintenance, biliteracy; and (4) the expected outcome, i.e. whether it is bilingualism, monolingualism, or biliteracy. In order to choose an adequate model, language planners need to take all these variables into account.

None of the four variables, which seem to predict the adequacy of a model for bilingual education, include the teachers' ability or attitude to adapt to the model and his/her students. Teachers have the ultimate responsibility of applying these abstract models to the everyday learning of the children and their limitations should also be considered. In fact, the 'teacher' factor is recognised by Baker (2011) as an intrinsic limitation of the models together with seven others: (1) models are bilingual while schools and classrooms are dynamic; (2) each model includes wide variations; (3) models are thought of in terms of input and output, but do not consider the learning process within the classroom; (4) models do not explain their relative effectiveness; (5) models tend to be simple while the individuals which are submitted to them are complex; (6) the models depend on the context and cannot be extrapolated to another context without studying its condition; (7) the models are mainly from western countries and exported to the rest of the world without incorporating the traditions of the countries in the rest of the world; and (8) policymakers, administrators and teachers do not typically talk in terms of models of bilingual education. The present thesis studies the 'teacher' factor as one more variable that affects the success of an immersion program, such as the study-abroad programme.

After reviewing two fundamental authors of bilingual education models, the following section presents another fundamental author, Ofelia García, who has made significant contributions to the field over the last few years.

2.2.2. Heteroglossic and monoglossic varieties of language-in-education policies

One of the most recent contributions to the field of bilingual and multilingual education models incorporates a new theoretical variable: the stance towards multilingualism projected by the model adopted (García, 2009). Basically, this author distinguishes between monoglossic and heteroglossic theoretical frameworks of bilingual education. The monoglossic frameworks respond to "monoglossic beliefs" and assume that "legitimate linguistic practices are only those enacted by monolinguals" (ibid: 115). This perspective is, according to García, the remains of the 20th century, a period when multilingualism included diglossia as a theoretical notion to make it function and monolingualism as the norm. In other words, a multilingual individual is the same as two monolinguals in one mind. This is a static and separated type of multilingualism that has two variants: the subtractive and the additive. The first one, which García represents with the formula $L1 + L2 - L1 \rightarrow L2$, pushes the student to shift to the majority language and abandon his own language through the introduction of the majority language at school. In this variant, linguistic diversity appears as

a handicap and the aim is the cultural and linguistic assimilation that will lead to monolingualism and monoculturalism. This is the equivalent of Baker and Hornberger's transitional model, which we have seen in section 2.2.1.

The additive variant of bilingualism, which is synthesized in the formula $L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$, supports that the two languages are maintained but separated by functions, and promotes diglossia. Although this framework develops bilingualism and appears to be positive about it, it is relegated to linguistic minorities, whereas majority language speakers remain monolingual. This is comparable to the maintenance and enrichment programmes we have seen in section 2.2.1.

The heteroglossic theoretical frameworks are, according to García, an evolution of the multilingual ecology in the 21st century. In the age of globalisation, the interconnection between countries places multilingualism at an advantageous position since it is a necessary resource "for global understanding" (ibid: 117). Today bilingual and multilingual education tends to perceive multilingualism as a more complex phenomenon in which languages are dynamic, co-operational, and have interrelated formal features. For this reason, the concept of diglossia has entered a critical condition. According to García, bilingual programmes have had three sociolinguistic aims: (1) bilingual revitalisation for minority language groups that had suffered language loss; (2) bilingual development of the minority language of bilingual students in order to achieve academic proficiency in equal conditions with majority language students; and (3) linguistic interrelationships, i.e. conceiving languages not as competing between each other but as strategic resources that the multilingual speaker can employ to satisfy his/her functional needs. This last type of goal favours the joint education of students with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds in order to teach cultural respect and develop multilingual competence through the students' linguistic diversity (García, 2009).

Besides the subtractive and additive variants, García (2009) proposes two further frameworks for bilingual education, the recursive and the dynamic frameworks, both of which are based on a heteroglossic ideology, which recognises the multiplicity of languages and rhetorical forms that make up linguistic interaction. The recursive framework conceives bilingualism as a complex phenomenon (even if the linguistic repertoire is the same for all the students inside the classroom) because the children and their families find themselves at different stages of their linguistic development due to personal circumstances. The recursive bilingual framework promotes tolerance and acceptance of the students' bilingual repertoires and biculturalism as the groups develop understanding of their own histories and the cultures they

are in contact with. As a result, García argues, the language practices inside the classroom are examples of linguistic hybridity and bilingualism is not the goal but the core of this framework. This means that although bilingualism exists prior to the application of a model, educational models are still needed to enable the development of students' bilingual practices.

The second theoretical variant that projects a heteroglossic ideology is based on the idea that bilingualism is dynamic. This framework is inclusive of all the linguistic resources, including multimodality, of multilingual speakers and García (2009: 118) compares it to an “all-terrain vehicle”. Plurilingualism is not the end of the programme but its engine. This framework allows for the coexistence of different languages in one communicative practice, sees all the students as a whole, and considers bilingualism as a resource. It also promotes transcultural identities, i.e. identities that link different cultural experiences and contexts producing “a new hybrid cultural experience” (ibid: 119). This framework includes the following models: the immersion revitalisation (such as the one applied in Canada), the developmental, the polydirectional (or bilingual immersion), CLIL and the multiple multilingual education.

García (2009: 122) adopts a critical stance towards the meanings that are implied when talking about language diversity. The meaning of linguistic diversity can vary dramatically depending on the type of children who experience this diversity in the first person. She argues that bilingualism is perceived differently depending on the goals of the programme: (1) as a problem, when it educates “powerless language minority children in isolation”; (2) as a privilege and enrichment for social and economic promotion “when educating the elite”; (3) as a right when the children are from a minority language social group, which has gained power, rights and therefore agency; and (4) as a resource when majority and minority language children are educated together or when all students in the same territory are educated bilingually.

To sum up, Table 2.2 offers a schematic representation of the models of bilingual education that appear in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.

Table 2.2. Models of bi/multilingual education (Hornberger, 1991; Baker, 2011; García, 2009)

	Hornberger (1991)	Baker (2011)	García (2009)
Models that lead to monolingualism	Transitional model	Transitional model; submersion; submersion with support; and segregationist	Subtractive model: transitional type
Models that lead to separate bilingualism or two monolingualisms		Mainstream with foreign language teaching; separatist	Additive model: maintenance, prestigious and immersion types
Models that tolerate	Maintenance model	immersion; maintenance of	Recursive bilingual model:

and promote bilingualism and biculturalism	Enrichment Model	the heritage language; dual language in which one is majority and the other minority; mainstream bilingual	heritage language immersion; developmental
Dynamic bilingual models that include multimodality and foster hybrid identities			Dynamic models: polydirectional (or bilingual immersion) type, CLIL and CLIL-type, multiple multilingual type

The heteroglossic and monoglossic models for bi/multilingual education are related to the heteroglossic and monoglossic approaches to second and foreign language education, which are reviewed in section 3.2.1. The application of a monoglossic model or approach for second and foreign language acquisition often responds to a political agenda and has little to do with favouring the linguistic competence of bi/multilingual students. The following section presents immersion education as a monoglossic model whose suitability depends not only on the situation of the languages of the sociolinguistic context (whether minority or majority language) but also on the characteristics of the students who participate in it.

2.2.3. Immersion education: sink or swim

The model of bilingual education that Baker places on the extreme of strong bilingualism is ‘immersion’ education. Immersion education can be developed in two different situations. The first one is a school in which majority language speakers are exposed to a second language as the language of instruction for academic subjects. This is, for instance, the case of schools that aim at creating elite bilinguals’ (Edwards, 2009) such as the Institute Française in Barcelona, where teaching is in French but courses in Catalan and Spanish are also held, or the CLIL bilingual education programmes in Europe, which resort to using the students’ foreign language to teach different academic subjects. The second kind of immersion education is aimed at developing a bilingual society in a context where a majority and minority language coexist. This programme dips students in the pool of the minority language to reverse the language shift to a majority language. Examples of this second kind of immersion programmes can be found in Canada to foster English-French bilingualism, the Basque Country to foster Basque-Spanish bilingualism, Finland to encourage Swedish-Finish bilingualism or Catalonia for Spanish-Catalan bilingualism (De Mejía, 2012: 199).

From the perspective of the student, a programme does not need to be an immersion programme for his/her situation to turn into one of immersion. This is the case of immigrant students who are introduced into a new school system or Erasmus students in the host

university. Edwards (2009), drawing on Baker (2006), places special emphasis on models for bilingual education that put children into a mainstream classroom where the teaching language is one the student is not competent in. This is the monolingual form of bilingual education in Baker's terms. This strategy is known as 'sink or swim' and there are basically two options for the child exposed to it: 'not swimming, but drowning' (ibid: 252) or 'not drowning but swimming?' (ibid: 256). The first option owes its name to the fact that it leaves all the responsibility to adapt to the child and the way in which the school functions is never changed, even if the school context is under constant change. In Baker's terms, this corresponds to the first group of 'monolingual' models. This 'monolingual' measure in schools is, according to Edwards, more political than pedagogical. Many politicians (in his study, the case is of American politicians) use this measure as a unifying tool that aims at instilling the students with the notion of the 'nation' in which more than one language disintegrates the country socially. The measure weakens the students' heritage languages in order to erase any signs of inherited identity.

The 'not drowning but swimming?' situation for a child includes seven possible educational contexts, which would correspond to Baker's weak and strong forms of bilingual education for bilinguals. In this regard, Edwards emphasizes the difference between submersion or, in Edwards' terms, the 'not swimming, but drowning' and immersion education. The difference between immersion and submersion is that, whereas in the former, the child is "dipped into a new linguistic pool" but comes up to the surface again, in the latter the child is "drowned and lost" (2009: 258). In submersion education the goal of developing bilingualism is not accomplished as students fail to learn the target language and it also affects their academic success. The same model can become immersion for some students and one of submersion for others depending on such aspects as the linguistic distance between the students' mother tongue and the teaching language at school (section 2.2.4).

The immersion model is the one that has been used by the Catalan educational system since the 1980s and its main beneficiaries have been the children of immigrant families who came to Catalonia between 1950 and 1975 to work. In 1983, a few years after the end of the dictatorship and thanks to the process of political devolution, Catalonia passed the law for language normalisation (Generalitat de Catalunya, 1983). The law had four aims: (1) to protect and promote Catalan and reverse the language shift into Spanish, the state's majority language; (2) to make the use of Catalan effective for all citizens of Catalonia; (3) to normalise the use of Catalan in all social means of communication; and (4) to ensure the

continuity of Catalan. In primary and secondary education, this has been achieved through the implementation of an immersion programme in Catalan inspired by the Canadian model (Vila 1995; Huguet, 2007; Arnau and Vila, 2013). This model is not intended to shift to Catalan monolingualism but to promote its use at all levels of society. The ultimate aim is to place Catalan alongside Spanish and ensure that all children are proficient in both languages at the end of their education (Llurda *et al.*, 2013). The model was based on the belief that it would be the most effective one for Spanish speakers. However, since the beginning of the 21st century, the school system in Catalonia has received a large number of newly arrived immigrant students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds whose families were attracted by the general economic growth of Spain. Compared to the earlier wave of Spanish immigration, this second wave is different for two reasons: (1) the linguistic and cultural profile of the new students is heterogeneous, and (2) teachers cannot understand their mother tongue and, therefore, children cannot use it to express themselves. In this light, reception classrooms were set up within schools to help newly-arrived students to learn Catalan and, as in a transitional programme, the students would attend the mainstream classes in which input was facilitated by the non-verbal nature of the subject, such as PE, music or art (Arnau and Vila, 2013). The success of students at learning Catalan depends to a large extent on the sociolinguistic environment, the social networks of the learners, and also their attitude towards Catalan, which may be affected by the integration process carried out by the school.

The following section presents the linguistic distance between the mother tongue of the students and the teaching language as an element that can contribute to the success or failure of an immersion programme. The linguistic distance appears in the analysis of the data as the factor that creates differences between the international students on the Catalan language course. Those students whose mother tongue is not an Indo-European language consider that they are at a disadvantage compared to the students whose mother tongue is a Romance language. The first type of students claims that whereas a monoglossic pedagogy works for students who speak a Romance language, they need a heteroglossic method that enables them to scaffold their learning by means of Spanish, a Romance language they already know. Hence, from the perspective of the students, the linguistic distance factor is crucial for choosing the best teaching practice in the Catalan language classroom.

2.2.4. The linguistic distance factor

The linguistic distance between the official languages of a specific educational institution and those languages that compound the linguistic repertoire of the students also needs to be

considered. Cenoz (2001) argues that when students learn a foreign language, they transfer terms from other languages they know and borrow more terms from languages that are typologically closer to the target language. Cenoz (ibid) includes the example of native speakers of non-Indo-European languages, who tend to transfer vocabulary and structures from other Indo-European languages they know rather than from their mother tongue. This fact is related with the notion of the multi-competence (Cook, 1995) presented in chapter 3.2.1, which rejects the idea that foreign language learners just add another language to their repertoire of languages. Rather, it considers that multilingual speakers have a metalinguistic awareness that monolinguals do not and this interferes with their process of acquiring an additional language.

Cenoz (2009) proposes a model for multilingual education based on continua. This model adds the typological distance between languages as a factor that affects the development of an additional language and an aspect of language learning that needs to be considered when choosing a model of multilingual education. The idea initially comes from the Basque context, since Basque is a pre-Indo-European language, genetically unrelated to Spanish and therefore the distance between Basque and Spanish is higher than that between the rest of the official languages in Spain, Catalan and Galician, as they are Romance languages and share a large number of basic linguistic features with Spanish (Lasagabaster *et al.*, 2013). A few years later, Cenoz and Gorter (2012) adapted Cenoz's (2009) model to the specific case of higher education institutions and this is the model that is reviewed in the following paragraphs.

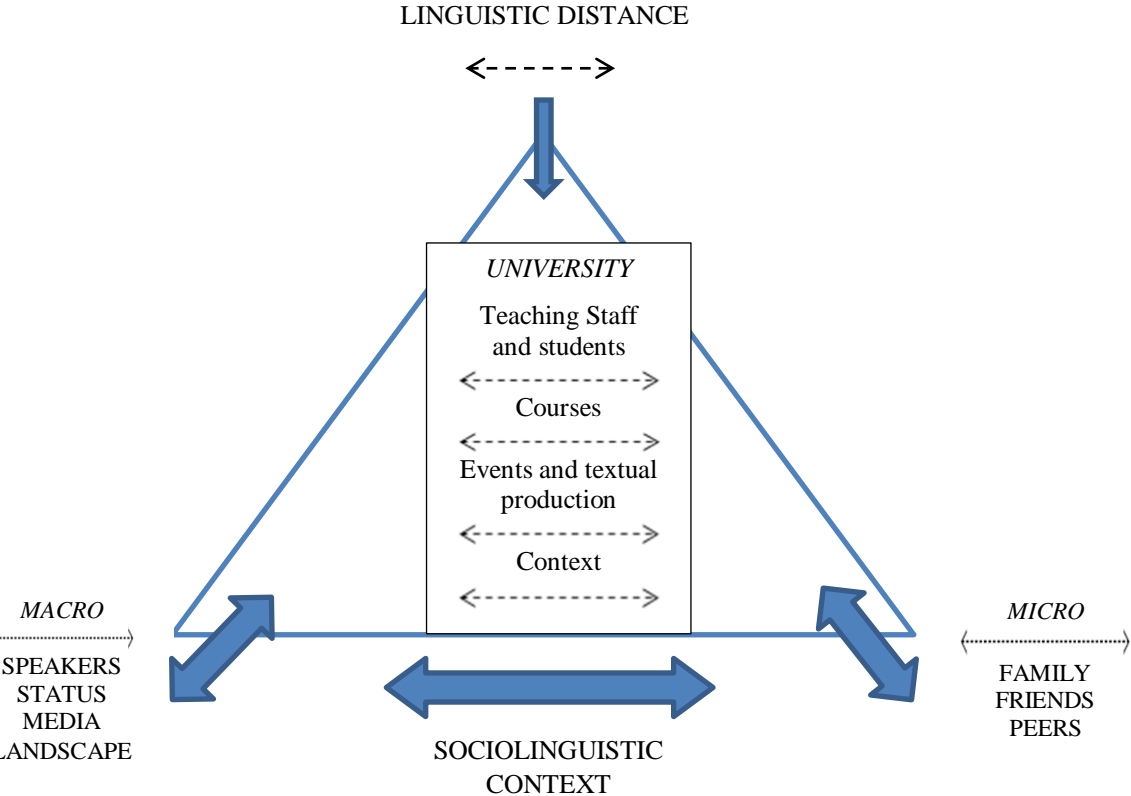
According to Cenoz and Gorter (2012), there are many reasons that justify considering continua. First, languages can present more or fewer similarities depending on whether they are from the same linguistic family or not. For instance, for someone who knows Dutch, learning German may be easier than for someone who speaks a Romance language. Second, the sociolinguistic context affects the multilingual nature of higher education because the university is part of the society where it is located, and there are usually differences between the status and use of the languages of the multilingual repertoire. Furthermore, the individuals inside the society may speak different languages as a result of migrations. The recognition of these languages in education, the media, institutions and the distribution of speakers of different languages indicates the degree of social multilingualism at a macro level. At the micro-level, i.e. the level of interpersonal relationships such as the family, friends and colleagues, multilingualism can also be different. A third factor that affects the multilingualism of an educational institution is the level of multilingualism of its

administrative and teaching staff and its students. There can be differences in the level of competence and the diversity of languages spoken. Also, the multilingualism of documents such as the webpage and the holding of academic activities, such as conferences, in different languages is another indicator of the sort and level of multilingualism in the university.

This is important for the context of research into higher education in Catalonia because through their mobility programmes universities receive foreign students whose mother tongue may be typologically distant from Catalan and Spanish. The linguistic distance may represent an obstacle for the learning of the official languages of the institution. One of the main focuses of analysis in this thesis is how students whose mother tongue is a non-Romance language try to incorporate Spanish as a bridge for learning Catalan (chapter 7). This is coherent with Cenoz’s (2009) and Cenoz and Gorter (2012) argument in connection with the necessity to holistically integrate students’ linguistic repertoires as a factor to choose the most convenient model of multilingual education.

All these elements can be integrated into the following continua of multilingualism at university (figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2. Continua of multilingualism at universities (Cenoz and Gorter, 2012: 145 adapted from Cenoz 2009: 35)



This model is conceptualised through a triangle that represents the space of higher education. The space is affected by two types of variables or continua, some acting outside and some inside the triangle. The continua acting outside the triangle include sociolinguistic and linguistic continua. The sociolinguistic continua provide information about the sociolinguistic context both at a macro and micro level, i.e. societal multilingualism and individual multilingualism respectively. The linguistic distance continuum refers to the etymological continuity between the languages of the society's multilingual repertoire. The second group of continua is located within the university and is made up of the specific situation of multilingualism inside the university, i.e. how it is managed and the multilingual practices, and includes the teaching staff, students, courses, events and textual productions and their context.

Linguistic distance appears at the top of the figure and recognises that the languages of communication at universities can range from more to less distant. If the linguistic distance is large, the development of a multilingual education programme may present more difficulties because the institution needs individuals who can work in all the languages and the greater the distance between the languages, the more difficult it is to learn them as a foreign language. Cenoz and Gorter (2012) include the example of the three bilingual regions in Spain: Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia. Whereas the University of the Basque Country offers the same course in the two official languages, in the other two cases it is not necessary because the intercomprehensibility between Spanish and Catalan or Spanish and Galician is possible. However, it is not possible between Spanish and Basque. In connection with the model, Cenoz and Gorter specify that the left end of the 'linguistic distance' continuum corresponds to greater linguistic distance and the right end of the continuum corresponds to less linguistic distance. For the rest of the continua, the micro and macro sociolinguistic contexts and the university, the left end corresponds to less multilingual and the right of the arrow corresponds to more multilingual. The universities in Catalonia and Galicia would be located towards the left of the linguistic distance continuum, while the universities in the Basque country would be located to the right of the Catalan and Galician universities because the linguistic distance between Basque and Spanish is higher than the linguistic distance between Catalan and Spanish.

Although this conceptualisation has been considered a useful tool for measuring multilingualism (Fortanet-Gómez, 2013), it does not propose a model that describes how multilingualism should be managed or what impact it may have at an institutional and

individual level. After this review of different models and approaches implementing and explaining multilingual education, the following section presents the types of language policies adopted by higher education institutions that compete to become more international. The role of languages for these institutions is important for two reasons. In first place, languages are the basic means through which teaching is done and hence international universities may try to implement multilingual policies in order to attract as many students as possible. The second reason is that language learning in study abroad contexts is extensively conducted through the students' exposure to the target language on the mainstream courses – provided that the teaching language coincides with the language that the students intend to learn.

2.3. Language-in-education policies at the international university

This section presents a review of language-in-education policies at universities that aim at increasing the degree of internationalisation of their teaching and research activities. The internationalisation of higher education (HE) has generated an increment of cross-cultural communication between students, academic and administrative staff, who come into contact through transnational academic mobility. This has increased the number and variety of languages within higher education contexts and, thus, has forced universities to abandon the monolingual or bilingual models, in which the languages of instruction were the local languages of the territory, and reconsider their language policies to manage the increasingly multilingual situation (Cots, 2008). Furthermore, students today need to be competent in more than one language in order to have better chances in an increasingly global job market. Lasagabaster (2012) considers that students, academic and administrative staff need to be linguistically prepared to ensure access to better research conditions, form part of communities that are increasingly multilingual and multicultural, and access to the most appealing academic destinations, since universities are increasingly more oriented towards the international market.

In general, in order to be more competitive in the global market of higher education, non-English speaking universities have adapted their language policies and increased the offer of courses in English. According to Risager (2012), universities have developed three main types of language policies along their internationalisation process: (1) a monolingual policy of using English almost exclusively, (2) a bilingual policy where English is used together with the national language and (3) a trilingual policy where English is used together with the national and regional languages. Risager (*ibid*) suggests that the current trend in internationalization

policies is to favour an almost exclusive use of English for communication, especially in MA and PhD programmes.

The common measure taken in the three types of language policy is the inclusion of *lingua francas* which allow communication between individuals from different linguistic backgrounds and, hence, their geographical and socio-economic mobility. Among these *lingua francas*, English stands out as the language of instruction *par excellence* (Fortanet-Gómez and Räisänen, 2008). Altbach *et al.* (2009: 7) consider that, in the 21st century, the rise of English as a dominant language is “unprecedented since Latin dominated the academy in Medieval Europe”. In non-English speaking universities in Europe, the establishment of the Erasmus mobility programme in 1987 has accelerated the mobility of students. In the academic year 2011-2012, the Erasmus mobility programme mobilised 252,827 students to study or train abroad, which represented a year-on-year increase of 9% (European Commission and Directorate-General for Education and Culture, 2013). This has led many universities in non-English speaking countries to adopt English as a language of instruction. The following section turns to this point.

2.3.1. The spread of English in international universities

According to Gardner (2012), three main factors have led to the spread of English as a medium of instruction (EMI). In the first place, English has become the language most used in scientific publications and this fact puts pressure on students to be able to read and write in English. The author acknowledges that much is lost in translation, especially in social sciences, but this practice is necessary to compare research done in different contexts and allows social theory to include all contexts. The second factor is that English favours the mobility of students and university staff across countries. This is what leads Gardner to state that English has become the natural *lingua franca* in most international programmes around the globe. The third factor is that students who have been brought up learning English at school expect to continue their education in English at a higher level, which Gardner defines as the “self-perpetuating nature of global English” (ibid: 257). Because of the massive spread of English, the notion of ELF has turned to be quite controversial, basically because of the potential confusion with EFL (English as a Foreign Language) (Jenkins, 2014). ELF is the natural evolution of two types of language use: the use of English as a standard language; and (2) the use of English by bi/multilingual speakers who innovate thanks to their multilingual resources (e.g. Kalocsai, 2009). This questions the traditional idea of the native *vs.* non-native

speaker issue (Moussu and Llorca, 2008), which is maintained in EFL because native English speakers need to develop plurilingual communication skills to be considered ELF users.

According to Fortanet-Gómez (2013), multilingual education at universities is conditioned by three types of factor: socio-political and economic, individual and pedagogical. The first refers to the history of the territory surrounding the educational institution. The second factor considers the learner's personal circumstances that may obstruct their success. These include the family's socioeconomic status, their capacity to learn, age or level of multilingual competence in the languages before entering university. The pedagogical factors are related to the way languages are taught and learned, including the number of opportunities to be exposed to the languages or the type of programme (e.g. immersion, content-language integrated learning - CLIL, foreign language as a subject, etc.).

However, the three factors are difficult to control if we consider the situation of universities as institutions nowadays. First, any educational institution, whether at primary, secondary or tertiary level, is subject to these three factors and this does not seem to be specific to universities. Second, the socio-political and economic factors should also include the sociolinguistic component, so that it can better explain why some specific languages make up the multilingual repertoire of the institution. Third, the institution is more aware and has more control over some factors than others. For instance, although the university is at all times aware of its socio-political (and sociolinguistic) context, it has little control over its development. Although at first sight, the university may have control of the individual factor through teaching and language policies that make the academic staff adopt a specific teaching methodology, it is necessary to take into account that individual linguistic rights also exist and that lecturers may not be able or willing to fulfil the requirements of the institution. To sum up, these factors condition the multilingualism of university and the institution's power to tackle them is limited.

The spread of English as the *lingua franca* in international universities has led to the application of the model content-language integrated learning (CLIL) for multilingual education and the use of English as a language of instruction. CLIL is an approach to bilingual education that aims to integrate foreign language teaching into the learning of other academic subjects (Gardner, 2012). The specificity of CLIL, compared to other traditional bilingual models, is that it is developed in foreign language contexts, i.e. in territories where the L2 is not an official language. In the case of international universities, the spread of English as a *lingua franca* has led to its introduction as a language of instruction in many

universities worldwide. Gardner (ibid) recognises three key factors related to the globalisation of English that encourage the adoption of CLIL as a pedagogy for foreign language education. First, it is expected that CLIL will give better results than the traditional L2 class at producing fluent speakers of English who are able to access the latest scientific developments and participate in transnational business. Second, whereas the main goal of the traditional L2 class is to acquire native-speaker competence, CLIL puts language at the level of a means for communication, showing the reality of ELF and contributing to its development as a legitimated linguistic variant. Finally, every day more students are in contact with English outside the school context, and CLIL is an attractive way for students and teachers to integrate all sources of knowledge. The main handicap for the implementation of CLIL is that teachers need to be proficient in English and dedicate time and effort.

The following subsection section deals with how universities located in bilingual contexts introduce English as an official language of instruction to become more international and the tensions this may produce in contexts with language revitalisation campaigns, as is the case of Catalonia.

2.3.2. Multilingual universities in bilingual contexts

In universities located in contexts with a minority language, the introduction of English as a language of instruction can be controversial because the attempt to make the promotion of the local language(s) compatible with the introduction of English as a *lingua franca* may seem contradictory and/or require an important economic investment (Cots *et al.*, 2012). In these contexts, there tends to be an existing language policy which aims at protecting and promoting the minority language (see for instance, Balfour, 2007 for Wales and South Africa; Fortanet-Gómez, 2013 for the Valencian Community in Spain; Lindström, 2012 for Finland; Cots, 2013 for Catalonia; Doiz *et al.*, 2014 for the Basque Country; Bulajeva and Hogan-Brun, 2014 for Lithuania; Ljosland, 2014 for Norway). The existence of these language policies may facilitate the development of minority languages but also obstruct the introduction of English as an official language of instruction. Thus, in Scandinavian countries, the increase of English as a medium of instruction at universities has raised awareness about the possibility of ‘domain loss’ (Haberland and Lønsmann, 2013), a concept that refers to the abandonment of the local language in a particular area of society and its replacement by English. As a response, Scandinavian countries have introduced ‘parallel language use’ (Kuteeva, 2011) to promote balanced and natural bilingualism in higher education.

The internationalisation of higher education has had an impact on how universities develop their language policies. In Spain, only those universities situated in bilingual areas have developed official multilingual language policies to introduce English as a third language of instruction to foster international mobility (Fortanet-Gómez, 2013). In the process of reversing the language shift to Spanish, universities in Catalonia have become active agents by recognising the minority language in their language policy and adopting it as the preferred language of communication across the curriculum and at different degrees of the institutional practices. The language policies at the UdL aim at reconciling multilingualism with the promotion of the minority language and with this target, the white paper recognise Spanish, English and Catalan as the three languages of the institution's official repertoire while it defines Catalan as the 'preferential' language of communication (UdL, 2008) and the 'own language' (*llengua pròpia*) of the institution (UdL, 2008). According to Woolard (2008), the term 'own language' manifests a discourse of authenticity, which, in the case of Catalonia, has been a key element for its survival. Within this policy, Spanish and English are the 'marked' language choices which index situations with participants from different linguistic backgrounds.

The language policies of universities located in territories with a minority language have been little researched (Lasagabaster *et al.*, 2013). The reason may be that the majority of leading international universities are located in Anglophone countries where language has played a very minor role in their internationalisation policies. In fact, 8 out of the ten top universities worldwide have English as the main language of instruction (5 British institutions, 1 Swiss, 1 Danish and 1 Dutch) (Horta, 2009). As further evidence of the scarce research on higher education language policies, Cots and Gallego-Balsà (2013) show the fact that the language issue only appears as one aspect of the curricular reform that Wächter (2008) associates with the internationalisation of higher education in Europe. The six clusters of phenomena involved in the reform are the following: mobility; recognition of degrees, qualifications, study periods, etc.; curricular reform; transnational/cross-border provision; marketing and promotion; adopting the agenda of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). Moreover, the lack of any explicit guidelines from the EHEA about implementing language policies in international universities has resulted simply with English being adopted as a medium of instruction.

This may open a debate that reveals questions about equity and quality within higher education at the national and individual levels (Hughes, 2008). At the national level, non-

English speaking countries may be at a disadvantage to attract students and compete against institutions in Anglophone countries because the skewing of the market by language affects the capacity of intellectual property and the state's financial health. At an individual level, the academic excellence of students may be harmed by their competence in a foreign language and in academic culture. For this reason, Hughes (ibid) calls for a robust language policy that prepares students and continues supporting them after their time at university. The absence of such a policy will negatively affect the quality of teaching and the global brand of the institution because its students are not competitive in the global job market due to their low competence in a foreign language.

Creating robust language policies has led to tensions in contexts with a minority language because its speakers may see their identity threatened by the dominance of those *lingua francas* and demand their right to use their own language (Cots, 2008). The language policies in Catalonia, which had traditionally supported the revitalisation of the minority language, must consider now the introduction of English as a medium of instruction, which adds a new variable to the traditional effort to protect and promote Catalan. In fact, Nussbaum (2005) states that academic mobility programmes (as well as other types of mobility, such as migration fluxes, intra- or international tourism) have contributed to the minorization of Catalan compared with Spanish and English, two of the world's most widely spoken languages, in different settings and many aspects of daily life, including universities.

The following paragraphs review research conducted within a project (Cots *et al.*, 2008) that focuses on the ambiguities and tensions between internationalisation and language policies in three universities located in the bilingual territories of the Basque Country and Catalonia in Spain, and Wales in the United Kingdom. The three territories are engaged with reversing the language shift to the majority language (Spanish and English respectively). The project combines the analysis of the language policies with the language attitudes of international and home students. One of the findings of this project (Cots *et al.*, 2013) is that international students at the UdL prefer Spanish (in first place) and English (in second place) as *lingua francas*, and for them, the role of Catalan should be relegated to official documents. When international students arrive at the UdL, they find that Catalan is not just a language for general communication between locals, as many of them expected, but it is also the most common medium of instruction, a fact that international students tend to see as incongruent with the status as an international university (ibid). Their disappointment with the high presence of Catalan and their feeling of rejection of this situation only decreases after some

time, when students start understanding the local environment. International students believe that the minority language will not be as useful as other languages, which signals that they may conceive their stay as an 'investment' for their future professional and socio-economic situation. The local community, however, may see international students' demand for languages of greater symbolic value (namely Spanish and English) as a threat to the survival of Catalan as the unmarked language of instruction.

Within the same project, Llurda *et al.* (2013) show that the high presence of Catalan as a language of instruction and the lack of competence in English among the local lecturers surprises international students. This situation forces them to cope with Catalan although they would rather avoid it. International students clearly reject Catalan as a language of communication and they choose either English or Spanish. In fact, they express that they would like to have more opportunities to use Spanish since learning Spanish is one of the reasons for choosing a university located in Spain. In the meantime, local students at the UdL appear to be more optimistic about the role of Catalan because international students may become new speakers of Catalan. Local students at the UdL also consider that international students do not make an attempt to integrate and start new relationships by taking the initiative in approaching the locals.

If we consider the sociolinguistic situation of the UdL from the perspective of international students as representative of other universities in Catalonia, we can conclude that the language policies in the specific case of Catalan universities have two basic challenges: (1) they require international students to know Catalan because the majority of mainstream courses are taught in the local language and (2) local students need to improve their competence in English in order for it to be effectively introduced as a medium of instruction, which would thus allow the institution to become more competitive in the global higher-education market. The high presence of the local language in instruction may affect the number of international students who choose the UdL as a host destination. Furthermore, the low level of English among the local students can also have an impact on the degree of internationalisation of the institution. In this context, language accommodation between the institution and the international can take place neither in Catalan, because the students do not know it, nor in English because a large percentage of the local student body is not competent in that language.

Under neoliberal conditions, the international language marketplace encourages strong languages to survive and eclipses others, as is the case of Catalan, a minority language in

comparison with English or Spanish (Block *et al.*, 2012; Nussbaum, 2005). In this line, Llurda (2013), like Hughes (2008), claims that robust language policies in bilingual regions with a minority language are necessary to open up space for a third language and foster trilingualism, at the same time that the policies ensure the stability of the minority language. In the case of the UdL, Llurda compares the situation to a physics problem in which two vectors (one for Catalan and one for English) are pushing in two perpendicular directions. The two vectors represent the local and international forces. The local vector is a consequence of a historical effort to reverse the language shift in Catalonia. The international vector develops from the recent movement to introduce English as a teaching language in universities as part of their internationalisation strategy. In the context of the UdL, Catalan is the strongest local language whereas English is the strongest international language. However, while each language is rather weak in one of the two vectors, Spanish is fairly strong in both because it is the most commonly shared *lingua franca* between the local and international communities. Given this situation, the result is neither the maintenance of both vectors nor one of the two vectors, but a third vector located in the middle between the two previous ones at a 45° angle from the first one and which in the case of the UdL would be occupied by Spanish (see figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3. The pulling forces of trilingual HE institutions (adapted from Llurda, 2013)

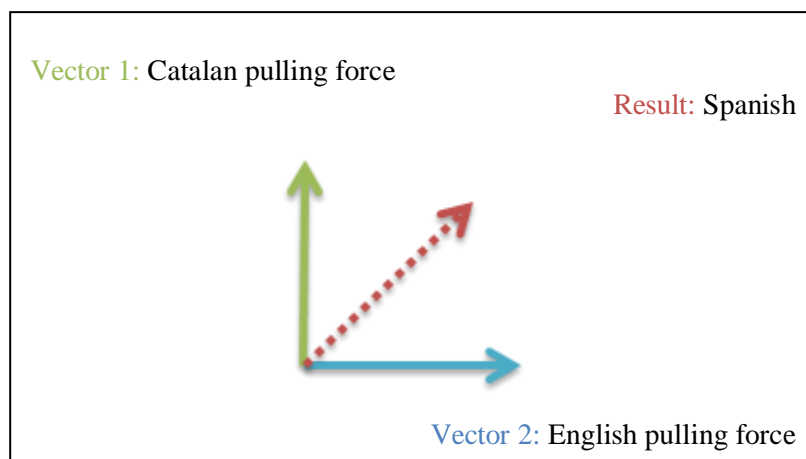


Figure 2.3 shows that, in the absence of policies, the forces pushing for Catalan and English may result in an accommodation to Spanish provided that from the UdL there is a predisposition to internationalise the institution and from the international students, a predisposition to accommodate to the local environment, since the UdL is not completely international. In fact, the strongest *lingua franca* at the UdL is Spanish because it is the language most commonly shared between the local and the international communities: on one hand, the local community is born into a Catalan/Spanish bilingual environment and, hence, is

perfectly competent in Spanish. On the other hand, at the international level, Spanish is one of the three most widely-spoken languages worldwide. For this reason, top-down language policies that enforce the presence and effective use of English and Catalan are fundamental to achieving a trilingual institution. Otherwise, the result would be the third vector, i.e. a Spanish monolingual institution.

After reporting research conducted within the context of the UdL, we look at what other research has found outside the context of the UdL. Although some voices, such as Tarrach (2010), former rector of the University of Luxembourg, consider that managing an institution with more than three languages is very complex, in the practice inside the class, the multilingual repertoires of students emerge in their daily interactions and especially in the teaching and learning activities. Nussbaum (2013) suggests that multilingual policies work at universities on the basis of ‘one language at a time’, which means that each speech event has to be developed monolingually. However, in the classroom, language use is much more complex because individuals follow an implicit rule of ‘all languages at a time’ and include other multimodal resources, such as gesture, gaze, body position and audio-visual material, with the sole aim of constructing knowledge and social relations. The same dissonance between policies and practices is found at the UdL. The principle of language safety encourages languages to be kept separate in class (‘one language at a time’). However, the analysis of a focus group discussion conducted with teaching staff reveals that heteroglossic multilingualism could constitute an alternative to the multilingualism promoted by the UdL (Llurda *et al.*, 2013). This fact confirms García’s (2009: 114) position that models are “artificial constructs that are divorced from the day-to-day reality of the school language use, and the teaching and learning of an additional language”.

To conclude this section, I would like to note that in higher education, the international student body is a highly heterogeneous group with different socio-economic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds and, most importantly, different learning needs. This is the reason why in the endeavour of learning a foreign language in a study abroad context, the same teaching methodology may not be equally effective for all students because elements such as the students’ experience as language learners or the linguistic distance between the languages that make up their individual linguistic repertoires and the language they are learning may affect the learning process (Kingtoner, 2009; Cenoz, 2009; Fortanet-Gómez, 2013). Multilingualism can be managed and exploited in the foreign-language classroom with the ultimate aim of helping learners and their teachers to achieve their goal of learning/teaching a foreign

language in a way that is most suitable for everybody. The next section focuses on the proliferation of terminology that has been developed in the recent years to refer to the multiple uses of languages and which clarifies the sense in which the terms are used in the analysis of the data.

2.4. Perspectives on multiple language use

This section presents a review of the terminology that appears in contemporary research to refer to the multiple language use. This is important because every term indicates a different understanding of multilingualism and the languages that make up multilingual repertoires and also to understand the perspective adopted in this research project.

Traditionally, people who speak more than one language are referred to as bilingual or multilingual (two, or more than two languages, respectively). The same happens with institutions, territories or societies where there is a presence of more than one language or variety. In the case of the UdL, the institution refers to itself as a multilingual university in its language policies because it recognises three languages as official languages of communication: Catalan, Spanish and English.

However, over recent years, the term ‘multilingual(-ism)’ has been criticized because it has become less useful for reflecting the linguistic diversity of today’s societies (Vertovec, 2010). Whereas a traditional multilingual perspective considers languages as separate and separable sets of linguistic features that can be counted and distinguished from each other, in the age of globalisation, languages are no longer conceived as closed and bounded systems, because they inevitably enter a new and fluid contact-zone when they accompany their users to their new host lands (Preisler *et al.*, 2005).

This rigidness in connection with how languages are, or should be, used is considered ideologically and politically motivated. Jørgensen (2010) states that the ‘monolingualism norms’ prescribe linguistic behaviour by transmitting the ideal that languages should be used in isolation to preserve their purity. In this regard, Blommaert (2010) claims that languages are intrinsically heterogeneous because they are semiotic resources that involve different registers, styles and practices and, therefore, the author encourages abandoning the view of languages as independent monolithic blocks.

Whereas the multilingual perspective highlights the number of codes in which people are competent (i.e. an additive perspective), nowadays the shift is towards an emphasis on how

language users may integrate features of languages that can be associated with many different languages, in which they may not be fully competent (Rampton, 1995, 2011; Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010; Jørgensen *et al.*, 2011). This ‘integrative’ strategy represents contemporary individuals’ experience and indexes the super diverse realities in which they live. Thus, by means of different semiotic features, whether verbal or non-verbal, individuals can claim their affiliation to a certain identity group without necessarily knowing the group’s identifying language but simply by emulating an accent or using specific terms or expressions that belong to the claimed language group.

The evolution of the relationship between languages and users at a global level has led many scholars to reflect on the existing terminology used to talk about multiple language use phenomena and innovate in the metalinguistic vocabulary. This is the case of the terms ‘plurilingualism’ (Council of Europe, 2001) ‘metrolingualism’ (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010); ‘translanguaging’ (Williams, 1994; García, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Li and Zhu, 2013); ‘zerolingualism’ (Jaspers, 2011); and ‘polylingualism’ (Jørgensen *et al.*, 2011), which serve to refer to new ways of conceptualising languages. This proliferation of terminology shows an increasing need to express the nuances of an individual’s use of multiple languages for interaction and also a shift in the ideological conceptualisation of linguistic diversity. The new set of terms is defined around two basic ideas: (1) they represent a reaction against the idea that languages are separate and separable entities and they reflect the idea that, in human interaction, individuals freely combine elements from different languages; and (2) there is a strong connection between the languages people speak and the way they define their identity.

One of the terms that has become most popular when referring to an individual’s multiple language use is ‘plurilingualism’. In contrast with ‘multilingualism’, ‘plurilingualism’ focuses on how languages coexist within the same individual (Council of Europe, 2001). Hence, multilingual societies can be made up of plurilingual as well as monolingual subjects who, together, sum up competence in multiple languages, as is the case of Europe. The development of the plurilingual perspective appears as a consequence of the European Union’s effort to encourage multilingual education (Jessner, 2008). The language education policies in Europe aim to promote plurilingualism, linguistic diversity, mutual understanding (for which language learning is recognised as a pillar for intercultural communication), democratic citizenship (i.e. participation in democratic processes through the plurilingual competence of European citizens), and social cohesion (equal opportunities for personal development, entering the job market, education and mobility) (Council of Europe, 2001). In

this context, the Council of Europe (2001) considers that a plurilingual person has a repertoire of languages and language varieties and is competent in them at different levels and in different forms. For the Council of Europe, plurilingual competence consists of individuals' ability to interact in a number of languages across linguistic and cultural boundaries in a dynamic way, i.e. they switch from one language to another in an immediate and flexible way depending on the communicative function they pursue even if their competence in the foreign language is minimal. Following Spolsky (2004) and the Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe, 2001), this thesis uses the term 'plurilingualism' to refer to the capacity of an individual to use different languages to achieve his or her communicative goals and 'multilingualism' to refer to a society in which a number of languages are spoken.

The notion of plurilingual competence expressed in the previous paragraph can have an impact on how states (re)define their language policies. Jaffe (2012) suggests that in Corsica the European language policies have caused an ideological shift in the discourse around the relationship between language and citizenship. The shift consists of moving from an idealized monolingual citizen within the boundaries of a state towards an ideal plurilingual citizen in a global world or a European society. As a consequence, the plurilingual discourse has increased the market value of Corsican, the minority language, revitalised its use, and increased the interest in learning minority languages in general.

Despite the efforts of the Council of Europe to promote multi/plurilingualism and value the linguistic and cultural diversity within Europe, there is still a tendency to give priority to state languages and leave regional or minority languages somewhat invisible (Rindler Schjerve and Vetter, 2012). This is the case of Catalan and Basque, which are not among the official languages of the European Parliament. The challenge for Europe seems to be to defend linguistic equality in a linguistic marketplace where lesser-spoken languages cannot compete against a few powerful languages with a higher symbolic value because they make the communication possible across more cultures and individuals. This is the case of such languages as English, Spanish or French.

In the last two decades, the use of heteroglossic speech practices by young people with migrant backgrounds has been extensively researched (e.g. Rampton, 1995, 1999, 2011b; 2011; Jørgensen, 2008, 2011). These works argue that languages, as socio-cultural constructions, move to a secondary scenario in the linguistic and cultural heterogeneous environments of current superdiverse settings. For this reason, the terms multilingualism and plurilingualism are deficient for conceptualising most of the linguistic phenomena that happen

in the contact-zone of individuals with different cultural and sociolinguistic backgrounds. The linguistic practices in late-modern global societies are better described as polylingual (Jørgensen, 2008). The notion of ‘polylingualism’ is inspired by the notion of ‘polyculture’ which refers to the activation of simultaneous cultural resources in situations with fluid boundaries (Hewitt, 1992: 30; as cited in Jørgensen, 2008). The ‘polylingual’ approach focuses on the multi-layered combinations of linguistic features employed in interactions that could be related to a language, but not on the language itself (Madsen, 2008; as cited in Jørgensen *et al.*, 2011). Polylingual speakers mobilise all their linguistic resources to achieve their communicative goals without thinking what language these may come from and even include languages the speaker is not competent in. This would be the case, for instance, of a German speaker who uses a morphological unit or an element of prosody that would be associated with Turkish. Although the linguistic features can be associated with specific languages, in polylingual interactions, speakers do not orient towards concepts such as code-switching or mixing languages. However, they are constrained by the sociocultural restrictions of the situation the interaction takes place in, such as norms of behaviour, ideology or power relations.

In the same line, the notion of ‘metrolingualism’ represents an attempt to project the fluidity of language use in globalised heteroglossic contexts but specifically and predominantly in urban settings (‘metro-’ for ‘city’) (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010). From their perspective, the process of language use involves the combination of both fixed and fluid linguistic and cultural identities and exploits the practice of creative language uses. For Jaworski (2012), the metrolingual combination of codes goes beyond cultural, political and historical boundaries, identities and ideology, and it has appeared as a useful notion for exploring the textual art in the city. This author analyses instances of contemporary textual art from a multimodal approach including the mixing of genres, styles, accents and materialisation of the text, and argues that metrolingualism is a manifestation of heteroglossia. These combinations of two or more languages may transform recognisable linguistic codes into ‘fake’ or fantasy ones. In short, metrolingualism could be understood as a creative and artistic use of heteroglossia in urban super diverse settings.

Individuals can also use their linguistic repertoire to protest against a situation of oppression. Jaspers (2011) studies the case of students from an ethnic minority background (Moroccan-Flemish students and Turkish-descent students) in two schools in Flanders who pretended to be incompetent in Dutch, the dominant language. Their purpose was to playfully criticise the

unequal social relationships that surrounded them and affected their lives. Jaspers (*ibid*) shows how zerolingual stylisation in a secondary school in Antwerp was also used by the students who felt discriminated against by the mainstream society to construct a dominant position in the classroom. This phenomenon is ambivalent since the same minorities who protest against inequality reproduce and benefit from the same structures that they are criticizing. Zerolingualism could be understood as a linguistic cataclysm resulting from unequal socioeconomic relationships in which the oppressed party caricatures the dominant language by perverting it to the point of making it incomprehensible.

The combination of languages is also considered as a useful resource for fostering bilingual and multilingual education. The pedagogical modality of multiple language use has been given the name of ‘translanguaging’ (Williams 1994; García, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010, see section 3.2.3 in this thesis). Translanguaging is based on the concept of ‘*linguaging*’ by which language is not just a means of social communication, but a tool that mediates acts of thinking. Swain (2006: 89) defines this term as “the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language”. Translanguaging occurs among bilingual speakers, both teachers and students, who have access to two (or more) sets of linguistic features corresponding to autonomous languages and that are used alongside each other. The pedagogic justification is that there is an interdependence of skills and knowledge across languages. This view follows Cummins’ (2005, 2008) call for a flexible approach to bilingualism to fight against the “the two solitudes assumption” (2008: 65), which implies an understanding of bilingual speakers as two monolinguals in one mind. This heteroglossic approach to language and content teaching and learning is developed further in chapter 3.

Although the increasing number of terms used to refer to heteroglossic practices may be confusing at first, it shows how sociolinguistic research tries to adapt to the dynamism of speech practices in heteroglossic late-modern societies. The different terms are not incompatible and various phenomena can overlap and intersect during the same communicative act.

To conclude this section, Table 2.3 presents a summary of the previously reviewed terms that refer to multiple language use. The table is structured into five parameters that help to understand in which aspects the terms differ. The parameters are the minimal measuring unit, location, perspective conveyed, outcome and models of bi/multilingual education that support one practice or another.

Table 2.3. Approaches to multiple language use

Term	Minimal measuring unit	Location	Perspective conveyed	Outcome	Models of bi/multilingual education (García, 2009) that enable forms of multiple language use
Multi-lingualism	languages	societies, territories, institutions	additive perspective	multilingual or monolingual individuals in multilingual societies	monoglossic frameworks: subtractive and the additive ones
Pluri-lingualism (Council of Europe, 2001; Jaffe, 2012)	linguistic repertoires	the individual	complementary perspective	multiple linguistic repertoires within the same individual	heteroglossic frameworks: recursive and dynamic
Poly-lingualism (Jørgensen, 2008, 2010)	linguistic features	the individual and its social context	mixing perspective	multiple linguistic features within an individual; competence in the foreign language is unnecessary	
Metro-lingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010; Jaworski, 2012)	linguistic features	the individual in superdiverse urban settings	artistic mixing perspective	multiple linguistic features within an individual who makes creative linguistic practices across borders of culture, history and politics; competence in the foreign language is unnecessary	
Zero-lingualism (Jaspers, 2011)	linguistic features	the individual in superdiverse urban settings (specific research conducted in secondary schools)	critical mixing perspective	multiple linguistic features within an individual who criticizes socioeconomic inequality; faked incompetence in the dominant language of the territory	
Trans-linguaging (Williams, 1994; García, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011)	linguistic repertoires and linguistic features	the individual in educational settings	complementary and pedagogical perspective	linguistic repertoires and linguistic features serve individuals to learn and foster multilingualism; competence in two or more languages	heteroglossic frameworks: recursive and dynamic

Table 2.3 shows a schematic differentiation of the six terms reviewed above: multilingualism, plurilingualism, polylingualism, metrolingualism, zerolingualism, translanguaging. First, each term is built upon a minimal unit, which are languages, linguistic repertoires or linguistic features identifiable with specific languages. Second, these terms refer to different levels of context: (1) a territory, an institution or a society; (2) an individual; and (3) the individual in

urban settings and in schools. Third, every term also responds to a stance adopted towards the sociolinguistic environment. For instance, when a language policy document uses the term multilingualism, it conveys an additive perspective, i.e. the languages are maintained together, yet apart. When an institution such as the Council of Europe talks in terms of plurilingualism, it conveys a perspective on languages as complementary and not mutually exclusive. Polylingualism transmits the view that linguistic features appear intertwined. Zerolingualism shows an individual who is critical of the sociolinguistic environment. Metrolingualism shows an individual who is creative with the sociolinguistic environment. And, finally, translanguaging is practiced by individuals with the aim of learning. Fourth, every term has an outcome in society. In the case of a multilingual society, it may be underpinned by monolingual individuals who speak different languages. Plurilingualism requires the same individual to be competent in more than one language. Polylingualism, metrolingualism and zerolingualism do not require the individual to be fully competent in different languages, but rather that s/he mobilises linguistic features that can be linked to particular languages. Translanguaging consists of the mobilisation of linguistic repertoires and linguistic features to learn and foster multilingualism and therefore individuals are (or become) competent in two or more languages. Fifth, multilingualism, plurilingualism and translanguaging can be supported by models of multilingual education. Polylingualism, metrolingualism and zerolingualism are not explicitly recognised in any educational model even though they are practiced at schools. However, their lack of formal recognition in education may be coming to an end as there is already initial research on, for instance, how ‘rap’ can be incorporated as an urban vernacular language in such content-subjects as language and music (Fernández *et al.*, 2013). The introduction of genres like rap into education may open up space for the recognition of more artistic forms of multiple language use.

The six approaches in Table 2.3 can be classified into two subgroups. The first group includes those terms that refer to the mobilisation of languages with the aim of facilitating communication in multilingual contexts; these are ‘multilingualism’, ‘plurilingualism’ and ‘translanguaging’. The second subgroup emphasises an individual’s construction of a cross-cultural identity with no intention of facilitating intergroup communication but rather to construct their own plurilingual identities; these are polylingualism, metrolingualism and zerolingualism. However, in situations of translanguaging and plurilingualism, the individual would be simultaneously constructing her/his identity as a plurilingual speaker and using his/her linguistic repertoires with the aim of communicating in another language or for learning.

The following chapter focuses on how cultural and linguistic diversity can be used as a resource and an asset by individuals to learn a second or foreign language in multilingual environments such as that of study abroad.

Summary

Chapter 2 has presented language-in-education policies in multilingual educational institutions. Firstly, section 2.1 has presented how language policy can broadly speaking be considered a mechanism that controls how people use language creating group membership, socio-economic status and classifying people. Language policy can be understood as the intersection between language planning and the evolution of language, which points out that it is negotiated at different layers of context rather than being a taken-for-granted directive. Secondly, section 2.2 has reviewed models of bi/multilingual education, which affect the development of the students' multilingual repertoires. There are three main concepts for the analysis in chapter 7: (1) heteroglossic and monoglossic models project a stance on the relation between the languages of an individual's multilingual repertoire and affect the perception a plurilingual individual has of him/herself; (2) immersion education can turn out to be a sink-or-swim model depending on the conditions under which the model is being applied; and (3) the typological distance between the languages in the students' multilingual repertoires is a variable that needs to be considered in order to choose the most suitable model of bi/multilingual education. Thirdly, section 2.3 has presented language policies in higher education institutions in the age of globalisation with a special focus on how the introduction of world languages, such as English, that enable intercultural communication affects the sociolinguistic situation of universities in bilingual contexts. Finally, section 2.4 has reviewed some of the terminology that has proliferated in recent times to refer to the multiple use of language and that project and stance towards it. Although not all these terms are explicitly recognised in the models of bi/multilingual education reviewed in section 2.2, they can emerge as practices in linguistically and culturally hybrid educational contexts.

Chapter 3. Language learning in study abroad and in multilingual settings

Learning a foreign language is one of the main motivations for students to enrol on a study abroad experience (Pellegrino-Aveni, 1998; Murphy-Lejeune, 2002; Byram and Feng, 2006; Kinginger, 2008). In the bilingual context of the University of Lleida, as in the rest of Catalonia, Catalan and Spanish are co-official languages, and both languages could potentially (both together and separately) motivate students to select it as a host destination. However, the majority of the sojourn students in Catalonia arrive with some knowledge of Spanish but not of Catalan and show much more interest in learning Spanish than Catalan (Llurda *et al.*, 2013).

When it comes to language learning in multilingual higher education institutions, the case of sojourn students is extremely interesting because the diversity of the international students' linguistic backgrounds increases the multilingual environment of the foreign language class in the host institution: students' respective linguistic repertoires and individual differences prior to departure interact in the same study abroad context, which also has its own cultural and linguistic particularities (Dufon and Churchill, 2006). In this situation, plurilingualism, or "the repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use" (Council of Europe, n.d.), may emerge as a facilitator for endeavours to learn the target languages but also as a handicap due to constant friction between them in the local multilingual context. The Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001: 4) distinguishes between plurilingualism and multilingualism, which is defined as "the co-existence of different languages in a given society".

This chapter presents four issues related to the process of language teaching and learning in a multilingual study abroad context. Section 3.1 presents leading studies on language learning while studying abroad. These emphasize the nature of study abroad (section 3.1.1), issues in the hosting context that may affect the students' development of the target language (section 3.1.2) and, finally, the intercultural development and hybridity in study abroad situations (section 3.1.3). Section 3.2 explains how linguistic diversity can be a useful resource for language learning in a multilingual environment and presents the notions of monoglossic and heteroglossic approaches to language teaching and learning (3.2.1), and scaffolding and the zone of proximal development as the basis for developing multi/plurilingualism by means of plurilingual practices within the classroom context (3.2.2). Finally, section 3.3 is devoted to describing current approaches to bilingual and multilingual education, with a special focus on

multilingual pedagogies, such as translanguaging (3.3.1) and the multilingual turn in second and foreign language acquisition (3.3.2).

3.1. Study abroad and language learning

This section reviews prominent studies on language learning in a study abroad context. It is divided into three subsections. Section 3.1.1 describes the nature of language learning in study abroad and the area of research this project is located in. Section 3.1.2 presents how the characteristics of the context of study abroad and the individual characteristics of a student can affect his/her process of language learning. Finally, section 3.1.3 is devoted to the development of intercultural competence in study abroad.

3.1.1. The nature of language learning in study abroad

Language education is nowadays one of the main goals of the majority of university students who enrol on study abroad programmes (Pellegrino-Aveni, 1998; Kinginger, 2008). Study abroad has traditionally been conceived as an efficient way of learning a foreign language primarily on the basis that it is considered that the L2 classroom cannot emulate the quantity and quality of the input that living in the foreign language country can provide. Pellegrino-Aveni (2005: 1) holds that stays abroad (together with other means of language learning, such as the use of ICTs) are designed to “expedite and enhance the foreign language learning process”. According to the same author, all study abroad programmes share two methodological characteristics: they try to maximize the opportunities that students have to use the foreign language in (more or less) authentic contexts, and they are “learner-directed”, i.e. students’ initiative is fundamental to learning in the many opportunities for spontaneous unregulated learning with which they are confronted.

Study abroad constitutes a hybrid variety of SLA. Whereas SLA was traditionally considered to be achieved in two circumstances, either ‘instructed’ or ‘naturalistic’ (Kinger, 2009), in a study abroad situation, both these forms occur. Language learners have access to instruction in class but are also exposed to ‘real’ life interactions in the foreign language culture. For this reason, Kinginger (ibid), drawing on Ochs (2002), argues that language learning in study abroad is a process of socialisation and acquisition at the same level. Language socialisation focuses on the development of language learners while they are being socialised in a new environment where they learn about the practices of the new communities and the local meaning of the same practices (Ochs, 2002). The linguistic gains of the students derive from a dynamic process which consists basically of verbal interactions between individuals in the

social environment. Therefore, the language that students learn in a study abroad situation is compounded by instances of spontaneous non-standard forms of language to which students are exposed unpredictably. The new language learners learn from the most expert ones and gradually become expert language users themselves.

While foreign language learners socialise in the foreign language context, they acquire linguistic competence and also sociolinguistic awareness about the relationship between the target language and its culture, thereby improving their abilities to interact in local communicative practices. Kinginger (2009) defines the abilities to interact as pragmatic abilities. These abilities include (ibid): (1) the pragmalinguistic ability, i.e. the knowledge and ability to use relevant forms; and (2) sociopragmatic abilities, i.e. the awareness of social conventions and ability to use the forms adequately. Pragmatic abilities include, for instance, the ability to perform speech acts, to open and close conversations (e.g. Hassall, 2006), or to choose and use markers of politeness (e.g. Barron, 2006) and terms of address (Hassall 2012, 2013).

Once the students come into contact with the target language context, they may “accept, accommodate, resist, or reject the communities and practices they encounter” (Lantolf and Pavlenko, 2001 in Kinginger, 2009). In this light, Kinginger (2011) claims that study abroad should not be conceived as an elixir for learning the L2 since individual differences may interfere in achieving competence in the L2. For instance, either engaging in local communicative practices or remaining as peripheral participants may affect students’ language awareness (also in Byram, 1995: 25). Kinginger (2011) holds that not all study abroad programmes include opportunities for second language acquisition and researchers should check that variable prior to conducting research. They may find that students did not improve their linguistic skills and the programme could be the main reason. Kinginger recommends that, to improve the linguistic competence of students, language learning programmes in study abroad contexts should foster observation, participation and reflection by the students about the sociolinguistic context.

Citron (1995) argues that interculturality and open-mindedness may facilitate an individual’s ability to learn a new language because learners are able to adopt a perspective of ethnolinguistic relativity. The hypothesis of ethnolinguistic relativity (Citron, 1995) states that a language learner who is more detached from the cultural system of his/her first language and his/her way of classifying the world can more easily understand that the meaning of words varies across cultures and that language learning is not merely about translating words. Citron

(1995), drawing on Whorf (1967 [1956]), argues that if languages reflect the culture of their speakers, a foreign language student who has the ability to understand another culture should, in principle, have an advantage over a student whose capacity to understand the foreign culture is null. Citron (*ibid*) illustrates this with the example of concepts (and words) that are specific to a culture and have no equivalent in another language. When students interact in the foreign language, those who are unable to recognise the culture-boundedness of a word may insist in finding a translation of a term that has no equivalent in the foreign language. The students fail to express that thought, become frustrated, and feel unsure during the rest of the conversation. On the contrary, a student who can recognise the cultural bounds of a language should have an advantage in this situation.

Citron's argument can be seen to contrast with the position of Fishman (1981) and Fantini (1993), who argue that SLA increases the empathy and sensitivity of the learners towards other peoples' lifestyle, because it offers the possibility of coming into contact with other cultures. In other words, in a study abroad situation, students have more opportunities to be in touch with a foreign culture and, therefore, improve their intercultural competence. Simultaneously, according to Citron (1995), students' acquisition of intercultural awareness also benefits their acquisition of the target language.

It has been proved that a long stay abroad can have a life-long impact on language learners. Alred and Byram (2006) conducted a longitudinal study in which they interviewed students from British universities 10 years after they returned from their year abroad. The study shows that, although language learning was the initial purpose of their stay, in the long term, it appears that the intercultural competence and international identity developed by the participants becomes more relevant. Immediately after their experience, students reported that the year abroad was a major experience in their lives and one that influenced their sense of self, the way they saw life, and reported changes like personal development and maturity. Ten years later, the study found that the year abroad was still being referred to as a 'strong experience' in the participants' life and, whether it was a positive or a negative experience, participants would make decisions (such as the direction they wanted to develop their professional career in) based on their memories of the year abroad. If we go back to Citron's (1995) idea that intercultural awareness increases the ability to learn a foreign language, the long-term effect of study abroad noticed by Alred and Byram (2006) may facilitate individuals' ability to learn new foreign languages throughout their lives.

The relevance of foreign language development in study abroad has triggered the interest of researchers in second and foreign language acquisition (SFLA) who work on two main lines. The first aims to measure the outcomes of the stay in terms of the level of proficiency, fluency and communicative competence of the students (see for instance Kinginger, 2011; Llanes, 2011; Cubillos *et al.*, 2008). The second line of research focuses on the process of learning a foreign language in a study abroad situation in connection with the students' experiences, their perception of themselves while these experiences occur, and their attitudes (e.g. Kinginger, 2004; Pellegrino-Aveni, 2005; Papatsiba, 2006; Murphy-Lejeune, 2002; Dufon and Churchill, 2006; Byram and Feng, 2006). According to Kinginger (2008), the studies that measure the linguistic outcomes after the stay abroad show that some students return with a higher level of competence in the L2, some students do not manifest any gains, and some even present lower proficiency scores in the post-test than in the pre-test. She considers that many of these studies do not explain why these differences occur and they offer mere speculation about the students' personality or motivation.

In this light, Kinginger (2009) organised the research into study abroad into three fields: (1) the study of the outcomes of the experience; (2) the communicative settings where learning takes place, among which she distinguishes the classroom, the homestay and informal settings; and (3) the field of language socialisation and identity. The present project falls within the second field of research recognised by Kinginger (2009). The studies based on the context of language learning usually adopt a dual approach that connects what happens in these settings (and how students circulate in them) with the linguistic outcomes. Their ultimate aim is to contribute to a better assessment of the broad benefits that study abroad programmes have for language learners, taking into account the individual differences and the particularities of the contexts where students learn the foreign language.

This study focuses on the process of learning a foreign language during study abroad and, more specifically, it examines the classroom context in order to try to understand how students learn the language, the role of the institution in this process and how both sides (exchange students and host institution) position themselves vis-à-vis each other. The institutional context where the students conduct their stay is only one factor that may affect language acquisition in study abroad. There can be other individual and contextual variables that affect students' development in study abroad contexts. The following section presents the individual and contextual variables.

3.1.2. Individual and contextual variables in language learning during the stay abroad

Although the language gains resulting from immersion in the foreign language culture appear to be greater than those achieved inside the classroom back home, the benefits of spending a year immersed in a foreign cultural and linguistic setting depend dramatically on individual and contextual factors. Dufon and Churchill (2006) state that, on one hand, such aspects as the students' personality, their motivation and determination to engage with speakers of the L2 and the host community may influence their language socialisation process. On the other hand, these individual differences interact with the study abroad context, which is conditioned by cultural norms and factors connected with the programme design.

The following paragraphs consist of a review of research that takes into account individual and contextual variables that affected the students' language learning while abroad. It is worth noting that, in some cases, the contextual and individual factors interact and one can trigger the emergence of the other. Furthermore, the same factor may be perceived as an individual or a contextual variable, depending on the point of view adopted. For instance, Block (2007) presents an anthology of studies that analyse experiences of sexual harassment suffered by females during their study abroad period. In those experiences, female students avoided interacting with males after feeling harassed, which reduced their circle of acquaintances and therefore their opportunities to interact with members of the L2 culture decreased. In these experiences, there is always a component of interculturality since male-female relationships are culturally bounded. This may be understood as a contextual factor or as a lack of intercultural competence by the student, and hence an individual factor.

The variables affecting language learning commented below are (1) gender, (2) the instructors' teaching style, (3) the course programme, (4) social networks, (5) students' expectations, motivation and power of self-regulation, (6) languages of the learning environment or linguistic diversity. In the following paragraphs, I comment a study for each of the six variables listed above.

In connection with gender, as shown in Block's (2007) review, many studies have presented the case of female students who felt harassed during the stay abroad. For instance, in Isabelli-García's (2006) study of the development of the oral skills by three American students in Argentina, the female student, Jennifer, felt uncomfortable when men pointed at and commented on her figure disrespectfully because, according to her, she was not stick thin. The student isolated herself and reduced her social network, which limited opportunities to

socialise while abroad and, therefore, affected her language development negatively. Isabelli-García (ibid) concludes that students need to consider those differences and teachers need to prepare their students to cushion them against that kind of moment.

The teaching methodology in the host institution has also been considered a contextual factor that can affect the development of the L2 during study abroad. Pellegrino-Aveni (2005) carried out a qualitative study of American students in Russia, in which she analysed students' diaries to locate the factors that influenced students' self-regulation of their participation in classroom while abroad. The study shows that the patronizing behaviour of the Russian teacher in class and the teacher's abrupt and harsh correction and caretaking manners frustrated students' participation. For instance, one student reported that in class the teacher told students to ask when they would not understand a word. However, when the student asked the meaning of a word, the teacher told her that she should be ashamed of not knowing it, thereby creating insecurity in the student, who avoided asking again. Although the insecurity of the student may look like an individual factor, it was caused by the teacher's methodology, i.e. a contextual factor. In the case of the American students, Pellegrino-Aveni (ibid) holds that they were not used to the directness and openness of the Russian instructors and felt embarrassed when they were criticised in public or compared with other students. The teacher was later blamed by the student who dropped out of the course for her failure to improve her Russian while abroad, which had been one of her main expectations.

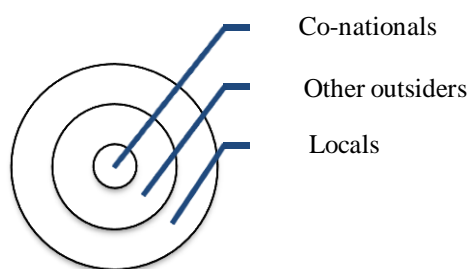
Another variable that may interfere in the students' development of foreign language skills is the expectations students place on the study programme they enrol on. Tarp (2006) shows the contrast between the expectations of the host institution in a short study abroad programme and those of the students. The participants in her study, 20 Danish business school students aged between 17 and 21, travelled to Scotland to carry out a project connected with the development of marketing and IT skills. The findings show that the students had specific expectations on what they would obtain from their stay (such as language learning or self-development) and made decisions that affected the course programme in order to meet their agendas (such as cooperating with students to achieve their goals). This fact emphasizes that students are not passive but active participants in their learning process. Tarp (ibid: 163) adds that the expectations of the students as a group are a "mosaic", i.e. they differ from each other. For this reason, something that appears as an obstacle to some students could represent a facilitator for others. For instance, the activities planned within the course programme may be both an obstacle and a facilitator depending on students' expectations. Tarp shows that

students apply internal strategies to achieve their goals in different ways, among which they use peer cooperation or changing the goals of their stay abroad. The author concludes that in order to make the stay meaningful, institutions should include students in the process of making decisions and listen to their voices during the design of the curriculum.

The different contributions included in Kinginger (2013) are an excellent example of how socio-cultural factors can affect the process of language learning in a study abroad situation and show that it is necessary to frame language learning as a dialogical and situated endeavour that takes place in intercultural contexts and includes significant subject positions. The contributors make an attempt to take a holistic stance towards the process of learning a foreign language which includes the capacities that are being developed in parallel to the learning of the L2, such as self-regulatory strategies, intercultural competence and multilingual subjectivity. Four of the contributions in the volume deserve special attention, as they deal with aspects that affect language learning in study abroad: language socialisation networks (Coleman, 2013); the use of English as a *lingua franca* and students' attitudes towards it (Dervin, 2013); self-regulatory strategies to maintain motivation for language learning while abroad (Willis Allen, 2013); and intercultural development (Jackson, 2013).

Coleman's (2013) contribution advocates a more holistic stance from researchers towards language learners in study abroad. According to him, researchers have mainly adopted a one-dimensional approach that centres exclusively on the student's identity as a mere language learner. He argues that other dimensions, such as professional and personal aspirations or qualities, should also be considered since they may affect the way language learners interact with the context of the sojourn and develop social networks. These factors, which result in part of their individual abilities, affect the development of their L2. Coleman (ibid) proposes a model of concentric circles to explain the dynamic socialisation networks that students establish during their stay abroad. The model aims to represent the dynamic nature of friendship rather than the level of intimacy of those friendships. In other words, it does not differentiate whether the people students meet while abroad become close friends, friends or acquaintances. However, Coleman (ibid) recognises that there can be a progression in the types of friends. The model looks as follows:

Figure 3.1. Coleman's concentric circle representation of study abroad social networks (2013: 31)



This model, according to Coleman, is not universal and the progression towards the local community may vary significantly depending on such individual factors as the students' motivations to meet the local community or their social skills. In the inner circle, students have fewer opportunities to practice the L2, since students' socialisation within the same national group would imply using their L1. In the outer circle, students use one or more L2s. The middle circle requires the use of a lingua franca, which tends to be English or the language of the locals.

Although Coleman argues that his concentric circle model is based on extensive reading of research on study abroad that pays close attention to socialisation, the simplification of study abroad interactions in terms of language accommodation leaves room for further discussion. The model is underpinned by a monolingual ideology that assumes three premises. In the first place, it is assumed that co-nationals abroad will use their L1 to communicate, ignoring those students who come from multilingual countries. This issue is highlighted by Dervin (2013) who examines the case of a Spanish student from Barcelona and a Namibian student in Finland. Their home countries have many official languages (four and seven respectively) and the students report that, for this reason, both of them speak English with those co-nationals who cannot speak their mother tongue. Besides, in the case of students from Spain whose mother tongue is Basque, Galician or Catalan, their choice of English as a *lingua franca* could signal their rejection of the state's common official language, Spanish, and hence, their language choice could be accruing socio-political and sociolinguistic ideology.

The second premise of Coleman's model is that the outer circle excludes local people in the L2 context who may use other languages than the official national language for communication. In this sense, the locals may be part of a multilingual territory (such as Catalonia, the Basque country or Wales). Alternatively, the locals may see foreign students as an opportunity to practice their L2 (which could be the mother tongue of the foreign students). The linguistic tandem programmes provide evidence of the second phenomenon. This means

that international students would be using their mother tongue or a *lingua franca* to communicate with members of the local community. Finally, the third premise is based on the fact that, in the middle circle, the *lingua franca* chosen for communication within the hybrid group is always a foreign language. It overlooks that the *lingua franca* could actually be the mother tongue of some international students. In this respect, it would be interesting to see how native speakers of the *lingua franca* are integrated within the group and what their attitude is towards the use of their mother tongue in that variety. For instance, Kalocsai, (2009) studies the linguistic practices of a group of Erasmus students in the Czech Republic in which English *lingua franca* (ELF) is the usual language of communication. Users of ELF appear to care less about learning the norms of English as a native-speaker and are more concerned with learning strategies of accommodation, negotiation and cooperation to achieve successful communication. ELF users evaluate their native English peers as uncaring, inefficient communicators and as not wanting to integrate themselves into the community because they do not use their strategies of communication nor adjust to the type of ELF which is typical of that Erasmus community. The use of these strategies serves to draw a line between members and non-members of the Erasmus community.

Coleman's (2013) study reviewed above appears as a simplification of language accommodation processes, which contrasts with the author's initial claim to have a more holistic view of the study abroad experience and the students who participate on it. This project aligns with Coleman's initial claim of looking at the study abroad experience from a holistic perspective and tries to represent the complexities and fluid nature of language learning in study abroad.

The second contribution reviewed from Kinginger's (2013) volume deals with the phenomenon of accommodation into a *lingua franca* in study abroad contexts. Dervin (2013) examines the priorities of international students towards English as *lingua franca* (ELF) in the contexts of Finland and France. The project in Finland was conducted by means of questionnaires that examined representations among Erasmus students from ELF. The study in France consists of a case-study of a Finnish student. The results of the first project show a negative attitude of the students towards ELF because they transmit veneration for the normative and native-like English and reject other speakers of ELF as role-model speakers. However, the Finnish student in France shows that she enjoyed practicing French with both the locals and other non-native speakers of French, with whom she felt more relaxed than with native French speakers. The participant emerges as a "pro FLF" (French *lingua franca*)

student (ibid: 121) showing greater flexibility towards code-switching and a more positive attitude towards non-normative language. This result also suggests that the student's security/insecurity about speaking the L2 emerges in connection with whether she interacts with a native or a non-native speaker. Dervin (ibid) concludes that working on hybridity with students prior to their stay abroad would not only help students to look at their intercultural encounters from a more flexible and less nationalistic perspective, but also to feel less disappointed if their interactions during their stay only occur with other foreign language speakers.

The third contribution reviewed from Kinginger (2013) deals with students' motivation to learn the L2. Willis Allen's (2013) contribution focuses on how language learners abroad develop self-regulatory strategies to maintain their motivation to achieve their initial language-learning goals. The author starts from the assumption that the motivation of L2 learners decreases when the learning becomes cognitively more highly demanding. She focuses on three experienced and proficient learners of French who participated in an immersion programme in France with the aim of improving their oral skills. The longitudinal study uses narrative activities to help the students reflect on their learning process and develop self-regulatory strategies. As a result, she identifies the following three types of strategies: (1) language learning; (2) motivation-maintenance; and (3) goal setting. The first set of strategies helps students improve their competence in French, especially their oral skills, which appeared to be their main goal. These included such strategies as speaking more slowly to improve comprehensibility, focusing on acquiring a clear pronunciation rather than on native-likeness or using simple sentences. The second set of strategies was developed through writing a blog, since the students wanted to keep sharing their linguistic achievements and linguistic and cultural struggles. The third type of strategies consisted of a reformulation of the goals once the students were in the L2 context; for instance, students would shift from their goal of achieving a correct and normative use of language to an interest in understanding specific uses of language in particular situations.

The last study reviewed from Kinginger (2013) deals with the cultural clash that students may experience, which affects the accommodation of the student into the hosting culture (and the study abroad culture found in the L2 context), the establishment of new social networks and, therefore, the acquisition of the L2. Jackson (2013) examines the intercultural development of a Hong Kong student in Canada, who assumed he had a high degree of intercultural competence prior to his stay, although he had very limited previous intercultural experience.

Jackson argues that the lack of knowledge in a particular domain (interculturality in this case) may impede students from seeing their level of incompetence and inflating their self-esteem. Consequently, the inflated self-perception may limit the students' motivation to learn and actually obstruct their learning process. At the beginning of his stay, the participant in this study could not recognise his incapacity to accept cultural differences, which pushed him from an international to a Chinese-only circle of friends. For instance, the participant felt uncomfortable going to the pub, a practice that put him in contact with both local and international students at the beginning. The participant in this study went through a process of critical reflection in order to recognize cultural gaps and improve his intercultural communicative competence while abroad. From the analysis of the data collected after the stay abroad, Jackson finds that the student's discourse about his experience was ethnocentric, judgemental and reflected the obstacles encountered in Canada. Jackson concludes that this student's experience was affected by a complex intertwining of four factors: sociocultural factors (such as social networks), personality attributes (such as ethnocentrism), depth of investment in language and intercultural change, and degree of self-analysis and reflection. However, it could be argued that Jackson's conclusions lack sensitivity towards the student's own personal interests and expectations. Intercultural development and acculturation should not imply adapting completely to the practices of the host community over one's own personal interests, but finding a middle ground between the self and the other, where both host and guest are respected and accepted. As Jensen *et al.* (1995: 41) state, intercultural competence is "the ability to behave appropriately in intercultural situations, the affective and cognitive capacity to establish and maintain intercultural situations, relationships and the ability to stabilise one's self-identity *while mediating between cultures*" (my emphasis). It would be interesting to see whether students can find alternative routes to meet international and local students when the socialization conditions are not suitable for them.

After reviewing the different studies in her edited volume, Kinginger (2013) concludes that, although research in language learning and study abroad has grown significantly over the last twenty years, there is still much work to do. There is still a lack of research that takes into account other aspects of the students' identity, such as social class, sexuality or religion that could lead to situations similar to Jackson's study. These factors may influence the quality of the stay abroad but, unfortunately, they are "rigorously avoided as if taboo" (ibid: 334). Recently, Block (2012) has presented social class as a key variable in foreign language learning. Social class aspirations may affect the language chosen by the students due to the associations that a certain language and the same study abroad experience have with a specific

social class. For instance, Kinginger's (2004) study shows how learning French and the study abroad experience represents an opportunity for Alice to accomplish her desire to have a fresh start in a context where her social options are broadened. In connection with social class, Byram and Feng (2006) also add that the 19th-century 'grand tour', once exclusive to the aristocracy, has become accessible for all students. However, this equity in terms of opportunities may not erase questions of social stratification, but make them more visible.

To summarise, from a holistic perspective of language learning in study abroad contexts, language learning can be affected not only by a series of individual factors, such as the student's motivation to learn the L2 and their social skills to meet new people (whether from the local community or from the international students' community), but also by such contextual factors as the languages used in the hosting context (*lingua francas*, the local language or the local language as the *lingua franca*) or the programme design. In our specific context of research, the distribution that the UdL makes of its multilingual repertoire within the classroom context may affect students' development of Catalan and Spanish as foreign languages. The institutional distribution of languages may appear as an added variable to take into account when measuring the outcomes of a study abroad experience in terms of language learning. The following section aims to present study abroad contexts as culturally and linguistically hybrid spaces.

3.1.3. Intercultural development and hybridity in study abroad contexts

In a study abroad situation, exposure to the target language culture goes beyond the mere acquisition of knowledge about the L2 culture and society. According to Liddicoat (2011), there are two basic orientations to the teaching (and therefore learning) of culture: (1) cultural and (2) intercultural. The first refers to the acquisition of knowledge about the target language culture as an item that can be isolated from the target language and learnt. This approach, which, according to Liddicoat (ibid), is the dominant orientation, is likely to provoke the solidification of stereotypes in the target language culture because the information is simply acquired but never questioned or relativized and does not provoke any changes in the individual students in terms of identity, values, attitudes, beliefs or their vision of the world. The second orientation, the intercultural one, exploits the language learning process as an opportunity to expose the learners to new ways of seeing and experiencing the world, with the ultimate aim of transforming the learner into an intercultural being who engages not only with the target language culture but also develops flexibility within the same individual as s/he develops the capacity to adapt and mediate between other linguistic and cultural systems

independently of the specific language they are learning. The target language occupies an essential place within this orientation of culture learning –and cannot, therefore, be learnt in isolation— since language and culture are interrelated, meaning-making systems that influence each other. It could be argued that the second orientation is the one to which language learners in a study abroad situation are exposed to since it offers them opportunities to encounter the target language culture outside the class context separately from the orientation adopted by the teacher within the school premises. Mobility language students seem to have all the favourable conditions to learn the relationship between the target language and the target culture and how these two factors relate to the everyday reality they experience. However, the local culture may not always offer opportunities for integration. For instance, Kinginger (2004) shows that Alice struggled to participate in social interactions when she first arrived in France.

The interface between language and culture has been defined as ‘*languaculture*’ (Agar, 1994; Risager, 2005; Díaz, 2013). This concept refers to linguistically mediated cultural meanings. Agar holds that language and culture cannot be rationally separated and that in situations of immersion in the second language, students have more opportunities to learn this interconnection. Intercultural learning is driven by ‘*rich points*’ (Agar, 1996: 26), moments when cultural differences make the language learner experience an uncomfortable situation. These situations foster the development of sociolinguistic competence in the process of foreign language learning because students become aware of the differential characteristics between their native culture and the second language culture, which affect how meaning is interpreted. That is why Kinginger (2010) holds that teachers need to train their students culturally before their departure so that they can make the most of their stay and avoid, or even benefit from, uncomfortable moments, including conflicts and obstacles, if they know how to turn them into opportunities for learning.

In the age of the globalisation of higher education, the term ‘*languaculture*’ is a tricky term because the relationship between culture and language becomes less clear (Risager, 2005, 2006). For instance, there is an increasing need for international languages, such as English, that permit institutional intercommunication and exchange of human capital and that are not linked to one specific culture or context but too many at the same time. Risager (*ibid*) recognises two opposite angles from which to regard this phenomenon. On one hand, unlike states, languages do not have boundaries and the perception of languages as culture-bound phenomena is disappearing due to the on-going transnational processes of cooperation and the

decadence of the political model of the nation-state. On the other hand, claiming that a language has no cultural roots and that it can be isolated from its own cultural context reminds us of the traditional view of linguistic structuralism, in which languages were studied as autonomous systems. Risager (ibid) suggests that, in a situation of intercultural communication and global linguistic networks –such as study abroad–, the cultural place of languages is reconceptualised. A functional approach to language teaching and learning in the age of globalisation should be inclusive of the new social networks, cultural contexts and discourse communities across which languages (and their culture) are spread. These new contexts of use would take into account for instance their presence and use on Internet, situations of migration, transnational markets or the media.

The derootedness of cultures from the traditional habitat was already mentioned by Kramersch and McConnell-Ginet (1992) over a decade before Risager. The authors argued that the rhythm at which the world changes in modern times may lead scholars in the field of SLA to reflect on the alternations of cultures in an increasingly hybrid and mobile world community. They pose the question of whether individuals, teachers and students can conceptualise this endeavour in terms of travel instead of rootedness. The considerations taken first by Kramersch and McConnell-Ginet and later by Risager bring to the fore that an intercultural approach to language learning should also include new hybrid contexts of communication that are intrinsically intercultural. The idea of a culture as a bounded system collapses, and the new context where much communication occurs is made up of numerous cultures. In other words, language learners can cross cultures but can also enter an intercultural context where intercultural knowledge is necessary. This is especially the case in study abroad situations, where foreign students do not just encounter the culture of the target language but also the intercultural space that emerges from the encounter of the many cultures the international students carry with them.

Following Risager (2006), Kramersch (2009) holds that the role of culture in the foreign language class has changed in the first fifteen years of the 21st century due to modifications of the geopolitical landscape. These changes take place in five aspects. First, culture is denationalised, since language learners are no longer monocultural, as they are not monolingual. Second, culture is deterritorialised, since languages can no longer be associated with a stable speech community. Third, culture is dehistoricised, not only because of migration but also because the new technologies make it possible for the same individual to live in different countries with different histories. Fourth, culture is more fragmented because

the more diverse a community is, the more individuals tend to stick with those from the same cultural group, as paradoxical as this may seem. Finally, culture is today a discourse (a social semiotic construction) embodied through language and other semiotic means. Altogether, from a late modernist perspective, culture is not limited by the territory of the nation-state and its history but is a dynamic process, something that is constructed and reconstructed.

After reviewing the individual, contextual and social factors that affect study abroad and seeing that the study abroad context is not just embedded within the L2 culture but also within other layers of contexts that include a hybrid international community, this chapter will focus on how the linguistic diversity that emerges from the contact of the students' different linguistic repertoires within a situation of L2 learning in study abroad can represent a resource for L2 learning.

3.2. Language education in multilingual settings

The high level of mobility and migration around the world has increased the visibility of linguistic diversity, especially in urban settings (e.g. Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010). Although educational institutions are affected by changes in the environment surrounding them, in the majority of cases, classroom practices do not necessarily reflect the diversity of their students or the languages that they speak (Hélot, 2012). In the context of study abroad at the University of Lleida, the student body in the Catalan or Spanish L2 class is highly heterogeneous because mobility students come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and with a baggage in language learning of at least two foreign languages (English and Spanish in the majority of cases).

Continuing with the previous topic on individual and contextual variables that affect language learning in study abroad, this project considers that plurilingualism is an individual factor that may facilitate the acquisition of competence in the L2 in a study abroad situation because students can use their expertise as language learners and apply the linguistic similarities between languages from the same linguistic family as resources (see Cummins, 2005 in section 3.2.2). Moreover, the multilingual classroom environment resulting from the integration of the students' linguistic repertoires may be considered a facilitator of their L2 development. In short, plurilingualism and multilingualism may respectively represent extra individual and contextual variables that foster students' L2 development while abroad and the absence of this variable could represent an obstacle to the acquisition of the L2.

This section reviews research showing that linguistic diversity should be integrated by teachers as a resource to facilitate the acquisition of the L2. It considers research conducted in language-education contexts from the perspective of language-as-resource (Ruiz, 1984). First, I review the heteroglossic perspective on second and foreign language teaching. Second, scaffolding is presented as a valuable technique to include students' plurilingualism in the L2 classroom. Finally, I present the multilingual turn in second and foreign language acquisition (SFLA) and translanguaging as a pedagogic method for fostering multilingual education.

3.2.1. Monoglossic and heteroglossic approaches to language education

Among several possibilities, the field of second and foreign language acquisition (SFLA) has been organized into 'monolingual' and 'bilingual' perspectives (Miles, 2004: 2; as cited in Galindo Merino, 2011) or 'monoglossic' and 'heteroglossic' pedagogies (García and Flores, 2012: 233). In this chapter, we adopt García and Flores' (2012) terminology because the term 'heteroglossia' conveys an alternative perspective of linguistic heterogeneity (Androutsopoulos, 2012). The emphasis of heteroglossia, compared to bi/multilingualism, is that "language is not a neutral, abstract system of reference but a medium through which one participates in a historical flow of social relationships, struggles, and meanings" (Bailey, 2012: 499). In contraposition to 'heteroglossia', the term 'multilingualism' refers to the coexistence of multiple languages "that are discrete, ahistorical, and relatively self-contained" (ibid: 500). Languages and linguistic signs carry social meanings, which are constantly negotiated in interaction and the foreign language classroom is not exempt from this influence.

The monoglossic perspective on second language education considers that instruction should be exclusively conducted in the same target language and should avoid the use of any other code of communication in the class. Monoglossic pedagogies assume that the presence of the L1 negatively affects the acquisition of the L2. This is the case of the 'communicative' and the 'cognitive' approaches (García and Flores, 2012: 238). For example, in her pioneer work on the role of the L1 in the L2 classroom, Auerbach (1993) shows that many English teachers in the United States "uphold the notion that English is the only acceptable medium of communication within the confines of the ESL classroom" (ibid: 9). This approach, which is widespread among second and foreign language teachers, positions the mother tongue of the students as the 'forbidden code' (Levine, 2011: xiv).

According to Cummins (2005: 588), the prevalence of monolingual instructional approaches, and the consequent separation of languages, especially in immersion and bilingual

programmes, builds up the dichotomy between the L1 and the L2. He represents this situation of linguistic apartheid with the “two solitudes” metaphor in which languages are kept separate as the result of prescriptive norms of use. These norms may lead to a situation of ‘diglossia’ in which languages are used for different purposes and social functions and benefit some individuals over others. Paradoxically, inside the L2 class, many codes are available regardless of the teacher’s attempts to impede their use. This is why researchers like Butzkamm (2003) consider that the monolingual class is a utopia because, although they can look externally monolingual, it remains internally multilingual since the mother tongue of the pupils cannot be banished from their heads.

From a heteroglossic perspective, the monoglossic approach is mainly criticized for being an ideological choice that assumes a set of monolingual norms and ideals and transfers them into the classroom (Levine, 2011). Although a heteroglossic approach can also be ideological, it prioritizes language learning, independently of how many languages participate in the teaching and learning activities. In this line, Tudor (2001: 125) states that there is no such thing as an unmarked pedagogical choice and that all of them rest on “assumptions about the nature of language and of language learning”. Monoglossic norms are often based on an exclusionary discourse by which the students’ own languages (whether the first or any of the languages compounding their linguistic repertoires) are not taken into account, which reflects a broader pattern of power relations in the wider society (Cummins, 2000). Following ideas related to social justice and equity, researchers and teachers who advocate the language rights of bilingual students raise their voices against monolingual pedagogies (e.g. Van Lier, 2004, 2008, 2011; Kramsch and Whiteside, 2008; García, 2009; Edwards, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2011). Language ideology eclipses the most important thing in the SFLA class, which is to adopt pedagogical resources that maximize the benefit of the students in terms of learning. However, we should consider that the context of study abroad is different from those cited in this paragraph because the international student body in this project is far from being in a disadvantageous immigrant situation, but represents an international student ‘elite’ (Doerr, 2012; Askehave, 2007). The issue that these works share with any context of SFLA is that the monoglossic approach does not consider whether using multi/plurilingualism as a resource may be more convenient for learning the target language.

Contrary to the monolingual perspective, Galindo-Merino (2011), who works in the field of the teaching of Spanish a foreign language, suggests that many language educators may have confused the idea of allowing the entrance of the mother tongue into the L2 class with using it

as the dominant language of the class. She recommends the use of the L1 within limits and for a specific pedagogical purpose, and adds that the failure of students should not be attributed to the abuse of the L1 but to their lack of motivation to use the L2.

From a heteroglossic perspective, the main pedagogical resource emerges from the linguistic and sociocultural experience of the students themselves. Cook (1995, 1999, 2001) defines ‘multi-competence’ as “the total knowledge of languages in one mind” (1995: 94). From the perspective of ‘multi-competence’, the second language user’s mind is integrated by its first and second languages as a whole and it rejects the idea that L2 learners just add another monolingual system to their linguistic repertoire. Cook claims that bilingual and multilingual speakers’ capacity to communicate is unique because they acquire abilities such as code-switching, translation or metalinguistic awareness that monolinguals do not. The notion of multi-competence abandons the idea that learning an L2 is a path towards the ideal condition of the native speaker and focuses on the acquisition of hybrids of different languages and use of multiple codes, including not only written and oral texts but also visual texts (Shohamy, 2006). Cook (1999, 2001) states that there is no reason why a L2 user should work in the direction of the monolingual speaker.

In response to, Kramersch (1998: 28) suggests that “traditional methodologies based on the native speaker usually define language learners in terms of what they are *not*, or at least *not yet*”. Similarly, Cook (1999, 2001) claims that measures should be taken to shift the ‘deficit’ image of the L2 users towards that of multi-competent and privileged speakers. To redirect the attention to the multicompetent speaker, he asks language teachers to incorporate activities that include examples of interactions where L2 users participate, since the students as L2 users may experience them one day, or use the students’ L1 in the teaching activities. The objective of all these activities is to refocus their attention on their pre-existing multilingual competence.

Auerbach (1993: 20) summarizes the benefits of using the L1 in the following way:

“It reduces anxiety and enhances the affective environment for learning, takes into account sociocultural factors, facilitates incorporation of learners’ life experiences, and allows for learner-centred curriculum development. Most importantly it allows for language to be used as a meaning- making tool and for language learning to become a means of communicating ideas rather than an end in itself.” (Auerbach, 1993: 20)

These benefits could also be extended to the inclusion of any language that is found within the linguistic repertoire of the students, since they can be a means to incorporate their past (learning) experiences within the on-going environment of language learning.

Heteroglossic perspectives can be considered a consequence of an ecological perspective on multilingualism. We find two basic arguments: (1) the development of new languages occurs together with the development of existing languages (Van Lier, 2008); (2) the environment should open space for as many languages as possible (Hornberger, 2002: 30). The ecological perspective perceives language acquisition as a complex and extremely dynamic human activity shaped by the context where it occurs. From a heteroglossic perspective, the languages within the ecology of the classroom are considered resources available in the context, which can be exploited to learn the target language. What takes place in the classroom is connected to the context out of teaching and learning (Phipps and Levine, 2012) and for this reason, this approach rejects the idea that it is simply the result of accumulating a set of linguistic features or knowledge of the foreign culture. The underlying premise is that all languages are equally important and therefore they should not be excluded from the learning environment at any level. Besides, keeping students with different linguistic repertoires within the same space fosters multicultural and multilingual awareness (DaSilva Iddings, 2006).

Departing from an ecological perspective, Levine (2011) conducted an empirical study where he developed a multilingual approach to teaching and learning and curriculum design based on what the students do with their code-choices inside the class-context. In multilingual classrooms, practicing code-switching belongs to the ecology of the classroom and has to be exploited as a vehicle in the learning endeavour. For this reason, a heteroglossic approach is also an ecologic one. In fact, it has been previously demonstrated that using the mother tongue to acquire the foreign language is a resource employed by 73% of the students who ask their classmates about the meaning of a word (Smith, 1997 in Galindo-Merino, 2011). Faced with this fact, it appears more logical to adapt to the students' intuitive way of learning and direct them towards the construction of a multilingual community of practice, rather than trying to castrate them. However, the ecological multilingual approach cannot be a sort of *go with the flow*. In this sense, Levine (2011) argues that it needs to be structured and prescriptive but that students should participate in the co-construction of the multilingual norms of the classroom together with the teacher through activities that lead students to reflect on multilingual

practices present in everyday human interactions and also in the language use of the particular classroom context.

Levine (2011) contemplates five myths that lead teachers to forbid the L1 in class: (1) the exclusive use of the L2 is the intuitive mode of language classroom communication; (2) the monolingual native speaker is the appropriate target for students; (3) monolingualism is the way in which communication in class is actually achieved (and also in the world outside the class); (4) the use of the L1 could lead to the fossilization of errors, such as interferences; (5) an exclusive use of the L2 maximises the students' exposure to it, creates more opportunities to interact and compensates for the lack of presence of the L2 outside the class context. The same author considers that L2 teachers need to look at the classroom as a piece of 'the real world' and invest time in making students aware of how to employ their ability to switch codes. The aim is to move towards a 'code choice status quo' to facilitate the management of the different languages or, in his own words, "raising awareness of which language to use, with whom, when and why" (ibid: 4).

In the study-abroad situation, the local language teacher may have limited power to incorporate the L1 of all the students into the class, but this should not mean that the students' languages should be marginalised. Although the inclusion of only some of the students' L1s may create inequalities inside the class (Galindo-Merino, 2011), researchers propose two alternatives in this situation (Levine, 2011; Cummins, 2005): (1) the use of a *lingua franca* to achieve communication between the teacher and the students especially at initial levels of the L2 or when the complexity of the task is high; and (2) the use of the 'scaffolding' through the support of a student who shares the same language with the other student as mediator between the teacher and the less advanced learner. Efficient peer collaboration can solve problems and enable the learning of the L2 or the academic subject that the students are studying in the second language (Gibbons, 2002; Saville-Troike, 2006).

The following section presents scaffolding as a pedagogical strategy. The importance of scaffolding is that it enables students' plurilingualism to be integrated as a learning asset in the second and foreign language classroom. Creese and Blackledge (2010) and García (2009) present scaffolding as the strategy underpinning multilingual pedagogies.

3.2.2. Scaffolding and the zone of proximal development

A heteroglossic approach to foreign language learning is underpinned by the process of scaffolding. Scaffolding constructs knowledge departing from what the learners already know

and promotes practices such as peer-cooperation. Although it could be argued that scaffolding is a pedagogical framework and this is a project within the field of sociolinguistics, both areas merge when we look at the clash between heteroglossic and monoglossic perspectives on language teaching and learning. If we understand how scaffolding works, we will be better able to understand the analysis in chapter 7, where it is shown how some of the international students call for a heteroglossic approach that includes Spanish as a means to teach Catalan.

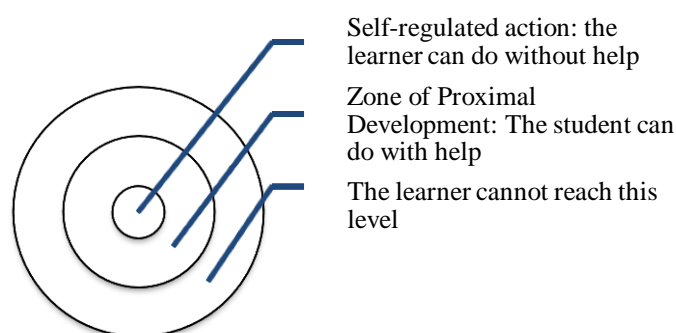
The original idea of scaffolding comes from Bruner (1983), who defines scaffolding as:

“a process of ‘setting up’ the situation to make the child’s entry easy and successful and then gradually pulling back and handing the role to the child as he becomes skilled enough to manage it.” (Bruner, 1983: 60)

As a pedagogical strategy, scaffolding refers to two aspects of the construction of learning: (1) the supportive structure (which is stable and already known by the learner) and (2) the collaborative construction work that is carried out in an activity. Gradually, the process of learning is handed to the learner, who becomes self-directed and can switch from recipient to agent in the learning process. This process is fluid and highly dynamic and is only made possible thanks to the structure, which provides the conditions for the learner to scale (Walqui, 2006).

The process of scaffolding only happens in the zone of proximal development (ZPD) which refers to “the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers” (Vygotsky, 1978: 86). For Vygotsky, learning is an interactive and communicative activity that occurs interpersonally and not just individually. This implies that the process of scaffolding is achieved in interaction and collaboration with other peers who have a higher degree of expertise (the agents in the particular activity) and who cooperate to allow novice students (the recipients of the scaffolding) scale in their knowledge. In the classroom, the helping peer can be the teacher or any of the students with a higher level of competence. The novice learner gradually develops the ability to carry out certain tasks without help or guidance. Figure 3.2 is a graphic conceptualisation of the ZPD extracted from Van Lier (1996: 190):

Figure 3.2. Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (1978; as cited in Van Lier, 1996: 190)

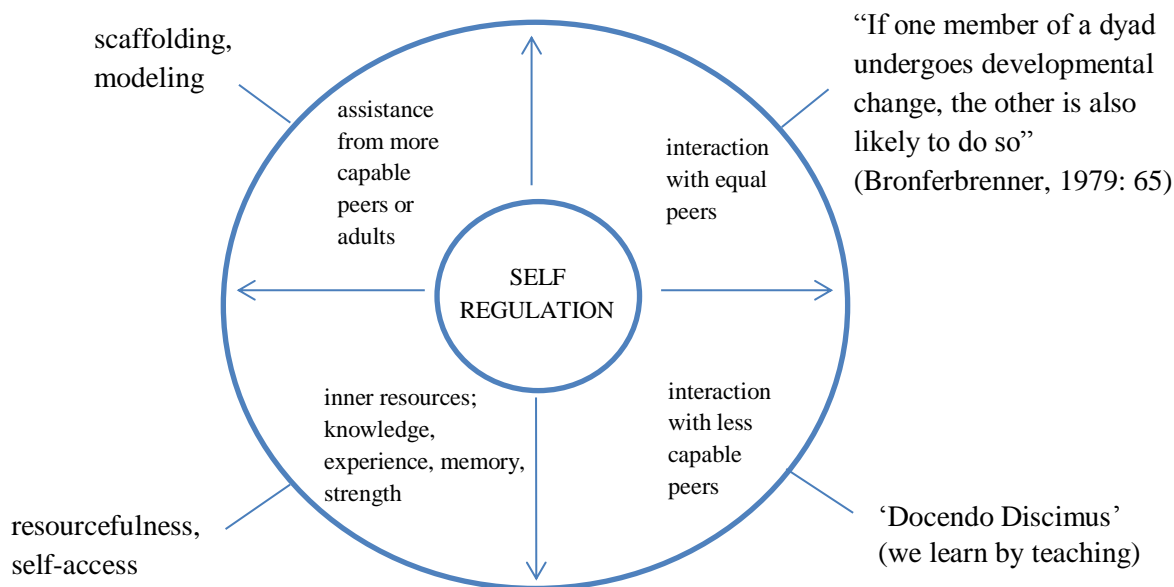


In the foreign language class, Van Lier (1996; as cited in Van Lier, 2004: 151) proposes the following six conditions for scaffolding:

1. Continuity: tasks are repeated with variations and connected to each other.
2. Contextual support: exploration is encouraged in a safe, supportive environment
3. Intersubjectivity: mutual engagement and non-threatening participation.
4. Contingency: task procedures depend on the actions of the learners, whose contributions are directed towards each other.
5. Handover/takeover: an increasing role for the learner as skills and confidence grow with careful evaluation of the learner's readiness to take over increasing parts of the action.
6. Flow: skills and challenges are in balance, participants are focused on the task and are in 'tune' with each other.

According to Van Lier (2004) learners also learn when they play the role of the 'expert', since they test and refine their own skills at the same time that they explain or illustrate difficulties to less capable peers. This interaction between peers creates a mutual ZPD for the participants, who are simultaneously pushing further in the clarification of the ideas and language used during the activity similarly to a relationship of symbiosis (e.g. Swain and Lapkin, 1998). Finally, as learners progress academically, the periods of independent learning will increase. However, if they have internalized previous teaching practices and social reasoning, they might manage to address the gaps and limitations that they encounter when they are alone as individual learners and become their own "virtual teacher" (Van Lier, 2004: 157). Altogether, Van Lier (2004) argues that the ZPD should be understood in its expanded sense and "not just as an unequal encounter between expert and novice, but also as a multidimensional activity space within which a variety of proximal processes can emerge". Figure 3.3 is a representation of the expanded concept of ZPD (Van Lier, 2004: 158):

Figure 3.3. “An expanded ZPD” (Van Lier, 2004: 158)



This figure shows a conceptualisation of the expanded ZPD (Van Lier, 2004). At the centre of the figure lies the student, who self regulates her/his learning by four different means: interaction with more capable peers, interaction with equally capable peers, interaction with less capable peers and when s/he uses such inner resources as experience, knowledge, memory and strength. According to Van Lier, learners can progress in the four situations. In the first situation, the student learns because he/she receives assistance from a more capable peer, who scaffolds her/his learning. In the second situation, when students work with equal peers, the fact that one of them learns indicates that other ones may do so as well. In the third situation, a student who is working with less capable peers and, therefore, is providing scaffolding, is testing what s/he knows. Finally, when a learner resorts to her/his inner resources, s/he is developing autonomy.

In the process of becoming a bilingual or multilingual speaker, the scaffolding technique is important because it assumes that language learning happens most successfully when the students are challenged (Cummins, 2000). Cummins (ibid) proposes a model for bilingual pedagogy that includes the cognitive demands and support offered by the context. Figure 3.4 presents Cummin’s four possible situations of learning in the class depending on the degree to which the learning process is embedded in the context and the cognitive effort that it requires from the students (extracted from Cummins, 2000: 68).

Figure 3.4. Cognitive Demands and Contextual Support in Bilingual Pedagogy (Cummins, 2000: 68)

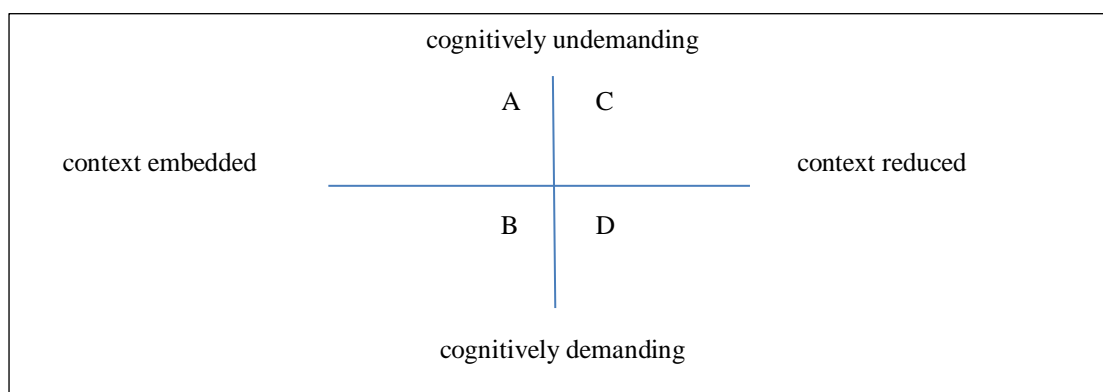


Figure 3.4 shows two perpendicular axes, the horizontal one represents the amount of context that learners have to conduct a task and the vertical one represents the level of cognitive demand of a task. The intersection between the two lines draws four areas under which learning can occur. The A area is a situation in which the learning situation is less cognitively demanding and more context embedded. The B area represents a highly cognitively demanding and context-embedded learning situation. The C area represents a learning situation that is cognitively undemanding and less context-embedded. The D area refers to a situation in which the task is cognitively highly demanding and the context is reduced. For optimal development, the learning should ideally occur in the B zone, i.e. embedded in the context and under cognitively demanding conditions. In order to reach context embeddedness, in multilingual classrooms the activity should include cooperative learning. The development of cooperative learning in a heteroglossic approach to language teaching uses plurilingualism as a valuable resource to learn the target language. For instance, cooperative learning can consist of making two students who share a common linguistic repertoire work together. The student with a higher command of the target language can aid the other student by providing him/her with translations or by explaining a specific point that the weaker student has not understood. In the present study, students who do not speak an Indo-European language ask the Catalan language teacher to use Spanish as a language to scaffold their acquisition of Catalan due to its typological similarity. The inclusion of Spanish as a language to learn Catalan, would make the job of engaging weak students with the task and move them towards a B situation, where they can develop the task on their own because they are sufficiently embedded in the context.

Cummins (ibid) argues that there are internal and external dimensions in the contextual support that affect the success of the student in developing the task. The internal support

refers to the student's own qualities and capacities. For instance, his/her knowledge of a subject will facilitate his/her comprehension of a text in the target language if s/he already has knowledge of that subject in his/her mother tongue. The external dimension of the support refers to the conditions in which the input is offered. For instance, whether the teacher speaks clearly or not, or uses paralinguistic support such as intonation or gesture, will contribute to the student's learning process. The task of the teacher is to reduce the structure provided by the context-embeddedness progressively (i.e. what the students already know) while maintaining the high cognitive demands of the lesson. Gradually, competent bilingual speakers will be able to perform increasingly demanding cognitive tasks with reduced contextual support and, thus, move towards the D zone presented in figure 3 (Gibbons, 1998; García, 2009). In other words, knowledge should be built up departing from the topics of the curriculum and the registers and levels of language that the students already know and are familiar with and moving towards what they do not know yet. This should also be the basis for the development of a foreign language in class. In the case of plurilingual students, such as those enrolled in study-abroad programmes, the languages that compound their plurilingual repertoires should be considered as part of the internal dimension of context-embeddedness and, as Cummins (2010) argues, consider language(s) as resource(s) to learn another foreign language.

In the context of Canada, Cummins (ibid) argues that schools need to maintain the status of the official language(s) recognised in the institutional language policy (French and English in Canada) and simultaneously encourage the maintenance and development of students' plurilingual skills. Cummins (ibid) considers that there is no contradiction between those two goals and they could be achieved through multiliteracies within a bilingual framework. In fact, the inclusion of the student's plurilingual repertoires may result in a greater engagement of the student, who might produce bilingual or even trilingual texts as a manifestation of their plurilingualism. In the context of universities in bilingual territories, like the UdL, this could also be considered. International bilingual universities which aim at reconciling the increasing multilingual situation with efforts aimed at revitalising a minority language foster multilingualism and respect their language policies by encouraging students to act plurilingually and produce pluri/multilingual texts.

Gibbons (2002: 138) supports the idea that "the potential for learning in school should not be restricted by a student's lack of knowledge of the language of instruction" and in a situation of SLA (English in Gibbon's study), learners should not be required to be linguistically

competent before they can be full participants in class. For this reason, the use of students' mother tongue as well as the languages that compound their multilingual repertoires should be exploited to learn the target language and to participate in the content mainstream classroom.

In the setting of Canada where French and English are official languages, Cummins *et al.* (2005) present the case of a student newly arrived in Canada from Pakistan (a novice learner), who is fluent in Urdu. The student engages in a literacy activity in the French class working in a group with other Urdu speakers who are more expert than her in French. The student's involvement is the result of the fact that the students manage the production of the text in Urdu, and this way, the novice student can be included and cooperate in the activity even if her competence in French is lower. The study shows that when the group of students are allowed to use Urdu to manage the process of creating the written text, the text produced is of a higher quality than when students are not allowed to use their mother tongue. In connection with the model of bilingual pedagogy (figure 3.4), the cooperation among peers produces the necessary external context conditions for the newly arrived student. In the same line as Baker (2011) and Edwards (2009), Cummins *et al.* (2005) conclude that we need a clear idea of what goals we need to achieve. If students use their mother tongue to process the input in French, it may not be much of a problem if it means the output of the activity is better.

According to Cummins (2005: 588) the inclusion of other languages to learn the target language in class could be very productive for a number of reasons. In first place, students can exploit the cognate relationships between languages. This is the case of all the academic vocabulary in English, which comes from Latin weak sources. In this sense, the acquisition of vocabulary could be accelerated by teaching students how the two languages co-work. A second reason, as shown in the example of the Urdu students, is that allowing students to use their mother tongue collaboratively to produce a text in the target language increases the quality of the product compared to the situation when students are only allowed to use the foreign language. Finally, when combining students with different linguistic backgrounds, such as in 'sister class' projects, students may collaborate and benefit from each other's linguistic backgrounds.

Cummins (2010) holds that monolingual policies (and, by extension, pedagogies) lack vision and imagination and are retrograde since, in late modern and global times, the monolingual and monocultural individual has become a myth (Cummins and Schecter, 2003; Kramsch, 2009). Monolingual policies exclude the students' cultural capital always placing the focus on what students lack (the target language) and, therefore cancelling anything that the students

are competent in and can develop well (using the languages that they already know) (Kramsch, 1998). Cummins (2010) goes further to suggest that there is a contradiction between using monolingual instruction strategies to develop bilingualism because the students never have the opportunity to show their increasing knowledge of the two languages. In an immersion programme, the two languages cannot coexist because it breaks the purity of the language of concern. In a study abroad situation (as in sister class connections, which is the example used by Cummins, 2005), there are situations when the languages are inevitably going to meet and this is something that should not be feared.

Cummins' act of realism could be interpreted as a call to adopt a sociocultural view of language and learning (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006; Gibbons, 2006; Baker, 2011). Instead of seeing language learning as the mere acquisition of an abstract linguistic system that will be simply applied in real world interactions, this perspective understands that learning is the acquisition of "skills to perform" (Gibbons, 2006: 21) within a specific sociocultural setting to become an expert language user. In this line, Cenoz and Gorter (2011) hold that multilingual speakers learn languages while engaging in language practices. Hence, in the multilingual and culturally hybrid context of study abroad (Kramsch and McConnet-Ginet, 1992; Risager, 2006), the expert L2 language users may turn out to be ones who can display their plurilingual competence in front of others, contribute to sustaining the hybridity offered by the context and making sense of their multilingual worlds. The situated view of learning represents a challenge for teachers and curriculum planners in international universities, who should be more concerned with the sociolinguistic practices of the multilingual setting where learning occurs in order to provide a "more effective and appropriate context for curriculum learning to take place" (Gibbons, 2006) and which could be achieved by integrating the plurilingual competence of students within the learning process in the classroom (see chapter 7).

From the point of view of language-in-education policies, monolingual pedagogies discourage the use of the languages the students already know and consequently, the target language becomes the only tolerable means of communication in the foreign language class interactions. From the perspective of the curriculum, the official languages may include the 'priority languages' of the institution, but even so, the students' linguistic repertoires should be, in first place, respected and, in the second, used as a resource by teachers to clarify concepts (in the situation where teachers share a common language with the students), or find equivalents in many languages. In this light, pedagogical practices such as 'translanguaging' have been proposed as less corrosive to the students' own multilingual repertoires (García,

2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010) (see section 3.2.3). However, code-switching is rarely institutionally and pedagogically supported, and if used, it is “a pragmatic response to the local classroom context” (ibid: 105).

Nowadays, the monolingual and monocultural student is the exception rather than the norm (Cummins and Schecter, 2003), but language policies still seem to ignore this fact. Multilingual scaffolding represents an opportunity for individual instructors to make a difference to students’ lives because the class can remain a very demanding space and, at the same time, offer an alternative to top-down languages policies that may exclude students who lack the languages required (Gibbons, 2002). Hence, scaffolding makes room for contestation, negotiation and reaction against the monolingual bias (Cenoz and Gorter, 2011) that results from monoglossic educational language policies which are in some cases imposed on the teachers and students.

Gibbons (2002) states that scaffolding is based on three principles that make it adequate for multilingual and multicultural heterogeneous contexts. The first principle is the link with the students’ personal histories in terms of the background that they bring to the class through their past experiences, linguistic repertoires, cultures and ways of looking at the world. The second is that it provides students with the support they need to learn from teachers and students, which is adequate for their individual second language learning needs and, at the same time, for the requirements of the language curriculum. The third is the aim of giving the student the responsibility of transferring what they have learnt by themselves to new contexts with new purposes.

To conclude this section, it is worth pointing out García *et al.*’s (2011) claim that rather than perceiving diversity as a handicap, language educators in the 21st century must find a way of using students’ plurilingualism to develop multilingualism within the L2 classroom “from the students up” (ibid: 17). Using the results from case studies in two high schools in New York, the authors argue that teachers should trust students and hand over control of their own learning because this would encourage students to invest more in their language education, especially at an adolescent age. This idea is consistent with what has been presented at the beginning of this section in connection with using scaffolding as a technique to develop L2 students’ agency. The pedagogical strategy of scaffolding is intimately related to the notion of ‘translanguaging’ and more broadly, to the multilingual turn in SLA, which aim at developing pedagogies to foster bilingualism and multilingualism in culturally and linguistically heterogeneous educational contexts (Williams, 1994, 1996; García, 2009; Creese and

Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011; Li and Zhu, 2013). This concept was briefly introduced in section 2.4 above to refer to the integration of students' multilingual repertoires for pedagogical purposes. The following section will present the multilingual trend and the concept of translanguaging in detail.

Although the authors reviewed in this section and the majority of those who appear next do not work specifically in the context of study abroad, the commonality between the students in all the contexts is that they want to use their plurilingual competence in contexts regimented by monolingual policies and practices. From the students' perspective, independently of their educational levels, plurilingualism represents an asset for learning and developing the target language, independently of whether they are in a situation of foreign language learning or second language acquisition (see chapter 7). The following section presents translanguaging as a pedagogy that integrates the use of linguistic diversity within the classroom setting.

3.2.3. Translanguaging as pedagogy in the multilingual classroom

'Translanguaging' is a term coined by Cen Williams (1994, 1996) (originally *trawsieithu* in Welsh) that refers to a bilingual pedagogy employed in the context of bilingual schools in Wales where the students were competent in both Welsh and English. The translanguaging activities consisted of presenting an input (the text that students would read or listen to) in one language and the output (the discussion around the text) would be produced in the other language (as cited in Hornberger, 2003). The input and the output languages would systematically switch to ensure progress in both languages. The aim of this pedagogic strategy was to use "one language to reinforce the other in order to (i) increase understanding and (ii) in order to augment the pupil's ability in both languages" (Williams, 2002: 40). Williams (2003; as cited in Baker *et al.*, 2012) suggests that in translanguaging, the stronger language contributes to developing the weaker language while simultaneously keeping a balanced relationship between the two. Another important characteristic is that translanguaging develops bilingualism or multilingualism through bilingual, multilingual or plurilingual practices (García, 2012).

Early research on translanguaging recognised four benefits from the use of translanguaging in schools whose goal was the development of bilingualism (Baker, 2001; Hornberger, 2003). First, it enables a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter. Considering Vygotsky's ZPD, translanguaging enables stretching the knowledge that students already have and progress. Second, translanguaging helps students to develop competence in their weaker

language, since it prevents them from conducting the majority of work in the stronger language and using the weaker language residually or for less complicated parts of the activity. Third, the joint use of languages can facilitate home-school cooperation because if a child can communicate the content of the subject to his/her parents in a language the latter can understand at home, they will be able to help the child. As a side effect, it encourages parents to become more involved in literacy practices (Hornberger, 2003). Fourth, it facilitates the integration of different levels of competence within the same classroom because the content of the subject and the language are developed simultaneously.

Based on previous review of research on the importance of the L1 on SFLA, a fifth benefit could be added. Translanguaging allows students to portray themselves as proficient speakers independently of the language of instruction and relieve the stress of not being able to communicate in the target language of the class (Atkinson, 1993). In the case of immigrant students who are unable to speak in the language of the new school, not being able to participate in class may impede their academic success.

One of the main developers of translanguaging as a pedagogic strategy is García (2009). For this author, ‘translanguaging’ means taking a holistic stance towards individual multilingualism, and instead of perceiving languages as independent separate entities or rivals, it “makes obvious that there are no clear-cut boundaries between languages of bilinguals”, but rather a “languaging continuum” (García, 2009: 47). García’s contribution goes beyond presenting translanguaging as a pedagogic strategy. Rather, she considers it as a mechanism for bilinguals (English-Spanish in her New York context of research) to “construct understandings, include others and mediate understanding between language groups” (García, 2009: 307-308) rather than just a strategy. Hence, ‘translanguaging’ transfers the focus from the form or the code to the individual (García, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011; Li, 2011; Li and Zhu, 2013). This is one advantage that should also be added to Baker’s (2001) and Hornberger’s (2003) arguments in favour of translanguaging: it places learners at the heart of their own learning process and encourages them to take the reins.

For García (2009b: 151), the main advantage of using translanguaging to educate is “its potential as the building block of all bilingualisms” because it is impossible to live in a multilingual environment without translanguaging. Although children can use language flexibly, teachers need to plan carefully when and how to use the different languages in class (García, 2009). In connection with the programmes for bilingual education that were

presented in section 2.2, ‘translanguaging’ would be recognised by a dynamic plurilingual programme. In class, both students and teachers can benefit from translanguaging because “the students use diverse language practices for purposes of learning, and teachers use inclusive language practices for purposes of teaching”, instead of submitting to a rigid language policy that is external to the learning situation (García and Sylvan, 2011: 397). García (2011: 147) suggests that translanguaging is not just a scaffold-type instruction but “it is part of the metadiscursive regimes that students in the 21st century must perform”. For instance, in multilingual families, translanguaging is the only discursive practice that can include all family members (García and Flores, 2012; García *et al.*, 2011). If we compare a multilingual classroom with the example of the family, it could be considered that translanguaging is the only discursive practice that can include all classroom members.

More recently, Li (2011) and Li and Zhu (2013) suggest that the prefix ‘trans-’ emphasises three dimensions of translanguaging: transsystem/structure/space, transformative and transdisciplinary. The first dimension refers to the ability of translanguagers to go beyond linguistic systems and structures, modalities and communicative contexts and spaces. The second alludes to the capacity of translanguaging to transform nature, bring together different dimensions of the multilingual speakers’ skills, knowledge and experience and develop these and create new values, identities and relationships. The third dimension refers to the holistic and integrated perspective of translanguaging in multilingual practices, revealing the creativity of multilingual performances.

From an ecological perspective, Creese and Blackledge (2010) use the term ‘translanguaging’ to describe a flexible bilingual approach to language teaching and learning in Chinese and Gujarati complementary language schools in the United Kingdom. The authors present a flexible bilingual approach in contrast to the separate bilingual approach, by which languages are kept separate. In their study, they seek to describe how knowledge and skills are interdependent across languages and suggest that it is important to abandon monolingual instructional practices and shift towards teaching in two languages alongside each other or, in short, promote bilingualism through practicing bilingualism in the classroom. Translanguaging teaching practices also enable the connection between “the social, cultural, community and linguistic domains of their [the students’] lives” (ibid: 112).

However, Creese and Blackledge (2010) warn that, although the practice of translanguaging is natural in all linguistically diverse contexts (and here they connect with García, 2009b), the manner of constructing bilingual pedagogies needs to pay attention to the socio-political and

historical environment in which these practices are embedded. This connects with Baker's (2001, 2006, 2011) work on bilingual education, which was presented in section 2.2.1. Baker suggests that all programmes are potentially effective but their adequacy depends on contextual factors. For instance, in the case of universities in Catalonia which aim to become more international, Catalan and English are weaker languages than Spanish, as Spanish is most commonly the shared *lingua franca* between the locals and the international students (Llurda, 2013) (see section 2.3.1 on language-in-education policies). For this reason, if translanguaging practices were left uncontrolled, they could lead to a monolingual Spanish situation and be detrimental for multilingualism. In this situation, translanguaging needs to be regulated by the teachers, in line with Levine's (2011) multilingual approach to teaching and learning and curriculum design.

Canagarajah (2011) adds a critical touch to this pedagogic strategy. Although he positions himself in favour of developing pedagogies grounded on the practices of multilingual students, he holds that translanguaging should not be a taken-for-granted ability of bi/multilinguals. He holds that the tendency to "glorify multilingual student communication" (ibid: 413) has actually slowed down the development of translanguaging proficiency and that a critical orientation to assessment and instruction should be developed. In his study, Canagarajah describes the translanguaging strategies of a Saudi Arabian university student when writing an essay. He recognises four translanguaging strategies: (1) recontextualisation strategies, i.e. measuring the suitability of the context and shaping the ecology of the classroom to favour translanguaging by promoting the instructor's or classmates' willingness for this kind of practice; (2) voice strategies, i.e. the written text as a space for the student to display his/her multilingual identity; (3) interactional strategies involving the negotiation of interlocutors' particularities to achieve intelligibility and meaningful communication (e.g. choosing a *lingua franca*); (4) textualisation strategies, i.e. seeing the text as a multimodal practice and using process-oriented strategies to produce the text effectively (e.g. moving the attention away from the form and focusing on generating the content of the text). With this study, Canagarajah demonstrates that it is possible to develop the students' proficiency in translanguaging and develop models for translanguaging from the same students, which would imply scaffolding strategies as it departs from what students know and uses plurilingualism to create the ideal learning context.

Another scholar who adopts a critical stance towards including multilingualism in the L2 classroom is McNamara (2010). He argues that multilingualism has been idealised and

researchers assume that it is good by definition. According to him, multilingualism can be ambiguous, like a double-edged sword, because every act of inclusion carries with it a potential act of exclusion. Multilingual practices are highly complex and not all students may align with the exposition of their multilingual repertoire in class. Opening up flexible multilingual spaces could also entail the exhibition of students who are not in the position to perform multilingually or those who reject that identity.

In the context of international universities in Catalonia, Moore *et al.* (2012) offer an empirical study of how university teaching practices are becoming internationalised. The authors provide an analysis of how university teachers and students draw on plurilingual and multimodal resources to construct subject content knowledge. Even if they do not analyse the interactions in terms of ‘translanguaging’, the authors talk about the mobilisation of plurilingualism as a valuable resource in the classroom context. Later on, Moore (2013: 7) recognises that translanguaging includes code-switching but, instead of being a simple way of scaffolding teaching, translanguaging is “central to constructing an understanding of plurilingualism as it materialises in multilingual classroom settings and contributes to overlapping social processes, including knowledge construction”. In Moore *et al.* (2012), the data come from lectures in four different technology subjects at two Catalan universities and the emerging plurilingual repertoire includes English, Catalan and Spanish. The analysis shows how the participants mobilise plurilingualism with three aims: to manage participation, to manage comprehension and attention and to manage complexity. First, teachers make room for students to intervene actively to construct the content of the class by code-switching. In a chemistry lecture delivered in English, the students select the language they want to intervene in and the teacher adapts to the students’ choice, giving positive feedback and encouraging further participation. Second, the use of different languages makes it easier for the students to understand the content and is a way by which the teacher can make students focus on aspects that need more attention. In their data, a teacher switches from English to Catalan to emphasize the relevance of an issue and get students’ attention. Third, plurilingual practices represent an opportunity for the students and the teacher to reflect on the content of the lecture and achieve greater complexity. In the chemistry lecture in English, a student gives the solution to a problem in Spanish. The teacher accepts the answer and also adds further detail in Spanish. Then, the teacher switches back to English to reformulate the information that he added. The authors argue that by allowing the use of languages other than the L2 (English in this case) the participants reach a higher level of knowledge in the subject.

Moore *et al.* (2012) are critical of the language policies in Catalan universities, which ignore and even discourage the use of plurilingualism as a resource through the principle of language safety, by which teachers need to anticipate the language (in singular) of instruction of their courses before they start and stick to their choice. Monolingual teaching forces teachers to renounce the many advantages of learning plurilingually, which is demonstrated in their study. The authors conclude that teaching in a foreign language at international universities in Catalonia can reconcile the existing plurilingualism and the complexity of the course content. Within the field of second language learning, Cenoz (2013a) criticizes that content and language integrated learning programmes make an effort to teach the second language and content of the subject at the same time, but they still avoid the integration of other languages apart from the second language.

Also within the context of higher education, Li and Zhu (2013) use the notion of translanguaging to study the multilingual practices of transnational Chinese university students who have chosen to create multilingual and transnational networks. The usefulness of translanguaging in this study is that it enables the authors to explore how the students' everyday practices and identities result from the trajectories of the communities to which they belong, how their identities evolve across space and time, and what students learn from belonging to the space they have created. In this light, Li and Zhu hold that the transformative nature of translanguaging opens a space in the world for multilingual people because it links their personal histories, experiences, attitudes, beliefs and ideologies into a performance. Li and Zhu call this space the 'translanguaging space' because it has been created for and by translanguaging. The authors show that the transnational students manage to express the fluidity and dynamism of their identities through translanguaging practices that bring together their past lives and future perspectives. The participants consider themselves Chinese students but from no specific place and since they have been detached from the country of origin, they emphasize the present time and physical place in which they live.

The second or foreign language classroom can turn into a 'translanguaging space' if the conditions for it are present (Canagarajah, 2011). In the following section, we move from translanguaging to the use of multilingualism within the specific context of second or foreign language learning (May, 2013). Whereas the previous section on 'translanguaging' emphasises the development of bilingualism and multilingualism in any content-based subject and mainstream education, the following section is a specific look at the context of SFLA.

3.2.4. The multilingual turn in SFLA

The use of the mother tongue in the L2 classroom has been, and still is, the *leitmotif* of much research on pedagogical practices in SFLA (e.g. Cook, 1995, 2001; Swain and Lapkin, 2000; Cummins, 2005, 2008; Galindo-Merino, 2011; Nguyen, 2012). However, in an increasingly globalised world, the monolingual condition is no longer the point of departure for the majority of L2 learners, their teachers, or SFLA researchers (Cummins and Schecter, 2003; Kramersch, 2012). Today many L2 learners are already competent in other languages before they acquire an additional language due to migration fluxes they are embedded in and thanks to the new technologies and communication media (such as the Internet). In this line, Cenoz and Gorter (2011) suggest that considering the multilingual repertoires of the L2 students is a challenge for research in SFLA and that researching the collusion of students' linguistic repertoires within the same learning space would show how teachers and students can benefit from the group's heterogeneity. Drawing on Kramersch (2012), this section focuses on the intersection between multilingualism and plurilingualism and SFLA with the aim of aligning with the hybrid multilingual space of study abroad.

The multilingual turn in SLA (Kramersch, 2012; Cenoz and Gorter, 2011, 2013; May, 2013) considers multilingualism an asset rather than a handicap to learning the L2. As in the case of 'translanguaging' pedagogies for SFLA (e.g. Khan, 2013), it is more important to learn how to move between languages and to understand the multiplicity of "codes, modes, genres, registers, and discourses that students will encounter in the real world" than learning a language as a hermetic, bounded and prescribed system (Kramersch, 2012: 107). The multilingual turn abandons the ideal of the monolingual native speaker and considers that multilingualism is a form of social practice whose origin is multilingualism itself (Kramersch, *ibid*). Therefore, multilingualism and plurilingualism should be developed through multi/plurilingual practices.

Kramersch (2012) studies the identity of multicompetent language users —those who live, use and learn in different languages on a daily basis— in an L2 context. She adopts the notions of authenticity and legitimacy to show the struggle of multilingual speakers to find an appropriate subject position vis-à-vis native speakers. Kramersch shows that other factors than grammatical and lexical correctness help individuals be accepted into the host society and, for this reason, she considers that language should be considered a semiotic resource instead of a linguistic system. In practical pedagogical terms, Kramersch suggests different pedagogical practices in the multilingual foreign language classroom that coincide with the

translanguaging approach discussed above. One strategy is to treat all the languages in the multilingual classroom repertoire not as systems but as available semiotic resources and alternate the use of languages for the input and output. A second strategy is to teach students explicitly the relationship between multimodality, different registers and genres. Another strategy includes the use of texts that index various literary and historical traditions. The fourth strategy consists of employing translation as a literacy practice in the L2. Finally, Kramersch suggests discussing the social reality of their students with foreign language teachers. For instance, teachers should take into account whether they belong to a cosmopolitan elite of language learners. Kramersch concludes that it is not necessary to promote the intellectual kind of multilingualism that is promoted in the media but languages should instead be presented as strategic semiotic resources that result from, and permit, living in a polyhedral reality.

Block (2013) adds a call for the inclusion of multimodality and multilingual embodiment to the multilingual turn. To approach the notion of 'embodiment' Block departs from Bourdieu's terms of *habitus* and *body hexis*. For Bourdieu, individuals progressively develop a sense of what behaviour is appropriate and legitimate in different social contexts. When using language, linguistic practices are accompanied by ways of articulating language (such as phonetics) and physical postures. Besides, individuals develop the ability to react to this connection between language and embodiment, they know whether they are accepted/-able or not. In the case of individuals who move from one country to another, they may also need to learn how to accompany their new linguistic practices with body gestures and postures. Block approaches the notion of multimodality through Gee's notion of 'big D discourse'. Discourse with a capital D refers to everything that is embraced by communication. This allows the inclusion of a multiplicity of modes of interaction in the SFLA class, among which he pays special attention to intonation, proxemics, posture and gesture, but which can also include head position, facial expression, gaze, clothing and accessories. Language represents just one mode of communication that works in combination with others. In formal SLA contexts, Block holds, there is little opportunity to integrate all these aspects of communication, which genuinely appear in the natural target language context. He presents the exploitation of phenomena like 'alignment' in the L2 classroom as a promising option. This represents an opportunity for complex processes of coordinated interaction between human beings. Finally, Block argues that multilingual students are also multimodally competent because they have acquired semiotic resources at the same time that they have acquired other languages and the L2 classroom should not ignore them, but include them as an asset in the classroom.

In the field of TEFL, Cenoz and Gorter (2013) propose a holistic plurilingual approach to foreign language learning. The authors disagree with the tendency for schools to teach an L2 monolingually. They argue that it produces an image of an ideal monolingual speaker that is unrealistic for TEFL students because the result of learning English as an additional language is to become bi/multilingual. The authors draw on the distinction between multilingualism and plurilingualism by the Council of Europe (2007; as cited in Cenoz and Gorter, 2013). Whereas multilingualism refers to different languages in a geographical unit independently of whether its people are monolingual or not, plurilingualism refers to a unique competence that includes different languages and varieties of languages within the same individual. The idea of plurilingualism softens the boundaries between languages and leads to the adoption of a perspective of teaching foreign languages as stimulating plurilingualism. Cenoz and Gorter argue that the holistic plurilingual perspective is more efficient because learners can transfer the general competences that they acquired when learning another language to the target language. A plurilingual approach enables the maximum exposure of the learner to the target language and, at the same time, the use of plurilingual teaching practices based on the students' experiences as plurilingual speakers. The author (ibid: 597) suggests that the implications for TEFL teachers and teacher trainers are:

1. Setting attainable goals. This means setting realistic goals of becoming competent plurilingual speakers and abandoning the unrealistic English native ideal.
2. Using plurilingual competence. The learners' plurilingual repertoires can be an extraordinary source of knowledge for developing linguistic and discourse skills and metalinguistic awareness.
3. Integrated syllabi. It is necessary for teachers of different languages to be coordinated and, for instance, work on the same kind of text, communicative event or grammatical structure simultaneously, even if at different levels of expertise.
4. The creation of resources. This point refers to creating activities using code-switching and translanguaging, which are ignored in class but are common among plurilinguals.

Cenoz (2013b) convincingly argues that third language acquisition is different from second language acquisition. According to the author, the advantage of bilinguals over monolinguals can be associated with three factors. First, bilinguals have a higher level of metalinguistic awareness due to their experience of learning other languages and they also know two linguistic systems instead of one. As a consequence, bilinguals can see language as an object

and think of it in a more abstract way. Second, learners of a L3 have developed learning strategies in the L2 that monolinguals have not. For instance, they look for more opportunities to use the language, show self-direction and a more positive attitude towards the task. Finally, L3 learners have a broader linguistic repertoire at their disposal. This applies especially in the case of languages that are closely related, as the languages may share more commonalities in such issues as grammar and vocabulary than languages that are typologically distant (Cenoz, 2001). As a consequence, Cenoz (2013b) argues for a holistic perspective to analyse the effect of bilingualism in the acquisition of a third language. The author calls this perspective ‘focus on multilingualism’ and includes three sub-foci: (1) a focus on the multilingual speaker, (2) a focus on the whole linguistic repertoire; and (3) a focus on context. The first focus takes into account that not all bilingual speakers can be considered equal and there can be differences in how they integrate their bilingual repertoire in the acquisition of the L3 or the level of proficiency they have in each language. The second focus looks at the interaction among the different languages as a whole and how the skills acquired in one language can be applied to another. The third focus considers that the context of the interaction is crucial because multilingual practices can be affected by the social context where they occur.

Summary

Chapter 3 dealt with the process of language learning in study abroad and in multilingual settings. In the first part of this chapter, we have seen how contextual factors may affect the students’ development of the target language during their stay abroad and that the process of language learning while abroad is intimately related to intercultural development and cultural and linguistic hybridity. The second part of the chapter has shown that language learning can benefit from the students’ plurilingual repertoires and their experience as language learners. Language educators can adopt a heteroglossic approach in order to scaffold the students’ acquisition of the L2 and develop plurilingualism through plurilingual practices, which may be more coherent with the students’ multilingual social lives. Finally, this chapter has presented translanguaging as a strategy that can be used within a heteroglossic approach for language education and how a focus on multilingualism may further facilitate the acquisition of a foreign language in learners who already know two or more languages.

Part II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Part II is divided into two chapters: (1) ethnography as the method used for data collection; and (2) discourse analysis as a method for analysing the data. Chapter 4 presents linguistic ethnography as the theoretical and methodological bases of this study. It is divided into two main parts. Sections 4.1 and 4.2 present linguistic ethnography as the epistemological research perspective from which this study is conducted with the review of three linguistic ethnographic studies conducted in multilingual educational settings which represent three referents for the present thesis. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 explain how the data were collected and how the relationship of trust built with the participants may have affected the data obtained, with special attention to issues related to language choice as a means for the researcher to affiliate with the participants.

Chapter 5 describes the analytical framework. It is organised into three parts: (1) discourse analysis; (2) interactional sociolinguistics; and (3) stance as a bridging perspective. This chapter discusses the notion of ‘stance’ (Du Bois, 2007; Jaffe, 2009) as the core analytical element to link everyday interactions with wider socioeconomic, political and ideological processes that shape people’s perspectives on how multilingualism should be managed in an international university.

Chapter 4. An ethnographic approach to data collection

“A little difference can make a big difference.”

(Agar, 2006: 24)

Chapter 4 aims to present linguistic ethnography as the epistemological perspective adopted for this research and ethnography as the methodological approach for data collection. Linguistic ethnography (LE henceforth) represents a perspective from which to understand the development of the research. This discipline, presented in section 4.1, sees language and social life as mutually shaping and generally holds that the analysis of situated language use can contribute to understanding the social and cultural patterns present in everyday life (Rampton *et al.*, 2004). After delimiting the epistemological position, section 4.2 presents a review of three ethnographic studies carried out in multilingual educational settings that this research takes as references. Section 4.3 describes how the data were collected following an ethnographic process and explains the decisions made during, before and after the fieldwork as well as the consequences that these decisions had on the data obtained and its interpretation. Finally, section 4.4 analyses the researcher’s relationship with the participants with special attention to language choice as an essential means to construct relationships within a multilingual field.

4.1. Linguistic ethnography

In this section, I focus on the implications of using linguistic ethnography (LE) as a theoretical and methodological perspective. LE, as its name suggests, is an interdisciplinary combination of ethnography and linguistics (Creese, 2008). It assumes that language and social life are intertwined and mutually constitutive and that a close analysis of linguistic practices in everyday interactions can inform researchers about the cultural and social patterns in the human process of producing meaning (Rampton *et al.*, 2004). LE studies how patterns of language use and social relations evolve over time and across space and how these changes contribute to the evolution of language and society. Hornberger (1994: 688) holds that ethnographic research is on “what people say and what people do in a given context and across contexts in order to arrive at a fuller representation of what is going on”.

The benefits of combining ethnography and linguistics are that ethnography focuses on social phenomena and provides linguistics with the knowledge of the situational context where the interactions occur (which may not be explicitly articulated) and offers linguistics “a non-

deterministic perspective on the data” (Creese, 2008: 233), i.e. it avoids making premature assumptions between parallel cases and prescribing the interpretation of the data since it is interested not only in socio-cultural patterns but also in their particularities. Linguistics supports ethnography by offering it a discourse analytical framework that permits “isolating and identifying linguistic and discursive structures” by means of an “authoritative analysis of language use not typically available through participant observation and the taking of fieldnotes”, two traditional techniques for data collection in ethnography (Creese, *ibid*).

Ethnography adopts a post-structuralist perspective, which argues that the distinctions we make in social life are not necessarily given by the world around us but rather constructed in interaction through the symbolising systems we learn (Belsey, 2002). In this line, Blommaert (2007: 682) argues that “micro-events are combinations of variation and stability” and that ethnography has traditionally been concerned with respecting both aspects. By the same token, the ethnographic process is mutually constructed by the agents that participate in it (researcher and researched community) and the spatial and temporal constraints of the situation (the situational context). In practical terms, the research process is dynamic in nature and constantly in evolution (see sections 4.3 and 4.4).

The aim of ethnographic research is the production of in-depth descriptions about what happens in a particular community without imposing meaning from an external point of view (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Rather, it seeks to study people in natural contexts in order to capture how they perceive and construct their ordinary social world. This leads to the integration of both emic and ethic perspectives: that of the insiders in the community under research together with that of the researcher in an ultimate attempt to relate particular everyday interactions to the broader social and cultural context (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). For Rampton *et al.* (2004) “ethnography’s emphasis on close knowledge through first-hand participation allows the researcher to attend to aspects of lived experience that are hard to articulate, merely incipient, or erased within the systems of representation that are most regular and reliably described.” As a result, ethnography is more than a mere description since it constitutes an interpretation of ordinary activities in relationship with phenomena that happen in a broader context that overlies the immediate situation (Rampton *et al.*, 2004).

Meaning constitutes more than the mere expression of ideas; it represents the merging point of social relations, individual and collective histories and institutional regimes (Rampton, 2007). Blommaert and Jie (2010) consider that there are three levels of context present in the

interactions: (1) the situated events, (2) the micro-context that defines the situation and (3) the social, cultural, historical, political, institutional macro-contexts. The author illustrates it with the following diagram:

Figure 4.1. Different layers of context (Blommaert and Jie, 2010: 18)

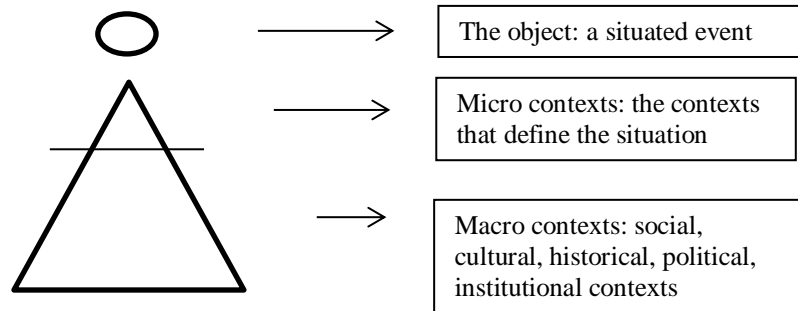


Figure 4.1 shows how local verbal interactions (and other sorts of semiotic means such as gesture or mimics) are embedded within broader macro-contextual processes. The detailed linguistic analysis of these interactions allows us to understand the relationship between individuals, communicative events and institutions.

A crucial aspect of ethnographic research is the attention that is given to the role of the researcher as an agent that conditions the results of the study during the process of writing it. To understand this point, it is important to underline that ethnography constitutes “both a product and a process” (Merriam, 2009: 27). Ethnography as a product is the contribution that ethnographers as social scientists offer to the open scientific community, in other words, the tangible result of the process. Similarly, Blommaert (2007: 682) states that ethnography is “iconic of the object it has set out to examine” and it does not try to simplify the complexity of social life but to do justice to it; which emphasises the product side. Ethnography as a process refers to what lies behind this learning, how the research is developed and what happens during the course of it that leads to that particular ethnography and not a different one. The researcher is one of the factors that conditions all ethnographic research. Broadly speaking, an ethnographer conditions the research process in three moments. The first moment is the design of the research. For instance, the research questions with which the researcher enters the research site, the length of the fieldwork period and the diversity in the sample collected are three issues that affect the quality and reliability of the research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). The research questions guide which aspects of the fieldwork will be captured. On the other hand, engaging with fieldwork for a lengthy period

of time allows the ethnographer to delve deeper into the scene and into individuals' perspectives in order to produce a more accurate description.

The second way in which ethnography shapes the data researchers obtain is through the choices they make (inside and outside the field) that affect how the data are collected, interpreted and transmitted in later steps in the research. Part of these choices lead to a reflective relationship between the researcher and her/his research (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). Reflexivity can be understood as a feedback relationship between research and researcher, as both are dynamic, intertwined and mutually changing. Research and researcher appear as two living entities that cooperate to guide each other along the ethnographic path: the choices that the researcher makes during the process will determine part of the findings and the same findings will determine part of the researcher's choices. As a consequence, the ethnographic process is neither linear nor rigid. In this line, Agar (2006) argues that there is more than one possible ethnography for the same site since the circumstances that converge during the trajectory of the study –such as who the researcher is, who the participants are, the link they create, or the events happening in sync with the world– may lead to different ethnographies. In his own words, “a little difference can make a big difference” (ibid: 24). Agar (ibid: 26) states that there is nothing wrong with the variability that characterises the ethnographic process that may redirect the study in epistemological and practical terms. However, he points out that “not all ethnographies are acceptable”. He argues that ethnography must follow an abductive logic, which means that the purpose of ethnography must be to look for surprising facts in human interactions and explain them inductively in order to advance in the scientific knowledge.

Finally, the third element that ethnography introduces into the process is the relationship of trust constructed with the participants. Ethnographic fieldwork contemplates a mutual relation of interaction and adaptation between the ethnographer and the participants (Hymes, 1980). Section 4.4 offers a reflection on the relationship of trust constructed with the participants in this study.

For all these reasons, the researcher has to accept that their interpretations of the reality under study are partial and that their own self perception of the world conditions the way they make sense of the ordinary situated activities of the participants in the research (Hymes, 1996; Blommaert, 2001). While doing ethnography – and, hence, linguistic ethnography – the researcher assumes the adoption of interpretivism as a scientific stance (Heller, 2009).

Interpretivism starts from the premise that knowledge is a social construct and considers that individual practices are the source of this knowledge. No matter what the subject of research is, it is considered to have multiple interpretations and representations as it is a dynamic and constantly changing entity. Consequently, ethnographers do not claim to be neutral or impartial; they are aware that the way they act has an impact on the reality they want to account for. However, they do make an effort to understand how people in the field conceive them and how they influence the research process with their presence and to what extent it may be affecting the nature of the data obtained. At the interactional level, researchers engage with the community under research and their presence may condition the way people behave.

A good example of an act of reflexion in ethnographic research is the one provided by Creese and Blackledge (2012). The researchers analyse the meetings in their ethnographic research team to show how ethnographers are likely to make their own assumptions about what is going on in the field. In their case, one of the researchers is also a member of the community under research and in the past attended the same complementary school that the project in which he participates is examining. In the fieldnotes taken by this member of the research team, there are evaluations and personal opinions about the work of the teachers and the school probably influenced by his own experience as a student of that complementary school. Creese and Blackledge hold that team ethnography could be a way of mitigating the impact of the researcher on the data obtained, since researchers help each other to maintain distance from the data to become aware of the influence they exert on the environment. Ethnographers have the power to give a voice to some participants and ignore that of other's. This depends on how they manipulate the data and the style they use to narrate the story. Ultimately, the authors call for more transparency in the process of doing ethnography as the nature of the results depends on the way they have been gathered and interpreted. With the aim of attending to Creese and Blackledge's (2012) call for transparency, section 4.3 includes a reflection on how the fieldnotes were taken and afterwards refined to present them to a wider audience.

The following section presents research conducted in educational settings from a linguistic ethnographic perspective and reviews three studies that have been the main references for the present thesis.

4.2. Linguistic ethnography in education

The present research project is envisaged as a contribution to a particular field of enquiry within LE that looks closely at language practices in multilingual educational settings as being sites of social and cultural reproduction (see for instance Heller, 2006; Jaffe, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010). Although ethnography has its roots in modern anthropology, it has been applied in a variety of disciplines such as education, sociology and linguistics. LE constitutes a theoretical and methodological development that is the result of employing ethnography in the field of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics (Creese, 2008). LE has progressively consolidated itself by using traditions already established in anthropology, specifically the ethnography of communication and interactional linguistics (Hymes, 1974 and Gumperz, 1982 respectively). In multilingual settings, the focus of ethnographic research is on how individuals construct multilingualism in their daily practices and which ideologies emerge from these constructions and why (Heller, 2009). LE shows the complexities in the connection between language ideologies and language practices and reveals the relationship between (1) individuals' ways of using language and the situation they live in, (2) the relevance that language has in their lives and why, and (3) whether processes of change happen over time and across places.

In multilingual education, LE has been applied as a tool to research how schools position the languages within the same institution and that compound their multilingual repertoire, and the relationship between these languages and the value they are ascribed to languages in the broader sociolinguistic context. The fundamental characteristic of this approach is that it refuses to adopt "simple accounts of educational processes and institutions" (Wortham, 2008: 95) because it assumes that the way language is used is organised by ideologies that move across "social domains and come to identify individuals" (ibid). The importance of this field is not only that it explores what happens inside the institution, but also the ideologies and practices that the students keep reproducing outside the school premises and after they finish their schooling. According to Heller (2006), the multilingual educational settings that have been studied following a linguistic ethnographic perspective share the characteristic that their highly heterogeneous student body –in terms of cultural, social and linguistic backgrounds– contrasts with the institutional and governmental language policies designed to control language practices and linguistic diversity inside schools. The negotiation of the language (or languages) of instruction constitutes an opportunity for linguistic minorities to claim for their

legitimation. This fact puts language at stake and turns it into a site of struggle between state and local control (Heller, *ibid*).

In the following paragraphs, I comment on three examples of linguistic ethnographic research that study language in bi/multilingual educational settings considering social agents as the centre of the analysis. These three studies represent three referents for this research. First, Heller (2006) studies language practices and ideology in a school in a francophone minority community in the principally English-speaking province of Ontario, in Canada. The study uses data from classrooms, official institutional language policy and interviews with the students and the teachers. Heller focuses on two issues: (1) how the institution constructs and implements its linguistic norms as part of the school's political agenda of reclaiming power for the minority, and (2) how the students are positioned by the institution as regards the school's public discourse on language and national identity and how the students agree with it or contest it. The data, collected at the beginning of the 1990s, raised questions which remain important nowadays. The ethnographic study shows a transition from a traditional connection between language and national identity towards an emphasis on the instrumental value of languages in the new global economy. The growth of the international tertiary sector has led to the commodification of language, cultural artefacts and practices, authenticity, and the valuing of the pure and the hybrid. Heller also studies the positioning of actors and collectivities around the production and distribution of these resources in a new global context. The arrival of new French-speaking immigrants from Francophone Africa and other territories contests the construction of authenticity through linguistic rules and shows a symbolic domination of the immigrant groups, who do not have access to the legitimised resources or the same opportunities.

At the school, the linguistic norms establish standard French as the only legitimate language in the school's public life and allow bilingual English-French practices in privacy. In this context, the reactions of the students in general are diverse: some accommodate to the bilingual practices, some become isolated, some adopt monolingual practices and even occasionally, some students call for the recognition of the vernacular French variety. The situation of the different types of students is complex and sometimes contradictory. First, the vernacular Canadian French-speaking students enjoy an 'authentic' position thanks to their linguistic and cultural resources. However, the same resources are not seen as important for educational purposes. Second, the monolingual francophone students have expectations of the sociolinguistic environment similar to those of the school. However, they are confronted with

their classmates' bilingual practices that affirm but also undermine the school's ideology of monolingualism. Third, students from an immigrant background who do not speak either English or French as their mother tongue expect that the school helps them to improve their French. Fourth, students from former French colonies identify French as a symbol of oppression and social promotion. The teachers who use French as a medium of cultural development are baffled by these students who do not share the experience of French as an oppressed language.

The students from an immigrant background use other means (such as hip-hop) to gain authority within a context where the struggle had traditionally been between standard and Canadian varieties of French, or between English and French. Music, which forms part of students' identity, provides "ideological meeting grounds" (ibid: 205) to prevent conflicts, since it reflects a lifestyle that tolerates difference (for instance, sometimes listening to music they dislike). It is the multilingual stance of the students that leads the institution to recognise its pluralistic reality when in the summer of 1994, the "ethic of bilingualism" is replaced by an "ethic of inclusiveness in the public space of Champlain" (ibid: 205).

In the second ethnographic study of reference, Jaffe (2009) explores the case of a bilingual Corsican school. While Heller (2006) puts emphasis on the students, Jaffe (ibid) focuses on the teachers. Their role at school positions the two languages of the bilingual repertoire within the classroom, projects ideal models of bilingual practices, and buttress and attributes stances to their students according to the institution's proposed models. Jaffe's theoretical point of departure is that in bilingual territories the significance of languages is determined by the particularities of the sociolinguistic context and that, in this light, language choice represents a form of stance. She states that the use of Corsican as a language of instruction is related to an ideological agenda that wants to empower Corsican and promote and legitimate the minority language. The institutional order defines the role of teachers and students and the structures for participation. For this reason, the classroom practices are embedded within this institutional order. The teachers' role as models and agents of evaluation provokes that when they choose a language, they ascribe it with authority and preferential status. They also control the distribution of the two languages across pedagogical activities, which creates patterns of distribution and indexical associations between the two languages. Altogether, teachers set the context where the students later on transmit their stance using language choice and set the rules for the interpretation of those stances.

Jaffe's (2009) study aims at exploring three aspects of the teachers' practices: (1) the teacher's language choice and the distribution of languages across pedagogical practices and functions; (2) the structuring and distribution of participant roles (of both the teachers and students); and (3) performative displays in both oral and written modes. Jaffe argues that the teachers' stances in these three domains respond to two dynamic tensions in the construction of contemporary Corsican bilingual identity: first, constructing Corsican and French as different languages but with equivalent authority and legitimacy. Second, the model creates tensions between individual and collective models of bilingual competence (a difference that would correspond to the distinction between multilingualism and plurilingualism presented at the end of chapter 2). The data used in the study come from an ethnographic study conducted in 2000 by the same author. Four years before, the French government had made changes in the French educational policies that sanctioned the use of Corsican as a language of instruction in public schools. This represented a positive turning point for the movement for the revitalisation of the Corsican language. Among the children in the school where the data were collected, only a small minority had Corsican as their first language (4 out of 27) and, although the majority had been exposed to Corsican outside school, the institution was almost exclusively the only place where they practised it.

The analysis of the data shows that although the teachers propose ideal models of bilingualism, they challenge the dominant language ideologies based on one-language-one-culture principle. The model of bilingualism that the teachers propose does not include two perfectly balanced and parallel monolingualisms as the only legitimate basis for constructing a bilingual identity. The structures for participation that they build up over time enable students with different levels of competence in the minority language to be included as legitimate participants. The evaluation of Corsican based on the collective group, and not on the level of competency of the individual, defines the collectivity as linguistically heterogeneous. This stance is reinforced by the display of a positive attitude towards code-switching. Bilingual identity appears as stance of positive engagement with the communicative practices that involve more than one language. The author concludes that the analysis reflects that linguistic ideologies, the link between language and social categories and the language hierarchies are themselves stance objects. She finally adds that looking at how stances are accumulated and co-constructed across time and space reveals that they are one of the pillars of the processes of identification and, since identity is part of the agenda of the school under research, stance-taking at school has important sociolinguistic consequences.

The last referential study used in the present thesis was conducted by Creese and Blackledge (2010) in eight complementary schools in four different cities in the United Kingdom. From a critical perspective, the authors explore how linguistic practices are connected to a set of beliefs, values and attitudes on language and show that education policies and practices often deny the linguistic and cultural diversity inside schools. They look at complementary schools, a space where “new and established traditions connect and disconnect” (ibid: 225). In particular, the analysis explores how the connection between ideology and language is evolving in connection with the construction of the national identity through standard forms of a language and the negotiation of subject positions through the use of multilingual linguistic resources. In connection with nationhood, the authors argue, students often reject a model of multilingualism based on long-distance nationalisms, inheritance or on the separation of languages. Complementary schools open a space for children to negotiate new multilingual and multicultural identities that may not satisfy the expectations of their teachers or their parents. However, rather than opposition to the models offered by the schools or the communities, the authors suggest that multilingual practices are ambiguous: students and teachers invest in language as authentic heritage and, at the same time, they reinvent the same language to make sense of the transnational context they live in. This is achieved by means of flexible bilingualism, through which students develop multicultural identities. In connection with the study of subject positions, students employ their bilingual resources to contest authoritative discourses, develop agency and participate in the development of their languages in a way that would not take place in a monolingual environment.

The previous studies represent a point of reference for the present thesis about how linguistic ethnography has been developed in multilingual educational settings and it has commonalities with all of them. The first two (Heller, 2006; Jaffe, 2009) are referents of linguistic ethnographies developed in schools in bilingual contexts where one of the languages is undergoing a process of revitalisation (French, Corsican) and the other is the state’s joint official language (English and French). In the case of the UdL, the local bilingual context is made up of Catalan, the language being revitalised, and Spanish as the state’s official language and also a language with greater symbolic value across the world. Similarly to the situation in Ontario, Catalonia is undergoing a transition from a context with strong ethnolinguistic nationalist discourses towards a scenario dominated by the new global economy, where the instrumentality of languages and their potential as commodities is valued over their value for identity construction (Woolard and Frekko, 2013). In this context, the

revitalisation of the minority languages may produce conflicting discourses about how the language should adapt to the new conditions of the global market.

The schools in Heller (2006) and Jaffe (2009), similarly to the UdL, put a special emphasis on promoting the minority language of the official bilingual local repertoire and setting it as the usual language of communication within the institution. In addition, the language policy of the UdL specifies its aim of becoming multilingual. Regarding the languages of instruction, the university establishes a trilingual official repertoire for teaching purposes (Catalan, Spanish and English) and recognises Occitan and other foreign languages as worth learning due either to their traditional value in the local context (such as French or German), or to the fact that they represent world languages nowadays (such as Chinese or Arab).

In connection with the participants in these studies, the equivalent of the students in the Francophone school who destabilise the order of the Champlain school by asking for inclusiveness instead of difference are the incoming international students at the UdL. The international students question and challenge the nature of the bilingualism at the UdL and the policies that regiment linguistic practices and ideologies, bringing a new perspective to the debate about the role of languages in education, one that calls for the integration of the linguistic resources available in the sociolinguistic context. The linguistic backgrounds of the international student body are highly heterogeneous. Also the teachers are at least Catalan/Spanish bilingual and have knowledge of foreign languages even if at different levels of competence.

From the point of view of the teachers' practices and ideology, Jaffe's (2009) study shows that teachers constitute the agents who apply the institutional language policies inside the educational context. Ultimately, teachers' practices affect classroom practices and set the floor for students' acts of stance. Following Jaffe, a focus on teachers' practices sheds light on how their acts of stance are consistent with the institutional language policy and, at the same time, the teachers' acts of stance embed students' possible stance-taking. In Jaffe's study, the teachers appear as language militants, who protect and promote Corsican by contesting the state's language-in-education policies which set French as the only language of instruction. Their use of Corsican in class gives it value both as a teaching language and within the sociolinguistic environment outside school. At the UdL, the teachers employed by the Language Service (LS), a body specifically created to promote and protect Catalan in the university, embody the role of language militants by applying the institutional language policy

of promoting and protecting Catalan. However, the LS teachers' role contrasts with that of the ideology and classroom practices of the mainstream teachers, who adopt more flexible linguistic practices to accommodate to the needs of international students.

Similarly to Blackledge and Creese (2010), the present study includes the perspective of two members of the administrative staff: the head of the language volunteering service (LVS henceforth), part of the LS, and the member of staff responsible for incoming mobility students in the Office of International Relations (OIR). Their different language practices and ideologies contribute to reproducing contrasting, if not opposed, discourses about languages as symbols of identity or as commodities.

The present thesis engages with the perspective on multilingualism adopted by Blackledge and Creese (2010). The authors see multilingualism as “an inventive, creative and sometimes disruptive play of linguistic resources” and not as a fixed pattern of language use (ibid: 56). The authors argue that the performance of multilingualism is always situated within specific social and political contexts, one of which is the educational policy and practices, which frequently deny the multilingual reality of their students and teachers, leading policy and practice to undervalue the diversity of expression within the class context. The present study agrees with these authors when they say that monolingualist assumptions and practices in language teaching should be abandoned and that all the semiotic resources available to pupils should be employed in the classroom. The use of students' and teachers' full range of semiotic resources is defined in this work as ‘translanguaging’ and is used to negotiate the language of instruction and, inevitably, the content, as one of the key rationales of complementary schools is the teaching of language as cultural heritage (ibid: 164). Like Lin and Martin's study (2005; as cited in Blackledge and Creese, 2010), the present study suggests that it is necessary to explore “what ‘teachable’ pedagogic resources are available in flexible, concurrent approaches to learning and teaching languages bilingually.”

As regards the methodology for data collection, Blackledge and Creese (2010) include a chapter on data collection and methods that raises awareness about the importance of considering the role, positioning and self-reflections of the researcher when conducting ethnographic research. For this reason, section 4.4 presents a nuanced analysis of the relationship between researcher and participants in this thesis.

As for the analysis of the data, this thesis has been inspired by Jaffe's (2009) use of the notion of 'stance' as the main analytical lens to be applied. The notion of stance reveals how individuals construct their positioning towards the languages of the sociolinguistic repertoire in interaction in a three step process: evaluation, positioning and (dis)alignment. Chapter 5 presents this analytical tool in depth. Before turning to that point, the following two sections focus on the process of data gathering (section 4.3) and the ways in which the relationship with the participants may have been constructed on the basis of language choice (section 4.4).

4.3. The fieldwork

This section presents the data gathering process and, in this sense, transports readers to the backstage. It presents the design of the fieldwork and the epistemological choices that were made on the field at a very practical level. Rampton (2006: 392) argues that "ethnography recognises the ineradicable role that the researcher's personal subjectivity plays throughout the research process" and for this reason, it is important to take into account how small details during data collection can affect the kind of data obtained. This section offers a reflection on the circumstances that may have caused that the data collected in this ethnography to be different from another ethnography carried out in the same setting during the same period of time by another ethnographer (Agar, 2006).

In order to organise section 4.3, I follow Blommaert and Jie's (2010) suggestion that any fieldwork-based research consists of three sequential stages: (1) preparation and documentation; (2) fieldwork procedures; and (3) post-field activities.

4.3.1. Preparation and documentation of the field

The fieldwork period was conceived as a learning process (Erickson, 1990). This process started with the preparation and documentation of the field, which consisted of (1) obtaining information about the context of the research (number, origin and studies of the incoming mobility students, the activities prepared by the institution to welcome them, and the initial contact of the students with the institutional staff responsible for their stay) and (2) designing a route map for the data collection process. The plan was to be open and flexible at the initial stage and, once in the field, the same field would take its own shape and lead the following steps.

The preparation and documentation of the fieldwork was conducted before starting the actual data collection. Blommaert and Jie (2010) recommend having a preview of the scenario where the ethnography is to be carried out. With this aim, I visited two members of the administrative staff: (1) the person responsible for incoming mobility students at the Office for International Relations (OIR), who has an administrative role; and (2) the head of the Language Volunteering Service (LVS), a body dependent on the Language Service (LS), which from the academic year 2013-2014 is actually called 'Language Institute', and whose role is to promote Catalan language and culture among international students. The LVS also has the collaboration of the language teachers and local volunteer students for the different cultural activities it organises, a fact that fosters contact between members of the local and international communities. The two bodies (OIR, LVS) cooperate in the organisation of welcoming cultural and linguistic activities for international students to help them integrate into the local community. The two members of the OIR and LVS were approached from a very early stage because I considered them key members of the institutional community given their experience in the field and their responsibility. They offered me valuable information and documentation about the evolution of the international mobility programmes at the UdL and about the incoming mobility students in the ongoing academic year: number of students, home universities, faculties they were affiliated to and length of their stay. With this information, I prepared diagrams (see appendix 4) in order to draw a quick picture of the field.

The LVS and OIR officers were for me the gatekeepers to the field, because they gave me access to the field by inviting me to attend the welcoming events they organised and by introducing me to the Catalan language teachers in charge of the intensive course students would take during the first two weeks of their stay. Thanks to the LVS and OIR officers, I met some of the teachers who later participated in the ethnography and thanks to these teachers, I obtained permission to enter the classrooms and contact the students.

A central aspect of the design of ethnographic research is to decide where, when and how to collect the data. Regarding the physical setting of the data collection, there were two possible contexts: on and/or off the university premises. The physical setting could make a difference to the sorts of data obtained and result in more formal or informal, planned or spontaneous, kinds of interactions among the participants and between the participants and the researcher. In order to capture as wide as possible a range of responses to the new situation from the students, it was decided that the plan would include observation, in both settings, inside and

outside the university. However, once in the field, the greatest amount of interactional data was collected inside the institution because students tend to have a very active social life (organisation of home parties and visiting pubs and clubs) after classes and the welcoming activities, and it was impossible to keep up with their frantic nightlife and maintain a clear mind the day after to continue the data collection. However, most of the interviews were conducted in cafés and the focus groups were organised during lunch-time in a seminar room at the university. The change of physical setting for the focus group and the interviews responded to a decision taken during the fieldwork which affected the types of data obtained and the relationship of trust that I constructed with the participants, as discussed in section 4.4 below.

In connection with the length of the fieldwork, it was designed to be carried out over an entire academic year. The aim was to cover the entire stay of both those students who spent a semester at UdL and those who spent a whole academic year. Half of the student-participants spent a full academic year at the UdL and the rest, only one of the two terms (the winter term from September to February, or the spring term from February to June).

The following section presents the techniques that were employed for data collection, the second stage according to Blommaert and Jie (2010).

4.3.2. Fieldwork procedures

The fieldwork procedures refer to the techniques used for data collection, and the epistemological decisions made during the process. To recruit the participants, I used the snowballing technique (Brewer, 2000), by which participants bring additional participants. Thus, the OIR and the LVS officers led me to the teachers, the teachers led me to the students and, once in the classroom, I started to create connections with the students. My first meeting with the students was planned to be the first day of the *Welcome week*, which basically includes the first ten days of the students' stay-abroad period and consists of a Catalan language introductory course (in the mornings) and cultural activities aimed at introducing students to the local language and culture (mainly in the afternoons and at the weekend). Once in the field, the feeling I had was that of jumping from a helicopter in the middle of the forest and starting to look for a path to follow. The link with the students was made inside the classroom during the first days of the fieldwork and based on a criterion of personal affinity, which led me to build a network after some days. There were some students who came to me

spontaneously for different reasons: some wanted to meet a local, others were searching for help with the university bureaucracy and everyday life in Lleida, and some just saw me as a new potential friend. For instance, in her farewell party, Marion, a French student-participant, was asked by her Catalan flatmate what had led her to participate in the study and she responded “*conexión personal*” (“personal connection”). The relationship constructed with the participants is described in section 4.4 below.

The student body was highly heterogeneous in cultural, linguistic, social and academic terms and, for this reason, it was necessary to decide whether aspects such as the country of origin or the faculty would be taken into consideration when selecting the participants. I considered that for the purpose of this study I would try to recruit students with different personal histories because one of the objectives of this research is to examine how discourses are constructed between participants and, initially, the greater the diversity among participants, the more explicit the construction of the discourses would be.

After one month in the field, I had put together a sufficiently diverse group of participants with (1) 9 lecturers from different disciplines, (2) the two officers from the LVS and the OIR; and (3) 14 students with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds in different faculties of the university. The student’s attendance at the interviews and focus groups sessions was irregular. Table 4.1 shows the number of lecturers, students and administrative staff, their location at university and their origin for a quick description of the participants.

Table 4.1. Schematic presentation of the participants

Participants	Body	Location
Academic staff (9)	4 instructors employed by the LS	Catalan language teachers (3): Maite, Sílvia and Carme
		Spanish language teacher (1): Maria
	5 content-subject lecturers	School of Agricultural Engineering and Forestry (1): Eva
		Faculty of Law and Economics (2): Marc (Business Administration and Management) Pep (Tourism Studies)
Key student-participants: 14		Faculty of Arts (2): Rita (English Studies) Lluís (Hispanic Studies)
		Faculty of Arts (10): Jeroen from Belgium (Flanders) Wei, Lin and Shu from China Kim and Min from Korea Christina from England Ullie and Hanna from Germany Dolores from Mexico

		School of Agricultural Engineering and Forestry (1): Marion from France
		Faculty of Law and Economics (3): Jean from France Paolo and Luca from Italy
Administrative staff (2)	OIR	In charge of incoming mobility students: Dani
	LVS	In charge of the Language Volunteering Service: Xavi

There are four main sources of data: (1) classroom interactions; (2) interactions in the cultural and welcoming events specifically organised by the institution for international students; (3) institutional policies and documents; and (4) focus groups and interviews with students, administrative and academic staff. Among the different events used as sources, I distinguish between ‘non-research-aimed’ events (1, 2) and ‘research-aimed’ events (4). The first group is independent of the research project and forms part of the institutional routine; the second type was specifically created for the purpose of this research. All the participants appear in both kinds of events, although not all at the same time. For instance, if students or teachers could not attend the focus group, they would be individually interviewed. Another example is that of observing a class where only one or two of the student participants were present.

The techniques employed for data collection were the following: (1) participant observation of institutional events, the taking of fieldnotes and audiovisual recordings; (2) interviews and focus groups; (3) and content analysis of institutional documents. Participant observation and the fieldnotes are the central techniques for data collection in ethnographic research (Heller, 2009). Ethnographers immerse themselves in the research site, participate in the daily routines of the context of research, create relationships with the people and observe what happens in it. During observation, the ethnographer notes what he/she observes in a systematic and regular way and produces fieldnotes, the written records of these observations, which represent an initial level of analysis because only some moments are captured (Emerson *et al.*, 1995).

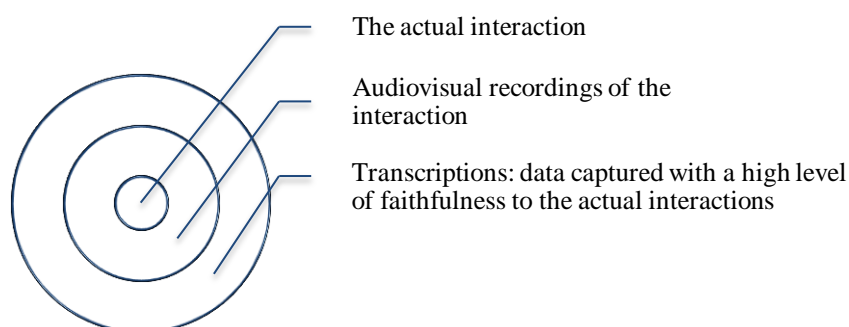
The systematization of the participant observation along the academic year took approximately one month for two main reasons: first, the student-participants were not set prior to the beginning of the data collection and some time was required to make connections and recruit participants. I managed to do this during the two weeks of the welcome activities. Second, the participants needed about two weeks to decide which courses they would be attending. Therefore, the systematic data collection of the students’ academic activity did not begin until one month after they had arrived at the UdL. The fieldwork included five different observation sites: (1) the Faculty of Law and Economics; (2) the Faculty of Arts; (3) the

School of Agricultural Engineering and Forestry; (4) extra-curricular Catalan language course; (5) an extra-curricular Spanish language course. Each week, I travelled to a different faculty and observed one or two class sessions. In every faculty, I established contact with the content-subject lecturers, who later on participated in the focus groups and interviews.

The observations and the fieldnotes were supplemented with audiovisual recordings of class sessions and the cultural and welcoming activities. The goal of these recordings was to adopt a microanalytic approach to studying specific segments of interactional data in order to examine how participants position themselves and align or disalign with each other in the course of a particular event.

Fieldnotes, audiovisual recordings and their subsequent manipulation and transcription are not real interactions but attempts to capture the original communicative events (Haberland, 2012; Blommaert, 2010; Heller, 2008). This study assumes that recordings or transcriptions can be considered as different manipulations of the data and that there is always a gap between the communicative events and what counts as data for the subsequent analysis. The variation could be due to factors such as the physical situation of the camera, since some angles of the room may be outside of the frame of the camera, a momentary decrease in the sound quality that may impede understanding some words, or even the transcription conventions that may give more importance to some aspects than to others, to name but a few. It is possible to distinguish between various levels of mediatisation depending on the extent to which the data have been influenced by the subjectivity of the researcher. Figure 4.2 is an attempt to conceptualise how distant the captures of the data are from the original interactions when we deal with audiovisual recordings.

Figure 4.2. Levels of mediatisation



The idea of the graphic is to show that the data collection methods affect the level of representational accuracy of the data analysed. The more peripheral the data, the more diffused their capacity to accurately represent the actual event.

The fieldnotes and the audiovisual recordings of non-research-aimed events represent the largest amount of data in this research. The data include 79 fieldnotes entries, 24 audiovisual recordings of classes and 5 audiovisual recordings of special events in the 10 months of fieldwork. By 'entries' I mean every time I opened the notebook to enter an observation of one class or event, independently of the length of this event or when it occurred. For instance, on many occasions, I took fieldnotes in two classes on the same day, and this counts as two data entries. The classes lasted between 90 minutes and two hours. The length of the events varied significantly: a day trip to Barcelona involved some 10 hours of observation and the welcome meeting with the Vice-Chancellor lasted 30 minutes. Annex 1.1 offers a list of the events audiovisually recorded and the participants appearing in each event.

A good practice after the collection of such an enormous amount of diverse data is to have a clear organisation (Lazaraton, 2009). The fieldnotes were collected in a notebook to keep them together and in chronological order. They always included the date, place and time of the situation observed. For the recordings, I followed the same system, all the tapes contained the date, place and situation recorded and were carefully stored at the university.

Participant observation of non-research-aimed events was combined with focus groups and interviews. According to Codó (2008), formal interviewing should be postponed until the researcher has conducted some ethnographic observations and is fairly familiar with the context and the individuals studied to reach more informed decisions about the contents to focus on and the sort of questions to ask. For this reason, the first method used for data gathering was participant observation, and the first focus groups occurred six weeks after the observations had started.

In line with ethnographic research, the interviews and the focus groups were conceived as conversations and were semi-structured and open-ended. For this reason, they vary considerably in terms of length and variety of topics. For instance, in terms of duration, the shortest interview lasted 20 minutes and the longest focus group, 2 hours.

The interviews and focus groups with the students were organised at the beginning, middle and end of the students' stay to be able to capture a possible evolution of their stances. The

first focus group took place 6 weeks after they had arrived at the UdL. It was intended to obtain their first impressions about the university and their experience as incoming international students. Students' tight timetables conditioned the organization of the discussion groups. I had to organise them in small groups of between 4 and 7 participants. The second round of focus group sessions was programmed at the end of the first term as it represented the mid-point for those students who were staying two terms and the end of the stay for those who were staying only one term. Due to their tight schedules, I conducted interviews either individually or in pairs. During that period, I also interviewed two students who were only staying in the spring term to obtain their first impressions. The third round took place at the end of the second term and closed the stay of the students who had arrived at the beginning of the second term and the students staying one academic year. The focus group sessions with the students were held over at lunch time and so they included drinks and food. The sessions took place either in a seminar room within the university or, in the case of the interviews, in a nearby cafeteria. The focus group sessions with the teachers took place during a coffee break either in the morning or after lunch. They were also offered biscuits and drinks. All the focus groups were recorded audiovisually.

The lecturers participated in focus groups separately from students. They were organized into two groups: content-subject instructors and language lecturers. In the eyes of the students, although both types of teachers work for the institution, they are employed by different bodies. The language teachers are employed by the LS and the content-subject instructors are employed by their respective faculties. The LS focus group session included 4 participants, three of whom were teachers of Catalan and one of Spanish. The reason the number of lecturers of Catalan was higher is the greater number of Catalan courses offered by the university. There were three teachers in the focus group with the content-subject instructors, one lecturer from English Studies, one from Hispanic Studies and the other from Tourism Studies. The content-subject instructor in the Faculty of Agricultural Engineering and Forestry could not attend the focus group on that day and was interviewed individually. The lecturer in Business Administration and Management had participated in a focus group session organised a year before for the same project this thesis is embedded in and preferred not to attend the focus group this time. The focus group sessions were grouped like this for two reasons: first, it was considered that language teachers could represent issues about language differently from the content-subject teachers. Second, the OIR and the LVS officers

were interviewed separately to avoid hierarchical relationships within the same focus group (Krueger and Casey, 2000).

The two members of the administrative staff, the head of the LVS and the person in charge of incoming mobility students in the OIR, were interviewed separately and only once during the fieldwork period. Like the academic staff, they were interviewed separately because the LVS officer works explicitly with activities related with Catalan language and culture and the OIR officer deals with the everyday problems of the students.

Figure 4.3 below shows a chronological organisation of the data collection period:

Figure 4.3. Fieldwork timeline: key points

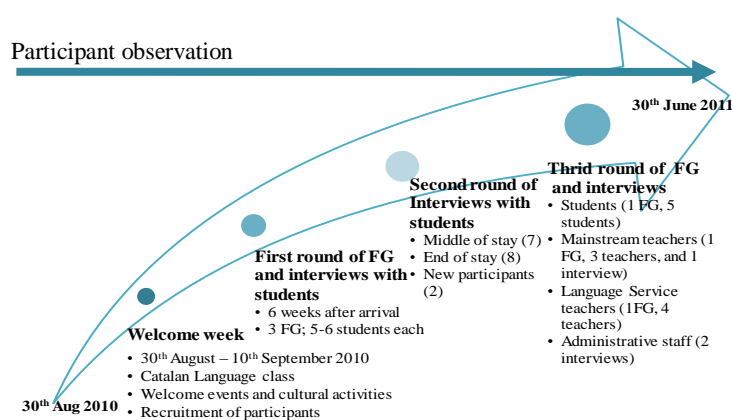


Figure 4.3 shows four key moments in the data collection period: (1) the ‘welcome week’, which involved the researcher’s initial contacts in the field and recruitment of participants; (2) the first round of focus group sessions six weeks after the students had arrived; (3) the individual interviews in the middle of the academic year and the fieldwork period and also the recruitment of a new participant in the second term; and (4) the focus groups and interviews at the end of the academic year with the students, academic and administrative staff. The figure also shows that participant observation was the main technique for data collection and therefore was present throughout the year.

Besides observation, fieldnotes, interviews and focus groups, the core data also include two institutional policy documents: (1) the *Pla d’Internacionalització de la Universitat de Lleida* (Internationalisation Programme of the University of Lleida) (UdL, 2006); and (2) the language policy document *Política Lingüística de la UdL: Cap a una Realitat Multilingüe* (Language Policy: Towards a Multilingual Reality) (UdL, 2008). Through these documents, the institution constructs its stance towards the internationalisation process and assigns a role

to specific languages in the new multilingual reality. The policy document represents directives that affect ordinary academic activities by defining the legitimate use of languages. This affects how teachers and administrative staff make use of the language available in the sociolinguistic context and sets the scenario for international students during their stay. The two documents are analysed in chapter 6.

Recently, the UdL has revised its internationalisation and language policies as part of its new strategic plan (*Pla strategic de la UdL 2013-2016*). Thus, the documents which were valid when the fieldwork was carried out have been replaced by the following: (1) *Pla Operatiu d'Internacionalització de la UdL 2012-2016* (UdL, 2012); and (2) *Pla Operatiu del Multilingüisme (POM) de la UdL 2013-2018*. The documents refer to the strategies that the university intends to follow to become more international. The university considers it necessary to move towards an international collective culture that contributes to training professionals with a wide and open vision of the world, ready to face the challenges of the internationalising tendency in the present socioeconomic environment. The university also aims to increase its international visibility and academic reputation in those research areas where it can have a more prominent role. The POM includes specific actions to implement a language policy that fosters multilingualism and respects the institutional engagement with promoting the official languages in Catalonia, with a special emphasis on Catalan. The document is based on the 2008 language policy document and its novelty is that it sets specific actions to be undertaken by the institution.

The use of ethnographic research methods, such as participant observation, contributes to understanding the language practices of a specific community holistically (Kamwangamalu, 2011). According to Kamwangamalu (2011), overt and covert language policies may affect the language practices of the target community and ethnography can provide insights at the grass-roots level for a better understanding of the role of language in the lives of people who are directly affected. Ultimately, ethnographic research can send feedback to the language policy makers about such issues as the target community's attitudes towards the languages for which planning is being made, or the meaning that language has for the identity of the community under research (ibid). In other words, ethnography seeks to answer questions about language choice that are at the heart of language planning: "who uses what (variety of) language, with whom, about what, in what setting, for what purposes?" (ibid: 899).

In connection with the present research project, ethnographic research is a tool for exploring the language practices and attitudes of three groups in the target community: teachers, administrative staff and incoming mobility students. These three groups represent the agents within the higher education institution who interpret and apply the language policies, with diverse results (as presented in chapter 2.1). The language policy, as it affects various aspects of the international mobility programmes, is dissected in the two chapters of analysis in this thesis. The analysis focuses on how the agents interpret the institutional policy to construct the identity of the host environment, how the same language policy affects the teaching and learning of Catalan and Spanish as foreign languages, and how this is received by the sojourn students.

The aim of combining different types of data is triangulation, a resource within qualitative research to provide external validity (Erickson, 1990). According to Saule (2002: 184), all ethnographies use triangulation through different sources of data or/and different techniques for data collection with the purpose of validating the results, since consistency across sources creates a more solid argument of what is going on in participants' lives. This combination enables the researcher to obtain a deeper and more comprehensive picture of the research site and also check if there were any misinterpretations.

The three abovementioned sources of data, i.e. (1) participant observation in classes and in cultural and welcome events; (2) focus groups and interviews; and (3) institutional policy documents, constitute the 'core' corpus of data in this research project. However, there are other 'peripheral' data which basically include materials collected during fieldwork, such as students' class notes, promotional leaflets, the Catalan language course book and a drawing that two of the participants gave me during one of the lectures observed. These materials show useful data to complement the arguments based on the analysis of the central data.

In the course of the fieldwork, I also held informal spontaneous conversations in the halls of the university. These data were incorporated into the fieldnotes. The student-participants (and some of their international fellow members) added me as a 'friend' on *Facebook*, an on-line social network. Sometimes the students used their *Facebook* 'status' to express how they felt in connection with the university, the city, the sociolinguistic environment and the evolution of their stay. All this supplementary information was treated in the same way as the informal encounters in the corridors of the university, i.e. it was collected when it was of interest for the research aims. Another positive aspect of *Facebook* was that it made the organisation of

meetings with students much more agile. The students checked their accounts many times a day and, therefore, I would receive an answer about their availability to meet within hours.

To conclude this section on the process of data collection, I would like to add that the ethnographic fieldwork involved an extraordinary effort on my side. It was not just about going into the field, collecting data, going back to the office and working on the fieldnotes and recordings. Collecting data meant living in the field, participating in it and becoming part of it. The most remarkable anecdote of physical engagement was a neck injury that I suffered the week I had to run 3.7 km from one faculty to another every day to reach the next observation in time, carrying an analogical Sony HVR-A1E video camera, a super-stable tripod, virgin tapes, two 'just-in-case-the-camera-fails' voice recorders and my notebook. It was also exhausting attending the parties organised by students after a long day of work and be up at 7 a.m. the next morning to continue working. I had to pass on these events. In the end, what I obtained was many good moments and a box full of ethnographic "*rubbish*" (Blommaert, 2010: 42), which was extremely useful for reconstructing the scene.

4.3.3. Post-field activities

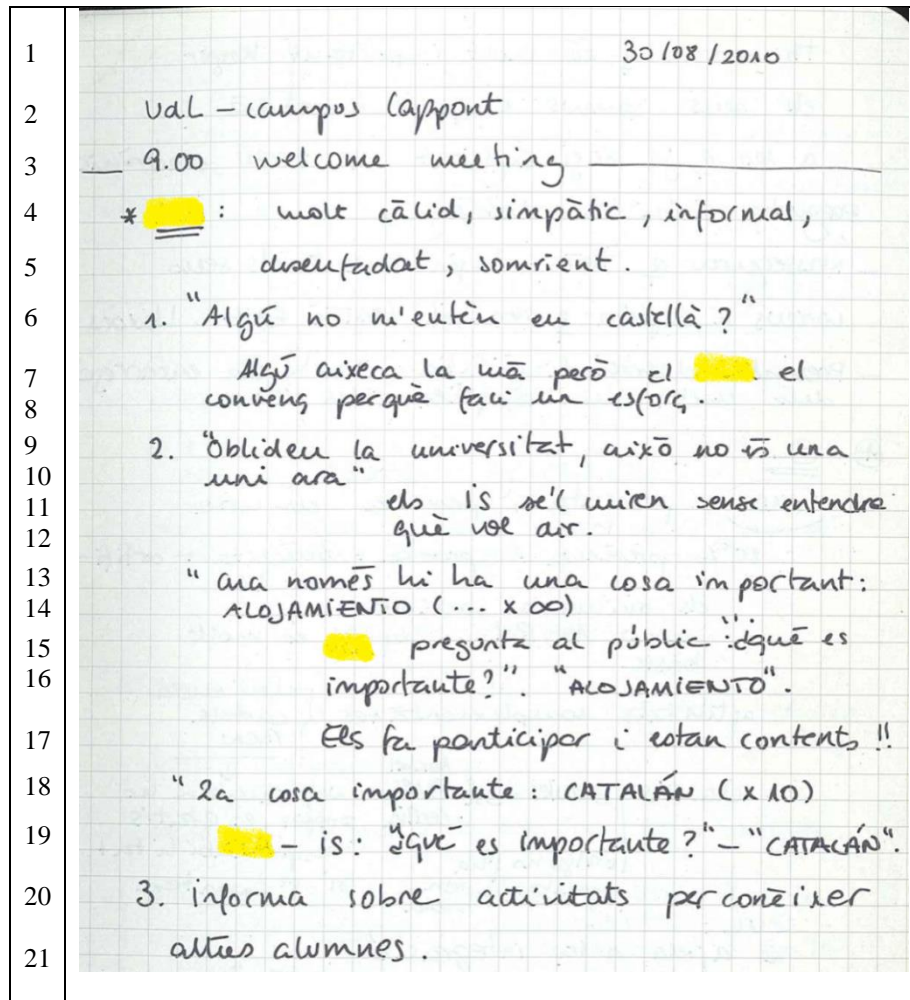
The post-field activities refer to the organisation of the data collected and its preparation for the analysis. In the following paragraphs, I present the preparation of the fieldnotes and the audiovisual recordings.

Following Emerson *et al.* (1995), the analysis of the fieldnotes was conducted in three steps: (1) reading the notes to take distance from them and writing memos to organise the emerging interpretations; (2) coding the notes to label the blocks of data; and (3) extracting the ontological assumptions made when collecting the fieldnotes. Whenever recurring themes were detected, they were marked in different colours and finally extracted in blocks. These steps were already a first level of analysis since a selection of the chunks of data would be the main focus of analysis.

The fieldnotes constitute one of the main data sets in this study. With the aim of using the fieldnotes as data presented and presentable in the analysis, I had to redefine them to enable a wider (English-speaking) audience to understand them (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This process included: (1) typing the fieldnotes in the computer; and (2) translating them into English. Next, I show the process of 'manufacturing' the fieldnotes based on a sample extract. With the ultimate aim of offering more transparency, a scanned copy of the original fieldnotes

taken in class can be found in the annexes of this thesis. Figure 4.4 below comes from the welcome meeting organised by the OIR and the LS for newly-arrived students on the first day of the data collection period. I present the extracts consecutively and comment on them at the end.

Figure 4.4. Fieldnotes taken in the classroom: raw data



 Dani, OIR officer

Figure 4.5. Fieldnotes transcribed in Catalan

30/8/2010
 9.00h
 UdL – Campus Cappellet
 “Welcome meeting” a càrrec del SL i de l’ORI
 Dani (ORI) té un tracte molt càlid, simpàtic, informal, desenfadat i somrient amb els estudiants.
 Primer, el Dani diu “alguien no me entiende en castellano?” Algú aixeca la mà però el Dani el convenç perquè faci un esforç.
 Segon, “olvidad la universidad, esto no es una universidad ahora”. Els estudiants internacionals se’l miren sense entendre què vol dir. “ahora sólo hay una cosa importante: ALOJAMIENTO, ALOJAMIENTO, ALOJAMIENTO, ALOJAMIENTO...” (ho repeteix moltes vegades)
 El Dani pregunta al públic: “qué es importante?”. Els estudiants responen: “ALOJAMIENTO”. Els fa participar i riure.
 “Segunda cosa importante: CATALÁN, CATALÁN, CATALÁN...” (ho repeteix unes deu vegades)
 El Dani torna a preguntar “qué es importante?” I els estudiants responen de nou “CATALÁN”.
 En tercer lloc informa sobre activitats per conèixer altres alumnes.

Figure 4.6. Fieldnotes translated into English

30/8/2010, 9 am
 University of Lleida (UdL) – Campus Cappont
 “Welcome meeting” organized by the Language Service (LS) and the Office for International Relationships (OIR).
 SPEAKER: Dani (OIR): welcoming, nice, casual, and smiling.

First, Dani says in Spanish “*does anyone not understand me in Spanish?*” A student raises his hand and Dani convinces him to make an effort to understand Spanish. Second, Dani says “forget about university, this is not a university now”. International Students look at him perplexed. Marc says that now there is only one important thing: “*ACCOMMODATION, ACCOMMODATION, ACCOMMODATION, ACCOMMODATION...*” he repeats this word many times. Dani asks to the students: “*what is important now?*” and international students reply “*ACCOMMODATION*”. Dani makes students laugh. He continues: “*second important thing: CATALAN, CATALAN, CATALAN...*” (he repeats this word about 10 times). Dani asks international students “*what is important?*” and international students answer “*CATALAN*”. Third, he informs students about the activities organized to get to know other students. (...)

Italics *Spanish*
 Capital letters loud voice

The extracts, which refer to the same moment, show the evolution from the notes taken in the field to a more refined version addressed to a wide audience. The first image (figure 4.4) shows the fieldnotes as they were taken in the field. They have three main distinctive features in comparison with the other two: (1) they were taken in a rather schematic way and contain numbers and abbreviations; (2) they use visual prompts, such as capital letters, to add meaning; (3) the language used in the interaction does not correspond with the language in which the data were collected. In the first regard, the abbreviations (such as “IS” in lines 11 and 19, “uni” in line 10) were converted into the full form when they were transcribed and translated (“*estudiant internacional*”-international student, “*universitat*”-university). The numbers also represent shortcuts to connect and organise the sentences (“1”, “2”, “3” in lines 6, 9, 20) or to refer to how many times a word was repeated and to abbreviate a word (“2a” in line 18). These would be transcribed and translated as (“*primer*”-first”; “*segon*”-second”; “*en tercer lloc*”-thirdly”; “*unes deu vegades*”-about ten times”; “*moltes vegades*”- many times”).

In connection with the use of visual prompts in the three versions of the notes, capital letters indicated the use of a loud tone of voice (“ALOJAMIENTO – ACCOMMODATION” in lines 14, 16; “CATALÁN – CATALAN” in lines 18, 19), and the use of quotation marks represents verbatim reproductions of the speaker’s words (lines 6, 9-10, 13-16, 18-19). The textual reproduction of the speakers’ words has been analysed as verbal interactions.

The third distinctive feature of the extract of fieldnotes presented in figure 4.4 is that the original language of the interaction and the language in which the fieldnotes were taken do

not coincide. This is probably the most controversial aspect due to the fact that language choice in multilingual settings is accrued with meaning (Jaffe, 2009). The taking of fieldnotes is a skill that must be acquired (Madden, 2010; as cited in Khan, 2013) and after collecting the data on the first day of the fieldwork I realised how important it was to be careful with the language choice of the speakers when I was reproducing their textual words. That day, once home, I added the language that each speaker had used. It was an easy task since the descriptions in the same fieldnotes showed what the corresponding language was. For the following days, I decided to be more careful since I might not be able to remember the language used on every occasion. In the translated version, the use of Spanish is marked with italics and is indicated below the same extract. Heller (2008) and Blommaert and Jie (2010) argue that the fieldnotes constitute a representation of the world they are capturing. For this reason, it is not surprising that the observation of a multilingual setting produce multilingual fieldnotes.

I followed a similar process for the audiovisual recordings. However, in this case I selected the blocks that pointed to the research questions. These blocks were transcribed by using the programme CLAN, which offers the possibility of linking the text transcribed and the corresponding video segment. To respect the privacy of the participants, their names were changed and the pictures used in the analysis have been converted into sketches and their eyes have been erased. Since several languages appear in the data (both in the fieldnotes and the audiovisual recordings), it was too confusing to set a correspondence between a specific format and a language (italics, underlined, etc.). For this reason, I have opted for indicating the meaning of the formatting below each extract.

Next, I discuss the relationship of trust that I developed with the participants and my positionality within the field. I find this relationship vital for understanding the variety and nature of the data collected.

4.4. Relations in the field

Ethnographic fieldwork contemplates a mutual relation of interaction and adaptation between the ethnographer and the participants (Hymes, 1980). This section shows that the relationship built with the participants was crucial for the variety and quality of the data. My relationship with the three types of participants (students, academic and administrative staff) was different and built on different factors. Furthermore, my relationship with one of the groups was also affected by the relationship I developed with the other two groups. For instance, on a certain

occasion, one of the language instructors asked me to help her in class and check the development of an activity. This could have affected the students' perception of my role in the field since, until that point, they may have seen me as another student and, in that particular situation, may have identified me as a sort of support teacher.

Subsection 4.4.1 presents the relationship of trust that I constructed with the participants in the research. Subsection 4.4.2 focuses on analysing how the researcher's language choice contributed to constructing relationships of (dis)affiliation with the participants which ultimately affected the data gathered.

4.4.1. "What are you doing in a Catalan course if you already speak Catalan?"

The relationship with the participants starts from the very first encounter. When entering the research site, Heller (2008) recommends explaining the kind of research being done to the participants to build a relationship of trust. Fieldwork begins with presenting oneself to the participants as well as explaining clearly what the aims of the research are. Heller also states that even at that early stage, there are choices to be made that may affect the development of the fieldwork. The two extreme options consist of giving the participants either a very accurate explanation of the research goals or a very loose one. I opted for a mid-point, which means that the participants were informed in a general way at the beginning of the research and the more they became engaged and the more information they asked me for, the more information they were given.

On the first days of the fieldwork, the questions used to break the ice with international students on the introductory Catalan course had to do with their nationality and faculty. When an international student asked me about my origins and the faculty I was attending, I answered that I was actually from Lleida. The fact that I was a local left them a little confused. "What are you doing on a Catalan course if you already speak Catalan?" was the common reaction. Then I explained that I was conducting a research project connected with international mobility programmes at the UdL. This may have converted me into an outsider position at the beginning but I gradually moved from the outer circle to the inner circle of the community and developed a deeper understanding of the context under research (Heigham and Crocker, 2009).

The students saw me as a potential new friend probably because I was of a similar age (26 years old) when the data collection started. Mullings (1999) holds that such personal attributes

as race, gender and physical aspect may lead the researcher to be accepted or not within the community under research. With some student-participants, I developed a degree of friendship which involved a high level of personal engagement on both sides. Brewer (2000: 316) states that the relationship of trust is built on the same characteristics as all social relationships, “honesty, friendliness, reciprocity, openness, communication and confidence building”, and this normally takes some time to be constructed and requires constant work and reassurance. My relationship with the students may have been considered ‘friendship’ because they texted me to go to class with them, attend their private parties and join day trips. They also accepted to come to the interviews and focus groups I organised. Their willingness to be research participants contributed to the success of the data collection process since it produced a rich variety of data. The friendship that I established with the students went beyond the limits of strict research when they asked me for help with personal issues. For instance, on one occasion, I accompanied one female student to the police station after she had been robbed. She felt more secure with the idea of declaring in front of the police officer accompanied by a native Spanish and Catalan speaker. On other occasions, I was contacted for such information as where to have a manicure done, the contact details of a local female doctor, recommendations about pubs and nightclubs, sport centres, football matches or a good hairdresser’s. At the very beginning of the fieldwork, I was asked out on a date. I refused the invitation and after that, I lost contact with the student. I also took care of a cat owned by one of the participants because she was not allowed to take it back home. These anecdotes point to the fact that the relationship of trust with the student-participants was shaped by the high level of empathy and great effort on both sides.

The close relationship with the students probably affected the data collection in quantitative and qualitative terms. On one hand, their active participation in the research produced a high quantity of data. On the other, the friendly atmosphere between the participants and myself as a researcher led students to talk openly and freely about their experience. This was evident when the students made jokes, explained anecdotes, laughed and switched languages in my presence. The relationship was symmetrical as we were friends and this also led students to discuss and negotiate their stances in the focus groups and interviews openly. For instance, one of the extracts analysed in chapter 7 (extract 7.1) shows how I imposed a specific stance on one of the students during a focus group with five participants at the end of the fieldwork period. The student immediately disaligned herself, which could be interpreted as an index of the symmetrical relationship.

The academic staff appeared somewhat more suspicious about my work than the students. On various occasions they asked me to read the fieldnotes I was taking in their class or excused themselves whenever they felt they had not prepared their class properly. When that happened, I agreed to show them my notes and explained that I was not evaluating the quality of their teaching. On one occasion, one of the student-participants told me that the teacher was nicer when I was in class, which I interpreted as an indicator that, indeed, my presence in class had an effect on them. In the language classes, the teachers saw me as a support teacher and, on a few occasions, asked me to help students with their work. I always agreed to do so with the aim of constructing a good relationship with the teachers. However, helping the teachers may have affected the perception that students had of me since I may have appeared as somebody between a student and a teacher.

The administrative staff, the LVS and the OIR officers, always manifested a very positive attitude towards the research project. As I mentioned before, they gave me access to the field and never placed any hindrance to letting me in. They even helped me by offering information and documentation to prepare the field. Thus, I was given the programme of activities for the welcome week so that I could meet the student-participants and they also introduced me to the language instructors. Their help and support, especially on the first days, was fundamental to setting the project in motion. During the fieldwork period, I collaborated as a volunteer for the LVS –the body that organises cultural activities for the international students– in order to have access to both the cultural activities and the students. The main actors in the LVS are the LVS officer and volunteer local students, the majority of whom have participated or intend to participate in an international exchange programme and are therefore interested in international students. The language volunteers, including myself, usually met before a scheduled activity and helped to organise and prepare the setting. For instance, one of the activities was a snack in the afternoon with '*pa amb tomata*' (bread spread with tomatoes and olive oil). The volunteers prepared the tables, drinks and food before the arrival of the international students. In the cultural activities, the student-participants saw me working with the LVS and the other local students. In that situation, they could have regarded me as part of the local community or part of the institution through being with the rest of members of the LVS.

In short, in a research in which different groups of participants are involved, it is difficult to enter the community without creating ambiguities. Moreover, in a multilingual setting, the

language used to interact with the participants can significantly contribute to construct affiliations with the groups within the research. I now turn to this point.

4.4.2. Language choice and researcher's positionality in the field

Following the example of other ethnographers who conducted research in multilingual educational settings (Jaffe, 1999; Blackledge and Creese, 2010), in this section I give account of the subject positions that I, as a researcher, adopted vis-à-vis the participants during the fieldwork. The lens through which I look at these relationships is language choice and other linguistic features that appeared to identify subject positions not only in the broader social context but also within the micro context of data gathering.

In ethnographic research, the researcher's positionality is often understood in terms of the 'insider' or the 'outsider' dichotomy. Martin *et al.* (1997; as cited in Blackledge and Creese, 2010) describe insiders as researchers who share the culture and the language of the participants and may pass as natives, while outsiders are described as those who do not share the language or the culture and are not recognised or included as members of the community. Based on the analysis of language choice and culture, I try to show next that the relations in the field are better represented as a "both and neither" situation (Blackledge and Creese, 2010: 87; Mullings, 1999: 337).

The way in which a researcher uses language(s) in a multilingual field, by choosing one language or another to interact with the participants, may contribute to the construction of relationships of (dis)affiliation with the participants. Jaffe (2009) states that, in multilingual environments, language choice is accrued with meaning about the position that an individual adopts towards the linguistic resources available. When conducting ethnographic research in a multilingual environment, the researcher's language choice(s) is susceptible to being interpreted by the people in the community at hand like any other subject. For this reason, this section presents a nuanced analysis of how language choice may have affected the relationships constructed within the field. As this section shows, language is the pillar the relationships between researcher and participants in this study were constructed upon.

The previous section has shown that one of the first questions that students asked me when I entered the field was about the incoherence of being a Catalan native speaker on a Catalan language course. From the first moment, this marked a difference between the students and myself (i.e. native/non-native or 'Catalan-speaking'/'non-Catalan-speaking') but, at the same

time, it gave me something in common with the other two collectives, the teachers and administrative staff: we were all Catalan native-speakers. The Catalan language teachers and the LVS officer were employed by the LS, a body specifically designed to promote Catalan language and culture (UdL, 2008). Following the role that they were assigned by the institution, the LVS officer and the Catalan language teachers asked me to speak with the international students exclusively in Catalan during the cultural activities. I found it complicated and even negative because the students had limited or no understanding of Catalan and the majority of them preferred to communicate in Spanish. In this context, I was afraid that if I spoke Catalan, the students would distance themselves from me. On the other hand, if I spoke Spanish, the instructors would be disappointed. In the end, I explained to the teachers of the LS and the LVS that I needed to recruit participants and could not communicate very well with them in Catalan. Although they understood this, I always felt that I was somehow delegitimising them in front of the students. Ambiguity has also been reported by Jaffe (1999) as a cause of tension between the researcher and the participants.

The following extract of the fieldnotes diary, which is analysed in greater detail in chapter 7, shows how Maite, one of the Catalan language teachers, asked me to speak Catalan with the international students in one of the welcome cultural activities.

Extract 4.1. “Lidia, speak Catalan” (City bus tour, 2nd September 2010)

1	This afternoon I went on the tourist bus with the international students of the intensive Catalan course.
2	During the tour, I chatted to some students and Maite, one of the Catalan teachers. (...) Some students
3	initiated a conversation with me in Spanish. While I was replying in Spanish, the teacher interrupted me
4	and said “Lidia, speak Catalan”. I said we couldn’t hold a fluent conversation in Catalan and that’s why
5	we were speaking Spanish. Then she told me off because it had to be in Catalan, it was a must. I told her
6	that I was interested in their experience and that they expressed themselves better in Spanish. Then she
7	left.

This extract from the fieldnotes shows how Maite, one of the Catalan language teachers, asks me to speak in Catalan (lines 3-4) with the international students during an interaction in Spanish (line 2). I chose to justify my choice of adapting to the students saying that our conversation was more fluent in Spanish (lines 4-5). The instructor shows signs of being upset and insists saying that Catalan is the mandatory language choice (lines 5-6). I disalign again thus establishing a difference between the teacher’s expectations from this activity and my expectations in doing fieldwork (lines 6). The instructor leaves the conversation (line 7), which could be interpreted as a signal of disappointment with the researcher’s answer. This give and take between the researcher and the instructor plus the teacher leaving the scene shows that affiliating with both collectives at the same time was complicated. Although not impossible, the attempt to fulfil simultaneously the students’ interest in practicing Spanish,

the Catalan language teacher's goal of promoting Catalan, and the researcher's objective of recruiting participants and being able to communicate with them, required skills that I may not have developed yet.

The role of language choice as a way of creating (dis)affiliations with the teacher also appeared in the Spanish language classroom. In the following extract Maria, the Spanish language teacher, asks students to talk the researcher in Spanish.

Extract 4.2. "She can also speak Spanish" (Spanish language class A2; fieldnotes, 28th October 2010)

1	In the Spanish A2 level class, some students from the Czech Republic are talking about the
2	'Agrocastanyada' (an annual celebration in the faculty of Agriculture). They turn to me and ask me in
3	English whether the bus to go there is free and what time is it leaving. Maria, the teacher, interrupts the
4	conversation saying " <i>she can also speak Spanish</i> ". The Czech students start laughing. Then I switch to
5	Spanish and tell them that I think the bus leaves every hour. The students continue the conversation with
6	me in Spanish.

Spanish

This extract shows that the Spanish language teacher tries to use the researcher as an opportunity for international students to practice Spanish and, therefore, benefit her teaching goals. As in the previous extract with the Catalan language teacher, Maria interrupts the conversation to indicate that Spanish should be the code of communication (line 4). The interruptions could be interpreted as a signal of the teacher's position of authority over the students and the researcher, who are expected to take up. In contrast with the previous extract, the students laugh, as if they were ashamed of not using the language of the classroom, and they, as well as the researcher, switch to Spanish. This could have caused a strengthening of the affiliation between the researcher and the Spanish language teacher.

The possible outcomes in the negotiation of a code can be influenced by two factors: (1) the level of competence of the students in the language required by the teachers and (2) the setting where the negotiation occurs. In the first instance, the negotiation 'from Spanish into Catalan' (extract 4.1.) means switching into a language in which the students have scarce competence (the course was A1 level of the CEFR), whereas in the negotiation from 'English into Spanish', the students had enough competence in Spanish to ask for the time the bus was leaving (the course was A2 level of the CEFR). In connection with the setting, the first negotiation occurred during an activity outside the class context even if the goal was to introduce students to the local cultural heritage, and as a leisure activity. The second negotiation occurred inside the classroom and the weight of the academic institution may have reinforced the teacher's requirements. If the Catalan language teacher had made the same demand inside the classroom, the negotiation would have probably led to a result in her favour.

To sum up my relation with the LS instructors, the fact that I was a Spanish/Catalan native bilingual speaker may have meant that the instructors expected some level of affiliation and accommodation with their teaching goals. As Jaffe (2009) states, the teachers' role is embedded within the institutional order that ascribes them a role and the Catalan and Spanish language instructors in this research were performing their roles. These extracts also show that language is an object constantly at stake involving the ethnographer and affecting the kinds of data that s/he may obtain and the relationships in the field.

As for the students, I always accommodated to their language choice, which was mostly Spanish. Even with those students who were not competent in Spanish, I switched into a *lingua franca*, mainly English, and on some occasions I even used Italian and German. I expected that the accommodation to the students' preferred language would lead me to a closer relationship with them, and later on I found signs that corroborated my expectations. My decision to adapt to the students' preferred language of communication always contrasted with the choice of the majority of the university staff to keep Catalan as a vehicular language, even if students had problems understanding it. The lack of accommodation was interpreted as a lack of empathy on the part of the university as an institution (see chapter 6, extract 6.27). This fact may have helped me to earn the sympathy of the international students and position myself as an insider in the international student community.

Speaking different languages was also useful for recruiting participants who lacked competence in the local languages. Those students who were not competent in Spanish or Catalan still attended the focus groups and interviews and invited me to observe their classes. At the same time, knowing Catalan and Spanish also appeared attractive in the eyes of some students. For instance, Christina was an English student who was studying Catalan, Spanish and Italian at her home university. Most of the time, international students would talk to her in English, which did not allow her to practice one of her three foreign languages. In this situation, Christina required me to talk to her in Spanish and Catalan so that she could improve her competence in these languages during her stay in Lleida. The fact that she could benefit from participating in the project in terms of language learning presents linguistic capital as a valuable exchange currency in an environment where language learning is one of the main goals of the people under research.

Besides the use of a specific code for communication, accent emerged as an index of ethnicity in a context where Catalan and Spanish coexist. In the following extract, Jeroen, a Belgian

student, positions the researcher as ‘less Catalan’ than the rest of the local people because he considers her accent to be more neutral when she speaks Spanish.

Extract 4.3. “You don’t have that accent”

1	Jeroen	cuando escucho a la gente↗ (.) se nota (.) creo	when I listen to the people↗ (.) I notice (.) I think
2	Lidia	mhm↗	mhm↗
3	Jeroen	cuando uno es muy catalán o no↘ (.) se bueno	when one is very Catalan or not↘ (.) well
4	Lidia	en qué-	how-
5	Jeroen	se nota en el acent[o] porqué:	it’s evident in the ac[cent] becau:se
6	Lidia	[mhm↘]	[mhm↘]
7	Jeroen	amigos↗ donde se nota que están poco	friends↗ that is obvious that they are little
8		acostumbrados para hablar castellano y en	used to speaking Spanish and
9		casa los padres son catalanes	at home their parents are Catalan
10	Lidia	mhm↗	mhm↗
11	Jeroen	em: como tú (.) tú no tienes ese acento↘	em: like you (.) you don’t have that accent↘
12	Lidia	porque mi padre es hijo de inmigrantes	it’s because my father is the son of immigrants
13		del sur de España	from the south of Spain
14	Jeroen	es por eso↗	is that the reason why↗
15	Lidia	y yo suelo hablar catalán y castellano	and I usually speak Catalan and Castilian
16	Jeroen	en mi clase y amigos sí que tiene ese acento	in my class and friends do have that accent and
17		y a la calle también o a la tele: se nota	also on the streets or on TV: it’s evident

In this extract, Jeroen states that he can tell people who are “very Catalan – *muy catalán*” from those who are not (line 3) based on the “accent - *acento*” (line 5) that some Catalan speakers display when they speak Spanish (line 8). Next, Jeroen explains that when somebody has “that accent” her/his family is Catalan (line 9). In the following turn (line 11), Jeroen positions the researcher outside the ‘very Catalan’ group of people saying “you don’t have that accent – *tú no tienes ese acento*”. Next, I explain to him that two of my grandparents immigrated to Catalonia and that I usually speak both Catalan and Spanish (lines 12-13), which corroborates his assumption that the family background has something to do with the way local people speak (line 14). Next, Jeroen adds that he can hear people with that accent in class, among his friends, in the streets and on television (lines 16-17).

This interaction shows how accent is a criterion that in this case positions the researcher as a member of the local community who is not “very Catalan” and with a Spanish background. Jeroen’s intervention shows that the participants in an ethnographic research can also analyse the researcher accurately.

Martin *et al.* (1997; as cited in Blackledge and Creese, 2010) also point out that sharing the culture may position the researcher as an insider in the field. In the case of the academic and administrative staff, being born and raised in Lleida may already legitimate me as a member of the same cultural group. By contrast, with the international students, the same characteristic would make me an outsider. However, one of the main impacts of studying abroad is the development of a cross-cultural sensitivity (Anderson *et al.*, 2006) and my former experience

as an international student probably helped me to display intercultural sensitivity. The following extract from the focus group held at the end of the fieldwork period shows how the students complain that local students avoid getting together with them and lack interest in new cultures. Wei, one of the key Chinese participants, excludes me from them.

Extract 4.4. “Catalans are narrow-minded”

1	Wei	ellos [estudiantes españoles] no quieren juntarse con los alumnos internacionales	they [Spanish students] don't want to get together with the international students
2	Lidia	mhm vale≈	mhm right≈
3	Wei	≈ellos (.) de una parte [moves his hands towards his left] y nosotros de otra parte [moves his hands towards his right]	≈they (.) on one side [moves his hands towards his left] and we on another side [moves his hands towards his right]
4	Shu	[≈sí:]	[≈ye:s]
5	Kim	[[assents]] sí	[[assents]] yes
6	Yin	ya:	I kno:w
7	Shu	ellos no tienen [looks at the others] muchos ganas sobre las cosas nuevas	they don't feel [looks at the others] like doing new things
8	Lidia	va:le	ri:ght
9	Wei	sobre todo los catalanes [[laughs]]	especially Catalan people [[laughs]]
10	Shu	[[laughs]]	[[laughs]]
11	Wei	no no no hablo de- [looks at the researcher] a mí me gustan mucho las catalanas	no no no I don't talk about- [looks at the researcher] I like very much Catalan girls
12	All	[laugh loud]	[laugh loud]
13	Wei	pero los catalanes son un poco cerrados eso sí es ver[dad] que:	but Catalan students are a bit narrow-minded that's tr[ue]
14	Lidia	[sí:~]	[ye:s~]
15	Shu	[assents] sí:	[assents] ye:s

In this extract, Wei states that Spanish students avoid meeting international students (lines 1-2) and that local and international students move in separate circles (lines 4-5). Shu, Kim and Yin align with Wei in the following turns (line 7) and Shu adds that Spanish students do not feel like doing new things (lines 10-11) which, by contrast, emerges as a distinctive feature of international students. Wei adds that among the Spanish students, Catalans are especially distant and laughs (line 13). Shu laughs as well (line 14), which could be indexing affiliation with Wei. The rest, however, do not intervene and then Wei makes an attempt to rectify by taking the turn and initiating an attempt to exclude me from the Catalan students who are distant with the international students. He says “*no no no hablo de- / no no no I don't talk about-*” looking at me (lines 15-16) and adds that he likes very much Catalan girls (line 17), which excludes me from the negative evaluation he has just made about Catalan students. In the following turn everybody laughs, which indicates that everybody has understood Wei's attempt to repair his previous negative evaluation of all the Catalan students (line 18). Next, Wei reiterates his impression, and presents his evaluation of Catalan students as narrow-minded as a fact (lines 19-20). I align with him (line 21), taking the same position, which is also that of rest of the students in the group (their alignment appears in lines 7, 8, 9 and 22). In

this way, I show affiliation with the international students and take a position that includes me within their group.

It is important to add that, before this focus group, I had been invited to lunch at Wei's flat and he, Shu and Yin cooked Chinese food. I had also been to Kim's place once. She and her Korean flatmate invited me to eat Korean food, which I had never tried before. My willingness to try their food and meet with them contrasts with the lack of interest in the international students among the local students and their lack of interest in new experiences. These facts may have placed me as a Catalan student with some attributes characteristic of an international student (willingness to meet new people and try new experiences) and, therefore, my position appears like that of a non-local student.

In short, the relationships that I constructed with each of the three groups were ambiguous. Each of them expected some level of affiliation and engagement from me and fulfilling their expectations sometimes seemed somewhat complicated and even contradictory. My actions towards one of the groups were likely to be interpreted and evaluated differently by the other two groups and may have produced disaffiliations with those participants whose interests were not fulfilled. Heller (2008) presents the evolution of the relationships between researcher and participants in the field as a lineal process: the researcher moves from an outsider to an insider position. In this regard, the previous analysis has shown that the relationships with the LS employees' (the LVS officer and the LS Catalan teachers) did not always evolve in the same direction and there may have been fluctuations, as in extract 4.1 with the disaffiliation between the Catalan teacher and the researcher. The initial petition of the instructor who asked me to switch into Catalan indicates that the instructors may have considered me an insider from the beginning but I may have moved to an outsider position when I decided that affiliating with the students was more important for the research interests. Besides, the position of a researcher may never become that of an insider because participants know that s/he is not actually a member of their community although s/he may have things in common and they may like her/him.

In line with Mullings (1999), we could say that the analysis of the relations in the field suggests that the insider and outsider dichotomy is too limited, especially in this case where different typologies of participants coexist. The boundary between insider/outsider "is not only highly unstable but also one that ignores the dynamism of positionalities in time and through space" (ibid: 340). Mullings also suggests the concept of 'positional spaces' or, in

other words, “areas where the situated knowledges of both parties in the interview encounter, engender a level of trust and co-operation” (ibid: 340). The author considers that positional spaces are dynamic and transitory and, therefore, cannot be exclusively based on such physical attributes as race, gender, ethnicity or class, but are under constant negotiation. This section has placed a special emphasis on the role of language in creating affiliations in positional spaces. Speaking different languages does not immediately position the researcher as an insider or an outsider. Rather, it depends on whose perspective the language choice is evaluated from. Not only do researchers analyse their participants but the participants also perform a (fine-grained) analysis of the researcher.

The following table gives an idea of the researcher positionalities that appear in the extracts analysed and the anecdotes provided. This list is actually a limited selection of all the researcher positionalities that may have actually appeared in the field and is only aimed at supporting the argument made.

Table 4.2. Researcher’s positionalities

Whose perspective	Researcher’s positionality	Characteristic
Language teachers and LVS officer	Pro-Catalan local	Catalan/Spanish bilingual condition
Spanish language teacher	Spanish-speaking local	Spanish language speaker
Jeroen (an international student competent in Spanish and Catalan)		Neutral accent when speaking Spanish
Wei, Shu, Kim, Yin (four international students who think Catalans are narrow-minded)	International local	positive attitude towards new things
Christina and other international students	Local friend	Offering and providing help
Christina, one international student expecting to improve Catalan and Spanish	Local Catalan/Spanish bilingual friend	International students practicing their foreign languages
Teachers and students	Support-teacher	Helping the teacher in class
Teacher	Student	Being told to speak Catalan or Spanish, depending on the situation
International students LVS officer	Local student	Collaborate in the organisation of activities with the LVS
Researcher	Researcher	Trying to benefit the data collection before affiliating with the teacher

The analysis conducted in this section also shows that exploring the interface between three different groups (international students, academic and administrative staff) contributes to the construction of a hybrid researcher positionality, as the researcher’s affiliation has to be constructed taking into account the positionality of these groups within the same institutional space. In extract 4.1, where the researcher affiliates with the students and disaffiliates with the

instructor for the sake of her own research interests, she may create a hybrid position, distant from the instructor and closer to the students but, in the end, it is the position of a researcher looking for participants. For this reason, I suggest that a notion such as the ‘third space’ (Bhabha, 1994) could be useful for capturing and conveying the complexities and ambiguities when talking about researcher positionality within an ethnographic study. The theory of the ‘third space’ (Bhabha, 1994) provides a framework of cultural hybridity that breaks the dualism between the first and the second spaces. Bhabha, who works from a post-colonialist perspective, argues that the first space is the space of the home and the second space is the structures imposed by the metropolis. The fact that people from the first space have to work within the structures of the second space impedes them from articulating their indigenous identities. The third space is constructed when people manage to create a hybrid culture between the first and second spaces. Applied to the case of the analysis of the researcher positionality, the first and second spaces could correspond to the insider/outsider binary system. What I tried to show here is that the researcher’s positionality is rather hybrid and mutates depending on the people in the field s/he is interacting with. That could better suit Bhabha’s concept of the third space, as it does not require positioning oneself in one bounded space but permits conceiving it as a dynamic and fluid. Following Mullings (1999: 337) and Blackledge and Creese (2010: 87) the insider/outsider position is rather a “both and neither” situation.

Summary

Chapter 4 has situated this study within the field of linguistic ethnography and explained the process of data collection and the relationship of trust created with the participants. First, we have seen the main tenants of ethnographic research. Second, we have seen the process of data collection for this study, organised into pre-field, field and post-field activities. In the section with the fieldwork procedures, I have also included the amount of data and the number participants. Finally, we have seen the impact of language choice when conducting research in a multilingual field.

In the following chapter, I present the framework under which the data collected was analysed.

Chapter 5. Methodology for the analysis of the data

“Every utterance enacts a stance”

(Du Bois, n.d.)

This chapter presents the methodology employed to analyse the data in three steps. First, it situates the analytical framework within the field of discourse analysis (5.1). Second, it explains the adoption of an interactional sociolinguistic approach (5.2). Finally, it presents the main methodological tenets for the analysis of ‘stance’ from a sociolinguistic perspective (5.3).

5.1. A discourse analytical perspective

The present study adopts discourse analysis (DA) as the methodological approach for analysing the data. This section starts with an introduction to the three different perspectives from which, according to Van Dijk (1997a, 1997b) and Schiffrin (1994), DA can be approached: the structural, the functional and the social. After this, it situates the approach adopted within the social perspective. The following sections present interactional sociolinguistics as an approach to DA (5.2) and introduce the notion of stance (5.3), the main analytical conceptual tool through which the analysis is developed.

DA is the study of language in use. It focuses on how people employ language in real-life situations in order to do things (Gee, 2011; Gunnarsson, 1997). Language is action *per se*, as utterances do not just accrue meaning but can potentially do things (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; as cited in Wood and Kroger, 2000). Consequently, language use is a basic element of social practices and these practices produce meanings with which people construct their social lives. Following Gunnarsson’s (1997) suggestion that DA should adopt a practical commitment, the present study investigates language use in an academic environment with the practical commitment of identifying, understanding and resolving possible ambiguities and tensions that may arise during the encounter between the university as a social institution and its sojourning international students.

DA makes four assumptions in connection with language (Jones, 2012: 2). The first assumption is that (1) “language is ambiguous” because it is impossible to explicitly provide with words all the information contained in a message and, therefore, its meaning is also the result of the interpretation of the information missing. Secondly, language is “in the world” because its meaning is situated within a physical world, within social relations, within a specific moment of history, and within a network of discourses that follow and precede the current one. In third place, people construct their social identities through the use of language,

i.e. who they are and what their relationship is with the others. These identities are not unique, fixed or stable. On the contrary, they are multiple, flexible and fluid. Jones' last assumption is that language is combined with other sorts of semiotic means (such as gesture or tone of voice), which contribute to meaning.

DA is a heterogeneous field in methodological and theoretical terms. Among the myriad of disciplines from which it has been studied, some suggest a closer link to discourse as structure and others a closer relationship to how people interact socially through talk or writing. Van Dijk (1997a, 1997b) proposes a major division of discourse as (1) structure and process and (2) as social interaction. Although in both perspectives discourse is understood as a "form of language use" (ibid: 5), each emphasises different aspects. The structural perspective emphasises that discourse is a sequence of sentences that follow a specific order, a mental phenomenon and a system independent from society. It assumes that there are rules in the organisation of the utterances in a text and that the function of the utterances is intrinsic to the same.

The second approach focuses on discourse as a constituent part of social life and a way of fulfilling functions. Language use is considered socially and culturally organised but, in contrast to the structural perspective, the social interactional approach assumes that patterns of talk and communicative strategies are for certain purposes in specific contexts. This approach emphasises that meaning is the result of a negotiation among the different participants in communicative interaction and that the context where the interaction takes place affects the codification and interpretation of the meaning.

This major organisation of discourse analysis into structural and functional approaches is not a clear-cut division, as the perspectives do not necessarily go separately. In fact, both perspectives refer to two overlapping aspects of discourse, and all discourses could be analysed from each of these perspectives. For this reason, the adoption of one can easily include the other. Schiffrin (1994) transcends this dichotomy between functional and structural perspectives by presenting a third approach to DA, which integrates the structural (or formal) and the functional ones. The basic reason behind an interdependent approach is that DA assumes a relationship between text and context. Similarly to Schiffrin, Fairclough (2003: 2-3) goes over the "blurry boundary" between formal and functional approaches and argues that one does not exclude the other. In fact, he presents the fact that social scientists put less effort into the accurate analysis of linguistic features and that linguists analyse texts without providing it with the contextualisation of social issues as a handicap. He states that

his perspective on DA oscillates “between a focus on specific texts and a focus on specific *orders of discourse*” (emphasis in the original), which favours a connection between language use and durable structures in social practices.

In the same line, Jones (2012) succinctly presents the three perspectives from which discourse can be analysed in connection with how they look at language: (1) language above the clause, (2) language in use, and (3) language and social practice. The first perspective, which looks at language above the level of the sentence, focuses on its formal aspects and is interested in how words, sentences, texts and conversations are bound to create a unit. This perspective explores how the parts that compound texts are linked using connectors (cohesion) and the overall pattern of the text (coherence). In connection with Van Dijk and Schiffrin’s previous organisations, this approach corresponds to the structural or formal one.

The second perspective, language in use, looks specifically at what functions are fulfilled when people speak or write. This perspective goes beyond the grammatical and lexical levels because it recognizes that, apart from learning words and making connections between words, speaking a language implies knowledge of the pragmatics of that language, i.e. how to use it in the specific social context. For instance, pragmatic competence is an added difficulty in learning a foreign language as the lexical units bound together with the same grammatical rules can have different meanings depending on the social context. This perspective would correspond to Van Dijk’s (1997a, 1997b) and Schiffrin’s (1994) functional approach.

The third perspective, language and social practice, assumes that language is not just a system of making meaning but part of a larger system through which people construct themselves and their social worlds. Every individual uses language to create an identity (or identities) by means of displaying her/his ideas, beliefs and values. In connection with Schiffrin (1994), this would be a development of the third approach, in which language practices are constructions and representations of social structures.

Following Gee (2011), the present study seeks the common ground where the structure of language merges with its social meaning, and places emphasis on how individuals engage in social practices through the use of language. For this reason, it adopts the third perspective on DA, a perspective in which structure and function are intertwined. This choice is primarily motivated by an original engagement with linguistic ethnography, which is presented as an interdisciplinary combination of ethnography and linguistics and which aims to link the use that people make of language to external factors available in the context where the interactions occur (see chapter 4).

When we place the analysis of the data in the intersection between the structure of language and its social meaning, it is necessary to distinguish between three interrelated terms and concepts: text, language and discourse (Fairclough, 2003). This distinction is important because the analysis of the data is conducted on the texts by paying special attention to their linguistic features as a reflection of social processes. On the other hand, according to Fairclough (2003), much research in the social sciences has conducted text analysis by focusing exclusively on the content and without looking at its linguistic dimension.

Fairclough (2003) holds that texts are elements of social events, discourses, a network of social practices and languages, an abstract social structure. Texts –or the semiotic combination that actually happens in the use of language– and language –or the range of possible semiotic combinations available to happen– are mediated by discourses –ways of managing the selection of some linguistic structures to the detriment of others. What counts as *text* is more than the examples of language in use. In line with Kress (2010), the concept of text used in this research is extended to any kind of multimodal support that transmits meaning. For instance, a picture can be (part of) a text as there are traces of all kinds of activity that have been taking place in and around it and that people (and us as researchers) can interpret. Therefore, this study integrates audiovisual recordings (spontaneous oral and visual texts), institutional documents (written texts that have been reached through consensus) with online texts that include written texts that reproduce oral texts and images).

The term *language* is understood as the means of communication that people use to construct themselves and their relationship with their world, including linguistic as well as non-linguistic elements. Like Halliday (1978: 186), language is conceptualised as a metaphor for society, as its symbolic expression, whose relationship with the social order is that of “a process of mutual creativity”. Linguistic as well as non-linguistic elements do not only reflect, transmit and maintain social structure but can potentially modify it.

Finally, *discourse* is understood in its broad sense as a way of being in the world (Bourdieu, 1984; Gee, 1996; Blommaert, 2005) that integrates “words, actions, beliefs, attitudes and social identities” (Gee, *ibid*: 127). Blommaert (2005: 3) defines discourse as “all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural and historical patterns and developments of use”. His definition suggests two essential aspects of discourse: (1) what counts as discourse is not limited to written and oral human activity but is inclusive of any verbal and non-verbal resources that produce meaning; (2) meaning results from the intersection between language and, by extension, the contextual factors that influence how

speakers construct and interpret an utterance. The way in which utterances are produced and interpreted can evolve over time and across spaces, making discourse a dynamic and flexible entity. After explaining the theoretical assumptions of discourse analysis and positioning the analysis within the social perspective, in the following section I present interactional sociolinguistics as the approach to discourse adopted in this research.

5.2. Discourse and interaction

In first place, this section presents the different directions from which it is possible to approach the analysis of discourse, namely bottom-up, top-down, or a combination of both. In second place, interactional sociolinguistics is introduced by focusing on the work of two authors, John Gumperz and Erving Goffman, who have made significant contributions to this area.

The basic differentiation between the DA methodologies is the point of departure for the analysis (Baxter, 2010). These can be (1) macro-analytical or top-down approaches, (2) micro-analytical or bottom-up approaches, or (3) a combination of both. Macro-analytical approaches depart from the premise that broader social processes work through language. An example of a method is Critical Discourse Analysis, a school that is concerned with studying how processes of power and inequality work in language (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). Micro-analytical approaches aim at a fine-grained analysis of linguistic interactions using transcripts. An example of this approach is Conversation Analysis, whose main aim is to explore the social organisation underlying talk in terms of interactional rules, procedures and conventions (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990).

The third option, which is the one adopted in this study, transcends the dichotomy between the macro and micro approaches and combines aspects of both (Baxter, 2010). This approach considers that there are dimensions of linguistic interaction that are linked to more durable structures that lie beyond the control of individual speakers (*ibid*). By undoing the macro-micro dichotomy, richer and more complex insights within linguistic research can be obtained.

Heller (2001: 252) classifies the latter perspective as “interactionist”, and defines it as one “which characterizes reality as a social construct, and which locates the process of construction in the interaction between an individual and his or her world, most importantly as mediated by interaction with other people” (*ibid*: 252-253). Interaction is the site where individuals engage in creating discourse and situating themselves and others in connection with these discourses. The interactionist perspective is different from an ethnomethodological

or exclusively bottom-up approach in that it enables the study of the interactions as events situated in the material and social world. This is relevant because people's knowledge of the context is involved in the act of coding and decoding a message and, therefore, in the process of producing meaning.

The perspective from which this study approaches the analysis of the data is closely akin to the approach known as interactional sociolinguistics (IS). IS understands language, context and interaction as inextricably linked and aims to show that socio-cultural knowledge is not just external to the interaction but is embedded in talk. Linguistic ethnographic research frequently adopts interactional sociolinguistics (IS) as an approach to DA, as it aims to conciliate the emic and the etic perspectives, i.e. how people under research perceive the world around them, together with the knowledge about the context that is provided by the researcher (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Rampton, 1995, 2006).

IS analyses communicative events and the way in which language (and other kind of semiotic means) is used within the same events as "unique and never-to-be-repeated" actions (Rampton, 2007: 4). However, these interactions have achieved a level of stability in the world beyond the on-going interaction and this diminishes the level of control an individual has over her/his use of language. There are two main reasons for that: on one hand, meaning is co-constructed in the sequential organisation of turns in talk and, on the other, texts constructed interactively may be used again in future interactions and produce different meanings. In this light, the aim of IS consists of explaining the "uniqueness, deficiency and exuberance of the communicative moment" and, simultaneously, describe how participants manage specific forms of language use in connection with a broader context of communication (Rampton, 2007: 5).

In educational settings, this approach shows that discourse in interaction takes part in the process of social and cultural production and reproduction as in the case of, for instance, the attribution of a certain value to specific linguistic varieties or the distribution of the role of who controls what counts as knowledge (Heller, 2001). Heller (2001: 251) argues that "discourse in interaction becomes a privileged site for analysing social action and social structure (and the relationship between the two)". Similarly, Rampton (2007) holds that people, situated communicative encounters and institutions are deeply related because language is used to create encounters, encounters represent institutions and institutions control people and their linguistic practices by normalizing what language form is adequate and when it is appropriate to use this.

As in any interactional analysis of discourse, the audiovisual recordings and transcriptions of actual interactions constitute the core data in the present study. In this respect, Tannen (2005: 205) holds that the audiovisual recordings of interactions are the “bedrock” of the interactional analysis of discourse. The interactions that appear in this study occurred in a university, a social educational institution. The participants in these interactions come from different backgrounds, not just cultural and linguistic, but also political, economic and ideological, and this fact may lead them to construct and read the world around them in different ways. These differences in interpretation could lead to tensions and ambiguities between the institution and the new international students. For this reason it is important to consider the broader sociocultural, linguistic, economic and historical context where the interactions occurred.

IS can be seen as deriving from a combination of anthropology, sociology and linguistics, and has been heavily influenced by the work of John Gumperz (1982, 1996, 2001) in the fields of linguistics and anthropology, and Goffman (1974, 1981) in sociology. Their fundamental contributions to IS have served to conduct studies in other important areas of social research, such as cross-gender communication (Tannen, 1990), language acquisition and socialisation (Ochs, 1996) and social identity (Rampton, 1995, 2006).

Gumperz’ (1982) main theoretical contribution to the field is that people may have the same structural knowledge of a language (grammar and syntax, for instance) but their knowledge of the world makes them interpret what is said in different ways. His interest was motivated by the heterogeneity that characterises modern societies, where people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds interact. Gumperz studied interracial encounters between blacks and whites in the United States and intercultural encounters between Asian and British people in the United Kingdom. In these studies, he shows that misunderstandings in face-to-face interactions were provoked by the application of different rules of speaking. In his 1982 study in a British airport, Gumperz examined how newly-hired Pakistani and Indian canteen staff were perceived as uncooperative by their British colleagues. The observations of the canteen staff showed that they did not exchange many interactions, but when they did, the words of the Pakistani and Indian members of the staff were interpreted negatively. Gumperz recorded the interactions and afterwards asked them to paraphrase the meaning of their utterances. Gumperz found that the misunderstanding was due to the intonation used to offer “gravy”. Whereas the British signal an offer with raising intonation “gravy?”, the Pakistani and Indian staff members used a falling intonation. Although the south Asian members of the staff had perceived a bad response from their colleagues, they thought it was linked to their origins. In

this light, Gumperz gives the name *contextualisation cues* (1982; 1996; 2001) to the verbal and non-verbal signs that relate what is said in the interaction to the knowledge that people have of the context. These cues include intonation, tempo, rhythm, pauses, lexical and syntactic choices and non-verbal signals (Hall *et al.*, 2011). His work is relevant because he shows that these misunderstandings may lead to the creation of ethnic stereotypes and contribute to increasing inequalities in society.

Within ethnographic research, Gumperz proposes a method for IS which involves two stages. The first stage consists of familiarisation with the “local communicative ecology” (2001: 223), the localisation of types of encounters relevant for the research question, the observation of the research site, and the interviewing of participants to understand their expectations and presuppositions. The second stage consists of selecting events that may be representative of interactions occurred within the institution and which will be later analysed. After that, the recordings have to be analysed at two levels of organisation: (1) content and (2) pronunciation and prosodic organisation. The approach adopted in the present thesis, however, will expand the second part of the analysis to other aspects of language, such as lexical and syntactic choices and non-verbal signals.

The work of Erving Goffman (1974, 1981) has also had a deep impact on IS. Goffman also considers that people need to apply their knowledge of the context to make sense of their interactions. However, he focuses on a different aspect of the social world. Whereas Gumperz centres on how the knowledge of the cultural background affects interaction, Goffman focuses on the *frames* of interpretation. A frame is a set of presuppositions that interlocutors apply to the on-going interaction to make sense of how it is organised and in which key an utterance should be read (for instance, as a joke or as a serious message). Knowing which frame applies to an utterance is the result of previous social experiences.

People keep on reframing what happens in the interaction by manipulating *footing*. Goffman (1981: 128; as cited in Telles Ribeiro and Hoyle, 2009) defines footing as the “alignment that we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance”. Telles Ribeiro and Hoyle (2009: 79) paraphrase footing as “the stance that speakers and hearers take towards each other and towards the content of their talk”. The same authors add that a frame is accomplished in verbal interaction when the participants in an interaction signal their own footing and recognise and ratify each other’s footing. Participants do not just change footing but rather they embed their footing within each other’s which means that a participant’s voice can be heard embedded within

another participant's utterance. Goffman (1981: 155; as cited in Telles Ribeiro and Hoyle, 2009) holds that "within one alignment, another can be fully enclosed".

Goffman also places special emphasis on how people construct their social identities in interaction. He uses the notion of *face* to talk about the self as a public construction (Schiffrin, 1994). Face is a mask that people wear and change in connection with the other people that participate in an interaction. People make a great effort to construct and maintain a consistent face and, for this reason, they use a series of politeness strategies to cooperate in maintaining each other's face. The form in which people construct their public face is associated with specific subject roles and intersubjective relationships that flow in the social context. This constellation of social roles and relationships is by no means stable; on the contrary, it is susceptible to being reshaped within and through the same interactions.

Our study takes advantage of the theoretical and analytical contributions of the two threads in which IS has been developed, linguistic anthropology and sociology. However, Goffman's approach is more representative of our perspective for two reasons. In first place, the aim of this study is not to link the linguistic and cultural heterogeneity of the participants with the possible conflicts that emerge from their interactions. Instead, this study aims to explain how our participants (local and international) orient themselves interactively towards any salient dimension of their sociocultural field and why. Second, footing is intimately related to 'stance', the analytical concept used to achieve this goal (Jaffe, 2009). In the following section, I define stance and explain why this notion is useful for understanding the processes of indexicalisation that link interactional communicative events with particular sociocultural, political and ideological contexts.

5.3. Stance as a bridging perspective

This section presents the notion of stance as the core conceptual tool of this research. It is developed in two main directions, according to the two levels of communication to which IS makes justice, these being the interactional and the contextual levels, and emphasizes indexicalities as the bridge linking interaction and social order.

This study adopts the notion of stance to analyse how members of the academic community (namely students, academic and administrative staff) adopt a position in connection with the multilingual environment in which they develop their academic or professional activities. Stance is an important analytical notion in the fields of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis because it is one of the basic features of communication (Jaffe, 2009). It is in the process of stance-taking that people construct their positionality within the world (and also attribute a

position to the others), because when individuals take up a stance, they invoke a constellation of associated social identities. These positions are accomplished in interactive processes when two or more people orient themselves towards any significant dimension of their social world.

This work studies stance from the perspective of IS (section 5.2). According to Jaffe (2009), there are two main goals in the analysis of stance from an IS perspective. The first goal is to explore how stance relates to the construction of social identities, since the adoption of a particular stance is usually associated with certain social roles and identities and such intersubjective relationships as relations of power. The second goal is to explain how acts of stance are embedded in broader patterns of social reproduction and change. This perspective enables analysing interaction as the process by which individuals construct their social reality and the place they take within it, while situating these interactions within the conditions of its production, i.e. the surrounding context. The analysis of stance from the perspective of IS has to reconcile two levels: (1) the interactional, or how the tokens of stance are constructed turn-by-turn inside a conversation, and (2) the social, or how the management of the production and interpretation of a stance hangs on the broader frames of interpretation in which the stance is read off.

The bridge between the interactional level and the broader social level is constructed by the activation of indexicalities (Ochs, 1996). An index is a form of contextualisation that occurs over time and in particular social, cultural, political, and ideological contexts by which people relate certain ways of speaking with certain types of stances and certain types of stances with certain subject positions. Jaffe (2009: 4) states that the study of stance is a “uniquely productive way of conceptualising the processes of indexicalisation that are the link between individual performance and social meaning”, because the process of constructing a stance requires the interlocutors to have assimilated the social and interactional presuppositions that are made by the participants in an interaction to be able to manage the production and interpretation of this stance. However, Jaffe adds, stance “does not essentialize social categories”, because speakers and hearers may play with these presuppositions to produce ambiguous stances and either use these to perform multiple selves and social identities or, on the contrary, to construct a personal identity that lasts over time or even privilege one aspect of their identity to the detriment of others.

Bassiouney (2012) organises the linguistic resources that people use in interaction to construct a stance into (1) discourse resources and (2) structural resources. In the first group, she includes identification categories such as ethnicity, locality and common past experiences,

evaluative and epistemic orientations, implicatures and presuppositions, metaphors, metonymy and synecdoche, intertextuality, and dialogicality. Within the structural resources, the author contemplates elements such as pronouns, tense and aspect, mood and modality, phonological/structural/lexical variation, and code-switching and code choice.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) define identity as “the social positioning of self and other” and argue that, although the association of particular acts of stance with subject positions flows in the context, a speaker who habitually takes a particular stance may become associated with a particular social position that is, at the same time, associated with a particular social identity. For instance, Hall (1997; as cited in Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) studied the discourse practices of hijras, a transgender category in India. Although hijras are biologically born male they violate gender norms employing linguistic forms that are conventionally associated with females and using other non-linguistic resources, such as dresses and makeup. Thus, from a sociolinguistic perspective, hijras position themselves as females in contraposition to their male gender at birth.

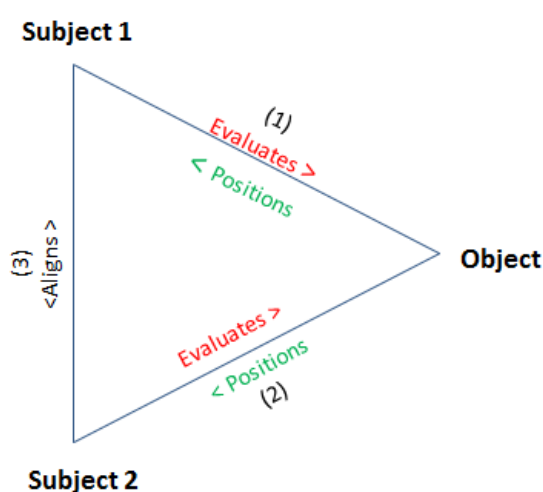
Ochs (1996) argues that the display of stance can be of two sorts, epistemic and affective. Epistemic stances display the degree of certainty that the interlocutors have towards the object of a stance, while affective stances are related to emotional states in connection with this object. This author argues that displays of affect and certainty are culturally grounded because they include a variety of indexicalities that situate the stance in specific moral and social frames. These social frames can recognise particular regimes for feeling and knowing and ways for their expression. They also legitimate ways of evaluating people and their stances and establish the relationships of authority not only at an interactional level but also on a broader social level.

A wide range of analytical traditions have engaged with the study of stance (Englebretson, 2007) resulting in an accumulation of concepts that, under different labels, study closely-related aspects of how people express their thoughts and feelings in interaction. According to Biber (2004) and Jaffe (2009), some of the various terms that overlap with stance, such as attitude, modality, evaluation, positioning, affect, footing or assessment, are actually emphasizing one aspect of stance or another.

Within an interactionist approach, Du Bois (2007) makes an effort to bring together the different strands in the development of the concept of stance. He defines stance as “a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate

objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect of any salient dimension of value in the sociocultural field” (ibid: 169). While the sociolinguistic perspective is useful for linking linguistic practices to the context where the stance is constructed, Du Bois focuses on stance as a process and provides what could be defined as a strictly interactional scheme for the study of stance at the level of action, emphasizing the turn-by-turn interaction. He presents the process of stance-taking (evaluation, positioning and alignment) as three steps and proposes a graphic conceptualisation depicted in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1. The stance triangle (Du Bois, 2007: 163)



For Du Bois (2007: 163), “the stancetaker can (1) evaluate an object, (2) position a subject (the self or the other), and (3) aligns or disaligns with other subjects”. This triadic conceptualization emphasizes the dialogic dimension of stance in two regards: the immediate communicative situation and the communication over time and across spaces. The three steps develop interactionally across turns, which presents stances as emerging from the interaction. They are constructed and negotiated at a micro level through the alignment, whether positive or negative, between speaker and hearer. Stance is primarily an intersubjective construction rather than a subjective attempt to position oneself in the world (Keisanen, 2007). In the sequence of turns a ‘stance leader’ may leave sediments in the ‘stance follower’ (ibid: 161), since the act of alignment takes up a previous evaluation and positioning, ratifies it and depicts itself as an act of stance. This delimits the range of choices that an interlocutor has for positioning her/himself, as stance-taking is always shaped by an interactional context.

The three steps in the enactment of stance also take place interdependently, which means that even when one of them appears alone, the other two remain implicit. For instance, the

evaluation of an object, even without any immediate response, implies a simultaneous position of the participants in connection with the object evaluated. This evaluation may be, at the same time, a response to a previous stance taken in another place and time by the same or another person. This suggests that stances are involved in a broader dialogical chain, a more durable one, which can result in the association of particular acts of stance with particular subject positions (Damari, 2010).

To conclude this subsection, I provide an example of how the data extracts in this study are analysed through the notion of stance. The extract used as an example is the last extract included in chapter 4. However, in this case, the aim is to show how the students construct a stance towards the local students in interaction.

Example 5.1. The analysis of ‘stance’ in “Catalans are narrow-minded”

1	Wei	[...] ellos [estudiantes españoles] no quieren juntarse con los alumnos internacionales	[...] they [Spanish students] don't want to get together with the international students
2			
3			
4	Lídia	mhm vale≈	mhm right≈
5	Wei	≈ellos (.) de una parte [moves his hands towards his left] y nosotros de otra parte [moves his hands towards his right]	≈they (.) on one side [moves his hands towards his left] and we on another side [moves his hands towards his right]
6			
7			
8	Shu	[≈sí:]	[≈ye:s]
9	Kim	[[assents] sí]	[[assents] yes]
10	Yin	ya:	I kno:w
11	Shu	ellos no tienen [looks at the others] muchos ganas sobre las cosas nuevas	they don't feel [looks at the others] like doing new things
12			
13	Lídia	va:le	ri:ght
14	Wei	sobre todo los catalanes [[laughs]]	especially Catalan people [[laughs]]
15	Shu	[[laughs]]	[[laughs]]
16	Wei	no no no hablo de- [looks at the researcher] a mí me gustan mucho las catalanas	no no no I don't talk about- [looks at the researcher] I like very much Catalan girls
17			
18			
19	All	[laugh loud]	[laugh loud]
20	Wei	pero los catalanes son un poco cerrados eso sí es ver[dad]que:	but Catalan students are a bit narrow-minded that's tr[ue]
21			
22	Lídia	[sí:~]	[ye:s~]
23	Shu	[assents] sí:	[assents] ye:s

In this extract, Wei states that Spanish students avoid meeting international students (lines 1-2) and that they move in separate groups, the international and the local groups (lines 4-5). Shu, Kim and Yin manifest verbal and gestural explicit alignment with Wei (lines 8-12) and Shu contributes to the construction of a common stance adding that Spanish students do not feel like doing new things (lines 11-12). By contrast, Shu positions the group as willing to try new things, which emerges as a distinctive feature of international students and contributes to constructing the relationship of intersubjectivity between the two discursively constructed groups, ‘international students’ and ‘Spanish students’. Wei adds that among the Spanish students, the Catalans are especially distant and laughs (line 14). Wei’s laughter could be

interpreted as an attempt to save face before the researcher, who is perceived as a Catalan student. Shu laughs simultaneously (line 15), which confirms Wei may have lost some face and could be interpreted as an attempt to help him to restore it. The other participants, however, do not intervene, which may make Wei look bad. Next, Wei makes an attempt to rectify by taking the turn and excluding the researcher from the Catalan students who are distant with the international student. He says “*no no no hablo de- / no no no I’m not talking about-*” looking at the researcher (lines 16-17) and adds that he likes Catalan girls very much, which excludes the researcher from the rest of negatively evaluated Catalan students. In the following turn, all the participants laugh loudly, which helps Wei to repair his previous negative evaluation of all the Catalan students (line 19). His success in saving face may have made him feel emboldened to take an unambiguous stance towards Catalan students in the following turn (line 20, 21) where he reiterates his evaluation and presents his evaluation of Catalan students as close-minded as a fact (lines 20-21). The researcher aligns with him (line 22) and therefore takes the same position as the students in the focus group (their alignment appears in lines 7, 8, 9 and 23), and shows affiliation with the international students.

The analysis shows how the most important aspects in the revision of the analytical framework are used to analyse the extracts of the data in this study. First, stance is co-constructed in interaction between different participants and in a series of turn exchanges. Second, acts of stance include acts of evaluation, positioning and (dis)alignment that affect intersubjective relations (in the previous example, international students vis-à-vis local students). Third, verbal and non-verbal language are jointly mobilised for the construction of stance, to distribute turns in the interaction and to compensate words that are not said but meant. All these aspects are central to the analysis of the data in the next two chapters.

Summary

Chapter 5 has presented the methodology for the analysis of the data. The structure of the chapter is aimed at presenting stance as the main analytical lens to analyse discourse. Stance is an outstanding property of interaction and also a useful notion for understanding how people construct their social worlds in interaction and orient themselves towards different salient dimensions of their sociocultural worlds. To do so, this chapter first reviewed the three different perspectives from which discourse can be analysed and positioned this study within a social perspective. Second, we have seen that we adopted an interactional sociolinguistics approach for the analysis of stance because it helps us understand how people link a particular act of stance with a subject position and creates intersubject relations.

Part III includes two chapters that analyse how the participants construct their stance towards (1) the identity projected by the UdL of itself as an institution and the context it is located in together with the distribution it makes of the languages in its official linguistic repertoire and (2) the distribution of languages in the context of learning Catalan as a foreign language during international students' stays at the UdL.

PART III. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

Part III includes two chapters of analysis. Chapter 6 presents the analysis of how language is used by the university to construct both its cultural identity and that of its socio-political context, and contrasts this with the way international students and university staff position themselves in this regard. This chapter includes observational data from events organised by the institution for international students, classes and interviews and focus groups with the three groups of participants: academic and administrative staff and international students. Section 6.1 begins with the analysis of how language and culture are mobilised during the two welcoming weeks for the international students' stay, which construct the identity of the university and of the surrounding context. Section 6.2 explores how individuals project their stance towards the sociolinguistic context through their language choice. Next, sections 6.3 and 6.4 analyse the stance adopted by the content-subject lectures and the language instructors in their focus group. The chapter finishes with the analysis of how students take a stance towards the context which they have been confronted with in a focus group and also how these stances also appear in their daily interactions.

Chapter 7 analyses how international students and language instructors position themselves towards the use of plurilingualism as a resource in the second language classroom and the tensions generated by the inclusion in class of other languages apart from the target language. The analysis includes data from two focus group sessions and the classroom. Section 7.1 presents the courses of Catalan as a foreign language that the university offers to international students. Then, section 7.2 analyses (1) the focus group sessions with international students at the end of their stay, where they construct a stance in favour of introducing Spanish as a means of teaching and learning Catalan and (2) the focus group with the language instructors where they reject the idea of applying a heteroglossic pedagogy and construct a monoglossic stance towards teaching second and foreign languages. Section 7.3 presents the analysis of the classroom interactions, which show how students, and even teachers, benefit from the use of plurilingualism as a learning asset.

Chapter 6. Catalonia is not Spain: Discursive constructions of national identity

This chapter is about how national identity is discursively constructed in the context of the study abroad programme at the UdL. It analyses the convergence between the internationalisation process of the university and the promotion of the local culture and language. Its specific aim is, in first place, to explore how the UdL, in its interaction with newly-arrived international students, constructs its stance towards the linguistic and cultural context it is located in. In second place, this chapter aims at describing how international students and the members of the academic staff react to the institutional stance and the extent to which they align with or contest it. To explore the divergent representations and orientations that emerge inside the academic context, and which appear in conflict at times, this chapter analyses three types of data: (1) official policy documents (internationalisation plan and the language policy), (2) everyday practices at the university, which represent a response to these policies, and (3) attitudes and beliefs expressed by the participants in the interviews and the focus groups.

Drawing on the three types of data, chapter 6 is organised into three parts. Section 6.1 looks at how the institutional policies distribute the multilingual resources of the sociolinguistic context where the UdL is embedded. This can be explained by the fact that the distribution of language(s) represents one of the main means of constructing the national identity of a territory (see chapter 1). The impact of institutional language policies is present in all the layers of the institutional context, from the official directives to the practices and *vice versa*, under constant negotiation by the members of the institution (Chua and Baldauf, 2011). For this reason, section 6.2 aims at analysing how individuals take a stance in interaction towards the identity of the UdL and the resources that are used to construct the national and cultural identity of the surrounding context. Finally, section 6.3 deals with the stance that the international students take towards the identity that the university projects.

6.1. Internationalisation and language policy at the UdL

This section is based on a content analysis of the two top-down policies of the UdL that define its internationalisation strategy since these serve as guidelines for the academic and administrative staff who work with international students on an everyday basis. The section is divided into two subsections, which correspond to the two main official documents from the university on its internationalisation and language policies, respectively: The Internationalisation Programme (2006) (6.1.1) and Language Policy: Towards a multilingual

reality (2008) (6.1.2). As has been explained in section 4.3.2, the two policies were revised in 2013 in the form of two new documents: (1) Operational Plan for Internationalisation 2012-2016 of the UdL (UdL, 2012 [my translation of the document entitled *Pla Operatiu d'Internacionalització de la UdL 2012-2016*]); and (2) Operational Plan for Multilingualism (POM) de la UdL 2013-2018 (UdL, 2013 [my translation of the document entitled *Pla Operatiu del Multilingüisme of the UdL 2013-2018*]). The documents do not change significantly and refer to the strategies that the university intends to follow to become more international. The *Pla Operatiu d'Internacionalització* (UdL, 2012) states the university's intention to become more international through raising the international awareness of its academic and administrative staff and developing an open vision of the world ready to face the challenges of the tendency towards internationalisation in the current socioeconomic environment. The university also explicitly states its aim to increase its international visibility and academic reputation in those research areas where it can be more competitive. The POM (UdL, 2013) includes specific actions to implement a language policy that fosters multilingualism and respects the institutional engagement with promoting the official languages in Catalonia, with special emphasis on Catalan. This document is based on the 2008 language policy document and its novelty is that it sets specific actions to be undertaken by the institution. The POM states that the university aims at (1) promoting and consolidating the use of the official languages in Catalonia in all the contexts of the UdL, (2) fostering multilingualism and plurilingualism within the university because it is a requirement in the process of internationalisation of the university, (3) warranting the linguistic rights and duties of the university regarding Catalan and Spanish, the two official languages, as well as English, the third working language and (4) making the members of the academic community aware of the relevance of the language policy. However, for the purpose of our study, the two documents analysed are the ones valid at the time of the data collection.

6.1.1. Towards the internationalisation of the UdL

The Internationalisation Programme (IP) defines internationalisation as the “process by which a national institution becomes international” (2006: 8). In order to become international, the IP considers mobility as an important factor that can be achieved through official collaboration with other institutions. To facilitate mobility among universities, the IP sets a series of goals which affect (1) the role and status of languages within the academic environment, including both teaching and research activities, and (2) the promotion of the sociocultural environment where the UdL is embedded through the teaching of its language

and culture. This section is devoted to analysing the multilingualism projected and promoted by the IP in the academic context and in the institution's sociocultural environment.

The IP promotes the use of widely spoken languages in the world within the academic context. Although the document does not specify which languages, it does set a goal of increasing in the presence of English as a teaching language as well as the translation into English of the information about the course offer and the administrative procedures. The IP also mentions the two official languages from the local context, Spanish and Catalan, and states that the UdL must offer courses of Spanish and Catalan for those incoming international students who may "need" to learn them (UdL, 2006: 15). While the presence of Spanish can be justified by the fact that it is not only one of the two official languages but also a widely spoken language in the world, the presence of Catalan, a minority language in the international context, can only be justified by the fact that it is the *llengua pròpia* (own language) of the community. This organisation of the multilingual institutional repertoire conveys a stance towards the kind of multilingualism that is appropriate in an international university. In the context of international higher education institutions, there is limited room for minority languages and it is necessary to promote widely-spoken languages that enable transnational mobility and, consequently, the recruitment of a higher number of foreign students. The introduction of widely-spoken languages for instruction would, as a result, benefit the plurilingual competence of local students and academic staff, who would have more opportunities to practice a foreign language.

The IP also makes a commitment towards its specific sociocultural environment. The IP sets the goal of promoting an attractive image of the UdL and projecting the city of Lleida as a "university town" (UdL, 2006: 26). This goal is to be achieved by promoting activities that favour the integration of foreign academic and administrative staff and students into the local community. These activities include (1) offering Catalan and Spanish courses to international students, (2) offering welcoming activities and tutorials to students coming from other universities, and (3) drawing up a protocol for a better reception of foreign academic staff (the IP does not offer any further specification on how this protocol will be elaborated). The first two actions are aimed at projecting an attractive image of the UdL and the city of Lleida while emphasising the importance of the local languages, Catalan and Spanish. The IP also refers to the need to promote the local culture as part of the welcome activities, as section 6.2 will show. This converts the internationalisation of universities into an activity deeply linked with the learning of a foreign language and culture and, at the same time, as an opportunity for the locality to become known on the international higher education market. The promotion of the

locality through the internationalisation of the university emphasises the increasing interconnection between education and tourism (Urry and Larsen, 2011). The university and the city mutually benefit from each other, as the former ‘uses’ the cultural heritage of the latter to construct itself as an attractive destination and the latter ‘uses’ the university to project itself and its cultural heritage internationally.

The stance that the university takes towards languages through its IP is, on one hand, promoting widely-spoken languages in the academic context to enable the mobility of students and staff and, on the other hand, promoting Catalan and Spanish as part of the local heritage. In terms of Heller (2011), in the new globalised economy, languages have become strategic assets that are essential for international communication between corporations which want to be present in the international market, manage mobility of people and products and ascribe them value. The mobilisation of English, Catalan and Spanish constructs the UdL as an appealing destination because it promotes the midpoint between a global and, at the same time, authentic university. In other words, it could be interpreted that the IP pursues the glocalisation of the UdL through a twofold form of internationalisation (Roudometof, 2005). Through the management of multilingualism, it simultaneously promotes the openness of the local context through the promotion of Catalan and the detachment of the local ties through the presence of English.

6.1.2. The official language policy of the institution

The stance that the internationalisation programme takes towards languages contrasts with that of the official language policy of the university, made explicit in 2008 in the document, Language policy of the UdL: towards a multilingual reality (UdL, 2008 [my translation from the document entitled *Política Lingüística de la UdL: Cap a una Realitat Multilingüe*]). This section includes the analysis of two main aspects: (1) the role and status that the institution ascribes to the different languages that constitute its multilingual repertoire together with the commitment that the institution makes to each of them; and (2) the impact that the official policy may have on the presence of the languages in the classroom.

In first place, in its language policy (LP henceforth), the UdL sets the goal of adapting to a “multilingual reality” by becoming a multilingual institution (UdL, 2008). In this multilingual institution, different languages are assigned particular roles and the institution makes a specific commitment to each of them. Table 6.1 succinctly presents these roles and commitments.

Table 6.1. The roles of the languages and the UdL commitments (UdL, 2008)

Language	Roles	Commitment(s)
Catalan	The autochthonous language in Catalonia (<i>llengua pròpia</i>)	Promote its use inside UdL; Make it more international
Occitan	Co-official language in Catalonia in the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006)	Spread knowledge and communication in Occitan, mainly in the Aranese variety; Become a world academic reference
Spanish	Co-official language; A language of international scope and interest	Offer means to students to use it correctly; Offer means to international students to improve their knowledge during their stay
English	The most used language internationally at an academic and professional level	Introduce it as a third academic language
Other	Traditional or professionally outstanding foreign languages (such as French, German, Italian)	Promote them
	Currently in demand (such as Chinese, Arabic)	UdL will take them into consideration

Table 6.1 shows that the LP tries to make the promotion of Catalan and Occitan, two minority languages, compatible with the introduction of English and other widely-spoken languages as belonging to the academic context. Catalan, Occitan and Spanish, which are official languages in Catalonia according to the Statute of Autonomy (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006) are given the status of official languages at the institution. However, they are considered differently. Catalan is defined as the autochthonous language of Catalonia, or ‘*llengua pròpia*’, which is literally translated as ‘the own language of Catalonia’. Occitan is described as a co-official language in Catalonia according to the Catalan Statute of Autonomy (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006). Finally, Spanish is considered as a co-official local language that enjoys a prominent role at the international level. In connection with each of the three languages, through the LP, the university takes a different stance in the form of commitments. The first commitment is to promote the use of Catalan inside the university and turn it into a more international language. The second commitment is to promote knowledge of Occitan, mainly in the Aranese variety (spoken in Val d’Aran, in the north-west of the province of Lleida) and its use as a language of communication. The institution also aims to promote undergraduate and post-graduate studies in this language and become a world reference in this field. The third commitment is to Spanish, and it basically involves offering the means for local students to use it correctly and international students to learn it during their stay at the UdL.

In connection with other languages than the official languages in Catalonia, the document describes English as “the academic and professional language in the international context with a most relevant role”. For this reason, the institution commits itself to promoting its use as an

academic language and obliges itself to introduce it as the third language of instruction. As for other widely-spoken languages, the LP explicitly states that they should not be excluded from the university and envisages using them in specific academic activities as well as in printed materials. The LP distinguishes between foreign languages that have been traditionally important in specific areas of knowledge, such as French, Italian and Portuguese, and other foreign languages that are currently under demand in today's society, such as Chinese or Arabic, to which the university makes the ambiguous commitment of "paying attention to them".

One of the indexes of the impact that these policies may have in the everyday academic life can be the presence of the different languages in the academic activities at the university. Thus, in the academic year 2010-2011, Catalan was the majority language of instruction with over 65% of the courses taught in this language. Spanish was the second most widely-used language with a presence in over 28% of the courses. English was used as a language of instruction in over 3% of the courses, a percentage which is even lower if we exclude all of the courses which form part of the English Studies programme. The percentages show an unequal distribution of the languages in the official repertoire. Catalan, a language which, in principle, international students may consider as of low symbolic value, emerges as the majority teaching language inside the institution. Spanish, the majority language in the state of Spain, is present in one fourth of the academic offer. The presence of English, which the LP defines as the most internationally used language in academia, appears as the one least used at the UdL. It could be argued that the LP represents an attempt to achieve a balance in the presence of the languages. In this sense, the UdL appears to be more pro-active as regards Catalan, a minority language in the international scene, and English remains a minority language in the local academic context. It could be interpreted that Spanish adopts a medium-sized language position within the UdL because its presence is in an intermediate position between the really big (Catalan) and the really small (English) (Vila and Bretxa, 2013). As a majority language in Spain, Spanish does not require specific support actions as a language of instruction but the university offers the means for local and international students to learn and improve it.

Table 6.2 is a schematic representation of the relationship between the languages of instruction at the UdL, their role and status in the international and local institutional context and the effect that the language policy directives may have on these languages.

Table 6.2. Languages of instruction, status and possible effect due to the language policies

	International context	UdL and local context	Commitment	Effect of language policy
Catalan	minority language	majority language	promotion	project it internationally
Spanish	majority language	medium-sized language position	no specific promotion	neutral effect or minorisation as a side effect
English	majority language	minority language	promotion	correct its minority status in the local context and make it the third medium of instruction

In this multilingual reality, the LP defines the “language safety principle” as a key concept. This is aimed at ensuring that information about all the subjects states the language they will be taught in and that the academic staff responsible for the subject abides by this. Once the language has been published, it cannot be changed under any circumstances. The binding effect of this principle is aimed, according to the LP, at avoiding or minimizing any conflict within the classroom due to language. However, in the event that the lecturers or the students know a language different to the one announced in the programmes, by mutual consent, they can use it outside the classroom.

The responsibility for choosing the language of instruction lies entirely with the lecturer. The fact that students have no say in the choice of the language leaves no room for negotiation and students are led to a ‘take-it or leave-it’ situation. Furthermore, the language of instruction may be decided on the basis of the lecturer’s competence, rather than students’ preference, independently of the languages that the LP aims at promoting.

The existence of the principle of language safety has led many lecturers to include more than one language in their course programme in order to ensure greater flexibility to adapt to the needs of the students. This strategy may actually destroy the original *raison d’être* of this principle, since it is not clear to the students whether the subject will have a dominant language or not. The positive side of including more than one language in the course programme is that it may turn the classroom into a multilingual space, where more than one language can coexist and be used for teaching/learning functions. However, the negotiation of a language of instruction in an international university may be detrimental for minority languages (Catalan in an international context or English in the local context) and Spanish, the most common *lingua franca*, could turn into the most widely-used language of instruction (Llurda, 2013).

As a conclusion for section 6.1, we can say that the IP and the LP both agree on the need to increase the presence of English as a language of instruction and communication inside the

academic context, but they project different stances regarding the ideal roles for the local languages, Catalan and Spanish, at the university. While the IP places very little emphasis on the need to promote Catalan, the LP highlights this goal and includes the commitment to promote it in the academic context and project it internationally. In the case of Spanish, its status as a widely-spoken language in the world is interpreted differently by the IP and the LP: the former opens a space for it to be promoted as a language of instruction due to its goal of promoting teaching in widely-spoken languages, whereas the latter does not promote it as a language of instruction. Table 6.3 summarises the alignment or disalignment between the stances projected by the two institutional documents.

Table 6.3. (Dis)Alignment in the stances taken by the two official policies

	Internationalisation policies (2006)	Language policies (2008)
Catalan	disalignment	
Occitan	not mentioned	
Spanish	disalignment	
English	alignment	

The different stances and representations adopted by the participants in this study, the university staff and the international students, are basically shaped by the two above-mentioned documents and most of them display an alignment with one or the other. In the following sections, the analysis proceeds to see how the institution's language policy is followed, negotiated, and challenged in everyday academic interactions.

6.2. But is it Spain or not?

This section aims at presenting how the national identity of the territory where the UdL is located is constructed for international students. Students who choose the UdL as their host destination for a study abroad programme may expect the university to be a Spanish university and may be surprised by the effort that the institution makes to construct itself as a Catalan university. The university constructs its national identity through three main strategies. Subsection 6.2.1 shows how the UdL uses a strategy of differentiation by which the Catalan identity is made visible mainly through the presentation of Catalan language and culture. Subsection 6.2.2 focuses on how the UdL legitimates the use of Catalan as the language of instruction and the usual language of communication in the local context. Finally, subsection 6.2.3 considers the distribution of languages at the institution through the language choice of its academic and administrative staff as a factor contributing to the construction of the sociolinguistic environment.

6.2.1. The differentiation of the Catalan cultural identity

The UdL makes a great effort to persuade students that the sociocultural context of the UdL is Catalonia rather than Spain, as they may have expected. This can be seen, for instance, in the university's web page, a source of information that students can access before arriving in Lleida. Figure 6.1 shows the city of Lleida situated in the geopolitical entity of Catalonia and omits any references to the state of Spain.

Figure 6.1. Geopolitical entity (university's website)



Source: <http://www.udl.cat/en/udl/lleida.html>

The map presents Catalonia as having the same sort of political relationship with Spain, as with France, Algeria, Morocco or any other country shown on the map, with the only exception that Spain is written in capital letters. The UdL projects an image of itself within Catalonia as an independent geopolitical entity and therefore, from the perspective of the university, the context where the UdL is located is Catalonia and not Spain.

While the strategy of differentiation in the map above involves visually delimiting the borders of Catalonia, we will now see how the university constructs the identity of the context as Catalan by foregrounding the Catalan language and culture and, consequently, backgrounding the Spanish identity. This strategy appears more intensive during the welcome activities, which take place during the first two weeks of the students' stay, but it is maintained throughout the academic year.

Billig (1995: 61) states that building up the national identity consists of identifying particularities that differentiate groups so that their members can distinguish between “us-the nation” and “them-the foreigners” and that this differentiation needs to be maintained and constantly nurtured (see section 1.1.1). In the case of the UdL, the strategy consists of visibilising Catalonia through reinforcing the presence of the Catalan language and celebrating Catalan cultural traditions and festivities. In this way, as we will see below, the students are invited to embody the authenticity of the local context through speaking Catalan, eating Catalan food, appreciating the Catalan heritage and the Catalan institutions, and participating with the locals in traditional leisure activities.

During the first two weeks of their stay, students go through a process of immersion in Catalan language and culture that combines an intensive Catalan language training course with a series of ‘cultural’ activities. Students attend the Catalan language course between 5 and 6 hours a day, five days a week and for almost two weeks. The cultural activities are offered apart from the language course in the evenings and at the weekend. These activities represent an opportunity for the institution to introduce students to a series of cultural and political institutions that are presented as key elements of the sociocultural context of the UdL. Although the language course and cultural activities are not compulsory, they are highly recommended by the institution on its webpage and in the welcome meeting organised by the Office of International Relations (OIR) and the Language Service (LS) and, for this reason, the majority of students decide to attend both.

The following figure is a reproduction of the original ‘welcome programme’ (see appendix 1 for a copy of the original programme). The programme of the welcome activities shows that it concentrates exclusively on aspects that form part of the specific cultural identity of Catalonia (language, food, history, heritage, music and politics) and does not include any activity that could be related to the wider cultural context of Spain.

Figure 6.2. Welcome activities: Brochure given to international students on their first day

ACTIVITATS DE BENVINGUDA/ ACTIVIDADES DE BIENVENIDA/ WELCOME ACTIVITIES													
9-9.30	Presenta-tion of the Catalan course												
9.30-10													
10-10.30	Catalan course	Catalan course	Catalan course	Catalan course	Catalan course	Trip to Barcelona (1)		Presenta-tion by Dani	Catalan course	Catalan course	Catalan course		
10.30-11													
11-11.30													
11.30-12													
12-12.30													
12.30-13								Meeting with the Vice-Chancellor					
13-13.30								Meeting with the coordinators	Informati-ve talk with the Catalan Police				
13.30-15.30													
15.30-16	Catalan course		Catalan course		Guided tour to Gardeny and Castle			Catalan course	Guide d tour to the Seu Vella	Music activity	Catalan course		
16-16.30													
16.30-17													
17-17.30													
17.30-18			Catalan snack										
18-18.30				Tourist bus									

(1) Guided tour: Generalitat (the Catalan government), the Gothic Quarter and the Catalan Parliament

- Underlined Catalan language
- Underlined Spanish language
- Green Catalan Course
- Pink Cultural activities
- Yellow Informative meetings
- Sunday, day off

If we look at the organisation of the welcome programme, we can see that the language training course is available only in Catalan without the option of Spanish, the other official language in the institution. This choice is explained by the Language Volunteering Service (LVS) officer, Xavi, in his interview. The LVS is a section of the LS responsible for the promotion of Catalan language and culture. In the interview, Xavi explains that while most students arrive at the UdL knowing some Spanish, only a few know Catalan. For this reason, the intensive Catalan language course is aimed, according to the LVS officer, at giving incoming mobility students tools to follow the academic subjects and helping them from seeing Catalan as an obstacle for their academic success during their stay. The following extract from the interview with Xavi, the LVS officer, shows how he argues that while the institution needs to make an effort to accommodate to the international students, the students also need to adapt to the university.

Extract 6.1. The idea is that Catalan is not perceived as an obstacle

1	Xavi	la idea és que quan un arribi aquí (.) no vegi el català com un obstacle	the idea is that when they arrive here (.) they don't see Catalan as an obstacle
2			
3	Lídia	exacte	exactly
4	Xavi	que cada vegada passa menys e ⁷ però	it happens less frequently now right ⁷ but
5	Lídia	mhm [\]	mhm [\]
6	Xavi	bueno tenim unes eines tens un curs que et fem	well we have tools there is a course that
7		gratuït abans ⁷ amb aquest curs no aprens	we offer for free before ⁷ with this course you
8		català [\] però quatre pinzellades ja d'allò	don't learn Catalan [\] but they get an idea
9	Lídia	sí	yes
10	Xavi	més el dia a dia si mires la te:le: (.) si veus si	plus the everyday life if you watch TV (.) if
11		veus rètols si (.) te vas situ[ant] també	you see signs if (.) you situ[ate] yourself too
12	Lídia	[sí i tant] i si ja	[yes sure] and if you
13		coneixes alguna llengua:	already know a:
14	Xavi	romànica encara més	Romance language even more
15	Lídia	mhm [\]	mhm [\]
16	Xavi	és que tampoc han de marxar d'aquí	in fact they do not need to leave this place
17		parlant català es que tampoc és la idea però la	speaking Catalan it isn't the idea either but the
18		idea és que no haguem de canviar [nal]tres	idea is that it's not [us] who switches
19		tampoc <i>ntx</i>	either <i>ntx</i>
20	Lídia	[no]	[no]
21	Xavi	home en part sí que has de canviar una mica	well actually you do need to swich a little bit
22		però	although
23	Lídia	sí	yes
24	Xavi	adoptes no però entens no però tampoc ha de	you adopt right ⁷ you understand right ⁷ but we
25		ser que hem de canviar tot naltres i ells no res	shouldn't change everything and they nothing
26	Lídia	no: poquet [a poque:t]	no: little [by little]
27	Xavi	[ells] també han de fer de la seua	[they] also need to do their
28		part	part
29	Lídia	sí [\]	yes [\]

Onomatopoeic expressions

Xavi argues that the idea of the Catalan language course is to avoid students perceiving Catalan as an obstacle (lines 1-2). He argues that this negative perception of Catalan is less frequent now than in the past (line 4). He also states that the university offers a free course to the students which may not take students to know Catalan but gives them an idea of this language which is complemented by the students' daily contact with it (lines 6-8). Next, he explains that the essential goal of the course is not that students learn Catalan after two weeks but to provide with the essential passive skills to avoid that the university has to switch to Spanish when addressing to them (lines 16-19). Toward the end of the extract (lines 21-28) Xavi presents the responsibility for the linguistic accommodation as shared between the students and the university.

This extract shows that the aim of the intensive introductory Catalan course is to provide students with enough linguistic resources in Catalan so that they can follow the lectures and, so their presence will not affect the academic sociolinguistic environment.

The 'cultural activities' that are offered simultaneously with the Catalan language course bring to the fore icons and institutions of the city of Lleida and Catalonia. The guided tours

around the city of Lleida introduce students to the local heritage. They include a visit to the monumental complex of the Old Cathedral and the King's Castle - La Suda, the Templar Castle of Gardeny, and a tour of the city on the tourist bus. The students can also enrol on a day trip to Barcelona, where they visit the Catalan Parliament, the Palace of the Catalan Government and the Gothic Quarter. Part of the welcome programme is a talk by a member of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* (Catalan police) and a meeting with the university's vice-chancellor. There is also a gastronomic activity in which the international students are taught how to prepare *pa amb tomata* (bread with tomato), a typical way of eating slices of bread rubbed with tomato and sprinkled with olive oil.

At the end of the welcome programme, the university organises a closing event with international students. This event includes several parts: a play that represents the arrival of an Erasmus student in Lleida; the awarding of certificates of completion of the Catalan language course; the university student group *Lo Marraco* builds up *castells* (human towers), and finally, there is a concert with a local rock band. During the building of the human towers, the students are asked to participate by joining the base of the tower to make it more stable. This celebration appears as the grand finale of the university's attempt to create the essentially Catalan cultural context for their stay.

The activities in the welcome programme are jointly organised between the LS, originally created to promote Catalan, and the OIR, which explains the combination of language learning and cultural activities. During the academic year, the LS and the OIR also organise two traditional festivities: *La Castanyada* (the eve of All Saints day) and a Christmas dinner. In both events, students are invited to taste traditional food and drinks that Catalans eat on those dates. In the first, the typical food includes *castanyes* (roasted chestnuts), *panellets* (little cakes with nuts) and *moscatell* (Muscat wine). The typical food during the Christmas dinner is *torrons* (nougat), *neules* (wafers) and *cava* (sparkling wine). During the Christmas dinner students also participate singing Catalan Christmas carols and taking part in the Catalan traditional ritual for children. This consists of hitting a hollow log with a stick while singing the song *Caga tió*. After singing the song, the students (like Catalan children) look inside the hollow log and find their presents. In this case, the presents are sweets and a bilingual pocket dictionary from Catalan to their mother tongue. When the dictionaries are not available in their mother tongue, they are usually given a Catalan-Spanish or Catalan-English dictionary.

In recent years, the Christmas dinner has also turned into the ‘international dinner’, an activity that used to take place separately. International students are asked to attend the Christmas dinner having cooked something ‘typical’ from their home countries, and the UdL supplies the dessert, drinks and entertainment (*torrons, neules* and *cava*, on one hand, and the words for the Christmas carols on the other). To organise the tables and to identify the food, small flags from the students’ countries are placed on the tables. The Catalan flag is hung around the table where the Catalan food and drinks are placed. Merging typical Catalan cultural features with those from other countries is another resource the university has to present and project Catalan at an international level. When doing so, the university is adopting the stance that the Catalan identity of the local territory has the same status as other national political entities. For Billig (1995), national identity is constructed within a world organised into nations, and the international Christmas event is an opportunity for the university to stage the world and place Catalonia on the same level as other political entities.

The cultural activities organised during these two welcome weeks and throughout the academic year are totally funded by the university. Depending on the agreement between the UdL and the students’ home universities, the fees for the Catalan language course are either waived or approximately one fourth of the cost of similar courses in other languages. The course book and other materials, such as a bilingual conversation guide, are also free. The institution also subsidises the cost of the cultural activities, such as the Lleida sightseeing tours, the tickets to enter the buildings and go on the tourist bus, transport to Barcelona, and the food and refreshments for the Catalan snack activity. The mobilisation of this amount of human and economic resources also indicates the effort that the institution is willing not only to make students feel welcome but also to build its Catalan identity in the eyes of these students.

Part of the embodiment of the Catalan identity is achieved by encouraging students to recognise Catalan as one of the languages of their plurilingual repertoire. The following extract from the researcher’s fieldnotes shows how students learn to present themselves in Catalan in the introductory course. Among the information they provide, they have to include the languages they speak. The instructor teaches students to add “and a little bit of Catalan” at the end of the list of languages they speak.

Extract 6.2. Learning/using the local language (Catalan language course: fieldnotes 30th August 2010)

1	After lunch, I move to another class. The students are doing an oral activity under the supervision of the
2	teacher. Students have to present themselves in Catalan. The information they have to provide is their
3	name, country of origin, the languages they speak and their mother tongue. The teacher makes students add
4	“ <i>i una mica de català</i> ” (“and a little bit of Catalan”) at the end of the list of languages they speak (...).

Catalan

When the Catalan language teacher asks the international students to include Catalan as one of the languages within their plurilingual repertoires, she is leading students to perceive and present themselves in the local community as Catalan speakers, thereby attempting to create affiliation between the foreign students and the local Catalan-speaking community. Consequently, the Catalan language instructors do not just teach language but also teach a stance to the students, who are integrating themselves into the local community by affiliating with the local community interests by recognising Catalan as a language in their plurilingual repertoires.

The students' recognition of Catalan as one of the languages they speak is observed later on during a content-subject lecture. Extract 6.3 provides evidence of this fact and also shows that, even if Catalan is the preferred language choice of the instructor, Spanish works as a *lingua franca* between the student and the local academic staff.

Extract 6.3. Spanish *lingua franca* (Universal Literature course: fieldnotes 13th September 2010)

1	Teacher	<i>hi ha Erasmus aquí?</i>	<i>are there any Erasmus students here?</i>
2	Ullie	[raises hand]	[raises hand]
3	Hanna	[raises hand]	[raises hand]
4	Katerina	[raises hand]	[raises hand]
5	Teacher	<i>d'on veniu?</i>	<i>where do you come from?</i>
6	Ullie	<i>com?</i>	<i>sorry?</i>
7	Teacher	<i>¿de dónde venís?</i>	Where are you from?
8	Ullie	<i>¿de qué país?</i>	from which country?
9	Teacher	[assents]	[assents]
10	Ullie	<i>de Alemania y Grecia</i>	from Germany and Greece
11	Teacher	<i>parleu català?</i>	<i>do you speak Catalan?</i>
12	Ullie	<i>una mica</i>	<i>a little bit</i>
13	All	[laughs]	[laughs]

Catalan

This is the first day of the academic year and international students attend a lecture in Universal Literature. At the beginning of the class, the teacher asks whether there are any “Erasmus students” (line 1). The lecturer makes her utterance in Catalan and students respond by raising their hands (lines 2-4), which signals that they understood the question. The teacher continues the conversation in Catalan and asks the students about their country of origin (line 5) to which they respond with a request for repetition in Catalan “*com?* – sorry?” (line 6). The lecturer interprets this as a request to switch code (Spanish in this case) and repeats the same question in Spanish (line 7) even though the students' request for repetition may also be interpreted as requesting repetition in Catalan. Next, the students reformulate the lecturer's question in Spanish, which indicates that they are still not sure what the question is about (line 8). Then, after the teacher confirms that she wants to know their country of origin by assenting (line 9), the students respond (line 10). In the following turn, the lecturer asks the

students whether they can speak Catalan and, to do so, switches back into Catalan, the original language of the conversation. When the lecturer switches back into Catalan, she indicates that it is her preferred language choice or the usual language of communication in the classroom. At the same time, she offers international students the opportunity to display their competence in Catalan, a language that they have been studying for two weeks. The students again adapt to the teacher's language choice by replying in Catalan that they speak "a little bit" of Catalan (line 12). The rest of the class laughs in front of the international students' command of the language. The laughter may be interpreted as expressing both sympathy and surprise towards the international students' competence in Catalan.

This example of interaction represents an opportunity for the international students to construct themselves as plurilingual speakers and express their affiliation with Catalan, the language used among the locals. The students' affiliation with Catalan is nurtured by the teacher who projects her stance towards Catalan as the unmarked language choice in the classroom. She conveys this stance when she addresses the international students in Catalan (line 1) and even if she switches into Spanish when she interprets that students do not understand her, she tries to reconduct the conversation into Catalan. Spanish emerges as a *lingua franca* to repair a communication breakdown and as a resource or second option that the locals have at hand to communicate with foreigners. The students appear to align with the lecturer's language choices and adapt to them, which shows alignment between lecturer and students in using Catalan as the unmarked language of communication. However, as we will see later on (section 6.3.3), students disalign with the use of Catalan beyond those ritualised moments. This issue emphasizes the role of minority languages as commodities in local contexts that aim at becoming international as a means of constructing the authenticity of the locality but not as actual means for communication between the local and international communities.

During the Catalan language course, the instructor constructs the difference between Catalan and Spanish. This differentiation is achieved by indicating what is 'typical' in Catalan culture and language, and which cannot be found in Spanish folklore and language. The next extract from the researcher's fieldnotes shows how the teacher resorts to a set of Catalan cultural issues to convey to international students the idea that Catalan and Catalonia are different from Spanish and Spain.

Extract 6.4. Cultural and linguistic signs of authenticity (Catalan language teacher: fieldnotes 30th August 2010)

1	The teacher presents the alphabet stressing the differences between Catalan and Spanish. For instance, she explains that the sound /θ/ does not exist in Catalan and that there is the character ç that is not found
2	

3	in Spanish; she says “ <i>it’s genuine of Catalan</i> ”. The teacher uses the name “Barça” (the football team) as
4	an example. She continues using different cultural icons in the language class: “ <i>The letter ‘j’ [jota] is not</i>
5	<i>the jota aragonesa</i> [a traditional dance in Aragon]. <i>It is, for instance, Jordi [George], Saint George’s Day</i>
6	<i>is the 23rd of April, will you be here?”</i> Most international students reply “NO” and the teacher goes
7	“OOHHH!” and makes a sad face. She talks about the tradition of Saint George in Catalonia, about
8	men and women exchanging roses and books.

Italics *Catalan*
Capital letters loud voice

This extract forms part of a large segment in which the Catalan language instructor presents the Catalan alphabet. The teacher focuses on a Spanish phoneme that is missing in Catalan (“/θ/”, line 2) and a grapheme that does not exist in Spanish (“ç”, line 2) and another grapheme that is common to both languages but is pronounced differently (“j”, line 4). The teacher gives examples of words which contain these phonemes or graphemes and which allow her to introduce typical aspects of the Catalan culture such as the Barcelona football team (“Barça”, line 3), “Saint George’s day” (lines 6-8) and also clarifies that the folk dance known as “jota” is not part of Catalan culture (line 5).

At the end of the welcome programme, the Associate Vice-Chancellor always welcomes the international students. During his brief speech, he presents Catalonia as “a very rich nation” (extract 6.5) in terms of local natural heritage and also takes the opportunity to present the authenticity of Catalonia by naming attractive sites of its natural heritage. This extract is from the speech the Vice-Chancellor gave to the students who arrived in the second term.

Extract 6.5. The local natural heritage (Vice-chancellor’s welcome speech, February 2011)

1	VC	[...] <i>Catalunya és una nació molt rica</i>	[...] <i>Catalonia is a very rich nation</i>
2		(.) <i>molt e rica</i> e: bueno no con dinero	(.) <i>very e rich</i> e: well not with money
3		que hay crisis e:↗	because we are in recession e:↗
4	All	[laughs]	[laughs]
5	VC	y eso es fastidiado (.) pero sí que es	and that’s a problem (.) but it is
6		rica en cultura (.) en en espacios (.) en	rich in culture (.) in in spaces (.)
7		montaña (.) mar (.) estáis a una hora y	in mountain (.) sea (.) you are one hour
8		pico de de del esquí e:↗ los que no	or so away from from from skiing e:↗ those of you
9		habéis vist- alguien no ha visto nunca	who haven’t see- has any of you never seen the
10		nieve↗	snow↗

Catalan

In this extract, the Vice-Chancellor uses Catalan to express his evaluation of Catalonia and to define it as a ‘nation’ (line 1). Two actions are performed simultaneously with this utterance: the local territory is identified as a nation different from Spain and the use of Catalan sets a link between Catalan language and Catalan national identity. Catalonia is evaluated as a “rich nation”, not in economic terms because of the recession but in terms of natural heritage (lines 5-8). The speech is used to promote the situation of the university as a worthwhile destination that can offer students many attractions besides their academic goals. This can be connected with the increasing interconnection between education and tourism (Urry and Larsen, 2011)

and the opportunity that the internationalisation of higher education represents to project the identity of the locality internationally.

To summarize, during the first two weeks of international students' stay, the university makes an effort to construct Catalonia as a geopolitical and cultural entity of its own, different from Spain. The university attempts to persuade students to recognise this distinction by inviting them to embody a Catalan identity: eating Catalan food, speaking the Catalan language, celebrating Catalan traditional festivities, and recognising and present themselves as speakers of Catalan. The recognition of Catalonia as a geopolitical unit separate from Spain is later found implicit in the linguistic practices of international students (see section 6.3.3).

In the following section, we will see how the university makes a great effort to legitimise the use of Catalan as a language of communication and instruction at the UdL.

6.2.2. Legitimation and promotion of the Catalan language

The UdL makes an effort to legitimate the use of Catalan as a language of instruction and to promote learning it among international students. The legitimation has been found across different types of data. In the first place, the webpage (UdL, n.d.) has a section where the university presents the languages of tuition. Catalan is presented as a language with equal status to other 'national' or 'state' languages, a language typologically similar to other Romance languages, a widely-spoken language in Catalonia, a legal right for teachers, and a bonus for international students who come to the UdL, since they can learn two languages instead of just one. Extract 6.6 shows the arguments that legitimate Catalan as a teaching language.

Extract 6.6. Catalan: equivalent status to Spanish, a right, widely used and a bonus (the university's website)

1	TUITION LANGUAGES
2	<u>The two official languages in Catalonia are Catalan and Spanish</u> (also known as Castilian). <u>The latter is</u>
3	<u>one of the most widely spoken languages in the world.</u> Catalan belongs to <u>the same language family as</u>
4	<u>Spanish, Italian, French and Portuguese.</u> In Catalonia, <u>Catalan is widely used in public life, the mass</u>
5	<u>media, trade and business.</u> Most Catalan people can speak both Catalan and Spanish. <u>Both official</u>
6	<u>languages are respected at the universities in Catalonia.</u>
7	<u>Teaching staff and students have the right to express themselves in the official language that they</u>
8	<u>prefer.</u> Lectures are taught in Catalan or in Spanish, depending on the lecturer, and <u>students have the</u>
9	<u>right to use the language they prefer.</u> To find out the tuition language of particular courses, contact the
10	Academic Coordinator in each faculty/school.
11	In general, <u>someone who speaks Spanish will not take long to understand Catalan.</u> Therefore,
12	<u>students who spend several months in Lleida can improve their Spanish and at the same time,</u> if they
13	wish to do so, learn another European language such as Catalan.

Underline
Underline

status
legal right

Underline
Underline

form
bonus

The institution evaluates and positions the status of Catalan as being equal to the Spanish language because both are official in Catalonia (lines 2-3) and are also widely spoken, Spanish at the international level and Catalan in the context of Catalonia (lines 4-6). Catalan is also presented as similar to other Romance languages (lines 3-4), which may be interpreted as an attempt to present Catalan as an easy language to learn if you already know a Romance language. The bilingual particularity of the context is taken as an advantage, as it provides international students with the opportunity to learn two languages instead of only one (lines 11-13). Finally, the document presents Catalan as a legal right for the teachers and local students (lines 7-9).

The discourse of Catalan as a legal right also permeates the Catalan language course. On the first day of class, the instructor presents Catalan as a co-official language in the territory and as a right for teachers. Furthermore, she presents Catalan as easy to learn for students who speak Spanish or any other Romance language. The next extract shows the intertextuality between the webpage and the instructor's presentation in class.

Extract 6.7. 'Teachers are FREE to choose' (Catalan language course: fieldnotes 30th August 2010)

1	“Some teachers teach their lessons in Catalan and they are FREE to choose among the three languages.
2	In English, there are only a few, but there are. It is very important to learn Catalan for the lessons. 80%
3	of the lexicon in Catalan is the same as in Spanish. If you know Spanish, you will have NO problem,
4	don't be afraid! If you have a Romance language as a mother language, no problem! You will learn very
5	quickly! If you don't speak any Romance language, don't worry, a lot of words are similar to English”.

Capital letters loud voice

In the extract above, the instructor informs the students about the academic staff's right to use Catalan as a language of instruction and the similarities between Catalan and other Romance languages. Apart from the informative function, the instructor's words could be interpreted as simultaneously trying to persuade students to learn the local language by telling them, in first place, that it is very important to be able to follow the courses. She increases her epistemic stance by warning students that the academic staff are free to use Catalan as a language of instruction (lines 1-3) and, therefore, students cannot force them to switch to Spanish. In second place, the instructor tells the students that a large proportion of Catalan lexicon (80%) is shared with Spanish (line 3), and that even if they do not speak Spanish, then they can learn quickly if they speak any other Romance language (line 4). Furthermore, in the event that they do not speak any Romance language, the instructor says, Catalan has a lot of vocabulary in common with English (lines 5-6). Whatever the linguistic repertoire of the student, learning Catalan is presented as convenient, easy and also as a productive option.

Catalan is not only projected as a majority language inside the institution and in the local context but also as a transnational language with international scope. This can be seen in extract 6.8 from the fieldnotes.

Extract 6.8. Catalan as a transfrontier language (Catalan language course: fieldnotes: 30th August 2010)

1	“(…) this territory goes from the border with Aragon, France, the Mediterranean sea, Andorra, the Strip
2	[territory next to Catalonia where people speak Catalan], the Valencia area, Northern Catalonia [i.e.
3	south of France], Balearic Islands, Sardinia [where they speak Algherese]”. The teacher also explains
4	where Aranese is spoken. She adds that the real world is not as simple as “Spain-Spanish; Italy-Italian”
5	and that “up to 8 languages are spoken in Spain”, among them, Basque.

[text] explanations of the researcher

In this extract, the Catalan language teacher presents Catalan as a widely-spoken language, whose influence goes beyond the borders of the geopolitical entity of Catalonia (lines 1-4), both within and outside the state of Spain. Catalan is also constructed as a language that respects other languages within its territory through the incorporation of Aranese, a minority language in Catalonia (line 4). The idea that there are languages of a smaller size than Catalan can make it look bigger. Next, the teacher presents Spain as a multilingual country where up to eight languages are spoken (line 5) and argues that the sociolinguistic reality of many countries is more complex than that represented by the univocal relationship between one language and one country (lines 4-5). The presentation of multilingualism as the unmarked situation legitimises the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia because, rather than being an anomaly, it is a common feature of many parts of the world. Altogether, the effort to learn Catalan is presented rationally as a good investment.

The Catalan language instructors are not the only ones who promote the acquisition of Catalan. In extract 6.9, the OIR officer responsible for incoming international students, Dani, evaluates Catalan as the second most important thing after finding accommodation.

Extract 6.9. Catalan: second important thing. (Welcome event organized by the LS and the OIR, fieldnotes: 30th August 2010, 9h.)

1	First, Dani says in Spanish “does anyone not understand me in Spanish?” A student raises his hand and
2	Dani convinces him to make an effort to understand Spanish. Then, Dani says: “forget about university,
3	this is not a university now”. International Students look at him perplexed. He says that now there is only
4	one important thing: “ACCOMMODATION, ACCOMMODATION, ACCOMMODATION,
5	ACCOMMODATION... (he repeats this word several times)”. Dani asks to the audience: “what is
6	important now?” and international students reply “ACCOMMODATION”. Dani makes students laugh.
7	He continues talking in Spanish: “second important thing: CATALAN, CATALAN, CATALAN...” (he
8	repeats this word about ten times). Dani asks international students “what is important?” and
9	international students answer “CATALAN”. After that, he informs students about the activities that they
10	organize to meet other students.

Capital letters loud voice

Dani presents the two main priorities for international students at the beginning of their stay: first, accommodation and, second, Catalan. He develops this stance in a comical way through

a drilling technique in which he gives clear orders to students about focusing first on finding accommodation (lines 3-5) and, second, on learning Catalan (lines 7-9). He repeats the words “accommodation” and “Catalan” several times in attempt to increase the effectiveness of his message. Continuing with his comical ‘instructional’ stance, Dani asks students to tell him what is important and students reply “accommodation” in the first case, and “Catalan” in the second. Like the strategy used by the Catalan language instructor in extract 6.2, through which she attempts to persuade students to include Catalan as one of the languages in their plurilingual repertoires, Dani is instructing stance on the students as he leads them to say what he wants to hear. Furthermore, his presentation of Catalan as the second most important thing after accommodation puts it almost at the survival level. Those students who may have arrived knowing ‘only’ Spanish are positioned as being in ‘danger’ of not surviving.

Right after the first meeting with the OIR officer, the intensive Catalan language course starts. Two students, Martina from Mexico and Lo from Korea, appear concerned about the extent to which Catalan will be present during their stay. Both of them are fluent in Spanish, but have no knowledge of Catalan. In the following extract from the fieldnotes, which comes from the first period of the Catalan language course, the students speak to the researcher seeking further information about how Catalan could affect the rest of their stay.

Extract 6.10. Worried about Catalan: first moments of the Catalan language course (fieldnotes; 30th August 2010, 11h.)

1	(...) Inside the class Martina from Mexico and Lo from Korea tell me that they are worried about
2	the use of Catalan at the university. They heard that lecturers do not solve doubts in connection
3	with language issues and that Catalan is a difficult language. They ask me “are the lectures in
4	Catalan?” and “if we don’t understand Catalan, do they speak Spanish?” (...)

Martina and Lo are afraid of something they have yet to experience. Therefore, they try to check with the researcher whether the lectures are in Catalan and whether the teachers switch into Spanish when the students do not understand Catalan (lines 3-4). Martina’s questioning of whether Catalan is really a language of instruction and whether teachers switch into Spanish may be indicative of the students’ degree of scepticism prior to their arrival at the UdL that Catalan is going to be used as a teaching language (lines 2-3). Spanish, in contrast with Catalan, is legitimated as a language of instruction from the beginning.

Martina’s utterance implies that the switch into a common language is what international students expect from the local teachers and Spanish fills the function of *lingua franca*. The fact that Spanish (a widely-spoken language) is the other official language of the local territory could explain that students do not request English, the most internationally spoken language in the global academic world. This could be connected with Llurda’s (2013)

statement that in the bilingual context of Catalonia, the most common *lingua franca* between the local Catalan community and the international community is Spanish and the lack of robust language policies to promote the other two languages may favour the presence of Spanish.

Similarly to Atkinson (2012), the promotion of Catalan and the strategy to persuade students to learn the language are based on Catalan being presented as a commodity with a high symbolic value in the local marketplace. Catalan is not only commodified as a desirable product because it is necessary and the economic and the intellectual cost of acquiring it are minimal (the courses are subsidised by the university and it has been presented as an easy language due to its similarities with Spanish and other Romance languages), but also legitimised through the idea that it has a whole culture and nation behind it.

The following section presents how language choice is another resource for the university to construct the sociolinguistic context of the UdL for the international students.

6.2.3. Language choice as a form of stance

According to Jaffe (2009), in bilingual contexts language choice is accrued with stance significance because choosing one language is always done to the detriment of the other choice available. The UdL has an official trilingual repertoire made up of the two official languages in the local context, Catalan and Spanish, plus English, which increases its members' range of choices. This section analyses how the academic and administrative staff project their stance towards the sociolinguistic environment where the university is located by means of their language choices. The communicative events that have been analysed for this form part of the welcome programme organised by the LS and the OIR, as it is the first time that students arrive in the UdL and the efforts by the university to project the cultural identity of the context to the students is greatest.

The language choices of the members of the institutional staff which were found in the data and, therefore, the way they project the sociolinguistic environment to the international students comprise a continuum that goes from Catalan monolingualism to the full exclusion of Catalan, through plurilingual practices of different types. Figure 6.3 is a representation of the different linguistic practices displayed by the staff at the university during the welcome week and the cultural activities.

Figure 6.3. Forms of multilingualism performed by individual linguistic practices



At one of the two ends of the continuum, we find the Catalan monolingual choice, which projects a stance towards the sociolinguistic context as a Catalan monolingual context. This stance is adopted by the Catalan language instructors and the LVS officer. In their interactions with international students, they always use Catalan both inside and outside the classroom, which constructs a Catalan monolingual environment and simultaneously identifies the staff with that stance. However, as chapter 7 shows, the students use other languages than Catalan in class and during the cultural activities, which can be seen as a way of contesting the monolingual language policy enacted by the staff. Thus, although the real linguistic practices cannot be considered monolingual because students speak several languages, the institution constructs itself as Catalan monolingual through its staff.

At the other end of the spectrum, where Catalan is not present in the communicative practices, we find the welcome meeting that the LS and the OIR organise for the international students right before the introductory Catalan language course starts. The meeting is held in two languages, English and Spanish. The extract below comes from the meeting held in the second term. Dani performs a systematic translation between Spanish and English.

Extract 6.11. Parallel bilingualism: systematic translation Spanish-English (OIR, February 2011)

1	Dani	ahora olvidaros absolutamente de todo aquello que tenga que ver con profesores (.)
2		asignaturas, horarios (.) clases (.) olvidaros (.) olvidaros <i>forget everything that has to do with</i>
3		<i>courses (.) professors (.) timetables lessons (.) everything forget ok ↗ de acuerdo ↗ ahora os</i>
4		tenéis que centrar en una cosa: alojamiento (.) alojamiento (.) alojamiento (.) alojamiento (.)
5		[alojamiento alojamiento]
6	All	[[laugh]]
7	Dani	alojamiento (.) piso (.) alojamiento (.) alojamiento (.) piso (.) alojamiento (.) piso (.)
8		alojamiento (.) ok ↗ vale ↗ sí ↗ alojamiento <i>now you have to focus on accommodation</i>
9		<i>accommodation accommodation accommodation accommodation accommodation</i>
10		<i>accommodation accommodation accommodation ok ↗</i>
11	Student	sí
12	Dani	<i>how can you find accommodation here ↗</i>
13		e: cómo podéis encontrar el alojamiento aquí ↗

English

In this extract, Dani translates systematically from Spanish into English (lines 1-10) and *vice versa* (12-13). By doing so, he assumes that all the students know either Spanish or English, projecting a context where being competent in one of the two languages is enough to belong to the new community and that Catalan cannot be taken for granted as a language for intercultural communication. This type of bilingual practice reproduces the directives of the internationalisation programme (UdL, 2006) under which the use of widely-spoken languages is encouraged.

Catalan appears side by side with other languages in the course of different events in the welcome programme. In some cases, it is blended with Spanish and, in other cases, juxtaposed with English and Spanish. In both cases, it can be interpreted that the local language is being promoted as an international language by making it ‘share the scene’ with widely-spoken languages. Catalan is blended with Spanish in the brief welcome speech given by the Associate Vice-Chancellor to the international students on the last day of the welcome programme. Although he uses Spanish as the main language of communication, Catalan is made visible at different moments of the speech. The Associate Vice-Chancellor’s code switching differs from that of the OIR officer in extract 6.11 not only in the languages that he combines but also in the way in which they are presented. Whereas in extract 6.11 the OIR officer systematically translated between Spanish and English, on this occasion the Associate Vice-Chancellor switches between Spanish and Catalan, blending the two languages without translating what he says. Extract 6.12 is from the same term as 6.11:

Extract 6.12. Blending Spanish and Catalan (Associate Vice-chancellor’s welcome speech, second term)

1	AVI	sé que: (.) els Mossos us han explica:t (.)	I know that: (.) the police has explain:ed
2		normas de convivència e7 por decirlo de	you:(.) norms of cohabitation e7 to say it
3		alguna forma però sabeu que també m: des	somehow but you also know that m: from
4		d'aquet moment (.) sou alu7mnes sou	this moment you are
5		estudiants de 7ple dret7 de la Universitat de	7fully fledged7 students at the University of
6		Lleida yo7 os animo a que os 7integreu7	Lleida students I7 encourage you to 7join7
7		amb la vida universitària 7 que hi aneu just al	in the university activities that you go when you
8		sortir (.) 7aquí mismo en la salida está el	leave this room (.) 7right here at the exit you can
9		servicio de información y atención	find the information service of the
10		universitaria7 (.) SIAU si us convé qualsevol	university7 (.) SIAU if you need
11		cosa 7 tot i que hi ha la 7Oficina de Relacions	anything7 even though there is the 7Office of
12		Internacionals etcètera7 estem tots a la	International Relations etcetera7 we are
13		vostra disposició 7per 7què 7 el temps que	all at your service 7so that7 during the time
14		esteu amb nosaltres este tiempo7 (.) que váis	you spend with us this time7 (.) that you will
15		a estar aquí en nuestra universidad7	spend here at our university7
16		7disfrutéis7	7enjoy yourselves7

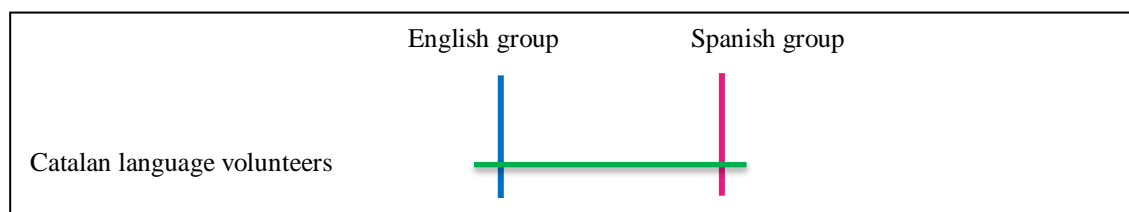
ambiguous
Catalan

We can see that instead of systematically translating what he says, the Associate Vice-Chancellor resorts to switching between Catalan and Spanish within the same sentence, which

makes it difficult for somebody who does not understand one of the two languages to fully understand the message. Although the languages can still be recognised, the boundaries between them are blurred. This form of multiple language use could be interpreted as an example of polylingualism (Jørgensen *et al.*, 2011). In this, although the linguistic features can be identified with Spanish and Catalan, they are mixed, instead of being clearly separated into syntactic or semantic units. This way of using the two official local languages projects a relationship of complementarity between Catalan and Spanish and the stance that being competent in the two local languages is necessary to have a complete understanding of the local context, a context whose identity is compounded by both Catalan and Spanish identities. The fluidity between Catalan and Spanish conveyed by the Associate Vice-Chancellor contrasts with the rigidity of the other linguistic practices seen above (Catalan monolingualism or English-Spanish parallel bilingualism) and also that of the language policy, which projects a form of multilingualism where languages never coincide within the same situation. This type of linguistic practices could represent a challenge for the language policy and for a vision of languages as independent units. The way in which the two local languages are conveyed in extract 6.12 may represent a perfect fusion between the authenticity of the locality, through the use of Catalan, and international vocation, through the use of a global language such as Spanish.

The second situation where we find Catalan together with Spanish and English is during the guided tours to the Old Cathedral, the King's Castle - La Suda and the Templar Castle of Gardeny. The students are organised into two groups, one has a guide in Spanish and the other, a guide in English, which leads to a situation of parallel bilingualism. However, during those activities the LVS (Language Volunteering Service) also invites 'language volunteers' along. These are local students who help international students with administrative issues, such as the enrolment and finding their respective faculties, and practising Catalan during the first days of their stay. These language volunteers are asked by the LS to speak Catalan with international students at all times. For this reason, independently of whether the international students join the Spanish or the English guided tour, Catalan is always present. If we look at this situation from an external perspective, what we find is a sort of parallel and perpendicular form of bilingualism, whereas if we look at the activity from the perspective of the individuals who are participating in it, each of them is living a bilingual activity, with the linguistic combination of either Catalan/Spanish or Catalan/English. On the one hand, we find a situation of parallel bilingualism between English and Spanish and, on the other, a sort of 'perpendicular' bilingualism between Catalan and English and Spanish.

Figure 6.4. Parallel and ‘perpendicular’ bilingualisms in the cultural welcome activities



The application of a perpendicular multilingual intersection arises as an asset that the university has to accomplish the aim of the language policy of protecting Catalan as a language that is not exclusively used among locals. This appears as a very effective resource since all the international students are exposed to Catalan independently of the language group they choose to attend on the tour. By doing so, the university projects a stance towards the context where Catalan is the norm and the widely-spoken languages are only used specifically with the aim of communicating with foreign students.

Apart from English, Spanish and Catalan, other languages emerge as languages of communication between students and members of the staff during the cultural activities. This is the case of Italian, which becomes a normal means of communication between Dani, the OIR officer and Italian students. Thus, a fourth language emerges from the practices as an available language of communication, but this remains outside the official language policies. The stance that Dani projects with this decision to use Italian is that, in real practice, the linguistic repertoire of the local context is richer and not limited to the trilingualism of the official language policy.

All the members of the academic and administrative staff who participate in the activities stick to their language choice before international students independently of the activity. The accumulation of tokens of stance present in the same or different interactions contributes to building an individual's identity (Jaffe, 2009; Damari, 2010). Therefore, the LVS officer and the Catalan language instructors construct their identity as Catalan monolinguals, the OIR officer as a plurilingual speaker of Spanish, English and Italian and the Associate Vice-Chancellor as a Catalan-Spanish flexible bilingual speaker. Interestingly enough, the two weeks of the welcome programme is when the effort to construct the identity of the university and of its sociocultural context appears to be more intense and the identity choice 'Spanish monolingual' is not embodied by any of the members of the academic and administrative staff. In other words, the university defines itself before the international students in terms of what it is not, i.e. it is not an only Spanish context.

In the following section we see that the context the UdL is located in is perceived differently by the participants and how these participants take a stance towards this context.

6.3. Stances towards the sociolinguistic context

The sociolinguistic context that is projected during the process of constructing the cultural identity of the university and the surrounding context becomes an object of stance towards which international students and academic staff position themselves in the course of their interactions. This section explores the stances that individuals take towards the distribution of the languages in the sociolinguistic repertoire and it focuses on (1) data from three focus groups, one with international students, one with subject lecturers and one with Catalan and Spanish language instructors which were audiovisually recorded, and (2) classroom data captured by means of fieldnotes and audio-visual recordings. Section 6.3.1 presents how the subject lecturers construct a stance towards the sociolinguistic context as a hybrid context in which Catalan is the ‘distinguishing feature’. The lecturers also express their struggle with the language safety principle and call for an institutional language policy that allows for greater flexibility in order to give priority to the contents of the subject. Section 6.3.2 presents how the Catalan language instructors construct a stance according to which the sociolinguistic context is divided into a binary system of exclusion between Catalonia and Spain, which is similar to the situation described by Woolard (1989, 2008) at the end of the 20th century and also project an ideal model of international student. Finally, section 6.3.3 analyses how international students position themselves towards the context created by the UdL in the welcome activities and, in general, during their stay. The main aspect of their stance is that they evaluate Catalan as an obstacle to their academic promotion.

6.3.1. Between teaching language and teaching content

This subsection analyses how content-subject lecturers orient themselves towards the sociolinguistic context the UdL is located in. From the focus group session organised with the lecturers, two different orientations emerge: the context of the university is different from Spain, and the university, located within a Catalan-speaking context, is different from other parts of Spain but forms part of it. Both stances appear after the participants in the focus group have agreed that international students at the UdL see their expectations of learning Spanish frustrated by the high presence of Catalan. In this sense, Catalan emerges as the main indicator that the context where the UdL is located is not the same as the context an international student could find in a university in Spain. The following extract shows how

Rita, a teacher in the Faculty of Arts, constructs the sociolinguistic context as not belonging to Spain.

Extract 6.13. ‘The Catalan distinguishing feature’

1	Rita	exactament sí i jo penso que els alumnes que	exactly yes and I think that the students who
2		venien al principi a a fa anys m: ho veien	came at the beginning some years ago m: thought
3		ostras aquí veníem volíem parlar castellà i ens	oh gosh here we wanted to speak Spanish and we
4		trobem que: venien com a enganyats no ⁷ una	find tha:t they came as they had been a
5		mica enganyats perquè pensaven que era	little bit tricked right ⁷ because they thought it was
6		Espanya això [draws a globe with her hands]	Spain [draws a globe with her hands] but I think
7		però jo penso que el fet em diferencial català:	that the Catala:n distinguishing em feature a:s if
8		com: si en volem dir e: és ja és força conegut	we want to call it e: is already is quite well known
9		a Europa:	in Euro:pe
10	Lídia	sí sí sí	yes yes yes
11	Rita	i penso que això aquesta actitud ha canviat	and I think that this attitude has changed
12		amb el temps ha anat canviant	over time has been changing

Rita, a teacher in English Studies, reports that, some years ago, international students used to see their expectations of learning Spanish frustrated when they arrived at the UdL. However, in her view, things are different now because they already know about the “*fet diferencial català*” (Catalan distinguishing feature). She uses this fact to construct her stance towards the sociolinguistic context, which she constructs as a non-Spanish context (lines 1-6). This is implied when she reports that students “*es pensaven que era Espanya* – they thought it was Spain” (lines 5-6), which means that from her perspective, the UdL is not in Spain. She draws a globe with her hands when she says “Spain” (line 6) which reinforces the projection of Spain as a whole entity and contributes to constructing her positioning against the idea of a monolithic state. Next, she increases her epistemic stance when she refers to Europe to say that the “Catalan distinguishing feature” (lines 7-9) is nowadays known at the international level and, for this reason, the attitude of international students’ towards the non-Spanish context of the UdL has changed in the last few years (lines 11-12). It is implied that students are more aware of the specificity of the context today.

The students’ disappointment with the particularity of the sociolinguistic context appears also as an issue related to the students’ mental frame. The following extract shows how Pep, a lecturer in Tourism Studies, aligns with Rita about the fact that international students think that they are going to study in Spain and they find themselves in Catalonia.

Extract 6.14. A matter of mental frame

1	Pep	jo crec que lo que és important crec [word]	I think tha:t the important thing I think [word]
2		que l’alumne ha de saber a: lo que ve i venen	that students must know what they will find here
3		molt motivats aquí i que: jo crec que la	and they come very motivated here and I: think
4		majoria venen no venen a Catalunya ells el	the majority don’t come to Catalonia their head
5		seu cap no està que venen tant a Catalunya	isn’t thinking that they are coming to Catalonia
6		com que venen a Espanya [looks at the other	but that they come to Spain [looks at the other
7		two lecturers and moves his hands in circles	two lecturers and moves his hands in circles
8		next to his head]	next to his head]

9	Rita	[assents]	[assents]
10	Lídia	val	ok
11	Pep	i aleshores venen amb una estructura que	and then they come with a frame that
12		després probablement comprenen: més	later on they probably understand more
13		fàcilment no	easily right
14	Rita	[assents]	[assents]

Pep aligns with Rita as he also positions the UdL within a Catalan context and distinguishes it from Spain (lines 3-8). He also aligns with Rita in that nowadays the students arrive “very motivated” (line 3) and considers it most important that, before they arrive, students need to be informed about the reality that they will find (lines 1-2). To argue his point and increase his epistemic stance, Pep uses a cleft syntactic structure (“what is important”, line 1) followed by a deontic verb (“must know”, line 2). The high degree of deonticity conveys that, from his perspective (“I think”, line 1) international students have the duty to be acquainted with that information. However, he does not attribute the students’ disappointment to a lack of knowledge but to the mental frame of the students (lines 5-6 and 11). The use of the present tense indicates that he considers that nowadays international students still think that the UdL is in a Spanish context (lines 4-7 and 12), but they change their minds once they arrive, since their “frame” (“*estructura*”, line 11) changes. The initial mental frame of the students can be defined as that of a monolingual state ideology, according to which Spanish is the language of communication in Spain and, since the UdL is in Spain, it should use Spanish. The change in the students’ mental frame appears as the result of their experience in the host university, since they understand the new sociolinguistic situation more easily. Although Pep’s epistemic stance at the beginning appears to be that of high certainty, his degree of certainty diminishes in connection with the students’ ideological evolution during their stay, as can be interpreted from the insertion of a probability token (“*probablement* – probably”, line 12) and his request for confirmation (“right” in line 13). Rita reinforces Pep’s stance by assenting (lines 9 and 14). As a result, it can be interpreted that from the perspective of the two lecturers, the students’ frustration with the relative absence of Spanish at the UdL is due to two factors: (1) a lack of awareness that the UdL is in a Catalan-speaking context and (2) a mental frame based monolingual state ideology which does not allow students to accept the official national language is a minority language in the institution.

The second stance on the sociolinguistic context that emerges from the mainstream teachers’ focus group projects the UdL as a university located within a territory that is part of Spain but with specific features. In the following extract, Lluís, a lecturer in Hispanic Studies who is also in charge of the exchange programmes with Chinese universities, projects Catalonia as a

territory embedded within Spain and as a much better place to carry out a stay abroad than other parts of the country.

Extract 6.15. A different atmosphere

1	Lluís	els nostres alumnes quan arriben pensen que	our students when they arrive they think that
2		venen a fer castellà fins i tot quan [word]	they come to learn Spanish even when [word]
3		amb mi lo dia que se'ls exposa el pla	with me the day they see the study programme
4		d'estudis a Beijing o a la universitat on sigui	in Beijing or at any university they say
5		diuen bueno escolti ens han dit que: aquí el	well listen we have heard that here what people
6		que es parla és català i que nosaltres no farem	speak is Catalan and we won't do anything in
7		res en castellà [word] aprendre el mateix que	Spanish [word] learn the same that you are
8		esteu fent aquí però molt millor perquè veus	learning here but much better because you see a
9		un ambient diferent del que hi ha a Espanya	different atmosphere from Spain (.) now
10		ara e: si tu els hi vas introduint poc a poc i no	e: if you introduce it slowly and not in
11		en un dia o en una setmana [word] pues	one day or in one week [word] because they
12		s'espanten	get scared
13	Rita	[assents]	[assents]
14	Pep	[assents]	[assents]
15	Lídia	clar	of course
16	Lluís	el que he vist és que si ja [word] el primer dia	what I have seen is that if [word] on the first day
17		els hi poses a fer sis hores de classe de català	you make them do six hours of class in Catalan
18		el dia següent et comencen a dir <u>no me</u>	the following day they start saying <u>I wasn't</u>
19		<u>encontraba mal ayer no pude ir a classe</u>	<u>feeling well yesterday and I couldn't go to class</u>
20		[word] no et preocupis tranquil descansa no	[word] don't worry relax right
21		perquè busquen mil excuses per no tornar al	because they look for excuses to avoid going back
22		dia següent	on the next day
23	Lídia	jo vaig estar observant [word] els cursos de	I was observing [word] the courses in
24		català i estava o sigui morta acabava	Catalan and I was I mean I was
25		cansadíssima imagina't ells (.) que estant tota	dead tired imagine them (.) they are all
26		l'estona pensat i: <i>buf</i> aprenent una altra	the time thinking a:nd <i>buf</i> learning another
27		llengua	language
28	Lluís	e: desconnecten perquè arriben i en lloc de	e: they disconnect because they arrive here and
29		tenir un [word] en una modalitat és com si els	instead of having one [word] in one modality it is
30		descol·loquessis de la realitat	like you misplaced them of the real world
31	Lídia	sí:	ye:s

Onomatopoeic expression
Spanish

Lluís shares with Rita and Pep his perception that the international students' main motivation for coming to the UdL is to learn Spanish and that they refuse to be exposed mainly to the Catalan language (line 6-8). He reports that when he visits universities in China to promote the UdL, he tries to demystify the image of the UdL as an only Catalan-speaking university by promoting the local context as a place with a “different environment” (line 9), where two languages are spoken and, therefore, a “much better” place for a study-abroad experience (line 8). However, he also takes advantage of his turn to position himself against the way in which Catalan is introduced to international students. From his perspective, the UdL's intensive exposure to Catalan at the beginning of the Chinese students' stay (line 10-11) is negative, as they get scared (lines 11-12) and they try to find excuses not to attend the classes (lines 18-19). He increases the validity of his epistemic stance by saying that the introduction to Catalan should be done slowly and suggests a reduction of the two-week introductory course

to “one day or one week”. By reducing the period of time in which the university attempts to teach Catalan to students, he evaluates the way in which the UdL introduces students to the sociolinguistic situation as rather radical, an evaluation which triggers the alignment of Rita, Pep and Lúdia. This alignment may have led Lluís to feel at ease to continue constructing his stance against the way in which Catalan is introduced to international students. Thus, as further evidence, he states that the method is negative with the fact that students make up all kinds of excuses not to go back to Catalan classes after the first day (lines 18-19). Lluís’ paternalistic stance in telling students “don’t worry (.) relax” (line 20) can also be interpreted as understanding and alignment with them, thereby legitimising the students’ implicit complaint or dissatisfaction. Lúdia aligns completely with Lluís and increases the validity of his epistemic stance by explaining her own experience as an observer in the Catalan introductory course. Finally, Lluís reports that the institution’s effort to immerse students in a Catalan context confuses students and the idea they arrived with (line 28-30), which is that they were going to a university where Spanish is somehow present. This can be interpreted as a disalignment with Rita’s and Pep’s contributions, through which they projected the context of the UdL as a Catalan-only context, while Lluís perceives it as a different atmosphere to the rest of Spain (line 9). This is probably the reason why he positions himself against the absence of Spanish classes during the two-week welcome programme for not being a realistic choice and deforming the sociolinguistic reality of the institution and its environment.

For Lluís, the intensive presence of Catalan during the welcome programme is seen as an imposition by the international students (the students’ stance on this issue is analysed in detail in section 6.3.3) and the UdL should be more patient. The following extract shows how Lluís evaluates the UdL’s language policy in connection with international students.

Extract 6.16. Catalan, yes: little by little

1	Lluís	m: [word] comencen a arribar gent com	m: [word] people start arriving like
2		per exemple els xinesos [...] se’ls pot	for instance the Chinese students [...] they can be
3		introduir com deies tu [points at Pep] de	introduced as you were saying [points at Pep]
4		mica en mica [...] si tu els hi vas	little by little [...] now e: if you introduce it little
5		introduint poc a poc i no en un dia o en	by little and not in one day or one week because
6		una setmana pues s’espanten	they are scared
7	Rita	[assents]	[assents]
8	Pep	[assents]	[assents]
9	Lúdia	clar	sure
10	Lluís	[...] i alguns ho han fet alguns el segon	[...] and some have done it some during the
11		any han començat a aprendre català per	second year have started learning Catalan for
12		exemple uns al segon semestre	instance some in the second semester
13	Lúdia	mhm	mhm
14	Pep	mhm	mhm
15	Rita	mhm [assents] sí sí	mhm [assents] yes yes
16	Lluís	[...] però [word] d’anar amb molta	[...] however [word] do it with lots of
17		paciència i amb molta pedagogia per	patience and lots of pedagogy to

18		di'ls-hi que això no: no és una imposició	tell them this is no:t not an imposition
19		que és un [word] no una imposició que et	this is a [word] not an imposition that you
20		[word] i si al cap de dos dies d'estar allí	[word] and if after two days there
21		no han fet més que:	they haven't done more than:
22	Lídia	català sí	Catalan yes [word]
23	Lluís	[...] jo dic la meva impressió el que també	[...] I say my impression what I have also
24		he dit a les persones de la casa	said to the people in this house
25	Rita	[assents]	[assents]
26	Lluís	de que el català sí [word] però amb una	that Catalan yes [word] but with a
27		determinada pedagogia que pot ser útil	specific pedagogy that it can be useful

In this extract, Lluís reports the experience of Chinese students who feel overwhelmed by the intense induction into Catalan that the university organises for international students. Lluís positions himself in favour of teaching Catalan but disaligns with the method (lines 2-7). He makes reference to Pep's prior stance (line 3) and introduces his own stance in a situation in which he already counts with support from the other participants Rita and Pep assent (lines 7-8) and Lídia says "*clar* - sure" (line 9), which encourages Lluís to continue with his argumentation strategy by providing evidence of the case of "some" students (lines 11-14), uttered with a rising intonation, which advances that he is going to provide a valuable piece of information. He uses the case of students who decide to learn Catalan in their "second year" or "second semester" at the UdL as an example. Rita, Lídia and Pep's new expressions of alignment (lines 14-15) allow Lluís to continue constructing his positioning against the methodology in which the institution introduces Catalan to international students. He states that the university should do the induction into Catalan with "lots of patience" and "lots of pedagogy" (lines 16-17). Lluís repeats twice that the university should give the message that "this is not an imposition" (lines 18-19), which can be interpreted as if, for him, the situation may easily be felt as an imposition. Lídia seems to align with Lluís' stance by completing his sentence and agreeing with him (line 22). Lluís' utterance clarifying that what he has been saying is his personal stance (line 23), can be interpreted as an attempt to save face before the silence of the other two teachers, which could reflect a disalignment with his projection of Catalan as an imposition. Given the danger of losing face he adds that he already told other members of the institutional staff about his stance (lines 23-24) ascribing himself the good quality of being honest, which also allows him to save face. Rita assents in the following turn (line 25) and Lluís concludes the verbalisation of his stance with a recommendation: "Catalan (.) yes [word] but with a specific pedagogy" (line 26).

Rita's disalignment with Lluís' evaluation of the way in which Catalan is introduced appears immediately after his recommendation. Extract 6.17, which is the continuation of extract 6.16, shows how Rita defends Catalan from being attributed with an oppressive role and claims that bilingualism is neither a threat nor an imposition, but an enriching element.

Extract 6.17. “Bilingualism is neither a threat nor an imposition”

1	Lluís	[...] de que el català sí: però amb una determinada pedagogia que pot ser útil que pot [word]≈	[...] that Catalan ye:s but following a specific pedagogy that it can be useful that it can be [word]≈
4	Rita	≈[assents] com a un element enriquidor no?	≈ [assents] as an enriching element right?
5	Lluís	això sí	that’s it
6	Pep	sí	yes
7	Lídia	sí	yes
8	Rita	exactament	exactly
9	Lídia	un valor afegit al Erasmus d’aquí	an added value for the Erasmus here
10	Rita	exactament sí i [...] jo penso que ara quan venen aquí [...] no veuen aquest bilingüisme com una amenaça o una imposició [points at Lluís] sinó com a un element enriquidor jo penso que ha canviat bastant e a demés el fet que hi hagi tanta immigració i que tants immigrants bé això et fa pensar dius si hi ha tants immigrants que saben parlar català perquè no jo també	exactly yes and I [...] think that now when they come here [...] they don’t see bilingualism as a threat or as an imposition [points at Lluís] but as an enriching element I think that this has changed quite a lot and moreover there is so much immigration and many immigrants this makes you think if so many immigrants can speak Catalan why not me too
19	Lídia	sí sí sí	yes yes yes

In this extract, Lluís claims that the institution should have a specific pedagogy for teaching Catalan (line 1) and presents it as a potentially useful language (line 2). Rita latches on to Lluís’ utterance and completes his idea to make Catalan more appealing to students by presenting it as an enriching element (line 4). Lluís, Pep and Lídia align with Rita’s stance (lines 5-7) and she aligns with Lluís (line 8) indicating that she feels comfortable defending that evaluation of Catalan as a consequence of the alignment within the group. Lídia reformulates Rita’s stance into “an added value for the Erasmus in Lleida” (line 9) and Rita aligns with her (line 10). Rita continues developing her stance and transforms her stance into a defence of bilingualism. She states that students do not perceive bilingualism as a threat or an imposition but as richness (lines 13). She projects this view on bilingualism from the students’ perspective by changing the grammatical subject: “I think” vs. “they don’t see” (lines 11), which increases the validity of her epistemic stance. Rita disaligns directly with Lluís by using his previous words (“threat”, “imposition”) and pointing at him (lines 14-15). Next, she also provides the evidence that students are aware of the acceptance of Catalan shown by immigrant people and that students interpret this as an encouraging factor (lines 12-18). Altogether, she manages to present the acquisition of Catalan as a plus that students are able to achieve.

The lecturers in the focus group also project a stance towards the languages in the trilingual repertoire of the UdL. English and Spanish appear as languages of communication and Catalan as a language of identification. During the discussion, they protect and defend Catalan from being ascribed with a negative value but also call for the inclusion of English and Spanish as languages of instruction and communication. The lecturers’ stance is much more

nanced as they affiliate with the three languages and argue that the adequacy of one language or another depends on the communicative event. Thus, Catalan is the most suitable language choice in a classroom with local students, and English and Spanish are languages that help intercultural communication and should be used with the aim of including international students.

One of the concerns of the lecturers is the demands of the language policy of the institution and, more specifically, its language safety principle, which makes it compulsory for them to decide a priori the language that they will use in their subjects. Here, there appears some degree of struggle between giving priority to the medium of instruction or to the content of the subject. In the case of Rita and Lluís, who are lecturers in the English Studies and Hispanic Studies degrees, respectively, they use English and Spanish as languages of instruction. However, in the case of Pep, who teaches a course in Transport in the Tourism Studies degree, the teaching language is not specifically connected with the contents of the subject and he reports on problems of applying the language safety principle. From his perspective, announcing the language the course will be taught in and not being able to change it afterwards is detrimental, as there is no way of knowing the specific characteristics and learning needs of the students who will enrol on the course and it does not allow him to be flexible. The following extract shows how the transmission of the content of the subject appears as an aspect that should prevail over the language the subject is taught in.

Extract 6.18. Teaching the language or teaching the content?

1	Pep	arriba un moment que sembla més	at some point it looks like the language of
2		important la llengua en la que es dona que la	instruction is more important than
3		pròpia assignatura	the subject itself
4	Lídia	sí:	ye:s
5	Pep	[...] a lo millor doncs per això perquè tens	[...] maybe because because there are
6		Erasmus no sé et plantejes l'assignatura (.)	Erasmus students you think about the subject (.)
7		una assignatura més oberta en castellà i	a subject which is more open towards Spanish
8		després arribat el moment resulta que no	and later when you arrive in class you find that
9		tens cap Erasmus i que tots els que tens són	there aren't any Erasmus and all the students are
10		catalans aleshores què fas (.) estàs obligat a	Catalan what do you do then (.) you are forced
11		fer l'assignatura en castellà? jo crec que la	to do the subject in Spanish? I think that
12		cosa hauria de ser bastant més flexible (.)	this issue should be much more flexible (.)
13		no? i el que que el que tindria que passar és	right? and what should happen is
14		que lo important és l'assignatura	that what is important is the subject
15		l'assignatura ha de primar (.) evidentment e:	the subject must prevail (.) obviously e:
16		una assignatura tècnica d'anglès comercial	in a technical subject of Business English
17		lo que no pots dir és que l'assignatura	what you cannot say is that the course
18		d'anglès comercial la faràs amb amb amb	in Business English will be conducted in in in
19		castellà o en català	Spanish or Catalan
20	Rita	clar no	of course not
21	Lluís	[smiles]	[smiles]
22	Pep	o que si fas l'assignatura de literatura	or if you teach a course in Hispanic literature
23		castellana que faràs l'assignatura en català	that you will do it in Catalan
24	Lluís	clar (.) no és normal	sure (.) that's not normal
25	Pep	hi ha coses que cauen pel seu propi pes	there are things that fall under their own weight

Pep raises the question of what is more important, the contents of the subject or the language it is taught in (lines 1-3). He positions himself in favour of using a teaching language that students can understand and giving priority to the transmission of the knowledge. He constructs his positioning by providing examples of hypothetical non-sense situations such as planning a subject in Spanish in order to accommodate to international students and if, in the end, there are no international students, the teacher finds himself teaching in Spanish to a class of Catalan-speaking local students (lines 5-11). After presenting that hypothetical situation, he may feel he has set the floor and gained enough credibility to clearly position himself in favour of giving priority to the content of the subject at the expense of the announced language of instruction (lines 11-18). Pep states that the situation should be more flexible (lines 11-12) and that the subject should be the priority (lines 13-15). The high level of deonticity within “should happen” (lines 13-14) together with the syntactic dislocation of the sentence “what is important is the subject” (line 14) progressively increases his epistemic stance to finally achieve the climax of his intervention and deliver his verdict “the subject must prevail” (line 15). Pep leaves no space for contestation by the part of the other participants and immediately appeals to the alignment of his colleagues by including some exceptions in his almost categorical judgment that consist of the possible counter stances that his colleagues may take: leaving the language choice in the hands of the students is not an option when the aim of the subject is to teach a specific language (lines 15-19), in which case the language of instruction “obviously” coincides with the target language of the course (lines 15-16). In this sense, Pep presents such inconsistencies as teaching English for Business in Catalan or Spanish (lines 17-19) or teaching Spanish Literature in Catalan (lines 22-23), which are the subjects Rita and Lluís teach. Pep’s strategy seems successful as Rita (line 20) and Lluís (lines 21 and 24) fully align with him. As a result, the three lecturers evaluate teaching a language by means of another language as an anomaly (line 24) that lacks coherence (lines 25). However, this unquestionable idea of teaching a target language through the same language is a practice that is contested by some of the international students (see chapter 7).

The lecturers seem to be in favour of a more flexible system that allows them to change the language of instruction once they meet the students in the class and understand their needs and priorities. The teachers also call for greater flexibility by the students to open up to new cultures. In extract 6.19, they summarise the weaknesses and inconsistencies of the language safety principle.

Extract 6.19. A mechanism that enables flexibility

1	Lídia	perquè una vegada publicat no es pot canviar (.) no?	once it has been published it cannot be modified (.) right?
2			
3	Lluís	home m: suposo que no suposo que un cop s'ha publicat tothom s'ha apuntat amb allò	well m: I guess that no I guess that once it has been announced everybody has enrolled
4		que has dit que faries	under the conditions you said
5			
6	Lídia	mhm clar	mhm sure
7	Lluís	però seria interessant que hi hagués algun mecanisme que permetés aquesta flexibilitat	but it would be interesting therefore there to be a system that enabled this flexibility
8		i sobretot tenint en compte que això el professor a la universitat que han d'assumir la responsabilitat i que i que els estudiants	especially taking into account that the academic staff at the university has to assume the responsibility and that and that the students also
9		posin també la flexibilitat pel fet de ser universitaris pel fet de ser [word] d'obrir-se a d'altres cultures	put some flexibility because they are university students [word] in order to open up to the rest of cultures
10			
11			
12			
13			
14			

Lídia asks the lecturers whether they can change the language of instruction once it has been published in the programme (lines 1-2). The formulation of the question as a yes/no question, may force the interviewees to categorically align or disalign with her. In this light, Lluís responds “I guess not” (line 3) which indicates a low epistemic stance. Then he manages to open space to construct an ambiguous stance in the next turns. First, he explains that once the language has been announced, people enrol on this subject under those conditions (lines 3-5), which could be interpreted as an alignment with the language safety principle, whose main goal is to guarantee that the language of instruction is the one announced in the programme. The researcher shows alignment (line 6) and Lluís continues constructing a path towards a more ambiguous stance in which he aligns with Pep’s stance, in favour of giving more freedom to the lecturers to decide on the language of instruction when teachers have met the students in the class and (lines 7-9) because the same lecturers have to “assume the responsibility” of making this principle effective (lines 12-13) indicating a high degree of compliance with the official language policy. Lluís, who may see this as an unwanted obligation, claims to share the responsibility with the students, who, from his perspective, should be more open to other cultures and switching to other languages (lines 13-14).

Although Lluís does not specify whether the students he is assigning that responsibility to are local or international, in the next extract 6.20 Rita interprets that Lluís is referring to the local Catalan-speaking students and uses his contribution to redirect the discussion towards an evaluation of the local students, who are presented as not wanting to accommodate to foreign languages. The resistance of the local students to switch to a language that international students can understand is evaluated by Rita as an index of unsolidarity.

Extract 6.20. The common sense is the less common of all senses

1	Rita	[...] jo dono el missatge en anglès perquè de fet és la llengua que estan practicant	[...] I give them the message in English because it is indeed the language they are practicing
2			

3	Lídia	ja:	ye:s
4	Rita	i: e: i: i me diuen no és que no sabem	a:nd e: a:nd they say no we don't know we
5		no sabem què ens està dient (.) ens ho has	don't know what you are saying (.) you have to
6		de dir en català [◉inhales◉] i de vegades et	say it in Catalan [◉inhales◉] and sometimes you
7		veus forçat perquè clar hi ha molta pressió	see yourself forced because of the high pressure
8		per part d'ells (.) no estan conscienciats de	coming from the:m (.) they are not aware that
9		que han de: han de: parlar en anglès [...]	they must they must speak English [...]
10		una mica de de: sentit comú no [....] estem	a little bit of common sense right [....] we are
11		en un altre context [moves her hands in	in a different context [moves her hand in
12		circles] estem a la classe (.) no i jo sóc la	circles] we are in class (.) right and I am the
13		que més parlem en català: o parlem en	most let's speak Catalan or let's speak any
14		qualsevol idioma però ara estem parlant	foreign language but now we are talking
15		practicant l'anglès (.) no i a demés hi ha	practicing English (.) right and moreover there
16		persones que realment no et poden entendre	are people who really cannot understand you
17		és injust que es creï aquesta situació quan	it's unfair that we are in this situation when
18		tu la pots solucionar <i>ntxe</i> em trobo en	you can solve it <i>ntxe</i> I find myself in
19		conflicte amb els alumnes d'aquí que de	conflict with the students from here that
20		vegades es resisteixen (.) no a parlar amb	sometimes resist (.) right speaking in
21		ca amb anglès o amb castellà posant pel	English or Spanish in the case
22		cas que hem de parlar <i>pf</i> : [sighs heavily and	we have to speak <i>pf</i> : [sighs heavily and looks
23		looks up shaking her shoulders]	up shaking shoulders]
24	Lídia	mhm: [assents]	mhm: [assents]

Onomatopoeic expressions

Rita, who also teaches English for Business in the Faculty of Law and Economics, introduces her personal conflict with those local students who ask her to speak Catalan in class. Rita resorts to direct speech to reflect the students' attitude thereby increasing her epistemic stance (lines 4-6). Rita reports that she feels forced to switch into Catalan because they put pressure on her (lines 6-7), which conveys an image of the local students as inflexible and demanding. Rita inhales (line 6) in a noticeable way after she has reported the students' words. After her deep breath, she evaluates the students as being unaware of the importance of English (line 9). This is an attitude she rejects, and she positions herself as a mediator that tries to convince the students to speak English (lines 15-16). To reinforce the legitimacy of her point of view, Rita projects herself as a defender of speaking Catalan (lines 15-17) but projects her class as a special context where people must make an exception and speak English (lines 12-15). Rita evaluates this switch as a matter of "common sense" (lines 10) and not doing it as "unfair" (line 17), since students have the means to solve the communication breakdown caused by the fact that their classmates do not speak Catalan or Spanish.

Rita's stance appears to be very ambiguous since the language of instruction in her case, English, is, at the same time, the target language of her course and a widely accepted *lingua franca*. It could be interpreted that she is more oriented towards persuading students to practice her target language than to use it as a *lingua franca* or both at the same time. However, towards the end of her intervention, she disambiguates her stance and openly positions herself "in conflict" (line 20) with students who refuse to use English or Spanish

(line 20-21) when the context requires it. Throughout her intervention, Rita accompanies her utterances with other gestures and onomatopoeic expressions that reinforce her level of disappointment with the local students' refusal to use English in class (lines 6, 18, 22-23) and conveys the sense that this issue affects her at an emotional level besides the ideological and professional ones.

To summarize, the lecturers construct a stance towards Catalan, Spanish and English as commodities that enable the task of teaching in a multilingual and intercultural environment. The language safety principle is evaluated by the teachers as rigid and an obstacle to their teaching task. In order to give priority to teaching the content, rather than the medium of instruction, they call for a more flexible language policy that allows them to decide on the language of instruction once they know the needs of their students.

6.3.2. Catalan vs. Spanish

This subsection analyses the focus group conducted with the Catalan and the Spanish language instructors. The focus group session includes four participants: three teachers of Catalan and one of Spanish. The analysis shows how the teachers (1) construct a context in which the relationship between Catalan and Spanish seem to be mutually exclusive and (2) make international students participants in this context and project ideal models of international students.

The socio-cultural context of the UdL is projected by the language teachers as a context where two opposed identities are available, the Spanish and the Catalan, whose main means of being embodied are the Catalan and the Spanish languages, respectively. Extract 6.21 shows how the relationship between Catalan and Spanish is projected as hostile and, within this situation, students are invited to join the Catalan identity by speaking Catalan with the locals.

Extract 6.21. Catalan vs. Spanish

1	Sílvia	[...] i després també quan van pel carrer	[...] and also when they go on the streets
2		(.) jo de vegades els hi dic és que aneu (.)	(.) I sometimes what I tell them is to go (.)
3		quan aneu a una cafeteria demaneu a que	when you go to the cafeteria ask what you
4		ho sabeu dir (.) un cafè si us plau (.) ja	know how to say (.) a coffee please (.) right
5		però és que la gent us tractarà d'una altra	the thing is that people will treat you in a different
6		manera si us veu estrangers que no veieu	way if they see you are foreigners don't you see
7		que és una llengua minoritària (.) tenim el	that it's a minority language (.) we have
8		castellà (.) no que sempre estem allà la	Spanish (.) right we are always there the
9		lluita si veuen que un estranger fa l'esforç	fight and if they see a foreigner making an effort
10		de parlar català que no veieu que la gent	to speak Catalan (.) don't you see that people
11		us valorarà molt millor també llavors crec	will value you a lot more also because I think
12		que poc a poc se'n van adonant que és	that little by little they realize that it is
13		important per integrar-se per anar a les	important in order to be integrated to go to
14		botigues (.) per tot (.) per la vida diària	shops (.) for everything (.) for everyday life
15	Carme	o pensen que no és tan important	or they think it's not that important

Sílvia presents the sociolinguistic environment of the UdL as divided into two rival sides. She constructs this context by expressing her stance towards the international students' scarce use of Catalan language in their ordinary lives. She explains how she tries to persuade international students to use Catalan as a normal means of communication. She repeats the same advice she gives to the students (lines 1-11). She uses direct speech (line 3) in order to increase the verisimilitude of her statement. The example consists of telling students to ask for a coffee in Catalan when they go to a cafeteria (line 4). She argues that the necessary level of competence in Catalan required to fulfil that function is very low and students already know how to do it (lines 3-4). The fact that she is their Catalan teacher strengthens her epistemic stance when she says that students have enough competence in Catalan to ask for a coffee in a cafeteria.

The context of the “fight” appears as dichotomised between two possible affiliations: Spanish or Catalan. The instructors appear as language militants who try to persuade students to join the Catalan side. Sílvias strategy to persuade students to use Catalan is based on referring to the social benefits of using it. These benefits involve earning the empathy of the locals (lines 5-6, 10-11) and achieving better social integration (line 13). The different appreciation that students would receive from the local people appears to be a consequence of a sense of solidarity towards the locals indexed by the use of Catalan by foreigners (lines 7-9). This solidarity appears highly valued in the context of “the fight” (line 9) between Catalan and Spanish. In the following turn, Carme states that students ignore the importance of using the Catalan language in their daily interactions (line 15), which indicates a lack of affiliation of international students with Catalan.

Within this frame of incompatibility between affiliating with Catalan and Spanish languages, the four teachers create a scenario with two types of students: the good and bad ones. The former are represented by those international students who affiliate with the Catalan language and the latter group would include those students who are either not interested in learning either of the two languages or simply refuse to learn Catalan because they see it as an obstacle to learning Spanish. The following extract shows how Maria constructs the two groups of students.

Extract 6.22. Good and bad students

1	Lídia	i heu vist una: una progressió o un canvi des	and have you seen a: progress or a change from
2		de que arriben fins que marxen?	the moment they arrive until they leave?
3	[...]		[...]
4	Maria	jo crec que: pel que pel que he vist veig a la	I think that from what I have seen I see in my
5		classe dels meus? hi ha les dos (.) uns que	class? there are two sorts (.) those who

6		comencen això no sé el que és i fan el curs i	start saying what is it they take the course and
7		després ho volen fer i me diuen ºosti que	then they want to do it and they tell me ºhow
8		béº n'aprenem dos de llengües noº (.)	coolº we are learning two languages rightº (.)
9		aquests són uns i crec que els menys (.)	these are one kind the less numerous I think (.)
10		després els que jo he vingut aquí: (.) bueno	then those who I came he:re (.) well also there is
11		hi ha la tercera opció que és els que no	the third option that are those who don't want to
12		volen aprendre ni català ni castellà però ja	learn either Catalan nor Spanish but let's not
13		no en parlarem ºe:º i els que venen a	talk about them ºe:º and those who come to
14		aprendre castellà o a millorar el castellà i	learn Spanish or to improve Spanish and
15		llavors se troben el català i diuen que merda	then they find Catalan and they say what a shit
16		és aquesta no en vull saber res	this is I don't want anything to do with it and
17		i en lloc de: fan el curs d'acollida	instead o:f they take the welcome course
18		segurament perquè	probably because
19	Maite	estan gravant-nos (.) e:º [laughs]	we are being recorded (.) e:º [laughs]
20	Maria	ºº és el que diuen ells no és la meva opinió	ºº that's what they say it's not my opinion
21		és el que diuen [ells e: fan el curs d'acollida	that's what they say [they do the welcome
22		i] quan acaben	course and] when they finish
23	Maite	[que sí dona que sí] (.) sí que	[yes I know what you mean]
24		n'hi ha d'aquests	(.) yes there are like those ones
25	Maria	diuen això què és jo no en vull saber	they say what's this I don't want to know
26		res que me treguin de sobre i:	anything get me out of this a:nd
27	Sílvia	sí sí sí	yes yes yes
28	Maite	ja: ja: he complert i ja està	I've already already done my duty and that's all
29	Maria	i què és això però hi ha els dos (.) e: l'únic	and that's it but there are both (.) e: the only
30		que jo crec que n'hi ha més	thing is that I think there are more who say
31		dels no que dels sí	no than those who say yes
32	Carme	sí jo també ho penso	yes I think so too

The group of students who adopt Catalan are depicted as being few in number, contrary to the group of students who refuse it, which are constructed as being many. The first group of students appear to be enthusiastic about learning two languages instead of one (lines 7-9). The lively intonation used by the teacher when referring to their use of the evaluative expression (“*què bé*” - “how cool” line 8) conveys a stance of appreciation towards them on the parts of the instructor. The ‘bad’ group consists of those students who refuse to learn Catalan, even referring to the problem it represents for them with the word “shit” (line 15-16), which, as we will see in section 6.3.3, is the same evaluation made by the international students’ in their focus group. In between the two groups, Maria creates a third group of students, made up of those students who refuse to learn either of the two local languages and they are excluded of the discussion by the same teacher (lines 14-17), which reinforces the idea that the teachers project a dichotomised context where there is only room for affiliation with one of the two languages and the third option, of not taking part in the ‘fight’, is not taken into consideration. Right after Maria reports that a group of students refer to Catalan as shit, Maite reminds her that the focus group session is being recorded (line 19). Although Maite laughs indicating that she was being ironic, Maria immediately sets a clear distance between herself and students who evaluate Catalan as ‘shit’. She repeats that it is the students’ stance on Catalan and not her own (lines 20-22). Although the statement may not have been intended as serious, Maite’s

reaction may be indexing a broader context in which taking a stance against Catalan is not legitimated. This protective stance towards Catalan also appeared in extract 6.17, when Rita tells Lluís that bilingualism is neither a threat nor an imposition. In the next turn, Maite tries to calm Maria down letting her know that she understood that it is the students’ opinion and not hers (lines 23). The other instructors express alignment with Maria’s construction of the two (or three) groups of students (lines 27, 28 and 32).

The language instructors project an ideal model of international student. The ideal international student is one who embraces Catalan language and culture. In the focus group, the teachers express their admiration towards two specific students: Jeroen, who became a fluent Catalan speaker; and Matthew who, apart from learning Catalan at A2 level, joined the *castellers* (human towers) university group, one of the most typical and best-known Catalan cultural activities (extract 6.23).

Extract 6.23. The ideal international student (1): one that builds human towers (*castellers*)

1	Maite	es va fer de la colla de castellers de	he joined the group of <i>castellers</i> in
2		Lleida eʔ	Lleida eʔ
3	Carme	no:	no:
4	Lidia	a síʔ	reallyʔ
5	Maite	i no es perdia cap cap actuació dels	and he didn’t miss any any performance with the
6		castellers anava a assajar cada setmana	<i>castellers</i> he went to the weekly rehearsals
7		[...]	[...]
8	Carme	és que això sí que és per a mi aprofitar	to me that’s how you make the most out of a
9		una estada això és fantàstic és el millor	stay that’s fantastic it’s the best
10		que pots fer	one can do
11	Maite	oi tant	so right
12	Maria	clar	of course
13	Silvia	molt	a lot
14	Maite	allò és castellers (.) sabia més de	that’s human towers (.) he knew more about
15		castellers que jo	<i>castellers</i> than me
16	Carme	és clar està súper bé perquè això sí que	of course that’s great because those are indeed
17		són coses que et quedes a dintre per	things that you keep inside
18		sempre	forever

When Maite explains that this student joined the *castellers* (lines 1-2), Carme and the researcher express surprise (lines 3-4), and Carme evaluates it as the way to make the most out of a stay abroad, as something “fantastic” and as “the best one can do” (lines 8-10). Next, Maite, Maria and Sílvia align with Carme’s evaluation (lines 11-13) and Maite adds that the student knew more about *castellers* than herself, which positions the student as more Catalan than the teachers themselves. At the end of this episode, Carme values the experience of going to this cultural activity as something that remains “inside forever” (lines 16-18).

The second characteristic of an ideal international student in the eyes of the language instructors is represented by Jeroen. This student achieved a high level of competence in Catalan (he went from A1 to B1 in that academic year), is a fan of FC Barcelona and is

planning to study a master's degree in Barcelona in the next academic year. In the following extract, Maite ascribes Jeroen with the quality of being intelligent because; in his discourse practices; he projects Catalonia and Spain as two separate entities.

Extract 6.24. The ideal international student (2): one that distinguishes between Catalonia and Spain

1	Maite	el Jeroen l'any que ve se'n ve a treballar a	Jeroen next year is going to work in
2		Barcelona ell vol viure a Catalunya i a	Barcelona he wants to live in Catalonia and
3		més (.) *no a Espanya (.) a Ca-ta-lu-nya	moreover (.) *not in Spain (.) in Ca-ta-lo-nia
4		e:ʔ* o sigui el Jeroen en sap molt *e:e*	e:ʔ* it means that Jeroen knows a lot *e:e*
5	Sílvia	[nods and laughs at the same time]	[nods and laughs at the same time]

Maite explains that Jeroen is willing to come back to work in Barcelona after his stay in Lleida (lines 1-2). She reports that Jeroen's wish is to live in Catalonia (lines 2-3) and not in Spain (lines 2-3). The loud voice of the teacher and the segmentation of the word "Ca-ta-lo-nia" in syllables (lines 3) indexes that she wants to emphasise that Jeroen recognises Catalonia as a different entity from Spain and does so in a comical way. Maite evaluates Jeroen as an intelligent student because he differentiates between Catalonia and Spain and intends to come back to Catalonia (line 4). Next, Sílvia nods and laughs at the same time (line 6) indicating that she recognises and aligns with Maite's evaluation.

In the depiction of the two as ideal students who affiliate with the local interests, the question that does not arise is whether the students are consciously affiliating with the Catalan side or this is an interpretation that teachers make of their actions. Two discourses the teachers disregard are the discourse of adventure, in the case of Mathew, and the discourse of the economic value that the Catalan language has for a translation graduate like Jeroen who plans to live, study and work in Catalonia. Their participation in these cultural and linguistic activities and the ideological recognition that Catalonia and Spain are two separate entities could be a result not of their empathy for Catalonia but, instead, an attempt to increase their cultural and symbolic capital by adding exotic experiences or an advanced knowledge of a minority language.

Bad students are further constructed by the language instructors as individuals who find Catalan annoying and are not interested in Catalan or languages in general. The teachers also reproach students for a lack of professionalism, since they are excessively focussed on their courses, do not take advantage of the learning opportunity that the university offers them, and avoid using the language whenever they can. However, the instructors try to save face after they have attributed further qualities to the bad students by justifying their refusal to learn Catalan because they are too busy.

Extract 6.25. Bad students

1	Carme	[...] hi ha molts que intenten saltar-se'l	[...] there are many people who try to skip it
2		anar a fer assignatures que no (.) que	and do subjects that are not (.) that
3		siguin en anglès (.) i així (.) llavors hi ha	are in English (.) and so (.) then there are
4		molta gent que li interessa però jo crec que	many people who are interested but I think
5		hi ha molta gent que li fa nosa i que:	many people find it annoying and that
6		perquè en part si jo em poso al seu lloc és	and partially if I put myself in their position it's
7		lògic perquè e: vens aquí vens hi ha gent	logical because e: you come here some people
8		que potser ve per quatre mesos i no té un	may come for four months and they are not
9		interès especial en les llengües l'únic que	especially interested in languages the only thing
10		ve és a fer la seua carrera i amb ell no li	they come to do is their degree and do not
11		expliquis res des d'aquest punt de vista és	explain them anything from this perspective it's
12		lògic e: clar segurament no seria la meua	logical e: of course it wouldn't be certainly my
13		opció no ⁷ però [sights] és una mica difícil	choice right ⁷ but [sights] it's a bit complicated
14		i molts es queixen es queixen	and many of them complain complain
15	Lídia	vale m:	alright m:
16	Sílvia	sí clar no segur hi ha de tot	yes of course sure there are all sorts
17	Maria	sí	ye:s
18	Maite	sí: jo he tingut alumnes alumnes	ye:s I had students students
19	Sílvia	home: perquè han de compaginar la	we:ll they have to combine their
20		carrera amb les classes\ han de fer	degree with the lessons\ they have to
21		malabars e: ⁷	juggle e: ⁷
22	Carme	han de fer un doble esforç	they have to make a double effort

Carme presents bad students as people who “skip” Catalan (line 1) and take subjects that are taught in English (line 3). She hedges her statement with the recognition that there are many people who are interested in Catalan (line 4) before saying that there are also many who find it “annoying” (line 5). Her construction of the group of bad students appears as an alignment with Maria, who also constructed those who evaluate Catalan as ‘shit’ (extract 6.22) as bad students. After constructing the two groups of students, Carme admits that the behaviour of the second group of students is somewhat “logical” (lines 6-7 and 11-12), since learning Catalan is not among their preferences as they are very busy with their subjects (lines 10-11). However, she clearly distances herself from this attitude by specifying that she would not behave in the same way (lines 12-13). The other instructors align with the speaker in the following turns and contribute to justifying the ‘bad’ students’ behaviour. This could be interpreted in the context of the focus group as a strategy to save face or to construct an epistemic stance of objectiveness based on considering the two possible points of view on the issue. Next, Sílvia refers to the effort students have to make in order to combine their regular subjects with the Catalan classes (lines 20-21) and Carme aligns with her by saying that the students have to make a “double effort” (line 22).

To summarize, the language instructors project a dichotomised sociolinguistic environment in which only two confronted positions are available. On one hand, students are expected to affiliate with the Catalan language and culture and this affiliation means showing interest in the language, participating in Catalan cultural activities, and clearly distinguishing Catalonia

from Spain as a socio-political unit. On the other hand, instructors project a group of students who may refuse to learn Catalan, which appears as the dispreferred option by the instructor. The teachers also recognise a third possible position by the students, those who are not interested in either Catalan or Spanish, but prefer not to discuss this option. The instructors make an attempt to save face after the negative evaluation of students who refuse to learn Catalan by recognising that students are busy trying to combine their regular subjects with learning Catalan.

Similarly to the focus group session with the subject lecturers, the analysis of the focus group session with the language instructors shows that the activation of a stance of disaffiliation towards Catalan (“they say what a shit this is”, line 15-16 extract 6.22) triggers a reaction from another participant who tries to suppress that negative evaluation of Catalan by stating that the session is being recorded (“we are being recorded”, line 19 extract 6.22). This fact provides evidence of a discourse of political correction that in a way makes it dispreferred to take an overt position against Catalan. Paradoxically, the analysis of the focus group session with international students at the beginning of their stay (section 6.3.3) shows how Jeroen, one of the two students projected by the teachers as an ideal student, is one of the students who evaluate Catalan as “shit” (extract 6.22 and 6.26). This expression is very common in a colloquial register both in Catalan and Spanish. During their stay, students seem to increase their tolerance and acceptance of Catalan and have greater affiliation with the local community. Chapter 7 also points to this fact.

6.3.3. ‘Catalan is shit’: language as an obstacle to the social academic promotion

This section presents the analysis of the focus group session organised with 7 international students (Cristina, Dolores, Hanna, Jeroen, Kim, Min and Ullie) at the beginning of their stay (8th October 2010). The students had been at the UdL for approximately 6 weeks, which included the two-week welcome programme and four weeks in their respective faculties. At that point, the students had already registered for the subjects they would follow during their stay. At the beginning of the focus group, the researcher asks the students which language they would like to conduct their focus group in and they say either Spanish or English. At the beginning of the focus group, the researcher poses the questions in Spanish and translates them into English, but later on Spanish predominates, even if some students decide to intervene in English.

The topic of Catalan is triggered by two general questions posed by the researcher which do not refer specifically to language. However, one of the students uses these questions as a gap

through which orient the interaction towards the sociolinguistic environment at the university and the distribution the UdL makes of its multilingual repertoire. Extract 6.26 shows how the UdL appears as a Catalan monolingual university in the eyes of international students and this situation is negatively evaluated by one of the students with the expression “it’s a shit”.

Extract 6.26. Catalan is “shit”

1	Lidia	qué tal va hasta el momento↗ va bien↗	how is it going ↗ is everything alright↗
2	All	◦sí:◦	◦ye:s◦
3	Lidia	echáis algo en falta↗ [word] <i>do you miss</i>	do you miss anything↗ [word] <i>do you miss</i>
4		<i>anything</i> ↗	<i>anything</i> ↗
5	Min	traducció (.) [laughs] traducció porque	translation[laughs] translation because I don’t
6		yo no entiendo mucho en la clase de	understand much in the Spanish
7		castellà castellà	Spanish class
8	Jeroen	qué suerte (.) yo no yo no tengo ninguno	lucky you (.) I don’t I don’t have any any
9		ninguna clase en castellano (.) catalán o:	lectures in Spanish (.) Catalan o:r
10		inglés	English
11	Ullie	[nodding] yo esto también sí:	[nodding] me too:
12	Jeroen	es una mierda	it’s a shit
13	Christina	[laughs]	[laughs]
14	Kim	mierda [laughs]	shit [laughs]
15	Jeroen	es que la otra vez e: pedí a mi profesor	the other day e: I asked my
16		dónde pod e: podía encontrar información	teacher where I could e: could find information
17		en castellano porque no hablo catalán y él	in Spanish because I don’t speak Catalan and he
18		me: respondió en catalán	replied to me in Catalan

English
Catalan

The researcher asks the students how they feel after six weeks at the UdL and whether they miss anything (lines 1 and 3-4). Students reply that they are doing well in a loud tone that indicates enthusiasm (line 2), and Min adds that she misses some translation because she cannot understand much in the Spanish class (line 5-7). The code-switch in Min’s intervention between Catalan and Spanish (lines 5-7) when she utters two terms related to the educational offer of the UdL (“*traducció* - translation” and “*castellà* – Spanish” in lines 5 and 7) could be indexing that, from the student’s perspective, the institution is a Catalan-speaking institution. Next, Jeroen takes the turn to position Min as “lucky” (line 8) and compares her situation to his own. Jeroen reports that none of his classes are taught in Spanish (lines 8-10). By contrast, Jeroen’s positioning of Min as a lucky student simultaneously positions himself as less lucky or even unlucky. The reason for his misfortune appears to be that he is not exposed to Spanish at all in his academic life and the two teaching languages he is being taught in are English or Catalan. Jeroen evaluates the absence of Spanish in the students’ lives negatively and exposure to it, positively. In the following turn, Ullie affiliates with him and explains that she is in the same situation (line 11), which reinforces Jeroen’s epistemic stance. In this light, he feels comfortable enough to evaluate their non-Spanish linguistic situation with the Spanish expression “*es una mierda*” (“it’s a shit”, line 12), which provokes laughter from two other

students (lines 13 and 14). Jeroen’s strong negative evaluation may index his degree of disappointment and Cristina’s and Kim’s laughter could be interpreted as either an attenuating strategy or a reaction to an unexpected switch of register (“*mierda*” belongs to a colloquial or even vulgar register). In this light, Jeroen justifies his statement by adding the anecdote of an interaction between himself and one of his lecturers (lines 15-19), which again reinforces his epistemic stance. He uses this anecdote to complain about the fact that the lecturer stuck to his choice of Catalan, even if Jeroen had asked his question in Spanish and had told him that he was not able to speak Catalan; in doing so, Jeroen projects the institution as being rigid.

The university’s almost exclusive use of Catalan produces feelings of suffering and vulnerability in the students, who construct the institution as ‘insensitive’ and themselves as ‘victims’. In the following extract Kim, a Korean student, reports on the state of ‘language shock’ she went through at the beginning of her stay because of the Catalan monolingualism.

Extract 6.27. “They didn’t care about me” (FG international students, October 2010)

1	Kim	so here at the first time it was *shock*	so here at the first time it was *shock*
2		because everybody speaking <i>catalán</i> then I	because everybody speaking <i>Catalan</i> then I
3		said that <i>o lo siento</i> (.) <i>no puede entender</i> (.)	said that <i>o I’m sorry</i> (.) <i>I cannot understand</i> (.)
4		<i>castellano</i> (.) <i>por favor</i> but they didn’t care	<i>Spanish</i> (.) <i>please</i> but they didn’t care
5		about me they just make speed [word]	about me they just make speed [word]
6		<i>despacio por favor</i> (.) *no* (.) they didn’t	<i>slowly please</i> (.) *no* (.) they didn’t understand
7		understand why you can’t understand you are	why you can’t understand you are
8		here in <i>Catalunya</i> but I know that this is	here in <i>Catalonia</i> but I know that this is
9		<i>Catalunya</i> but if they invited us every	<i>Catalonia</i> but if they invited us every
10		university University of Lleida invited us (.)	university University of Lleida invited us (.)
11		yeah [^] but they didn’t care us so much I know	yeah [^] but they didn’t care us so much I know
12		that I have to use too Catalan because I’m	that I have to use too Catalan because I’m here
13		here but I think that at least they have to be	but I think that at least they have to be
14		used to us too but they didn’t care about us if	used to us too but they didn’t care about us if
15		you are calling take your sub here that is too	you are calling take your sub here that is too
16		late I think and I call that there is a little bit	late I think and I call that there is a little bit
17		more more some things for <i>castellano</i>	more more some things for <i>Spanish</i>
18		because the Spanish people is Spanish here	because the Spanish people is Spanish here and
19		and not <i>català</i> yeah [laughs, nods and looks at	not <i>Catalan</i> yeah [laughs, nods and looks at the
20		the researcher]	researcher]
21	All	[laughs]	[laughs]
22	Kim	[...] I only take three class because I could	[...] I only take three class because I could
23		find three class in <i>castellano</i> but then in one	find three class in <i>Spanish</i> but then in one
24		class when I meet the first the professor I ask	class when I meet the first the professor I ask
25		I’m from Korea and I can’t understand	I’m from Korea and I can’t understand nothing
26		nothing about <i>catalán</i> could you please speak	about <i>Catalan</i> could you please speak in
27		in <i>castellano</i> ok to me it’s just <i>igual</i> it’s ok I	<i>Spanish</i> ok to me it’s just <i>the same</i> it’s ok I will
28		will speak in <i>castellano</i> and the other students	speak in <i>Spanish</i> and the other students ok
29		ok ok and then I can have <i>castellano</i> but he (.)	ok and then I can have <i>Spanish</i> but he (.) I think
30		I think that he *is* the normal but he is so	that he *is* the normal but he is so
31		unique in here so I hope that professor will be	unique in here so I hope that professor will be
32		more like that ready for the students and yeah	more like that ready for the students and yeah
33	Lidia	ok: which classes did you choose in the end [^]	ok: which classes did you choose in the end [^]

Spanish
ambiguous (Catalan or Spanish)
Catalan language

Kim accuses the UdL of tricking international students who choose it as a destination for their stay abroad (lines 9-10). The trick appears to be due to the fact that everybody speaks Catalan and, contrary to Kim's expectations, people do not accept a switch to Spanish. She portrays herself as being in "shock" during the first days at the UdL (line 1), vulnerable, and a victim of the Catalan monolingualism and the unwillingness of the local community to switch to a language that she can understand. From her perspective, international students are offered the possibility of doing their year abroad at the UdL (lines 10-13) and it appears as an institutional duty to offer courses in a language that they can understand. As a result, she projects the UdL as a sort of fraudster and the students as victims.

Kim tries to create a balance between affiliating with the institution and claiming her own rights. She acknowledges Catalonia as a geopolitical entity and, for this reason, she acknowledges that she has to make an effort to use the Catalan language (lines 12-14). Thus, the relation between the university and the students appears reciprocal, with the two parts having rights and duties. Kim accepts that international students have to adopt Catalan to some extent but, at the same time, the local community has to accommodate to the linguistic needs of the international students by switching into Spanish whenever necessary. She constructs herself as fulfilling her part of the agreement, or at least trying, when she says that she "knows" that, apart from Spanish, in Catalonia she has to use Catalan (lines 12-13). The UdL, however, is breaking its part of the agreement, since the local members of the academic community do not switch to Spanish. The presentation of the stay abroad as a reciprocal commitment could be further interpreted as a strategy that Kim uses to increase her epistemic stance because she is taking both perspectives into account to construct her stance.

Kim reports the case of a subject in which both lecturer and the students saw no problem in switching into Spanish when she suggested it (lines 23-32). The uniqueness of this lecturer is evaluated by Kim as the "normal" state of things (line 30-31), and she manifests that that behaviour corresponds to her concept of a sensitive and caring professor (lines 31-32) who is willing to attend to the students' needs. Hence, the refusal to switch to Spanish is presented as a lack of professionalism. Explaining this anecdote could represent a second resource that Kim uses to increase the validity of her stance against what she considers a policy of Catalan monolingualism.

The reluctance of lecturers and students to switch into a language that international students can understand is presented as an index of unkindness and even lack of professionalism, since

the university is not accommodating enough to the needs of international students. Extract 6.28 provides evidence for this.

Extract 6.28. Lack of professionalism (FG international students, October 2010)

1	Dolores	no sé: somos muchos erasmus a veces y	there are many Erasmus sometimes and
2		entonces decimos (.) bueno: e: podemos	then we say (.) well e: we can
3		preguntar (.) las participaciones son libres	ask (.) participation is free
4		no ⁷ igual que los exámenes no obstante	right ⁷ as well as the exams however
5		siempre nos responden en catalán (.)	they always reply to us in Catalan (.)
6		entonces hacen más grande la duda a	then they make us doubt more
7		veces sobre todo con las griegas o	sometimes specially with the Greek or
8		coreanas que no están familiarizadas con	Korean students who are not familiar with
9		con las lenguas románicas	with Romance languages
10	Lidia	sí románicas	yes Romance
11	Dolores	entonces (.) creo que es mayor problema	then (.) I think it's a bigger problem
12		para ellas mi mi oído parece que se está	for them (.) my my ear looks like it's getting
13		acostumbrando un poco al catalán pero	used to Catalan a little but I'm not
14		aun no estoy entendiendo todo	understanding everything yet

In this extract Dolores, a Mexican student, complains about the unwillingness of the lecturers to switch to Spanish and blames them for increasing students' doubts when the teachers avoid switching to a language students can understand. She holds that, in some classes, the presence of international students is very high (line 1) and this appears as a reason to expect the use of Spanish (line 3). Dolores also considers that it is her right to participate in class using Spanish and also to do the exam in the same language (lines 3-4). However, she presents the fact that lecturers are still allowed to reply in Catalan as a contradiction (lines 5-6) because they still have to hear the answer in Catalan.

Dolores makes an attempt to increase her epistemic stance and request the affiliation of the other international students in her focus group by making reference to students from Greece and Korea and positioning them as the most disadvantaged because of the linguistic distance between Catalan and their L1 (Greek and Korean) (lines 7-9). It is worth mentioning that there are only two Korean students but no Greek students in the focus group and that the former do not take part in this interactional episode. This could indicate that either they may not feel interpellated by Dolores' comment or do not consider themselves as being at disadvantage. As extract 6.26 showed, Min, one of the Korean students, said that she attends classes in Spanish and was positioned by Jeroen as a privileged student. The lack of collaboration of Min and Kim, the two Korean students, in co-constructing Dolores' stance may indicate that they are not comfortable with the position of helplessness that they have been assigned by Dolores. This explain Dolores' attempt to reinforce her epistemic stance and continue justifying it by presenting her own experience (lines 12-14). She states that the proximity between Spanish, her L1, and Catalan facilitates her understanding of the

vernacular language and that her “ear” is getting used to it. However, in contrast with the privileged role that she ascribed to herself in her previous intervention, now she positions herself as a disadvantaged student, who has problems understanding Catalan fully.

The use of Catalan as a language of instruction provokes different reactions from the students. Whereas some ask their teachers to switch, others decide to accept this and prefer not to intrude in the language ecology of the class and try cope with it, as shown in extract 6.29.

Extract 6.29. Switch to a common language of instruction (FG international students, October 2010)

1	Lidia	cuando pedís al profesor que: que cambie	when you ask the teacher to: to swi:tch
2		[word] habéis pedido al profesor que cambie	[word] did you ask your teacher to switch to
3		a castellano? [addressing to Jeroen] tu no?	Spanish? [addressing to Jeroen] you didn't?
4	Dolores	[nods]	[nods]
5	Jeroen	que soy yo e: el único que no comprende	it's that I'm the only one who can't understand
6	Min	o::: \	o::: \
7	Jeroen	comprende el catalán	understand Catalan
8	All	[laugh]	[laugh]
9	Lidia	y los demás habéis intentado:	and the rest have you tried:
10	Dolores	sí	yes
11	Lidia	y qué os han contestado?	and what did they reply?
12	Dolores	no: que sabíamos a lo que veníamos y que	no: that we knew where we were going and that
13		estamos en Catalunya	we were in Catalonia
14	Lidia	y eso es verdad? que sabíais a lo que	and is this true that you knew where you where
15		veníais?	going?
16	Dolores	sí e: pero bueno (.) no sabíamos que el	yes e: but well (.) we didn't know that the
17		número de clases que íbamos a tener en	number of classes that we would have in
18		catalán por ejemplo Jeroen tiene todas las	Catalan for instance Jeroen has all his
19		clases en catalán	classes in Catalan
20	Jeroen	[word] porque e: son el curso se llama e:	[word] because e: they are the course is called e:
21		<i>Estudis Hispànics</i>	<i>Hispanic Studies</i>
22	Lidia	ya:	ye:s
23	All	[laugh]	[laugh]
24	Jeroen	pero ningún curso creo que es en castellano	but none of the courses are in Spanish
25	All	[laugh]	[laugh]

Catalan

By referring to the democratic principle that gives preference to the choice of the Catalan-speaking majority in the classroom, Jeroen decides not to ask the teacher to switch to a language he can understand (line 5 and 7). Jeroen constructs himself as “the only one” who cannot understand Catalan and the loneliness emerging from his utterance is sarcastically taken up by Min as an attempt to trigger compassion and says “o:::” (line 6). Although her intervention contributes to constructing Jeroen as a minority in the class and a disadvantaged student, it also causes laughter from the other participants (line 8). Their laughter could indicate that they interpret Min’s intervention as a joke, which would reduce Jeroen’s level of misfortune and frustration. Min’s contribution and the response of the other participants could also be interpreted as a way of diminishing the importance of the problem and downtoning the students’ negative stance towards the UdL.

When the researcher insists on asking the students whether they have tried to ask the lecturer to switch to Spanish, Dolores reports on an occasion when she asked the teacher to switch to Spanish (line 13) and the lecturer refused with the justification that they were in Catalonia, which projects the context of the UdL as Catalan monolingual. The researcher asks Dolores whether they did in fact know about the sociolinguistic situation of the UdL, to which Dolores replies affirmatively, although she did not expect Catalan to be such a predominant language at the university (lines 16-18). Next, Dolores resorts to Jeroen’s experience of not having a single class in Spanish to increase her epistemic stance. Jeroen, who may be trying to construct himself as an unfortunate student, accepts Dolores’ reference to himself and reports further inconsistencies to strengthen the validity of their now shared stance against the dominant Catalan monolingualism of the UdL. The high presence of Catalan leads to further inconsistencies such as the fact that in a course programme of Hispanic Studies the names of the subjects are Catalan (lines 22 and 25). Jeroen mentions the name of the course program “*Estudis Hispànics – Hispanic Studies*” in Catalan, which contributes to constructing the UdL as an academic institution that functions regularly in Catalan (lines 18 and 25). Switching to Catalan to refer to the academic subjects is a common practice among the students (see also extract 6.26).

The reluctance of the lecturers to switch to Spanish is presented in contrast with the bi/multilingualism of the social environment and individuals at the university. The world outside the university is constructed as a code-switching world that accommodates to foreigners contrary to the world inside the university, which is represented as a Catalan monolingual world. Extract 6.30 provides evidence for this fact.

Extract 6.30. A monolingual institution in a bilingual context (FG international students, October 2010)

1	Lidia	pero: de momento os está gustando la	bu:t by the moment are you enjoying the
2		experiencia↗	experience↗
3	Ullie	•sí:•	•ye:s•
4	Dolores	bueno al principio me pareció un poco:	well at the beginning it seemed to me a bi:t
5		extraño que: en la escuela preguntamos	strange tha:t at school we ask a question
6		en español y nos responden algunos en	in Spanish and some of them reply in
7		catalán creando lagunas más grandes y	Catalan to us creating bigger gaps and
8		en la calle en la calle rápido no↗ como	on the streets on the streets quickly right↗ as
9		ven que somos extranjeros nos contestan	they see that we are foreigners they answer us
10		en castellano entonces decíamos por qué	in Spanish then we wondered why
11		en la escuela cuan preguntamos algo nos	at school when we ask something they
12		contestan en catalán y allá en la calle nos	reply in Catalan and out there in the street they
13		contestan en español	answer in Spanish

As in extract 6.26, the international students introduce their linguistic discomfort as an answer to a broad question not directly related to language (i.e. whether they are enjoying their stay abroad). Dolores reports that teachers respond in Catalan when students ask questions in

Spanish (lines 5-7) and she evaluates it as a lack of professionalism since, instead of solving the doubts the students have about the contents of the class, they make their doubts more serious. This rigidity is contrasted with the flexibility of the people “on the streets” (lines 9-11), who are constructed as more flexible bilinguals who do not mind switching from Catalan to Spanish in the presence of foreigners. This makes the lecturer and the institution’s language policy strange.

Inside the classroom, local students are positioned by international students on the same side of the people outside the institutional context, since they offer them linguistic help in an attempt to facilitate their learning. This behaviour is evaluated as “kind”, contrary to that of the teachers and the institution. Extract 6.31 shows how Hanna, Jeroen and Ullie, three students who attend most of their classes in Catalan, report that local students contribute to their learning.

Extract 6.31. Monolingual institutional voice vs. bi/multilingual individual competencies (FG international students, October 2010)

1	Hanna	vine y las clases eran en catalán y yo	when I arrived the classes were in Catalan and I
2		no dije nada	didn't say anything
3	All	[laugh]	[laugh]
4	Hanna	pero: las estudiantes son muy muy muy	bu:t the students are really really
5		amables y se dicen a mí e: cuando tú no	really kind and they say to me e: when you
6		entiendes pregunta pregunta pero no (.) no	don't understand ask (.) ask but not (.)
7		todo:s	not all of the:m
8	Lidia	muy bie:n y eso (.) los compañeros de	very goo:d exactly (.) do your classmates help
9		clase os ayudan (.) a veces o: como os	you (.) sometimes o:r how do they help you (.)
10		ayudan (.) os pasan los apuntes	do they lend you their notes
11	Jeroen	sí: puedo copiar (.) aunque es en catalán y	ye:s I can copy (.) although it is in Catalan and
12		puedo copiar y entiendo	I can copy and I understand
13	Lidia	en vuestro caso también a ti te ayudan	in your case do they also help you (.)
14	Ullie	sí:	ye:s
15	Lidia	en que facultad estás (.)	in which faculty are you (.)
16	Ullie	en la de: ciencias de la educación	in the faculty of Education

Hanna presents herself as being exposed to Catalan as a teaching language, like Jeroen and Ullie (extract 6.26). The three of them construct a stance in which the institutional learning environment appears as a Catalan speaking environment with two different groups of individuals: the teachers, who are consistent with their choice of speaking Catalan even if they are competent in other languages, and the local students, who appear not only as competent speakers of other languages apart from Catalan but also offer to act as mediators between the international students and the teachers. The local students are positioned as very kind and this can be seen in Hanna’s repetition of “*muy- very*” (lines 4-5), which increases her affective stance towards the local students’ action. Local students are consequently positioned as more flexible than the teachers and Hanna, Ullie and Jeroen, who have the ‘misfortune’ (see extract 6.26) to attend classes in Catalan, appear to enjoy and appreciate the kindness of their

classmates. Although Hanna recognises that not everybody offers them help (lines 6-7), the researcher ignores that part, shows her happiness about the help they receive and asks further questions related to this issue (lines 8-10). Jeroen aligns with Hanna and explains that he can copy his classmates' notes, which are in Catalan, and understand the content of the classes (lines 11-12). Ullie's alignment with them (line 14) contributes to the fossilisation of this idea of cooperation between international and local students.

Students manifest having assimilated a context of exclusion between Catalan and Spanish. This is implied in their discursive practices. The following extract shows how Jeroen constructs Catalonia and Spain as two separate entities. At this moment, the students are expressing their discomfort with the high presence of Catalan at the university. The researcher asks them what solutions they would provide.

Extract 6.32. 'Catalonia is not Spain' implied in discursive practices (FG international students, October 2010)

1	Lidia	cómo podríamos solucionarlo: insistir más	how could it be so:lved insisting more in the
2		en la diferencia entre el catalán y el	difference between Catalan and
3		castellano o ofrecer más cursos para	Spanish offer more courses to
4		entender el catalán	understand Catalan
5	Jeroen	la escuela del extranjero debe enviar sus	the school abroad must send their
6		alumnos a España (.) no no a Cataluña	students to Spain (.) not not to Catalonia

In this extract, Jeroen responds that a possible way to avoid the discomfort of international students faced with the hegemony of Catalan at the UdL is that their home universities "must send" the students to Spain and not to Catalonia (lines 5-6). His utterance implies that he perceives these as two separate entities. It is important to remember at this point that Jeroen was evaluated by Maite, one of the Catalan language instructors, as a good student because he clearly distinguishes between Catalonia and Spain (extract 6.24) as different geopolitical entities, which was interpreted by the instructor as a sign of affiliation to Catalonia. Here we can see that at this point of his stay (6 weeks), Jeroen would like to be in contact with Spanish and appears to disalign with the stance that the UdL should be a Catalan-English bilingual university (extract 6.26). This fact shows that portraying Catalonia and Spain as two different entities does not always imply an affiliation with the Catalan side (as Maite, one of the Catalan language teachers, may interpret), and in this specific extract, it may be interpreted as a stance of disaffiliation. During the course of his stay at the UdL, Jeroen decided to learn Catalan and come back to Barcelona the following academic year to study an MA in translation. For this reason, later in his stay, Jeroen continues learning Catalan and becomes a fluent speaker and, therefore, the teachers position him within the group of the 'ideal' international students who show interest in Catalan.

The international students also express their stance towards the distribution that the UdL makes of its multilingual repertoire in everyday practices. This can be seen in the three following examples, which reflect moments when they express their affiliation in more or less subtle ways. The events analysed next include (1) a student's *Facebook* status; (2) a moment in a content-subject lecture captured in fieldnotes; and (3) an audiovisual recording of an interaction from the intensive Catalan language course (A1).

First, Catalan is openly depicted by students in their interactions in the social networks. The following example shows how Giana, an Italian student, makes an official statement in her *Facebook* wall that she hates Catalan.

Extract 6.33. "It is official: I hate and can't understand Catalan" (international student's *Facebook* wall)

1	Gianna It's official: I hate and I can't understand Catalan.. uff...
2	👍 Ana likes it
3	Ana hahhhahahahahah :))
4	Gianna she cannot laugh
5	Ana.. I don't understand anything..uffffffff
6	Gianna you cannot..

With this Facebook wall publication, Giana makes her hatred of Catalan “official” (turn 1). She openly says that besides hating it, she cannot understand it, and expresses a certain level of emotional concern about this fact (“uff...” in turn 1). Ana, one of her *Facebook* friends, responds to this status with laughter, which appears not to be the kind of reaction that Gianna expects. Gianna tells her that she should not laugh and that she cannot understand anything. Gianna considers her discomfort at Catalan as serious. This sanction of Ana's laughter is followed by a longer “uf”, which increases Gianna's emotional display in her previous turn. By increasing the intensity of her discomfort, Gianna may be trying to sound more convincing and construct herself as a victim of the dominant presence of Catalan.

The second example comes from the very first day students attended a content-subject lecture at the Faculty of Arts. A resource that students have to express their stance towards Catalan is asking the lecturer to use Spanish as a teaching language instead of Catalan. This situation, which has been internationally popularised through the film *L'auberge espagnole* (Klapisch, 2002), is the most frequent request during the first week of the term in which students are looking for courses taught in Spanish. Most students leave in the middle of the class when the lecturers refuse to switch to Spanish, which can be interpreted as their refusal to cope with the Catalan language, even if this can negatively affect their academic progress. The following

extract from the researcher’s fieldnotes comes from the first class of Universal Literature, in which the two local official languages are used as languages of instruction together with some texts in French. As shown in extract 6.34, the international students in class show two different reactions in front of Catalan as a language of instruction: some try to cope with it while others reject it.

Extract 6.34. Refusal to use Catalan (Universal Literature; fieldnotes 13th September 2010)

1	The teacher has announced that she will use both Catalan and Spanish in class. She has been teaching in
2	Spanish for a while and now she announces that she will switch to Catalan and talk about Catalan
3	literature. Elisa asks: “is she going to say the same she said in Spanish but in Catalan?” I reply: “no, she
4	will do the next bit about Catalan literature in Catalan”. Elisa closes her notebook; she will not take
5	notes in Catalan. Ullie makes an effort to follow the teacher and the Greek student too. The teacher
6	announces that she will speak about French literature in Spanish. Elisa opens her notebook again and
7	takes notes. At the end of the class, I ask Elisa, “How is it going?” Elisa replies, “It’s interesting but very
8	difficult”. I ask her “Is it the content or the language?” and she replies, “No, the content is fine, the
9	language is very difficult, it is too much. The subject is similar to the subjects in Germany”

During this moment in class, two different reactions appear to Catalan as a language of instruction and, although none of the students make any verbal judgments, they display two clear stances through other semiotic means. The first stance is represented by Elisa, a German student, who refuses to pay attention when the teacher announces that she will do the next bit of the class in Catalan and closes her notebook indicating that she is not going to take any notes (lines 4-5). The second stance is adopted by Ullie, also from Germany, and other students from Greece, who seem to make an effort to cope with it (line 6). When the teacher switches back to Spanish, Elisa opens her notebook and shows that she is listening again (lines 6-7).

The third example of the clash between Catalan and Spanish from the perspective of international students, which was expressed by the Catalan language instructors in their focus group session as ‘the fight’ (extract 6.21), is also projected during the classroom interactions. Extract 6.35 reflects a situation that took place during the last class of the ten-day intensive Catalan language course. A student uses her turn during an oral practice exercise to position herself towards the languages of the local bilingual repertoire. The student openly declares that she likes Spanish better than Catalan. This attitude triggers an interactional disalignment between her, on one side, and the instructor and the rest of the students in class, on the other. The teacher is conducting an activity to review the contents of the course. The extract that we analyse comes from a collaborative activity that consists of a competition in which every team has to complete a task in Catalan to get a point. At the end of the game, the team with the most points wins. The instructor has organised the class into groups of approximately five students that are heterogeneous in terms of gender and country of origin. She has a board with

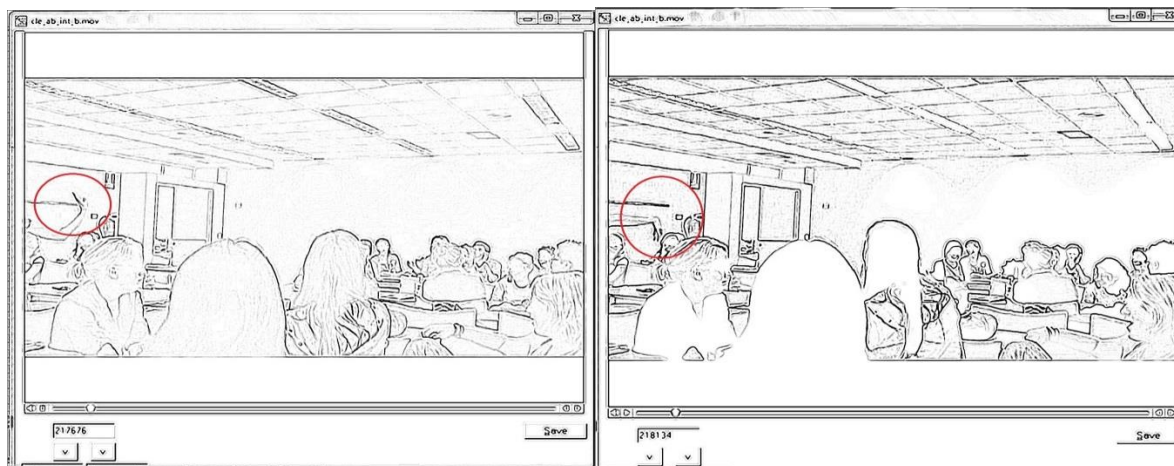
the tasks written on it and uses a dice to assign a task to each team randomly. The groups participate one after the other and they have some seconds to discuss their answer. Students are very excited and there is a loud and playful atmosphere. Immediately before extract 6.35, Jeroen is the first student in the group to carry out the task. After the teacher has accepted Jeroen's performance as valid, she asks the other members of the team to take turns and introduce themselves. Paolo, a member of another team is very excited and involved in the game and asks Valentina to continue. In extract 6.35, Valentina, an Italian student, needs to introduce its members in Catalan and uses her turn before the whole class to present herself as preferring Spanish to Catalan, which triggers disalignment. The translation does not include the errors the students make in Catalan.

Extract 6.35. 'I prefer Spanish to Catalan': the clash in the Catalan language class (Catalan language course; audiovisual recording 9th September 2010)

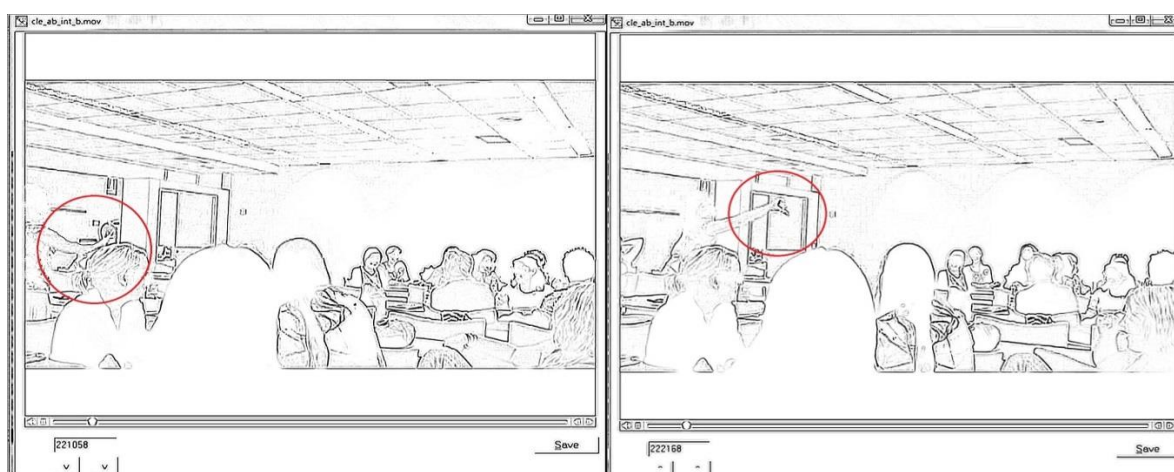
1	Paolo	<i>vai Valentina alzati</i> ↑	<i>come on Valentina stand up</i> ↑
2	Maite	presenta els teus companys i demana'ls	introduce your classmates and ask them to
3		que es presentin (.) *Valentina* presenta't	introduce themselves (.) *Valentina* introduce
4		i dóna més informació de la que ha donat	yourself and add information to that given by
5		el Jeroen↓	Jeroen↓
6	Paolo	<i>dai veloce</i> ↑	<i>come on quickly</i> ↑
7	Vale	jo em dic Valentina e: no és veritat que jo	my name is Valentina e: it is not true that I
8		estudi <u>español</u>	study <u>Spanish</u>
9	All	*[laughs]*	*[laughs]*
10	Maite	estudies què↑	you study what↑
11	Vale	empresarials	business administration
12	Maite	[assents] empresarials↓	[assents] business administration↓
13	All	[laughs]	[laughs]
14	Vale	<u>me gusta</u> : [m:]	<u>I like</u> : [m:]
15	Paolo	[°Giovanna°]	[°Giovanna°]
16	Vale	m: *no no no no*↓	m: *no no no no*↓
17	Unkn	°m'agrada°↓	°I like°↓
18	Vale	m'agrada <u>más</u> el e: <u>castellano</u> <i>de</i> <u>el</u>	I like <u>more</u> the e: Spanish <i>than</i> the
19		<u>català</u>	Catalan
20	Maite	[[looks at Vale from the corner of her eyes	[[looks at the student from the corner of her eyes
21		and looks down to the floor]]	and looks down to the floor]]
22	Paolo	[*a] [::::*]	[*a] [::::*]
23	All	[*a:::::*]	[*a:::::*]
24	Maite	[[turns around] [walks away] [moves	[[turns around] [walks away] [moves her
25		her hand from up down]] (1)	hand from up down]] (1)
26	All	[*laughs and noise*]	[*laughs and noise*]
27	Maite	[[she repeatedly crosses her arms in front	[[she repeatedly crosses her arms in front
28		of her body with her palms down]] (2)	of her body with her palms down]] (2)
29		[[thumbs [down]] (3)	[[thumbs [down]] (3)
30	Vale	[[raises her hand]] [<i>non posso mai fare</i>	[[raises her hand]] [<i>I can never do</i>
31		[word]]	[word]]
32	All	[laughs and noise]	[laughs and noise]
33	Vale	em: jo estudio sempre [estudio] moltíssim	em: I always study [study] very hard
34		estudio moltíssim el català	study Catalan very hard
35	Paolo	[*estai facendo	[*you are too
36		<i>tardi</i> [word]*]	<i>late</i> [word]*]
37	Unk	<u>por</u> [word]↑	<u>for</u> [word]↑
38	All	[laughs]	[laughs]
39	Vale	perquè molt [molt molt important]	because very [very very important]
40	Maite	[[assents] [smiles]] *Dolores*	[[assents] [smiles]] *Dolores*

41	Dolores e:	e:
42	Unkn [laughs]	[laughs]
43	Dolores e: estudio lletres?	I study arts?

Italian
Spanish
Unk = Unknown



(1) Photogram 6.1. Hand movement up-down



(2) Photogram 6.2. Crossing hands

(3) Photogram. 6.3 Thumbs down

During the activity, the students' loud tone of voice and the chaos in the distribution of turns contributes to constructing a playful atmosphere. Valentina repairs the information about herself by repeating her name, saying that she studies Business Administration instead of Spanish (lines 7-12) and adds that she prefers Spanish to Catalan (line 18-19). Valentina's intervention produces two simultaneous reactions: (i) the teacher disapproves Valentina's stance and (ii) the classmates excitedly encourage Valentina also expressing their disalignment with her stance. The instructor clearly constructs a disalignment with Valentina's stance through a series of gestures loaded with semiotic meaning. First, she looks at Valentina out of the corner of her eyes and then looks down (line 21-22) indicating disapproval. Then she turns around, walks away, raises her arm and moves her hand down (lines 24-25, photogram 6.1), which indicates further disapproval. Next, she comes back and

repeatedly crosses her arms in front of her body with her palms down (lines 27-28, photogram 6.2) indicating that Valentina's turn to participate is over. Then, the teacher makes a thumbs down (line 29, photogram 6.3) disapproving of Valentina's stance once again but, contrary to the previous disapproval, as in the case of the Roman circus, the gesture seems to be requesting the support of the class who have been cheering the confrontation since the beginning (line 18-36), to reject Valentina's stance. Her movements overlap with the group's laughter and shouts. The students in the audience keep on laughing and Valentina raises her hand in an attempt to request her turn and add something (lines 30-31). The instructor gives Valentina the turn to speak again and she makes an attempt to save face by saying that, although she prefers Spanish to Catalan, she studies Catalan a lot because it is very important (lines 33-34 and 38). Valentina's attempt to save face is frustrated by Paolo (line 35-36), who tells her that her effort to save face arrives too late. The instructor assents and passes the turn to the next student (line 40), thereby bringing the confrontation to an end.

Although the instructor's performance and Valentina's statement could be understood as two overt manifestations of preference for Catalan and Spanish, respectively, the students' reaction is more ambiguous and leads to different interpretations. First, it could be argued that students align with the instructor and, hence, disalign with Valentina, who would be the only one to prefer Spanish to Catalan. This possible stance could be indexed, for instance, when Paolo tells Valentina that it is too late for an attempt to save face (line 35).

A second interpretation is that, since the students' reaction to Valentina's utterance takes place simultaneously to that of the instructor (the defying look) and not after it, it indexes their acknowledgement that a statement in favour of Spanish is doomed to trigger controversy in the Catalan language class. The students, led by Paolo, may try to moderate the discussion by aligning with the instructor and suggesting to Valentina that such an ideology is not welcome in this class. In this sense, Valentina's intervention could be interpreted as a provocation, since her classmates, who have been UdL students for the same period of time and have followed the same Catalan language course with the same instructor, manifest to know that she will disapprove of the stance adopted by the student. Valentina could feel safe under the shield of laughter and the playful atmosphere of the class brings her to openly trigger her stance. It could also be the case that Valentina is talking in the name of the whole class and she expects other people to support her.

A third interpretation could be that, as in a Roman circus, students are acting like an audience, and encourage Valentina to sow discord between her and the instructor, since the most

important here thing is confrontation. The students, however, may not actually be aligning with one or the other. This is indexed by the constant laughter, chaos and noise with which students create a playful scenario and encourage the instructor to continue disapproving Valentina in a histrionic way. The instructor seems to recognise this playful game when she gives the thumbs down, which is one possible end to a gladiator fight. Her move seems to be understood by Paolo who defends her and frustrates Valentina's attempt to attenuate her stance.

The level of disappointment among international students at the dominant presence of Catalan gradually disappears over of the academic year. Thus, the intensity that this topic provokes in their first focus group session and the classroom interactions contrasts with the lack of interest that students show in the focus group session in June, at the end of their stay. Extract 6.36, which will be analysed in depth in chapter 7, shows how the researcher's attempt to talk about the feelings of discomfort the students displayed in the first focus group session is redirected towards a new theme, the monolingual methodology used in class by the Catalan language instructors (see chapter 7).

6.36. "They only speak, nobody teaches"

1	Lidia	y a ti¿ [looking at Kim] has notado alguna	and you¿ [looking at Kim] have you felt any
2		presión de: parte de la universidad me	pressure from the university
3		imagino que sí: para aprender catalán o:	I imagine so: to learn Catalan o:r
4	Kim	para aprender catalá::n creo que es muy	to learn Catala::n I think that it is very
5		duro	hard
6	Lidia	mhm	mhm
7	Kim	creo que hay dos lados (.) de un lado	I think there are two sides (.) on the one side
8		creo que es fácil que todas las gentes	I think it's very easy for all the people
9		hablan catalán así pero otro lado	to speak Catalan this way but on the other side
10		sólo hablan (.) nadie apren nadie enseña	they just speak (.) nobody teaches
11		(.) sólo hablar (.) vale (.) puedo escuchar	(.) only speak (.) alright (.) I can listen
12		pero no puede entender es así (.) pienso	but I can't understand that's how it is (.) I think
13		que tengo que escuchar primero un	that I have to listen first a
14		poquito y luego escuchar más (.) [word]	little and after listen more (.) [word]
15		ellos siempre hablan de cosas que	they always speak about things that
16		no puedo entender	I can't understand
17	Lidia	sí [assents]	yes [assents]

In this extract, the researcher asks Kim at the end of her stay whether she has felt any pressure to learn Catalan. The researcher already anticipates Kim's answer, probably due to the subject position as a victim that Kim adopted during the first focus group session and during her stay. Kim redirects the question towards an issue of second language learning. From her perspective, people speak Catalan a lot, which makes learning it easier through being exposed to the language, but nobody makes an effort to teach it and she cannot understand people when they speak to her in Catalan.

A second index that the students are less concerned about Catalan towards the end of their stay appears when they construct a more nuanced and ambivalent stance towards the level of internationalisation of the UdL. Whereas in the first focus group, students categorically evaluate the UdL as non-international due to the Catalan language, in the second focus group, students recognise some features of an international university in the UdL, such as the presence of many foreign students and, contrary to the first focus group session, Catalan does not even appear as an issue for determining the level of internationalisation of an institution.

Extract 6.37. Catalan as a problem for internationalisation (focus group session in October 2010)

1	Lidia	consideráis que la UdL es una	do you consider that the UdL is an
2		universidad internacional↗	international university↗
3	Christina	no↘ [laughs]	no↘ [laughs]
4	Jeroen	no: [dissents]	no: [dissents]
5	Kim	nada	nothing
6	Jeroen	como ya se habla catalán (.) no me	as they already speak Catalan (.) it doesn't seem
7		parece muy internacional	very international to me

In extract 6.37 the students' reaction is categorical. They consider that the UdL is not an international university and the reason is that Catalan is spoken at the university. However, in extract 6.38, although the students maintain their stance that the UdL is not international, they now seem to put the blame on the local students rather than the language.

6.38. A not international university is fine (focus group session June 2011)

1	Lidia	e:m: os parece ahora que termináis la	e:m do you think now that you are finishing your
2		estancia os parece que la Universidad de	stay do you think that the University of
3		Lleida e:s internacional↗ (.) es una	Lleida i:s international↗ is an
4		universidad internacional↗	international university↗
5	Kim	no tanto	not that much
6	Lidia	no tant[o↘]	not that mu[ch↘]
7	All	[[lau[ghs]]]	[[lau[ghs]]]
8	Lidia	[[word]] de otro: de otra	[[word]] anothe:r interview this
9		entrevista así de: (.) no tanto↘	way o:f (.) not that much↘
10	Kim	≈mhm↘	≈mhm↘
11	Marion	no↘	no↘
12	Kim	todo esto me va °bie:n° sí [assents]	everything here is °fi:ne° yes[assents]
13	Lidia	[sí↗]	[really↗]
14	Wei	[está bien↘] [word] es una cosa que me	[it's fine↘] [word] this is a thing I
15		gusta↘	like↘
16	Shu	[assents]	[assents]
17	Marion	hay mucha gente de fuera	there are many foreign people
18	Kim	sí:↘	yes:↘
19	Marion	pero la gente de aquí: no está muy:	but the lo:cal people are not very:
20	Lidia	[vale↘≈]	[ok↘≈]
21	Wei	[sí]	[yes]
22	Marion	[word] [no↗]	[word] [right↗]
23	Wei	[no quieren ntx (.)] yo creo que los	[they do not want to ntx (.)] I think the
24		españoles (.) no (.) los [word] aquí↗ que:	Spanish people (.) do not (.) the [word] here↗ that:
25		ellos no quieren juntarse con los alumnos	they do not want to come together with
26		internacionales	international students

Onomatopoeic expression

The students state that the UdL is not an international university, which is the same answer they gave in October, six weeks after arriving. However, at the end of their stay, the students evaluate the low level of internationalisation as an aspect they enjoy (lines 12 and 14-15) and state that the main reason why it is not an international university is the lack of interest shown by the local students in meeting the international students. During the focus group session organised at the end of students' stay, Catalan did not arise as a focus of concern, which may indicate that the students' tolerance to Catalan increases during their stay or that it is no longer important since they are about to leave.

In conclusion, the international students construct the university as a monolingual institution in a bilingual context. They report that the majority of lecturers refuse to switch to Spanish, which contrasts with the students and the people they meet outside the university, who accommodate to the students' language choice. The students position themselves as victims and attack the lecturers evaluating them as unprofessional and unwilling to help. The students internalise a context of exclusion between Catalan and Spanish and represent it in their daily discursive practices. The high level of concern that the students manifest about the Catalan monolingual situation appears to be lower at the end of their stay, as Catalan does not appear as a problem during the focus group discussion, even if they are specifically pushed by the researcher to criticise what they considered at the beginning of their stay as the Catalan monolingualism of the institution.

6.4. Conclusions

Chapter 6 has shown how the UdL projects itself to the international students as a Catalan institution. At the beginning of their stay, students are confronted with an institutionally organised intensive process of immersion into Catalan language and culture, which is maintained throughout their stay through the celebration of traditional Catalan festivities and by making Catalan the main language of instruction at the university. This projection becomes a point of reflection towards which students orient themselves in the course of their interactions. In first place, the analysis of the language policy and the internationalisation programme has shown that whereas the internationalisation programme emphasizes the use of widely-spoken languages for instruction and presents Catalan as a language that international students must have the opportunity to learn during their stay, the UdL's language policy takes a rather proactive stance in favour of promoting Catalan as a teaching language in an international university. The language policy includes the principle of language safety, under which a lecturer needs to publically state the language of instruction of

a course before students enrol and which cannot be modified later. This is aimed at protecting students' linguistic rights but, as shown in the analysis of the focus groups session with the content-subject lecturers, this principle presents a handicap for them because they cannot choose the most adequate language before the students register, as they do not know the linguistic profile.

In second place, the analysis of the two-week welcome programme shows how the university constructs the identity of the institution as a Catalan university by immersing students in Catalan language and culture. During the activities, two widely-spoken languages, English and Spanish, are used for intercultural communication, but the focus remains on the promotion of Catalan and the projection of the UdL as a Catalan institution. After the welcome programme, the university maintains its identity by making Catalan the preferred language of instruction and by celebrating Catalan festivities.

The projection of the UdL and its surrounding context as a Catalan context causes different reactions. First, in the focus group with the content-subject teachers, we have found two stances. While Rita portrays Catalonia as a context different from Spain, Lluís projects it as a context with a different atmosphere but which is embedded within Spain. The teachers align with the idea that the particularity of the context is an advantage for international students, as it provides them with a different experience from those who decide to enrol on programmes in other parts of Spain. However, they disalign with the institution's language safety principle for being too rigid. They project a tension between giving priority to the contents of the subject or the language of instruction defined even before they would know the typology of students who enrol. This leads them to present this as counter-productive, because a lecturer may opt to choose Spanish as a teaching language to attract a higher number of students and, once in class, if they find that the language the students prefer is Catalan, it cannot be changed. For this reason, they call for a more flexible system.

The language instructors and the LSV officer in charge of international students ascribe a great symbolic value to the Catalan language and culture and encourage students to affiliate with it. They project a dichotomised and hostile context between Catalan and Spanish, in which people affiliate with either one or the other. This leaves little room for the international students, who would rather take a more hybrid or cosmopolitan stance of integration between the local and the global. The teachers construct two groups of students. On one hand, the good students, who are a minority, learn Catalan and participate in the Catalan cultural activities,

such as building human towers. On the other hand, the bad students, who appear to be the majority, are projected as lacking interest in languages in general and as careless.

The students, who seem to have internalised a dichotomised environment, position themselves against Catalan. Although the linguistic and cultural particularity is presented as an advantage in quantitative and qualitative terms (learning two languages instead of one and better integration into the local community), the almost exclusive use of Catalan in academic life becomes detrimental for international student experiences. Instead, this promotion of Catalan language and culture is experienced by international students as overwhelming and oppressive. These students articulate feelings of disappointment that their expectations of learning Spanish, a language with greater economic power in the global world, are frustrated. The students blame the university for being insensitive and lacking professionalism as the content-subject lecturers make no effort to adapt to their linguistic needs. They present a series of inconsistencies to delegitimise the extended use of Catalan in everyday academic life, such as the fact that the names of all the courses in the degree in Hispanic Studies appear in Catalan, and the local students and the environment where the UdL is located are bilingual and switch languages in their presence. This rejection of Catalan is manifested by students across different settings. In the data we have seen the example of the Catalan language course in which a student uses a class activity to state publically in front of the teacher that she prefers Spanish to Catalan, a *Facebook* wall, where a student states that she hates Catalan and a moment in a course in the Faculty of Arts where a student decides not to take notes when the teacher is speaking in Catalan. However, the discomfort that students manifest towards Catalan diminishes towards the end of their stay. In two moments of the last focus group, students appear unconcerned about Catalan. First, they say they have nothing against Catalan itself, but they disalign with the monolingual methodology that the Catalan language instructors use to teach them Catalan. Second, to the question of whether the UdL is an international university for them, they argue that the university is not international due to the presence of Catalan at the beginning of their stay, while in the second focus group, they do not mention Catalan as an indicator of its level of internationalisation but argue that it is not international because local students do not mix with international students.

Students may be positioning themselves in this dichotomised sociolinguistic context because it is the one that has been offered to them. Probably, in a context of simultaneity and inclusion between the Catalan, the Spanish and the cosmopolitan identities, the intensity of their discomfort would be lower. Those within the local academic staff who seem to align with a

more fluid and flexible environment are the content-subject lecturers who call for a system that offers them more flexibility to switch languages as they give greater priority to teaching the contents of the subject than teaching in a particular language.

The following two tables present a summary of the different stances that appeared during the analysis. First, table 6.4 synthetises the stances taken by the participants towards the identity of the context where the university is located. Second one, table 6.5 shows those stances that refer to the distribution that the UdL makes of its multilingual repertoire.

Table 6.4. Stances towards the sociolinguistic and cultural context

	Content-subject Teachers	LS instructors	International Students
Evaluation	A different atmosphere from Spain. Positive attitude towards the Catalan distinguishing feature.	Hostile environment: Catalan vs. Spanish	Catalonia
Position	In favour of the showing the UdL as a Catalan institution within Spain.	On the side of Catalan	Resist Catalan and call for more presence of Spanish
Alignment	They disalign with the context of hostility created by the teachers and align with the international students who call for linguistic accommodation	They align with those who project Catalonia as different from Spain and those who show interest in learning Catalan language and culture	They align with the LS instructors when they recognise Catalonia as a different entity from Spain but the intersubject relationship that emerges between the two groups is of disaffiliation. The students share their stance with the instructors who are willing to accommodate to Spanish

Table 6.5. Stances towards the distribution of the multilingual repertoire

	Content-subject lecturers	LS instructors	International Students
Evaluation	Rigid multilingual distribution	Catalan monolingualism	Catalan monolingualism is evaluated as 'shit'. Spanish exposure appears as a privilege. The distribution is rigid because there is no accommodation.
Position	Ambiguous: need for a system that allows flexibility	Language militants	Victims
Alignment	They align with the students who also call for more flexibility and accommodation to their needs. The teachers prioritize the transmission of knowledge over the teaching of the language. Therefore, they disalign with the LS instructors.	They disalign with the content-subject lecturers and the students	They align with the content-subject teachers and disalign with the LS instructors.

The focus of tension analysed in this chapter could be explained as a clash between adopting a stance towards languages as commodities for intercultural communication or as symbols of

identity (Heller, 2000). Through the LS, the UdL attributes a high symbolic value to the Catalan language which is the main means through which the identity of the context is constructed as a Catalan identity. The international students adopt a stance on languages as commodities. For them, Spanish appears as a language with a high symbolic value in the global world and the one they expected to learn during their stay. Their stance of rejection of Catalan may be a result of seeing their expectations frustrated. The content-subject lecturers also adopt a view on languages as commodities that enable them to teach. In order to be able to teach to a higher number of students, the lecturers choose the language that most people can understand, in this case, Spanish to the detriment of Catalan. Even if the principle of language safety is aimed at preventing teachers from changing the teaching language once it has been announced, the teachers acknowledge that when they choose the language in their course programme, they do it according to the type of students they expect to have. Hence, the language safety principle, one of whose main *raison d'être* is to protect the linguistic rights of teachers and students who plan and enrol on a course in Catalan, is lost since those lecturers who receive a high number of international students in class every year, may choose from the beginning to teach the class in Spanish in order to maintain coherence.

Towards the end of international students' stay, their feelings of oppression and vulnerability towards Catalan diminish. One of the main indicators for this interpretation is that when they are explicitly asked about the pressure that the UdL has put on them to learn Catalan, Kim, one of the students who manifested feelings of vulnerability, redirects the question into a matter of the monoglossic methodology used by the language instructors to teach Catalan, but not the dominant presence of Catalan. The next chapter offers the analysis of the clash between monoglossic and heteroglossic perspectives on second and foreign language teaching and learning.

Chapter 7. “Can you teach us Catalan in Spanish?”: monoglossic and heteroglossic stances on the acquisition of Catalan as a foreign language

This chapter analyses how the mobilisation of plurilingual resources in teaching and learning Catalan as a foreign language becomes an object of specific reflection and a focus of tension at the UdL. It is divided into three sections. Section 7.1 situates the reader in the context of learning and teaching Catalan as a foreign language and presents how Catalan courses are structured. Section 7.2 analyses data from two focus groups, one with five international students and another with four language instructors (3 Catalan and 1 Spanish). The analysis of the focus groups shows an explicit clash between heteroglossic and monoglossic stances towards teaching and learning Catalan as a foreign language. Whereas some students demand a teaching strategy that is inclusive of Spanish as a bridge to Catalan, the instructors reject this alternative. Finally, section 7.3 analyses audiovisual data from the classroom practices to explore how the heteroglossic and monoglossic stances towards teaching and learning Catalan are reproduced in the everyday academic context by instructors and students.

7.1. Catalan and Spanish as foreign languages at the UdL

The UdL offers incoming mobility students courses of Catalan and Spanish as foreign languages at different levels, from A1 to B1 of the Common European Framework of Reference. The Common European Framework of Reference is the main basis for the language syllabi at the UdL, the design of teaching and learning materials, and the assessment of learners’ proficiency in a foreign language.

Although the majority of language courses are offered on a basis of 4 or 6 hours per week, the introductory Catalan language course (A1) is also offered intensively before the academic year starts. As presented in chapter 6, the course is offered on a basis of 40 hours over 10 days as an introductory Catalan language course aimed at preparing students linguistically so that they can follow the content-subject classes and to facilitate their integration into the regular academic activities. Although the Catalan introductory course is not compulsory, the university webpage (figure 7.1) presents it as highly recommended because it is useful for students to follow the mainstream lectures and to integrate more easily into the university life.

Figure 7.1. Linguistic and cultural welcoming (UdL’s webpage)

It is highly recommended to enrol in this course, since it will be useful in order to follow the lectures and integrate more easily into university life.

In the academic year 2010-2011, when the data were collected, over half the students who arrived in the first term, enrolled the intensive A1 intensive Catalan course. The university organized 3 groups with 3 different teachers. The students were distributed randomly. The contents of the classes and the course book used were the same for the three classes. However, the additional material used in class by the instructors varied depending on their personal teaching style and experience. I observed the three groups with the three teachers because at that stage, I was in the process of familiarizing myself with the field and recruiting participants for my research project (see section 4.3).

During the academic year, international students also have the opportunity to continue learning Catalan in non-intensive courses at different levels (A1, A2 and B1 of the CEFR). However, in the year when the data were collected, only 7 out of the 90 students who attended the intensive A1 Catalan language course continued onto the next A2 level of Catalan. In the focus group analysed in section 7.2, only one of the students that followed the intensive Catalan course had continued onto the next level (A2).

As explained in section 6.2, the intensive Catalan course is combined with a set of ‘cultural activities’ organized jointly by the LS and the OIR and that include the participation of the Catalan language instructors and ‘language volunteers’. Language volunteers are local students interested in meeting international students and helping the LVS with the organisation of the cultural activities. They are a key agent in fulfilling the aim of the LVS, which is to revitalise Catalan language and culture, since the language volunteers have specific instructions to speak Catalan while they socialise with the international students in the cultural and leisure activities. The aim of the ‘cultural activities’ is to welcome international students and help them to integrate into their new academic and cultural context. During these activities, independently of the main language of the activity, Catalan is present at all times through the participation of the Catalan language instructors and the language volunteers who have specific orders of using only Catalan as a language of communication. The presence of Catalan in all the cultural activities emphasizes the link between the intensive language training course and the cultural activities.

Having outlined the context of the UdL, the following section analyses the clash between the monoglossic and heteroglossic stances towards teaching and learning Catalan.

7.2. Monoglossic and heteroglossic stances towards learning Catalan

This section analyses two focus groups organised at the end of the data collection period (May and June 2011) in which the language instructors and the students adopt different stances towards the use of monoglossic and heteroglossic approaches to teaching and learning Catalan as a foreign language. These stances represent a focus of tension between the students and their teachers. On one hand, the students in the first focus group analysed are three Chinese, one Korean and one French student. At this point in their stay, the five students are fluent in Spanish, and Marion, the French one, can also understand Catalan. On the other hand, the second focus group included a total of 4 language instructors, three of whom taught Catalan and one Spanish. All of them are Catalan-Spanish bilinguals, brought up in the region and in the same teaching position for some years.

Section 7.2.1 analyses the focus group with five students, who construct a stance in favour of a heteroglossic approach to language teaching and learning and the use of Spanish in the classroom as a pedagogic strategy to make the teaching and learning of Catalan more efficient. Section 7.2.2 presents how the Catalan and Spanish language instructors position themselves in the same regard by adopting a monoglossic stance. The analysis of the focus groups follows this order because the use of monoglossic and heteroglossic approaches in the Catalan language classroom appeared originally as the focus of tension in the students' focus group, and was later introduced by the researcher as a topic of discussion in the focus group with the instructor.

The two focus groups analysed in this section were conducted towards the end of the academic year 2010-2011 almost 10 months after the data collection period had started. Since the beginning of the data gathering period, as seen in chapter 6, Catalan had repeatedly been portrayed by students as an obstacle to their academic development and its dominant presence at university was then perceived as overwhelming.

7.2.1. Students' heteroglossic stance

The last focus group organised with students (19th May 2011) was an attempt to see whether there had been a change in the depictions of Catalan the students had been making since the beginning of their stay. In this light, the researcher posed the question of whether the university had put pressure on them to learn this language, a feeling that had been reported by the students throughout their stay. The following extract shows that, although the question was intended to trigger discussion about the role of Catalan during their stay, the students

responded to the question by commenting on how Catalan was taught rather than on the presence of Catalan in their academic life.

Extract 7.1. “They just speak, nobody teaches”

1	Lidia	os han presionado en algún sentido↗	did they put pressure on you in any sense↗
2	Marion	al principio una profesora me dijo (.) no	at the beginning a teacher told me (.) you don't
3		hablas catalán (.) pues vas a hablar vas a	speak Catalan (.) then you are going to speak you
4		aprender	are going to learn
5	Lidia	a sí:↗	re:ally↗
6	Marion	como que no tengo elección	like I couldn't choose
7	Lidia	[drinks] mhm	[drinks] mhm
8	Marion	de todas formas	in any way
9	Lidia	vale	ok
10	Marion	es verdad↘	it's true↘
11	Lidia	sí sí sí y:	yes yes yes a:nd
12	Marion	[word]	[word]
13	Kim	[laughs]	[laughs]
14	Lidia	y a ti↗ [looking at Kim] has notado alguna	and you↗ [looking at Kim] have you felt any
15		presión de: parte de la universidad me	pressure from the university
16		imagino que sí: para aprender catalán o:	I imagine so: to learn Catalan o:r
17	Kim	para aprender catalá::n creo que es muy	to learn Catala::n I think that it is very
18		duro	hard
19	Lidia	mhm	mhm
20	Kim	creo que hay dos lados (.) de un lado	I think there are two sides (.) on the one side
21		creo que es fácil que todas las gentes	I think it's very easy for all the people
22		hablan catalán así pero otro lado	to speak Catalan this way but on the other side
23		sólo hablan (.) nadie apren nadie enseña	they just speak (.) nobody teaches
24		(.) sólo hablar (.) vale (.) puedo escuchar	(.) only speak (.) alright (.) I can listen
25		pero no puede entender es así (.) pienso	but I can't understand that's how it is (.) I think
26		que tengo que escuchar primero un	that I have to listen first a
27		poquito y luego escuchar más (.) [word]	little and after listen more (.) [word]
28		ellos siempre hablan de cosas que	they always speak about things that
29		no puedo entender	I can't understand
30	Lidia	sí [assents]	yes [assents]

The way Catalan is taught emerges as a focus of tension from a question that is not directly linked to language teaching and learning but rather with how students' feel towards Catalan and its institutional presence. In the formulation of the question, the researcher implicitly attributes one stance to the students and another to the institution: the institution may exert pressure on the students by requiring them to learn Catalan (line 1). Given this stance attribution, there are two reactions: one of acceptance and one of contestation. In first place, Marion accepts the stance that has been ascribed to her (lines 2-4). She does it by reporting on a conversation with one of her content-subject lecturers, who tells her that learning Catalan is unavoidable and that in the end she will learn it (lines 3-5). The researcher shows surprise at the anecdote (line 5) thereby aligning with Marion's reaction and, by extension, with the students who may share Marion's stance. In doing so, the researcher disaligns with the lecturer who told Marion she would have no choice but to learn Catalan. This may encourage Marion to explain how she interpreted the lecturer's comment and Catalan is represented as an obligation and a characteristic of the institution that students cannot avoid (lines 6 and 8).

Presumably, based on her experience after the conversation with the lecturers, Marion reports that the teacher was right (line 10), and Lúdia continues aligning with Marion (line 11). This creates a relationship of affiliation between Lúdia, the researcher, and Marion, one of the interviewees, and disalignment between both of them and the institution, which is presented as inflexible and a constraint on the students' right to choose whether they want to learn a language or not. This could also be interpreted as a negative evaluation of the high presence of Catalan in the institution because of the negative connotations of the idea of lack of freedom.

Next, the researcher passes the turn to Kim, probably because she interprets Kim's laughter (line 13) as an attempt to enter the conversation, and repeats the same question (lines 14-16). Once again, the researcher implicitly ascribes a stance to the interviewee, Kim. In this case: the institution exerts pressure on foreign students to learn Catalan. However, Kim redirects the conversation towards the process of learning Catalan and shifts the emphasis from the topic of "institutional pressure" (line 15). This allows her to combine two significant actions. First, she is contesting the stance that has been ascribed to her by the researcher because she values the high presence of Catalan positively. Second, she redirects the focus of the conversation towards a pedagogic scenario. This could indicate that issues about teaching and learning are more relevant to her—at least at this stage of her stay—than the discomfort towards Catalan that she reported in previous stages of her stay.

From Kim's intervention (lines 20-29), two aspects appear relevant in the endeavour to learn Catalan: (1) being exposed to the local language and (2) being able to understand the content of the message rather than just being exposed to the language. Kim evaluates the high presence of Catalan as a positive aspect as it facilitates the learning of the language (line 21-22). However, the Catalan she is exposed to is not adequate for her level, which makes it difficult for her to understand the message and, therefore, learn the language (lines 22-25). Her evaluation appears to contrast with Marion's previous intervention, in which she evaluated the high presence of Catalan as an aspect that limits students' freedom to choose what they want to learn. Whereas Marion joins a discourse—triggered by the researcher—where the presence of Catalan has negative connotations, Kim's representation emphasises a positive aspect, which is that Catalan in the university environment facilitates the learning of the language. Hence, it could be argued that there is an emerging intersubjective relation of disalignment between Marion and Kim caused by different evaluations of the presence of Catalan in the sociolinguistic and academic context.

Despite the high level of exposure to the target language, Kim reports the acquisition of Catalan as “*muy duro* - very hard” (lines 17-18). She attributes this difficulty to the fact that Catalans make no effort to teach her by speaking perhaps more slowly or with simpler structures or vocabulary. She depicts herself as somebody who listens to a great deal of Catalan but cannot understand it (lines 25-26) and the others (the Catalan speakers) are not sensitive to her situation as a learner and make no effort to ‘teach’ her (line 23). She adds that the exposure to the Catalan language should be increased gradually (lines 26-27) because when people talk she cannot understand (lines 28-29). The researcher, who seemed to align with Marion, now aligns with Kim (line 30), affiliating again with the students and disaligning with the institution.

However, in extract 7.2, Kim explicitly situates her experience of ‘listening but not understanding’ in the Catalan language class. She perceives the exclusive use of Catalan as a teaching language in the class as an obstacle for her learning process.

Extract 7.2. “Catalan in Catalan is good for Italians and French”

1	Kim	un problema también es que cuando yo empezaba este Erasmus	another problem also is that when I started this Erasmus
2			
3	Lidia	mhm [assents]	mhm [assents]
4	Kim	yo estaba en el curso de catalán (.) tú estabas [looks at Lidia]	when I was on the Catalan course (.) you were there [looks at Lidia]
5			
6	Lidia	mhm [assents]	mhm [assents]
7	Kim	nuestra profesora siempre dice en catalán	our teacher always says in Catalan
8		(.) ella enseñarnos catalán en catalán	(.) she teach us Catalan in Catalan
9		vale\	ok\
10	Lidia	mhm	mhm
11	Marion	[laughs]	[laughs]
12	Kim	vale es bueno [looks at the others] vale es bueno para italiano francés es bueno	ok that’s good [looks at the others] ok it’s good for Italian French it is good
13		porque puede entender poquito primero:	because he can understand a little fi:rst
14		y luego: más más más es más mejor pero	and afte:r more more more it is more better but
15		a mí por ejemplo (.) <i>ni hao</i> no entender	for me for instance (.) <i>ni hao</i> don’t understand
16		nada:	a.nything
17			

Chinese

In this extract Kim moves the conversation to the classroom, the formal context of language learning. She reports that Catalan is taught through Catalan, i.e. following a monoglossic approach, which is evaluated by the Korean student as a “*problema* - problem” (line 1). Kim explains her personal experience in the classroom and, in order to increase her epistemic stance, she uses Lidia, the researcher, who was taking fieldnotes in the same Catalan language course, as a witness (line 4-5). The researcher aligns with Kim by assenting (line 6) and accepts being positioned as a witness. In the next turn, Kim reports that her teacher always used Catalan to teach Catalan (lines 7-9) which causes Marion to laugh (line 11), a fact that could be indexing solidarity through sympathy. To some extent, it could be argued that

Lidia's acceptance of her role as a witness and Marion's laughter set the scene for Kim to openly construct her stance towards the monoglossic approach used by the teachers in the Catalan language course.

The monoglossic approach used in the Catalan classes is evaluated by Kim as both good and bad at the same time depending on the L1 of the learner (line 12-17). Kim constructs two groups of students. The first group includes those learners for whom the monoglossic approach works, represented by the Italian and French students (line 13). She argues that these students can already understand Catalan to some extent at the beginning of the course and increase their skills progressively.

The same monoglossic approach emerges as unsuitable for the second group of students that Kim constructs, as they cannot make sense of what the instructor tells them or tries to teach them (lines 16-17). Although she does not explicitly mention the origin of the members of the second group, she is implicitly referring to Korean and Chinese students. This can be understood, in the first place, when she, who comes from Korea, positions herself as a member of the second group and sets the contrast with the first group saying "*pero a mí* – but for me". In the second place, Kim provides an example of a Chinese word "*ni hao*" (line 16) as evidence of the lack of transparency between Catalan and the L1 of the students in the second group of learners, the Chinese and the Koreans. By providing this example, Kim is reinforcing her epistemic stance in front of the other interlocutors, because it is further evidence for her argument. Simultaneously, by choosing an example in Chinese (and not in Korean), which is the mother tongue of the students she includes in the same group as her, she is also gaining their affiliation.

From this moment, Marion, whose L1 is French, is positioned as a privileged student, since she belongs to the first group, and, as we can see in 7.3, Marion ratifies Kim's stance and aligns with her.

Extract 7.3. "It's like learning Chinese in Chinese"

1	Marion	además hay muchas diferencias yo con el	besides there are many differences I with
2		francés puedo entender [hand	French I can understand [hand
3		movement] algo [pero] es como si yo	movement] something [but] it's like I
4		voy en China	went to China
5	Lidia	[mhm]	[mhm]
6	All	[laughs] sí	[laughs] yes
7	Marion	me tienen que enseñar Chino en Chino	they have to teach me Chinese in Chinese
8	Kim	sí [assents]	yes [assents]
9	Wei	con manos	with hands

In extract 7.3, Marion aligns with Kim's stance on the existence of two groups of students with different learning needs. She takes Kim's 'ni hao' (extract 7.2) example to argue that there are many differences between the Asian students' L1 and Catalan (line 1). She also aligns with Kim's stance when she says that she, as a French speaker, she can understand Catalan (lines 1-2), which brings consensus between Kim and Marion, representatives of the two groups of students, the advantaged and the disadvantaged ones. By agreeing with Kim, Marion accepts the role of a privileged student which was previously ascribed to her. As a result, Marion reinforces Kim's epistemic stance and constructs an intersubjective relation of alignment between them. Kim's level of credibility is further incremented when Marion empathizes and indexes solidarity with the non-privileged students by saying "es como si yo voy en China – it's as if I went to China" (line3), trying to consider the situation from the perspective of her interlocutors. In order to support Kim, Marion seems to be employing a kind of *reductio ad absurdum* strategy which involves imagining a similar situation for herself in China and learning Chinese in Chinese. The rest of the students seem to have grasped Marion strategy because they all laugh and agree (line 6). Their laughter is followed by an explicit alignment "sí – yes" (line 6). This laughter could also indicate the absurdity of monoglossic approach, which is revealed by looking at the object of stance from the perspective of learning Chinese. When Marion finishes her turn, Kim aligns with her once again (line 7). Wei, a Chinese student, also expresses his alignment with Marion as he points out that in that hypothetical situation the teaching would be done using mimics "con manos – with hands" (line 8). The need to introduce gesture to facilitate communication indicates again that the two languages are not mutually intelligible, which supports Kim and Marion's point and positions Wei in alignment with them.

The introduction of Spanish as a teaching language in the Catalan language class appears as an alternative to the monoglossic approach. In extract 7.4, Kim reports that she asked her Catalan teacher whether she could use Spanish in class, but the teacher refused this option.

Extract 7.4. "Can you teach us (Catalan) in Spanish? Together it's much better"

1	Kim	y yo una vez yo he preguntado puedes enseñarnos en castellano [word] podemos escuchar castellano (.) catalán (.) juntos (.) es más mejor	and I one time have asked can you teach us in Spanish [word] we can listen Spanish (.) Catalan (.) together (.) it is much better
5	Lidia	ya	I see
6	Kim	no\ (.) es curso de catalán (.) sí yo sé he venido catalán pero tú puedes decirme en castellano\ (.) no\ (.) y además cuando yo hablo con ella en personalidad ella hablarme en catalán	no\ (.) it's Catalan course (.) yes I know I came to Catalan but can you tell me in Spanish\ (.) no\ and besides when I speak to her personally she speak to me in Catalan
11	Lidia	mhm	mhm
12	Kim	[knocks on the table] qué quieres\ [laughs]	[knocks on the table] what do you want\ [laughs]

In the above extract, the monoglossic approach is contested by Kim, who tried to negotiate with the instructor to include Spanish as a medium of instruction (lines 1-2). Kim constructs a stance in favour of a heteroglossic approach and evaluates as a “*más mejor* - much better” option to keep the two local languages within the Catalan language class (lines 3-4). The researcher aligns with the student once again. Kim reports on the dialogue she held with her instructor on the Catalan language course. When she explicitly asked the teacher to adopt a heteroglossic approach (lines 1-4), the instructor refused because the course was a Catalan language course (line 6), which indicates that for the teacher the language of instruction should be the same as the language object of study. Kim’s direct reproduction of the teacher’s response (“*no\ (\.) es curso de catalán* - *no\ (\.) it’s Catalan course*” (line 6) portrays the teacher as an authoritarian subject who is not open to negotiation. The use of the third person singular (“*es*” - “*it’s*”) of the verb ‘to be’ as part of the instructor’s response, indicates that there is a consensus in a context broader than the immediate interaction, which supports the instructor’s position. However, the application of a monoglossic approach in the Catalan language class goes against what Kim finds most suitable for her learning needs. Contrary to the instructor’s view, Kim distinguishes between Catalan as the target language, and Spanish as a pedagogic resource, and she sees them as compatible. This can be seen when she acknowledges that the course is to learn Catalan and legitimises the teacher’s reply “*sí (\.) yo sé he venido catalán* – *yes (\.) I know I came to Catalan*” (lines 6-7), but tries to negotiate with the instructor to incorporate a *lingua franca* to achieve understanding.

The Catalan language instructor appears as an inflexible Catalan speaker, who does not switch to other languages, and this creates discomfort in Kim. In lines 8-10, Kim reports that the instructor speaks in Catalan even when they speak in private. From this piece of interaction we also see that Kim differentiates between two different identities for the instructor, the professional and the personal. For Kim, these different roles should enable the instructor to switch between languages. However, the instructor appears as a monolingual Catalan speaker inside and outside the classroom. The instructor’s exclusive use of Catalan merges the two identities that Kim has ascribed to her into only one, a Catalan monolingual identity. This Catalan monolingual identity aroused feelings of anger in Kim, who knocks on the table with her hand and appears to evaluate the instructor’s stubbornness as a provocation (line 12). This can be seen when she says “*qué quieres*” - *what do you want*”. After that, Kim laughs, which could be interpreted as a strategy to downtone the anger of her stance.

The instructors' persistent use of Catalan as a language of communication with international students, both inside and outside the Catalan language class appears to be interpreted by the students as a way of expressing Catalan national identity. In extract 7.5, Wei, one of the Chinese students, reframes monolingualism from an aspect of the Catalan language classroom into a matter of national identity.

Extract 7.5. "Some people are very Catalan"

1	Lidia	o sea: dentro y fuera del aula te hablaba catalán↗	you me:an inside and outside the class she spoke in Catalan with you↗
2			
3	Kim	siempre siempre siempre sí:	always always always ye:s
4	Wei	hay algunas personas son muy catalanas	some people are very Catalan
5	Lidia	mhm	mhm
6	Wei	si alguien dice [word] [smiles] porque:	if somebody says [word] [smiles] because
7		ellos creen Catalunya no es de España (.)	they think Catalonia is not of Spain (.)
8		entonces ellos son muy catalanes	then they are very Catalan
9	Kim	sí (.) siempre	yes (.) all the time
10	Lidia	sí (.) vaya:	yes (.) I see

Wei does not interpret Catalan monolingualism in a situation of interaction between an international student and the instructor as a pedagogic strategy, but rather as a strategy to construct her national identity (line 4). The exclusion of Spanish from the linguistic practices of some members of the local community indexes, according to Wei, a separatist ideology, thereby transferring the discussion to the political arena. From his perspective, people who refuse the use of Spanish also believe that Catalonia is not part of Spain and this is the quintessential element of being Catalan. This construction of the Catalan nationalist as a monolingual Catalan speaker who believes that Catalonia should be independent can be seen in lines 6-8. Wei's interpretation supports Kim previous calls for the use of different languages, as the instructor's choice appears to be more closely connected to nationalism than pedagogy. Wei and Kim present the instructors as somewhat fundamentalist and not very sensitive. In the following extract, the researcher asks students whether they believe that it would be a good idea to introduce Spanish or English as a means for teaching Catalan. The students unanimously agree.

Extract 7.6. "Teaching Catalan through other means"

1	Lidia	sí (.) vaya (.) y creéis que es una buena idea introducir por ejemplo el español o el inglés para enseñar catalán↗ creéis que es una buena idea↗	yes (.) I see (.) and do you think it is a good idea to introduce for instance Spanish or English to teach Catalan↗ do you think it is a good idea↗
2			
3			
4			
5	Kim	sí	yes
6	Lidia	enseñar catalán a través de otros idiomas↗	teaching Catalan by means of other languages↗
7	Kim	sí (.) yo creo que es lo mejor porque con esto podemos entender más de catalán catalán	yes (.) I think that's the best because with this we can understand more than Catalan Catalan
8			
9			

10	Marion	además hay muchas diferencias yo con el	besides there are many differences I with
11		francés puedo entender [hand movement]	French I can understand [hand movement]
12		algo [pero] es como si yo voy en China	something [but] it's like I go to China
13	Lidia	[mhm]	[mhm]
14	All	[laughs] sí	[laughs] yes
15	Marion	me tienen que enseñar Chino en Chino	they have to teach me Chinese in Chinese
16	Kim	sí [assents]	yes [assents]
17	Wei	con manos	with hands

Towards the end of this sequence, the researcher summarises the idea developed before by the students and explicitly asks them whether they would agree with the introduction of Spanish, English or other languages as means for teaching Catalan (lines 1-4 and 6). Kim responds affirmatively and argues that using different languages in class is the best option because it would enable them to understand more than through the monoglossic option “*catalán catalán* – Catalan Catalan” (line 7-9).

In this section, I have presented how the students construct a stance towards the suitability of learning Catalan heteroglossically. For those students who come at the UdL knowing some Spanish but no Catalan, language learning appears as an important aspect of their stay and an issue they orient their discourse towards. This is evident when the topic is triggered with a question that does not specifically refer to language learning. The students also construct themselves as actively engaged in their learning process, which leads to a focus of tension between them and their Catalan language instructors. The clash is based on a conflict between two divergent pedagogical approaches; monoglossic (instructors) vs. heteroglossic (students).

Within this focus of tension, students are in favour of a pedagogy in the Catalan language class that includes Spanish, or any other language that is shared between the instructor and students, as a possible learning resource. Their view is based on their own experience sharing the learning environment with students with a Romance L1 (Italian or French). These students manage to follow the Catalan language course by taking advantage of their mastery of a language that, typologically speaking, is not very distant from Catalan. In this light, the participants on the focus group with the students, who can speak Spanish, a language typologically closer to Catalan than Chinese and Korean, ask the language teachers to include Spanish as a scaffolding technique in their endeavour to learn Catalan.

Students construct themselves as plurilingual individuals, who do not conceive languages as separate codes but as sets of dynamic linguistic features that they can mobilise for their own benefit, in this case, learning Catalan. Plurilingual competence appears as an asset for students to use to learn other foreign languages, and they are willing to exploit it. Students provide evidence that knowing a Romance language at a proficient level facilitates learning Catalan

and they do not see why they should not take advantage of their knowledge of Spanish, the language in their linguistic repertoires which is closest to Catalan.

In line with Cenoz (2001, 2009), the typological distance between the target language and languages students already know affects their learning process. Italian and French students can resort to their L1 to follow the course in Catalan easily. However, students whose mother tongue is not a Romance language struggle. In this light, the Asian students try to follow the example of their successful classmates and resort to Spanish as a bridge to Catalan. However, their level of Spanish may not be high enough to apply this technique by themselves, and they ask the teacher to scaffold their learning by introducing Spanish as a language for learning Catalan.

Another important aspect emerging from this analysis is that the same approach works for some students but not for others. The students legitimise both monoglossic and the heteroglossic teaching methodologies as potentially effective (extract 7.2) and show that the adequacy of one or the other depends on the linguistic repertoires of the students and their level of proficiency in each language. Even though they point out that the monoglossic approach is not suitable for them due to their individual linguistic backgrounds. This brings to the fore Edwards' (2009) suggestion that an immersion model may turn out to be a submersion one. In the data analysed, Chinese and Korean students sink in their endeavour to learn Catalan whereas Italian and French students (and probably all those who have an advanced level in a Romance language) swim.

Finally, in connection with the role of the researcher, the analysis of these extracts has shown that in ethnographic research, the relationship that the researcher and the students create through the data collection period, leads the researcher to make predictions and have expectations about the participants' behaviour and attitudes. In this specific focus group, the researcher activates the stance of Catalan as an imposition, which had repeatedly appeared throughout the data collection period. However, the participants, perhaps somewhat unexpectedly for the researcher, do not align with that particular stance and refocus their stance on the teaching and learning of Catalan. This fact could index that towards the end of their stay, students are more focused on the outcomes of their study abroad experience and may feel a sense of disappointment at not having learnt one of the two local languages available.

The analysis of this focus group has been an attempt to explore some of the key elements of the students' discourse in connection with their perspective on how Catalan should be taught. The following section analyses how the language instructors, in their focus group, construct and position themselves towards the same object of stance, teaching and learning Catalan as the students.

7.2.2. The teachers' monoglossic stance

This section presents the analysis of how the language instructors construct a monoglossic stance towards the teaching of a foreign language. In contrast to the students' focus group, the issue about teaching language using plurilingual resources was activated by the researcher well into the discussion. This fact may be interpreted as the instructors' lack of awareness that this could be a relevant aspect for students.

The focus group session was conducted with three Catalan and one Spanish instructors. The session took place at the end of the fieldwork period, on the 15th June 2011, one month after the students' focus group session. Even if the focus of tension reported by the students in the previous focus group, in principle, would not affect the Spanish instructor because the students refer to the Catalan classes, she also takes an active role in the construction of the stance adopted by the teachers.

In the extract 7.7 below, the researcher acts as a bridge between the two discussion groups and introduces the topic that had emerged as a relevant theme in the previous focus group. This question was an attempt to explore how Catalan and Spanish instructors would react to the students' stance in favour of using a heteroglossic approach to teach the target language. The researcher made two attempts to activate the topic in the focus group with the instructors. The first one was through a question about strategies for intercultural communication (extracts 7.7 to 7.10). Although the teachers respond with the resources they use to communicate in class (such as gestures and images), they do not explicitly talk about including Spanish in the Catalan class, which is the students' main claim. Hence, the researcher made a second attempt to introduce the topic, in which she introduced 'an idea' that had come up in the focus group with the students (extracts 7.11-7.12).

Using gesture, mimicry and other kinds of non-linguistic semiotic means (e.g. pictures, pointing, drawing on the board) appears as the main strategy the instructors employed to communicate with the international students in the language class. In extract 7.7 the

researcher makes an attempt to promote discussion about resources for intercultural communication.

Extract 7.7. Non-linguistic semiotic means for intercultural communication

1	Lídia	a nivells inicials d'A1 bàsicament e: quan	at an initial level in A1 basically e: when well I
2		bueno suposo pel que he vist teniu	imagine from what I have seen that you have
3		moltíssimes llengües dintre de la mateixa	many languages inside the same
4		classe no?	class right?
5	Maite	mhm\	mhm\
6	Lídia	llengües minoritàries (.) majoritàries i: com:	minority languages (.) majority ones a:nd ho:w
7		ho feu per comunicar-∇[vos] amb ells∇	do you manage to communi∇[cate] with them∇
8	Maite	[[laughs]]	[[laughs]]
9	Lídia	o sigui quines estratègies ≈per dir-ho així:	I mean which strategies ≈to say it someho:w
10	Carme	uf [eyes wide open]	uf [eyes wide open]
11	Lídia	a nivells inicials desenvolupeu:	at initial levels do you develo:p
12	Maite	jo? realment quan vam començar Carme	I? actually when we started Carme do you
13		te'n recordes? abans e-l e-l el diumenge	remember? before th-e th-e the Sunday
14		abans de començar\ estàvem les dos	before starting\ both of us were
15		histèriques [i pensant] com ≈com ho farem	hysterical [and thinking] how ≈how are we
16		per comunicar-nos	going to communicate with them
17	Carme	[[assents]]	[[assents]]
18	Lídia	[[laughs]]	[[laughs]]
19	Maria	[[laughs]]	[[laughs]]
20	Sílvia	[[laughs]]	[[laughs]]
21	Maite	gesticulant (.) colors	using gestu:res (.) colours
22	Carme	i fent teatre	and making a scene
23	Maria	teatre m:\	theatre m:\
24	Sílvia	teatre (.) jo faig servir teatre molt	theatre (.) I use theatre a lot
25	Maite	sí mínim i l'experiència és súper enriquidora	yes at least and the experence is really
26		perquè ho és molt	enriching because it is very enriching
27	Carme	i te'n surts	and you ma:nage to do it
28	Maite	i te'n surts sí	and you manage to do it yes
29	Carme	no saps com	you don't know how
30	Maria	t'entenen al final	they understand you in the end
31	Sílvia	[assents]	[assents]
		[...]	[...]
32	Carme	aconsegueixes que t'entenguin n'hi ha que	you get them to understand you some
33		t'entenen el primer dia: perquè hi ha doncs	understand you on the first da:y because as we
34		això el que dèiem una persona italiana: o	were saying an Italia:n person or so
35		així t'entén (.) però: fins i tot (.) la coreana	understands you (.) but even (.) the Korean one
36		(.) t'entén quan fa uns quants dies que és a	(.) understands you after being in the class a
37		classe	few days

In this extract the researcher uses her experience in the field to justify the introduction of the topic (“*pel que he vist* –from what I have seen”; lines 1-4, 9 and 11). In the following turns, the instructors reply to this question and explain that they use a series of non-linguistic semiotic means to transfer the message to the international students: gesture and colours (line 21), making a scene theatre (lines 22, 23, 24). The Catalan language instructors appear to be concerned about successfully managing communication with students from different linguistic backgrounds. This can be seen in two of their reactions while the researcher is still formulating the question. First, Maite laughs (line 8) and, second, Carme replies snorting and widening her eyes (line 10). The use of non-linguistic semiotic means appears as a common

resource instructors use to communicate with students, which is resonant with Wei's intervention "*con manos* – with hands", in extract 7.5. The first to intervene is Maite, who takes the floor to construct her subjectivity using "jo - I" (line 12) with a rising intonation indicating that she is ready to talk about her personal experience. However, in her intervention she uses the first person plural "*estàvem* –we were" (line 12), probably in an attempt to speak on behalf of the instructors as a whole, and appeals to Carme, another instructor, to align with her by means of "*Carme, te'n recordes?* – Carme, do you remember?" (lines 12-13). When she asks Carme to act as a witness to what comes next, Maite may be preparing the scene to express her experience without being contested, a fact that increases her epistemic stance. Maite represents the instructors as "*histèriques* - historical" (line 15) and insecure ("*com ho farem per comunicar-nos?* – how are we going to communicate with them?" in line 17) on their first day teaching international students. Carme assents (line 13), ratifying Maite's statement and thus increasing her epistemic stance. She uses the adverb "*realment* - really" to indicate that she is going to explain a true fact (line 12). Then she goes back in time to her beginnings as a Catalan language teacher instructor "*quan vam començar* – when we started" (line 12) indexing a certain degree of experience. She also anticipates that she is not the only one that went through a similar experience by using the auxiliary verb in the first person plural (line 12). Altogether, Maite constructs an epistemic stance of high certainty and positions herself as a reliable speaker. Her level of credibility is ratified in the following turns by three of the participants, including the researcher, through their laughter (lines 18-20), recognizing and legitimizing the experience she describes. This laughter could indicate empathy and create an intersubjective relationship of empathy between colleagues.

From this moment, Maite reports that she uses gesture and colours to support her attempts to communicate with the students in Catalan (line 21). Carme intervenes to co-construct the answer by adding that another resource consists of acting in class (line 22). Next, Maria and Sílvia manifest alignment with this last strategy by repeating "*teatre* – theatre" (lines 23 and 24 respectively). Maite adds that they make an extraordinary effort to communicate with the students without resorting to translation, and acting is just one of the several extralinguistic resources they employ. She also adds that the result is very enriching (lines 24-25). With this, she is positioning the whole group as really engaged with trying to communicate with the students in class. After mentioning the strategies, Maria evaluates teaching international students as a very enriching experience (lines 25-26). Carme adds that they succeed in this task (line 27) and Maite, Maria and Sílvia align with her (lines 28, 30 and 31 respectively). Carme adds that they do not quite know how they manage to communicate with the students,

but they do (line 29). To make this point, Carme uses the second person singular (“*no saps* – you don’t know”, line 29) which presents the information not as a subjective perception but as a position shared by all the instructors, and Maria and Sílvia align with this (lines 30 and 31, respectively).

At this point, the focus of the discussion moves from themselves towards the students. Similarly to what happen in the students’ focus group, the instructors construct two types of students in connection with the degree of communication they can establish with them: those who ‘understand you the first day’ (line 33), exemplified by the Italian students (line 34), and those who ‘understand you after a few days’ (line 36), exemplified by the Korean students (line 35). However, contrary to the students, the instructors consider that, after a few days in the Catalan language course, both groups (Italians and Koreans) can follow their explanations (line 35).

The use of other languages apart from Catalan within the Catalan language classroom is avoided by the instructors. The following extract shows that they only agree to translate into other languages in two situations: on the first day of the course, in order to explain its organization, and, sporadically, at the beginning. However, they make it clear that translating is not the norm and that they speak in Catalan from the first day.

Extract 7.8. No translation

1	Carme	i el primer dia també has de procurar ≈o	on the first day you also have to try ≈I
2		sigui les coses més importants coses com	mean the most important things such as
3	Maria	≈les faltes	≈the absence in class
4	Carme	no no però no vull dir ja	no no but I mean already
5	Maite	[laughs]	[laughs]
6	Sílvia	[laughs]	[laughs]
7	Lídia	[smiles]	[smiles]
8	Carme	coses d’estructura del curs (.) de	aspects of the structure of the course (.)
9		funcionament i així jo els ho explico en	the functioning and this way I explain to them
10		anglès el primer dia	in English on the first day
11	Lídia	va:l val val això també ho volia preguntar si:	o:k ok ok I also wanted to ask whethe:r
12	Maite	jo el primer o segon dia m’ajudo de l’anglès	I on the first or second day I use
13		del castellà algunes coses les tradueixo	English and Spanish to help myself and I
14		algunes coses	translate some things
15	Lídia	val	ok
16	Carme	sí	yes
17	Maite	però també que no s’acostumin	even though they shouldn’t get used to it
18	Carme	≈jo començo: jo [snaps her fingers] de	≈I sta:rt I [snaps her fingers]
19		seguida parlo català el primer dia parlo amb	immediately I speak Catalan on the first day I
20		català però: però sí que hi ha coses bàsiques	speak in Catalan bu:t b:ut yes there are basic
21		així que a vegades t’ajudes	things and therefore sometimes you need help
		[...]	[...]
22	Maite	i no els ho vols traduir	and you don’t want to translate for them
23		perquè quan ja portes uns dies	because after some days
24		◦no [vols◦ tra]nduir	◦you don’t [want◦ to tra]nslate
25	Maria	[si comence:s]	[if you sta:rt]

In extract 7.8, the teachers orient themselves towards the use of languages other than Catalan in class. Carme is the first to position herself towards this. She states that she uses English to explain the important structural aspects of the course on the first day and uses a deontic modal verb to reinforce her authority and invokes the alignment of all the instructors in the focus group (“*has de procurar* – you have to try”, line 1). Maria interrupts Carme to align with her by giving an example of an important issue: class attendance (line 3). Carme refers to her experience as an instructor to increase her epistemic stance of certainty. Her experience is indexed with the use of the simple present tense “*jo els ho explico en anglès* – I explain to them in English”, lines 9-10), since it indicates that she has been in that situation before. Lúdia, the researcher, says that she is interested in knowing more about using English (line 11). In the following turn, Maite aligns with Carme by saying that she also uses English and Spanish as a support on the first or second day of class (line 12). Although she uses the pronoun “jo -I” (line 12), which indicates that she is talking about herself, she already knows that Carme aligns with her and the floor is safe because Carme was the first to express her stance. While Carme only refers to English as a *lingua franca* within the classroom, Maite also includes Spanish (line 13) as a resource and adds the strategy of ‘translating some things’ (lines 13-14). Carme aligns with Maite (line 16) and therefore legitimises the use of translation into Spanish and English as a resource in class. When Carme aligns with Maite, she is at the same time aligning with herself because she was the first to construct a stance in favour of using other languages in the Catalan class. As we have seen in section 5.3, Damari (2010) suggests that acts of alignment can be constructed vis-à-vis oneself at a different moment in time (see section 5.3 in the methodology part). In this sense, Carme’s alignment with Maite could also be seen as an instance of alignment with her own stance, because Maite had previously aligned with Carme (lines 12-14). This shows how the two instructors construct a stance in interaction and create an intersubjective relation of cooperation.

The teachers align on the issue of using other languages as a resource only on the first days of the course and to explain important aspects (lines 1-2, 9-10, 12-14, 17-21) such as the structure of the course (line 8), its functioning (line 9) or to explain that attendance is compulsory (line 4). However, they reject it as a normal practice. Maite is the first to position herself by saying that students should not get used to translation from the instructor (line 17). Probably as a result of Maite’s deontic stance (“*que no s’acostumin* - shouldn’t get used” in line 17), Carme immediately takes the turn to clarify that she aligns with Maite and that she speaks Catalan from the very first day (line 18). From Carme’s quick reaction, it could be argued that she acknowledges Maite’s practice as the right one. Carme leaves no room for

doubt that she speaks Catalan as soon as possible in the course. She starts her turn using the first person singular which indicates that she is going to take a subject position. Carme explains that she starts speaking Catalan immediately on the first day (lines 18-19). She reinforces her epistemic stance by simultaneously snapping her fingers (line 18), a gesture which conveys the idea of something that happens quickly. Carme specifies that she resorts to other languages to explain basic things, as survival strategies (line 20). Three turns later, Maite states that the instructors do not want to translate for the students, and expresses this generalisation by using the second person singular “*no els ho vols traduir*– you don’t want to translate for them” (line 22), possibly encouraged by Carme’s alignment in the previous turns. Maite raises her tone voice and repeats “*no vols traduir* – you do not want to translate” (lines 24) and her loud tone could be indexing some degree of outrage at this practice. Her outrage could be a way of signalling the instructors’ firm resistance to the insistence of the students and what they consider to be a really pernicious practice. Maria then aligns with Carme and Maite (line 25).

It could be argued that from the instructors’ perspective, translating terms creates an excessively comfortable environment for the students. In Cummins’ terms (2000: 68), the instructors may see the use of translation as leading to a cognitively undemanding situation (the A and C spaces in figure 3.4, section 3.2.2), and try to take students to a cognitively demanding situation by reducing context embeddedness, and excluding Spanish or any other language as a bridge to Catalan (spaces B and D in figure 3.4, section 3.2.2).

Paradoxically, immediately after the previous extract, the same instructors consider the use of plurilingual resources as a positive practice. Although the instructors have reached a consensus on the issue of avoiding translation in the classroom, they construct themselves as professionals who mobilise all their plurilingual resources to convey the message to the students. This happens in extract 7.9, when the researcher asks them whether English is always the language they choose when a translation is required.

Extract 7.9. Multilingualism as a resource

1	Lidia	sí i: normalment trieu l’anglès pe:r	yes a:nd do you normally choose English to:
2		[quan feu alguna tradu]cció:	[when you do transla]tio:n
3	Maite	[si conegués alguna altra:]	[if only I knew another one:]
4	Carme	jo (.) depèn no:	I (.) depends no:
5	Lidia	val	ok
6	Carme	jo: tot el que- tot el que sé	I: everything that- that I know
7	Maite	sí els recursos que trobés	yes the resources that you I find

8	Carme	☹i☹ depèn de la persona: [...]	☹and☹ depends on the perso:n [...]
9	Maria	al final l'anglès perquè és la llengua que coneix tothom	in the end English because it is the language that everybody knows
10			
11	Carme	clar (.) de vegades nosaltres fem anar el castellà:	right (.) sometimes we make use of Spani:sh
12			
13	Maite	cla:r	obviously
14	Maria	cla:r	obviously
15	Carme	perquè hi ha gent mexicana o: o	because there are Mexican people o:r or
16		depèn jo també tot el que sé dir [laughs]	it depends I also all I can say [laughs]
17	Maite	però però l'anglès potser	but but English maybe
18		perquè és el que tenim més a mà però	because it is the one nearest to hand but
19		que si ho sabés en francès o:	if I knew it in French o:r
20	Carme	sí:	ye:s

The instructors construct themselves as plurilingual users who are fond of exploiting their linguistic repertoires for the benefit of teaching. This can be seen when they answer that when translating for the students, they resort to any language that is within their reach (lines 6, 7, 8). First, Maite answers that she would use other languages apart from English if she knew any (line 3). Next, Carme states that English is not the only language she uses when she makes a translation and that she employs all the languages she knows depending on the student (line 8). In the next turn, Maria intervenes to evaluate English as the language that everybody knows (lines 9-10), and Carme takes the floor to add that in the Catalan language class they also resort to Spanish (lines 11-12). Carme initiates her turn saying “*clar* – right” (line 11) which presents Spanish as an evident resort. Maite and Maria align with Carme (lines 13 and 14) and set the floor for Carme to continue developing her point. Next, Carme adds that there are Mexican people (line 15), which appears as the justification for using Spanish in the Catalan class. Therefore, Spanish does not appear at first as a language to use with non-native speakers of Spanish. Carme adds that she uses any language she knows and in the following turn Maite reports that English is the language at hand (line 17) but if she could, she would use French or other languages (line 19), with which and Carme aligns.

In the first part of extract 7.9, the instructors’ stance in favour of taking advantage of their plurilingual resources resembles that of the students. When Maite uses the term “*recursos* - resources” (line 7) as a synonym of ‘language’, she is indexing a perspective on languages as elements of an individual’s communicative repertoire to achieve specific functions and goals, in this case, teaching. This perspective on languages as learning resources coincides with one of Ruiz’s (1984) three main orientations to language that can be adopted in language planning: language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource (section 2.1). Although in the third category, Ruiz identifies widely spoken languages (as does Maria in lines 10-11), Carme and Maite do not differentiate between languages and manifest that all

languages could potentially work as resources (lines 6, 7, 16, 19). As for the diverse needs of the students, when Carme states that the language choice depends on the student, she is also aligning with the fact that the linguistic heterogeneity of the student body implies that students will have heterogenous learning needs.

The use of plurilingual resources appears as a practice used by both instructors and students in class. In the following extract, the teachers position themselves towards peer-collaboration, which in the class context is based on the use of a *lingua franca*.

Extract 7.10. Plurilingual peer-cooperation

1	Sílvia	a vegades entre ells entre ells ja s'ajuden	Sometimes they already help each other
2		vull dir és una cosa que a un nivell	I mean is something that at a level
3	Maite	≈sí sí també és veritat	≈yes yes it is also true
4	Sílvia	i sents que l'altre li diu: diu la paraula en	and you hear that one te:lls tells the word in
5		anglès i tu penses a sí sí exacte	English and you think a yes yes exactly
6	Maite	perfecte	perfect
7	Sílvia	exacte	exactly
8	Carme	[word]	[word]
9	Maite	m'has anat de perles [laughs]	that's just the thing [laughs]
10	Carme	es que ja: depèn com [word] això va	ye:s in some way [word] this is
11		molt bé segons segons professors	very useful second second teachers
12	Maria	[word]	[word]
13	Sílvia	o amb francès	or in French
14	Maite	sí sí	yes yes
15	Sílvia	n'hi ha que: saps alguna cosa de francès	some students who: you know some French
16		i dius ai mira això això sí exacte és això	and you think yes exactly that's it
17		[word] traduïts	[word] translated
18	Maite	les coreanes es feien l'idiograma als	the Korean students made their notes in ideograms
19		apunts i una s'ho mirava de l'altra	and the one looked at the other's
20	Sílvia	ja està	that's it
21	Maria	sí	yes

In this extract, teachers report that there is collaboration among peers in class. The 'expert' students help the ones who have problems following the class by translating terms from Catalan into a *lingua franca*. This is a scaffolding practice, and the teachers consider them a valuable resource (lines 1-7). Sílvia is the first to refer to this practice (line 1), and presents it as ordinary and part of her personal teaching experience, as if it was shared with the rest of instructors. This can be seen when she uses the simple present tense to describe the phenomenon “*ja s'ajuden* – they already help each other” (line 1) and later on she generalises using the second person singular “*sents* – you can hear” and “*penses* - you think” (lines 4 and 5 respectively). When she generalises, she increases her epistemic stance. The certainty of her epistemic stance is also increased by Maite, who aligns with Sílvia by evaluating the truth of Sílvia's words (line 3). This legitimates Sílvia and she continues with the development of her stance (lines 4-5). Sílvia positions herself in favour of the students' practice and shows full alignment with it. This is evident when she reports that her thoughts on the students'

plurilingual practices are “*exacte – exactly*” (lines 5 and 7) and “*m’has anat de perles – that’s just the thing*” (line 9). Maite aligns with Sílvia when she says “*perfecte – perfect*” (line 6) referring to the situation of pluri/multilingualism reported in the previous turn. Carme also aligns with Sílvia saying that these students are a very useful resource (line 10). However, Carme shows a degree of uncertainty before she formulates her statement (“*depèn de com – in some way*” in line 10), which indexes that she does not agree completely with this practice. Next, Carme refers to the students who translate in the class as “*segons professors – second teachers*” (line 11). These students are positioned as facilitating the work of the disadvantaged students, but also that of the instructor given that they help their classmates in their learning process. Carme evaluates them as a very useful resource (line 10).

Next, Maite provides further evidence of peer collaboration and explains the case of the Korean students (lines 18-19). Sílvia and Maria ratify Maite’s comment (lines 20 and 21 respectively), which at the same time is a means for her to align with Sílvia, the first participant who expressed a favourable stance towards the use of plurilingual resources. As a result, we can interpret that although peer collaboration plurilingual practices initiated by the students are positively evaluated by the instructors, they are reticent to promote plurilingual practices themselves in the classroom.

The previous extract (7.10) represents how ‘scaffolding’ appears as a natural strategy among peers in the Catalan language classroom. Of the six conditions for scaffolding proposed by Van Lier (1996; as cited in Van Lier, 2004: 151), which we saw in section 3.2.2, we can say that the peer collaboration plurilingual practices observed among students in the Catalan language classroom fulfil four: (1) continuity, because the practice does not happen in isolation and every time it is adapted to the specific needs of the aided student (for instance, expert students can choose among different languages to support the others), (2) contextual support (both from teachers and students) and (3) mutual engagement and non-threatening participation because (4) the students direct their interventions to each other with the aim of aiding each other. However, from the data collected in this project, we are not in a position to guarantee that the practices fulfil conditions 5 (i.e. an increasing role for the learner skills and confidence) or 6 (i.e. the students’ skills and challenges are in balance).

Until this point in the focus group with the instructors, the systematic use of another language as a learning resource and a possible medium of instruction has yet appeared. Therefore, the researcher ‘forces’ them to position themselves about it by reproducing the Korean student’s comments about the possibility of teaching Catalan through Spanish (see extract 7.2). Extract

7.11 shows that the teachers evaluate this practice as illogical and, this is probably the reason why they did not even consider it as an option before in the focus group session.

Extract 7.11. Catalan in Spanish? “That’s nuts”

1	Lídia	va haver una de les coreanes o de les	one of the Koreans or the Chinese students who
2		xineses que no havia fet el curs de català	didn't take the [semester] Catalan language course
3		que em va dir que li resultava molt difícil	who told me that it was very difficult for her to
4		aprendre català en català	learn Catalan in Catalan
5	Carme	[laughs]	[laughs]
6	Unk	[laughs]	[laughs]
7	Lídia	i que si hagués pogut pogut aprendre	and that if she could could have learnt Catalan in
8		català en anglès o en castellà i: que: no li	English or Spanish and that it wouldn't have
9		hagués costat tant (.) vosaltres què en	been that hard (.) what do you
10		penseu que: pot ser benefici- que es podria	think can it be benefici- that it would be possible
11		crear un grup per exemple de: català en:	to create a group for instance of Catalan i:n
12		ensenyat en anglès o en castellà per	taught in English or in Spanish for
13		exemple o no és (.) no:	instance or isn't it (.) no:
14	Unk	[sighs]	[sighs]
15	All	[look at each other]	[look at each other]
16	Carme	jo penso que no\	I don't think so\
17	Maria	ostras (.) no hi conto:	uff (.) I don't count on it
18	Lídia	no podria ser una idea:	could it be an idea:
19	Carme	no té sentit e↗ això:	it doesn't make sense e↗ this thing
20	Maria	no hi conto jo	I don't count on it
21	Lídia	vale	ok
22	Maria	hm no hi crec	hm I don't believe in it
23	Maite	aquesta:	thi:s
24	Sílvia	no:	no:
25	Maria	no hi crec	I don't believe in it
26	Sílvia	és bèstia:	that's nuts

Unk = Unknown

In extract 7.11, the researcher implicitly forces the instructors to position themselves towards the possibility of teaching and learning Catalan through another language, English or Spanish. The object of stance is presented by the researcher not as a personal call made by a student in another focus group, thereby distancing herself from the student's stance and showing some degree of disalignment (lines 1-4 and 7-13). The instructors' first reaction is to laugh (lines 5 and 6), which could be indexing that the question appears as absurd. The researcher continues explaining the experience of the student and invites the instructors to consider whether it would be possible to teach Catalan in English or Spanish. The researcher asks them about their personal opinion (“*vosaltres què en penseu*— what do you think” in line 9-10). Presenting the question as a subjective issue, rather than a shared professional practice, could be interpreted as an attempt by the researcher to prepare the scene for the participants to give a subjective opinion which is open for contestation. Furthermore, through the use of the subjunctive and the conditional verbal forms (lines 7-13), the researcher presents it as a remote situation rather than as a feasible option. This could represent a further attempt by the researcher to avoid being identified with the students' claim and save face before the teachers.

When the researcher finally utters the question about teaching Catalan through English or Spanish, there is a long silence, sighs and the instructors look at each other (lines 14-15), which could signal their perplexity at this question. Next, the instructors unanimously disalign with the students' stance and they construct a common stance in a chain of turns (lines 16-26). Carme is the first one to position herself against this option (line 16), which opens up a space for Maria to express disalignment with the students and alignment with Carme. Carme evaluates teaching Catalan with the help of another language as illogical and senseless (line 19). Maria takes a stance against the researcher's suggestion by presenting it as a matter of personal beliefs (lines 22 and 25).

The Catalan instructors reject teaching Catalan through Spanish or English on the grounds of their personal experience as foreign language learners and teachers. First, they consider that it is precisely the practice that students seem to be in favour of that is the cause of their own failure in learning English. In the second place, they argue that their teaching experience has made them aware of the great number of interference that appear between Spanish and Catalan. This is illustrated in extract 7.12.

Extract 7.12. Heteroglossic approaches are unproductive and chaotic

1	Carme	això [Catalan through Spanish] no té senti:t	it [Catalan through Spanish] doesn't make sense
2	Maria	home (.) el que	well (.) what
3	Carme	quin anglès vam aprendre nosaltres a l'escola	look at the English we learnt at school when
4		quan ens ensenyaven [anglès]	they taught us [English]
5	Maria	[en castellà o català]	[in Spanish or Catalan]
6	Lídia	[ja: ja-ja] sí	[yeah: yeah-yeah] yes
7	Carme	professors que no tenien ni idea	to us teachers who didn't have a clue
8	Lídia	sí-sí era una d'aquestes llengües molt	yes-yes it was one of those very distant
9		llunyanes	languages
10	Maite	és que les coreanes traduïen del castellà al	the Korean students translated from Spanish to
11		català	Catalan
12	Maria	del català:	from Catala:n
13	Maite	i saps que ens hem trobat ara amb els de: amb	and you know what we have found now with the
14		els adosos ⁷ que: molts dels adosos que vam	A2 level students ⁷ tha:t many of the A2
15		examinar la [teacher's name] i jo: (.) es	[teacher's name] and I: examined (.)
16		passaven molt a l'examen al castellà però	they mixed with Spanish in the exam but
17		moltíssim no ens havien pass- no ens havia	really a lot it hadn't happ- hadn't
18		passat mai que: feien el seu discurs en català:	happened before their discourse was in Catala:n
19		i tenien el suport del castellà tan tan tan	and they had interiorized Spanish as a support to
20		interioritzat que- que hi havia moments que	the point that-that sometimes
21		feien tres frases en castellà i no se n'havien	they said three sentences in Spanish and they
22		adonat que havien canviat de llengua	didn't realize they had switched languages
23	Lídia	uff ostras	uff wow
24	Maite	llavors (.) l'aprenentatge de dues llengües és	so (.) the learning of two languages is positive
25		positiu (.) lògicament (.) alhora (.) m: però	(.) logically (.) at the same time (.) m: but we
26		vam trobar una interferència de hi havia un	found so much interference at some point
27		moment que tenien un caos mental	they had a mental chaos
28	Lídia	val	ok
29	Maite	estaven fent un examen de català i estaven	they were in an exam of Catalan and they were
30		fent-lo en castellà (.) e: ⁷	speaking in Spanish (.) you see: ⁷
31	Lídia	mhm	mhm

32	Maite	i no un [(.) u]ns quants	and not one [(.) ma]ny
33	Maria	[uns quants]	[many]

The first argument for rejecting teaching Catalan through other languages is based on the teachers' own experience as foreign language learners. Carme, with Maria's support, argues that their level of English is low precisely as a consequence of the frequent presence of Catalan or Spanish in her English classes (lines 3-6). Carme adds that their English teachers could not speak English. She increases her epistemic stance when she uses the first person plural "*nosaltres* – we" (line 3) including all the instructors in the focus group. Carme probably knows that the rest of participants feel they have a low level of English and uses it to make them affiliate with her. Faced with Carme's unequivocal positioning and Maria's support, the researcher aligns with them (line 6) and justifies the student's call for learning Catalan through other languages saying that the student's L1 was very distant from Catalan (lines 8-9). The researcher's effort to align with the instructors and justify herself could be interpreted as an attempt to save face. At this moment, Maite adds that the Korean students used to translate from Spanish into Catalan (lines 10-11) and this leads her to introduce a second argument for avoiding a heteroglossic approach.

The second argument that the instructors use to support their stance is related to their professional experience as language teachers. The mixing of languages is presented as a problematic issue since they consider it promotes interference. Maite resorts to her experience as a teacher and provides the example of students who unconsciously mixed Spanish and Catalan during the Catalan exam (lines 13-23). Maite makes an important effort to reinforce her epistemic stance. In first place, she positions herself as an experienced teacher when she says that she had never seen such interferences before (lines 17-18). Secondly, she invokes the experience of another Catalan language instructor, who is not present in the focus group but who works as a witness of the facts she reports (line 15). Thirdly, she constructs the group of students who have shown interference between Spanish and Catalan not as an isolated case, but as part of a problem affecting many students. She argues that those students had internalized the use of Spanish as a support for learning Catalan to the point of not even distinguishing between the two languages (lines 18-23). In her intervention, Maite aligns with Carme and Maria's stance by evaluating mixing languages as a phenomenon that demands attention and positions herself against the use of another language other than Catalan as a means of instruction. At the end of this sequence, Maite positions herself about learning two foreign languages at the same time and evaluates it as "*lògicament positiu* - logically positive"

(line 26). However, she considers that it leads to mental chaos (line 28), which appears to justify the use of a monoglossic approach.

The teachers evaluate mixing languages as something that should be avoided. Therefore, they project a ‘monolingual’ ideal of Catalan-speaking international student. This connects with the ideas of the “two solitudes” assumption (Cummins, 2005) or separate bilingualism (Creese and Blackledge, 2010), which were presented in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.3, respectively, according to which bilingual or plurilingual speakers are never seen using all their linguistic resources in class. The instructors try to keep the languages available in the sociolinguistic context of the class (Catalan, Spanish, English as a *lingua franca*, and the students’ L1) separate on the basis of a monolingual prescriptive norm of use, which is represented here by their rejection of linguistically heterogeneous practices (‘interferences’, in their own terms). In line with Butzkamm (2003), the analysis shows that even if teachers create an apparent monolingual environment within the class by applying a monoglossic approach, the students remain plurilingual inside, and use strategies such as translating from Spanish into Catalan or taking notes in their mother tongue (extract 7.10). This also points to studies such as the one by Busch (2009), who asserts that language policies are negotiated and interpreted at different levels. In our data, the students negotiate the ‘official’ monoglossic approach by adopting ‘unofficial’ heteroglossic practices. As a result, the teachers’ monoglossic teaching practices encounter the students’ heteroglossic learning practices

In this section I have presented the analysis of how instructors take a stance towards the use of plurilingual resources to teach Catalan, the target language. From the beginning, both instructors and students acknowledge the existence of two types of students, those whose L1 is a mother tongue, and those whose L1 is not an Indo-European language. The instructors appear to be in favour of using multimodality (pictures, mimicry, etc.) in class but avoid using a language other than Catalan as a resource. Although they admit to using a *lingua franca* such as English and Spanish, they feel it is only legitimate at the beginning of the course and when the other resources are not useful due to the complexity of the message (extracts 7.8). However, they allow students to use plurilingual strategies on their own initiative, such as taking notes in their L1 or translating from Spanish to Catalan and *vice versa*.

Faced with the idea of teaching Catalan through Spanish or English, the instructors position themselves against it because they find it absurd and detrimental to the students’ learning process (extract 7.12), which may explain why they did not even consider it as a focus of concern earlier on in the focus group session. Their main concern appears to be the presence

of interferences between Spanish and Catalan, two typologically close languages. The teachers seem to reproduce a discourse of parallel multilingualism, by which languages should preferably be used one at a time, and the simultaneous learning of two languages is positive but should also be conducted in separate spaces.

To sum up, the clash between instructors and students could be based on the fact that the former do not believe in heteroglossic approaches to language teaching and learning and the students think that the teachers' monoglossic approach is based on their personal political views. The instructors' stance could also be seen as an extension of the Catalan model of linguistic immersion. Traditionally, the immersion model had been applied to Spanish-speaking children in Catalonia whose families had immigrated to Catalonia in the 1950s (see section 1.3.1). The point of departure of Spanish-speaking children and the Korean and Chinese UdL international students is not the same. First, the international students' L1 is typologically very distant from Catalan and their level of proficiency in Spanish too weak to apply the knowledge they have in one Romance language to the learning of another. Second, the international students may not expect to become proficient in Catalan but to learn the basic skills to integrate into the local academic life and survive during their year abroad. This is the goal recognized by Xavi, the head of the LVS, in his interview (extract 6.1) and also the one mentioned on the university's webpage.

Similarly to the study by Newman *et al.* (2013), reviewed in section 2.3.2, our analysis shows that the Catalan immersion system may not work with the new generation of international students because their linguistic repertoire is different from those for whom the immersion model was originally planned, namely the children of the first wave of immigration. Furthermore, the international students at the UdL may have different expectations when they learn Catalan because their stay is temporary and they may not see the point of continuing to learn Catalan after their stay at the UdL.

The following section presents the analysis of data from the classroom context, in which it will be possible to appreciate how the gap between the monoglossic and heteroglossic stances is reproduced.

7.3. Heteroglossic and monoglossic practices in the classroom

The analysis of the focus groups with the five international students and with four language instructors, respectively, has shown that there is a possible dissonance between the preferred methodology for students and instructors in the Catalan class: students' preference for a

heteroglossic approach clashes with the instructors monoglossic approach. Whereas students favour the use of Spanish in the Catalan language course as a bridge or a scaffolding technique to achieve the goal of learning Catalan, instructor adopt a methodology that tends to exclude the use of other languages in the classroom.

Based on the information reported in the focus groups by both the instructors and the students, we can say that the gap between the former's monoglossic and the latter's heteroglossic approaches in the Catalan class is indexed in two ways: (1) instructors avoid using languages other than Catalan; and (2) the monoglossic approach adopted in the class has a different impact on the students, those whose mother tongue is a Romance language show a higher level of expertise than those students whose mother tongue is a non-Indo-European language.

This section aims at analysing how heteroglossic and monoglossic discourses on language teaching and learning were reproduced in the classroom. With this in mind, the data analysed in this section are organised into two subsections: (1) evidence of the heteroglossic and monoglossic practices between the teacher and the students (section 7.3.1); and (2) evidence of the different levels of expertise depending on the mother tongue of the students (section 7.3.2).

The issue of a possible clash between the instructors' methodology and the students' learning style did not appear until the last discussion groups with students. For this reason, the analysis provided in this section is the result of a retrospective movement by the researcher, from the last encounter in the data collection period at the end of the academic year (the focus group session) back to the participants' daily academic life that she had been observing since the beginning of the academic year, with the aim of tracking down any possible indices of this clash that may have gone unnoticed.

7.3.1. Plurilingual practices in the Catalan language classroom

This section is aimed at illustrating the gap between heteroglossic and monoglossic approaches drawing on data from ordinary classroom interaction. First, I offer an example of how students who speak a Romance language as a mother tongue display a higher level of competence in Catalan in the Catalan class. This is important for understanding what the situation may look like, for instance, for a Korean student like Kim. Next, in this section, I also analyse examples of classroom interaction where the instructor avoids using languages other than the target language. The data include examples of interactions in the Spanish

language course, which seem to respond to the same monoglossic ideology as the Catalan language course.

First of all, in order to better understand Kim’s call for a heteroglossic approach in the Catalan language course (see extract 7.2), it is important to see the class from her perspective. One of the main arguments she uses to firmly call for a heteroglossic approach is that students who speak a Romance language learn Catalan easily. There are two forms in which students manifest that they use plurilingualism as a learning asset: one is in peer cooperation and another one individually. This connects to Van Lier’s (1996; as cited in Van Lier, 2004) extended zone of proximal development by which a students’ learning can occur in different directions. One is during peer cooperation and includes interaction with more expert, more novice or equal peers. Another one is by resorting to inner resources, such as knowledge, memory or experience. In plurilingual speakers, one of these resources is their plurilingual competence, which includes such issues as the learners’ plurilingual repertoire and their previous experience of learning other foreign languages (Cenoz and Gorter, 2013).

Extract 7.13 shows how Jean, a French student, uses his plurilingual skills to achieve a higher level of complexity and detail around a lexical unit.

Extract 7.13. Pushing a little bit further (Catalan language course A2; fieldnotes 13th April 2011)

1	Jean	Sílvia, què significa ‘doncs’?	Sílvia, what’s the meaning of ‘doncs’?
2	Sílvia	per no complicar-ho, ho	to avoid making it more complicated, I will
3		traduiré en castellà, <i>pues</i>	translate it in Spanish, <i>so</i>
4	Jean	i pot voler dir ‘ahora’?	and can it mean ‘at the same time’?
5	Sílvia	no, no significa temps	no, it doesn’t indicate time
6	Dol	sí, és igual en català i en francès	yes, it is the same in Catalan and French
7	Sílvia	‘ahora’, no però sí	not at the same time, no but it can be therefore or
8		per tant o en conseqüència	in consequence

Spanish

In extract 7.13, we find an example of heteroglossic practice in teaching and learning. First, Jean asks the instructor, Sílvia, the meaning of “*doncs*” (line 1) and she translates the term into Spanish “*pues – so*” (line 3). Interestingly enough, despite what the teachers said about only using translation at the beginning of the course, we can see here that after seven months Sílvia resorts to translation. The translation of the term represents a shortcut that has positive consequences for Jean’s learning. The student can not only understand the meaning instantly, but he can also push his own learning process a little further by asking the instructor whether *ahora*, another Catalan word, would work as a synonym for *doncs*. Here Jean is mobilizing his plurilingual resources to achieve greater complexity. Jean’s intervention includes five steps: (1) Jean understands the meaning of *doncs* (in Catalan) thanks to the instructor’s translation into *pues* (in Spanish) and (2) transforms it into the equivalent in his mother

tongue *alors* (in French); (3) he realizes that it sounds similar to the Catalan term *alhora* (which means ‘at the same time’) and (4) asks the teacher whether *alhora* works as a synonym for *doncs*; (5) the instructor answers negatively but provides Jean with other synonyms “*per tant* – therefore” and “*en conseqüència* – consequently” (lines 7-8) taking Jean’s learning of Catalan a step further. This piece of interaction can be compared to Moore *et al.*’s (2012) analysis of plurilingual practices in a content subject class at a Catalan university. The authors also find that through the use of plurilingual resources, students and the lecturer can reach a greater degree of content complexity than when they stick to a monolingual code choice.

In this extract, it is also interesting that another student, Dol (line 6) intervenes to tell Jean that *doncs* and *alhora* do work as synonyms. This is an example of a ‘second-teacher student’ (see extract 7.10). Second-teacher students are defined in this project as plurilingual students who intervene in class by making use of their plurilingual competence in order to help another student or, in some cases, the instructor. In this case, Dol tries to compensate for the instructor’s lack of proficiency in French and Jean’s lack of proficiency in Catalan. In fact, Jean transformed *allors* into *alhora*, which are false friends between French and Catalan. The word that Dol and Jean may be looking for in Catalan is *aleshores*, which sounds similar to *allors* and has the meaning of causality of *doncs*. Although the students and the teacher never reach this point, the activation of plurilingual resources as a means to learn Catalan not only allows the students to learn about synonyms for *doncs* to express consequence but also promotes real communicative interaction in the classroom (lines 7-8).

From Kim’s perspective, the students who speak a Romance language as L1 have an advantage over her, and it is in this light that we need to understand her call for the introduction of Spanish in the Catalan class as a means to scaffold her learning and address the perceived deficit. In fact, both the Catalan and the Spanish classes emerge as multilingual spaces where instructors and students know various languages and use them to teach and learn the target language. Many different examples can be found across the corpus of data and among them, we can extract three main types of plurilingual learning strategies: (1) the use of any language which is typologically similar to the target language (Spanish or Catalan); (2) the use of Spanish as a *lingua franca*; and (3) the use of English as a *lingua franca*.

The first type can be seen in the following extract (7.14) from a Spanish language class. Hanna, a German student uses a French term, commonly used in German, to check whether she understood the meaning of a new lexical unit.

Extract 7.14. The classroom as a heteroglossic space (Spanish language class; fieldnotes 28th October 2010)

1	Maria	[...] llevar barba, pelo, gafas,	[...] wear a beard, hair, glasses,
2		pendientes, son complementos	earrings, they are accessories.
3	Hanna	¿cómo <i>accessoire</i> ?	like <i>accessoire</i> ?
4	Maria	¿cómo?	sorry?
5	Hanna	<i>ACCESSOIRE</i>	<i>ACCESSOIRE</i>
6	Maria	no entiendo la palabra	I cannot understand the word
7	Hanna	<i>AC-CE-SSOIRE</i>	<i>AC-CE-SSOIRE</i>
8	Maria	¡ah! ¡accesorios! sí, sí, es lo mismo ¿en qué	ah! accessories! yes, yes, it's the same what
9		idioma lo has dicho que no lo he entendido?	language did you say it that I couldn't understand
10		¿francés? ¿inglés?	it? French? English?
11	Hanna	es francés pero también se dice en	it's French but the same word is also used in
12		alemán la misma palabra	German
13	Maria	¡ah! ¡en alemán se utiliza una palabra	ah! in German people use a word
14		francesa...! [face expression showing interest]	in French...! [face expression showing interest]
			Capital letters loud voice <i>Italics</i> French or German

Extract 7.14 shows how Hanna uses cognate relationships to understand a new lexical unit in Spanish. Hanna links a French term commonly used in German “*accessoire*” (line 3) and uses this relationship as a bridge to understanding a word in Spanish. This is not only an example of how the students resort to the languages they know (lines 12-13) but also of how typologically close languages facilitate the learning process. The instructor evaluates the emergence of this heteroglossic practice as interesting (line 14) and, therefore, expresses a positive attitude towards it.

The second type plurilingual strategy occurs when the students resort to Spanish as a *lingua franca*. In extract 7.15, from the same class as extract 7.13, the students do not transfer from one language which is typologically close to Catalan but use Spanish as a *lingua franca* to quote a lexical item that they would like the instructor to translate.

Extract 7.15. Spanish *lingua franca* (Catalan language class A2; fieldnotes 13th April 2011)

1	Jean	Sílvia, com se diu <i>romper</i> en català?	Sílvia, how do you say <i>romper</i> in Catalan?
2	Sílvia	trencar [she writes it on the board] trencar	break [she writes it on the board] break
3	Chiara	Sílvia, <i>licenciarse</i> com se diu?	Sílvia, how do you say <i>licenciarse</i> ?
4	Sílvia	llicenciar-se, amb guionet	graduate, with a hyphen

Two students, Jean, from France, and Chiara, from Italy, ask Sílvia, the instructor, about the translation of a Spanish word into Catalan for a written exercise. Although the students ask their question in Catalan in both cases, they say the lexical item they are enquiring about in Spanish. Neither the instructor or the students have Spanish as L1, but they use it as a *lingua franca* to achieve their goal. However, the students' request does not require her to switch to a language different from Catalan, so she stays within the same code. Despite the fact that the instructor's methodology remains monoglossic, her supply of the translation can be interpreted as (1) an implicit acceptance of the students' heteroglossic practices and (2) a

display of her stance of tolerance towards the students' use of their plurilingual repertoires as a learning resource.

The third type of plurilingual learning strategy, the use of English as a *lingua franca*, occurs in the Spanish language class when the students resort to English to provide the instructor with evidence that they understand the contents of the class. In the following extract (7.16), the students use translation into English to show that they already know something that the instructor is going to explain. In this case, the students become active participants in the teaching process and force the use of a heteroglossic approach.

Extract 7.16. English *lingua franca* (Spanish language class; fieldnotes 9th November 2010)

1	Maria, the Spanish teacher, asks students whether they know 'ya' and
2	'todavía no'. The students translate 'ya' as 'already' and 'todavía no' as
3	'not yet'. The teacher assents.

Spanish
English

When students translate the two Spanish terms into English, they accelerate the process of teaching Spanish because the teacher immediately understands that she does not need to explain the grammatical point. When the teacher accepts the students' response (line 3), she is also accepting the evidence provided in English and legitimizes the use of this *lingua franca*. At the same time, the students are constructing themselves as plurilingual individuals, taking advantage of this capacity and transforming the class into a multilingual environment.

The use of a *lingua franca* to learn in multilingual groups is recognized by Canagarajah (2011) as a translanguaging strategy (see section 3.2.3), and it is considered one of the interactional strategies that form part of the negotiation of interlocutors' particularities to achieve intelligibility and meaningful communication. It is interesting to point out that, as we have seen in the last two extracts (7.15 and 7.16), while Spanish is the most frequently used *lingua franca* in the Catalan language course, English is the most widely used *lingua franca* in the Spanish course. This could index an order international students at the UdL learn languages in. English is a language that students generally know before they arrive at the UdL and which works as the main *lingua franca* in the Spanish language course. At the same time, Spanish is the *lingua franca* used in the Catalan language class. In this light, learners of Catalan usually resort to Spanish as a *lingua franca* and learners of Spanish, to English.

The use of a *lingua franca* in class emerges as a very frequent practice by the students but not by the instructors. Students usually utter a ritualized question in the target language (like the one in extract 7.15, lines 1 and 3) and pronounce the missing term in a *lingua franca*, either

Spanish or English. On other occasions, the students ask for the meaning of a word in the target language and the instructor does not resort to translation. As they reported in the focus group, instructors use non-linguistic semiotic means, such as images and mimicry, to convey the meaning of the word or expression. Another common practice is the explanation of the meaning of a word in the target language. As the instructors also commented in their focus group, translation into a *lingua franca* is rarely used and they try to maximize the students' exposure to the target language. It could be argued that instructors allow students to use Spanish as a sort of 'unofficial' resource and that is why they want to avoid being identified with the same practice.

In extract 7.17, which is part of extract 7.13, the instructor's behaviour is different from what would normally happen. On this occasion, instead of resorting to explaining the meaning of the term in Catalan or using mimicry or pictures, she translates the word into Spanish.

Extract 7.17. Spanish as a shortcut (Catalan language course A2; fieldnotes 13th April 2011)

1	Jean	Sílvia, què significa 'doncs'?	Sílvia, what's the meaning of 'doncs'?
2	Sílvia	per no complicar-ho, ho traduiré en	to avoid making it more complicated, I will translate it in
3		castellà, <i>pues</i>	Spanish, <i>so</i>
4	Jean	i pot voler dir 'ahora'	and can it also mean 'at the same time'?
5	Sílvia	no, no significa temps	no, it doesn't indicate time

Spanish

This extract shows how Jean, the same French student as in extract 7.13 and 7.15, asks Sílvia, the instructor, about the meaning of a word. In contrast with extract 7.15, this time the word ("doncs" in line 1) is in Catalan, and Jean is asking the teacher to explain its meaning. The latter, who usually opts for the explanation of the meaning in Catalan, chooses to translate the term into Spanish for the sake of efficiency on this occasion (lines 2-3). Before providing the translation, Sílvia explicitly justifies herself for switching between languages, which may be interpreted as a sort of apology for applying her dispreferred pedagogic practice. Sílvia's stance in this moment consists of presenting her use of Spanish as an unusual practice that she would prefer to avoid. She is in practice, and perhaps unwillingly, taking a stance in favour of a heteroglossic approach and so she needs to clarify that this momentary stance is only for the sake of efficiency. At the same time, Spanish is ascribed the quality of a shortcut or facilitator between the students and Catalan. As a consequence, knowing Spanish is positioned as beneficial for learners of Catalan. The instructor is also projecting a relationship between Spanish and Catalan as languages that complement each other. Faced with this shortcut, Jean gives positive feedback to the instructor and asks her whether a third word ('ahora' in line 4), a Catalan word, can work as a synonym for *doncs* in Catalan. When he asks about the possible synonym, Jean returns to Catalan to advance his learning process. At the same time, Jean is

taking the lead and co-constructs learning with the instructor. Jean's request for synonyms could be evidence of the high degree of expertise that French and Italian students display when they learn Catalan compared to Korean and Chinese students. This issue is further developed in section 7.3.2.

Extract 7.17 brings four different issues related to the teaching and learning methodology in the Catalan language class to the fore: (1) from the teacher's perspective, the Catalan class is ideally monolingual, but there are some exceptional circumstances that allow the introduction of other languages, such as the difficulty of expressing a meaning with words or by non-linguistic means; (2) Spanish appears as an efficient shortcut in the teaching and learning of Catalan for both the instructor and the student; (3) knowing a Romance language, in this case French, appears as a useful resource that students have to make progress in learning Catalan; and (4) the instructor is aware and makes the student aware of the breach of the rule and so, translation clearly remains an 'occasional' practice.

Whereas the previous examples have shown avoidance but not exclusion of Spanish on the Catalan language course, the following extracts provide evidence of moments when instructors explicitly tried to impede the presence of languages different from the target language in the classroom in order to create a monolingual environment. In the Catalan language classroom, the 'forbidden' language (Levine, 2011) is Spanish (extract 7.18) and in the context of learning Spanish, the 'forbidden' language is English (7.19). The following extract comes from a cultural event included within the welcome programme (see section 6.2.1). On the fourth day of the Catalan language course, students and one of the Catalan language instructors, Maite, went on a tour of the city. During the tour, the instructor talks to the students exclusively in Catalan, creating a link between language and cultural leisure. At some point in the tour, she asks the researcher, who is speaking Spanish to some students, to switch to Catalan.

Extract 7.18. "Lidia, speak Catalan" (city tour during the welcome week; fieldnotes 2nd September 2010)

1	This afternoon I went on the tourist bus with the international students from the intensive
2	Catalan course. During the tour, I chatted to some students and Maite, one of the Catalan
3	teachers. (...) Some students initiated a conversation with me in Spanish. While I was replying
4	in Spanish, the teacher interrupted me and said "Lidia, speak Catalan". I said we couldn't hold
5	a fluent conversation in Catalan and that's why we were speaking Spanish. Then she told me
6	off because it had to be in Catalan, it was a must. I told her that I was interested in their
7	experience and that they expressed themselves better in Spanish. Then she left.

This extract from the researcher's fieldnotes shows how Maite, one of the Catalan language teachers, tries to increase the students' exposure to Catalan. When she hears the researcher

speaking Spanish to her students, she interrupts her and asks her to switch to Catalan (lines 4-5). The researcher has decided to accommodate to the students' preferred language choice (line 3) and contests the teacher's request by saying that the conversation was more fluent in Spanish (lines 4-5). Then Maite and the researcher start a 'tug of war' in which the former insists on making the researcher switch on the grounds that it is obligatory to speak Catalan in these activities. The researcher disaligns with her and establishes a distinction between her own goals for the activity and those of the instructor (lines 4-8). The instructor abandons the exchange (lines 7-8), which could be interpreted as a signal of disappointment with the researcher's answer.

The attempt to create a monoglossic environment also appears on the Spanish language course. In the following extract, Maria, the instructor, asks students to talk to the researcher in Spanish.

Extract 7.19. "She can also speak Spanish" (Spanish language class A2; fieldnotes 28th October 2010)

1	In the Spanish A2 level class some students from the Czech Republic are talking about the
2	<i>Agrocastanyada</i> (an annual celebration in the School of Agricultural Engineering). They turn
3	to me and ask me in English whether the bus is free and when it departs. Maria, the instructor,
4	interrupts the conversation saying " <i>ella también habla español</i> " ("she can also speak
5	Spanish"). The Czech students start laughing. Then I switch into Spanish and tell them that I
6	think the bus leaves every hour. The students continue the conversation with me in Spanish.

Spanish

A group of students from Czech Republic initiate a conversation in English with the researcher to obtain information about a party to be held at a different campus of the university (lines 1-3). The teacher interrupts the conversation to inform the students that the researcher can also speak Spanish (line 4). The students laugh and the researcher switches to Spanish, which signals that everybody has understood that the instructor's intention is to ask them to interact in the target language of the class and they comply with her request. In this case, contrary to extract 7.18, the researcher aligns with the instructor and follows her request to use the target language, probably because this interaction occurs within the classroom. .

From extracts 7.18 and 7.19 we can say that the instructors seem to apply a communicative approach to language teaching as their goal seems to be maximizing the students' exposure to the target language. It is also interesting that they react differently to the students' attempts to force a heteroglossic approach. When the plurilingual practices are aimed at learning, they are consented and legitimized (extracts 7.13 to 7.17) but otherwise they are discouraged (extracts 7.18 and 7.19).

One of the reasons that back the instructors' efforts to create a monolingual space is the interferences the simultaneous learning of two languages may lead to. The audiovisual recordings of the Catalan language course and the researcher's fieldnotes show that Spanish frequently leaks into students' Catalan utterances. However, the leakage between Catalan and Spanish also occurs when students are talking Spanish. This is as a common feature of the international students' newly-acquired bilingualism, regardless of their linguistic backgrounds and the communicative situation they are participating in, whether inside the language classroom or in informal encounters during the breaks. In the following two extracts, we can see examples of both phenomena. Extract 7.20 provides evidence of the emergence of Spanish linguistic particles in Catalan utterances.

Extract 7.20. Spanish linguistic particles in Catalan (Intensive Catalan course; audiovisual recording 10th September 2010)

1	Maite	descriu l'itinerari que feu o que fa un de vosaltres des de casa fins a la universitat cada dia↗	describe the route that you take or that one of you takes from home to university every day↗
2			
3			
4		[noise]	[noise]
5	Ullie	passo la <i>puent</i> i baixo a la [word]	I pass the <i>bridge</i> and go down the [word]
6	Paolo	sí vaí	yes go
7	Maite	◦ja↗◦	◦ready↗◦
8	Paolo	ja↘	ready↘
9	Maite	qui parla↗	who speaks↗
10	Ullie	jo [laughs]	me [laughs]
11	Maite	Ullie	Ullie
12		[noise]	[noise]
13	Ullie	sí:↘ passo el pont vaig a la <i>derecha</i> i sóc≈	ye:s↘ I pass the bridge I go to <i>the right</i> and I am≈
14	Maite	≈vaig a la↗	≈I go to the↗
15	Ullie	dreta↗(.) i sóc <i>e: en</i> la universitat	right↗ (.) and I am <i>at</i> university
16	Paolo	◦sí↘◦è <u>vero</u> <u>qua</u> ↘	◦yes↘◦ <u>it's true here</u> ↘
17	All	[laughs]	[laughs]
18	Paolo	[claps his hands] molt bé↘	[claps his hands] very good↘
19		avinguda de Blondel	Blondel street
20	Luca	◦no no no◦ <u>meità</u> <u>meità</u>	◦no no no◦ <u>half half</u>
21	Paolo	<u>dai un punto</u> e↗	come on one point e↗

Spanish linguistic features
Italian linguistic features

In this exercise Ullie, a German student, takes part in a speaking exercise in which she has to explain to the rest of the class the route she follows from her flat to the university. Her communicative performance shows that she resorts to her knowledge of Spanish to construct the sentences in Catalan. In this example she uses “*puent* – bridge” (line 5) and “*derecha* – right” (line 13), which can be identified with Spanish, in a sentence in Catalan. The instructor detects the interference and asks her to correct herself (line 16). Ullie rectifies the leakage and the teacher remains silent. Ullie interprets the instructor's silence as a confirmation that the second choice is right and continues with the exercise (line 17). Here Ullie shows that she knows both the Catalan and the Spanish linguistic forms, but she may not be able to

distinguish which is which. Ullie’s performance supports Kim’s argument that resorting to Spanish is a common technique when learning Catalan. In this case, Ullie is not resorting to her L1 but to one language in her plurilingual repertoire that is typologically close to Catalan.

In the same extract, we can see that Spanish is not the only language students resort to while taking part in a communicative activity on the Catalan course. A few turns after Ullie’s intervention, Luca mixes Catalan with Italian in an attempt to speak Catalan (line 20). In contrast with Ullie, Luca and Paolo’s intervention is not aimed at solving the task but at negotiating the points the students may obtain for the collaborative task they are engaged in. This could explain why the instructor corrects Ullie’s mixing of languages as a mistake but not Luca and Paolo’s intervention.

These two examples have shown how students rely on their knowledge of a Romance language to produce sentences in Catalan. The data presented below shows that the leakage is not exclusively from Spanish or Italian into Catalan, but it also occurs in the opposite direction, when Catalan linguistic features appear in utterances in Spanish.

The following extract from the researcher’s fieldnotes shows how Elisa, from Germany, mixes Catalan and Spanish, which leads Christina, a British student, to tell an anecdote where she did the same in a different situation. These data are not from the classroom but were collected during a break.

Extract 7.21. Catalan leaking into Spanish (University premises; fieldnotes 17th November 2010)

1	In the break in the English-Spanish Translation class, Elisa from Germany tells me “voy a clase de <i>castellà</i>
2	dos veces <i>per</i> semana” (“I go to classes of <i>Spanish</i> twice a week”). Then she stares at me and goes on:
3	“ <i>per</i> ?” and I answer “por”. She exclaims “ohhh! “ <i>per</i> is Catalan” and I say yes. Christina, a British student,
4	is with us and says that the other day she went into a classroom and asked another student “ <i>está la silla</i>
5	<i>lliure</i> ?” (“is the chair <i>free</i> ?”). Christina goes to say, “isn’t it Catalan?”

Catalan linguistic features

While using Spanish, Elisa says two words in Catalan, “*castellà*” (line 1) and “*per*” (line 2). Immediately after, she is not sure whether *per* is actually Spanish or Catalan and repeats the word with a rising intonation and looking at the researcher in an attempt to obtain confirmation. Next, the researcher replies by saying “por” (line 3), the Spanish equivalent, and Elisa recognises *per* as a Catalan particle (line 3). Elisa positions the researcher as a more proficient speaker and opens the floor for Christina, a British student, to take the following turn to report on a situation at the university where she also used a Catalan word while speaking Spanish (lines 4-5).

This interaction shows how interferences are a topic that concerns international students. It is emphasized in two moments: (1) when Elisa asks the researcher, a bilingual speaker present in the situation, to tell her whether the word was right; (2) when Christina uses Elisa's code switch to explain her experience and also position herself as a plurilingual speaker who mixes languages and is worried about interference. This could imply two contrasting issues: either a monolingual tendency of the students which is indexed by their search for the term in Spanish or their pride in their growing Spanish-Catalan bilingualism, which is indicated by Christina's willingness to share her experience of mixing Catalan and Spanish. In any case, it seems clear that the students are also quite aware of interference in their endeavour to learn the local languages.

Interestingly, the students and the researcher do not pay attention to the Catalan term *castellà* within the same interaction. This term, used to refer to the Spanish language course, is used in Catalan and continues to be used in Catalan. This could be a reflection of the UdL's institutional monolingualism, because the names of the academic subjects, even that of the Spanish subject, are given in Catalan.

Up to this point, we have seen that students mobilise various languages inside the classroom to learn Catalan. First, we have seen how they use English and Spanish as *lingua francas* and, second, how they resort to other Romance languages (French, Italian and Spanish) to produce Catalan utterances. We have also seen the instructors' efforts to create a monolingual learning space and their justification for using other languages. Students' mobilization of their plurilingual resources indexes their stance in favour of a heteroglossic approach. In the case of the instructors, their stance is more ambiguous. Whereas they allow students to use *lingua francas* or encourage the use of cognate relationships to learn (such as '*accessoire*' in extract 7.13), they avoid being identified as plurilingual speakers and try to remain monolingual in the language they teach. They also react to the use of other languages apart from the target language when students are not focused on learning and try to expose students to the target language as much as possible.

One of the instructors' main fears about mixing languages is the appearance of interferences between Catalan and Spanish. The data show that although students frequently mix languages, it may not be so noteworthy for them. On the contrary, it gives them the opportunity to position themselves as plurilingual international students and project their interferences as a particularity of the context of their stay. The appearance of Catalan linguistic features while

speaking Spanish may appear as a sign of exoticism typical of the tourism discourse (see Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010 in section 1.2.2).

In the following paragraphs, I try to show the contrast between the two groups of students which were constructed in the focus groups.

7.3.2. Two groups of students: evidence from the classroom

The active or passive participation of students in the Catalan language class shows the existence of the two typologies of students that were constructed by instructors and students in their respective focus groups. The distinguishing feature between them is whether their L1 is a Romance language or not. The former display a higher level of expertise (so, later in this section, I will refer to them as the *alpha* students) and the second have serious problems for learning Catalan.

The following extracts come from an activity on the last day of the intensive Catalan language course during the welcome programme. The instructor has organised a game to review the contents of the course. She keeps a board with questions written on it and uses a dice to randomly attribute a question to a team. If the team answers the question successfully in Catalan they get a point. At the end of the game, the team with the most points wins.

The instructor splits the class into groups of approximately five students and all groups are heterogeneous in terms of gender and country of origin. This could be interpreted as an attempt to organise groups to create a balance between them and therefore as an indicator that she acknowledges there are varying degrees of proficiency in Catalan among the students.

During the activity, the students who speak a Romance language as their L1 participate very actively and adopt a leading or even dominant role both within the groups and with the rest of the class. The participation of students whose L1 is not a Romance language lacks spontaneity, and they remain silent most of the time during the Catalan language class.

In the following extract, 7.22, students are very excited and there is a loud and playful atmosphere, probably due to the activity. The group whose turn it is has to name five vegetables in Catalan, but before they answer, they have some time to think. While the group is thinking about the answer, Paolo and Luca, two native Italian students who are not part of the group, enumerate many different types of food that are not included under the category 'vegetables'. Apart from teasing their classmates, the two Italian students use this opportunity to display a high knowledge of Catalan vocabulary. Moreover, after the countdown, which

indicates the group's time to think is off, Jeroen, a French-Dutch Belgian bilingual, joins the two Italians to put pressure on the group and reduce their time to think to a minimum.

Extract 7.22. Alpha students teasing their rival in Catalan (Catalan language course. 10th December 2010)

1	Maite	digues el nom de cinc verdures	say the name of five vegetables
2	All	◦u::◦	◦u::◦
3	Paolo	pollastre pollastre carn	chicken chicken meat
4	Enrica	◦verdure◦	◦vegetables◦
5	Paolo	peix	fish
6	Enrica	[laughs]	[laughs]
7	Luca	pizza pizza hamburgue-	pizza pizza hamburgue-
8	Paolo	coca coca coca	coca coca coca[Catalan style pizza]
9	All	[laughs]	[laughs]
10	Luca	frankfurt	hot dog
11	All	[laughs]	[laughs]
12	Paolo	caragols\	snails\
13	All	[laughs]	[laughs]
14	Maite	va\◦cinc◦	come on\◦five◦
15	All	quatre	four
16	Maite	quatre	four
17	All	tres dos un	three two one
18	Maite	tsh:	tsh:
19	Paolo	zero	zero
20	Luca	zero ◦resposta resposta◦	zero ◦answer answer◦
21	Jeroen	◦eliminat◦	◦knocked out◦
22	Maite	◦resposta◦	◦answer◦
23	Paolo	◦Maite◦	◦Maite◦
24	Maite	◦res\ pos\ta\◦	◦an\ swer\◦
25	Paolo	e\ e\ stop\	e\ e\ stop\
26	Jeroen	Maite (.) Maite	Maite (.) Maite
27	Paolo	◦basta◦ au\ (.) ara ara	◦enough◦ au\ (.) now\ now\
28	Sara	no no	no no
29	Jeroen	eliminat\	knocked out\
30	Luca	eliminat\	knocked out\
31	Maite	[moves her hands indicating time is up]	[moves her hands indicating time is up]
32	Sara	enciam\	lettuce\

Italian

While the group is negotiating their answer, Paolo and Luca tease them by saying the names of foods that are not vegetables. They start mentioning foods like “*pollastre* – chicken” and “*carn* – meat” (line 3), “*peix* – fish” (line 5), then they move towards internationally famous foods like “*pizza*” and “*hamburg-*” (line 7) and “*frankfurt* – hot dog” (line 10) and conclude their ‘performance’ with specific local and Catalan food “*coca*” (a type of pastry typical of the Lleida and Tarragona region) (line 8) and “*caragols* - snails” (line 12) displaying an expert knowledge of the local gastronomy. This vocabulary is reviewed in the course and the cultural activities.

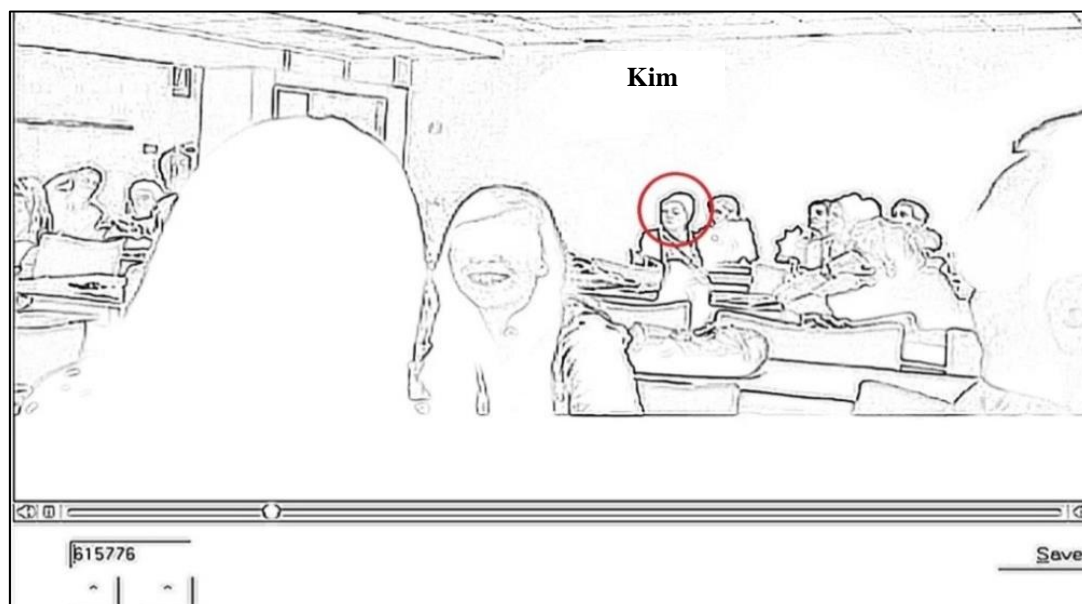
When the time for the group to prepare their answer is about to end, the instructor initiates the countdown and Paolo, Luca and Jeroen join her. When the countdown finishes, Paolo and Luca demand that the group provides an answer. At this moment Jeroen intervenes to say “*eliminat* – knocked out” (line 21) and joins Paolo and Luca in their attempt to accelerate the

group's response. The instructor asks the group to provide an answer (lines 22 and 25) and Paolo keeps reminding the teacher that the time is up (line 23 and 27). Sara, one of the members of the group who has to answer, says that they are not ready yet (line 29) and Jeroen puts pressure on the group again by repeating “*eliminat – knocked out*” (line 29). Luca aligns with Jeroen's way of putting pressure (line 30), Maite indicates that the time is finally up using mimicry (line 31) and Sara provides the answer (line 32).

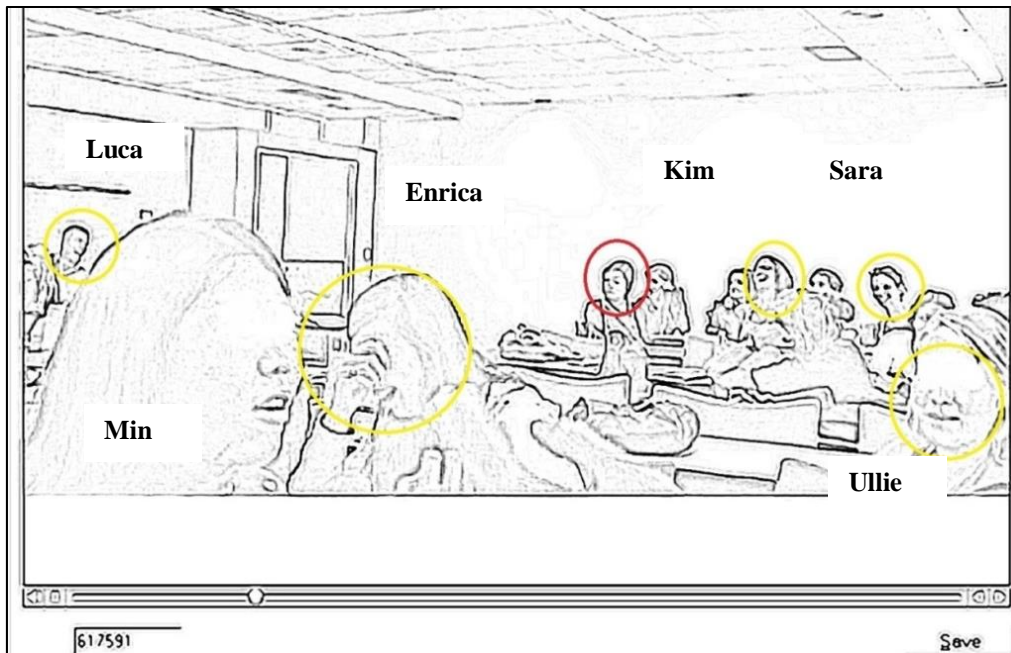
The teasing playful mode of the students is conducted in Catalan, which brings two aspects to the fore: (1) they position themselves as proficient speakers because of the wide range of vocabulary they display and, simultaneously (2) they take a leading role using their skills in Catalan to reduce the time their classmates have to prepare an answer. By reducing the time the other teams have to think, Paolo, Luca and Jeroen have more chances of scoring higher.

In contrast to the dominant behaviour of the students whose mother tongue is Italian or French, the Korean and Chinese students take a clearly secondary role. While the former are participating, laughing and having fun, the latter appear to be absent and even bored during the same activity. The following three photograms represent a period of three seconds during the same learning activity as extract 7.20. As we can see, Kim, the Korean student, is absent.

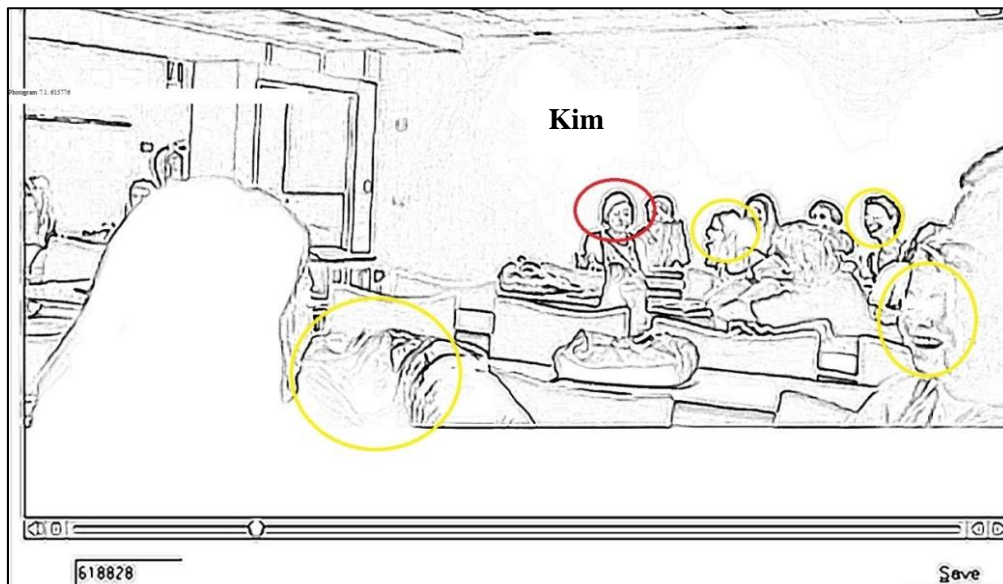
Extract 7.23. Kim's bubble



Photogram 7.1 (615776).



Photogram 7.2 (617691).



Photogram 7.3 (618828).

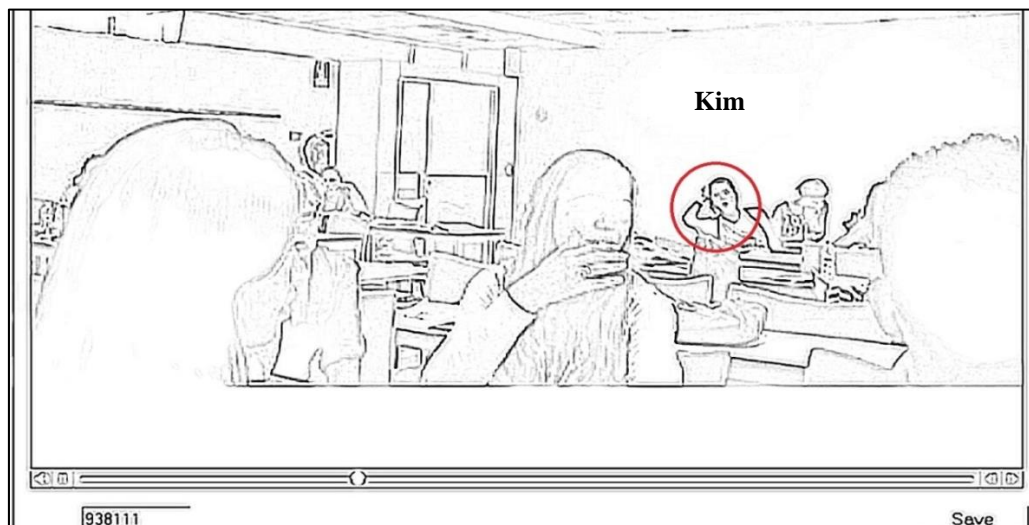
The photograms show an image of the classroom during the activity reflected in extract 7.22. The students are in groups. Kim is the student at the centre of the pictures circled in red. In the first picture, while the class are facing forward, Kim is looking to the left and down at the floor. Between photograms 1 and 2, some students start laughing (Luca, Sara and Enrica) and some smile (Ullie and Paolo), but Kim remains in the same position, which indicates that she is unaware of what is going on. In photogram 3, when some students are already laughing (Ullie and Sara) and bending their bodies (Enrica and Sara), Kim has turned her gaze to the left, towards the students who are laughing, which indicates that she noticed something must have happened that made everybody laugh. However, she shows no flicker of emotion.

At several moments during the class Kim yawns, giving the impression that she is tired or bored, while her classmates are listening to the instructor or engaged in the activity. The following extracts illustrate two of these moments.

Extract 7.24. Bored?



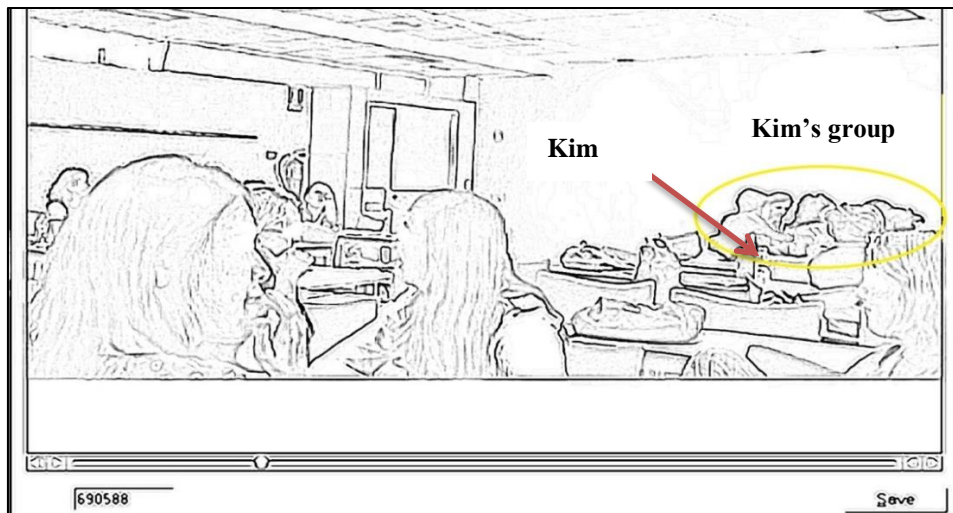
Photogram 7.4 (591000).



Photogram 7.5 (938111).

Although Kim's behaviour could be explained by her lack of interest and motivation rather than her lack of understanding, there are two specific situations in which her behaviour changes: when the instructor does not monitor the activity and when she does not need to understand the language to understand the content of a joke. First, Kim shows engagement in the activity when it is her group's turn to participate. The following photogram shows how Kim contributes to preparing an answer with the other members of her group.

Extract 7.25. Kim's team is working on the answer

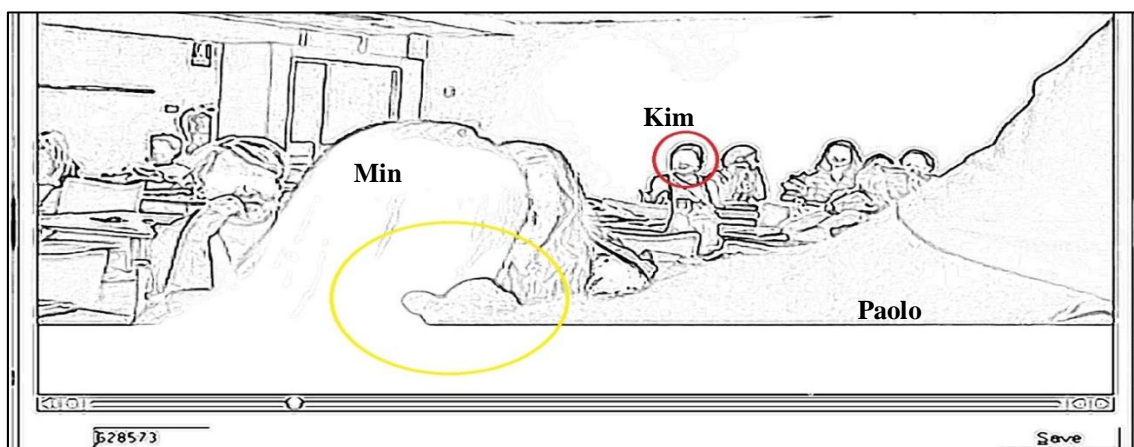


Photogram 7.6 (690588).

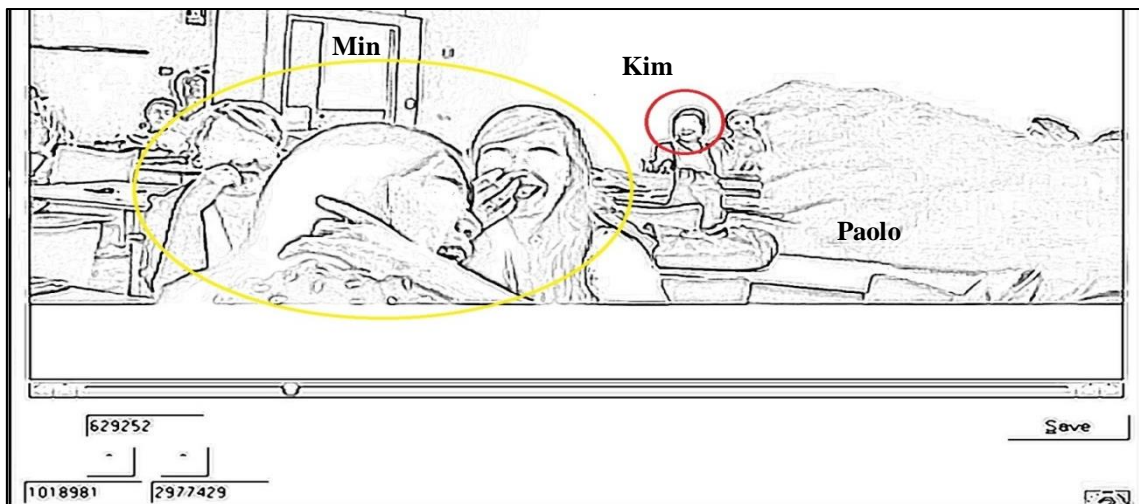
Photogram 7.6 shows how she is pointing at something on the desk, probably the book, and which the rest of the students are looking at. This indicates that she is involved in the exercise, she is collaborating with her teammates to prepare their answer and her teammates pay attention to her, which positions Kim as an active participant. This happens when the instructor is unable to regulate the students' interactions. The team-solving activity becomes an unregulated area (Khan, 2013) and the students are free to use their resources as they wish to solve the task.

The second moment when Kim reacts to external stimuli and shows engagement with the class is when Paolo engages in teasing, which does not require her to understand what he says to appreciate the humor of the scene.

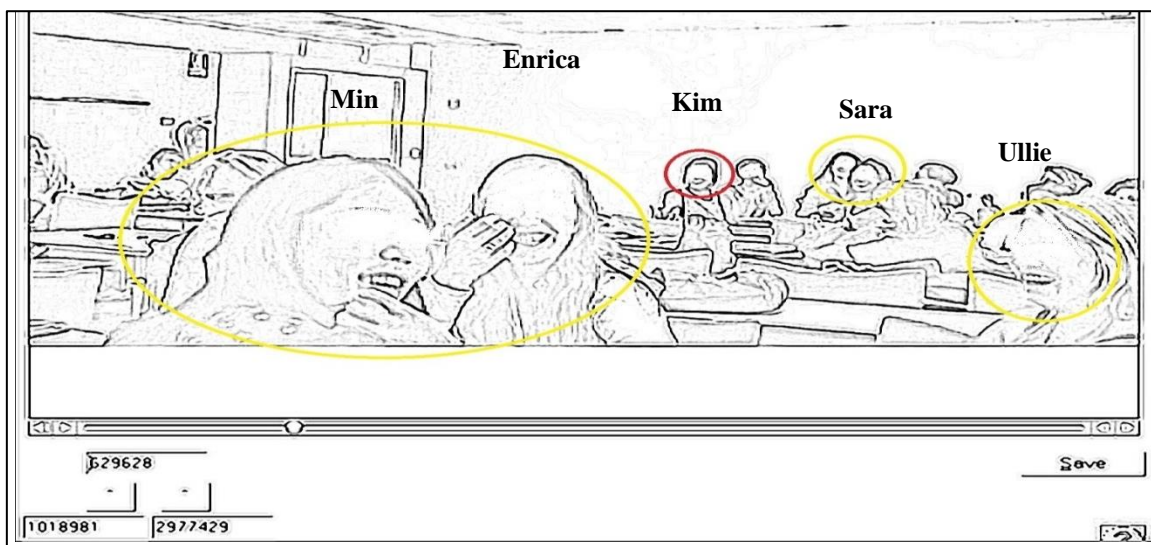
Extract 7.26. A joke that doesn't involve language.



Photogram 7.7. (628573)



Photogram 7.8. (629252).



Photogram 7.9 (629628).

The sequence of photograms shows a joke where the physical movement of the student on the right of the foreground is enough to make everyone laugh. The student pulls the hair of the student who is sitting in front of the camera and says that she is covering the whole scope of the image (photogram 7.7). This behaviour in a class is clearly inappropriate and, therefore, susceptible to be interpreted as a joke. Since there is no language involved, Kim reacts immediately to the comic scene by laughing (photogram 7.8), like the rest of the class (photogram 7.9).

These two examples provide evidence of what Kim explained in the focus group at the end of her stay: she can listen but she cannot understand (extract 7.1). The fact that she cooperates with her teammates when they enjoy more privacy and freedom to communicate in any language they chose, without the supervision of the instructors, corroborates that monolingualism may represent a learning obstacle for students of Catalan whose L1 is not a

Romance language. In fact, the students who laugh during the photograms in extracts 7.22 to 7.26 all speak Indo-European languages. When she reacts to Paolo’s joke, which does not involve understanding the language, but does not show any reaction to funny moments that do require understanding language (as in extract 7.23), she shows that she is at a disadvantage vis-à-vis those classmates who speak an Indo-European language as their L1. In short, Kim appears not only excluded from the group learning process but also from the group’s jokes and funny moments and the consequences that this may have for her socialisation with the rest of the group.

The relationship between the two groups of students is, however, of proximity and inclusion. A way the *alpha* students, those who aid the weaker students and lead the learning pace of the class, include the weaker ones is by switching into a language they can understand and including them within the group dynamics. Although in section 7.3.1 we saw that students and instructors use cognate relationships and English and Spanish as *lingua francas* (extracts 7.13, 7.14, 7.15, 7.16 and 7.17), in the following extract (7.27), Paolo, an Italian student, i.e. part of the *alpha* students, switches into English to joke with Min, a Korean student, i.e. part of the weaker group.

Extract 7.27. Big head (Intensive Catalan course; audiovisual recordings 10th September 2010)

1	Maite	[talking in the background]	[talking in the background]
2	Paolo	[standing next to Min and talking to the camera] I’m sorry but she have a big head	[standing next to Min and talking to the camera] I’m sorry but she have a big head
3			
4	Min	what did you say?	what did you say?
5	Paolo	<i>ho detto</i> I’m sorry but she have a big head	<i>I have said</i> I’m sorry but she have a big head
6		[looking at Min face to face]	[looking at Min face to face]
7	Min	[laughs]	[laughs]
8	Paolo	[laughs]	[laughs]

Italian

Paolo inclusion of Min is accomplished by switching to English while addressing the camera. Paolo stands in front of the camera to excuse Min for having a “big head” and covering the camera’s field of view (line 2-3). Paolo, who is standing next to Min, speaks loudly and in English which indicates that he wants to be understood by her teammate. Min asks him to repeat his utterance, which could be interpreted as either a problem of comprehension but also as a challenge to Paolo’s insolence (line 4). Paolo repeats the same words looking at Min face-to-face (lines 5-6). In the end, Min laughs (line 8) and Paolo starts laughing as well (line 9). As a result the two students have co-constructed a joke and Min has been included in the construction of a playful atmosphere, which may make her feel included in the group. This sort of spontaneous interaction indicates that the alpha students are sensitive to the multilingual environment and that they switch between languages to (1) include those who

have limited chances to participate in class, (2) give them opportunities to socialise, and (3) give them a less peripheral role in the class. According to Miller (1987), teasing (or pretend play) represents a form of language socialisation which provides a good opportunity for children to learn to use language to structure the world (e.g. Miller, 1987; Shieffelin, 1987). In the interaction in extract 7.27, Paolo's attempt to tease Min can be interpreted as an effort he makes to socialise with her and include her in the playful atmosphere of the class. As we will see in the following section (7.3.2), *alpha* students usually take action to aid those students who show difficulty in class and this extract points out that they do not just scaffold their learning but also give them opportunities to be integrated into the group and socialise, an important aspect of learning the target language in a study abroad situation (section 3.1.2). This could be interpreted as a space to implement an approach that includes peer-collaboration through plurilingual practices.

To summarise, until here we have analysed the manifestation of plurilingualism as a learning resource in the classroom and how speaking a Romance language as an L1 facilitates learning Catalan. Those students who speak a Romance language as their L1 learn faster, adopt leading roles and set the pace of learning in the class (extract 7.22), teasing their classmates and making jokes (extracts 7.23 and 7.27). By contrast, we have also seen how Kim, the Korean student who argued for a heteroglossic approach to learning Catalan at the beginning of this chapter (extract 7.2), appears absent most of the time in class (extracts 7.23 and 7.24), and becomes an active participant only when working in a small group with other *alpha* students away from the monitoring of the teacher (extract 7.25) or reacting to external stimuli when it is not necessary to decode language (extract 7.26).

My goal in this section has been to show that, from Kim's perspective, there is a clear gap between her and the rest of students who have sufficient knowledge of a Romance language to carry out individual scaffolding strategies. Her 'weakness' in the class is that she is a native speaker of a non-Romance language, but her 'strength' is that she can speak some Spanish. However, her insufficient level of Spanish does not facilitate her learning Catalan and she needs somebody to scaffold her learning by pointing out the connections between the two languages. In the following section, we see in greater detail how students cooperate and how *alpha* students get involved in helping the stragglers, a role that the instructors labelled *second teachers* (extract 7.10).

7.3.3. Plurilingual cooperative learning: the role of the ‘second-teacher’ student

The main manifestation of plurilingualism as an asset for peer-cooperation is the emergence of ‘second-teacher’ students. This category emerged in the teachers’ focus group session. ‘Second-teachers’ appear spontaneously during the Spanish and Catalan language classes to optimize the efforts of less advantaged students to acquire a second language. They also assist the instructor who lacks competence in foreign languages by explaining the same issue in another language for those students unable to follow the explanation. This practice is possible thanks to the linguistic heterogeneity of the classroom and conveys a sense of solidarity and effective collaboration between students. The use of plurilingual resources as a learning asset is not limited to the Catalan or Spanish language classes, but also occurs in the mainstream content subjects, as shown in this section.

The examples provided below are organised according to whether the scaffolding is aimed at helping the instructor or a student. First, the instructor’s plurilingual competence is not high enough to achieve successful communication with a student and, in this light, the ‘second-teacher’ students compensate for these limitations. Extract 7.28 illustrates how the instructor’s limited plurilingual competence is compensated for thanks to the engagement of plurilingual students.

Extract 7.28. Aiding the teacher (Spanish course; fieldnotes 28th October 2010)

1	Sue	¿cómo se dice <i>annoying</i> ?	how do you say <i>annoying</i> ?
2	Maria	[remains silent and looks perplexed]	[remains silent and looks perplexed]
3	Sue	<i>annoy, annoying, annoyed, annoy...</i>	<i>annoy, annoying, annoyed, annoy...</i>
4	Maria	molesta [she looks at the rest of the class seeking confirmation]	annoyed[she looks at the rest of the class seeking confirmation]
5			
6	Ullie	sí, sí, molesta	yes, yes, annoyed

English

In the Spanish foreign language class, a student uses English to ask the teacher how a term is translated into Spanish (“*annoying*”, line 1). The instructor remains silent as an indicator that she has not understood the word in English but keeps looking at the student waiting for further information (line 2). The student repeats the same word with different endings in an attempt to make the instructor understand what she means (line 3). When the instructor finally understands the word, she responds with the Spanish translation, but looks at the rest of the class to indicate that she needs confirmation (line 4). At this moment, Ullie acts as a ‘second-teacher’ and compensates for the instructor’s lack of precise knowledge to confirm the information (line 6).

This situation shows how the instructor's lack of knowledge is compensated for by a plurilingual student who is proficient in both languages used in the interaction, Spanish and English. Apart from the solidarity displayed by the 'second-teacher' student and their engagement with the teaching and learning process, this 'second-teacher' simultaneously positions herself as the most advantaged individual in the group. The 'second-teacher' student knows exactly what the student means and corroborates that the instructor's answer was right, thereby emerging as a powerful figure in the classroom.

The presence of 'second-teacher' students has a positive impact in the students' learning. On several occasions, as in extract 7.29, when they detect that another student is in need, they act to fill in the knowledge gap that impedes their classmates from acquiring some knowledge.

Extract 7.29. Aiding a classmate (Spanish Language course A2; fieldnotes 9th November 2010)

1	Hanna	¿qué es descubrir?	what's the meaning of discover?
2	Maria	¿ <i>discover</i> ?	<i>discover</i> ?
3	Hanna	[she remains silent and looks puzzled]	[she remains silent and looks puzzled]
4	Cecile	[looks at Hanna] ¿ <i>discover</i> , no? [she	[looks at Hanna] <i>discover</i> , no? [she
5		explains Hanna the meaning of <i>discover</i>	explains Hanna the meaning of <i>discover</i>
6		with an example]	with an example]
7	Hanna	¿cómo se escribe? [to Cecile]	how do you spell it? [to Cecile]
8	Cecile	[she spells the Spanish term]	[she spells the Spanish term]
9	Hanna	¿así?	like this?
10	Cecile	sí	yes

English

In this extract, Hanna asks the instructor about the meaning of the word “descubrir - *discover*” (line 1). The instructor supplies a translation but this does not enable Hanna to understand the meaning (line 2). The instructor shows uncertainty when she pronounces the translation with a rising intonation and opens space for a 'second-teacher' student to intervene. At this moment, Cecile intervenes to compensate for both her classmate's and the instructor's lack of knowledge of English. Cecile's intervention occurs in two steps. Firstly, she explains the meaning of the word to Hanna with an example (lines 5-6). Hanna signals to Cecile that her action was successful and asks for further information in connection with the written form of the same word (line 7). Cecile satisfies Hanna's new enquiry (line 8). Hanna asks Cecile to check whether she wrote the term accurately and Cecile assents (lines 9-10).

What is most interesting in this episode is that the 'official' teacher is completely absent from the teaching/learning task. The second time that Hanna expresses a doubt about the word *descubrir* she asks the 'second-teacher' student directly and ignores the instructor. The consequence of Hanna's action is a temporary subversion of the roles inside the class and a repositioning of the instructor as not the most expert individual in the class. In this case, the

position of expert is assigned to the classmate who can best satisfy the learning demands of a student.

This phenomenon of excluding the instructor from the teaching/learning process is also found in content subject courses. There are situations in class where some students understand the lecturers faster or more thoroughly than others. The ‘faster’ students then take the role of ‘second teachers’ and explain the rest what the lecturer meant to the rest. The following extract shows a moment from the History of Language class in the Faculty of Arts where a ‘second-teacher’ student emerges within a group of Korean students.

Extract 7.30. We don’t need you anymore (History of Language; fieldnotes 18th February 2011)

1	On the History of Language subject there are three international students from Korea
2	and Jeroen, from Belgium, among the local students. The teacher asks the Korean
3	students to search for two terms in the dictionary: <i>baluarte</i> and <i>abolengo</i> . He writes
4	the words on the blackboard for them. When he asked Jeroen earlier to look for two
5	other words, the teacher did not write the terms in the blackboard. After a while, the
6	teacher gives the group of Korean students a new word: <i>abuelo</i> . Only one of the
7	Korean students understands this word and says “ahhh, <i>abuelo</i> ”, she writes it down in
8	Korean for her Korean classmates while she repeats it aloud in Korean. The teacher
9	stares at them in silence, moves his gaze and starts doing other things.

Spanish

In this extract, the student’s code-switch from Spanish into Korean leaves the lecturer momentarily unable to fulfil his role as a conveyor of knowledge. The specific problem could be linked to the lack of intelligibility between Korean and Spanish, which was reported by Kim in the students’ focus group by saying “I can listen but I can’t understand” (extract 7.1). The same problem of intelligibility that does not allow Kim to develop her role as a student is now the cause for the lecturer to be momentarily unable to carry out his task.

In this case, we also find that the ‘second-teacher’ task includes two subtasks: translating as a means of explaining the concept and writing the word as a means of teaching the written form. This presents the second-teacher students as a skilled individual who can supply his/her classmates with several forms of knowledge and has various resources to do so.

The typological proximity between Romance languages is explicitly ratified in the context of an Economics class as something that triggers the participation of second teacher students. In extract 7.31 below, Marc, the lecturer, anticipates the students’ potential language problem and provides them with synonyms for a term that he evaluates as difficult.

Extract 7.31. Of course, in Italian it's easier (Marketing course; fieldnotes 8th November 2010)

1	Marc	fugaz [word] no sabría cómo traducirlo,	brief [word] I wouldn't know how to translate it,
2		es efímero	it means ephemeral
3	Paolo	<i>fast</i> (.) <i>effimero</i> en italiano	<i>fast</i> (.) <i>ephemeral</i> in Italian
4	Marc	claro (.) en italiano es más fácil	of course (.) in Italian it's easier

English
Italian

In extract 7.31, students have not asked for an explanation of the meaning of “*fugaz* - brief”. The lecturer anticipates a difficulty with the term and starts looking for synonyms given his inability of provide them with a translation (lines 1-2). This action also opens a space for Paolo to act as a second-teacher student. He translates “*efímero*” (line 2) for “fast” (line 3) for the rest of the class. Apart from providing a translation, the second-teacher student justifies why he knows this term and provides evidence of the similarity between the Spanish and Italian terms (line 3). When he does so, he is positioning himself as a privileged student who has a more proficient understanding of the vehicular language and the contents of the course. The lecturer legitimizes his collaboration and evaluates the use of Italian as a learning resource.

What we can observe in this extract, and that could not be observed in the previous one (7.30), is that the lecturer explicitly reacts to the assistance that he and the other students have received from Paolo. Whereas from extracts 7.28 to 7.30, the instructor and lecturers remain silent or observe the students collaborating, in this case the lecturer manifests his opinion that it is an advantage to speak Italian in order to learn Spanish. In both cases, the attitude of the instructor is to accept the second-teacher student's use of other languages.

To summarize, this section has illustrated how plurilingualism is used as an asset to scaffold learning. Peer-collaboration leads to the emergence of the role of the ‘second-teacher’ student, which refers to a student who facilitates learning through plurilingual peer-cooperation. This support can be addressed at both the instructor/lecturer as well as a fellow student when there is a communication breakdown in class. The most common practice employed by the ‘second-teacher’ students is translation, even though they also use such other strategies as the reformulation of utterances and the written form of a word, which points to the use of multimodal resources as another useful teaching and learning strategy (Canagarajah, 2011; Kramsch, 2012; Nussbaum, 2013). This practice shows that there is room in class to implement a regulated use of plurilingualism as a learning resource that students who struggle (like Kim) can benefit from. The ‘second-teacher’ student can also be seen as a sort of subversive agent, who challenges the monolingual approach adopted by the lecturer and shifts

it towards a heteroglossic approach. When a ‘second-teacher’ student emerges during the class, s/he momentarily occupies a position of expertise above the instructor/lecturer because s/he has already not only understood the question reviewed in class and realised that a fellow student is struggling with it but also, differently from the teacher, s/he knows how to explain the issue in a way that the student with difficulties will understand.

7.4. Conclusions

This chapter has analysed how Catalan and Spanish language instructors and international students take a stance towards language learning. The analysis has shown that there is a discursive clash between a heteroglossic and monoglossic perspectives in language teaching and learning, which are constructed by students and instructors, respectively. The analysis shows how the typological distance between the languages that students already know and the languages that students try to learn makes a significant difference in the process of learning an additional language (see section 2.2.4). In this regard, it seems clear that students whose L1 is a Romance language learn Catalan more easily than those students whose L1 is typologically distant from Romance languages. This observation is consistent with the idea that plurilingual practices can represent a scaffolding strategy in the Catalan language classroom (see section 3.2.2), as the language that students name as facilitating their efforts to learn Catalan is Spanish, a typologically close language.

In the focus group discussion, students considered the use of plurilingual resources as a useful resource for teaching and learning Catalan as a foreign language. They see the use of Spanish as a means to learn Catalan as a strategy that should be fostered because the typological proximity between the Spanish, a language they know, and Catalan, a language they aim at learning, would facilitate and speed up this endeavour. However, even if the language instructors value plurilingual competence as a useful resource when it is practiced by students on their own, they refuse to use it themselves. They adopt a stance in favour of learning different languages, but separately. Faced with the idea of using other languages to teach Catalan or Spanish, the language instructors evaluate it as potentially damaging for the acquisition of the target languages because there are interferences between the languages. Although in the focus group, the instructors construct an unambiguous stance in favour of a monoglossic perspective on language teaching and learning, their practices in class are more multidimensional, as they never sanction students who use plurilingual resources if it is for the sake of learning the L2.

The analysis of the classroom practices shows that students and instructors actually use their plurilingual competence to facilitate the acquisition of Catalan or Spanish. Those students who speak a Romance language as L1 employ inner plurilingual resources and scaffold their own learning. However, students who speak a non-Romance language as L1 do not have enough autonomy to scaffold themselves to connect what they already know about a Romance language (Spanish) with what they need to learn about the new language (Catalan). These students struggle to follow the class and appear absent. When they are allowed to work in small heterogeneous groups, they participate actively. The analysis considers that small-group work is an unregulated learning area (Khan, 2013) where students apply the strategies they find adequate to accomplish the task. In line with Cummins *et al.* (2005), the management of the task in languages other than Catalan (the target language) may lead to better results. In fact, we have seen that heteroglossic practices are very productive because (1) students can exploit the cognate relationships between languages to learn faster; (2) they foster collaborative learning and, consequently, students benefit from each other's linguistic background and achieve a level of understanding that they do not reach through monoglossic practices; and (3) by acting plurilingually students develop their own plurilingualism as well as the multilingualism of the classroom, which makes more sense in the linguistically and culturally heterogeneous situation of study abroad in Catalonia. During the process of acquiring the target language, many examples of translanguaging, a strategy to scaffold learning, have appeared. These are basically the use of cognate relationships, translation, and the use of two *lingua francas*, Spanish and English. Those students who have a high level of competence in a Romance language use this competence to reach a fuller understanding and access more complex knowledge. Furthermore, we have also seen the use of translanguaging as a resource to include students who have greater difficulty to follow the class. In line with García (2009: 307-308), translanguaging does not only appear as a pedagogic strategy but also a means to “construct understandings, include others and mediate understanding between language groups”. The instructors' stance appears to be ambiguous as they do not fully legitimise the use of plurilingualism in class, which is indicated when they avoid using languages other than the L2 and, consequently construct themselves as monolingual speakers. In line with Jaffe (2009), they project a monolingual stance through their linguistic practices inside the classroom. This way, the teachers are actually reproducing a model of bilingualism based on separate monolingualism. It could be argued that the ambiguity of language instructors' stance is that while they project an ‘official’ monolingual stance in language teaching and learning, they do not sanction translanguaging practices, which may be

interpreted as a legitimation of the use of plurilingualism as a resource, although they prefer not to be identified with this practice.

Table 7.1 offers a schematic representation of how the language instructors and the international students adopt a stance towards the use of Spanish as a means of learning Catalan. The table contains the three steps that, according to DuBois (2007), make up the process of stance-taking: evaluation, positioning and alignment (see section 5.3).

Table 7.1. Stance towards the use of heteroglossic pedagogies in the language classroom

	Language instructors	International students
Evaluation	A heteroglossic teaching approach appears illogical, unproductive, chaotic, confusing. However, the instructors legitimise plurilingual peer cooperation and manifest a positive attitude towards it.	Heteroglossic pedagogies are positively evaluated. Spanish appears as a useful means to learn Catalan for those whose L1 is not a Romance language. They also evaluate the use of heteroglossic pedagogies as positive for continuing to develop their competence in Spanish at the same time as they learn Catalan.
Positioning	Against the use of a heteroglossic teaching approach. In favour of using plurilingualism as a learning strategy. Against heteroglossic teaching practices (except in case of necessity).	In favour of a heteroglossic teaching approach. In favour of using plurilingualism as a learning strategy. Against monoglossic teaching practices when students' L1 is typologically distant from Catalan.
Alignment	Alignment within the group of instructors against heteroglossic teaching methodologies. Implicit alignment with the students on plurilingualism as an individual/peer-cooperation learning strategy. Disalignment with the students who ask them to use heteroglossic teaching methodologies.	Alignment among students seen through the alignment within the focus group and in the voluntarily use of plurilingualism to contribute to the learning process of other classmates. Disalignment with instructors who use a monoglossic teaching methodology with learners whose L1 is a non-Romance language.

In conclusion, the instructors and students show that the clash between students' heteroglossic ideology and the instructors monoglossic ideology on language teaching and learning appears to be not so much a matter of allowing or forbidding the use of plurilingual competence as a learning resource in class but rather it seems specifically connected with who can display plurilingual competence in the classroom. Whereas the instructors accept the students' independent use of plurilingual resources, they avoid making an 'official' use of these resources themselves. The use of plurilingualism as a legitimate and explicit teaching (and learning) resource is exactly what students from a non-Romance linguistic backgrounds call

for in their focus group and see in it a strategy that would make them succeed in learning Catalan.

After analysing the two foci of tension and ambiguity about the distribution of pluri/multilingual resources at the UdL to (1) construct the identity of the institution and that of the sociocultural environment (chapter 6) and (2) teach and learn Catalan as a foreign language (chapter 7), chapter 8 presents the conclusions of this study and answers the research questions that were posed in the introduction.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

This thesis has studied two potential foci of ambiguity and tension that emerge from the distribution and mobilisation of the multilingual resources at the UdL, a university in Catalonia that aims at becoming international. The specific tensions analysed in this study deal with how the UdL (1) constructs and projects the identity of the university and that of the surrounding context through the use of languages and (2) the role of plurilingualism as a resource in the teaching of Catalan to international students. Sections 8.1 and 8.2 summarise the findings of the analysis of the data, as presented in Chapters 6 and 7, and in doing this they attempt to answer the specific research questions that were posed in the introduction of this thesis in connection with the two issues and in the context of the UdL's institutional language policy.

8.1. On the mobilisation of multilingual resources to construct the identity of the institution and of its surrounding context

This section answers the following research question:

1. What stances emerge towards the distribution and use of the languages of the institutional multilingual repertoire as means to construct the identity of the university and of the national context where it is embedded?

As expressed in the introductory chapter, this question can be divided into two further questions:

- a) How is this identity negotiated, contested and resisted in interaction?
- b) How does this negotiation challenge the language policy of the university that aims at creating a multilingual and international university while contributing to the process of revitalisation of Catalan?

The first focus of tension explored in this thesis emerges from the mobilisation of the multilingual repertoire of the institution as a means to construct the identity of the university and that of the social context where it is located vis-à-vis incoming mobility students. The UdL presents its own identity and that of the surrounding context as Catalan through making the Catalan language, culture and heritage very visible. Although this process of giving visibility to the Catalan language, culture and heritage is perhaps more intense in the first two weeks after the students' arrival, it is maintained throughout the academic year, as Catalan is

the usual language of instruction (over 60% of the courses are taught in Catalan) and students are invited to participate in activities to celebrate Catalan traditional festivities.

According to Jaffe (2009), in bilingual territories people have an added resource to express their stance towards the languages of the bilingual repertoire, which is language choice. In chapter 6, the analysis of the interactions during the two-week welcome programme has shown how the administrative and academic staff project different stances towards the relationship between the languages of the multilingual repertoire through the way they employ them. These individuals stick to their language choice in different contexts, thereby creating a link between the way they speak and their social identity (Damari, 2010; Bucholz and Hall, 2005). The analysis has identified five different forms of language choices. The first and most extended form, especially during the welcome programme, is the Catalan monolingual choice. This stance is mainly performed by the Catalan language instructors and one of the members of the administrative staff, the officer in charge of the LVS, who, together with the OIR officer, is responsible for the organisation of the language course and the complementary activities during the welcome programme. The second form of language choice is the absence of Catalan and the use of Spanish and English, which appear as languages for intercultural communication. This stance is projected by the OIR officer in charge of incoming mobility students, who systematically translates between Spanish and English. This form of language choice projects a stance by which knowing either English or Spanish is enough for international students to understand the message in a university. Although the message and the OIR officer are bilingual, it only requires the interlocutor to be monolingual in one of the two languages. A third form of language choice appearing in the analysis is the blending of Catalan and Spanish within the same turn of speech. This is performed by the associate vice-chancellor in his welcome speech to international students. Although the speech is mainly delivered in Spanish, when the vice-chancellor mixes Catalan and Spanish he projects a stance of complementarity between the two languages of the local bilingual repertoire and the idea that knowing both languages is necessary to understand the content of his words. By doing so, he ascribes the same status to both languages and portrays them as equally important and useful. The fourth and the fifth forms of language choice occur within the same activity. As part of its welcome programme for international students, the university organises a guided tour with two guides, one speaks in English and the other one speaks in Spanish, which leads to an English-Spanish parallel bilingualism. However, in both groups the Catalan language is made visible thanks to the presence of student 'language volunteers' who follow the LVS's specific request to use Catalan in their interactions with the

international students, which leads to the presence of Spanish-Catalan and English-Catalan forms of bilingualism in each of the events. In this case, in contrast with the speech of the associate vice-chancellor, the languages are not mixed as the guides never switch languages.

During the focus-group sessions and the classes, content-subject teachers, language instructors and international students explicitly orient themselves towards the distribution of multilingualism at the UdL and present the situation as problematic in different ways. The content-subject lecturers project the UdL as a Catalan university whose linguistic particularity is an added value and, therefore, it represents a better choice for international students than other monolingual parts of Spain, as they see a different reality and they can learn two languages instead of one. The content-subject lecturers show a certain degree of disalignment with the institutional language policy (LP). They consider that the system is too rigid and their teaching suffers its consequences. They struggle to keep the coherence between the language they have made public in the course programme and their commitment to teach the content of the subject in the most efficient and effective way because at the time of selecting one language, they cannot know what the linguistic repertoire of their students will be. The institutional LP forces them to choose a language of instruction before they meet the students in class and they need to stick to the 'official language' choice even if there are students who may not be able to follow the classes in the language chosen. In front of this situation, the lecturers demand a more flexible application of the language policy, which would enable them to find the balance between teaching content, which sometimes may imply the switch into Spanish or English, and inflexibly sticking to the language they originally made public in the course programme.

The language instructors, who are organically dependent from the Language Service, present a dichotomised context and a hostile relationship between Catalan and Spanish, thereby recognising only two possible positionings: affiliation *vs.* disaffiliation with Catalan. The language instructors legitimise the position of affiliation with Catalan and show disalignment with those who lack interest in Catalan. The instructors activate a third subject position, which is the lack of interest in learning any of the two languages of the local bilingual repertoire but they do not develop it further. However, they completely ignore the option that one individual may be willing to affiliate with both Catalan and Spanish at the same time. The teacher's limitation to two subject positions (affiliation or disaffiliation with Catalan) may be a manifestation of a 'bunker' attitude (Baker, 1992; as cited in Cots *et al.*, 2012) by which minority language speakers feel their identities threatened by the presence of majority

languages that become predator languages. Therefore, the language instructors employed by the Language Service, a body specifically created for the revitalisation of Catalan at the UdL, dedicate a great deal of effort not just to promote Catalan but also to resist Spanish, thereby creating a ‘resistance’ identity (Castells, 2010). In the context of the international university in the UdL, Spanish is perceived as the main threat to Catalan because it is the most commonly shared lingua franca between the local and the international community (Llurda, 2013).

The presentation of a dichotomised environment is internalised by the international students from the beginning of their stay and during the intensive Catalan course which is part of the welcome programme and the majority of them adopt a stance of disaffiliation with Catalan as they see their expectations of learning Spanish, a language of greater economic power in the global world, compromised. Their view of the sociolinguistic environment as Catalan monolingual and what they see as a lack of accommodation on the part of the institution to a language that the students can understand, creates feelings of overwhelmingness in the students who blame the institution of being inflexible with its LP, insensitive, unprofessional and even fraudulent, as they consider that after the UdL has invited them to make their stay in Lleida, but once they arrive, the UdL is not as hospitable as they would expect. Their consideration of an almost exclusive use of Catalan at the university leads students to define the UdL as a Catalan monolingual university in a Catalan-Spanish bilingual context, as they have experienced that people outside, and even inside, the academic institution usually have no problem in switching between the two local languages. The students also consider that the presence of Catalan is inconsistent with an international university and, therefore, do not consider the UdL as international. Towards the end of the students’ stay, their disaffiliation with Catalan diminishes and they reframe the ‘problem of Catalan’ as a problem of how Catalan is taught to them rather than as an obstacle to their goals for their stay abroad. The students consider that the intensive exposure to Catalan that they experience at the UdL does not help them to learn Catalan or adapt to the new environment and try to argue in favour introducing Spanish as a bridge to Catalan (see section 8.2). It could be interpreted that, for the students, the way in which the UdL introduces students to Catalan is too abrupt, and they react to the massive invasion of Catalan into their lives also with a ‘bunker’ attitude or a ‘resistance identity’ (Castells, 2010) to protect their Spanish, which from the students’ perspective may appear as a minority language and the language they want to practice during their stay.

Although the UdL makes an effort to present Catalan as an added value and as part of its authenticity, which distinguishes it from other universities in the international market of higher education and makes it more appealing, the discomfort of the students could also be explained from the perspective of the increasing interconnection between tourism and education (Urry and Larsen, 2011). Thus it may be the case that the students, as in the case of tourists, tend to see local languages as commodities or ‘metonyms’ of place (Urry, 2007) and markers of exoticism, which are used to create the authenticity of the hosting locality but they are hardly ever used for communicative purposes (Jaworski *et al.*, 2003; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010). The students’ rejection of Catalan may be due to the degree of accommodation into Catalan that the university demands. Whereas the students may perceive their stay at the UdL as an intermediate experience between tourism and education and may not want to invest a great deal of effort in learning a minority language in the global world, the UdL may be asking them to abandon the comfort of the tourist and affiliate with the local campaign of language revitalisation. Towards the end of the students’ stay, when students display more tolerability towards Catalan, the students declare enjoying the low level of internationalisation of the UdL, which may lead students to feel their experience as more authentic than in a bigger cosmopolitan city. This may lead us to consider the situation of international students is a hybrid between a tourist and a sojourner (Byram, 1997). Whereas the sojourners produce an effect on the hosting society, and as Byram (1997: 1) points out, “challenge its unquestioned and unconscious beliefs, behaviours and meaning, and whose own beliefs, behaviours and meanings are in turn challenged and expected to change”, the tourists have quiet opposite expectations: they do not expect that the new environment will change because of their presence or that their own way of living will be affected by that experience. However, according to Larsen (2010), the Western tourist is not mere travelling eyes anymore but actually participates and may expect to live deep experiences that will change their perception of the world. The demand on the part of students of a more comfortable linguistic situation and the need of the UdL to present itself as an appealing institution in the international market of higher education may lead to the emergence of new linguascapes (Bolton and Kachru, 2006) in international universities in Catalonia, by which Catalan is placed together with other languages, such as Spanish, that tourists can understand. Although the commodification of Catalan may satisfy the expectations of authenticity and exoticism for the incoming mobility students, it may also push into the background the Catalan language and diminish its status of Catalan as a language of culture and of instruction in the local context, its natural habitat.

The high symbolic value that Catalan has for the contemporary Catalan society is the result of a campaign of language revitalisation and a process of political devolution after the Franco dictatorship. International universities in bilingual contexts with minority languages need robust language policies that protect the minority language from other world languages which may appear as more useful for intercultural communication. The UdL's institutional language policy, in order to integrate the process of language revitalisation and be able to project itself as a Catalan and, simultaneously, international institution, the could attempt to make the three languages of the multilingual repertoire, Catalan, English and Spanish, equally visible, which would consequently present Catalan not only as the language of instruction of the local context but also elevate it to the level of language for intercultural communication for international universities.

8.2. On plurilingualism as a resource for learning Catalan

This section summarises the findings of the analysis reported in Chapter 7 and attempts to answer the second main research question with which this thesis was initiated:

What stances emerge towards the distribution and management of pluri/multilingual resources in the endeavour of teaching and learning Catalan as a foreign language in the pluri/multilingual context of study abroad at the UdL?

As in the case of the first main question (section 8.1), this second main question can be divided into two further questions:

- a) How is language learning negotiated within the teaching and learning practices in a multilingual foreign language classroom?
- b) How does this negotiation challenge the pedagogy for teaching and learning Catalan in a study abroad situation in the bilingual context of Catalonia?

The second main research question that has led this thesis is aimed at exploring how the use of pluri/multilingualism may represent a resource to teach and learn Catalan as a foreign language to international students during their stay at the UdL. The analysis in chapter 7 has illustrated a discursive clash between heteroglossic and monoglossic ideologies on teaching and learning Catalan as a foreign language. The students seem to take a stance in favour of adopting a heteroglossic approach to teaching Catalan as a foreign language. This is mainly represented by Kim, a Korean student, who claims for introducing Spanish as a bridge to learn Catalan. Kim argues that the monoglossic approach works for those students who speak a

Romance language as their L1, but in the case of students whose mother tongue is a non-Indo-European language, they fail to follow the class because even if they make an effort to pay attention to the instructor, they cannot understand the explanations in Catalan. On the other hand, the Catalan language instructors refuse to resort to Spanish as an auxiliary tool to teach Catalan because they find it inconsistent with their pedagogic principles in that they see in the use of Spanish a risk of interferences between Catalan and Spanish and, following in accordance with their chosen communicative method, they think that they should try to maximise the students' exposure to the target language. For these reasons, the instructors consider Spanish as the very last resource to be employed in class.

Paradoxically, the analysis of the classroom interactions shows that the language instructors do not forbid the students from making individual use of their plurilingualism as a learning resource. This is specially the case of those students who speak a Romance language as their L1, who use their knowledge of a similar language as a scaffolding strategy for their own learning as well as in spontaneous peer-cooperation to help a classmate. This peer-cooperation leads to the emergence of 'second-teacher' students, who intervene in class via a *lingua franca*, usually English and Spanish, whenever they consider that another student needs help, thereby contributing to the development of the class.

The data analysed provide evidence that the linguistic distance between Catalan and the languages that compound the linguistic repertoire of the international students affects the students' stance towards the process of language learning and it may be considered as a variable to decide on the most appropriate pedagogic method for them (Cenoz, 2001, 2009, 2013b; Cenoz and Gorter, 2012, 2013). According to Cenoz (2001), students transfer terms and structures from the languages they already know and they rely more on languages that are typologically similar to the target language. The potential transfer that students may make of linguistic features from Spanish into Catalan and the subsequent appearance of interferences between the two languages is one of the reasons for which Catalan language instructors reject a heteroglossic approach to teach Catalan and, consequently, the teachers position themselves in favour of the monolingual method based on maximising the students' exposure to Catalan. However, the analysis of the classroom teaching practices has shown that although instructors avoid speaking other languages than the target language, Catalan, they never sanction in the students the use of plurilingual resources to learn in private. For this reason, it could be argued that although they seem to be very much conditioned by an essentially monoglossic

communicative method they claim to adopt in their teaching, in their actual practices they seem to legitimise a certain space to implement a heteroglossic approach.

In order to choose the most convenient model of multilingual education, Cenoz and Gorter (2013) propose a holistic plurilingual approach to foreign language teaching and learning and disagree with the tendency to teach the L2 monolingually. According to these authors, resorting to the similarities between the languages that students already know makes the acquisition of an additional language more efficient, as the students can rely on the general competences that they acquired while they were learning another language. The acquisition of Catalan by incoming mobility students at the UdL is usually the third, fourth or fifth foreign language international students are learning. By including a holistic plurilingual approach, the students can benefit from the metalinguistic awareness (i.e. the capacity to reflect upon language as a more abstract object) and the learning strategies that they may have developed while learning other languages, and they can also exploit the similarities between languages that are closely related. In this last regard, Cenoz (2013b) argues that it is necessary to put the focus on the plurilingual speaker to enable the exploitation of the advantages that plurilingual learners of an additional language have over monolingual learners. The languages that integrate the students' multilingual repertoire and the level of proficiency they have in every language make a difference. In the case of students whose mother tongue is typologically similar to Catalan, they accelerate their learning thanks to the transmission of certain elements of the linguistic system. However, those students whose L1 is linguistically distant from Catalan, their low command of Spanish, a Romance language from which they could transfer into Catalan, is not very helpful to learn Catalan monolingually. This is probably why they ask teachers to scaffold their learning by introducing Spanish as a means to learn Catalan and adopt teaching and learning plurilingual practices. Furthermore, using plurilingualism as a resource represents a more attainable goal because the natural outcome of learning a foreign language is for the learner to be able to behave as a plurilingual speaker, who combines languages in the course of their everyday life, rather than as a monolingual speaker who only uses one language. In this way, the students can appreciate that there is a certain degree of consistency between their social world, where Catalan and Spanish co-exist in the same speakers, and their academic world.

One of the ways in which teachers can incorporate the students' plurilingual repertoires is by means of translanguaging practices. Translanguaging has been defined (see section 3.3.1) as a scaffold-type instruction that (1) allows students to learn the target language using the

languages that they already know, (2) puts the students at the heart of the learning process and enables the development of different languages at the same time, and (3) legitimises students' performance of their multilingual and multicultural identities. In terms of individual identity, the boundaries between languages are blurred, which allows students to construct, through hybrid language practices within the classroom setting, hybrid identities which represent the overlapping social processes they are experiencing, their past histories and their future perspectives (Moore *et al.*, 2012; Li and Zhu, 2013).

This view on the development of the target language through plurilingualism connects with the stance adopted by dynamic models of bilingual and multilingual education. The dynamic models (polydirectional or bilingual immersion type, CLIL and CLIL-type, multiple multilingual type) exploit all the linguistic resources of plurilingual learners in order to achieve learning (García, 2009). Whereas the Catalan language instructors at the UdL adopt and apply an additive model whose expected outcome is parallel bilingualism or two monolingualisms, the students seem to demand a dynamic model, or the “all-terrain vehicle” (García, 2009: 118) that includes plurilingualism not only as the objective towards which they are working but as the engine that leads them towards that goal. The dynamic framework adopts a holistic stance towards the process of language learning and teaching as it incorporates the languages of the students' linguistic repertoires in the same communicative practice and, therefore, not only takes advantage of the similarities between languages, as pointed out by Cenoz (2013b), but also promotes transcultural identities which should allow the students to connect different cultural experiences and contexts. This can produce “a new hybrid cultural experience” (García, 2009: 119) that can help international students to make sense of the multilingual and multicultural worlds they are experiencing during their stay abroad, an idea that is also shared by Li and Zhu (2013), who study the use of translanguaging practices among international students with Chinese background in a British university.

In terms of language policy, the use of the students' plurilingual competence as a means to scaffold their classmate's acquisition of Catalan can be interpreted not only as an efficient learning resource but also as a way of (1) challenging the monoglossic approach adopted by the language instructors and (2) negotiating the language policy through every day interaction. This fact represents an example of how language policies are actually negotiated in interaction from the bottom-up and are not completely predetermined top-down by the institution (Chua and Baldauf, 2011; Cassels-Johnson, 2013). Similarly, for Busch (2009), this situation shows that the institutional language policy is a multi-layered process which is negotiated inside the

classroom through daily interaction. The student's heteroglossic learning practices represent a *de facto* language policy which emerge in class and can represent feedback to the institutional language policy. In fact, even if the pedagogical approach adopted by the teachers is monoglossic in theory, we can say that it is actually slightly heteroglossic.

The data also bring to the fore the discussion presented by Edwards (2009) and Baker (2006) about how an immersion programme can turn out to be a submersion programme (see section 2.2.3). The immersion model is a sink or swim model, by which students are immersed in the new linguistic pool and leads to two possible results: (1) students sink when they do not adapt to the monoglossic approach or (2) they swim when they manage to adapt to the monolingual teaching methodology. The analysis of the data has shown that whereas international students whose L1 is a Romance language are plunged into the Catalan language 'pool' and come out to the surface again, those students who speak a non-Indo-European language as a mother tongue are drowned and lost, because they do not learn Catalan and avoid any future contact with this language. Therefore, the monoglossic approach to teaching Catalan appears as a sink or swim methodology, by which those students who have a high command of a Romance language swim and those who do not, sink. The UdL does not seem to acknowledge the heterogeneity of its international student body in their teaching practices and treats its students as a homogeneous block. The goal of adopting a heteroglossic approach to teach Catalan as a foreign language would not only facilitate the learning task but also reduce their anxiety in front of what is for them an overwhelming presence of Catalan at the university.

From the point of view the teaching methodology, the teaching of Catalan or Spanish to international students at the UdL follows the dominant trend to treat all the learners as a monolithic block, ignoring the different learning needs and the particularities of the students. In the present study, the linguistic distance factor (Cenoz, 2009; 2011, 2013) causes at least two different learning rhythms: L1 Romance language learners and non-L1 Romance language learner. If we follow Dufon and Churchill (2006) and Kinginger (2013), we must accept that the benefits of spending a year immersed in a foreign language environment depend dramatically on individual and contextual factors. The individual factor for the international students who have participated in this project are their plurilingual repertoires because in order to learn Catalan, knowing a Romance language at a high level of proficiency is actually more beneficial than knowing a non-Indo-European language. The contextual factor in this analysis appears to be how the instructors and the institutional language policy distribute the multilingual repertoires of the students and also of the local context.

The stance adopted by the institution also has implications for the promotion of Catalan inside and outside the university, one of the aims of the language policy. The monoglossic teaching methodology contributes to the disaffiliation with Catalan of students who speak a non-Indo-European language. In fact, the promotion of Catalan among international students is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the institutional language policy contributes to (1) preserving the use of Catalan, despite the presence of international students, and (2) projecting internationally. However, there may be students (Chinese and Korean in this study) for whom learning Catalan has represented an ordeal, and when they go back home, they do not project a positive stance towards the bilingual context of Catalonia. Ultimately, this may lead those students who think of the UdL as a potential destination to choose another place where Catalan is not an obstacle for them.

The analysis has shown that the students, in general, have a positive attitude towards regulating their own learning and towards learning more than one language at the same time. A heteroglossic approach to teaching Catalan at the UdL would try to reach a balance between the languages the students already know when they arrive at the institution and the languages that they try to learn. At the same time, it would recognise the heterogeneity of the international students in connection with their level of proficiency in a Romance language, a factor that is revealed as essential to understand the different paces in learning Catalan. Furthermore, trying to incorporate the students' multilingual repertoires in teaching of Catalan would be more realistic, because international students live in a multilingual and global environment in which languages co-exist in the same situation. In an international university located in a bilingual context, there can be situations in which different languages inevitably meet. Thus, it seems paradoxical that the language practices at university do not reflect the multilingual environment it attempts to create in its institutional language policy and that the courses that are aimed at facilitating the international students' integration within the institution do not seek the most effective way to achieve this goal. It may well be that the institutional language policy at the UdL needs to redirect its attention towards the goal and structure of the intensive introductory Catalan course by incorporating the regulated use of plurilingual competence to obtain better results and to include those students who may have greater difficulty in learning Catalan.

The monoglossic approach adopted by language instructors can also be discussed from the perspective of the four variables which, according to Baker (2011), need to be considered to decide on the best model of bilingual education. The four variables are: (1) the situation of the

student's language(s); (2) the sociolinguistic situation of the language of the classroom; (3) the societal and educational aims; and (4) the expected outcome. Although Baker's framework is not thought out for the situation of university study abroad, it enables us to reflect upon the adequacy of the monoglossic approach adopted by the language instructors.

In connection with the first variable, Baker suggests that we need to take into account the situation of the students' languages, which can be connected with Cenoz's (2013b) claim for a focus on the multilingual repertoires of the students. Some of the students have a higher level of proficiency in a Romance language than others and they do not manage to exploit the strategy of language transfer with the same degree of efficiency. However, the instructors consider all the students as a homogenous block, adopting the same monolingual methodology. In the case of Korean and Chinese students, the introduction of Spanish could represent a useful scaffolding strategy for those students whose level of proficiency in Spanish is low at their arrival at the UdL and need the instructor's scaffolding to take advantage of the similarities between the two languages.

In connection with Baker's second variable, the sociolinguistic situation of the language of the classroom, Catalan is the dominant language of instruction at the UdL (about 65% of the courses are in Catalan), which creates numerous opportunities for students to learn this language. The resistance or bunker attitude that the high exposure to Catalan triggers in the international students, provokes that those who can, avoid having any content lectures in Catalan and therefore, they create a micro-context where there is no presence of Catalan. This is not realistic, because both at the university and in the sociolinguistic context, Catalan is a usual language of communication. For this reason, adopting a heteroglossic approach where Catalan and Spanish coexist both within and outside the Catalan language classroom, may actually facilitate students' adaptation to the university life and to the local Catalan-Spanish bilingual context.

The third variable in Baker's framework, societal and educational aims, indicates that a model needs to have a clear social or educational goal and be consistent at all times with it. The goal of the Catalan introductory course, which is the setting in which the confrontation between the Korean student and the Catalan language instructor occurred and the setting where most of the students can create their first perception of the institution, is presented in the university webpage as that of providing the international students with the means to follow the classes in Catalan and to better integrate themselves in the university life. In this same line, the officer in charge of the LVS argues that the course is aimed at avoiding a perception of Catalan as an

obstacle. However, this goal is not successfully accomplished in the case of the Korean and Chinese students who avoid having any contact with Catalan. They evaluate the presence of this language as overwhelming, express feelings of vulnerability, and also evaluate the university as a non-professional, insensitive, and irrational institution, which wants to be Catalan monolingual in a Spanish/Catalan bilingual social environment.

Finally, Baker's fourth variable, the expected outcome of bilingual education, can be discussed by considering the main argument used by the Catalan language instructors to reject the idea of adopting a heteroglossic approach in their teaching. They argue that introducing Spanish to learn Catalan can lead students to use Catalan with interferences from Spanish, which projects the idea that the expected outcome is the ideal Catalan monolingual speaker. However, the students do not seem to find any inconvenience in mixing Catalan and Spanish because they actually claim to use them together in class. Besides, mixing Catalan and Spanish does not represent an obstacle for communication in a context where the majority of interlocutors are native Catalan-Spanish bilinguals. Mixing Catalan and Spanish also enables international students to (1) live plurilingual lives while they are abroad and (2) create hybrid mobility student identities by showing that they conducted a stay in a Catalan-Spanish bilingual university, where they learnt both languages. After their stay abroad students take back home the linguistic particularity of the hosting context, a particularity that they can reproduce through their hybrid plurilingualism. Furthermore, those students who mix Catalan and Spanish have more chances to integrate in a Catalan-speaking community than those who absolutely reject learning Catalan. In other words, legitimating a heteroglossic approach to Catalan teaching and learning may help international students to perceive Catalan and Spanish as integral parts of the hosting institution and of the broader sociolinguistic context.

In line with Newman *et al.* (2013), the analysis has shown that the use of monoglossic pedagogies is not suitable and is even counterproductive for students whose mother tongue is not a Romance language. The linguistic immersion model was thought out for the children from Spanish-speaking families in Catalonia who had arrived during the 1950s and 1960s. Nowadays, the linguistic heterogeneity of the coming students at primary, secondary and tertiary education may challenge the model adopted then and require some innovation. The plurilingual practices of UdL international students who speak a Romance language as their L1 show that they achieve a greater level of communicative sophistication when they resort to their mother tongue together with Catalan. Their high capacity to learn Catalan is also beneficial for those students who learn more slowly, as the former act as 'second-teacher

students' and scaffold the learning of their classmates. This natural predisposition of the students to become active agents in the construction of knowledge could be exploited through scaffolding practices as it benefits all the students, those who do well and those who need a push, as Van Lier (2004) shows, into the extended zone of proximal development. Van Lier (2004) considered four possible situations in class. First, when a student receives help from another student, the first one learns because it receives assistance from a more capable peer, who scaffolds her/his learning. Second, when a student works with equal peers, the fact that one of them learns indicates that the other one may be learning as well. Third, a student who is working with less capable peers and providing scaffolding, as a situation in which a second-teacher student decides to intervene in class to assist a peer, s/he is testing what s/he knows. Finally, when a learner resorts to her/his inner resources s/he is developing autonomy and, as the analysis has shown, it enables the most capable student to achieve deeper understanding and greater complexity of the subject.

8.3. Final remarks

This study has focused on the analysis of the mobilisation and distribution of multilingualism for (1) the construction of the identity of the UdL and of its sociolinguistic environment and (2) the teaching and learning of Catalan as an additional language. These two themes share the idea that the top-down language policy focus on a form of multilingualism that is based on a *de facto* monolingualism. In the same line as Moore *et al.* (2012), this thesis has shown that the language policy of the UdL ignores and even discourages the use of plurilingualism as a resource. The language policy aims at turning the UdL into a multilingual context and to adapt to its new multilingual reality through monolingual instruction and these policies ignore that its members are plurilingual individuals who struggle to fit within a framework that requires them to behave as monolinguals. García (2009) would refer to this as applying an additive variant of multilingual education.

However, the analysis of the bottom-up practices shows that the members of the institution are plurilingual individuals who use many languages within the same communicative event to attain their communicative goals. Therefore, in practice, individuals appear to be more oriented towards a model of multilingual education that promotes multilingualism through plurilingual practices. García (2009) calls this variant a 'dynamic' approach, by which plurilingualism is the engine of the programme. As commented above, García compares this variant to an 'all-terrain vehicle' because it enables the coexistence of different languages in

one communicative event, is based on a holistic perception of the students, takes a stance towards linguistic diversity as a resource, and promotes hybrid cultural experiences.

The main motivation of this study has been the analysis of the ambiguities and tensions that emerge in a bilingual university in Catalonia which in the process of attempting to make compatible in its language policy the revitalisation of the minority language with internationalisation of the university. The research reported in this thesis suggests that the university could combine both endeavours through the implementation of a LP that seeks to integrate languages and promote cultural hybridity. International universities in Catalonia need to focus on the promotion of plurilingualism in order to make the revitalisation of Catalan compatible with the promotion of *lingua francas*. This suits not only universities in Catalonia that aim at becoming international but also those situated in other bilingual territories where there is an active campaign for language revitalisation.

Woolard and Frekko (2013) point out that Catalonia is at a turning point and it is shifting from a discourse of exclusion between Catalan and Spanish to a discourse of complementarity between languages. The analysis suggests that the language policy of the UdL may still promote a discourse of exclusion, because it promotes an institution whose multilingualism is made up of separate monolingualisms. However, its content subject lecturers and its international students activate a discourse of complementarity by which Catalan and Spanish can mix and benefit from each other, instead of representing a mutual threat. The institution may consider adapting to the demands of incoming mobility students and content subject lecturers by developing a plurilingual language policy based on the complementariness of Catalan, Spanish and English and making the three simultaneous and essential mediums of instruction.

International universities in Catalonia could benefit from the recognition and legitimisation of practices such as translanguaging not only to teach Catalan to international students but also as a normal practice in the daily academic interactions. Translanguaging as a practice in multicultural educational institutions places the emphasis on the plurilingual individual and, in the case of Catalonia, it would enable the development of Catalan at the same time that students develop their skills in Spanish, English or other languages. This study suggests that plurilingualism and the contact between languages should be perceived as an asset rather than a handicap at all levels in an international university. Following Li and Zhu (2013), the transformative nature of translanguaging could open a space in international universities for plurilingual students and academic and administrative staff to link their personal histories,

experiences, attitudes, beliefs and ideologies into a performance that results into a hybrid cultural environment where international students and staff can position themselves flexibly and affiliate with Catalan as well as with other languages without having to choose.

In short, the present study suggests that the language policy of international universities in Catalonia should set as a goal the promotion and development of plurilingualism and put the focus on plurilingual speakers who are not able to make sense of why they should choose between learning Catalan or Spanish, teaching content or teaching language, affiliating with a policy for language revitalisation or a policy of internationalisation, when they can have it all and at the same time.

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APPENDICES

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