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English as an Academic Lingua Franca in Spanish Tertiary Education: An Analysis of the use of Pragmatic Strategies in English-Medium LectureS.

Director/es

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Tesis Doctoral

ENGLISH AS AN ACADEMIC LINGUA FRANCA IN SPANISH TERTIARY EDUCATION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF PRAGMATIC STRATEGIES IN ENGLISH-MEDIUM LECTURES.

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UNIVERSIDAD DE ZARAGOZA Escuela de Doctorado

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Abstract

Over the last decade a linguistic change has been especially noticeable in higher education contexts due to the increasing use of English as the medium of instruction (EMI) in European universities. There is an undeniable need to know more about how those engaged in international teaching-learning academic activities employ English in their daily practices and, therefore, many studies have been carried out on the topic of English used as lingua franca (ELF) in academic settings. Yet, there is a relative lack of empirical study on ELF academic communication in Spanish universities, when compared with studies in European academic institutions (Mauranen, 2006b; Björkman, 2010, 2011b, 2013). This research reports on the study of EMI practices in different disciplines at the University of Zaragoza (Spain), focusing on the pragmatic strategies participants use to facilitate understanding. These linguistic practices are analysed in order to shed light on the impact English has on the communicative effectiveness in such teaching-learning environments.

Results derive from the analysis of a corpus of 12 EMI lectures recorded in two different programs and they are complemented and supported by semi-structured interviews with the lecturers and a small-scale corpus of PowerPoint presentation slides that those lecturers used to support teaching. A Discourse-Pragmatic approach and an ethnographically oriented methodology have been used to analyse these three data sets. Therefore, data triangulation and methodological triangulation were applied in the current study, which derived both in quantitative and qualitative results. The findings of the study show that 13 different pragmatic strategies were used by the lecturers in the different lecturing sessions recorded in order to fulfil communicative functions such as enhancing explicitness, clarifying and negotiating meaning and/or acceptable usage of the language. The data analysis reveals that the pragmatic strategies observed in the corpus are mainly used to preempt potential communicative breakdowns, but also to remedy production problems which are overtly hindering communication and to co-construct understanding. Supporting the existing studies on English used as the vehicular language for instruction, the findings reveal a highly contextual and situational use of pragmatic strategies.

Resumen

Durante la última década, un cambio lingüístico ha sido especialmente notable en los contextos de educación superior debido al creciente uso del inglés como medio de instrucción (EMI) en las universidades europeas. Por ello, existe una innegable necesidad de saber más sobre las prácticas diarias de quienes participan en actividades académicas internacionales usando el inglés como vehículo de comunicación. Numerosos estudios se han realizado previamente en relación al inglés utilizado como lengua franca (ELF) en el ámbito académico. Sin embargo, existe una relativa falta de estudios empíricos sobre este uso del inglés en las universidades españolas en comparación con estudios similares en instituciones académicas europeas (Mauranen, 2006b; Björkman, 2010, 2011b, 2013). Esta investigación pretende estudiar las prácticas de inglés como medio de instrucción en diferentes disciplinas en la Universidad de Zaragoza (España), centrándose en el tipo de estrategias pragmáticas que utilizan los participantes para facilitar la comprensión. Estas prácticas lingüísticas son analizadas en este estudio con el fin de arrojar luz sobre el impacto que tiene el inglés en la eficacia comunicativa en estos entornos de enseñanza-aprendizaje.

Los resultados derivan del análisis de un corpus de 12 clases magistrales impartidas en inglés como medio de instrucción que fueron grabadas en dos titulaciones diferentes. Estas se complementan con entrevistas semiestructuradas con los profesores y un pequeño corpus de diapositivas de presentaciones en formato PowerPoint que los mismos profesores utilizaron para impartir sus clases. Para analizar estos tres conjuntos de datos se ha utilizado un enfoque discursivo-pragmático y una metodología de orientación etnográfica. Por lo tanto, en este estudio se utiliza la triangulación de datos y la triangulación metodológica, ambas derivando en resultados tanto cuantitativos como cualitativos. Los resultados del estudio muestran 13 estrategias pragmáticas diferentes utilizadas en las sesiones magistrales grabadas para cumplir funciones comunicativas tales como potenciar la explicitud, aclarar y negociar el significado y/o el uso aceptable del lenguaje. El análisis de datos revela que las estrategias pragmáticas observadas en el corpus se utilizan principalmente para evitar posibles problemas comunicativos, pero también para remediar problemas de producción que obstaculizan abiertamente la comunicación y para co-construir la comprensión. Respaldando los estudios existentes sobre el inglés utilizado como lengua vehicular para la instrucción, los resultados revelan un uso altamente contextual y situacional de estrategias pragmáticas.

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Table of contents

Ch	napter 1. Introduction 13
1.	Introduction
	1.1. Contextualisation
	1.2. Rationales for this study
	1.3. Objectives and research questions
	1.4. An overview of the present study
Ch	napter 2. Literature review25
2.	Literature review
	2.1. Introduction26
	2.2. English-medium instruction
	2.2.1. Importance of EMI as an internationalisation strategy
	2.2.2. Terminology and definition: the language-content continuum
	2.2.3. EMI: Experiences, difficulties and requirements
	2.2.4. What kind of English is implied in EMI?
	2.2.5. EMI lectures
	2.3. English as a lingua franca
	2.3.1. Evolving definitions of English as a lingua franca
	2.3.2. Pragmatic Strategies: From SLA to ELF paradigms
	2.3.3. Conceptualisation of pragmatic strategy in the ELF paradigm55
	2.3.4. Accommodation and ELF pragmatics
	2.3.5. Pragmatic strategies reported in ELF studies
	2.3.6. Classification of pragmatic strategies
	2.3.6.1. Clarification strategies
	2.3.6.2. Strategies to keep the conversation flowing
	2.3.6.3. Metadiscourse strategies 69
	2.3.6.4. Multilingual resources
	2.3.7. ELF in academia
	2.3.8. Pragmatic strategies in EMI
Ch	napter 3. Methodology79
3.	Methodology 81
	3.1. Introduction
	3.2. Case study 81

	3.3.	Setting of research	83
	3.4.	Datasets	87
		3.4.1. Description of the EMI lectures corpus	88
		3.4.2. Description of the semi-structured interviews dataset	91
		3.4.3. Description of the PowerPoint presentations dataset	93
	3.5.	Method of analysis	94
		3.5.1. Analysis of lectures	98
		3.5.2. Analysis of semi-structured interviews	103
		3.5.3. Analysis of PowerPoint presentations	104
Ch	apter	4. Results	107
4.	Resu	ılts	
	4.1.	Introduction	109
	4.2.	Results from the semi-structured interviews with lecturers	110
		4.2.1. Background information of the lecturers and the lectures recorde	d111
		4.2.2. Lecturers' perception of their mastery of the English language w lecturing through EMI.	
		4.2.3. Lecturers' description of their students' level of English	
		4.2.4. Description of the teaching style, interaction and communication	
		effectiveness inside the EMI classroom	
	4.3.	Results from the quantitative analysis of the lectures data set	118
	4.4.	Types of pragmatic strategies in EMI lectures	129
		4.4.1. Explicitness strategies	131
		4.4.1.1. Reformulation	132
		4.4.1.2. Defining	136
		4.4.1.3. Self-repetition	139
		4.4.1.4. Other- repetition	143
		4.4.2. Repairing strategies	146
		4.4.2.1. Self-repair	148
		4.4.2.2. Other-repair	154
		4.4.3. Multilingual resources	158
		4.4.3.1. Code-switching	160
		4.4.3.2. Literal translation	178
		4.4.4. Clarification strategies	184
		4.4.4.1. Comprehension check	186
		4.4.4.2. Appeal for help	191
		4.4.4.3. Asking for repetition	196

	4.4.4.4. Clarification request	199
	4.4.5. Focus on form	204
	4.5. Discussion: factors or motivations involved in the use of pragmatic strategies in EMI lectures	
Ch	apter 5. Conclusion	223
5.	Conclusion	225
	5.1. Summary of the study	225
	5.2. Pedagogical implications and proposals to improve EMI instruction	232
	5.3. Limitations of the study and future research	235
6.	References	239
7.	Appendices	267
	7.1. Appendix 1. Semi-structured interview with the lecturers	267
	7.2. Appendix 2. Consent form signed by the lecturers	269
	7.3. Appendix 3. Transcription conventions	270
	7.4. Appendix 4. Report extracted from <i>Atlast.ti</i> Software	275

List of Figures

Figure 2.1.	Internationalisation and language policy (Spolsky, 2004)
Figure 2.2.	Concentric circle model (Kachru, 1985)4
Figure 2.3.	EFL vs. ELF. Taken from Jenkins (2006b: 140)5
Figure 3.1.	Location of Zaragoza in Europe and Aragon's provinces. Source: Wikipedia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaragoza
Figure 3.2.	Data sets8
Figure 3.3.	Coding process through Atlast.ti9
Figure 4.1.	BAM Degree. Marketing research. Topic: Measurement17
Figure 4.2.	MSc in Nanostructured Materials: Topic: Magnetic Nanoparticles 17
Figure 4.3.	BAM Degree. Marketing research. Topic: Measurement17
Figure 4.4.	MSc in Nanostructured Materials: Topic: Magnetic Nanoparticles 17
Figure 4.5.	MSc in Nanostructured Materials. Slide contents in English and notes in Spanish
Figure 4.6.	BAM degree. Slide contents in English and notes in Spanish17
Figure 4.7.	MSc in Nanostructured Materials. Slide contents in Portuguese

List of Tables

Table 2.1.	A continuum of content and language for instruction. Adapted from	24
	Met (1999: 4)	34
Table 2.2.	Pragmatic strategies appearing in ELF studies.	66
Table 3.1.	Data set 1. Corpus of lectures	90
Table 3.2.	Corpus-driven taxonomy of pragmatic strategies.	.102
Table 3.3.	Macro-categories of pragmatic strategies to present the results	.103
Table 4.1.	Pragmatic strategies used by the participants in the lectures data set	.119
Table 4.2.	Number and frequency of occurrences of the pragmatic strategies used in the corpus.	.120
Table 4.3.	Normalised data	.121
Table 4.4.	Number of occurrences of pragmatic strategies in the different lectures	
	that comprise the corpus.	.123
Table 4.5.	Macro-categories of pragmatic strategies.	.130
Table 4.6.	Explicitness strategies.	.131
Table 4.7.	Repairing strategies	.147
Table 4.8.	Multilingual resources.	.158
Table 4.9.	Clarification strategies	.184
Table 4.10.	Focus on form	.205
Table 4.11.	Pragmatic strategies used by the lecturers and their functions	.214

List of Abbreviations

CAT Communication accommodation theory

CEFR Common European Framework of reference for languages

CLIL Content and Language Integrated Learning

CSs Communication strategies

Degree in BAM Degree in Business Administration and Management

EAP English for academic purposes
EFL English as a foreign language
ELF English as a lingua Franca

ELFA English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings

ELT English language teaching
EMI English-Medium Instruction
ESP English for specific purposes

ETP English-taught program

HE Higher Education

HEI Higher Education Institution

ICLHE Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education

L1 First language

L2 Second language

NNS Non-native speakers

PPT PowerPoint Presentation

QCA Qualitative content analysis
SLA Second language acquisition

UZ University of Zaragoza

VOICE Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English

WE World Englishes

Chapter 1. Introduction



1. Introduction

1.1. Contextualisation

The globalisation processes that we are witnessing in the world today require people from a wide spectrum of first languages and cultural backgrounds to communicate with each other through the use of a lingua franca, which in most cases is English. English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) has, therefore, become a major and expanding field of academic research within Applied Linguistics. ELF can be defined as "the use of English amongst multilingual interlocutors whose common language is English and who [usually] communicate in a country or area in which English is not used in daily life" (Smit, 2005: 67). Therefore, English is currently the dominant language in many domains, and academia or tertiary education is one of the most prominent ones.

Over the last decade, the use of English has been especially noticeable in Higher Education contexts as part of the globalisation process and the internationalisation policies that it has brought. Particularly, the growing use of English language for university purposes (i.e., to teach, learn and research) together with the international mobility of people and the homogenising progression in global HE have given rise to a greater contact and interconnectedness among people at the university, often with very different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Björkman, 2008). As regards teaching, English is increasingly used

1. Introduction

as a means of instruction (henceforth EMI) in European higher education (European Commission, 2003, 2005). Particularly European universities advertise English-medium programs and courses on an unprecedented scale, allowing participation of students and lecturers from a wide range of countries. The implementation of EMI programs has, thus, brought new linguistic and communicative challenges that are undeniably faced by means of using English as a lingua franca for the needs of communication within the international academic community (Mauranen, 2006c).

EMI programmes are quite recent in most of the countries worldwide and there is a limited experience and understanding of the implications of teaching through English (Airey, 2011; Woźniak, 2013; Dearden, 2016). Still today many studies reflect the teachers' dissatisfaction with the quality of support their higher education institutions offer when faced with the many challenges that EMI poses in terms of the lack of specific training programs for bilingual education (Airey, 2011; Woźniak, 2013) or the lack of guidelines for teaching EMI (Dearden, 2016). One such challenges is the EMI teacher's role regarding language issues. This is a crucial matter as the vast majority of EMI lecturers in Europe are non-native speakers of English, specialists in their field, as opposed to being language experts. In fact, in academia English is used as vehicular language by which target groups of international students and lecturers can be attracted and can engage in educational discourse. Therefore, English is chosen to make tertiary education and scientific dissemination possible in many institutions and not to help students to learn native-oriented English (Smit, 2010; Mauranen, 2012). As such, neglecting the linguistic aspect on EMI courses may eventually negatively affect students' learning outcomes.

Research, thus, should acknowledge the current function of English in allowing academia actors to participate in academic activities such as EMI lectures and seminars. Despite the current amount of investigation (Björkman, 2010; Dafouz & Smit, 2016; Macaro, 2018), more theoretical frameworks, practical implications and recommendations to be implemented in the English-medium classroom are still needed. In line with this, few studies have been carried out on the topic of teaching through English from the perspective of ELF to date. Some researchers have resolved this issue focusing on English under the scope of English as Lingua Franca in Academic settings (ELFA) (Mauranen, 2012). Most of these investigations have been primarily conducted in Swedish, Finnish, or Norwegian

universities (Seidlhofer, 2004; Björkman, 2010; Mauranen, 2007, 2010, 2012) and they have provided important empirical descriptions of ELF usage.

Particularly, in Spanish Higher Education (HE) institutions English as a medium of instruction (EMI) is currently being adopted for academic activities (Velilla & Vazquez, 2016), as English is considered a fundamental skill, crucial for mobility and employability, and not simply a foreign language (Alcón, 2011; Ministerio de Educación Cultura y Deporte, Spain, 2014). At University level, the increase in the provision of courses in English is largely considered essential if Spanish universities are to compete for international students. EMI is meant to be one of the main tools for internationalising the Spanish universities, as it fosters students and staff mobility, exchanging intercultural values and enhancing a multilingual and multicultural approach to a European /global citizenship in the long run. Therefore, higher education is a sphere where oral communication, in general, and academic discussion and teaching, in particular, demand sophisticated verbal skills which are even more worth exploring when English is not the native language but the lingua franca and/or the medium of instruction. Consequently, there is an undeniable need to know much more about how those engaged in international HE teaching/learning activity employ English successfully. Hence, there is an existing overlap between ELF and EMI research agendas.

Nonetheless, there is a relative lack of empirical research on Spanish ELF academic communication compared to European academic ELF use. The two research undertakings into English-medium education and ELF have developed more or less independently from each other (Smit, 2010). Particularly, in Spanish HE the amount of research on EMI intertwined with ELF paradigm is reduced. Most research in this respect has been conducted within the scope of CLIL, or most amply under the Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education umbrella (henceforth ICLHE), analysing it from the perspective of the language demands and support for English-medium instruction in HE Spanish institutions, most often with an interest on the interface between content and language (Dafouz & Núñez, 2009; Ruiz de Zarobe, Sierra & Gallardo, 2011; Aguilar & Rodríguez, 2012; Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2011; Ball & Linday, 2013).

The current research takes place at the University of Zaragoza, located in the North-East of Spain. This is a typically monolingual and monocultural research and teaching university. Domestic undergraduate students make most of the student population. Only a 4% of them are international students coming from Erasmus and Latin America exchange

1. Introduction

programmes (Vazquez, et al., 2019). Yet it is currently driving an internationalisation agenda 'at home' (Foskett, 2010: 47) as it is providing services to support international students' arrival and promoting local students' global mindset reflected in its programs' academic curriculum and the numerous international exchanges. Teaching is mainly conducted in Spanish, the national language, with the exception of courses taught in departments of languages. Yet, outside those departments, EMI is a reality in selected BA and MA courses and for PhD dissertation programs at this university. EMI instruction is, therefore, quite a new approach at this Spanish tertiary education institution. Hence, a case study at a particular university where EMI has not been the object of study yet is expected to promote critical reflection and discussion on the issue to inspire possible improvements.

This research is intended to study the pragmatic strategies used by lecturers at the University of Zaragoza. The EMI teaching and learning scenarios analysed in the study are considered ELF settings. Previous research on ELF pragmatics has demonstrated that successful interactions among ELF speakers appear to be characterised by the use of pragmatic strategies to achieve communicative alignment, adaptation, local accommodation and attunement (Firth, 1996). Yet, these studies have also shown that the accommodative processes vary in its local realisations, (Pölzl & Seidlhofer, 2006: 153) shaped by different situation-specific conventions and needs. Therefore, it has been observed that some types of strategies seem to be used more frequently than others in different ELF settings. The use of these strategies use involves issues of identity, community and culture, all of which have also been concerns of ELF researchers (Jenkins, 2007, 2014). On the other hand, there is common agreement among researchers as regards ELF speakers' orientations to mutual comprehensibility and preparedness for different asymmetries. Early work has focused on a selection of pragmatic strategies and features (e.g. Firth, 1996; Wagner & Firth, 1997; House, 1999; Meierkord, 2000) as well as important descriptions of the effort put into preventing misunderstanding in general (Mauranen, 2006b). A wide variety of pragmatic strategies have been observed in ELF speakers' speech to pre-empt and solve breakdowns in communication (i.e. to overcome 'gaps' and to achieve intended meaning on becoming aware of 'problems' arising during the planning of an utterance) (Mauranen, 2006a, 2012; Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Lichtkoppler 2007; Kaur, 2009; Klimpfinguer, 2009; Björkman, 2010, 2014; Cogo, 2010; Smit, 2010). In the academic context, pragmatic strategies have been mostly studied in Northern European universities where English was previously embraced as the vehicular language for instruction (Björkman, 2010; Smit, 2010; Suviniitty,

2012). Therefore, this study is aimed at providing empirical evidence of the contextual and situational use of pragmatic strategies in an ELF Spanish academic context where the linguistic and cultural background of the participants is different from those in other contexts.

This study is based on the assumption that in order to carry out academic activities using English in a non-English medium culture, as is the case of the University of Zaragoza, some specific pragmatic strategies are needed to ensure communicative effectiveness and participants engagement. Hence, the study looks at the micro level of the pragmatic choices lecturers make during their EMI discourse, the functions they perform in communication and how social meaning is generated in those academic interactions. Most precisely, this study analyses the role played by specific pragmatic strategies used by different Spanish lecturers and international students to prevent and solve breakdowns in communication and to negotiate meaning successfully during EMI lessons. The particular EMI lectures analysed in the study belong to two teaching programs of different disciplinary areas. Particularly, this study deals with the bachelor's degree in Business Administration and Management in English, offered at the Economics faculty, and the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials for Nanotechnology Applications, offered at the Science faculty in this university, which are both completely English-mediated courses.

1.2. Rationales for this study

The reason to concentrate the study on higher education contexts and most particularly on the specific EMI practices in the aforementioned programs at the University of Zaragoza is the fact that they combine English as a lingua franca linguistic experiences and currently (almost new) developing EMI teaching practices at this institution. Therefore, an enhanced knowledge of ELF theoretical concepts and empirical findings will provide new insights into practices where the role of English as a lingua franca is largely underestimated (Dewey, 2011) –as is the case of Spanish academia— approaching the study from the premise that the context where the interactions are taking place is different from the ones in previous ELF studies (Mauranen, 2006b, 2017; Kaur, 2009; Smit, 2009; Björkman, 2010, 2014). In view of the clear relation between the ELF and EMI research focus as regards the academic scenarios and the fruitful results of this conjoint kind of research, this study advocates for

1. Introduction

the cross-fertilisation of insights of both research lines conducted side by side. The study is expected to contribute to building on the ELF and EMI research literature in Spanish academic settings and to achieve new potential findings on the English language function of allowing social actors to participate in classroom discourse.

The EMI lecturing analysed in this study takes place in a university in Southern Europe, where the linguistic ecology is very different from that in English-dominant universities. Besides, although in continental European contexts in general the presence of English, via EMI, means that English is added to an already existing local language strongly identified with the nation-state (Spanish in Spain, Danish in Denmark, for instance), some questions are specific to southern European contexts, vis-à-vis northern European contexts, since EMI is far more established in the latter that in the former. In the case of the university of Zaragoza, there is normally official governmental backing for EMI but, at the same time, there are some concerns related to the potentially divisive nature of EMI because instruction through English may limit access from lower-economic groups and because this particular university's internationalisation policy considers Spanish a global valuable language which also attracts international students and a linguistic resource that can be exploited in terms of mobility and lingua-cultural assets (Velilla & Vázquez, 2016). Besides, the linguistic and cultural background of Spanish lecturers and students in academic contexts is radically different from those in previously studied settings such as the University of Helsinki (Mauranen, 2006b) or the Stockholm University (Björkman, 2013), and, therefore, the pragmatic strategies used to achieve understanding throughout ELF are expected to be different or have a different incidence than in universities in Scandinavian countries, for instance. ELF speakers in these particular Spanish-surrounded academic encounters can bring diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds with them and it is assumed that communication can rely, in part, on shared language(s) norms and expectations.

Besides, the present PhD dissertation can be framed within two concomitant research projects that have explored English and its status as the lingua franca of international academic and scientific communication and most precisely its role in the internationalisation process of HE and as the vehicular language of instruction at the University of Zaragoza. First, this dissertation was born at the beginning of the research project "Genre ecology and ecologies of languages: the dynamics of local, transnational and international research communication" (2016-2019), led by Prof. Carmen Pérez-Llantada and funded by the

Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness and the European Social Fund (FEDER). This project examined the relationship between academic genres and academic languages used to communicate in everyday professional practices and how their dynamics were shaped in the university context. The current research has contributed to fulfilling the objectives of this research through the collection and analysis of a corpus of English-medium instruction lectures (EMI) in two different degrees at the University of Zaragoza in order to investigate, among other aspects, the use of different languages in this academic events.

Secondly, this research has also its roots on a previous project entitled "Linguistic Diversity on the International Campus" (2015-2017). This was an ethnographic international project coordinated by Prof. Jennifer Jenkins (University of Southampton) and Prof. Anna Mauranen (University of Helsinki) whose purpose was to provide insights of the academic language policies and practices of different universities in nine countries around the world, included the university of Zaragoza, Spain. By means of combining quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches these nine case studies presented the practices and policies that granted their institutions an international status -EMI being in most of them a relevant factor— in order to learn from each other's practices and improve their language policies (Jenkins & Mauranen, 2019). As a contribution to this study the author of this PhD dissertation carried out semi-structured interviews to researchers at the Economics Faculty to investigate their textual practices, analysing the participants' use of academic genres and academic languages in their research, teaching and administrative management activities. Data collected revealed the existence of multilingual communication dynamics in the national language, in English and, to a lesser extent, in other foreign languages evidencing the hegemony and high communicative value of the English language for international interaction (Vazquez et al., 2019), which served as starting point to conduct the current investigation.

Despite this preliminary research on the status of English as the lingua franca for international academic and scientific communication within the University of Zaragoza, there are still issues concerning the engagement of this university with EMI at the micro level of the lecturers' strategic and pragmatic discourse-developing practices during content lectures at this university. These issues will be addressed in this PhD thesis.

1.3. Objectives and research questions

The main aims of this research are to determine the pragmatic strategies most frequently used by participants in content lectures at the University of Zaragoza to facilitate understanding where English is used as lingua franca and determine the motivations for their use. This research seeks to explore how ELF speakers regulate their use of English in lecturing interaction and monologue and the way(s) they negotiate their linguistic differences arising from their diverse first language backgrounds and their varying levels of proficiency. It aims to show how the different linguistic backgrounds of the participants impact on pragmatic norms leading to changes in the lexis, grammar and code. It also seeks to provide insights into the relationship between the presentation slides that the teachers use during the lectures and the pragmatic strategies used along the teaching discourse in order to see if the written genre (and the language(s) used in it) has an impact on the oral pragmatic choices the lecturers make when in need to communicate effectively. In all, this PhD dissertation aims at analysing the use of English as a lingua franca in English-medium lectures at the University of Zaragoza. Results of the study are reported with the purpose of promoting lecturers' awareness of their ELF discursive features to contribute to reducing the gap between how teachers perceive language and communication and how real communication in English-medium tertiary education currently takes place.

The research questions that this dissertation is intended to answer are as follows:

- RQ1. What are the main pragmatic strategies used by participants in EMI lectures at the University of Zaragoza to facilitate understanding when using English as a lingua franca in their classes? What functions do they fulfil?
- RQ2. What factors or motivations are involved in these participants' use of a particular set of pragmatic strategies during oral communication in EMI lectures?

1.4. An overview of the present study

This PhD Dissertation consists of five chapters, each of them devoted to a specific relevant aspect that frames the investigation carried out.

Chapter 2 aims at building bridges between EMI and ELF research to understand the communication process carried out in international university EMI settings given the overlap between their investigation agendas. The globalisation process has stirred the use of English as the medium of instruction for many university programs at different institutions worldwide. The proliferation of such programs has raised certain concerns on the impact the use of the English language may have of the teaching activity inside and outside the classrooms and this chapter examines some insights to these concerns drawing on teachers' experiences and acknowledged difficulties. The chapter also draws attention to the development of the concept of English as a lingua franca from the coinage of its term until present time. Multiples definitions have been given to this particular use of the English language since multiple researchers have studied this phenomenon using different approaches. Nevertheless, all of them agree on its use as a vehicular language in situations where it serves as the common language or the vehicle for communication. The aim of this chapter is to highlight the current conceptualisation of ELF as a situational contextdependent use of the language, i.e., it is not conceptualised as a variety, but defined from a functional point of view. Subsequently, it approaches ELF from the field of pragmatics. Since the purpose of this research is to understand the communication process that takes place among students and teachers inside EMI lectures, this research draws on previous research on the pragmatic behaviour of ELF users when immersed in communicative situations. This chapter discusses the most relevant research work done on this specific branch in linguistics focusing on the different pragmatic strategies in ELF oral interactions. The chapter deals with the definition of 'pragmatic strategy' from its conceptualisation under the SLA scope to the ELF undertaking. Besides, it takes on the Accommodation theory and some other relevant insights to understand ELF successful communication and it includes a taxonomy of pragmatic strategies reported in previous ELF studies. Finally, it reviews the pragmatic choices lecturers made to carry out their teaching tasks in different EMI setting in which this phenomenon has already been under analysis. The content of its final section serves as the cornerstone of this study since it allows to inform this investigation with previous work and then to apply that knowledge into new one.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology. It describes the setting of research and the participants in order to understand how the particular context in which this study takes place is different from those revised in Chapter 2. It also describes the datasets and the methods employed to answer the research questions that were posed at the beginning of this project,

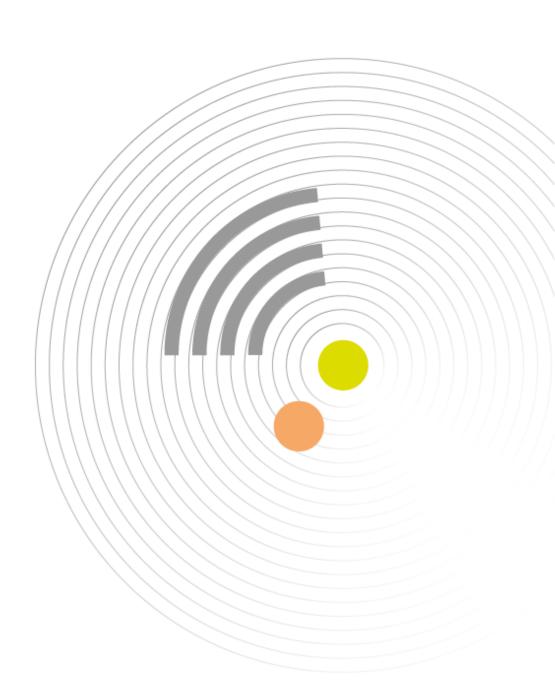
1. Introduction

which involve triangulation at two different levels (Denzin, 1970: 472): data triangulation and methodological triangulation. Three different datasets have been collected and analysed to answer the research questions from quantitative and qualitative points of view. First, a corpus of recorded EMI lectures, which has been analysed from a discourse-pragmatic approach. Secondly, a corpus of semi-structured interviews with lecturers, which provides the ethnographic insight to inform on the results obtained from the recorded lectures. Finally, a corpus of PowerPoint presentations used in the same EMI lectures recorded, which serves the purpose of establishing the linguistic interaction that both genres generate in that particular EMI settings, i.e., it is used to determine the impact the written linguistic-pragmatic choices have on the oral ones.

Chapter 4 presents the results obtained from the analysis of the aforementioned datasets. It establishes a data-driven taxonomy of pragmatic strategies used by the participants in this specific research scenario, which in turn, guides the presentation of results along the chapter. The data gathered is firstly presented in light of the quantitative results obtained and, after that, each pragmatic strategy is commented and illustrated from a qualitative perspective. The resulting pragmatic strategies have been grouped into five macro-categories in order to ease the process of presentation and commentary of results and to shed light on the main pragmatic behaviours of the lecturers participating. Diverse excepts extracted from the corpus inform the real functions of each of them to achieve successful communication in the task of lecturing through the medium of English.

Chapter 5 presents the conclusions obtained and some pedagogical implications to take into consideration in future EMI practices. This chapter summarises the main ideas presented along the study building bridges between ELF and EMI research undertakings. It summarises the quantitative and qualitative results of this study as regards the different pragmatic strategies encountered in the participants EMI discourses and reviews the actual functions they serve in order to understand the communicative process that takes place in such academic encounters. The need to re-examine traditional methodological practices and encourage teachers to engage with an ELF-oriented perspective is highlighted.

Chapter 2. Literature review



2. Literature review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter draws attention to academia as an international domain which is currently promoting the use of English as the medium of instruction (henceforth EMI) for different academic subjects. The incorporation of English as the vehicle for instruction in academia means a challenge to the traditional research and teaching traditions. It also means a challenge to the language intervention in many tertiary education institutions. Therefore, this chapter discusses the concept of EMI and its overlap with the ELF conceptualisation and explains how the "E" in both is understood in this study. It also describes the implications EMI lecturing have in terms of the participants in these academic activities, the requirements and/or difficulties they experience and the interaction that takes place in those practices.

The second section of this chapter presents an overview of research on ELF pragmatics, in order to provide a theoretical framework for the study. The increasing use of English as a lingua franca in a wide range of settings provides the possibility of analysing its use from diverse perspectives. Of these settings, the international university is perhaps one of the most interesting, especially considering the relatively sudden change of the medium of instruction from the local language to English in many universities in Europe and elsewhere. The section is concerned with the definition of English as a Lingua Franca, since

there is not a universally accepted definition and its conceptualisation has been evolving as research has approached it from different linguistic perspectives. It also discusses the different perspectives towards the study of the linguistic/strategic behaviour of speakers from ELF and SLA approaches and it presents the concept of 'pragmatic strategies', relating it to the preceding term 'communication strategies', pertaining to Second Language Acquisition area of studies. Subsequently this section presents a review of research on pragmatic strategies, including a classification of strategies studied to date. Finally, the last section of the chapter is concerned with the studies on pragmatic strategies already done in specific academic contexts where English is used as medium of instruction.

2.2. English-medium instruction

2.2.1. Importance of EMI as an internationalisation strategy

Knight (2004: 11) defines 'internationalisation' as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural and global dimension into the objectives, functions and teaching/learning, research and service functions of a university of higher education system". In the last decades, as part of internationalisation policies, there has been an increase in the provision of courses in English as Medium of Instruction (EMI) in European universities as English is considered a fundamental skill for mobility and employability programs. Therefore, EMI is considered part of an internationalisation strategy (Coleman, 2006)

University-level education constitutes a distinct research and educational field owing to its specific characteristics as regards language and education policy, institutional interests as well as learners and instructors involved (Smit, 2011). Concerning educational and language policies, the fundamental socio-political changes in tertiary education across Europe in the last two decades are generally identified with different language-related initiatives and policies such as the 'Bologna process' for harmonising Higher Education (European Commission, 1999) and the 'Erasmus Programme' (European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students, 1987). They have not only led to restructure university programs and curricula but have also made English-medium education a reality (Räisänen & Fortanet-Gómez, 2008; Wilkinson, 2008). According to Brown (2010)

2. Literature review

the term 'internationalisation' is used in higher education in Europe to refer to six groups of activities and aspects: (i) physical mobility of students and staff; (ii) recognition in other countries of degrees and other qualifications; (iii) curriculum reform to install an international character in the contents and delivery of the programs. This category includes, among other aspects, bilingual education; (iv) transnational education (international education, off-shore campus, etc.); (v) promotion of higher education institutions, normally with the aim of attracting international students; (vi) adoption of the European Higher Education Area program, i.e., university teaching structured in three cycles, common guidelines to ensure quality and accreditation.

Although multilingualism is embedded in the official policies of the European Union and the Council of Europe such as the Bologna Process (European Commission, 1999) in order to provide for 'linguistic diversity', English has become a key aspect of the strategic response to globalisation of many European tertiary education institutions. Language is a key component of academic life and English language happens to be the nexus for many academic stakeholders with different linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds. Most universities in European non-English-speaking countries have taken on an internationalisation agenda (Graddol, 2006: 74), relying mostly on an increasing adoption of English as medium of instruction in master's, bachelor's and PhD programmes to overcome their "linguistic disadvantage" vis-à-vis the dominance of English medium in attracting foreign students (OECD 2010: 315). In their study, "English-Taught Programmes in European Higher Education", Wächter and Maiworm, analysed 1,555 institutions of higher education in 28 European countries. In such study they enumerate nine different reasons for the introduction of EMI programmes (Wächter & Maiworm, 2008: 68):

- 1. To attract international students who would not enrol in a programme in the domestic language.
- 2. To make domestic students fit for the global or international market.
- 3. To sharpen the profile of the institution in comparison to others in the country.
- 4. Research-oriented universities felt that it was important to introduce EMI to secure the research base by attracting future PhD students.
- 5. To provide high-level education for students from the third world.
- 6. To attract foreign students to become part of the workforce of the country.
- 7. To counterbalance the lack of enrolment of domestic students.

- 8. To enable specialised courses to run despite insufficient numbers of domestic students.
- 9. To improve the income base of the institution.

Yet, despite internalisation policies originated from documents issued by a central organism such as the European Union, much more is needed than these written documents to arrive to practitioners' ideological positions and stakeholder's interventions. The consideration of an academic institution as 'international' goes hand in hand with applying internationalisation policies and practices, which includes introducing English as a linguistic tool. Therefore, language education policies require a profound understanding of the interconnections between the languages available in a country, the educational jurisdictions or speech community and the actors who may shape those interconnections (Macaro, 2018: 45). All these aspects are well covered in Spolsky's (2004: 13) definition of Language policy: [it refers to] "all language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity". Spolsky proposes a theoretical model of Language policy (2004) which requires three components (See Figure 2.1):

- Language intervention, planning or management: the attempt to regulate the language practices in a specific social group or institution.
- Language beliefs or ideology: constructions of the world in connection with language as a system to be used and learnt for communicative purposes.
- Language practices: communicative situations in which the participants select among the varieties that make up the linguistic repertoire of a speech community but also enact particular discourse and social roles with specific goals in mind.

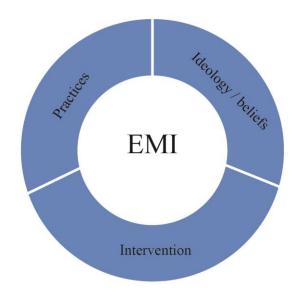


Figure 2.1. Internationalisation and language policy (Spolsky, 2004).

In relation to the second component in Spolky's model of Language Policy (2004), language beliefs and ideology, the politically welcomed incorporation of EMI into HE practices did not only trigger positive attitudes. The rapidly increasing use of English as medium of European tertiary institutions has stirred concerns –specifically within the field of applied linguistics (Smit, 2010)— with its potential implications on various levels. One of such concerns was the impoverishment of the diversity of academic languages (Gill, 2007), the respective national languages losing out their functions and, therefore, having repercussion in terms of the prestige attached to them within their speech communities (Ammon & McConnell, 2002). More practical concerns are related to the actual teaching and learning practices (Dafouz & Núñez, 2010) as well as people's ideas and beliefs about participating in English-medium tertiary education (Fortanet-Gomez, 2012).

As regards the practice or the real implementation of EMI, particularly in Europe, Wächter y Maiworm (2014) show that the number of programs in English has increased from 725 in 2002, when the Association for Academic Cooperation (ACA) conducted its first study, reaching 2,389 in 2007 and 8,089 in 2014. Yet, there is a clear North-South division in the number of ETPs. In the Nordic region, 61% of institutions offer undergraduate or master programs fully taught in English. In central-western Europe and the Baltic countries there is also a considerable proportion of institutions offering ETPs (44.5% and 38.7% respectively). In the south (including Spain), only one fifth (or less) of the institutions offer programs in English, which represents approximately 5% of all programs.

In the Spanish HE context, EMI has not yet been so widespread, possibly due to the status of Spanish as an international language and a popular foreign language (Vázquez et al., 2019). Yet, in recent years there has been a considerable upsurge of ETPs (English-taught programmes). This has possibly been the outcome of the "Strategy for the internationalisation of Spanish universities 2015-2020" issued by the Spanish Ministry of Education (2014) to enhance "efficiency, excellence and competitiveness in a global environment" (p. 2). This policy explicitly encourages the internationalisation 'abroad' of the universities. This implies all forms of education with connections beyond the border of a university encompassing numerous elements such as student mobility, teaching and research staff, programs and courses offered, curriculum and innovation and research projects (Knight, 2004). This action plan enhances Spanish and English as languages of education to foster the internationalisation of the university system, i.e. to attract international talent, increase competitiveness in the international sphere and enhance cooperation with other world regions. 'At home', this policy also encourages HE institutions to increase the number of full or partial bilingual degrees (English-taught programmes or English-taught subjects) and double degrees with European universities. It also invites them to engage in other initiatives such as 'internationalisation of the curriculum' (through an integration of knowledge and perspectives based on a multitude of national and cultural contexts) and 'internationalisation at home' (the inclusion of intercultural competence skills, foreign language-related extracurricular activities, etc.). The shift towards ETP can further be explained by the Spanish public demand of EMI in primary and secondary education, English being "a fundamental skill crucial for mobility and employability and not simply a foreign language" (Dearden, 2014: 21).

It should be noted, though, that a rather systematic development of policies aiming at regulating language-related aspects such as the implementation of EMI and the internationalisation of the curriculum has most often taken place in HE institutions in officially bilingual autonomous communities in Spain (Galicia, the Basque Country, Catalonia and the Valencian Community). Yet, this has not always been the case in HE institutions in monolingual (Spanish-only) autonomous communities (i.e. the University of Zaragoza). HE institutions in bilingual autonomous communities in Spain aim at regulating language use on campus with a view to preserving the regional community's language (Garrett et al., 2012; Cots et al., 2014) and this has led to relevant insights on the implementation of EMI. For instance, Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2011) analyse the

University of The Basque Country (UBC) in light of the internationalist, translocalist and globalist models proposed by Cham & Dimock (2008); and Cots (2013) analyses the ambiguities and tensions that arise within a Catalan/Spanish HEI (i.e. University of Lleida), where English has been introduced as a third vehicular language, looking into the three components included in Spolky's Language Policy theory (2004) of a speech community. There have also been attempts at proposing more ample conceptions to depict the variety of present-day multilingual tertiary education sites and embrace the multiplicity of labels it has been given. This is the case of Dafouz & Smit (2016) who propose the use of an alternative notion: English-Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings (EMEMUS) and claim the need for considering language policy according to three separable dimensions: language management, practices and the agents' beliefs.

2.2.2. Terminology and definition: the language-content continuum

The term EMI itself is relatively new and there seems to be no universally accepted definition of it. EMI, as it is understood in this study, simply describes "the use of English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English" (Dearden, 2014: 4). Yet the term 'English as a medium of instruction' contains an aspect that we can easily problematise: 'a medium'. To what extent is EMI used only as a medium to obtain a teaching-learning purpose? What is understood by 'medium'? Is it only the lingua franca (vehicle) among the participants in this teaching/learning contexts or is it rather part of the learning outcome?

Such questions usually lead to the comparison of EMI with other types of instruction. First, EMI is different from English as a foreign language (EFL). EFL is aimed at students with first languages different from English who aim at achieving a native-like competence and performance in the English language —either Standard British or Standard American—. EFL programmes are not related to any particular academic subject or career orientation but the aim is that students acquire the competence to communicate in different types of English-speaking environments (British Council/TEPAV, 2015). Secondly, EMI is sometimes used as a synonym of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). However, CLIL has a dual educational objective built into its title, the enhancement of both content and language. The integration of both components is achieved through attention to four key elements of

CLIL teaching, known as the four Cs of CLIL: content, communication, cognition, and culture (Brown & Bradford, 2017: 330). CLIL approaches, in the specific case of Spain, have been largely implemented at primary and secondary school levels (Dafouz & Sánchez, 2013) in which CLIL instructors share responsibility for subject mastery and for language skills. EMI is also different from ESP (English for Specific Purposes), which refers to the teaching of English for specific needs in academic or professional contexts (e.g. English for Journalism or English for Business), and it also differs from EAP (English for Academic Purposes), which is teaching designed to provide students with the linguistic knowledge and discourse competence that will enable them to operate successfully at a university which delivers its academic subjects through the medium of English.

In fact, EMI has been described as "an umbrella term for academic subjects taught through English" because it makes "no direct reference to the aim of improving students' English" (Dearden & Macaro, 2016: 456); in other words, "[it] focuses on content learning only" (Smit & Dafouz, 2012: 4). Brown and Bradford's (2017: 330) examination of some of the ways in which EMI has been defined in the literature shows that the distinguishing attribute of EMI is its focus on subject-content mastery, i.e., by definition EMI "highlight[s] the centrality of academic content and emphasise[s] the lack of explicit language learning aims in EMI courses". We can see the difference between EMI and the aforementioned teaching approaches by considering the focus of the teaching and learning objectives as content-driven or language-driven (See Table 2.1.). To do so, we need a continuum based on the intended learning outcomes of a particular classroom in which the language being used is not the first language of the students and/or the teachers.



Content-driven

- Content is taught in L2
- Content learning is a priority
- Language learning is secondary
- Contents objectives are determined by course goals or curriculum
- Students are evaluated on content mastery

Content & language-driven

- Content is taught in L2
- Content and language are both prioritised.
- Dual commitment to language to language and contentlearning.
- Contents and language objectives are determined by course goals or curriculum
- Students are evaluated on content and language mastery/proficiency

Language-driven

- Content is used to learn an L2
- Language learning is a priority
- Content learning is incidental
- Language objectives are determined by the L2 course goals or curriculum
- Students are evaluated on language skills/proficiency

Table 2.1. A continuum of content and language for instruction. Adapted from Met (1999: 4).

Brown and Bradford (2017) argue that many EMI courses entail a 'sink-or-swim' approach in which students are expected to master the English language. This does not mean, however, that EMI courses cannot focus on the English language at some point. According to these researchers "EMI classes may incorporate elements of language sensitivity and language support" (p. 330). In some cases, they even may include bridge phases with explicit language learning and assessment components for students before they begin taking EMI content classes (Brown, 2014)¹. However, English is, above all, a tool for transmitting subject content, and language learning is an implicit or incidental outcome. As shown in Table 2.1, the learning outcomes and assessment are both tied directly to subject content. The extent to which content and language learning are included as implicit or incidental aims of EMI courses is context driven, often depending on the personal attitudes of the individual EMI instructor or the discipline taught (Brown & Bradford, 2017), since these courses may have the aim of equipping students with academic skills to operate successfully in international environments, a skill-set of which English is a part (Bradford, 2015). These authors provide, hence, an updated definition of EMI based on the working definition proposed in Dearden's (2015) study of EMI and which the present study subscribes. It is as follows: "EMI entails the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where

34

¹ It is the case of the Degree in Business Administration and Management at the university of Zaragoza.

the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English. It may or may not include the implicit aim of increasing students' English language abilities" (Brown & Bradford, 2017: 330).

If we turn to ELF, it is also a different concept from EMI but at the same time overlapping. A defining feature of EMI is that it works as a contact language which is not spoken by the majority of the population outside the formal learning environment (Macaro, 2018). Therefore, the participants in EMI classrooms might be certainly not surrounded by English in their non-academic settings, which means that their contact with this language may occur substantially (or only) during their EMI lessons². This defining criterion ties in well with Smit's approach to ELF defined as "the use of English amongst multilingual interlocutors whose common language is English and who [usually] communicate in a country or area in which English is not used in daily life" (Smit, 2005: 67). The current research conforms with the latter definition as it examines English-medium settings in which multilingual lecturers and students use English for communicative-academic purposes in a country where English is not the local language. Besides, EMI is directly connected to ELF in the sense that, as Jenkins explains "English [...] has become a key aspect of the strategic response to globalisation of many universities" (Jenkins, 2014: 5) and in general for the internationalisation in higher education institutions. Therefore, becoming international implies using English as the vehicle for communication and in tertiary education, in many cases, this takes the shape of 'vehicle for instruction'.

2.2.3. EMI: Experiences, difficulties and requirements

Using a lingua franca as the medium of instruction can involve not only internationalisation advantages, but also challenges. The question to answer in this section is 'who uses EMI?' In order to answer this question, we should problematise and define the kind of participants involved in English-mediated lectures.

What makes ELF interactions in academic contexts particularly interesting in this regard is their variability: the participants might represent a variety of different linguacultural backgrounds, their command of English often varies, and the interactions can take

35

² This is the case of the participants in the current research.

place in different settings and for different purposes. This means that the provision of EMI courses in higher education institutions should not only become a matter of introducing English as part of internationalisation agenda of academic institutions. It needs the implementation of certain policies³ within the requirements of every institution and to do so it needs a re-consideration in the light of how to achieve fluid communicative academic practices when English is not the first language of the majority of the participants. It is quintessential to explore the impact/effects of changing the medium of instruction on the teaching-learning situation, especially on the everyday practices of their partakers: lecturers and students.

Considering firstly the students, one of the main aspects institutions and practitioners should bear in mind when approaching EMI practices is the distinction between "speakers" and "learners" of English in these contexts (Björkman, 2008). As long as the focus is on content, and not on form, these language users should be referred to as 'speakers' rather than 'learners'. Language learning is not an explicitly stated learning outcome of the study programmes (See Table 2.1.). The English language is viewed in this case as a tool, and not as a goal in itself. Just as language users in general need to adapt their language to suit particular need in particular settings, speakers who use ELF need to learn to use English in specific environments or scenarios (Mortensen, 2013), which in the case of EMI lectures are academic.

Studies focusing on students' perceptions towards EMI programs have reached different conclusions. Drawing on a high number of studies concerned with this issue around the world, Macaro (2018: 89-100) concludes that there is a clear awareness on the part of the students of the potential that English as an international language can have on their future. However, many students express their reservations about the way that its implementation without more coherent language policies is leading to academic failure. A concern raised in these studies is whether EMI will be divisive rather than inclusive depending on the student's socio-economic chances to access and succeed this type of education (Macaro, 2018).

Among the motivations for choosing EMI courses, different researchers asking students in different academic institutions worldwide have obtained different answers. Kang

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³ Language policy may refer to all language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity (Spolsky, 2004:13).

and Park (2005) used a questionnaire to ask students in a South Korean Engineering institution and concluded that most students enrolled in EMI courses because they had no other choice since that programme included the subject they wanted to study. Hence, in this particular institution, improving academic and spoken English was not among the most popular reasons for enrolling on a EMI programme. Yet different scenarios and different students may also have a linguistic learning component in enrolling in such EMI subjects (Brown & Bradford, 2017).

If we turn the attention to the EMI teachers, Bjorkman (2010: 78) considers that they "have a pivotal role in such settings, for they remain the main form of communicating content knowledge to students in higher education". If we describe the teaching-learning environment in an EMI programme, we can find an EMI teacher leading a subject which has successfully attracted international and local students, some of whom may not speak the teacher's L1, and who use English as the vehicular language. This implies certain requirements and adaptations on the part of the lecturers since this environment is very different from L1- L1 context. It is clear from any account of previous research literature (e.g., Doiz, Lagasabaster & Sierra, 2011; Dearden, 2016; Macaro, 2018) that there are many teachers around the world, regardless of their first language, who harbour concerns about the expansion of EMI at all educational levels and who have different beliefs and attitudes towards the same. Dearden (2016) conducted a survey with open-ended questions to local university professors from different disciplines, including undergraduate and graduate studies, and policy makers in the field of education in 55 countries around the world and she concluded that the general areas of concern in relation to the implementation of EMI are the following (Dearden, 2016: 23):

- a lack of EMI teachers,
- a lack of resources,
- a lack of clear guidelines for teaching,
- whether English alone should be used or whether a mixture of English and L1 might be permitted or advised,
- subjects which are taught through EMI,
- exams and assessment,
- the age at which EMI starts, policies on age,

- a standard level of English for EMI teachers,
- the changing role of the teacher,
- the role of language centres and English teachers.

Different studies present different difficulties. For instance, the main difficulties pointed out by the teachers participating in the studies conducted by Airey's (2011) and Woźniak's (2013) are the following:

- the short time with which they are sometimes informed that they have to teach in English,
- the lack of specific training programs for bilingual education and ignorance of the appropriate methodology for teaching this teaching,
- expensive and laborious class preparation,
- less flexibility in teaching style than when teaching in the mother tongue,
- less fluency,
- less precise and detailed content,
- teachers do not feel qualified to correct the language.

All of these issues should be understood from the basic idea: since EMI implementation is quite recent in most of the countries worldwide, there is a limited self-experienced or no previous understanding of the implications of teaching through EMI. Teaching through EMI involves understanding the principal idea that it is not simply a matter of translating course material and lecturing speech from an L1 to an L2. Hence, to this list, a different aspect could be added: teacher's communicative skills inside the EMI classroom and the way lecturers orient and solve interaction in class. Intelligibility would appear to be even more important in EMI settings than in others because it is the message put across that is the prime pedagogical purpose.

A question that can be raised regarding the teaching figure in an EMI classroom is who should teach EMI courses or use English in their teaching. Considering the fact that non-native speakers of English outnumber native speakers by a considerable margin (Moussu & Llurda, 2008), which is actually the case in the academic domain nowadays, (Mauranen, 2006b), most probably content subjects would be led by non-native speakers of English.

What is more, this distinction may no longer be a discriminatory aspect for teachers, since according to Moussu and Llurda, "it is perfectly possible for non-native speakers of a language to master all aspects of that language. [Besides,] many so called native speakers can operate far less effectively in certain settings than well-educated proficient speakers of English as their second language" (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 318).

Macaro (2018) distinguishes between 'monolingual teachers' and 'bilingual teachers'. The key aspect that he reflects on is the fact that an EMI teacher might be monolingual, bilingual or even multilingual but, on top of that, he or she should be a 'content teacher'. In the case of EMI teachers, they are supposed to master the English language and to have the knowledge, the knowhow and the ability of teaching a particular subject content. Last but not least, they are meant to understand the challenges of teaching/learning content through a language different from the participants L1. At this point, collaboration between language and content teachers is necessary to make EMI lecturers more aware of the importance of language in content learning (Lasagabaster, 2018).

Therefore, the preparation of teachers to teach EMI subjects at university level is essential. In primary and secondary education each community in Spain has its own training programs aimed at familiarising teachers with the appropriate methodology and allowing them to improve their English level (Lasagabaster & Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010; British Council, 2015). In university education, however, there are no national projects coordinated by the Educational Administration. Yet, there are researchers' proposals for a quality implementation of bilingual programs in Higher Education (Martín del Pozo, 2013; Pavón & Gaustad, 2013; Sancho, 2013). These proposals emphasise the need to provide training in two basic areas: language and methodology. Language training would include aspects such as the discursive genres used in the discipline, academic functions (describe, define hypotheses, etc.) required to operate in an academic context, the terminology of the discipline, or the metadiscourse. Secondly, training in methodology requires offering teachers courses and seminars on the principles of bilingual education. Besides, bilingual teaching in international contexts implies a series of competences by the teachers who teach it, including the Global Communicative Competence (Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2013). This is made up of more specific skills such as:

 Multicultural competence: knowledge and skills to handle communicative situations with people of different nationalities or cultures, etc.

- Proficiency in the use of specific English in the work area. It includes mastery of vocabulary and specific genres of the discipline and communication strategies based on clarity and brevity.
- The domain of the work field (e.g. objectives, norms or strategies of the community of practice).

In sum, the design and implementation of bilingual programs requires a "Gradual Program Implementation" based on: i) teacher training; ii) coordination, which implies planning, organisation and appropriate sequencing of teaching activities; iii) linguistic support for students; and iv) complementary measures such as supervision mechanisms, selection of appropriate teachers, adaptation of bilingual programs to the needs of the different faculties and incentives for teachers and students (Pavón & Gaustad, 2013).

2.2.4. What kind of English is implied in EMI?

Among the many challenges posed by EMI, one of them is the role of the EMI teacher regarding language issues. This is a crucial matter as the vast majority of EMI lecturers in Europe are non-native speakers of English. Besides, they are specialists in their field as opposed to being language experts. Neglecting the linguistic aspect on EMI courses may eventually negatively affect students' learning outcomes. Important aspects in this regard are the standards for speech, the concept of language proficiency and the role of L1 in the EMI classroom.

The issue as to which variety of English should be taught in an EMI course is getting a great deal of scholarly attention in recent years (See EMI Oxford Research Group⁴), both at the theoretical and the empirical levels. The problem for many observers and researchers on this phenomenon is that in EMI contexts English is usually spoken by people who learnt English as a foreign language (e.g., Spain, Portugal) and who are not only communicating with native speakers. According to Matsuda and Friedrich (2012) there are different options for the EMI teacher in regards the English variety they may use. They can adopt a 'standard/native' English variety or use the teacher's own variety of English. At this point

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⁴ EMI Oxford Research Group http://www.emi.network/

the long-standing tradition sets up the language issue of the kind of English used based on the distinction between 'native vs. 'non-native' English. The question to pose here is the extent to which teachers of English-mediated academic subjects in HE are concerned with whether their English conforms to a native/standard-variety.

Research has shown that there is variation within native varieties of English, and it is by no means easy to draw clear boundaries between what is standard and non-standard. When native speakers have non-standard usage in their speech, it is generally termed 'variation', whereas when non-native speakers have the same usage it is considered an 'error' in the language classroom (see Shaw, 1992 for a discussion of 'variation'). Research on English as a lingua franca has shown that non-native speakers can also have variation in their speech, which does not necessarily means 'error' but 'non-standardness' (Björkman, 2011b: 88). In this case 'variation' may refer to a clear pattern of increasing explicitness, aimed at communicative effectiveness. As Macaro (2018: 131) explains, the crucial point being made by ELF scholars is that as long as intelligibility⁵, or, more broadly, comprehensibility⁶ is not affected, then ELF is a perfectly acceptable way of communicating disregarding the speakers' standardness or non-standardness as regards language varieties. These findings are interesting for researchers in EMI. Yet, Jenkins (2014: 40) argues that in Higher Education "the linguistic implications of ELF are poorly understood", even though English-mediated instruction is a powerful driver of ELF interactions and contact among increasing numbers of international students and members of the academic community.

A second factor to consider is the participants' language proficiency. The richness of the language might be reduced when proficiency levels in English, on the part of both teachers and students, are not particularly high (Macaro et al., 2018: 37). Following Macaro (2018), we can think about different hypotheses regarding the language proficiency needed on the part of participants in EMI. A hypothesis could be that teaching in an EMI classroom needs a higher level than teaching in a 'general English' classroom because the nature of the content is likely to be more intellectually demanding and the academic language to communicate that content is likely to be more advanced in terms of vocabulary, genre and complexity of structures. Yet, some subjects may require more language to communicate the content than others. An alternative hypothesis might be that knowledge of the topic in an

⁵ Intelligibility: "when the listener is able to recognise individual words or utterances" (Macaro, 2018: 131)

⁶ Comprehensibility: "when the listener is able to understand the meaning of the words and utterances in context for the purposes of the communication at hand" (Macaro, 2018: 131).

EMI classroom is already shared among teacher and students, and therefore there is no need for a higher level of linguistic proficiency, given this shared understanding. Of course, there is an obvious variable playing an important role here —the (relative) proficiency of the students—. In any case, the question here is whether teaching through EMI is carried out with fewer quantities of language, meaning that by teaching in an L2 teachers may condense the language to the bare essentials. In this regard, a report produced by the British Council/TEPAV (2015) on the general state of language learning and teaching in Turkey, based on teachers' answers, found that teachers believed that they can make their teaching more interesting by teaching through Turkish and that EMI slows down the pace of learning content. Teachers considered that when teaching through EMI they incurred in more limited vocabulary, less flexibility and a reduction in types of pedagogical activity.

In line with this, another issue which has been the focus of research and interest in the EFL and the EMI spheres is that of 'codeswitching' or the use of the L1 in the L2 classroom as opposed to English-only. In Dearden's (2016) study on *English as a medium of instruction* –a growing global phenomenon—, 76% of respondents reported their country as having no written guidelines specifying whether or not English should be the only language used in the EMI classroom. Therefore, this issue is something left aside for the particular teachers. The EFL field has now come to recognise that principled codeswitching could be beneficial for L2 learning in a classroom situation where the teacher and students or students and students share an L1, recognising its pedagogical value in facilitating L2 learning beyond exclusive L2 use (Hall & Cook, 2012). This perspective has been identified as the 'optimal position' related to the concept of 'optimal use', defined as 'codeswitching in broadly communicative classrooms [which] can enhance second language acquisition and/or proficiency better than second language exclusivity' (Macaro, 2009: 38).

Code-switching has been paid particular attention in research on ELF. ELF theorising has referred frequently over the past several years to the notion of the 'multilingual repertoire', the 'creativity' of the multilingual ELF user or the 'hybridity' of ELF. In fact, previous focus of most ELF discussion has hitherto been on the 'E' of ELF communication but it is now moving towards the relationship between English and other languages in respect of the multilingualism of most ELF users and the "multi-competence of the community" (Jenkins, 2015: 58). Current lines of ELF research put their emphasis on how the users' L1 and other languages influence their use of English or even the mutual flow in two (or more)

directions and the "trans-semiotic system" that has been found to characterise 'translanguaging' and 'translingual practices' (García, 2009; Canagarajah, 2011), 'plurilingual English' (Canagarajah, 2011) or 'translingua franca English' (Pennycook, 2010). What is more, some researchers argue that 'Englishnisation' (Lanvers & Hultgren, 2018) of education could lead to undermining the status of the home language and particularly to 'domain loss', where a number of lexical items (e.g. technical vocabulary) will get into disuse.

According to Jenkins' survey of university websites (2004), non-Anglophone institutions have no specifications as to which variety to use for instruction or even for admission to the institution. In other words, there are no clear policies as regards the 'E' in the term 'EMI'. Stakeholders need to arrive at some sort of a consensus about what kind of English should be used in EMI lecturing and decide whether it might follow standard native English models or it may take a lingua franca orientation (Jenkins, 2014). What is true is that in such EMI educational practices English works as the medium whereby communication takes place –their academic lingua franca–.

2.2.5. EMI lectures

Among the different aspects to be discussed as regards EMI, this section draws attention to what actually goes on during the teaching and learning process inside EMI lectures. How do the teachers of those courses approach the teaching-learning task through the medium of English? In order to answer this question, it is essential to look at the impact the vehicular language has on the teaching-learning process.

A specific aspect to which attention needs to be drawn is that of teachers' discourse. Dafouz and Sánchez (2013: 130) provide a two-fold justification for this issue:

on the one hand, because in teacher talk students have to face complex discourses both from a conceptual (disciplinary) and a linguistic (foreign language) perspective; on the other hand, because it is essential to raise awareness, especially amongst the content specialists, of how teacher discourse can be used pedagogically to support students in their learning process.

Given the wide set of issues that could be analysed in EMI discourse, communicative effectiveness is one of the main aspects to focus on. In these terms, one could hypothesise that EMI teachers would additionally need to find alternative ways of presenting academic material to students for whom English is not their L1 (in which case similar skills required of an EFL teacher would need to be found in an EMI teacher). They would need to know how to modify their input, assure comprehension via interactional modifications and create an atmosphere where students operating in a vehicular language are not afraid to speak; all this whilst taking into account the many cultural differences present in the room and the potentially different language levels of individuals (Macaro, 2018). In fact, Dearden (2016: 24) concluded in her research that the most important attributes that any teacher should have is 'the ability to explain difficult concepts' and 'the ability to create an interactive environment'.

Research has found that EMI courses mainly tend to adopt a 'lecture' format with a dominant teacher-led style whose speech is mostly monologic and scarce interactivity among teachers and students is, therefore, present (Dafouz, 2011; Costa & Coleman, 2012). EMI lectures seem to be the result of careful planning where little improvisation is made on the part of the lecturers (Wozniak, 2013) and where there is little focus on language (e.g. correction, modelling) (Airey, 2012). Nevertheless, Dafouz et al. in their (2007) study point out that both the students and the lecturers they interviewed coincide on the positive attitude towards rather interactive EMI classes. According to Bjökman (2010: 85) "dialogic speech allows itself to the negotiation of meaning readily whereas monologic speech requires listeners to focus on long stretches of talk with few opportunities, if any, to negotiate meaning". This important difference between monologic and dialogic genres becomes even more critical for lectures carried out in ELF settings where there are several complications with regard to form, speakers' varying language proficiency and different L1 backgrounds.

Therefore, in line with this, it is very important to concentrate on the ways participants in EMI academic activities orient to interaction, and even how they implement 'mediation' inside their classrooms (Hynninen, 2011). For instance, it comes naturally to teachers to intervene in situations where students seem to struggle when facing communicative problems. As Hynninen (2011: 969) puts it, teachers take the role of an intermediary, which

⁷ Mediation: "a form of speaking for another where a coparticipant intervenes in the course of the interaction by rephrasing another participant's turn that was addressed to a third party" (Hynninen, 2011: 965).

means taking responsibility for the progression of interaction and the participants' orientations to each other's language use. Furthermore, as Morell (2007) points out, the relationship between the speaker and listeners plays an essential part in establishing a comfortable context that, in turn, will encourage participation. In fact, diverse studies support the importance of the interpersonal relations established within spoken academic situations as a cornerstone to increase the non-native speakers' willingness to communicate (Morell, 2004; Fortanet, 2004; Kang, 2005). If it is indeed the case that teaching through EMI involves changing from a teacher-led style to a more interactive dynamic approach, this calls for more research on lecturing in EMI settings in terms of communication process and pragmatic knowhow on the part of the lecturers.

Within these macro-research concerns, EMI research spans from studies on classroom discourse, mostly dialogic speech, teacher cognition and beliefs or the role of English as an international language or lingua franca in multilingual institutions (Dafouz & Sánchez, 2013). Particularly, there has been important work with regard to the effects on the teaching and learning content (Wilkinson, 2005, Airey, 2009) and the reactions by lecturers and students to content teaching carried out in English (Smit, 2008, 2009; Ljosland, 2008). There has been some investigation on form (Meierkord, 2004; Ranta, 2006; Björkman, 2008, 2009) and on pragmatic issues such as the communicative effectiveness in bilingual education in HE, which is also the focus of the present research (e.g., Planken, 2005; Mauranen, 2006b, 2007; Smit 2009; Björkman, 2010). Particularly, the latter studies focus on the pragmatic strategies used to negotiate meaning, to prevent and solve breakdowns in communication and to accommodate to the interlocutor's discourse (Björkman, 2010: 79).

2.3. English as a lingua franca

2.3.1. Evolving definitions of English as a lingua franca

The term lingua franca is said to have originated in the 1200's when a shared language emerged when the Arab-speaking traders needed to communicate with the "Franks", i.e. Western Europeans or those people who did not speak Arabic languages (Adler, 1977: 12). These traders developed a language with which they could communicate and do their

business and called it 'Lingua Franca', the language of the Franks. This original lingua franca resembles a pidgin language in several aspects: it was used for trade, it was no one's native language, and it was constructed for a specific purpose (Adler, 1977). Although different hypotheses on the term's origin exist, this approximately describes the etymological source. Since this original use of the term, it has been reserved to those native languages which are used as a vehicular language in situations where no other common language is found. Today the most widespread lingua franca is English.

To be able to understand the phenomenon of English as a lingua franca we need to refer to previous research on the spread of English. Kachru (1985) presented a seminal model of English use contexts, in which he stated that the spread of English could, "be viewed in terms of three concentric circles representing the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages" (Kachru, 1985: 12). These circles include the Inner circle, the Outer circle and the Expanding circle (Figure 2.2).

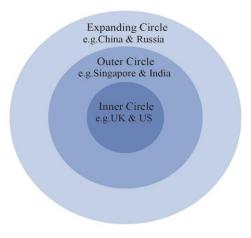


Figure 2.2. Concentric circle model (Kachru, 1985)

The Inner circle is associated with countries where English is the primary language of use (e.g., UK, US, Australia, Canada), in which English is a Native Language (ENL) and speakers traditionally determine the standards. The varieties in these communities are usually referred to as "norm-providing". The Outer circle includes multilingual countries where English functions as an L2 (e.g., India, Nigeria, Singapore), and its varieties are deemed as "norm-developing"; in other words, varieties that have become institutionalised and are developing their own standards. Finally, the Expanding circle comprises countries where English is studied as a foreign language (e.g., Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Korea).

Contrary to the other circles, the English spoken in this outer layer is "norm dependent", as the different varieties of English spoken in these communities are believed to be "performance" varieties without official status and are considered to be dependent on the standards set by NSs of the Inner circle.

Kachru's Concentric circle model has played a central role in scholars' understanding of the sociolinguistic reality of the spread of English; This model has been particularly associated with the "World Englishes paradigm" (WE) (Bolton, 2004: 367). World Englishes would roughly be Englishes spoken in Kachru's (1985) outer circle countries, often described as the New Englishes, and the term is commonly used to refer to the localised varieties of Englishes in some post-colonial countries in African, Asian, and the Caribbean countries (Erling, 2005; Jenkins, 2006a). They have become nativised or institutionalised in their local contexts by the influence of their own local language and show some different linguistic features in phonology, syntax, vocabulary and pragmatic expressions as well as distinctiveness in acquisition, functions and purposes in use (Seidlhofer, 2009b). Researchers specialising in World Englishes have recognised some limitations with the model as its form cannot longer fit the current linguistic context. Jenkins (2003) claims that English language is currently used at a global level which can no longer be based on history or geography and even arguing that the English spoken in the outer circle should not be dependent on the standards set by NSs. This means that the way in which the English use and its users are compartmentalised into three categories no longer depicts the current reality. She argues that researchers need to focus on how users currently identify with and use English.

More recent studies have provided important empirical descriptions of ELF usage over the last decade after going through different phases (Jenkins, 2015). A key issue that researchers have faced is its definition. Mortensen brings up an important question in this regard: "Is "English as a lingua franca" a language, a language system, a code, or a variety in its own right?" (Mortensen, 2013: 30). Questions like these have been posed repeatedly and several answers have been provided. At a first stage, during the early 2000s, ELF researchers started with some important pioneering work (e.g., Jenkins, 2000, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2001, 2004; Mauranen, 2003, 2005, 2006a, 2006b), influenced by the example of World Englishes, focusing on describing and even codifying ELF as a variety. During these years two areas in particular were the focus of research attention: pronunciation and

lexico-grammar. This led to the proposal by Jenkins of the 'Lingua franca Core' (LFC), which consisted of the few native English segmental and prosodic items whose absence was found in the empirical data to lead to potential intelligibility problems in intercultural communication (see Jenkins, 2000). The list of pronunciation features which appear to be crucial for a speaker to be intelligible includes, among other, aspiration after word-initial /p/, /t/ and /k/ (e.g., 'pen' /phen/ not /ben/), vowel length distinctions (e.g., 'beans' /bi:nz/ not /binz/) or full articulation of consonants in word initial clusters (e.g., 'strong' /strony / not /srony/).

Shortly after this, Seidlhofer (2004), among other researchers (see also Breiteneder, 2005; Ranta, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2008; Björkman, 2008, 2010, 2013), produced a set of initial lexico-grammatical distinctive features that seemed to be used regularly and systematically among English speakers from a wide range of first languages without causing communication problems. These included, for instance, the absence of marking of 3rd person -s in present simple tense (e.g. she suggest), a usage of the relative pronouns 'who' and 'which' different from that of NSs, omitting definite and indefinite articles or inserting them where they do not occur in NS English, simplifying the system of tag questions to "isn't it?" or "no?", inserting "redundant" prepositions (e.g. We have to study about) among others (Seidlhofer, 2004: 220). Commonly used features like these were considered as possible examples of change in progress as they were compared to standard usage (Mauranen, 2006c; Björkman, 2010, 2013).

Later, researchers acknowledged a lack of exploration of the processes going on in ELF interactions. Seidlhofer (2007, 2009a, 2009b) began to focus attention on the "inherent fluidity" and "situated negotiation of meaning" among ELF users in order to communicate and establish successful interactions (2009b: 242). At this stage, the focus was on Pragmatics (Firth, 1996; House, 1999). The major findings regarding pragmatic features in ELF interaction point to the importance of mutual understanding, regardless of 'correctness'. Subsequent studies have focused on miscommunication, negotiation of meaning and resolution of non-understanding as common findings on ELF conversational interactions (Pitzl, 2005). Negotiation and co-construction of meaning are considered the main processes at work in ELF, where there is joint cooperation of the interactants that allows effective communication despite (potential) variation in form (Hülmbauer, 2007: 10-12). Therefore, the basis of the pragmatic approach of ELF is based on its collaborative construction of

meaning, as mutual understanding in ELF is not taken for granted. Speakers engage in a joint effort to monitor understanding at every stage of communication, even before non-understanding has taken place. In this sense, the last studies are focused on the different pragmatic strategies that ELF users develop to resolve instances of miscommunication or negotiate any possibility of non-understanding (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011: 293).

At this point the central research interests lie on the variability and dynamism acknowledged in ELF as natural, inevitable properties of all language(s). As Seidlhofer (2011: 94) indicates, 'like any other language, English is a dynamic process, and naturally varies or changes as it spreads'. The overall environments where English is used are widening and this phenomenon is leading to a change in the way this language is understood. Melchers and Shaw (2003) argue that it is used more and more for practical purposes by people with very varied norms and scopes of proficiency. As these authors maintain, "many interactions in English are between participants who do not control standard grammar and whose lexis and pronunciation do not conform to any recognised norm" (Melchers & Shaw, 2003: 195). They describe this as a process of 'internationalisation' and 'destandardisation' by which non-standard, unedited English is becoming more and more visible. Therefore, there is a change in the focus, which means that there is no longer a single standard or unified variety of English established by its native speakers, but this language is also used as an additionally acquired language system which serves as a common means of communication for speakers of different first languages in favour of pluralism, diversity and heterogeneity (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011: 283). In other words, ELF is now understood from a functional point of view, i.e. as language in use and not as a code or a variety, which means that ELF should not be dependent on the standards set by NSs.

Finally, as regards the different resources and repertoires ELF speakers use to communicate, research has found that English is not the only language used in such ELF encounters, but ELF speakers make use "of their multi-faceted multilingual repertoires" (Seidlhofer, 2009a). For this reason, Jenkins (2015) has proposed to extend the notion of ELF to include in its conceptualisation the multilingual nature of interactions among speakers of different linguistic backgrounds, i.e., it not restricted to the use of English. According to Jenkins, the idea behind this new ELF turn is simply that "for ELF users, English is only one language among others present or latent in any interaction" (2015: 58). This new research on ELF draws on the concept of 'translanguaging' (e.g., García, 2009;

Gorter & Cenoz, 2015) or translingual practices (e.g., Canagarajah, 2011, 2013). García (2009: 45) defines "translanguaging" as "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds". Translanguaging is related to and includes code-switching, but it is rather different from the notion of code-switching as typically described in ELF research. "Translanguaging" is understood by some researchers as a phenomenon that "goes beyond what has been termed *code-switching*" and "includes it, as well as other kinds of bilingual language use and bilingual contact" (García, 2009: 45). On the other hand, code-switching has been discussed in ELF research as part of the resources ELF speakers deploy in communication for several purposes, ranging from appealing for assistance to signalling cultural values (Klimpfinger, 2009: 36-39). This is not to say that ELF researchers have not engaged with the notion of translanguaging (see, for instance, Cogo, 2012, Kalocsai, 2014). Most of the times they tend to use the term "translanguaging" interchangeably with code-switching focusing on how the user's L1 (and other languages) influences their use of English (Jenkins, 2015: 59) rather than as a phenomenon that goes beyond. The present study approaches the use of the participants' other languages in terms of *code-switching* as a pragmatic strategy used by participants in interactions.

The change in the focus of attention, from phonological and lexico-grammatical features to pragmatic strategies has resulted in various definitions of ELF, among those:

- English as it is used as a contact language among speakers from different first languages (Jenkins, 2009).
- Any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option (Seidlhofer, 2011).
- The use of English in a lingua franca language scenario (Mortensen, 2013).

In order to understand Mortensen's definition, it is necessary to explain the concept of "language scenario". In Mortensen's words:

A language scenario is here to be understood as the linguistic resources available in a given communicative encounter between two or more speakers by virtue of their individual language repertoires. In an L1-L1 language scenario, or what may also be called a shared L1 scenario, there is overlap on the speakers' first language (L1), but in a lingua franca scenario this is not so. In this case, there is

a distinct (miss) match between the participants' individual language repertories: There is either no overlap at all on the speakers' L1 or only partial overlap, but there is total overlap on the language that they choose to use as a lingua franca (which may be the L1 of one or more of the speakers, but not all). In ELF encounters the lingua franca is English (Mortensen, 2013: 36).

ELF is, consequently, understood as a communication tool used routinely and successfully by millions of speakers from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds in their professional, academic and personal lives.

After revising the different conceptualisations of the term ELF, it is argued here that Mortensen's (2013: 36) definition of ELF as "the use of English in a lingua franca language scenario" helps to explain the use of English in academia. Academia is an arena where speakers of different languages (including lecturers, researchers, students) regularly communicate with one another and this is precisely the arena where the present study takes place.

2.3.2. Pragmatic Strategies: From SLA to ELF paradigms

The concept of pragmatic strategies, as used in ELF has a predecessor in the concept of "communication strategies" (henceforth CSs), coined by Selinker (1972). It was established within the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) paradigm as a result of the identification of different systemic language phenomena whose major purpose was to solve difficulties or breakdowns in communication. There has been much discussion among researchers to define "communication strategy" (Tarone, 1980; Canale, 1983; Faerch & Kasper, 1983b; Dörnyei, 1995a, b). In the most general sense of the concept it is a "plan of action to accomplish a communication goal; the enhancement of communication effect" (Döryei & Scott, 1997: 179) to integrate every intentional attempt to cope with any language-related problem of which the speaker is aware during communication.

The first defining criterion for communication strategies is their conceptualisation as linguistic resources to handle three types of language problems or "resource deficits" (Dörnyei & Scott, 1997:174): (i) own-performance problems, which make reference to the realisation that something one has said is incorrect or only partly correct. These include

various types of self-repair, self-rephrasing and self-editing mechanisms; (ii) other-performance problems, which refer to something perceived as problematic in the interlocutor's speech, either because it is thought to be incorrect and/or unexpected or because of a lack of understanding. They are associated with various meaning negotiation strategies; (iii) processing time pressure, which is triggered by the L2 speaker's frequent need for more time to process and plan L2 speech than would be naturally available in fluent communication. This is associated with strategies such as the use of fillers, hesitation devices and self-repetitions.

'Consciousness' has been the second major defining criterion for communication strategies. 'Consciousness' applied to CS refers to "consciously used devices" (Dörnyei & Scott, 1997:184). Drawing on previous research, Dörnyei and Scott (1997:184) argued that three aspects of consciousness are particularly relevant to CSs: (i) consciousness as awareness of the problem: only those instances of problem-related language use which are related to language processing problems that the speaker consciously recognises as such should be termed CSs in order to distinguish mistakes and CSs that may have a similar erroneous form (e.g. 'typer' used as an incorrectly learnt word vs. its use as a conscious attempt to form a noun from 'type', usually considered to be word coinage); (ii) consciousness as intentionality, which defines the speaker's intentional use of the CS and separates CSs from certain verbal behaviours that are systematically related to problems of which the speaker is aware but that are not done intentionally (e.g. with non-lexicalised filled pauses, 'umming and erring', the speaker is usually aware of the difficulty faced, but uses these devices most of the time without a conscious decision); (iii) consciousness as awareness of strategic language use: the speaker realises that he/she is using a less-thanperfect stopgap device or is doing a problem-related detour on the way to mutual understanding. This distinguishes CSs from cases when, even if intentionally doing something to overcome a recognised problem, the speaker may not consider the final product a strategy but rather a piece of acceptable L2 (e.g., for many L2 speakers literal translation is a regular part of the L2 production process, which may solve communication problems, but they would not count as cases of CS use).

Now that the definition of "communication strategies" has been provided as a precedent to frame the concept of "pragmatic strategies" as they are understood in ELF, it is argued here that the SLA and ELF paradigms are based on completely different approaches.

The SLA paradigm is aimed at L2 learners whose interlanguage has been defined as "deficient" (Kasper & Kellerman, 1997: 5) and whose final target is native-like proficiency. Consequently, the concept of CSs reflects this main ideology. By contrast, ELF is based on the "difference perspective" (Jenkins, 2006b: 140): English as a lingua franca is a contact language that evolves and transforms through the use and deviations from English as native language are not considered as resulting from deficient knowledge of the language, given that native speaker proficiency is not considered the target (Mauranen, 2007). When using English as a lingua franca, speakers need to cope with a number of asymmetries between participants, namely different accents, proficiency levels and cultural references (Mauranen, 2007) as speakers have got different L1s, cultural and social backgrounds and, therefore, different communicative styles (Kaur, 2010: 204). Consequently, "non-native structures can be deployed resourcefully and strategically to accomplish [...] interactional ends" (Firth and Wagner, 1997: 292) as ELF research has shown in diverse studies in a variety of settings (e.g. Mauranen, 2006b; Cogo 2009; Kaur 2009; Björkman, 2010, 2013). ELF research focuses on the efficient use of pragmatic strategies when there are both gaps of information required as well as gaps on code. Thus, an important difference between the SLA paradigm and the ELF paradigm is that, from the perspective of an ELF user, other codes are admitted. However, in the SLA paradigm the use of strategies such as *code-switching* or code-mixing when there are gaps of code (e.g., gaps of lexis) are not accepted (Jenkins, 2006b).

The assumption behind SLA theory is that the learners' primary need is to communicate with native speakers, and that only standard varieties are correct (Jenkins, 2006b). In the case of English, the learner's target varieties are either Standard British or Standard American. As a result, as Sifakis and Sougari (2003: 63) put it, "foreign language teaching in these situations is commonly characterised by a tendency to uphold a series of regulations, or 'rules', that map and underlie the entire range of native speakers' linguistic competence and performance and against which non-native speakers' competence and performance is measured". In this respect, Jenkins (2006b) clarifies the distinction between a 'lingua franca' and a 'foreign language' by means of Figure 2.3 (Jenkins, 2006b: 140):

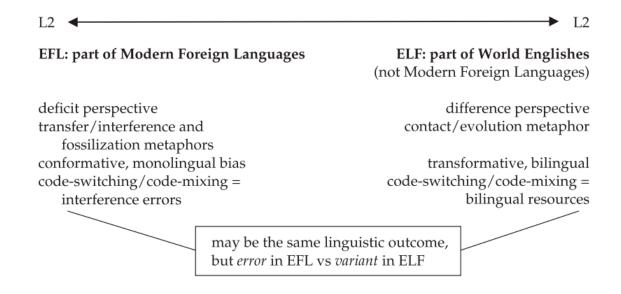


Figure 2.3. EFL vs. ELF. Taken from Jenkins (2006b: 140).

Jenkins argues that mainstream SLA research cannot disregard the massive growth in the use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) worldwide. She defends the exploration of alternative perceptions for ELF to be legitimated in the ELT community (Jenkins, 2006b: 138-141). Those perceptions need to take into account the recognition of the equality and validity of the different varieties of the English language, given its cross-cultural and global current nature, and the questioning of native-speaker models.

Although SLA and ELF involve different approaches to language teaching, it is not possible to discuss SLA CSs and ELF pragmatic strategies as if they were separate categories since many studies in the ELF paradigm have drawn on traditional conceptualisations and categorisations of CSs to discuss the most relevant pragmatic strategies observed in ELF and its functions. For instance, Björkman (2014) draws on Dörnyei and Scott's (1995) inventory and classification of communication strategies to examine traditional conceptualisations and different researchers have also used the same terminology or categories in their ELF studies (e.g. Mauranen, 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Watterson, 2008; Cogo, 2009; Smit, 2010; Matsomoto, 2011; Björkman, 2011a, 2013). Nevertheless, not every strategy envisaged in SLA framework has a one-to-one correspondent analysis in ELF studies, since some recurrent strategies in learner's speech are not found in ELF interactions.

2.3.3. Conceptualisation of pragmatic strategy in the ELF paradigm

Unlike the detailed conceptualisation of communication strategy within the SLA paradigm, there is not such a definition of the concept of "pragmatic strategy" within the ELF paradigm. Researchers have investigated the 1) existence/deployment of diverse pragmatic strategies in ELF communication 2) objectives/functions of pragmatic strategies, 3) contextual and/or linguistic need for the strategies. However, there is a general vagueness in ELF research when it comes to stating 'what makes a strategy a strategy' with the exception of Ollinger (2012). She provided a new term trying to be more precise when referring to the use of pragmatic strategies by ELF speakers. She coined the term "SLUB(s)", standing for "strategic language use behaviour(s)". She understands a SLUB as a "vehicle" of a strategic capability, which aims at actual communicative efficiency across contexts, strategic capability being "the ability to create meanings by exploiting the potential inherent in the language for continual modification in response to change" (Widdowson, 1983: 8). All this considered, she defines a SLUB in ELF as "an interactive, context-sensitive move or reaction to a previous utterance, which is indexical of the user's strategic capability for language use, in that it either fulfils a proactive or retroactive function that facilitates the process of online negotiation of meaning between a set of interactants" (Ollinger, 2012: 78).

Yet, even though there is not a generally accepted definition for "pragmatic strategy", ELF studies have provided extremely insightful perspectives to understand the pragmatic processes involved in ELF communication. According to Seidlhofer (2004: 227), communication among ELF speakers entails "drawing on extralinguistic cues, identifying and building on shared knowledge, gauging and adjusting to interlocutors' linguistic repertoires, supportive listening, signaling non-comprehension in a face-saving way and so forth". All these pragmatic processes involve "accommodation" to the interlocutor's language use in order to ensure understanding, as well as speakers' desire to highlight differences in order to maintain their distinct identity or to create group membership with other speakers (Cogo, 2010: 297).

2.3.4. Accommodation and ELF pragmatics

The concept of "accommodation" has been central to the study of language and social interaction ever since Giles et al. (1973) first used the term. According to Shepard, Giles and Beth (2001) (communication) accommodation theory (henceforth CAT) is a cornerstone theoretical perspective, which sits at the interface between the various disciplines -social psychology, sociology, sociolinguistics- that have attempted to explain and theorise language and social interaction. The central idea of CAT is that speakers adjust their speech style and patterns according to the interlocutors, contexts and other social factors by managing the distance from their interlocutors (Giles et al., 1991; Coupland, 1995). Accommodation Theory explains speakers' accommodative behaviour in terms of approximation strategies, and therefore convergence, divergence and maintenance (Gallois et al., 2005). "Convergence" refers to a strategy by which speakers adapt their communicative behaviour to become more similar to that of their interlocutors. For instance, in the studies by Cogo and Dewey (2006) and Cogo (2009) speakers employ other-repetition as a converging strategy by repeating exactly the interlocutor's utterance for cooperation efficiency and it is also a way of aligning with them and showing support and approval. On the other hand, "divergence" is defined as a strategy which accentuates differences between individual speakers and other interlocutors by distinguishing one's speech patterns from those of their interlocutors (e.g. using grammatical and lexical norms different from native speakers'). In the strategy of "maintenance", individuals persist in their original speech pattern regardless of their interlocutor's communicative characteristics and maintain one's speech behaviour, without trying to converge or diverge from the interlocutors.

Some studies have revealed how the global phenomenon of ELF and its underpinning accommodative processes vary in its local realisations, yet ELF speakers manage to "remain themselves" (Pölzl & Seidlhofer, 2006: 153) while making use of a language that is "not their own". Research bears witness to ELF user's ability to balance the territorial with the co-operative imperative by means of local accommodation (e.g., Widdowson, 1990: 109). According to Seidlhofer (2009a: 196):

On the one hand, language use is influenced by the cooperative imperative: We need to continually modify and fine-tune our language in order to communicate with other people. On the other hand, we adjust our language in compliance with

the territorial imperative to secure and protect our own space and sustain and reinforce our separate social identity, either as an individual or as a group. There is, of course, room for manoeuvre between these two options, but in principle one imperative urges us to lower our defences and reduce our differences in the interests of wider communication with other people, while the other urges us to close ranks and enhance our differences vis a` vis others to keep them out.

Already in 1983, Widdowson stated that it is crucial for social life that interlocutors should get the balance right between these two forces in order for speakers to make their communicative intention accessible, and to make what is said acceptable to others. Therefore, the latest research on ELF has observed that the motivations for accommodation are not limited to gaining approval or emphasising distinctive identity, but ELF speakers appear to be motivated to improve the communicative effectiveness, intelligibility and cooperativeness and to facilitate and pre-empt communicative breakdown from linguistic diversity and variation (Cogo & Dewey 2006, 2012; Mauranen, 2007, 2012; Kaur, 2009; Cogo, 2009; Dewey, 2011). Consequently, accommodation operates in a highly proactive way in ELF conversations (Jenkins, 2000; Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Mauranen, 2006a, 2012; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Watterson, 2008; Cogo, 2009; Hümbauer, 2009; Kaur, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2009a; 2011).

Accommodation is, therefore, a defining feature of ELF interactions. In these interactions, the interlocutors' objective no longer involves 'linguistic proficiency' or 'the native-like production of language' as it is approached by SLA theory, but appropriate adaption and accommodation in different contexts. It has been shown that ELF speakers tend to engage in innovative and creative processes of pragmatic performance to adapt to their interlocutors, e.g., maximising explicitness and clarity/ intelligibility (Pitzl, 2005; Cogo & Dewey, 2012; Dewey, 2011; Mauranen, 2012), exploiting redundancy and pursuing "relative functional usefulness" (Seidlhofer, 2011: 96) for various purposes. Research has found that some of these processes could have an effect on ELF speakers' intelligibility and comprehensibility. This is the case, for instance of the deviation of NNS pronunciations from NS, according to variables of speakers' accent and speech rate (Jenkins, 2007: 84) or ELF speakers' varying levels of competence in English (Cogo, 2010). Such non-conformities may derive in a use of ELF divergent from NS norms that can be understood as appropriate language practice "by individual speakers, who make it their own for particular purposes

and conditions of use" for their own communicative needs (Seidlhofer, 2011: 96). In relation to this, Cogo (2010) explains that this can lead to questions of pragmatic fluency, and thus to a re-conceptualisation of "fluency" in ELF contexts. With this in mind, House (2002) has elaborated the concept of 'pragmatic fluency' as follows:

1. Appropriate use of discourse strategies;

- 2. Ability to initiate and change topics;
- 3. Ability to "carry weight" in substantive turns-at-talk;
- 4. Ability to show appropriate uptaking, and responding behaviour, via latching and overlapping;
- 5. Appropriate rate of speech, types of filled and unfilled pauses, frequency and function of repairs. (Adapted from House, 2002: 262-263.)

In other words, 'fluency' consists in carrying out a conversationalist discourse, i.e. accommodating to one's interlocutors to create a feeling of "one conversation" and taking responsibility for making the interaction work (Cogo, 2010). In a wider sense, collaborative acts like enhancing explicitness can be considered as an essential form of accommodation, since they are used as "a way of accommodating to the hearer's perceived interpretive competence" (Mauranen, 2012: 51).

Consequently, as Firth (2009b: 162-163) claims, "competence in ELF interactions, then, entails not so much mastery of a stable and standardised code or form, but mastery of strategies for the accomplishment of accommodation of diverse practices and modes of meaning". Negotiation and co-construction of meaning are main processes at work in ELF, where there is joint cooperation of the interactants that allows effective communication despite (potential) variation in form (Hülmbauer, 2007: 10-12). Accommodation can be understood, hence, as a wider interactive process based on negotiation and collaboration, including cooperative strategies such as repetition, paraphrase, code switching or self-repair which are chosen as procedures to establish successful communication.

Therefore, the focus of this research is to explore how ELF speakers draw on their particular pragmatic resources to accommodate to their interlocutors and contexts of use and to co-construct meanings and establish successful communication.

2.3.5. Pragmatic strategies reported in ELF studies

The earliest ELF research began by focusing mainly on forms, studying separately linguistic system such as phonology (e.g., Jenkins, 2000), lexico-grammatical features (e.g., Seidlhofer, 2004) and to a lesser extent pragmatics (e.g. House, 1999), although accommodative processes were also identified as key factors in ELF communication (Jenkins, 2000) from the very beginning. Cogo and Dewey (2006) made an attempt at linking lexico-grammatical features with pragmatic processes, thereby stressing the highly interconnected nature of different aspects in ELF interactions. For instance, they analysed primarily the use of 3rd person singular zero in present simple verb forms and they concluded that it occurs as the result of exploited redundancy to gain efficiency in ELF communication. They even considered this feature an oddity for its inflection in standard varieties of English in comparison with other languages and English varieties because it produces better consistency, resulting in a more systematic pattern with universal zero morphological marking for all present verb forms (Cogo & Dewey, 2006: 73-89). Therefore, these researchers concluded that pragmatic motives often lead to changes in the lexis and grammar, and in turn, lexico-grammatical innovations have significant impact on pragmatic norms and strategies. These pragmatic strategies include "efficiency of communication, added prominence, reinforcement of proposition, increased explicitness, exploiting of redundancy" (Cogo & Dewey, 2006: 87). Finally, the need for efficiency appears to be a central motivation for many variations in the lexicogrammar and each of these variations represent choices in the way they are used in ELF interactions to achieve successful communication.

As research on ELF evolved, increasing amounts of empirical data were made available, including two large corpora, VOICE (the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) and ELFA (the corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings). These data promoted an interest in studying the diversity, fluidity, and variability of ELF (Jenkins, 2015) from diverse linguistic perspectives. Researchers changed the way they approached ELF studies based on 'descriptive analysis' to envisaging ELF 'as social practice' with "the community, rather than the code, at the centre of the stage" (Kalocsai, 2014: 2). This involved exploring the functions fulfilled by the forms, the underlying processes they reveal, and thus the ways in which they "foster understanding of 'what is going on' in the interaction" among speakers from different language backgrounds (Seidlhofer, 2009c: 56).

Research on ELF pragmatics has been particularly fruitful in business settings and academia. In the former context, international business meetings or business phone conversations have been analysed in terms of international 'communicative competence' in Business English as a Lingua Franca (BELF) (e.g., Firth, 1996; Wagner & Firth, 1997; Ehrenreich, 2009; Rogerson-Revell & Louhiala-Salminen, 2010; Kankaanranta & Planken, 2010). In academia, most studies have focused on corpora of naturally occurring interactions and have frequently considered dialogic speech events, relying on qualitative analysis with a strong ethnographic element. These corpora include:

- Academic activities such as seminar sessions (Mauranen, 2006b).
- Casual/academic talk among post-graduate students who have recorded their own casual/academic talk (Watterson, 2008).
- More formal talk between students and lecturers from different linguacultural backgrounds (Kaur, 2009).
- Classroom interaction by students (Smit, 2009).
- Small talk of teachers of modern foreign languages (Cogo, 2009).
- Content lectures or group-work sessions involving international students and lecturers (Björkman, 2010, 2011b, 2013).

Early work on pragmatics in academic settings focused on a selection of strategies and features used to achieve successful communication such as use of fillers ("I mean") or backchanneling (e.g., Wagner & Firth, 1997; House, 1999; Meierkord, 2000). Much current research on ELF interaction focuses on 'pragmatic strategies' used by speakers to prevent and solve break-downs in communication, for instance *asking for repetition*, *Comprehension checks*, *asking for clarification* or *repetition* (e.g., Seidlhofer, 2004; Mauranen, 2006a; Kirkpatrick, 2007, Cogo, 2010). ELF scholars have investigated not only the instances where a problem or difficulty has occurred and it is clearly marked in the discourse, but also potential problems that might occur because of the speakers' asymmetries (Kaur, 2011a). In this sense, the notion of 'problematicity' is relevant to ELF research. Pragmatic strategies as defined in ELF studies deal with both *real* and *potential* problems. Hence, preparedness for potential disturbance in communication and mutual cooperativeness have been the focus of ELF research.

Strategies are, therefore, used to ensure communicative effectiveness both in pre-work and remedial work. Strategies used in pre-work/prospective/proactive talk (Mauranen, 2006a) are those employed by speakers to prevent, avert or pre-empt disturbance in communication or problems of understanding i.e., to prevent misunderstanding, such as overexplicitness. repetition, explication and Strategies involved in postwork/retrospective/remedial talk are used by speakers to go to a specific instance of speech in a conversation and do remedial work, for instance self- or other-repair, rephrasing or repetition (Swales, 2001). It has been observed that ELF speakers also resort to strategies intended to express cooperativeness, construct solidarity and show their belonging to the community of ELF speakers (House, 2003). "Signalling solidarity" (Cogo, 2009) among ELF speakers means "accommodating" to certain shared variants in the local context, rather than conforming to some ideal notion of correctness (following NS rules). This implies a collaborative behaviour by which speakers may not only ensure understanding between interlocutors, but also accept and build on the participants' contributions, while at the same time creating a sense of comity and in-group belonging (Cogo, 2010: 302). Firth states that successful lingua franca interactions appear to be characterised by the use of pragmatic strategies to achieve "communicative alignment, adaptation, local accommodation and attunement" (Firth, 2009b:163).

The previously mentioned studies have demonstrated ELF speakers' pragmatism in communication by means of the use various interactional pragmatic strategies used to support smooth interaction and prevent misunderstanding (Mauranen, 2006a) and to contribute to the building of considerate and mutually-supportive communicative behaviour (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011: 293-295). They have shown that, despite speaker's diverse L1 backgrounds in most ELF settings and contexts, some commonalities in the use of pragmatic strategies do exist. Data from the ELFA corpus show that both *economy* and *creativity* are qualities of ELF interactants (Mauranen, 2004). Similarly, *explicitness* has frequently been reported to be characteristic in ELF communication since speakers need to cope with diversity and unpredictability (e.g., Seidlhofer, 2004; Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Mauranen, 2006b; Björkman, 2011a). Finally, discourse reflexivity "serves to restore the balance between expressing speaker perspective and keeping it negotiable" (Mauranen, 2010: 24).

2.3.6. Classification of pragmatic strategies

Table 2.2. presents the different pragmatic strategies discussed in ELF studies. It aims to illustrate the importance of the pragmatic field in ELF studies since its beginnings and especially in the last decade. It has been elaborated by drawing mainly on previous research on pragmatic strategies in ELF interactions —Bjökman's, (2014) and Ollinger's (2012) taxonomies of pragmatic strategies. It includes the different pragmatic strategies, their description, an example of their use, the sources and the perceived interactional functions that they fulfil. Yet, it should be pointed out that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between strategies and functions, since research has shown that the same strategy may serve more than one function or can be used to fulfil different communicative objectives. It should also be noted that, although for the sake of clarity, strategies have been grouped into four categories (i.e., clarification strategies, strategies to keep conversation flowing, metadiscourse devices and multilingual resources) these are not clear-cut (but overlapping) categories.

This classification includes the strategies that have been observed and studied in ELF interactions. This means that some strategies discussed in other studies (e.g., Dörnyei and Scott, 1997) but rare in ELF interactions have not been included. This is the case of avoidance or reduction strategies. Björkman (2010, 2013) pointed out that 'avoidance or reduction strategies' such as message abandonment (i.e. leaving the message unfinished because some difficulty arises), message reduction (i.e. reducing the message by avoiding certain language structures or topics considered problematic or by leaving out some intended elements for a lack of linguistic resources) or topic avoidance/omission (i.e. leaving a gap when not knowing a word and carrying on as if it had been said) have been reported to be largely absent in goal-oriented ELF interactions, where the speakers cannot afford to abandon the message or avoid the topic. In such settings, speakers seem to make use of achievement or compensatory strategies to deliver the message effectively.

STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE	AUTHORS/ STUDIES	PERCEIVED INTERACTIONAL FUNTCTIONS
		CLARIFICATION S'	TRATEGIES	
Asking for repetition/Other partial repetition	Requesting repetition when not hearing or understanding something properly.	Pardon? What? ⁸	Kirkpatrick (2007) under "Request Repetition"	To point out the non-understood item To clarify one's understanding about terms and concepts under discussion
2. Asking for Clarification	Requesting explanation of an unfamiliar meaning structure	What do you mean? You saw what? Also 'question repeats,' that is, echoing a word or a structure with a question intonation.	Kirkpatric (2007) under "Request Clarification" Kaur (2010, 2011a) as "request for clarification" Mauranen (2006a)	 To prompt a speaker other than the one of the original utterance to give a definition, to repeat the word, to give a synonym or to reformulate. To elicit further repair To guide the interlocutor to the source of the trouble To indicate the segment that one finds problematic.
Comprehension Check/request for confirmation of understanding	Asking questions to check that the interlocutor can follow you.	And what is the diameter of the pipe? The diameter. Do you know what the diameter is?	Mauranen (2006a, 2007) Kaur (2010, 2011) under "request for confirmation of understanding" Rogerson-Revel (2008) Under "Indirect question" Cogo (2010) Under "Direct question" Waterson (2008)	1) To directly/indirectly prompt listeners to check their understanding 2) To signal linguistic/content insecurity 3) To directly/indirectly invite listeners to co-create shared meaning 4) To make sure that interlocutors constantly align their understanding of each other utterances 5) Intonation as pragmatic resource (questioning intonation) 6) To provide the listener with another opportunity to re-hear the target item
4. Confirmation check	Repeating the trigger in a 'question repeat' or asking a full question.	You said? You mean? Do you mean?	Mauranen (2006a, 2007) Kaur (2010, 2011) under "request for confirmation of understanding" Rogerson-Revel (2008) Under "indirect" Cogo (2010) Under "Direct" Waterson (2008)	To convey to the speaker of the original utterance the need for confirmation To prompt the speaker of the original utterance to check the validity of the listener's hypothesis To signal potential trouble source and negotiate it To indicate that something was unclear or hard to understand, and to elicit elucidation.
5. Guessing/lexical anticipation	Guessing is similar to a confirmation request but the latter implies a greater degree of certainty regarding the key word, whereas	Oh. It is then not the washing machine. Is it a sink?	Kirkpatric (2007) under "lexical anticipation"	To confirm understanding, to negotiate the troublesome unit (intonation as a pragmatic resource) To indicate something was unclear or hard to understand, and to elicit elucidation

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⁸ Most examples of pragmatic strategies have been taken from Dörnyei & Scott's (1997) taxonomy.

	guessing involves real indecision.			
6. Self-Repair	Making self- initiated corrections in one's own speech.	Then the sun shines and the weather get be gets better.	Mauranen (2006a, 2007) Björkman (2011a, 2013) Watterson (2008) Matsomoto (2011) Smit (2010)	To communicate intended meaning as clearly as possible To facilitate the listener's decoding efforts
7. Other-repair	Correcting something in the interlocutor's speech.	Speaker:because our tip went wrong [] Interlocutor: Oh, you mean the tap. S: Tap, tap	Kirkpatric (2007) as "lexical correction"; Smit (2010) Hynninen (2011) also as "other- initiated"	 To facilitate understanding To organise discourse To socialise.
8. Circumlocution/ Paraphrase/ Reformulation	Exemplifying, illustrating or describing the properties of the target object or action.	It becomes water instead of "melt"	Kirkpatrick (2007) Kaur (2009, 2010) Cogo (2009) Lichtkoppler (2007) Watterson (2008) Gotti (2014)	1) To give the listener the opportunity to re-hear the question/utterance now formulated in a more explicit accessible way 2) To clarify meaning or "for purposes of amplification". 3) To provide the listener with the opportunity to re-hear the target item in its more carefully pronounced form
9. Self-repetition/ Repetition	Repeating a word or a string of words immediately after they were said.	[Retrospective comment:] I wanted to say that it was made of concrete but I didn't know concrete' and this is why "which was made, which was made" was said twice.	Mauranen (2006a, 2007) Lichtkoppler (2007) Cogo (2009) Kirkpatrick (2007) Björkman (2010) Kaur (2010) Watterson (2008)	To try and make sense of what is said To give the listener the opportunity to re-hear the item in question
10. Spell out the word/asking to spell a word	Spell letter by letter a word	M-o-u-s-e	Kirkpatric (2007)	To clarify one's understanding about terms and concepts under discussion To signal solidarity
11. Direct appeal for help/Direct question	Turning to the interlocutor for assistance by asking an explicit question concerning a gap in one's L2 knowledge.	it's a kind of old clock so when it strucks er I don't know, one, two, or three 'clock then a bird is coming out. What's the name?	Mauranen (2006a)	To directly invite listeners to cocreate shared meaning To signal linguistic/content insecurity To directly prompt listeners to check their understanding
STRATEGIES TO KE	EP THE CONVERSAT	ΓΙΟΝ FLOWING		
12. Let-it-pass	When faced with problems in understanding the speaker's utterance, the hearer thus lets the unknown or unclear action, word or utterance 'pass' on the (common-sense) assumption that it will either	Example too long to be included	Firth (1996) Kirkpatrick (2007) Rogerson-Revel (2008)	To gain efficiency and alignment To manage to accommodate to the interlocutor's non-target-like pronunciation or meaning. To make the conversation more efficient with the rhythm of the encounter.

	become clear or redundant as talk progresses. (Firth, 1996:243)			
13. Make-it-normal	The hearer behaves in such a way as to divert attention from the linguistically infelicitous form of the other's talk. It serves to effectively make the other's 'abnormal' talk appear 'normal'. One way of doing so is by producing 'upshots' or 'formulations' of the other's 'marked' or opaque usage. (Firth, 1996:245)	Example too long to be included.	Firth (1996) Rogerson-Revel (2008)	
14. Backchanneling	Those verbal and non-verbal utterances, such as mhm, uh huh, yeah, right, head nods and smiles, whereby the listener signals that they are paying attention to what is being said and that they want the speaker to continue talking.	Yeah, good, ok, mhm, maybe, I don't know	Bjørge (2010) Meierkord (2000) Cogo & Dewey (2006) Pölzl & Sheidlhofer (2006)	The conversation can continue under the assumption that meaning is shared. To signal attention and understanding To signal agreement and thus contribute to a more relaxed atmosphere 'Mmh' is used to express agreement without competing for a turn.
15. Other-repetition	Repeating something the interlocutor said	Interlocutor: And could you tell me the diameter of the pipe? The diameter. Speaker: The diameter? It's about er maybe er five centimeters	Björkman (2010) Cogo & Dewey (2006) Cogo (2009)	To acknowledge one's understanding and/or to signal one's agreement To repeat important bits of information To try and make sense of what is said through other-repetition To reaffirm shared understanding before moving back into the main flow of conversation
16. Use of fillers/ Flow-keeper "you know "I mean" "I think"	Using gambits to fill pauses, to stall, and to gain time in order to keep the communication channel open and maintain discourse at times of difficulty.	Examples range from very short structures such as well; you know; actually; okay, to longer phrases such as this is rather difficult to explain; well, actually, it's a good.	Wagner & Firth (1997) House (2009) Björkman (2010) Böhringer (2007)	 To keep one's flow To balance the territorial with the cooperative imperative To signal/reveal the presence of one's current planning difficulties To "fumble" for suitable descriptions and adequate metaphors To act as a focus marker making more salient whatever occurs to the right of it.

2. Literature review

				 6) To support speakers' points and opinions, to clarify, to exemplify or elaborate on a point. 7) To soften facts as speaker facts, similar to "I think" "I mean" in accordance with the habitat factor 8) "You know" to signal additive relation, causal relation or contrast relation.
	U	SING METADISCOU	JRSE DEVICES	
17. Discourse Refelexivity	Discourse about the ongoing discourse: Comments on terms and concepts, tasks, discourse structure, discourse content, intent, common ground, signaling importance, introducing topic, exemplifying etc.	I wanted to talk about And then what about	Mauranen (2010) Björkman (2010, 2011a, 2013) Penz (2008) Gotti (2014)	 To move from stage to stage To preface an explanation, a question To impose order in the discourse To make transitions explicit and elaborate. To resume topics from earlier discourse To contribute to group cohesion among the participants To clarify one's intention To draw students attention to critical notions, etc.
	l IIC	E OF MULTIL INCL	AL DECOLIDEES	
18. Word-coinage/ (morphological, lexical, phonological creativity)/ Foreignising	Creating a non-existing L2 word by applying a supposed L2 phonology (i.e., with a L2 pronunciation) and/or morphology.	reparate' for 'repair' [adjusting the German word 'reparieren']	Pitzl (2005, 2010) Cogo (2009) Klipfinguer (2009) Vettorel (2014) Hülmbauer (2007)	To reconcile the cooperative and the territorial imperative (Widowson, 1990:109) and, thus, to successfully convey a message while signaling one's own social identity. To keep one's flow
19. Literal translation (transfer)	Translating literally a lexical item, an idiom, a compound word or structure from L1/L3 to L2.	I'd made a big fault [translated from French]	Cogo (2009) Klipfinguer (2009)	To display "their membership to a different community of speakers, a multilingual community
20. Code switching (L1, L3, etc.)	This may involve stretches of discourse ranging from single words to whole chunks and even complete turns in the speakers L1/L2/L3, etc.	Using the Spanish term "segadora" for "lawnmower".	Cogo (2009) Klipfinguer (2009) Rogerson-Revel (2008)	To construct solidarity and group cohesion
21. Local/idiomatic referents	The manifestation of previously established patterns of usage, or "semi-preconstructed phrases" in the speaker's L1.	S/he brings home the bacon/ Variant wording such as s/he brings the bacon home	Kirkpatrick (2007) (Under "Avoid them") (Seidlhofer, 2009a) Kalocsai (2011)	To show belonging to the "here-and-now group" To create a "shared affective space" To construct friendship

Table 2.2. Pragmatic strategies appearing in ELF studies.

2.3.6.1. Clarification strategies

ELF research has paid attention to the effort speakers put into preventing misunderstanding and ensuring mutual intelligibility by using several proactive and cooperative strategies based on the idea of 'clarification'. This would seem to reflect a tendency toward self-regulation in English as a lingua franca (ELF), as speakers aim to find mutually acceptable and comprehensible ways of expressing their intended meaning without causing misunderstanding. In fact, findings from ELF research suggest that misunderstandings are not very frequent (Firth, 1990; Meierkord, 2000; Mauranen, 2006a).

The prevention of misunderstanding is related to proactive work in talk and this implies either that no overt marker of a misunderstanding is evidenced or that the speaker's perception of it is mirrored spontaneously giving way to additional checks, explanations, or clarifications. Alternatively, speakers in a conversation can be actively co-constructing meaning (e.g. by means of providing expressions which the current speaker seems to be lacking), that is, participants other than the current speaker may initiate the production of an expression that is acceptable. As it is explained by Mauranen "acceptability is understood in terms of whether an expression or repair allows the discourse to proceed and judged by how the discourse moves on — with further clarifications or searches, or with apparent satisfaction with the degree of shared understanding" (2006a: 135). Acceptability is, therefore, a quintessential aspect here, since speakers of ELF would deploy their pragmatic strategies (even more than one at a time) to achieve clarity and understanding as far as they understand that the message intended is not accepted, in other words, until they are prompted to move on in conversation.

Some of the strategies that have been found in ELF talk in order to clarify meaning are the following: (i) asking for repetition and asking for clarification, which are the most straightforward signals of misunderstanding (e.g. Mauranen, 2006b; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Kaur, 2010, 2011); (ii) comprehension check and confirmation check, used by the participants to facilitate the process of jointly constructing understanding after partial or non-understanding and misunderstanding⁹ (e.g. Mauranen, 2006a, 2007; Rogerson-Revel, 2008; Waterson, 2008; Kaur, 2010, 2011a; Cogo, 2010); (iii) self-repair and other-repair, mostly

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⁹ "Non-understanding occurs when a receiver cannot connect incoming information with stored information. [...] Misunderstandings occurs when a receiver actually connects incoming information with stored information but where the resulting meaningful connection must be viewed as inadequate or incorrect" (Allwood & Abelar, 1984: 2).

2. Literature review

used to repair instructional register and content, vocabulary, or linguistic aspects in order to facilitate understanding, discourse organisation, and socialisation (e.g. Mauranen, 2006a, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Watterson, 2008; Smit, 2010; Björkman, 2011a, 2013, Matsomoto, 2011; Hynninen, 2011); (iv) paraphrase to help avert problems of understanding in specific interactional contexts, such as after a prolonged silence, minimal response or overlapping talk (Mauranen, 2006a; Lichtkoppler, 2007; Cogo, 2009) (v) and repetition, which arises because the speaker tries to make sense of what is said or wants to give the listener the opportunity to re-hear the item in question (e.g. Mauranen, 2006a, 2007; Lichtkoppler, 2007; Waterson, 2008; Cogo, 2009; Björkman, 2010; Kaur, 2010), among others.

2.3.6.2. Strategies to keep the conversation flowing

Empirical work on the pragmatics of ELF has also focused on strategies designed 'to keep the conversation flowing'. Among the earliest studies on pragmatic strategies is Firth's work (Firth, 1990, 1996). The study analysed audiotaped business conversations in which the main aims of the speakers were, firstly, to get the work done through successful talk and, secondly, to make the unfolding talk normal and ordinary despite the occurrence of grammatical infelicities such as prosodic and pronunciation variations from standard English. Two strategies were prominently used by business managers to achieve communicative effectiveness: "let-it-pass" and "make-it-normal". By the let-it-pass strategy, the speakers let an unclear word or constructions pass, as they choose to avoid any problematic situation and their priority is to build common ground before asking for any clarification. In the Make-itnormal principle the hearer treats the non-standard word/utterance as normal without interrupting the speech flow to try any possible correction but producing reformulations of the other's unclear message (Firth, 1996: 243-245). The relevant point in this study is that few instances of other-repair occurred, which would mean that participants in these interactions seem averse to focusing on form but rather on meaning making, as they are concerned with each other's discourse encoding and decoding, or, as Firth (1990) terms it, "interactional work".

Böhringer (2007) focuses on insights into the potential functions of silent and filled pauses in ELF, showing that, in addition to serving as a means of gaining time for speech encoding, pauses may also play a role in the interactive creation of meaning or even act as

structural markers of the speech event. Similarly, Bjørge (2010) examined the occurrence of (a) non-verbal backchannels such as head nods, (b) non-lexical items such as 'mhm, ah, oh', (c) lexical, phrasal and syntactic items such as 'certainly', 'definitely', 'I see' or 'yes', and, (d) repetition of other speakers' utterance. What is surprising is that the vast majority of all backchannels were non-verbal, with head nods as "the predominant form of backchannelling" in her data and the most prominent backchannels included 'yes/yeah', 'mhm' (non-lexical vocalisation) and 'ok'.

Another strategy to keep the conversation flowing is other-repetition. Cogo (2009) defines it as a cooperative, convergent accommodation strategy that helps to achieve efficiency and, at the same time, shows cooperation among speakers by signalling (a) listenership, (b) agreement and (c) engagement in conversation (Cogo, 2009: 259). House (2009) also studied interactional verbal work analysing whether the findings of a predominantly interpersonal function of the flow-keeper 'you know' in its use by native speakers of English also holds for its use by ELF speaker. She found that 'you know' in ELF functions differently than in English as a native language (ENL), namely as a "speaker strategy" to "make salient coherence relations and focus on, or boost connections in discourse production and planning difficulties" (p. 190). On the other hand, she supported that ELF users sometimes employ 'you know' as a "prefabricated idiomatic chunk" which they use as a functional communicative fumble.

2.3.6.3. Metadiscourse strategies

Metadiscourse has also been widely studied in ELF. Mauranen (2012: 168) defines metadiscourse as "discourse about the ongoing discourse" or "discourse reflexivity". Researchers (e.g., Mauranen, 2006a, 2010, 2012; Kaur, 2009; Björkman, 2010) have investigated metadiscourse as an important aspect in avoiding communicative disturbance and achieving effectiveness in ELF settings, namely by using metadiscursive strategies (e.g. comments on terms and concepts, tasks, discourse structure, discourse content, intent, common ground, signalling importance, introducing topic, exemplifying, etc.).

In her study, Mauranen (2010) studied the dialogic use of discourse reflexivity in ELF. The author used multi-party data extracted from ELFA corpus (e.g., Conrad & Mauranen, 2003) as a basis for her research. Comparing the use of discourse reflexivity amongst three

2. Literature review

seminars, she found that discourse reflexivity is a frequent feature in academic ELF that fulfils a wide number of functions that include: (i) helping the interlocutors assimilate the flow of the conversation and keeping track of the sequences of interaction; (ii) preparing work by relating arguments from the speaker, other participants, and third parties to each other; (iii) reinforcing or assuring the mutual comprehension by explicitly providing the review of the preceding talk and making it possible for the participants in the interaction to predict the content which is coming next, and (iv) offsetting power inequality and developing arguments as well as personal experience (Mauranen, 2010: 24-36). Mauranen found that discourse reflexivity collocates with hedges, which according to her view "serves to restore the balance between expressing speaker perspective and keeping it negotiable" (Mauranen, 2010: 24).

2.3.6.4. Multilingual resources

Research has also paid attention to the strategic use that ELF users make of their multilingual resources in different ways and for various purposes. These resources are a vital part of the discourse practices of ELF conversations. ELF speakers exploit their non-nativeness, drawing on their multilingual resources by switching into their own first languages as well as into the languages of their interlocutors and even into the languages that are not the mother tongue of any participant in the interaction (Cogo, 2009, 2010). The ELF users' inherent multilingual backgrounds "open up manifold possibilities of dealing with language, which may or not bring about effective communication" (Hülmbauer, 2007:11). These practices may be interpreted in ENL terms as deviation from standardised norms or ineffective communication. However, in Vettorel's words, in ELF terms they are interpreted "as a result of speakers bringing into the communicative act practices from their L1, or of other languages in their repertoires as well of other communication strategies such as [...] mixing moves which are all enacted to pragmatic functional ends" (Vettorel, 2014: 187).

Among these resources, convergent accommodation strategies such as overt codeswitching moves, covert transfer phenomena and the use of cognates (Hülmbauer, 2009) to create and negotiate meaning are observed in ELF communication. Regarding cognates, Vettorel (2014) points out that ELF speakers coin new words (cognates) and expressions drawing upon their linguistic repertoires, which are by definition by- or plurilingual and, precisely, it does not cause misunderstanding, but it may help to process language faster. Besides this creativity involves cross-linguistic references in the shape of single lexical items or idiomatic expressions. More amply used, code switching is employed in ELF research as an inclusive umbrella term to include different code-mixing, borrowing and code-switching phenomena (Klimpfinger, 2007, 2009; Cogo, 2009, 2011). Klimpfinger (2009) presents code switching as a complex phenomenon in the multilingual framework of ELF, which serves various purposes, i.e. specifying an addressee, signalling culture, appealing for assistance, and introducing another idea (2009: 36-39). Rogerson-Revel (2008) includes among these purposes to keep one's flow. Cogo (2009) pointed out that code switching is an additional tool that multilingual speakers have at their disposal, enabling them to achieve various conversational goals. It is frequently used to appeal for assistance, to introduce another idea, to signal culture and multilingual identity, to fill gaps in ELF speakers' linguistic knowledge, to negotiate meaning, and often it serves more than one function at the same time. All these strategies provide nuances of expression that would be unavailable only using the English language and, in the end, they serve to construct solidarity and group cohesion (Cogo, 2009).

2.3.7. ELF in academia

As has been explained in the previous sections, academia is one of the major international domains where practitioners are increasingly using English as a lingua franca. Currently, most studies on the topic of English used as Lingua Franca in academia derive from the ELFA corpus (*Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings*¹⁰), since it has provided authentic data from a wide spectrum of naturally-occurring academic speech events (Björkman, 2011a; Mauranen, 2012). This corpus serves a two-fold purpose:

on the one hand it helps to understand how academic discourses work at a time when so much of teaching and research is carried out in different countries using English as a Lingua Franca. On the other hand, the corpus offers a clearly delimited database of ELF in situations which are linguistically and intellectually demanding, and which therefore go well beyond simple routines and rudimentary exchanges. (Mauranen, 2006b:147).

¹⁰ http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/elfacorpus

2. Literature review

Particularly the *Studying in English as a Lingua Franca Project* (SELF) corpus utilises the one-million-word ELFA corpus to focus on English-medium university studies, adopting a microanalytic, ethnographically influenced perspective recording the speakers' experience along with their language. Findings from the SELF Project serve theoretical and descriptive interests on issues of language change and important applications for the benefit of students and teachers in English-medium programmes. Yet, the ELFA corpus is not alone since there are other on-going corpora and research projects covering interactions in the academic sphere: the VOICE corpus (*Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English*¹¹); the ACE corpus (*Asian Corpus of English*), the CALPIU corpus (*Cultural and Linguistic Practices in the International University*¹²), and more recently, the WRELFA¹³ Corpus (*Written academic English as a Lingua Franca*), consisting of academic texts written in English as a lingua franca compiled as a written complement to the spoken ELFA corpus.

Most studies on ELF in academia corpora prove that what matters in such academic contexts is to achieve communicative effectiveness and knowledge gaining, since most of these academic settings tend to be teaching-learning scenarios (e.g., EMI lectures). The cornerstone behind these two objectives is 'understanding' (Mauranen, 2006a: 128). In line with this, 'understanding' and 'non-understanding' can be regarded as the two ends of a continuum along which various degrees of shared understanding or non-understanding can be achieved (Pitzl, 2005: 52). According to Allwood and Abelar (1984: 2), nonunderstanding occurs when a receiver cannot connect incoming information with stored information or when "the resulting meaningful connection must be viewed as inadequate or incorrect" (also known as "misunderstanding" – involving not only lack of understanding but also an incorrect attempt at interpretation). Particularly, in ELF academic contexts there is usually an additional element to take into consideration, which is the participants' different sociocultural backgrounds. Therefore, 'understanding' can become a tougher task due to factors such as socio-linguistic lack of shared repertoire among the participants in a communicative act. Mauranen (2006a: 128) argues that non-understanding or misunderstanding "can be traced back to linguistic causes, that is, a lack of shared expressions, which means that the interlocutors fail to assign a satisfactory interpretation to an expression". This implies certain requirements and adaptations on the part of the lecturers when operating in English, since this environment is very different from L1-L1 context. Yet,

¹¹ http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/

¹² http://calpiu.dk/

¹³ http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/wrelfa

not all kinds of misunderstandings or non-understandings need be based on gaps in the shared code or the lingua franca. Mauranen argues that they may also relate to pragmatic matters in the discourse, such as the "intended illocutionary force of a speech act, or its relevance, or else a more 'procedural' confusion about the progression of the discourse situation" (Mauranen, 2006a: 128).

Most empirical studies on ELF in academic settings have so far demonstrated that English is used effectively by its (majority) non-native lingua franca speakers but often differently from ways in which it is used among native English speakers (Jenkins, 2014). Differently does not mean unsuccessfully, since it has been shown that ELF communication is less problematic than expected (e.g., Mauranen, 2006a; Kaur, 2009), as speakers cooperate and use various strategies that ensure communicative success (Cogo, 2009, 2010) (See Chapter 2). Particularly, the participants' awareness of not being native speakers seems to create a higher motivation in their adoption of supportive moves that are commonly less frequent in settings that only involve native speakers. Namely, different researchers have found that the adoption of proactive (Mauranen, 2006b; Kaur, 2009), interactive (Bjorkman, 2010; Suviniitty, 2012), and explicitation (Mauranen, 2007) strategies enables the interlocutors to accomplish their communicative purposes and to achieve the teaching objectives of their specialised courses (Gotti, 2014: 338).

2.3.8. Pragmatic strategies in EMI

Previous studies on English as medium of instruction in academia (Mauranen, 2006b, 2017; Kaur, 2009; Smit, 2009; Björkman, 2010, 2014) have shown that using English as the vehicular language for lecturing when it is not one's native language is even more difficult that lecturing in one's mother tongue. It is rather likely that different issues arise when lecturers and students face the communicative process that any lecture implies in such high-stakes contexts. The issue that demands further investigation is, therefore, "how effective English is as the lingua franca of higher education" (Björkman, 2010: 78).

Clearly, the academic setting differs in many ways from casual conversations, simulated conversations or other kinds of dyadic speech that have been studied in some earlier ELF research (e.g., Pölzl & Seidlhofer, 2006; Cogo, 2010; Kaur, 2010). Participants

2. Literature review

in lectures have pedagogic and communicative goals to achieve, which are not transactional in the traditional sense, nor are the participants gathered only to socialise as in casual conversations. In many cases the teaching of such courses is assigned to NNS lecturers, who are not chosen specifically for their language competence but rather according to their expertise in the subject they are supposed to be teaching. As they are taught in English, these courses attract many students from other countries. The result is a typical ELF situation in which most lecturers and students use this language as a common means of communication and instruction (Gotti, 2014). The speakers manage to engage in high-level and often abstract discussion most of the times negotiating meanings, arguments and alternative viewpoints to carry out the kinds of discourses which constitute the teaching-learning settings they are in. According to Mauranen, this is not "survival English," but using English for sophisticated professional purposes (Mauranen, 2006c: 228).

Much attention has been devoted to university content courses aimed at international students. Several studies have focused on the effects of the lecturing language on the teaching and learning of content (e.g. Klaassen, 2001; Wilkinson, 2005; Fortanet, 2008; Shaw & McMillion, 2008; Airey, 2009) and the reactions by lecturers and students to content teaching carried out in English (e.g. Hellekjær & Westergaard, 2003; Smit, 2008, 2009; Ljosland, 2008; Hellekjær, 2010; Knapp, 2011). Some studies focus on formal aspects such as the kind of divergence from standard morphosyntactic forms of English that lead to disturbance in ELF speech (Björkman, 2008a, 2008b, 2009), while others concentrate on pragmatic issues (Leznyak, 2002; Mauranen, 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2012; Planken, 2005; Cogo, 2009; Kaur, 2009; Suviniitty, 2010; Smit, 2010; Björkman, 2011a; Hynninen, 2011; Smit & Dafouz, 2012). As regards pragmatics, most of the work has analysed negotiation of meaning and misunderstandings, showing that in this context there is an innate preparedness for potential disturbance in communication and a strong collaboration or cooperativeness among speakers involved in the speech event to eventually establish successful communication (Mauranen, 2006a; Kaur, 2009, Smit, 2009, Cogo, 2009, Björkman, 2011). Research into English as a lingua franca in academic settings has not only foregrounded the general levels of success with which students as well as lectures draw on English in order to meet their communicative ends but also that such levels of success are only possible because of the interactants' willingness to invest time and energy in collaboratively co-constructing their exchanges across diverse multilingual repertoires (Mauranen & Ranta, 2008; Björkman, 2009; Smit, 2010).

For instance, Mauranen's studies (2003) have revealed the adoption of "self-regulation" strategies, by means of which speakers tend to adapt their way of speaking to the interlocutors' assumed linguistic competence. She analysis speakers' use of metadiscourse to "help to organise discourse by signalling beginning, changes of tack, and endings of sequences of interaction" (Mauranen, 2012: 168). In monologues, especially if they have been prepared in advance, such as lectures or presentations, speakers prospect ahead, make retrospective references, resume earlier topics, and have similar features in a more limited way (Mauranen, 2012: 171).

Björkman (2011a) investigated the role that pragmatic strategies play in the communicative effectiveness of English as a lingua franca. She analysed two set of transcribed data of monologic (lectures) versus dialogic (student-group sessions) speech events and found that "lecturers in ELF settings make less frequent use of pragmatic strategies than students, who deploy these strategies frequently in group-work sessions" (Björkman, 2011a: 950). For instance, students had more cases of 'comment on intent', 'comment on common ground' and 'repetition for emphases'. This suggests that the lecturers in her corpus paid less attention to the pragmatic strategies examined. However, she also found some shared features in both types of interactions, e.g., the students' use repetition for emphasis as frequently as the lecturers do, in order to signal their efforts to convey the message.

Gotti (2014) examined the recordings of three content courses taught by teachers who used English as the vehicular language, including lessons and other teaching activities. Particular attention was devoted to the examination of the metadiscourse strategies used to make the comprehension of lectures easier, predominantly to less proficient students. He focused on strategies used by lecturers to explain specialised terms, strategies to overcome difficulties of comprehension by the students and the cooperative work in the explanation/comprehension of topics. The study zoomed in to analyse rhetorical questions, illocutionary markers (e.g. show, explain, etc.) rephrasing, emphasising, or inserting interactivity (e.g. 'the problem you say is that...'). The considerable presence of cooperative strategies adopted by the learners and the teachers revealed their willingness to adjust and accommodate in order to favour mutual intelligibility and successful linguistic communication and also that interactive strategies make lectures more dialogic, create more opportunities to negotiate meaning and, therefore, to achieve more comprehensible lectures.

2. Literature review

Smit's (2010) analysed content lecturers in a tertiary educational Hotel Management program focusing on classroom interaction in English as a lingua franca. This approach integrates insights from pragmatics, discourse analysis and socio-cultural research on learning. Smit aimed to unveil discourse processes, firstly investigating actual interactional practices in their context and, secondly, integrating the socio-cultural understanding of "language use as a joint process where meaning and context are co-constructed by participants" (Nikula, 2005: 30). She explained that communication can only rely on shared language norms and expectations and that discursively developing situation-specific and intrinsic conventions and patterns have a major-role in the meaning making-process. Her analysis was mostly done in a qualitative way, supported by quantitative descriptions of feature distributions. It is concerned with the pragmatic strategies used by the participants to a) co-construct understanding, b) co-direct talk and players, c) co- explain knowledge (ibid 8). It mostly focuses on visible instances of participants' classroom interactional repair to negotiate meaning, and on the authority of such repairs (students/lecturers' self-repair, selfinitiation, other-repair, other-initiation, metalinguistic repair). Her results determine that these strategies are, though sometimes used by students, mainly employed by the teachers to repair content-oriented focus of the classroom, 'vocabulary', 'mishearings', and in fewer cases pronunciation and grammatical correctness. In this sense, cluing and helping were not used as a pedagogical strategy but used when genuine communicational trouble aroused.

Hynninen (2011) focused on the practice of 'mediation' which occurs when "a speaker occupies an intermediary position between two other interactants, and in this role, speaks for another participant present in the interaction" (Hynninen, 2011: 966). She explains that this practice resembles a form of 'repair' since mediation is a form of rephrasing someone else's words. The data used in the analysis come from one English-medium master's level seminar course arranged at the University of Helsinki in 2008 and participant interviews. The interest of this research falls primarily on 'other-initiated repairs' and other-repairs because of their interactional relevance. Hynninen (2011) suggests that the setting where ELF is used has an effect on the participants' interactional behaviour and therefore on their success to achieve their communicative goals. She explains that the institutional nature of the seminar interactions analysed in her study partly enables mediation to occur in the first place. She concluded that mediation seems to function on three different levels: (1) facilitating understanding, (2) discourse organisation, and (3) socialisation. In other words, these strategies do not only work to facilitate comprehension but also to establish rapport.

Suviniitty's research (2012) is a qualitative, descriptive case study of an EMI Master's Program which focuses on student perceptions on EMI lectures comprehension. The analysis draws on genre and discourse analysis and views academic lectures as used by a discourse community. The study draws on naturally occurring ELF data and the analysis triangulates three interactional features—control acts, questions, and repetition— focusing on these elements simultaneously, while also considering student perception of the data by means of questionnaires. Regarding questions, she distinguishes the following functions: asking information, rhetorical question, exclamation, directive and backchannels. Her research indicates that questions increase interaction among interlocutors and they also increase involvement even in a monologue. 'Wh-questions' are the overwhelming majority of all questions in the lectures, the majority in both audience-oriented¹⁴ and content-oriented questions. Finally, in terms of repetition the study divides repetition in two categories: unintentionally and intentionally. The study concluded that the more accessible lectures contained more unintentional and didactic repetition, which would indicate that both type of repetition have an important role in comprehension (ibid. 162).

Drawing on all the work already done on the topic, the current project focuses on the visible instances of pragmatic strategies used by participants in EMI lectures to convey meaning successfully. Since the context where the interactions are taking place is different from the ones in other studies, it is expected that the analysis will reveal some of the strategies identified often by researchers, but also new ones, or at least, different functions or frequencies of the pragmatic strategies.

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¹⁴ The audience-oriented questions include eliciting response; requesting confirmation/clarification; and soliciting agreement while the content-oriented question include focusing information and stimulating thought (Suviniitty, 2012 In: Crawford Camiciottoli, 2008).

Chapter 3. Methodology



3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the data sets used for this research and explains the methods used to analyse them. In the first section, this research is presented as a case study carried out within a local community –the University of Zaragoza–. The second section describes the setting of the research in greater detail. Then the three data sets that have been collected are presented: 1) transcribed recordings of naturally occurring oral discourse displayed in lectures where English is the vehicular language; 2) PowerPoint presentations slides used in those lectures; 3) semi-structured interviews with the lecturers participating in the aforementioned lectures. The final section of this chapter is concerned with the methodology used to analyse each of these three data sets, which requires a mixed-method approach, involving both qualitative and quantitative methods. Given that the different data sets are approached by means of different methods, they are extensively described individually.

3.2. Case study

Although EMI is a global phenomenon, the use of ELF is situational and may vary in each context depending on factors such as the academic institution's socio-cultural contexts, the

students' needs, the level of language knowledge by teachers and students or the attitudes to the use of English. This study explores the pragmatic strategies used by different lecturers at the University of Zaragoza when communicating in English-medium courses to establish successful communication with their audiences. Therefore, the present research is envisaged as a case study investigation, understanding 'case study' as:

an appropriate way to answer broad research questions by providing us with a thorough understanding of how the process develops in this case. In a case study, the researcher collects information by studying the characteristics of those people who are/were involved in the same case [...]. One could use the word 'organisation', 'events' [...] or any other entity. But even in studying organisations one should not overlook that it is people who act and react to each another within the given case. Whether its results can be generalised in other contexts remains an open question, to be answered by complementary case studies and/or an extensive approach. (Swanborn, 2010: 3).

Following Swaborn's (2010: 13) definition for 'case study', this research fits the following case-study criteria:

- 1. It has been carried out within the boundaries of a local community, the University of Zaragoza.
- 2. It takes place in a natural context. The lecturers and students who operate in these English-medium instruction programs all use English as a lingua franca (ELF); therefore, they are users of English rather than learners of the language. Besides, they were involved in regular academic activities which were not prepared in advance, nor were the sessions selected by any means. Finally, the lectures were recorded by the lecturers themselves, thus maintaining the levels of intimacy and regularity.
- 3. The study implies collecting information afterwards with respect to the development of the phenomenon. Indeed, semi-structured interviews were conducted to get the lecturers' personal insights on the EMI process on a retrospective basis.
- 4. The researcher focuses on the description and explanation of a social process that unfolds between persons participating in the process, people with their expectations, resources, mutual relations and behaviour. This particular research focuses on a reduced number of lecturers and their corresponding students who were present in class and the main focus is on the process of communication

- taking place in a classroom where English is the vehicular language. In fact, it is the participants' strategic linguistic behaviour to establish successful communication that is investigated.
- 5. The researcher, guided by an initial research question, explores the data and only after some time formulates more precise research questions, keeping an open eye on unexpected aspects of the process. The starting point of the research is to determine the main pragmatic strategies used by the lecturers and students to establish successful communication in English as medium of instruction. The study derives from a taxonomy developed drawing on previous studies and categorisations of pragmatic strategies. Nevertheless, the present study is opened to find new pragmatic strategies, or at least, different functions of the pragmatic strategies, since the context where the interactions are taking place is different from the ones in other studies.
- 6. Several data sources are used: audio-recordings of the events, auxiliary materials used in the communication process carried out such as PowerPoint presentations and interviews with the lecturers. This research aims not only to analyse the participants' speech but also to draw upon their subjective perspectives to confront them with preliminary research conclusions in order to attain a more solid base for the research report.

3.3. Setting of research

The study takes place in a Spanish university –The University of Zaragoza (henceforth UZ). This is a traditionally monolingual research and teaching institution, located in Southwest Europe. It has three main campuses located within the regional community of Aragón, the largest campus being in Zaragoza and two smaller campuses, one in the North province of Aragón, Huesca (on the border with France) and one in the South province, Teruel (See Figure 3.1). The UZ also belongs to the Iberus Campus of International Excellence, a strategic research, teaching and innovation-oriented alliance with other universities of the Ebro valley (Vazquez et al., 2019).

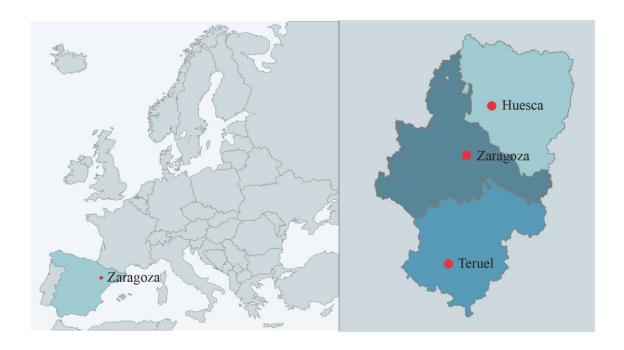


Figure 3.1. Location of Zaragoza in Europe and Aragon's provinces. Source: Wikipedia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaragoza

The UZ describes itself as a leading university in the process of adapting to the European Space of Higher Education. Using Foskett's (2010) classification, we could state that the University of Zaragoza is currently an "internationally engaged university", meaning that it is "highly engaged on an international scale both at home and abroad, which provides services at home to support international students, it has a global mindset reflected in academic course curriculum and faculties are encouraged to conduct research and teach abroad" (Foskett, 2010: 47). Domestic undergraduate students represent 96% of the student population. Teaching is mainly conducted in the national language, Spanish, with the exception of courses taught in departments of languages and, outside those departments, only few undergraduate and postgraduate courses offer English-mediated instruction. EMI in the Spanish HE sector has not yet been widespread, possibly due to the status of Spanish as an international language and a popular foreign language. Yet, English is also considered as having potential to attract international talent, increase competitiveness in the international sphere and enhance cooperation with other world regions (Vazquez et al., 2019). As such, EMI is meant to be one of the main tools for internationalising the University of Zaragoza as it fosters student and staff mobility, exchanging intercultural values and enhancing a multilingual and multicultural approach to a European/global citizenship.

The data for this study were collected in different programs in the Faculty of Business and Economics and in the Faculty of Science because these are the faculties where more EMI programs can be found. More precisely, the present research is concerned with the analysis of practices of EMI in the BSc in Business Administration and Management (taught at the Business and Economics Faculty) and in the MSc in Nanostructured Materials for Nanotechnology Applications (taught at the Faculty of Science).

In the Business and Economics Faculty, all its degrees are taught in Spanish, except for the Degree in Business Administration and Management (henceforth "Degree in BAM"), taught in Spanish and in English to different groups. It comprises 240 ECTS credits, as it last four years, and the course contents are the same in both groups—English-taught and Spanish-taught. Most of the times contents are translated into English, since the Spanishmedium program was established before and original materials were developed in Spanish. In the institutional documents available in the webpage of the Degree in BAM, EMI is only mentioned in relation to the positive effects on the students' future careers and there is no reference to the problems that Spanish students may face when studying in an L2 (see similar studies in other universities, such as Smit 2010; Jenkins, 2014). The main objectives of the English-medium program are to provide students with a solid economic-business training with an international focus; to diversify its offer of studies; to expand and improve its bilateral agreements with other educational and research centres from foreign universities and institutions, promoting the mobility of students, teachers and researchers; and to contribute to a broader and better educational offer in the territory of the Autonomous Community of Aragon. Therefore, this program does not include teaching and learning English as part of the objectives.¹⁵

Focusing on the Faculty of Science, it has got two master's programmes fully taught in English mainly to attract students from abroad: the *MSc in Nanostructured Materials for Nanotechnology Applications* (henceforth *MSc in Nanostructured Materials*) and the *MSc in Quantitative Biotechnology* (the rest of the programs in this faculty are Spanish-taught). They have a duration of one academic year and comprise 60 ECTS credits. As regards the former, which is the one in which data were collected for the present study, all teaching materials and examination tests are carried out in English as the vehicular language. As is mentioned in the faculty of Science website¹⁶, the course is suitable for graduates with

¹⁵ https://fecem.unizar.es/sites/econz.unizar.es/files/users/titulaciones/adei/normativa_adei2017_18c.pdf

¹⁶ https://ina.unizar.es/master-degree-in-nanostructured-materials-for-nanotechnology-applications/

science, engineering, medicine or related degrees keen to develop careers at the forefront of nanoscience and nanotechnology. The course is multidisciplinary and aims to provide students with fundamental knowledge, practical experience, and skills in the fabrication and characterisation of nanostructured materials and devices with applications in key areas of nanochemistry, nanophysics, and nanobiomedicine. In this master's degree, learning the English language is neither part of the teaching and learning objectives.

Different profiles of students access these degrees. In the case of the students studying the degree in BAM, most of them are Spanish students who aim at improving their English language skills by means of using this language as the vehicular language. Some students may consider studying through English as a means for practising the language in order to master it. Yet, international students are also present in this degree, since the vehicular language which it offers is an asset for most of the Erasmus students, who usually prefer English-medium courses, given their lack of Spanish language mastery. On the other hand, in the MSc in Nanostructured Materials the number of Spanish and international students is more balanced. International students take this degree because they are attracted by the specialisation it offers in terms of the subject contents.

As for language requirements to enter these EMI programs at the UZ, in the Englishtaught group of the degree in BAM, the entry language level is a CEFR English B2 certificate or it requires passing a corresponding language test at the beginning of the first academic year. On the other hand, in the English-medium MSc in Nanostructured Materials, a B1 level is required to access the program. When it comes to the teachers, there is not a minimum language level required to teach in any of these degrees. Finally, regarding course assessment, the "course descriptions" of the English-taught degree in BAM does not provide information on evaluation of linguistic skills. We can then assume that, although the language of instruction is English, only contents, and not language competence, are assessed. As for the evaluation of the Master in Nanostructured Materials, the "course descriptions" do not provide much information on whether English will be evaluated and if so, according to which criteria (Vazquez et al., 2019).

3.4. Datasets

Three different datasets were used to carry out this research project:

- 1. A corpus of audio-recorded and naturally occurring lectures.
- 2. A corpus of PowerPoint presentation slides used during those lectures to complement the teachers' explanations in class.
- 3. A corpus of semi-structures interviews with the lecturers participating in those lectures.

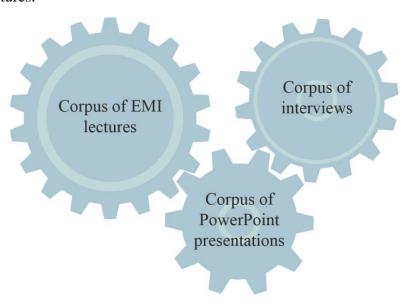


Figure 3.2. Data sets

The first data set collected was the corpus of lectures taking place at the university of Zaragoza. These lectures amount to 12 lessons recorded between the academic years 2015-2016 and 2016-2017. The speech events are multiparty interactions where the participants represent a variety of lingua-cultural backgrounds, since they involve local lecturers but also local and international students. The second data set consists of a genre which is intended to support the recorded lectures: PowerPoint Presentation slides and its corresponding and available presentation notes. These presentations where collected on the same dates when the lectures took place. They were collected in order to make it possible to analyse their role in facilitating students' understanding of the content. Finally, these two data sets were triangulated with data obtained through semi-structured interviews with the lecturers, where they provided information on their attitude towards the use of English and on their own use of pragmatic strategies. The semi-structured interviews were carried out once the

transcription of the lectures was made and after a preliminary analysis of the lectures and PowerPoint presentations' contents was conducted.

3.4.1. Description of the EMI lectures corpus

The first dataset consists of a corpus of audio recordings of lectures in the BSc in Business Administration and Management and in the MSc in Nanostructured Materials for Nanotechnology Applications. Data consist of complete speech events, i.e., complete individual sessions including naturally occurring teaching monologues and dialogues carried out between different lecturers and students in English as the vehicular language. All data in the corpus is authentic in the sense that it is not elicited for research purposes but occurs naturally. Oral speech was audio-recorded by the lecturers themselves after signing the corresponding agreements (See Appendix 2), maintaining so the authentic classroom situations. One of the main objectives in the corpus collection process was to avoid any interference in the interactions so as to prevent any alteration in the findings or a break of the intimacy and routines of the participants in those groups.

The data collection focused only on a particular type of lecture which met the following criteria: i) lectures should be carried out completely in English; ii) there should be Spanish and international students in class, so as to establish an ELF communicative situation; iii) and some interaction should take place between teachers and students to ensure a communicative process which would be later analysed. Therefore, the study focused primarily on lectures which contain both dyadic and monologic speech (on the part of the lecturer). The original intention was to carry out video-recordings of the lectures. However, some participants did not agree to be recorded on video, given the invasive nature of that type of data collection. Therefore, only voice was recorded. Besides, the courses where recordings took place, the number of participants and the number of lessons and hours recorded were constrained by availability in terms of:

- 1. The reduced number of the EMI courses which were taught at the time of data collection at the University of Zaragoza.
- 2. The number of lecturers who, after being contacted, agreed to record their lectures (more than 30 lecturers involved in EMI teaching in these two programs

were contacted via e-mail, but only 6 of them agreed to and/or were able to participate in this research for availability, willingness or suitable lecturers' characteristics reasons).

3. The number of lessons which could be recorded per group and lecturer, attending to their availability, to the lectures' characteristics, and to the compilation of a balanced corpus.

Nevertheless, despite these limitations, the data obtained with this collection method is appropriate to answer the research questions posed.

As is illustrated in Table 3.1, the corpus consists of digital recordings of 12 lectures. They range from 50 minutes to 2 hours long and they were recorded in the classrooms where those lectures usually take place in the Faculty of Economics and in the Faculty of Science at the UZ. A total number of 13h 25' 09" were recorded and 102,681 words were transcribed and analysed. In the bachelor's degree in Business Administration and Management (Faculty of Business and Economics) the recordings were carried out in the EMI group and all the recorded lectures belong to the Introduction to Marketing Research and the Marketing management I subjects, since their teachers were willing to participate. Particularly, three lecturers teaching in this program participated in the research. In the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials for Nanotechnology Applications, three lecturers giving instruction in this program agreed to record their lessons in the following subjects: Fundamental properties of nanostructured materials and Preparation of Nanostructured materials. The differentiating factors of both programs, including different disciplines with different participants and different goals in the teaching-learning process, motivated the diversification of data to be collected in more than one faculty. Therefore, the data collected to study EMI lectures taking place at the University of Zaragoza involve 6 Spanish-L1 lecturers (one per class) and around 30 Spanish and international students per group. In the BAM groups, international students amount approximately to 13% of the students in total, while in the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials groups international students amount to 16% of the total number of the students attending the lessons. More hours were recorded in the BAM degree (9h 46'26'') than in the Nanostructured Materials master's degree (3h 38' 43") due to the previously mentioned problems of availability (See Table 3.1).

Programs	Lectures	Lecturers	Subjects	Length	Participants' L1	Students per class	Words
BSc Degree in Business Administration	8	Lecturer 1	Introduction to	9:46:26	Spanish French Finish German	32	83,333
		Lecturer 2	marketing research				
		Lecturer 3	Marketing management I				
MSc in Nanostructured Materials for Nanotechnology Applications.	4	Lecturer 4	Fundamental properties of nanostructured materials	3:38:43	Spanish Italian Portuguese German Turkish English Indonesian	25	19,348
		Lecturer 5	Fundamental properties of nanostructured materials				
		Lecturer 6	Preparation of Nanostructured materials				
TOTAL	12	6		13:25:09	9 L1s		102.681

Table 3.1. Data set 1. Corpus of lectures.

Most lessons were taught in a traditional teaching style, which means that they were mostly teacher-fronted and teacher-directed lessons with occasional students' participation in order to ask questions on the topic or to respond teacher-elicited questions. Yet, more student participation is noticeable in the *Introduction to Marketing Research* subject, since some collaborative work is done with the students taking turns to explain their results and/or opinions on the questions elicited by the teachers. This may have an impact on the lecturers' use of pragmatic strategies (See Chapter 4).

The speech events are mostly monologic and the participants represent a variety of lingua-cultural backgrounds. The lecturers and students who operate in these Englishmedium instruction programs use English as their vehicular language for instruction or their lingua franca. Therefore, they are deemed users of the language, although their proficiency levels may vary. However, it should be noted that the lecturers taking part in this research were not selected according to their language skills. Furthermore, even though students in these lectures are not considered learners of English as a second language, individual students might also have personal motivations for enrolling in English-medium modules, as they may believe it could help them to improve or, at least, to keep their level of proficiency in the language. It could be more the case in the BAM program. As Smit (2010) points out,

it is plausible to suggest that language learning takes place, even if it may be not an official goal in itself.

3.4.2. Description of the semi-structured interviews dataset

The second dataset used in this study is a set of semi-structured interviews to three of the lecturers whose lessons were recorded. All the lecturers were asked to participate in the interviews but for availability reasons only three of the six lecturers were finally interviewed, two of them teaching in the BAM degree and one of them teaching in the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials for Nanotechnology Applications. These semi-structured interviews served to understand the lecturers' perception of their own use of pragmatic strategies in the recorded classes and, thus, the communication process that takes place in those international settings.

A semi-structured interview is defined as "an interview with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008: 286). A semi-structured interview was chosen as the methodological tool because, compared to structured interviews, it can make better use of the knowledge-producing potentials of dialogues by allowing much more flexibility for following up on whatever angles are deemed important by the interviewee. Furthermore, the interviewer has a greater chance of becoming visible as a knowledge-producing participant in the process itself, rather than hiding behind a present interview guide. Additionally, compared to unstructured interviews, the interviewer has a greater say in focusing the conversation on issues that he or she deems important in relation to the research project (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008). This ethnographically-oriented approach was deemed useful to refute or corroborate the research findings drawn by means of the corpus analysis.

The interviews carried out in this study combined a 'experience-focused interviewing' perspective (phenomenological positions concentrating on the "what" of communication to try to get as close as possible to precise descriptions of what people have experienced) with a 'language-focused interviewing' approach (discourse-oriented positions focusing on how people express themselves and give accounts occasioned by the situation in which they find

themselves) (Brinkmann, 2014: 294). The interview itself is divided into 5 blocks, in order to elicit information or expressions of opinion or belief from the lecturers on the following issues (See *Appendix 1*):

- 1. Lecturers' background information. This includes questions to know the teachers' first language or whether they teach the same subject in their L1.
- Lecturer's perception of his/her control of the English language when lecturing through EMI. Questions in this section addressed their perception of their use of the language as learners or as users and about the difficulties they find when teaching through EMI.
- 3. The students' level of English. Questions were meant to get to know the students' level of English in the groups recorded and the students' difficulties with the English language in class of which the lecturers were aware.
- 4. Description of the teacher-students' interaction in class. Questions were posed to understand the type of interaction (if any) between lecturers and students in class and whether lecturers perceive that successful communication is established during lectures.
- 5. Pragmatic strategies used in meaning-making process to be effective in communication. Specific excerpts of each of the lecturers' deployment of pragmatic strategies were extracted from the transcripts and presented to the teachers so as to discuss their use in that precise moment of the lecturing discourse development and the functions they wanted to fulfil with the use of such pragmatic strategy(ies).

These exchanges of questions and answers follow a certain conversational flow common in qualitative interviews, following Kvale & Brinkmann (2008: 283): (1) question, (2) negotiation of meaning concerning the question raised and the themes addressed, (3) concrete description from the interviewee, (4) the interviewer's interpretation of the description, and (5) coda/further questions about the same description.

The interviews were planned to be carried out just after recording the lectures; however, the process of transcription, analysis of the pragmatic strategies and selection of the excerpts to discuss with the lecturers took longer than expected. Therefore, they were carried out long after the classes were held. Two interviews were carried out in total, since

the master's degree lecturer was interviewed individually but the two lecturers in the BAM degree were able to make it at the same time and place. The latter interview was more interesting than the former since lecturers fed each other's' answers, providing thus more information. Interviews lasted between 20 and 30 minutes, they were conducted in Spanish, as it was the first language of all the participants and they took place at the corresponding lecturers' offices in the two faculties to which they belong (Faculty of Business and Economics and Faculty of Science) (See Appendix 1).

3.4.3. Description of the PowerPoint presentations dataset

The third dataset is a small sample of PowerPoint presentations that were used as written support in the lectures analysed. They are academic discipline-specific presentations created using the digital tool PowerPoint, a widely used digital instrument in education settings to achieve effective communication between lecturers and students. The PowerPoint presentation is regarded as a genre of "semiotic artifact" that incorporates multiple semiotic modes such as verbal language, visual images, sound, colour, and layout (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001).

These PowerPoint slides were provided by the lecturers who participated in the research almost on the same dates that the recording of the lessons took place. Therefore, the corpus includes one PowerPoint presentation per lecture recorded, amounting to 12 presentations and some of them include notes where the contents in the particular slide are extended by means of further explanations and examples. They are mostly written in English; however, interestingly, some Spanish language is used in several slides from these presentations. The analysis of these two related genres (i.e. lectures and PowerPoint presentations) was especially significant in this research, since one of the degrees where lectures were recorded (BSc in Business Administration) is taught in English and Spanish to different groups and contents are reproduced in both groups. Thus, lecturers sometimes reused content from lectures in the Spanish-taught group.

This dataset was collected in order to analyse the interaction between lectures and PowerPoint Presentations, in terms of the language(es) employed in the oral ongoing discourse compared to the language(es) used in the written discourse and the reasons for

those particular linguistic choices. The process to do so implies the identification of stretches of the lecturers' oral discourse where a pragmatic strategy has been observed in use and its matching written content included in the corresponding lectures' PowerPoint presentations. This has been a difficult task since not every topic covered on the lecturers' oral discourse has a one-to-one correspondence with the contents of the different slides in their written presentations, since the PowerPoint presentation usually included slides that were not discussed during the lesson (e.g., slides with more examples or exercises).

3.5. Method of analysis

This study relies on 'triangulation' as its methodological basis. According to the typology of mixed methods designs suggested by Greene et al. (1989)— and more recently by Bryman, (2006)— the term stands for convergence of findings and corroboration of research results. Denzin's (1970: 472) indicated that there is more than one type of triangulation:

- Data triangulation (the application of more than one sampling method for data collection).
- Investigator triangulation (the involvement of more than one researcher).
- Theoretical triangulation (the use of more than one theoretical stance).
- Methodological triangulation (the use of more than one methodology).

The expectation is that different datasets or different methodologies will lead to similar results and hence allow for confident interpretation of the findings and strengthen the researcher's conclusions. As such, the concept is also widely associated with the concept of credibility of research findings. Yet, a problem associated with this approach is the assumption that data collected using different methods can necessarily be compared and/or contrasted in order to answer the same set of research questions. Dörnyei (2007) suggests that a better understanding of phenomena can emerge from triangulated findings and also reports on the value of mixed methods designs for classroom research where challenges (such as the diversity of student/teacher body) may be addressed through versatile designs.

Therefore, to answer the research questions posed in the PhD, both data triangulation and methodological triangulation are applied. The former refers to data gathering methods,

while the latter refers to the use of more than one methodology in a research design (Angouri, 2010: 34). As pointed above, the datasets used are: (i) audio-recording of lectures, (iii) semi-structured interviews; (iii) a set of PowerPoint presentations used as aids in the lectures. The methodology involved the combination of several approaches: (i) a Discourse-pragmatic approach to analyse pragmatic strategies in the lectures transcripts and the written discourse on the PowerPoint presentations; (ii) an ethnographically oriented method in the form of semi-structured interviews to get retrospective comments on the part of the lecturers involved in the academic activities.

1. A *Discourse-Pragmatic approach* to analyse pragmatic strategies in the lectures transcripts and the written discourse appearing in the PowerPoint Presentations, including qualitative and quantitative content analysis. According to Paltridge (2012: 2) "discourse analysis examines patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used". Considering the different approaches Discourse analysis involves, this research looks at discourse from a pragmatics perspective, considering pragmatics as:

The study of meaning in relation to the context in which a person is speaking or writing. This includes social, situational and textual context. It also includes background knowledge context; that is, what people know about each other and about the world. Pragmatics assumes that when people communicate with each other, they normally follow some kind of cooperative principle; that is, they have a shared understanding of how they should cooperate in their communications. The ways in which people do this, however, varies across cultures. (Paltridge, 2012: 38).

Therefore, the "Discourse-pragmatic" approach, as explained in Nikula (2005: 29), integrates insights from pragmatics, discourse analysis and socio-cultural research on learning. Discourse pragmatics thus aims at offering theoretical insights into "the relations between language use and sociocultural contexts" (Blum-Khula, 1997: 38) and agrees with Discourse analysis that description alone cannot suffice. According to Smit, who has also applied this methodology in her investigation (Smit, 2010), discourse pragmatics differs from Discourse analysis as regards the investigative scope. She argues that "while the former tends to focus on specific language functions of features, the latter aims to unveil discourse processes" (2010: 7). The current research focus is investigating

actual interactional practices in their context, and secondly integrating the socio-cultural understanding of language where meaning and contexts are jointly co-constructed by participants (Nikula, 2005). This means that speech acts are not only analysed on the basis of completely transcribed lectures, but in relation to classroom discourse as a whole, analysing the contextual and situational factors that influence the discourse produced in them. More precisely, the current research partly draws on Björkman's (2013) and Smit's studies (2010) due to parallelisms with the data and the methods since both of them are corpus-based studies approached from a pragmatic perspective.

- 2. Ethnographically-oriented methodology based on semi-structured interviews to get the lecturers' own insights on their use of pragmatic strategies after carrying out qualitative and quantitative discourse analysis of the lectures' transcriptions. According to Starfield (2015), ethnography is an appropriate methodology if you are interested in uncovering the meaning that participants in any process bring to the communicative events in which they engage in. This involves gathering data from a range of sources, such as observation through fieldwork (emic perspective) and formal and informal interviewing of participants. One of the distinguishing features of ethnographic research is that the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection. In this particular research the lectures recording, further transcription and analysis of its discourse together with semi-structured interviews to the lecturers involved have been implemented as part of the ethnographic approach. Regarding the semi-structured interviews, following Heyl (2001:370) several aspects have been considered of paramount importance:
 - Developing an ethical engagement with the participants at all stages.
 - Acquiring self-awareness of one's role in the co-construction of meaning.
 - Being aware of ways the ongoing relationship and broader social context affect participants, processes and outcomes.
 - Acknowledging that 'dialogue is discovery' and that only partial knowledge is possible.

The methodology adopted in this research could be, thus, considered textography, as it is a research strategy that enables the researcher to combine a textual with a contextual orientation (Swales, 1998) and thus study the situation in which the texts are produced. In other words, this strategy goes beyond the text as it combines the examination of both texts

and contexts and the relationships between them (Freedman, 1999). Textography combines elements of discourse analysis with ethnographic techniques such as interviews, observations, and document analysis (Paltridge & Stevenson, 2017), as it is the case in this study. This method has been widely used in the study of academic practices for instance to analyse thesis and dissertation writing practices (Paltridge, 2002; Paltridge & Starfield, 2007). According to Paltridge and Stevenson (2017), most textographic research in Higher Education has, to date, been carried out in English-speaking contexts in which English appears to be the only medium of communication. The diversity of writers -multilingual writers of different language backgrounds—and the diversity of settings, such as international workplace settings where English functions as a lingua franca, have largely been ignored, with some exceptions. For instance, the SELF project¹⁷ (2008-2010), directed by Professor Anna Mauranen at the University of Helsinki takes a close-up view of English as a lingua franca by investigating interactional data along with observations, written course material (presentation slides and students' course work) and interviews to participants in academic activities (See Mauranen et al., 2010: 187-188). Findings from this project serve theoretical and descriptive interests on issues of language change towards multilingual practices and new developments in English at university contexts.

In the current study, textography involved the combination of a discourse-pragmatic approach, focusing on the pragmatic strategies used in lectures, and a less than a fully-developed ethnography with interviews to obtain information of the context where the lectures were produced and how this context influences the lecturers' discourse. Ethnography offers a non-deterministic perspective on data, while the discourse -pragmatic approach offers a range of established procedures for identifying discursive structures (Ramptom, 2007). In other words, according to Creese (2010:139), "ethnography provides linguistics with a close reading of context while linguistics provides an authoritative analysis of language use". The methodologic approaches that have been used to analyse the three different data sets collected for the study are further described in the following sections.

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¹⁷ SELF project https://www.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/english-as-a-lingua-franca-in-academic-settings/research

3.5.1. Analysis of lectures

Triangulation is often one of the key reasons for undertaking mixed methods research. This is the case of the current research, since qualitative and quantitative approaches are combined to analyse classroom language in use. This mixed-method paradigm arguably contributes to a better understanding of the various phenomena under investigation (Litosseliti, 2010). While quantitative research is useful to generalise research findings, qualitative approaches are particularly valuable in providing in-depth, rich data. Schreier (2012: 20) defines the latter as "interpretative, naturalistic, situational, and reflexive, with emergent flexibility, inductive, case-oriented and which puts emphasis on validity".

The first step in the analysis of the lectures was transcribing them. Regarding the transcription procedure, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE, 2007) transcription conventions were used because of its differentiating nature which primes ELF features. The VOICE mark-up conventions are specifically designed to reflect what seems to be the most significant features of ELF interactions, including a detailed set of descriptors for coinages, code-switching, onomatopoeic sounds and for laughter among others. Furthermore, the transcription procedure complies with three main requirements: 1) The conventions need to capture the reality of spoken interactions as precisely as possible; 2) they need to be replicable, i.e., the scheme must be usable without further explanation by other researchers, 3) they need to make sure that the resulting transcriptions are computer-readable (VOICE 2007) (See VOICE transcription conventions in Appendix 3).

The second step carried out to analyse this corpus was to code the lectures in order to identify the pragmatic strategies. This process was done using the Software tool for qualitative analysis *Atlast.ti*, which was helpful to uncover and systematically analyse the data. It is a good choice to carry out qualitative analysis, since the program provides tools that let the user locate, code and annotate findings in primary data material to weigh and evaluate their importance and to visualise the complex relations between them. Interestingly, *Atlast.ti* also allows for quantitative analysis, and it is, thus, useful to provide distribution data about the use of each pragmatic strategy in order to ease the process of quantification. *Atlast.ti* allows to analyse both text-based and audio data, but, in this case, transcriptions were chosen as the option to handle the data.

Coding is probably the quintessential step in qualitative content analysis (Schreier, 2012: 6). Gibs (2007) describes coding as the activity of identifying what your data is about. Day (1993) distinguishes between "labelling" and "coding" your data. He emphasises that coding is a conceptual device for questioning your data, for opening up new meanings. In this way, conceptual coding involves creating links between concepts and data. This is precisely the analytical process that has been implemented in this analysis, since it aims at going beyond the descriptive level to help generate theory about the analysed data. In Atlast.ti coding is the procedure of associating code words with selections of data. Technically speaking, coding is the association between a quotation (i.e., a section of a text) and a code. Four coding procedures are available in Atlast.ti: Open Coding, In-Vivo Coding, Code by-List, and Quick Coding. Open coding and In-Vivo coding are two inductive procedures, given that the user starts from the data itself (a set of quotations selected from the texts) to set the codes. By contrast, the options Code-by-List and Quick Coding are based on deductive procedures by which the user needs to incorporate a set of codes preliminarily. The option Code-by-List technique associates a code in a list to one selected quotation. Researchers can choose from the list one or more codes to be applied to a quotation (See Figure 3.3).

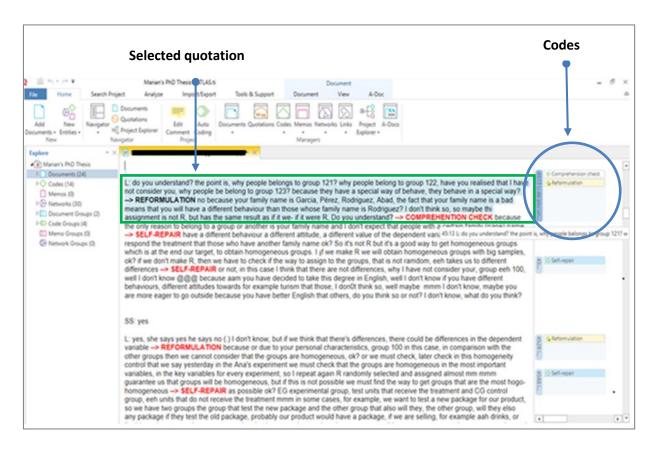


Figure 3.3. Coding process through *Atlast.ti*

In this study, codes correspond to pragmatic strategies and coding consisted in matching fragments of text (i.e., quotations) with the pragmatic strategy that is in use (See Figure 3.3). Deductive and inductive coding have been combined with the use of the Code-by-List and the In-vivo Coding. A coding frame was developed drawing on previous research on pragmatic strategies in ELF interactions (i.e., Björkman 2014 and Ollinguer 2012 among others). Table 2.2 *Pragmatic strategies appearing in ELF studies* was used for this purpose. This pre-established list of pragmatic strategies was used for the first stage of coding, i.e., different stretches of language were assigned a code (a pragmatic strategy), establishing a corpus-driven taxonomy of those strategies that had a higher frequency in the transcripts, i.e., that had four or more occurrences. However, inductive coding (Schreier, 2012) was also used in order to identify pragmatic strategies which were not in the pre-defined coding list but were frequent in the data. Thus, evaluating and modifying the coding frame was part of the process. The software *Atlast.ti* was used to carry out the following steps:

- 1. The first step was uploading the transcriptions and categorising them in two groups established by disciplines: transcripts recorded in the Degree in BAM and transcripts recorded in the MSc in Nanostructured Materials.
- 2. The second step consisted in incorporating the codes that were previously taxonomised.
- 3. In the third step, the selected pieces of data (stretches of discourse) through which a pragmatic strategy was realised were assigned a code. In this case, in order to arrive at the final set of categories and codes, the process consisted on going through the material several times. This means that the different instances of every strategy were approached and analysed several times to make sure that fragments of the text with the same code bore resemblance and were correctly codified
- 4. In the fourth step, the preliminary coding was verified in order to cater for validity and new codes were incorporated on several instances that were not approached beforehand.
- 5. Finally, complete information was retrieved by codes (i.e. pragmatic strategies), by particular lectures transcripts and by disciplines in the shape or 'reports' offered by the *Atlast.ti* tool itself (See sample in Appendix 4).

Table 3.2 includes the corpus driven taxonomy of pragmatic strategies that resulted from the analysis of the different lectures transcriptions. It includes the 13 pragmatic strategies that were inductively and deductively coded and the definitions that were given to each of them.

3. Methodology

Pragmatic strategy	Definition
1. Appeal for help	Turning to the interlocutor for assistance by asking an explicit question concerning a gap in one's vehicular language knowledge/speech.
2. Asking for repetition	Requesting repetition when not hearing or understanding something properly.
3. Code-switching	Including stretches of discourse ranging from single words to whole chunks and even complete turns in the speakers L1/L2/L3, etc.
4. Clarification request	Requesting an explanation of an unfamiliar meaning structure.
5. Comprehension check	Asking questions to check that the interlocutor can follow you.
6. Defining	Exemplifying, illustrating or describing the properties of the target object or action.
7. Focus on form	Metalinguistic appreciation on something the interlocutor has formerly said in reference to specific terms or the language used in the speech.
8. Literal translation	Translating literally a lexical item, an idiom, a compound word or structure from an L1/L3 to the vehicular language.
9. Other-repair	Correcting something in the interlocutor's speech.
10. Other-repetition	Repeating a word or a string of words someone else has uttered in conversation immediately after they were said.
11. Reformulation	Using a different string of words to explain something that has been already explained but considered unclear.
12. Self-repair	Making self-initiated corrections in one's own speech.
13. Self-repetition	Repeating a word or a string of words immediately after they were said.

Table 3.2. Corpus-driven taxonomy of pragmatic strategies.

Finally, once the complete data were coded, the pragmatic strategies were grouped into larger categories to ease the process of presentation of results (See Table 3.3). The groups or macro-categories are:

Macro-categories	Pragmatic strategies	Definition				
	Reformulation					
Explicitness	Defining	Clarifying a specific idea by using the same words or				
strategies	Self-repetition	different structures from the original message when meaning making.				
	Other-repetition					
Repairing	Self-repair	Using discourse to repair what has been previously				
strategies	Other-repair	said				
Multilingual	Code switching	Switching the language used in the speech from				
resources	Literal translation	English to the participants L1 and vice versa for communicative purposes				
	Comprehension check					
Clarification	Asking for repetition	Requesting the interlocutor's feedback, clarification or				
strategies	Indirect appeal for help	help to keep communication flowing				
	Clarification request					
Focus-on-form strategy	Focus on form	Commenting on specific terminology/structures to help students develop linguistic competence				

Table 3.3. Macro-categories of pragmatic strategies to present the results.

3.5.2. Analysis of semi-structured interviews

Interviews were used to further ground the discourse analysis of lectures by looking at the phenomenon from the participants' angle. The main aims of these interviews were, firstly, contextualise the primary data-set of the research –the audio-recorded and transcribed lectures— in order to obtain information about the following aspects: the participants' experience with the use of academic EMI discourse; how students and teachers feel about and relate to the pursuit of academic activities using English in a non-English medium culture; and whether there is any change in the lecture format due to the change in the language of instruction (e.g. relationships among participants, level of explicitness in the teacher's discourse, etc.). Interviews were also used to support the discourse-pragmatic analysis in terms of the functions of each strategy. Therefore, this part of the investigation helped to respond the second research question posed — What factors or motivations are involved in these participants' use of a particular set of pragmatic strategies during oral communication in EMI lectures?

3. Methodology

The questions and further textual analysis focus on: (i) the lectures' contextual details and the lecturers' perspective regarding the difficulties this type of instruction posed and the way they face them; (ii) instances where pragmatic strategies are used to facilitate understanding (e.g., other-repair to negotiate meaning or reformulation) in order to get the lecturers own explanation(s) to the use of that particular pragmatic strategy. This means that these were text-based interviews, given that selected excerpts from the lectures transcriptions were extracted and shown to each of the lecturers interviewed so as to deepen on specific instances of the use of a particular strategy.

Finally, questions and answers were analysed and interpreted one by one in order to reach generalisable conclusions and. As it has been previously said, these data were triangulated with the information obtained from the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the transcriptions. In fact, data obtained from the first dataset was re-approached in light of the results from the semi-structured interviews once they were carried out.

3.5.3. Analysis of PowerPoint presentations

An intertextual approach is used to provide insights into the relationships between the PPT slides and the lecturers' discourse in order to see how what has been written in the former has an impact on the use of pragmatic strategies to communicate effectively in the latter.

'Intertextuality', as discussed by Fairclough (1992), refers to a particular text's linguistic relationships with other particular texts, which may or may not be generically and discursively related to it. Intertextuality in this narrower sense makes reference to the 'voice' of another speaker or writer in the text. One form of this intertextuality is 'reference', the explicit mention of other texts in one's own, with or without some element of quotation (Swales, 1990). Another is 'plagiarism', the unattributed use of material from texts 'belonging' to others as if it was one's own. A third form is re-use of text segments 'belonging' to one's own for the same or a different purpose (Pecorari & Shaw, 2012). This study analyses intertextuality between two different texts or genres produced by the same author: lectures and PowerPoint presentations slides used as auxiliary material for the lecture development. Therefore, this study aims to find out the way pragmatic choices in the lectures are supported by the text in the slides, i.e., to explain the relation between the spoken

discourse of the lecture and the written text of the slides, and how they contribute to conveying meaning.

Attention is mainly drawn to *code-switching* and *literal translation*, understanding them as a primarily oral pragmatic strategies. This means that the focus of the analysis is the use of the lecturers' L1 (Spanish) and whether it is only used in their oral speech, only in the written text or both orally and written, and whether its use is motivated by the presence of visual aids in that language. Besides, several PowerPoint presentations also contain the lecturers' notes on the prepared speech for the lecture and this is also analysed in these terms.

The methodology used for the analysis of this intertextual relation is based on the comparison of the different slides used during a lecture and the transcribed discourse deployed to explain the same contents included in those particular slides. Discursive features on both texts (oral discourse displayed along the lesson and its associated slides) are analysed from the pragmatic point of view on a qualitative basis underlining and marking stretches of text that were identical or similar in wording drawing special attention to the interplay between English and other languages used in settings where several native languages are represented.

Chapter 4. Results



4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the current research. It discusses the lecturers' use of a particular set of pragmatic strategies to get their message across and facilitate understanding when they use English in their EMI classes.

The first section (4.2) presents the data obtained in the semi-structured interviews with the lecturers participating in this study. The analysis of the interviews is essential to unveil the real functions of the different pragmatic strategies. In addition, it is also substantially relevant to get to know the participants' experience in EMI lectures. The results of these interviews shed light on the way lecturers feel about and relate to the pursuit of academic activities using English in a non-English medium culture and they also shed light on the pragmatic communicative behaviour of the lecturers to establish successful communication during instruction. Section 4.3 presents the pragmatic strategies identified in the corpus. Quantitative and qualitative results are described addressing relevant aspects, such as the kind of strategies found in each of the lectures and their frequency of use. The two corpora are compared to account for the unequal percentages of occurrences of pragmatic strategies used by the lecturers in the two programs from which the data were collected. In Section 4.4 the different pragmatic strategies and categories of pragmatic strategies are illustrated with the help of examples extracted from the corpus. The functions of these strategies are

discussed and considered within the particular linguistic scenario that this research presents. The results from the analysis of the corpus are interpreted in the light of the data from the semi-structured interviews and of previous literature and on the third data set collected in this study: the corpus of PowerPoint slides. This section also delves into the intertextual relations between the lecture genre and the PowerPoint presentation slides created by the same lecturers to serve as auxiliary material for the lecture development, and more precisely the relation between the use of multilingual resources in both genres. This chapter concludes with Section 4.5, which consists of a final reflection about the findings obtained drawing on the three different datasets including the functions of the particular pragmatic strategies observed and the factors or motivations involved in their deployment.

4.2. Results from the semi-structured interviews with lecturers

After analysing the lectures transcripts, three of the six lecturers whose lessons were recorded were interviewed in order to shed more light into the results obtained as regards their own perspective on their EMI practices. One of them was teaching in the MSc in Nanostructured Materials for Nanotechnology Applications and two of them were teaching in the BSc in Business Administration and Management. In the semi-structured interviews, lecturers answered thirteen questions that were grouped into the following five main categories (See Appendix 1), yet during the interview, the researcher sometimes interrupted with more probing 'How/Why' open-ended questions:

- 1. Background information of the lecturers and the lectures recorded.
- 2. Lecturer's perception of his/her mastery of the English language when lecturing through EMI.
- 3. Lecturers' description of their students' level of English and of the communication established with them inside the EMI classroom.
- 4. Description of their teaching style, interaction and communication effectiveness inside the EMI classroom.
- 5. Pragmatic strategies used in the meaning-making process to be effective in communication.

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¹⁸ The other three lecturers that participated in this investigation were not available for an interview.

Lecturers were interviewed once the data were analysed. Therefore, in order to obtain more information on their use of pragmatic strategies, specific excerpts of the transcription of their own lectures were used so as to have clear examples of each of the lecturer's use of diverse pragmatic strategies. In this section, only results on parts 1 to 4 of the interview are described, since the data drawn from the lecturers' comments on their own use of pragmatic strategies (part 5) will be included in Section 4.4., where each of the strategies found in the corpus is described and illustrated.

4.2.1. Background information of the lecturers and the lectures recorded

This first part of the semi-structured interview served to provide information on the context of the lectures that were recorded. This first part was aimed at getting to know the lecturers' mother tongue, whether they teach the same subject in other language different from English and the language(s) they use to prepare those lectures.

As regards question 1 (what is your first language?) the two BAM degree lecturers who participated in the interviews are from Spain and the master's degree lecturer who was interviewed is from Argentina and all of them have Spanish as their L1. The answers to question 2 (What subject do you teach in this EMI program? Do you teach the same subject in a different language?) show that the Marketing Research lecturers also teach the same subject in Spanish, i.e. the same English-medium lecturing sessions that were recorded for the current study were also taught to a different group (the Spanish-medium group that takes the degree simultaneously to the English-medium group). The master's lecturer said that at that moment he was also teaching a similar module in another master's degree taught in Spanish and that some contents were shared in both programs.

Question 3 (What sources of information do you use to prepare your classes? What language are they in?) is one of the most revealing for the purpose of this research. The BAM lecturers stated that they used the materials created in Spanish to teach the Spanish-medium group and then they translated them into English; the translated materials were then revised by an English-native person. This procedure was followed because they had begun teaching in the Spanish-medium program before they began teaching in the English-medium one, since the English-taught program was implemented in the academic year 2013-14. The

fact that these lecturers have their PowerPoint presentations revised by native speakers shed light on the importance these lecturers attach to the English language native norms as regards grammar and written conventions, which is also reflected on their oral output, as will be illustrated along this chapter. On the other hand, the master's lecturer explained that he always prepared his teaching materials in English since the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials is only and entirely taught through the medium of English and he argued that "the language that homogenises science is English", and actually his research output is always in English too. That is, the materials in the BAM degree are translated from Spanish into English and revised by an English-native speaker, whereas in the master's degree they are mostly created in English from the beginning by the lecturer himself. This does not mean that some contents in Spanish do not appear during the lessons recorded in both programs though (See Section 4.4).

4.2.2. Lecturers' perception of their mastery of the English language when lecturing through EMI.

Question 5 was concerned with the lecturers' perception of their own use and mastery of the English language (Do you consider yourself an English learner or user?). The three lecturers that were interviewed provided a similar answer. The BAM degree lecturers considered themselves English users but acknowledged that they had never stopped learning this language by means of taking different courses organised by the university, watching movies in English, listening to the radio in English, doing research visits to different universities abroad, among other activities. One of them recognised that he has limitations in the use of the English language, but he is always making a great effort to improve his proficiency. On the other hand, the science lecturer said that he believed he has a good level of English and, therefore, he is a user, but still, he always considers himself a learner in every aspect of his life, since he argues that there is always much more to learn and English is not an exception. Nevertheless, he made a worth noting comment on the variety of English he uses. He commented that he had learnt English having American as the English-native model when he was living in Argentina. When he began teaching in Spain, he realised that he had to adapt his oral English to make it more similar to the British English variety because his interlocutors inside the classroom, i.e., the students, and outside the classroom, i.e., his colleagues, were rather more familiarised with this variety. He argued that this might be due to the fact that Spain, where the university is located, is geographically closer to UK and it is rather more frequent for Spanish learners to study British English than American English as native models. This lecturer said that in his field of work English is the language par excellence and so he recognises that it is much easier to speak in English on these subjects than in Spanish, since it is the language in which he is used to naming scientific concepts. Therefore, it comes more natural for him to explain things in English than in Spanish, even if Spanish is his L1.

Finally, concerning the lectures that were recorded for this study, the three lecturers stated that these lessons were completely taught spontaneously and that there was no further preparation as regards their speeches because of the fact that they were being recorded, which confirms the reliability of the data and, therefore, the results obtained.

As regards question 6 (What are your objectives regarding English when teaching through this language?) all the lecturers said that they have not any intention of becoming language teachers and that the purpose of their teaching activity through the medium of English is not that their students learn English. They clearly stated that the main objective of their lessons is teaching and learning disciplinary contents. This is consistent with other studies that have also approached the lecturers' perspective towards this issue, in which no reference to the aim of improving students' competence in English is made (See Dearden & Macaro, 2016: 456) but they affirmed that the real focus is only on content learning (Smit & Dafouz, 2012: 4). The master's lecturer said that English is merely the vehicle for the transmission of knowledge in the master's degree lectures and the goal is to learn nanomagnetism, for instance in his subject. The lecturers do not feel confident enough to become language teachers and they acknowledge that they very rarely attempt to correct the student's language mistakes. However, they do believe that their use of the English language should be as correct as possible during the communication process that takes place inside the classroom. One of the bachelor's degree lecturers argued that "[they] are not native speakers and [they] cannot be required to speak and write like native English-speakers, unlike in Spanish classes that [they] may be required so. Yet they should be required "a minimum of communication (communicative competence)". What becomes clear from this argument is that communication effectiveness is what matters for these lecturers and certain native linguistic conventions are to be part of what they believe necessary to be understood and not to 'devalue' the language, as another lecturer puts it. One of the lecturers argued that as far as someone is surrounded by the English language, he or she is getting input on this language.

This is why he believes that his students can always learn English just because of the input they receive from the lecturers' speech and that is also a reason to keep the use of the language as correct as possible, mirroring native-English forms. Yet, there is not a formal objective of focusing on form during their lessons; rather the focus is strictly on the subject content.

In addition, their main motivation in teaching these English-medium subjects is internationalising their faculties as well as their corresponding programs by attracting students from other countries. One of the lecturers explicitly said that "the formal objective is to reach all students from different parts of the world", and they know that using English as the medium of instruction is not only a fruitful university policy but a real and successful way of encouraging students, both national and international, to enrol in those programs. This goal was one of the reasons for the introduction of EMI programmes, as revealed in the research by Wächter and Maiworm (2008: 68): "to attract international students who would not enrol in a programme in the domestic language". Finally, there is also a personal motivation for these lecturers in becoming part of these English medium programs. A lecturer stated that teaching through the medium of English is a personal challenge to improve his/her teaching career. This implies that teaching in English as a medium of instruction is highly regarded in academia.

Question 7 (What difficulties do you encounter when teaching in EMI?) sheds light on the use of pragmatic strategies by these lecturers in their teaching. All of them recognise that when they digress from the topic that they wanted to address in order to contextualise explanations they perceive more difficulties regarding their ability to express themselves satisfactorily in English. In other words, it is when they improvise and deviate from the preestablished set of explanations or the 'script' when they feel less confident as regards the language. They recognise that in this respect they are much more fluent in Spanish (L1) than in English. This, as they pointed out, usually happens when there is an impromptu question by a student, after which more information needs to be added and further exemplification or contextualisation is needed to reinforce a specific idea. This result substantiates previous research on EMI lectures that describe them as the result of careful planning where little improvisation is made on the part of the lecturers (Wozniak, 2013).

Similarly, the BAM degree lecturers agreed that the greatest difficulty they encounter when teaching in EMI is that of reformulating, although it seems to be one of the pragmatic

strategies most widely used in this corpus (See section 4.3.1). These lecturers recognise that they mostly have two ways of explaining the same thing or two ways of reformulating the same idea. This is strictly related to the different difficulties presented by Airey's (2011) and Woźniak's (2013) studies concerning the lack of flexibility in teaching style as compared to the same teaching activity carried out when teaching in the mother tongue. These studies confirm the lack of fluency and the loss of precise and detailed content that lecturers tend to experience during EMI lecturing.

Besides, two of the lecturers believed that their linguistic abilities diminish at the end of the lessons when they are more tired. They argued that the fresher they are during the lessons, the more attention they pay to linguistic aspects such as the pronunciation of certain syllables and more fluent they feel. What is more, they recognise that their communicative skills diminish when they feel more tired even if they are teaching in Spanish (their L1), and that happens mostly during the last lessons they teach, which usually take place in the late afternoon. Hence, they believe that it is in these situations when the communication established between these lecturers and their students is more unsuccessful.

4.2.3. Lecturers' description of their students' level of English

The students enrolled in the bachelor's degree in Business Administration and Management are mostly Spanish, although international students were also present at the moment of data collection for this research. As regards question 8 of the interview (what official level of English do your students have?), in order to access the English-medium group in this degree, it is an essential requirement to present an English language certificate of at least level B2¹⁹, or take the September language test²⁰ during the enrolment period. Yet, differences among students' level of English are still perceived by the lecturers as the responses for question 9 show (What difficulties do students encounter when receiving classes in English?). One of the BAM degree lecturers stated that he perceived remarkable differences in the level of English, which makes the groups highly heterogeneous. For instance, he pointed that there may be students with a higher level of English than what is required. Since these subjects are evaluated through written examinations and various assignments, these lecturers are not

¹⁹ According to the Agreement of the Degree Studies Commission of the University of Zaragoza dated December 20, 2018. http://www.unizar.es/sg/pdf/acuerdos/2015/2015-04-22/4.%20Acuerdo%20certificacion%20idiomas%20v2.pdf ²⁰ This test is held at the University Center for Modern Languages of the University of Zaragoza.

only aware of their students speaking skills, but also of their writing skills. Lecturers have observed that international students do not have problems when expressing themselves orally in class (spoken English), but they have more difficulties when writing in English. Hence, the interviewed lecturers commented that, in their experience, Spanish students are more comfortable and linguistically accurate in their written English than their international students, who are, by contrast, much more fluent and accurate in spoken English that Spanish students. As regards the oral performance of students, one of the lecturers complained about frequent errors in pronunciation that students make in relevant subject-related terminology such as 'purchase'. He considers these mistakes inappropriate, as this kind of vocabulary is intrinsic to the subject (i.e. it is meant to be used frequently); hence it should be learnt and used correctly. Therefore, the lecturers' responses to this question shed light on their special attention to key technical vocabulary —a specific lecturers' concern that has been previously documented (Pecorari et al., 2011).

As regards the master's degree, the level to access is a B1 –as established by the Regulation for the certification of proficiency levels in languages to access certain master's degrees of the University of Zaragoza–. However, the lecturer who was interviewed stated that he and his colleagues have never had problems with the level of English of the students enrolled in the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials. He believes that students have the appropriate level to follow the lessons and to carry out projects for the different subjects. This lecturer said that the percentage of international students varies with the years. He believed that students are not afraid to interact in class in English. The lecturer said that at the level of a master's degree language can no longer be a barrier. He believed that the students who study a master's degree is because they want to deepen their knowledge of the subjects taught and that the vehicular language is never a problem. He even emphasised that the students who enrol in Science degrees should be aware that they would need English to be able to study, since he recognised that at a certain level, books and materials are mainly published in English.

4.2.4. Description of the teaching style, interaction and communication effectiveness inside the EMI classroom

This part of the interview seeks to get information on the kind of lecturer-student interaction produced in such EMI lessons (Question 10: Could you define what the lecturer-student

interaction is like in your classes?) and on the lecturers' perception of the communication effectiveness established during their EMI lecturing sessions (Question 11: Do you think that effective communication is established in class? How do you know it?).

One of the BAM degree lecturers believed that effective communication is established in his classes. He argued that he looks at the students' faces to check if they get to understand the concepts. Moreover, to ensure understanding he often asks them questions concerning the subject contents. Thus, he creates the possibility of dialogue between the students and the lecturer in order to co-construct the meaning. In addition, this lecturer argues that he uses repetition a lot if he observes that something has not been clear enough and that he normally uses simple language in his explanations. This kind of teaching techniques are related to what Dearden (2016: 24) defined in her research as the most important attributes that any lecturer should have: "the ability to explain difficult concepts" and "the ability to create an interactive environment".

The other lecturer teaching in the BAM degree pointed out that he is not always a good communicator during his lessons and acknowledged that this is not only the case in his EMI lessons, but also in the same classes taught in the Spanish-medium group. He said that it may be due to the complexity of the subject he teaches. He also argues that he sometimes misunderstands some students during dialogues established in the EMI sessions because of the low level that some of these students have (despite the English level certification required to enrol in this program). In fact, Macaro (2018) already highlighted the difficulty that EMI lecturers might face when individuals inside the classroom have potentially different language levels.

Finally, the master's degree lecturer explained that his classes are mainly monologues because of the type of teaching that this master's degree implies and the kind of subject he taught, which was mainly theoretical (there are other subjects which have practical sessions within this program). This result is consistent with previous analyses of the 'lecture' format in EMI courses, which describe it as mainly adopting a dominant lecturer-led style whose speech is mostly monologic (Dafouz, 2011; Costa & Coleman, 2012). Finally, this lecturer believed that students' understanding is successful not only because of the type of explanations he provides inside the class and the type of communication that is established within the classroom but also through the entire learning process that occurs outside the classroom, even where the lecturer is not present (e.g. personal study of the student). The

lecturer says that he finds no great difficulties in communication in a lecture carried out in English than in another class taught in Spanish. The lecturer stated that he knows if there has been good communication or not because of the type of questions that students ask at the end of each class or during office hours. This argument reveals that more interaction seems to take place between the lecturer and the students outside the class than during the lecturing sessions.

4.3. Results from the quantitative analysis of the lectures data set

Applying the methodology and criteria explained in Chapter 4, a total number of 13 different pragmatic strategies have been identified in the corpus of lectures recorded in the degree in BAM and the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials for Nanotechnology Applications. Table 4.1 shows the different strategies identified and their corresponding definitions and, as such, it provides the answer for the first question posed in this research: "What are the main pragmatic strategies used by participants in EMI lectures at the University of Zaragoza to facilitate understanding when using English as a lingua franca in their classes? What functions do they fulfil?". Data in Table 4.1 is related to the taxonomy previously presented in Chapter 2 in Table 2.2: Pragmatic strategies appearing in ELF contexts. Yet, the classification appearing in the current chapter includes only the strategies that have been observed and studied in the interactions and monologues taking place in the 12 different EMI lectures recorded, which involve a set of particular participants in the given sociolinguistic, cultural and academic context (See Chapter 3, Section 3.3). This means that these results are situational, emergent from a specific corpus and, therefore, they are likely to be different from the results obtained in earlier studies.

Pragmatic strategy	Definition
1. Appeal for help	Turning to the interlocutor for assistance by asking an explicit question concerning a gap in one's knowledge/speech.
2. Asking for repetition	Requesting repetition when not hearing or understanding something properly.
3. Code-switching	Including stretches of discourse ranging from single words to whole chunks and even complete turns in the speakers L1.
4. Comprehension check	Asking questions to check that the interlocutor can follow the speaker's message.
5. Clarification request	Requesting an explanation of an unfamiliar meaning upon nonunderstanding or misunderstanding.
6. Defining	Exemplifying, illustrating or describing the properties of the target object or action.
7. Focus on form	Metalinguistic appreciation on something the interlocutor has formerly said in reference to specific terms or the language used in the speech.
8. Literal translation	Translating literally a lexical item, an idiom or a structure from the vehicular language to the L1 and vice versa.
9. Other-repair	Correcting something in the interlocutor's speech.
10. Other-repetition	Repeating a word or a string of words that someone else has uttered in conversation immediately after they were said.
11. Reformulation	Using a different string of words to explain something that has been already explained but considered unclear.
12. Self-repair	Making self-initiated corrections in one's own speech.
13. Self-repetition	Repeating a word or a string of words immediately after they were said.

Table 4.1. Pragmatic strategies used by the participants in the lectures data set.

Table 4.2 presents the results of the quantitative analysis of the corpus including the number of occurrences found of each of the strategies presented in Table 4.1 and their corresponding percentage.

Pragmatic strategy	Occurrences	%
Self-repair	224	30.5%
Reformulation	153	20.8%
Defining	88	12%
Self-repetition	74	10.1%
Code-switching	59	8%
Other-repetition	35	4.8%
Comprehension check	30	4.1%
Focus on form	21	2.9%
Literal translation	20	2.7%
Clarification request	12	1.6%
Appeal for help	8	1.1%
Asking for repetition	6	0.8%
Other-repair	6	0.8%
TOTAL	736	100 %

Table 4.2. Number and frequency of occurrences of the pragmatic strategies used in the corpus.

A total of 736 occurrences of the strategies were found in the two subcorpora collected. Two pragmatic strategies stand out in terms of their high frequency of use: *self-repair*, which occurs 224 times (30.5% of the instances), and *reformulation*, occurring 153 times (20.8%). These strategies are followed by two other widely used strategies: *defining* (12%) and *self-repetition* (10.1%). They are interestingly followed by *code-switching*, with 59 occurrences in total (8%). The remaining strategies, although used by some lecturers at times during their lectures, represent only 18.8% of the total occurrences found in the corpus. Of the latter strategies, *focus on form*, which amounts to 21 occurrences (2.9%), is especially interesting, since this strategy leads to the deployment of other pragmatic strategies and it is intrinsically related to the disciplines of the lectures. These disciplinary-related issues will be discussed later in the chapter.

Not only is the particular presence of some strategies in the corpus significant, but the absence of some strategies which appeared in other studies and contexts is also worth emphasising (See Table 2.2 in Chapter 2). This means that strategies used in different contexts such as the ones described in the taxonomy by Dörnyei and Scott (1997) in SLA

contexts or some pragmatic strategies studied in different ELF corpora (See ELFA Corpus or CALPIU Corpus) may be less frequent or completely absent in the corpus analysed in this study. For instance, little relevant morphological creativity or 'word-coinage' was found among the pragmatic strategies used by the lecturers to achieve successful understanding during their lectures. This means that creativity, which is considered one of the main qualities of ELF interactants (Mauranen, 2004), is not a prominent quality in the particular EMI settings examined in this study. It has to do with the fact that lecturers mostly aim at native-like language use as they stated in the interviews and, moreover, it is mostly prepared discourse (e.g. subject-related terminology).

In order to better understand the distribution of the occurrences of the 13 pragmatic strategies found in the present corpus, Table 4.3 displays the total number of words transcribed, the length of each lecture and the number of occurrences of the strategies found in each of the lectures analysed. Additionally, given that the number of words in each lecture is different, data have been normalised per 1,000 words.

Lectures	Lecturers	Words	Mins/h	Occurrences	Strategies/1000 words
Lecture 1 BAM	Lec.1	13,153	1:35:09	100	7.60
Lecture 2 BAM	Lec.1	10,560	1:29:03	97	9.18
Lecture 3 BAM	Lec.1	7,250	1:46:00	60	8.27
Lecture 4 BAM	Lec.2	10,058	1:35:11	84	8.35
Lecture 5 BAM	Lec. 2	5,446	45:11	45	8.26
Lecture 6 BAM	Lec. 2	11,617	1:28:02	76	6.54
Lecture 7 BAM	Lec. 2	13,336	1:42:01	71	5.32
Lecture 8 BAM	Lec. 3	8,943	1:23:46	57	6.37
8 lectures	3 lecturers	80,363	9:46:26	590	7.34
Lecture 9 Nano	Lec. 4	8,598	59:23	51	5.93
Lecture 10 Nano	Lec. 5	6,621	51:33	46	6.94
Lecture 11 Nano	Lec. 6	4,129	49:53	16	3.87
Lecture 12 Nano	Lec. 6	5,562	57:21	33	5.93
4	3	24,910	3:38:43	146	5.86
12	6	105,273	13:38:43	736	

Table 4.3. Normalised data.

As Table 4.3 shows, and already indicated in chapter 3, more lectures were recorded in the BAM degree (8 lectures) than in the master's degree (4 lectures). The length of the lectures is neither equal in all of them, and, even within the same degree, differences in length exist.

Most of the lectures in the BAM degree are longer than one-hour-and-a-half while the master's lectures are approximately one-hour long. Table 5.3 reveals a higher incidence of strategies in the BAM degree (590) than in the Master's degree Nanostructured Materials (146). However, the normalised data shows that, although some pragmatic strategies have been used more frequently by the lecturers in the BAM degree than by those in the master's degree, the difference is not so significant (7.34 occurrences per 1,000 words in the bachelor's degree vs. 5.86 occurrences per 1,000 words in the master's degree) because while the BAM degree lectures lasted one hour and a half, the master's sessions were one hour long.

There are also differences in the types of strategies used, both among the 12 lectures in the corpus, and between the two different programs where the recordings took place. As Table 4.4 shows, there are some strategies which are mostly used in the BAM degree and rarely used in the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials.

		Degree in BAM					Degree in Nanostructured materials			Total				
	Lectures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
	Self-repair	42	25	23	19	9	21	17	9	18	22	8	11	224
	Reformulation	27	24	12	21	5	12	10	16	10	10	2	4	153
	Defining	11	33	1	3	6	1	8	11	6	5	1	2	88
	Self-repetition	12	5	2	9	3	11	10	8	5	3	1	5	74
ies	Code-switching	4	2	8	5	7	9	9	6	7	2	0	0	59
Pragmatic strategies	Other-repetition	0	0	4	11	5	7	5	1	0	0	0	2	35
ic st	Comprehension check	0	4	6	3	2	2	0	1	2	0	6	4	30
gmat	Focus on form	2	1	2	2	4	0	6	0	1	1	0	2	21
Pra	Literal translation	2	2	0	3	3	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	20
	Clarification request	0	0	2	1	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	3	12
	Appeal for help	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	8
	Asking for repetition	0	0	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
	Other-repair	0	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Totals		100	97	60	84	45	76	71	57	51	44	18	33	736
					59	0					1	46		

Table 4.4. Number of occurrences of pragmatic strategies in the different lectures that comprise the corpus.

As illustrated in Table 4.4, only four out of the 13 pragmatic strategies (indicated in bold) are used in all the lectures recorded, and by all the lecturers who participated in the study from both degrees. In order of frequency, these strategies are self-repair, reformulation, defining and self-repetition. The remaining nine strategies are unequally used in the different lectures, and even absent in some of them (see those strategies having no occurrence in some of the lectures). For instance, strategies such as asking for repetition and other-repair were used 6 times in two of the six different lectures recorded in the BAM degree and no occurrence was found in the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials. Similarly, only two or three instances of the clarification request, appeal for help, other-repetition or literal translation strategies were found in the master's sessions. The strategies that are more consistently used in both degrees are defining, reformulation, self-repair and self-repetition. Lastly, the strategy code-switching has been observed in both degrees, with 50 occurrences in the degree in BAM and only 9 in the master's degree. This strategy was found only in two of the four lectures recorded in the master's degree, which were delivered by the same lecturer.

Therefore, several factors seem to have an impact on the use of the 13 different strategies in both degrees. The following two dimensions can help to explain these results:

- Monologic vs dialogic turn taking.
- Didactically and interactively motivated explanations and digressions.

Monologic vs. dialogic turn taking

Smit (2010) states that lectures tend to be largely monologic despite the efforts some lecturers may make to include more interaction. Therefore, in the case of monologic lectures, especially when interaction cannot be achieved, the whole explaining process and the responsibility of achieving communicative effectiveness rests largely on the lecturer's shoulders. On the linguistic level, as Dalton-Puffer explains "lecturing means long pieces which set out facts, concepts and the semantic relations holding between them in a coherent discourse of some syntactic and textual complexity" (Dalton-Puffer, 2008: 11). On the other hand, in dialogic practices, the explaining process is usually split between the interactants, as for instance student-lecturer turn taking (Smit, 2010). In dialogic teaching practices, subject content could be introduced by a sequence of lecturer questions and student responses that follow the lecturer's internal script. In terms of language production this

means that students most frequently employ their active language skills in answering lecturer questions (Dalton-Puffer, 2008).

The dominant lecturing pattern in the present corpus is mainly monologic, taking the lecturers most of the turns during the sessions or even monopolising the talking for the whole class. This result derives from the transcription process, which served to identify the different speakers and to code their turns. These transcripts reveal that the large amount of the transcribed speech belongs to the lecturers' discourse. Hence, given the scarce students' participation in the class, the students' verbal contributions to the development of the communicative process during the lecture were deemed particular turning points in the meaning-making process and those excerpts were considered likely to include the use of pragmatic strategies. The resulting lecturer-centred dominance in the classroom may help to explain the scarce number of occurrences of pragmatic strategies whose intrinsic nature is based on dyadic dialogue (e.g., any kind of verbal interaction between the lecturer and the student(s) or the students among themselves). Yet, there is a clear difference in terms of the monologic-dialogic dichotomy if we compare the two degrees in which data were audio-recorded.

The degree in BAM is clearly more dialogic than the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials. Lectures in the bachelor's degree tend to be more interactive and practical at times. In most of the lectures, lecturers provided explanations on different marketing topics (e.g. measurement of subjective variables such as likert scales or experimentation in marketing research) and exemplification and/or exercises are combined with the corresponding explanations. The participants in the lectures discussed the examples shown in the PowerPoint slides used for lecturing since the transcripts of the corresponding lecture mirror the contents of particular slides. In other words, the analysis of the data reveal that these exemplifications or practical exercises triggered some verbal interaction between the lecturer and several students in order to comment on them or to solve them. Spoken interaction between the lecturer and the students in the BAM degree usually consists of the following turns:

- Lecturer questions
- Students' answers
- Lecturers' feedback

These turns trigger the use of pragmatic strategies such as *clarification request*, *comprehension check*, *asking for repetition*, *appeal for help*, *other repair-and other-repetition*. All these strategies are intrinsically dyadic by nature, since at least two interactants are needed in order for them to be successfully communicative, who in this particular case are the lecturers and students of each of the lectures and groups. This means that, for instance, interaction is needed when, upon unsuccessful comprehension, a participant in a communicative act asks for clarification to his/her interlocutor, and he/she responds to that requirement.

The use of intrinsically dyadic strategies is lower in the master's degree, since no or little interaction is produced and therefore there is no such a co-constructed meaning through the use of strategies that imply more than one speaker's contribution. In the master's degree in Nanostructured materials lecturer-fronted classroom and theoretical explanations given only by the lecturer are the basic lecturing pattern. Exemplification is present throughout the explanations and visual aids such as PowerPoint slides are also present, but no practical exercises are found in the lecturers recorded, which constrains the student's contribution to the meaning making through interaction and, therefore, the use of pragmatic strategies. The little interactions that have been found is only present in the shape of *comprehension checks* or *appeal for help*.

Students interact more actively if the lecture and/or the lecturer's organisational style allows it. Quite obviously, if a lesson is mainly run in a lecturing style, students will participate less in classroom interaction than in lessons aimed at or structured by dialogue. Thus, the teaching style and the lesson aims were crucial in determining the amount of negotiation of meaning needed in each lecture; this means the quantity of pragmatic strategies (occurrences) needed to reach a successful communicative aim. Lecturer's interest in students' contributions and opinions fostered and allowed negotiation of meaning, which is supported by the use of pragmatic strategies.

Didactically and interactively motivated explanations and digressions

These academic lecturing events are tied to the practical achievement of knowledge-gaining. As such, explaining is a prime linguistic means to make knowledge structures visible (Smit, 2010). It could be argued that explaining is the main activity of any lecturer in a given classroom setting. Nonetheless, explaining is more intricate than this general definition. A

distinction could be made between didactically and interactively motivated explanations (Smit, 2010).

Didactically motivated explanations are those mainly motivated by the lecturer's lesson plan and step-by step "breaking down the respective topic into digestible bits" (Smit, 2010: 310) whereas interactively motivated explanations are those "mainly motivated by adhoc, interaction-inherent requirements for further explication". When the interlocutors require more information, they can verbalise that in the course of the exchange. According to Smit (2010), in the absence of such verbalised evidence the explainer may assume a knowledge deficit and offer an explanation 'just in case'. A good part of explaining in educational contexts implies reducing that knowledge deficit by means of making the affair more easily comprehensible by connecting them with one or more familiar object(s) of fact(s). This leads to more information or reasoning on the object in question (Dalton-Puffer, 2007: 140).

Didactically motivated explanations are the most frequent type of explanatory procedures in this corpus. In general terms, and as it was confirmed by the master's degree lecturer who was interviewed, students are expected to receive instruction on new knowledge instead of asking for it, and lecturers expected to give it. The frequent use of some strategies such as *defining*, *reformulation* and *focus* on *form* in the lectures collected in both degrees provide evidence for this. Very detailed explanations in the shape of information, exemplification and definition are provided by lecturers in both degrees. However, the postgraduate students, who have more background knowledge are provided with less established *focus* on *form*, since some specific terminology is likely to be assumed as shared between the lecturers and the students.

On the other hand, interactively motivated explanations are more frequent in the BAM degree, since more requirement of information and clarification in the course of the explanations is produced. This can only be attributed to individual lecturers managing the interaction differently, i.e. integrating their personal understanding of the teaching and learning process into their own lectures' classroom interaction and to the rather practical nature of the sessions that were recorded. This is reflected in the greater number of occurrences of pragmatic strategies like *asking for repetition, clarification request, appeal for help or comprehension check* in the BAM degree. This shows that more allowance for students' verbalisations of their need for detailed explanation through interaction is

produced. However, this does not mean that students in the master's degree were not in need of further explication. Students' gap in knowledge might be frequent but probably most of the times not verbalised. This analysis focuses on knowledge deficits which are explicitly verbalised, since it is the only level accessible to participants in talk during the lecturing sessions and the only one accessible for the analyst of this investigation. It should be acknowledged, though, that potential knowledge deficits may also be cognitively experienced by students in the master's degree. In the master's lessons lecturers asked the great majority of the questions and students tended to play a more passive role. The data revealed the master's degree lectures as learning sites of highly experienced and mature learners who expected to receive relevant disciplinary information on the part of their lecturers. This means that knowledge was expected to be provided on the part of the lecturers and received on the part of the students rather than co-constructed by both parties. These results of the analysis of the lectures' transcription are supported by the interview data of the master's degree lecturer, since he acknowledged that scarce interaction is meant to take place in those lectures since they are believed to be mainly theoretical and knowledge-providing.

If interaction takes place between the lecturer and the students during the lesson it usually leads to further explanations and participants feeding in their interlocutors' speech. At the same time, it may lead to digressions and side-explanations from the ad hoc topic at times. According to Antaki (1994) there are always instances of 'informing' or 'saying what I know' on the one hand, and on the other 'arguing' particular concepts or "justifying and warrantying a puzzle which has arisen in the local interaction" (p.173). Both the information gained thanks to the semi-structured interviews to the lecturers and the results from the analysis of the lectures reveal that the more digressions from the previously established set of topics there are in the lesson, the higher use of pragmatic strategies. It is acknowledged by the interviewed lecturers that these EMI lectures require much more preparation than the Spanish lectures, which is not surprising, since lecturers do not only need to present and scaffold their specific subject matter contents but they also need to do it in a different language from their L1. Therefore, as lecturers admitted during the interviews, digressions during lectures tend to occur when they explained concepts or terms which they had not prepared in advance to be included in their explanations for those particular sessions.

Most of these digressions tend to be exemplifications for the students to associate conceptual information with particular recognisable examples. One of the lecturers interviewed stated that when he improvises, he makes mistakes, and he explained that these

mistakes consisted in grammatical and semantic infelicities. Lecturers explained that most of the times this has to do with gaps in non-specialised vocabulary they are in need when digressing. Literal translation and code-switching tend to be the strategies used by the lecturers so as not to break the flow of their speech (examples of this kind will be shown in the following section where the code-switching strategy is discussed). What is relevant from the results is that this strategic use of the lecturer's L1 seems to be both favourably adopted by the lecturers as a pragmatic choice and it is also welcomed by the audience, who resort to the 'let it pass' principle. It is in these particular scenarios where the multilingual intrinsic nature of ELF becomes apparent. As in any other ELF context where interlocutors from diverse L1 are present, these ELF users consider that the change in the code does not distort the successful communicative process, but contrarily, in some cases, the code-switching strategy improves it effectively.

4.4. Types of pragmatic strategies in EMI lectures

In order to better understand the use of the different pragmatic strategies and to facilitate the analysis and presentation of results, these strategies were grouped into broader categories (see Table 4.5). This classification was based on the communicative purposes of these strategies. Strategies were classified into five macro-categories: *Explicitness strategies*, *Repairing strategies*, *Clarification strategies*, *Multilingual resources* and *Focus on form*. Table 4.5 displays the pragmatic strategies within each of these five macro-categories, the definition of each macro-category, the total number of occurrences of each category and their percentage of occurrence in the whole corpus.

Macro- categories	Pragmatic strategies	Definition	Occurrences	%
	Reformulation	Clarifying a specific idea by using		
Explicitness	Defining	the same words or different	350	47.5%
strategies	Self-repetition	structures from the original	330	47.370
	Other-repetition	message when meaning making.		
Repairing	Self-repair	Using discourse to repair what has	230	31.25%
strategies	Other-repair	been previously said	230	31.2370
	Code switching	Switching the language used in the		
Multilingual resources	Literal translation	speech from English to the participants L1 and vice versa for communicative purposes	79	10.7%
	Comprehension check			
Clarification	Asking for repetition	Requesting the interlocutor's		
strategies	Indirect appeal for help	feedback, clarification or help to keep communication flowing	56	7.6%
	Clarification request			
Focus-on- form strategy	Focus on form	Commenting on specific terminology/structures to help students develop linguistic competence	21	2.9%

Table 4.5. Macro-categories of pragmatic strategies.

Table 4.5 shows that *Explicitness, Repairing and Multilingual strategies* have the highest number of occurrences and, therefore, weight in the lecturers' usage of pragmatic strategies. There were 350 occurrences of *Explicitness strategies*, which amount to nearly half of the total occurrences (47.5%) found in the corpus. *Repairing strategies* represent more than a third of the total occurrences (31.25%). *Multilingual resources* account for 10.7% of the occurrences, which shows that the Spanish language is present in the observed EMI lectures. The frequency of the multilingual resources is higher than it would be expected if we take into account previous studies in different university contexts (Björkman, 2011b; Smit, 2010), where no code-switching or literal translation was found. *Clarification strategies* amount to approximately 8% of occurrences. Finally, the focus-on-form strategy is the least frequent, with only 21 occurrences (2.9%). Each of the categories and the strategies they comprise are discussed and illustrated in the following sections.

4.4.1. Explicitness strategies

ELF speakers tend to enhance explicitness in their interactions in order to cope with diversity and unpredictability (Cogo, 2009; Kaur, 2009; Mauranen, 2010) produced by a lack of shared linguistic or cultural knowledge with their interlocutors. Following Mauranen (2010:14), in this thesis, the term 'explicitness strategies' is used to refer to the pragmatic strategies which respond to communicative uncertainties where speakers are unsure of the clarity of their previously produced utterance and adjust their speech towards clearer and more explicit expressions, thus pre-empting or repairing any lack of understanding or misunderstanding.

Lecturers in this study increase explicitness by means of reformulating a previous sentence using different structures/words, defining a particular concept, self-repeating the previous utterance, or even repeating others' utterances. These strategies allow the participants to improve the clarity of their utterances and promote the comprehensibility of speech, which, in turn, contributes to successful communicative outcomes that are part of these teaching-learning scenarios. Table 4.6 presents the four pragmatic strategies within this category (*reformulation*, *defining*, *self-repetition* and *other-repetition*), the total number of occurrences of each of them, the total number of occurrences of this macro-category and its percentage in comparison with the other macro-categories considered in this study (See Table 4.6).

Macro-categories	Pragmatic strategies		Occurrences	%
Explicitness strategies	Reformulation	153		47.5%
	Defining	88	350	
	Self-repetition	74	330	
	Other-repetition	35		

Table 4.6. Explicitness strategies.

The Clarity and Explicitness category has a total number of 350 occurrences in the corpus, which amounts to almost half of the instances (45.6%) of the total pragmatic strategies coded. Of the four strategies comprised in this macro-category, *reformulation* stands out as the most frequent strategy (153 occurrences) and it is also one of the most equally distributed strategy in the whole corpus, since it was used by the six lecturers participating in the study (See Table 4.3). It is followed by the *defining* and the *self-repetition* strategies, with 88 and

74 occurrences respectively. These two strategies are also especially relevant since they are also among the few strategies which are used by all the lecturers in the present research. The strategy with the lowest number of occurrences (35) in this category is *other-repetition*.

The results show that lecturers use these strategies when seeking to ease the referential understanding, by eliminating ambiguity and vagueness, emphasising clarity, and therefore, pre-empting a problem of understanding. The following sections will delve into the analysis of each of the pragmatic strategies in this category so as to comment on the different functions they fulfil in the contexts analysed in this study.

4.4.1.1. Reformulation

Reformulation implies a change of the original utterance by the same speaker using a different string of words to explain something that has been already explained but considered unclear. This adjustment is aimed at improving clarity and increasing explicitness. This strategy has been found most often used as an adjustment of form rather than a change of meaning. For instance, Mauranen's study of the corpus MICASE (2012) surprisingly found that it is structures, both morphology and syntax, that ELF speakers seem to adjust and modify most.

In the present corpus, it is structure as well that is mostly reformulated by the lecturers. *Reformulation* in this corpus is an explicitation strategy, mostly used to give the listener the opportunity to rehear the utterance formulated in a more explicit and accessible way on the assumption that it was not clear enough before. Participants' reformulated expressions involve new lexical and syntactic choices, sometimes with more specific meanings than the first time. Besides, *reformulation* on the part of the lecturer also serves as a modelling procedure for the students to learn how to explain ideas or concepts. In this EMI context lecturers tend to exemplify in front of the students how to be more accurate when explaining or referring to particular disciplinary concepts. In other words, lecturers reformulate the student's previous utterances to provide a linguistically accurate version modelling and expanding on the basis of the language the student has used in a rather more academic register (Gibbons, 2003).

Lecturers tend to choose different syntactic expression of formulations to convey the same meaning. For instance, in Excerpt 1 the lecturer is using the *reformulation* strategy to

give the listener the opportunity to rehear the utterance formulated in a more explicit and accessible way. In this excerpt the speaker is referring to the automatic call telecommunication companies make after a service has been provided to a customer. The lecturer refers to the "degree of satisfaction with [a] company services" and he uses the *reformulation* strategy to provide clarity on this idea. In order to do so he firstly uses a nominalisation of the idea, "your satisfaction". Then he uses the clause "how the personnel has attended your request" and then he uses a conditional structure ("If you are satisfied").

1) L2: If you have a problem with a company, with a telecommunications company and you call to the to the call center, after the call is over, you receive a call asking about your satisfaction with the e:h with the attendance of the: how the e:h personal has attended your request, if had if you are satisfied, this is a machine, Ok? Most time, most of the times.

The same kind of *reformulation* can be observed in Excerpt 2. In this example the lecturer first makes use of synonyms in order to be more precise ("techniques/formulas") and secondly, in the same explanation, he chooses a different syntactic option to clarify meaning after a previous utterance ("this error can be quantified, we can calculate it, this error").

2) L1: So, if we use some kind of random selection procedures, probabilistic sampling procedures they are called, we can minimise these kinds of errors, Ok? We can use some kind of techniques, we can e:h some kind of formulas we can apply some kind of formula that will help us to minimise this random sampling error, ok? and this error can be quantified, we can calculate it, this error.

Similarly, in Excerpt 3 the lecturer also uses synonyms and antonyms to provide more explicitness and to reinforce the idea. In this case, he provides three different adjectives to define a type of question ("not naïve, not trivial, important").

3) L2: if you have to answer in relation to a reference stimuli, for example in this case when I ask you about the average, in comparison with the average this is a comparative scales, ok? (2) Comparative scale, so when we want to measure subjective variables with an itemised rating scale, we must consider all these points, Ok? We must consider all these points to make it forced and unforced, balanced, unbalanced, etc, etc. It's not a naïve question, it's not a trivial question, it's a very important question and if we want to use rating scales to obtain interval variables, interval variables, we must follow these rules.

In Excerpt 4 the *reformulation* strategy is visibly relevant since the lecturer is directly asking the students to reply to his question and he tries to avoid what might become a trouble source in terms of the question's comprehensibility. The lecturer uses *reformulation* ("any ideas/ any assessments of the introduction /ideas to improve the introduction") to make clear the kind of response that he expects from students.

4) L2: so this is not correct ok? instructor, there is no identification data ok? perhaps it is needed but there is no identification data in the questionnaire, ok? the introduction, well there is an introduction, any ideas any assessments of the introduction, any idea to to improve the introduction anyone?

Finally, lecturers also provide linguistic *reformulation* of a previous contribution made by a student –in Gibbons' (2003: 258-259) words, "recasting and extension of student-initiated meanings" to help the students convey meaning or to correct the form of the student's utterance—. For instance, in Excerpt 5 the lecturer provides a linguistically accurate version of the utterance modelling and expanding the student-initiated meaning ("and then the observation") in order to show him/her that the previous utterance was not a complete explanation and that there is a more precise way of expressing that meaning ("and then we observe, we have an observation, we observe or we measure or have a measure").

5) S11: $\langle 2 \rangle$ a:h ok $\langle 2 \rangle$ and the treatment to the units' test

L1: then we apply the treatment to the test units=

S11: =and then <2> the observation </2>

L1: <2> and then </2> we observe we have an observation we observe, or we measure or have a measure=.

This strategy is not only used by lecturers. The students also resort to *reformulation* in order to ensure the meaning they intend to convey is clear or just to verbalise their own understanding of the meaning expressed by the lecturer. For instance, in Excerpt 6, it is a student who reformulates the lecturer's previous utterance in a clearer way in order to ensure understanding. She reformulates the lecturer's previous input by ignoring some of the data the lecturer has provided (e.g. the number assigned to each group selected for the marketing research and the number of participants in each of them). In other words, the student summarises verbally the information she has just received in order to make it clear for herself and easier for the lecturer to know what she knows. Eventually, she asks for clarification of the ensuing idea, which in this case is the procedure to assign a slogan to a particular group of participants in a marketing research experiment.

6) S5: How did you select the people?

L1: I select from group 121. I select e:h 20 people and they see, they all see slogan number one, 122 twenty, another twenty people randomly selected and they see e:h the second, etc, etc, etc. Is this R? Yes.

S6: you are showing the slogan. The first slogan to the first group, the second slogan to the second group, did you do it randomly or just? the first slogan to the first...

Finally, lecturers' insightful comments on their use of *reformulation* shed light on the functions of this pragmatic strategy. For instance, the master's degree lecturer argued that he uses this strategy in the English medium lectures to the same extent he uses it in Spanish-medium ones. He affirmed that the use of the *reformulation* strategy is useful in any language he uses for the purpose of lecturing. He assumed that in any teaching-learning context

(regardless the vehicular language) different students understand things when explained differently. Therefore, he argued that if he has more than one possible explanation (reformulation of the same meaning) he just offers it to his students. Besides, he claims that lectures cannot have more than six "take-home messages", so he just tries to go back to the same idea, reformulating and linking it with further details. Finally, the same lecturer also acknowledged that the "go-round and round effect" towards a single explanation is a matter of professional deformation caused by the real need of simplification of ideas (i.e. explicitness) that, for example, he perceived when teaching in other programs such as the first year of a bachelor's degree at the same faculty. He considers it just a teaching habit but it has proved to be an effective pragmatic strategy in EMI lecturing.

Hence, reformulation is a widely used pragmatic strategy in the present corpus which serves diverse purposes:

- REFORMULATION 1) To give the listener the opportunity to re-hear the utterance now formulated in a more explicit accessible way
 - 2) To clarify meaning including amplification or simplification of a selected
 - 3) To provide a linguistically accurate version of the utterance modeling and expanding the student-initiated meaning
 - To clarify one's understanding about terms and concepts under discussion (when performed by students).

4.4.1.2. **Defining**

Defining, as it is understood in this study, is a way of enhancing clarity and explicitness by means of exemplifying or describing the properties of the target object. Defining terms is typical of classroom discourse, even when lecturing in the participants L1, since students are provided with specialised vocabulary intrinsic to their community of practice and the sequence "class word + defining characteristics" is usually followed. Yet, it is probably more frequent in EMI contexts, where English is the lingua franca and lecturers in every discipline need to introduce both conceptual information and terminology and make subject content more comprehensible to their non-native speaker students. In many of the cases where a term is defined, the corresponding term in Spanish would not probably need a definition (e.g., 'recall'- 'rellamada'). In EMI lectures, defining serves lecturers to increase their chances of getting their contributions understood as intended. In examples 7-10 it can be observed how

lecturers make the subject content (more) comprehensible by using *defining*, particularly when introducing conceptual information and terminology to their audience. Vocabulary is seen as an important aspect both by lecturers and students in the selected groups, since students may not be familiar with some key terms related to the subject and this is reflected in the high frequency of vocabulary-related episodes in the corpus that generally target technical terms or specialised language intrinsic to the development of the disciplinary knowledge.

This is the case in Excerpt 7, in which the speaker combines the methods aforementioned to explain a target concept (exemplifying or describing the properties of the target object) in the same turn. In this case, a Marketing lecturer is explaining the different types of interviews and questionnaires students can find to get the customers' opinions and more precisely he is explaining the concept of 'self-administered interviews'. To do so, the lecturer first mentions the disciplinary-related term; then, for purposes of clarification of meaning, he provides an example ('the spinning class questionnaire'), which could be a good illustration for the students, and finally, he describes the term in a more explicit and accessible way ('each one fills in the answers to the questions').

7) L1: but there is one option that is the best (.) it's in group self-administered interviews ok? it's aah at the end of the session we have a spinning class and at the end of the class I hand out the questionnaires for the people to answer the questionnaire, ok? it's a small group and it's self-administered, each one fills in the answers to the questions Ok? and there is one person there that can help to solve doubts or whatever questions may raise ok?

This is also the case in Excerpts 8, 9 and 10 where the lecturers use definition to explain what could be considered specialised or semi-specialised subject-related terms such as "recall", "respondents" and "structured technique". These three terms are defined by describing their properties or characteristics.

- 8) L1: Aah another advantage is that the machine these machines can automatically select and dial the numbers so we don't have to perform this randomised way of e:h conducting the calls and we can control the absence and and the recall ok? the recall if we call someone and he is not at home, the system eh reports it and we can go again and try another one, another try ok.
- 9) L1: Then we have another kind of error, it is the systematic error too, or the respondent error. Respondents, people who answer to the questions.
- 10) L2: I assume that previous lecturers have already told you about quantitative techniques and so on, it's a structured technique ok? we have a fixed structure e:h everyone answers the same questions in the same e:h sequence and with e:h usually with a fixed e:h also with a fixed e:h set of answers.

This implies that subject-related terminology is usually deemed as an important aspect both by lecturers and students and so it is frequently subject to further explanations in the shape of *defining*. This implies a pro-active pragmatic work on the part of the lecturer to achieve the following functions:

DEFINING

- 1) To make the subject content (more) comprehensible.
- 2) To increase lecturers' chances of getting their contributions understood as intended.
- 3) To draw students' attention and to clarify critical notions.
- 4) To construct solidarity and group cohesion by ensuring shared understanding.

4.4.1.3. Self-repetition

An additional way to promote understanding during academic activities is by means of *self-repetitions*, which occur when the lecturer repeats a word or a string of words immediately after they were said to make his/her concepts clearer (Mauranen, 2006a). Repetition simply means saying the same thing twice, yet it may take various forms depending on what is repeated by the speaker. If we considered who repeated the utterance, a distinction could be established between *self-repetition*, meaning that one repeats his/her own words or *other-repetition*, meaning that the speaker repeats someone else's words. Biber et al. (1999) make a distinction in terms of the length of the repeated utterance; they differentiate between repetitions of a single word, referred to as 'repeats' (unconscious verbatim repetition) and 'repetition' standing for at least a whole phrase that is repeated deliberately to fulfil a communicative purpose.

Repetition in conversation has been widely studied (see Biber et al., 1999; Tannen, 1987). It has an important role in interactive discourse but most of the times it has been considered a sign of processing difficulties, disfluency and lack of competence in the language, especially in language learning, when it is assessed in comparison with written language, or as Linell (1982, 2005) coined 'the written language bias'. However, if repetition is approached as a pragmatic strategy that enables ELF speakers to get their message across, it might serve different functions.

In this corpus, *self-repetition* firstly serves as an explicitness or clarification strategy used to give the listener the opportunity to rehear the item in question and to specify information that the speaker wants to highlight in importance. Tannen (1987) refers to this function as "ratifying meaning", i.e. repeating the word(s) or utterance later in speech to reaffirm that what was said previously was important and correct. This is the case in Excerpts 11, 12 and 13, in which *self-repetition* is used as a deliberately chosen strategy. The lecturer repeats a technical term that seems to be very relevant to follow the explanation ('the dependent'/ 'recorded'/ 'systematic error' respectively) in order to ensure the students' comprehension and to clarify that it is the correct term or possibility and not a different one. In other words, it serves to provide prominence to that particular term in comparison with any other option.

11) L1: We observe the varia...the dependent variable, the dependent, the only one, the dependent

S3: and then we compare

12) L3: We will see filtering questions and we will see how this works and the data are automatically **recorded ok? recorded**

13) L2: I will see a bit of the systematic errors and that's it. **The first systematic error** that we see, **systematic error**, **the system OK**? The the way of doing service systematically produces errors, ok?

Although in this study the focus is not on aspects of oral communication such as intonation, volume or stress, it is worth pointing out their importance in relation to this strategy. It should be noted that the repetition of the phrases in *Excerpts 11, 12* and *13* were uttered at normal pacing with stress on the fragment that is repeated. In other words, stress is also used together with the repetition to ratify and highlight importance.

The second function of this strategy in this corpus is to create cohesion, as already noted by Halliday & Hasan (1976). It serves a referential function to link the previous discourse. Repetition of sentences, phrases, and words shows how new utterances are linked to earlier discourse, and how ideas presented in the discourse are related to each other. In line with it, according to Tannen (1987: 582), repetition also facilitates comprehension by providing semantically less dense discourse. In Tannen's (1987: 582) words:

If some of the words are repetitious, comparatively less new information is communicated than if all words uttered carried new information. This redundancy in spoken discourse allows a hearer to receive information at roughly the rate the speaker is producing it. That is, just as the speaker benefits from some relatively dead space while thinking of the next thing to say, the hearer

benefits from the same dead space and from the redundancy while absorbing what was just said.

In Excerpts 14 and 15, repetition is visibly used as a cohesive device. By repeating the same information with the same wording, the lecturer stresses the most relevant idea in his speech and on what he considers students need to rehear to facilitating learning. This is just part of the scaffolding nature of the lecturing discourse. Particularly, in Excerpt 14 the lecturer refers to 'auxiliary materials'; then he provides examples of what they might be and then he repeats the idea using 'auxiliary materials' when developing market research. In Excerpt 15, the lecturer affirms that the answers of a particular questionnaire are not biased. Then he explains what a biased answer would be in order to clarify meaning and then he ratifies that "the answers [were] not biased".

- 14) L3: so it's it's very easy or it's it's we can reach distant samples or if we are carrying out a market research about rural villages eeh people living in villages in small villages, so we cannot reach them for example in other ways and we can also use some auxiliary materials, we can attach some pictures some cards, ok? we can use some auxiliary materials.
- **15**) L2: **The answers are not biased**, the order in which questions and options are given if we ask about numbers, we are biasing the participants' responses, so with these kinds of open questions **the answers are not biased.**

Moreover, since lecturers prepare their lectures in advance, they are highly informative in purpose, as in academic prose, yet they are delivered under on-line production circumstances, which implies that cohesive and explicitness mechanisms like *self-repetition* are needed to structure contents and ideas, and so, to ease the process of understanding. These situational features of a lecture being a "hybrid" genre that could be positioned on a continuum between academic prose, having high informational load, and face-to-face conversation, exhibiting features of spoken discourse (Biber, 1995), account for the third type of function of *self-repetition* in this study. Repetition is also used to gain time in

discourse processing. Lecturers repeat the same idea twice either when trying to find the correct words to keep their discourse flowing or just as they find the correct classroom materials.

In Excerpt 16 the self-repetition strategy is clearly intended to gain time, since there is a hesitation filler ('e:h') after the repeated phrase ('the important') and, most significantly, what comes next is an all-purpose-word ('thing'), which sheds light on the lecturer's process of retrieving a term, and when not finding it, he uses the all-purpose term to continue his explanation.

16) L3: we can know motivations, we may find out about attitudes, perceptions, etc etc. E:h lecturer XX, **ah he told you about the important the important e:h thing about attitudes** is the birth antecedent of behavior.

Similarly, in Excerpt 17 the lecturer is just signposting what comes next during the lecture which is reading a set of examples. Despite lacking the video-recorded images of the lecture it is likely that in that very moment the lecturer was just finding those referred examples either in the PowerPoint presentation or in any possible class handout shared with the students.

17) L1: as I told you, when we move from the mmm in e:h in e:h vertical line we change groups when we move from the left to the right, we move in time ok? and in the same way, so let's try to e:h read these examples, let's try to read these examples

In sum, this has been observed as one of the most useful strategies for the lecturers to include in their lecturing explanations. The main functions that this strategy fulfils in the present corpus are as follows:

SELF-REPETITION

- 1) To give the listener the opportunity to rehear the item in question.
- 2) To ratify meaning: specify information that the speaker wants to highlight in importance.
- 3) To create cohesion with the previous discourse.

- 4) To facilitate comprehension by providing semantically less dense discourse
- 5) To gain time in discourse production.
- 6) To keep their discourse flowing when trying to find the correct words.

4.4.1.4. Other-repetition

Other-repetition implies repeating a word or a string of words that someone else has uttered in conversation immediately after they were said. Therefore, this strategy is intrinsically connected to the creation of meaning in conversation. Following Tannen (1987), repetition does not only tie parts of discourse to other parts in a monologue, but it also links individual speakers in a conversation, functioning on an interactional level- accomplishing social goals, or simply managing the business of conversation when it comes to production, comprehension and connection. In the use of this strategy there is a change in speaker, but no information is added, and no perceptible contribution is made to the development of a story or theme. Tannen (1987) lists the following functions of other-repetition: getting or keeping the floor, showing listenership, providing back-channel responses, stalling, gearing up to answer or speak, humour and play, savouring and showing appreciation of a good line or a good joke, linking one speaker's ideas to another's, ratifying another's contribution and including a person who did not hear a previous utterance in an interaction (Tannen, 1987).

In the present corpus, lecturers seem to use the other-repetition strategy to guide the students in their conceptual work, negotiating notions that are relevant to the topics at hand and discussing the most appropriate terms for the concepts that they are considering. Particularly, the lecturers most often repeat the student's words to acknowledge agreement but also to reaffirm the student in his/her understanding once the correct answer has been provided, i.e. to ratify meaning. When lecturers repeat a student's words (mainly in question-answer interactions), it also allows the rest of the students present in the class to listen to the correct answer given the prominent voice of the lecturer in the classroom as compared to the student's one, which contributes to creating group cohesion among the participants (lecturer-students). Besides, this strategy is useful to make transitions explicit and to create cohesive links with the interlocutor's earlier points.

For instance, in Excerpt 18 the lecturer's repetition echoing S1's words seems to be simply a way of participating in the interchange showing listenership and acceptance of S1's

utterance, perhaps also taking it as a point of departure for requiring further explanations. Such immediate repetitions of others' utterances are frequent in the transcripts.

18) L1: And then X3 had a third variable, which was the level of expertise, X3, now we have a problem because we have two values with the level of expertise, R two level of ex- expertise in 2B two levels of expertise of the blogger in 2B which were those levels?

S1: high and low

L1: high and low, so we have a problem between the H and the L ok?

It is worth noting that this student's response and the subsequent repetition of the lecturer has been preceded by a question by the lecturer which, in this corpus, is a fundamental tool that articulates classroom talk and that promotes interaction and co-constructs meanings and learner knowledge.

In Excerpt 19 the lecturer's *other-repetition* of a student's words is used to encourage the student to develop her/his argument. The lecturer repeats exactly what S10 said and so he ratifies that what he said was correct. This strategy is used twice in the same excerpt, with the lecturer repeating first the word 'assigned' and secondly the words 'a treatment'.

19) L1: another example, this one mmm the guy with glasses, please, this example, can you read it please.

S9: Eeh you have an experimental group and one control group eeh they are randomly selected in the two cases and in the first one.

L1: Something missing (.) I think you've missed something, in this moment you missed something a couple of words, you can complete this eeh.

S10: Assigned

L1: **Assigned,** you said selected only selected randomly and you must say, selected and assigned randomly, as it is it is R selected and assigned, ok? Go on please!

S9: And we apply a treatment in the first one and we:

L1: We apply, sorry?

S10: A treatment

L1: A treatment

S10: And we observe the measure, we observe the measuring the dependent variable

L1: mmh mmh

S10: And in the second one, we apply.

Finally, other-repetition also serves the function of processing the interlocutor's words before expanding or elaborating on that same idea. In Excerpt 20 the lecturer repeats a student's initial utterance with some elaboration to scaffold the construction of the correct meaning and he asks for more information. i.e., the lecturer's repetition of the words said by the student serves to co-construct the on-going talk and contributes to meaning-making.

20) S3: so, we have the control group

L1: aha

S3: with an assigned and selected randomly variable and then we observed that yes

L1: have you said anything about this? (pointing to the slide)

S3: We apply the treat... the same varia-

L1: =same treatment? the same?

S3: and we observe

L1: **we observe the varia- the dependent variable**, the dependent, the only one, the dependent

S3: =and then we compare

L1: =and then we comp... well we will compare later, we will analyse the 'results the re'sults later, ok?

Therefore, this explicitness strategy is cooperative, since speakers cooperate to keep conversation going, to develop understanding, arguments, and knowledge (Mauranen, 2012: 167). In sum, the main functions of this strategy are the following:

OTHER-REPETITION

- 1) To acknowledge agreement.
- 2) To reaffirm the student in his/her understanding once the correct answer has been provided, i.e. to ratify meaning.
- 3) To echo a student's contribution and so allow the rest of the students present in the class to listen to the correct answer given the prominent voice of the lecturer.
- 4) To make transitions explicit.
- 5) To create cohesive links with the interlocutor's earlier points.
- 6) To process the interlocutor's words before expanding or elaborating on that same idea.

4.4.2. Repairing strategies

This category is particularly special taking into account the teaching and learning contexts where data were collected. The term "repairing strategies" refers to the use of the language to repair what has been previously said when the speaker assumes or becomes aware of linguistic or communication problems. Repair work is essential to lecturers and students alike and this is why this macro-category includes strategies like: i) the lecturers' *self-repair*

of their own communication trouble in a retrospective way; and ii) interactional *other-repair*, carried out by the lecturers to correct the students' problematic utterances.

Table 4.7 presents the two pragmatic strategies comprised in this macro-category, the number of occurrences found of each of them and the total amount and the total percentage of this macro-category in relation to the remaining four.

Macro-categories	Pragmatic strategies		Occurrences	%
Repairing strategies	Self-repair	224	230	31.25%
	Other-repair	6	230	

Table 4.7. Repairing strategies

This is the second macro-category most frequently used by the participants, with 230 occurrences (31.25% of the total pragmatic strategies identified). *Self-repair* stands out from the rest, since it is the strategy most widely used of this particular macro-category as well as the second pragmatic strategy with more occurrences in the corpus (224 occurrences), which amount to 30.5% of the total number of occurrences found). Besides, it is worth mentioning that this strategy has been used in all the lectures recorded and, therefore, it can be considered a shared resource among the different 6 lecturers participating in this research. By contrast, *other-repair* is one of the least observed pragmatic strategies used by the lecturers to reestablish or repair understanding, given that there are only 6 occurrences in the whole corpus and only one of the lecturers uses it.

Earlier findings on conversational data (Lappalainen, 2001) suggest a tendency towards self-correction in English as a lingua franca (ELF) settings. More precisely, according to Mauranen (2006a), grammatical self-repairs seem to distinguish the English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) data from native speakers and it resembles L2 speakers' behaviour. Previous studies on second Language Conversation, such as the one conducted by Kurhila (2003), demonstrated that non-native speakers often resorted to grammatical *self-repair* because of their orientation to grammatical correctness (Kurhila, 2003). Yet, grammar is not the only element that has been observed as target of repairing work. Repairs can take the form of "modeling standard pronunciation", "replacing lexical choice" or "completing a sentence" (Kaur, 2011b: 68).

This self-regulating and repairing behaviour is not different in the present study in which English is also the second language and also the lingua franca in this academic setting. Particularly, the use of the *self-repair* strategy derives from the strong belief that the use of non-standard forms of English in class will lead to communication breakdown or to a loss of intelligibility as the lecturers admitted in the semi-structured interviews. Lecturers in the present study believe that they cannot be required to speak as native-speakers do but a certain level of linguistic accuracy is needed. Besides, they believe that the oral input they provide to their students is always a source of language learning just as any other input of this language they might have in different contexts. Therefore, they tend to use standard British English and native language norms and criteria in their pedagogical choices of language (See Jenkins, 2007; Dewey, 2011).

Repairing strategies involve both lecturers and students to ensure that the infelicitous element does not lead to non- or misunderstanding or, at least, to minimise it as part of the participants' joint endeavor to construct or negotiate meaning. Awareness of a mismatch between the meaning intended and the meaning conveyed is what prompted lecturers to the use of repairing strategies. In other words, the use of these strategies is very much related to the speakers' consciousness as awareness of the problem (i.e. the speaker consciously recognises an erroneous form), and consciousness as awareness of their strategic language use (i.e. intentionally doing something to overcome a recognised problem) (Dörnyei & Scott, 1997: 185), either self or other prompted. This means that they are used retrospectively to improve previous verbalisations of the same ideas/contents and, in most cases, they are "consciously used devices" (p. 185). Several were the causes for these repairs and, therefore, the functions of these strategies in the present research are diverse. The following sections describe the use of each of these strategies individually and illustrate their use by means of different excerpts extracted from the corpus transcripts.

4.4.2.1. Self-repair

Self-repair is one of the accommodation strategies employed by ELF speakers when they negotiate meaning (De Bartolo, 2016). It takes place when words or expressions previously said are proposed in a different way by the same person to facilitate the hearers' comprehension under the assumption that a communicative breakdown has just occurred. Following Smith and Nelson (1985), this implies any kind of "mismatch" between the

speaker's meanings and the hearers' understanding of different stretches of language in the corpus in terms of 'intelligibility' (i.e. mispronunciations or grammar incoherencies) and 'comprehensibility' (i.e. meaning specifications).

There are different situations when repairing is needed in the EMI communicative settings analysed. One of them is when the speaker believes that something went wrong with the initial formulation and he or she *self-repairs* what he/she considers 'incorrect' or 'inappropriate'. In the present corpus, most *self-repairs* have to do with pronunciation, formulation and wording issues (Levelt, 1989) and it is the lecturer who, without any interlocutor's correction or *clarification request*, resorted to correcting himself/herself in an attempt to pre-empt any linguistic mismatch that will hinder their intelligibility.

According to Mauranen (2006a), ELF speakers may have different orientations when initiating grammatical reformulation of their own speech before closing their turns if their interlocutors are native speakers or non-native speakers. Kurhila (2003) focuses on nonnative/native interactions and argues that in these contexts non-native speakers often resorted to grammatical self-repair because of their orientations to grammatical correctness and also their desire to elicit correction from the L1 speaker. The context in the current study is different, since this is a multilingual context in which no (or few) native-speakers are present; thus speakers' orientation to repairing their own speech immediately after being uttered may derive from them believing in the effective role of grammatical correctness in facilitating mutual intelligibility and ensuring their correct meaning. Therefore, as the lecturers clearly stated in the interviews, they believe that they cannot be required to speak as native speakers do, or to have the same correction they may be required during Spanish-medium lectures (since they are Spanish NS), but their use of the English grammar and also their lexis or pronunciation must be as accurate and appropriate as possible in order to be communicative and intelligible. Moreover, they believe in lecturers 'modeling' in terms of language, in addition to playing the expert role in the subject matter, as it explicitly acknowledged by lecturers in the semi-structured interviews carried out for this study. For instance, they argued that they should be accurate with the pronunciation of certain academic or technical words such as 'to research' (verb) and 'marketing research' (noun).

In the corpus under analysis, lecturers are often aware of their use of non-standard forms. They stated that *self-repair* is only produced whenever the lecturer is actually listening (paying special attention) to what he or she has just said. The use of the *self-repair*

strategy shows, then, that lecturers are aware of their production problems and of the possible breakdowns in communication they may cause. Besides, the different occurrences of this strategy in the corpus show that speakers negotiate acceptable usage of the language by means of correcting further when looking for accuracy or on the assumption that it may allow incidental language learning. They are conscious of the role model they are assigned in front of the audience and the need for correction it implies. Therefore, *self-repair* is accepted by them as a pragmatic strategy used by the lecturers to correct their own formulations.

Most of the *self-repairs* are repairs of linguistic aspects related to content and vocabulary. According to Hynninen (2011), this type of *self-repairs* facilitates understanding, discourse organisation, and socialisation (Hynninen, 2011). Excerpts 21 and 22 are examples of *self-repair* as "replacing lexical choice". Particularly Excerpt 21 shows how the lecturer replaces what seems an incorrect term with the correct one ("the manipulation of the experiment" is replaced by "manipulation of the treatment"). It is a referential repair in terms of the specific subject-related terminology of marketing. It is very similar to the correction in Excerpt 22, in which the lecturer self-repairs an initially formulated meaning ("the most common research method technique") to negotiate acceptable usage of the language or rather to be as accurate as possible concerning specific terminology.

21) L1: So this, in every case, this sub-index may have a different meaning but usually means one manipulation of the experiment one manipulation of the experiment, the video is a manipulation of the treatment, sorry, one manipulation of the treatment.

22) L2: So, let's start with the unit. Ok, so this unit is related to to surveys, to questionnaires e:h I assume that perhaps is the most common technique (.) the most common research method technique that you now.

Excerpts 23 and 24 help to illustrate how the speakers are also aware of their structural infelicities or grammar inaccuracies ('you have saw already'; 'who...which program') when

formulating the sentence. They do not only repair what they consider as "erroneous" to communicate intended meaning as clearly as possible and to facilitate the listener's decoding efforts (Björkman, 2011a, 2013) but they also repeat the structure to try and make sense of what is said and to give the listener the opportunity to re-hear the item in question, this time correctly uttered.

23) L2: You have saw...you have seen already you have seen already focus groups, you have seen a:h depth interviews, we have bee:n observation, ok?

24) L3: Is the same for example with the audience TV meters, ok? there are three thousand TV audience meters in Spain, we are almost 50 million people and e:h TV channels decide **e:h who which program** is the most e:h the most preferred by this three thousand.

Among the *self-repair* instances, there are also occurrences of what appear to be slips of the tongue when the lecturer is trying to retrieve the correct term mixing up two different nouns ('guidance' and 'guidelines') as it is illustrated in *Except 25*.

25) L1: The appearance of the interviewer is no longer playing a role here, ok? so we only have to...only...a:h have to give some **guidan-guidelines** in order to make the calls, the phone calls in the same way for all of them, ok?

Finally, lecturers in this study sometimes start a sentence again, modifying a word or some words previously said —not the whole sentence— to restructure their own discourse, that is, re-starting the sentence in a pro-active way. This is a type of *self-repair* strategy which entails replacing the message just after starting to utter the sentence previously planned, as the speaker presupposes that something has gone wrong in the discourse that needs to be corrected. *Re-start* is the practice of finding a better wording in order that the talk can move forward. *Re-starting* serves to pre-empt a problem from the outset, thus addressing potential,

rather than real, trouble or even in face of no trouble at all. Gramkow's question, "how is it that we can talk about 'repair', in cases where 'problems' are prevented, i.e. before the talk becomes problematic at all?" (2001: 87), brings to light the need to consider the role of repair as not only confined to "trying to get things right" (Kaur, 2010) but also trying to make things clear, ordered, explicit and specific so that nothing goes wrong in the first place, this means at starting a new utterance.

The trouble sources, as the following excerpts demonstrate, have to do with the syntactic, semantic or grammar forms. For instance, some *re-starts* in this corpus have to do with verbal tenses or temporal expressions. In Excerpt 26 the lecturer *re-starts* his utterance maintaining the same subject "we" but replacing the verb "are" with the verb "have" in order to build a sentence in present perfect tense "we have developed". In this case, the re-start strategy might be the result of a change in the time reference concerning the completion or not of the questionnaire on the part of the students, since there is a change in the verb tense used.

26) L2: aah also, important, if you need me to e:h correct the questionnaire before sending out the the people for for them to fill it, send me in advance like e-mail, ok? You can say you Carlos, **we are we have developed** this questionnaire, please, can you take a look and tell us if it is right or wrong?

Similarly, there are many examples in the corpus in which lecturers re-start the utterance by changing the grammar formulation replacing it with a new one as is the case in Excerpts 27 and 28.

27) L3: So some kind of analysis that can help to e:h can can help you in your e:h research progress in your commercial decisions that you have to take, Ok?

28) L1: **Avoid questions which try to to which are long in the past** and people have to remember a lot of things. It is not very advisable especially at the beginning of the questionnaire.

Another kind of referential trouble source that gives rise to the use of *re-start* is the use of first person plural "we" as the subject of the sentence, whereby the lecturer included himself/herself in the action or referential specification, or the second person plural "you" in reference only to the students. This is the case in Excerpt 29, where the lecturer makes it clear that he has opted for the inclusive pronoun "we" as the way to proceed the lecturing discourse. In this particular excerpt, the lecturer clearly wanted to use the inclusive form since he changes "you" for "we" and unconsciously reinforces the use of the pronoun "we" in latter utterances.

29) L2: And then we have influenced or biases derived from the instruments that we use to collect the information ok? There is no perfect means ok? If you, e:h if we use a person to ask e:h participants we have biases derived from this person's behaviour, if we let participants to answer the questionnaire at their home, we don't know who is really answering the questionnaire ok? we have, we will see that we have always errors derived from the instruments we use in the data collection process ok?

To conclude, it is useful to distinguish between "retroactive" (backward-looking) and "proactive" repairs (those prospecting ahead) (Mauranen, 2006a). *Re-start*, unlike other types of *self-repairs*, plays a prospective role in that its major goal is to enable continuation of the discourse, i.e. it is a strongly proactive kind of *self-repair* aimed at advancing the possibility of an incomprehensible structure.

To summarise, the main functions of *self-repair* in the present corpus are:

SELF-REPAIR

- 1) To gain accuracy in the language used.
 - 2) To negotiate acceptable usage of the language.
- 3) To 'model' the correct use of the language (e.g., specialised terms).
- 4) To allow incidental language learning.
- 5) To pre-empt potential, rather than real communicative troubles.

4.4.2.2. Other-repair

The clarification of meaning also implies the adoption of cooperative strategies such as 'interactive repairs' or *other-repairs*, carried out by both the speaker and the interlocutors when difficulties or non-understanding have occurred and have been recognised by the interactants. As Hynninen explains (2011: 967), "while self-repairs reveal how speakers monitor their own speech, other-repairs reveal interlocutors' reactions to a speaker's contribution". Speech production difficulties, hearing problems and problems of understanding may trigger the initiation of a 'repair' by participants concerned with "trying to 'get things right''. Nevertheless, although other-repair implies that the prior turn was in some way problematic, it does not necessarily indicate an error or mistake by the speaker. It may just as well indicate that the interlocutor, for instance, has difficulties in hearing what the speaker has just said or simply cannot grasp the point the speaker is trying to make. In other words, an other-repair does not necessarily have to be a correction; it may mean, for instance, a modification of a prior contribution made by a different speaker (Schegloff, 2000). This pragmatic strategy contrast with the "let it pass" and "make-it-normal" (Firth, 1996) strategies that ELF hearers might adopt when faced with problems in understanding the speaker's utterance by which they let the repairable be unnoticed on the assumption that it is not relevant to understand the idea or that it would be clarified later in speech. 'Acceptability' plays here an important role in terms of whether the repaired expression allows the discourse to proceed with apparent satisfaction with the degree of shared understanding or it is judged as unclear and the speaker needs to continue with further clarifications or searches (Mauranen, 2006a).

In this study *other-repair* strategies are used by the lecturers when trying to co-create meaning with the students. This means that in addition to using pragmatic strategies to cope with their own language disfluencies as a pre-emptive communicative tool, lecturers also address shortcomings in linguistic formulations of students' contributions, providing so "language correcting and commentary" (Hynninen, 2012: 13). This further illustrates the agency of ELF speakers in the EMI settings —even if NSs of English were present— where lecturers could be active in taking on the role of language expert correcting and modelling. Yet, it is remarkable that there are few cases of *other-repair* in the lectures recorded. As the lecturers themselves acknowledge in the interviews, they do not consider themselves language lecturers. They do not feel in need or in charge of explaining formal linguistic

aspects of the English language since they consider it just their vehicular language or lingua franca. This argument is also reflected in previous studies which clearly state that "no direct reference to the aim of improving students' English" is declared in EMI settings (Dearden & Macaro, 2016: 456), or similarly it rather "focuses on content learning only" (Smit & Dafouz, 2012: 4). What it is more, a lecturer recognises that he does not feel himself confident enough to correct linguistic aspects during the lecturers' interactions with the students. He even acknowledged that if during a particular interaction carried out in Spanish some other-repair were needed, he would feel rather more confident to repair someone's speech and he might do it in a formal and polite way, which he would never do in English, as he is not an English native speaker. This may explain why most *other-repairs* found in the present corpus do not have an explicit language teaching goal. They have to do with the search for the correct or accurate formulation that the students have to provide; the lecturer repairs what he/she considers inappropriate or incorrect at first.

The following excerpts illustrate the repair work done in interaction. Excerpt 30 shows how a student is trying to convey meaning to respond a question formulated by the lecturer and how the EMI lecturer repairs the S's utterance rewording it in order to enhance the student's explicitness. In this case, the lecturer does not divert attention from the terminology-related inaccuracy of the other's talk. In fact, the lecturer provides a linguistically accurate version of the language the student has used, therefore modelling the correct answer (Gibbons, 2003). First, the lecturer fills in the gap in the student's lexical knowledge by changing the verb 'have' for the verb 'apply' (i.e., the corrected version is 'apply a treatment'). Secondly, the lecturer highlights the inaccuracy in saying that the treatment is applied 'twice' (twice after the first time) and he replaces it with 'again'.

30) S3: Ok, so we have one experimental group, with eeh, I mean it's randomly selected and assigned and <L1sp> bueno </L1sp>, we do we have the first, we have the treatment first.

L1: we 'apply the treatment

S3: we apply the treatment, then we **observe it**

L1: it?

S3: no, we observe

L1: what?

S3: the <1> the (.) dependent </1>

L1: <1> the dependent variable </1>

S3: yes (.) And then we have...we ap- apply it twice, we apply it twice and we see the se=

L1: =we apply again. Twice will be that we apply and apply

S3: Yes

L1: in total you apply twice to this group, Ok?

In Except 31 the lecturer asks a student to rephrase a sentence proposed by him previously with the word "cause" since they are talking about 'cause-effect relationships' and the cause is one of the necessary elements that the students need to understand. In this case it is the lecturer who prompts the students to think about the best answer for a question and the explanation is accomplished through the cooperation between the student and the lecturer. The other-repair strategy is produced when S1 tries to reformulate the sentence, but he/she introduces the word 'because' instead of 'cause' and the lecturer makes the student aware of the inaccuracy and reformulates the sentence correctly. Yet, what is remarkable here is that the lecturer's correction comes in the shape of a reformulated and accurate version of the student's preceding attempt, but he does not provide a metalinguistic explanation of it (i.e. 'cause' is a noun and 'because' is a linking word) since he is not a language teacher, thus, he does not provide linguistic clarifications. Nevertheless, this was a successful way of involving students in the process of meaning making and one of the successful techniques to provide students with their speaking turn, avoiding so a completely monologic lecture.

31) L1: It is very common to listen on the news, or to read on the newspaper or to hear people say, since I take this pills I feel better, since I gave up smoking I feel better, the reduction in the unemployment rate is due to new labor legislation, etc, etc, etc (.) You can rephrase these sentences or better, can you rephrase these sentences using the word cause? who dares to rephrase these sentences?

S1: I'm feeling better because I took these pills

L1: **But you haven't said cause** @ @ @ ok, you have rephrased ok, that's right, but you haven't said cause

S1: oh I said because, or e:h

L1: cause

S1: <1>the cause </1>

L1: <1> or sorry, sorry </1> not because, the cause

S1: Ok, the cause only I'm feeling better is because I take these pills

L1: It's because I take these pills (.) The cause I'm feeling better is because I gave up smoking (.) the cause of the reduction in the unemployment is the new legislation or the cause of the reduction in unemployment is the seasonality

The occurrences of this strategy in the corpus show that lecturers most of the times correct their students for the sake of accuracy as knowledge-guiders when students face difficulties in the use of the language. The repair move is carried out with the purpose of assisting the interlocutor (i.e., the student) when he/she has difficulties and, yet, it is done as unobtrusively as possible, thus, reinforcing the collaborative and supportive nature of what is also an ELF interaction. In sum, the main functions of this strategy in the present corpus are the following:

OTHER-REPAIR

- 1) To assist the interlocutor(s) in gaining accuracy in the language used.
- 2) To negotiate acceptable usage of the language.
- 3) To 'model' the correct use of the language (e.g., specialised terms/formulations).
- 4) To allow incidental language learning.

4.4.3. Multilingual resources

'Multilingual resources' is one of the most relevant categories of pragmatic strategies in this study. This category is referred to as "multilingual resources" because, in addition to English, Spanish is also used by the participants since the lecturers tend to code-switch or translate things literally from one code to the other to create and negotiate meaning in interaction. Therefore, as Table 4.8 shows, two types of strategies are comprised in this category: *code-switching* and *literal translation*. These two strategies represent a 10.7% (79 occurrences) of the total number of occurrences deployed by the participants in these EMI sessions. *Code-switching* is more frequent, with 59 occurrences, whereas *literal translation* amounts to 20 occurrences in total.

Macro-categories	Pragmatic strategies		Occurrences	%
Multilingual resources	Code switching	59	79	10.7%
	Literal translation	20		

Table 4.8. Multilingual resources.

As has been discussed in the preceding chapters, previous research has paid attention to the strategic interaction in which ELF speakers make use of their multilingual resources in different ways and for various purposes. These strategies are a vital part of the discourse practices of ELF conversations in which interlocutors share their non-nativeness and they tend to exploit all their resources in communication and meaning construction. Cogo (2009) pointed out that ELF speakers draw on their multilingual resources by switching into their own first languages as well as into the languages of their interlocutors and even into the languages that are not the mother tongue of any participant in the interaction. Speakers exploit their non-nativeness drawing on convergent accommodation strategies which imply drawing on their shared repertoire (Cogo, 2009, 2010) such as overt code-switching moves, covert transfer phenomena or the use of cognates (Hülmbauer, 2009; Vettorel, 2014). These strategies may be interpreted in ENL terms as deviance from codified norms or ineffective communication. However, ELF research considers them as the result of the speakers bringing into the communicative act practices from their L1, or from other languages in their repertoires to improve communication effectiveness (Hülmbauer, 2007: 12). This is to say, although in in SLA and ELT there is a negative attitude towards cross-lingual phenomena,

this is not the case in ELF research. From the ELF point of view, cross-lingual phenomena are rather seen as communicative resources (Firth & Wagner, 1997: 762). Consequently, multilingual resources are natural elements in ELF settings, since they are prompted (and supported) by the linguacultural backgrounds of the participants taking part in the interactions.

Lecturers in this Spanish context make use of their multilingual resources to convey their messages more effectively during lectures. They are aware of their condition of ELF speakers and make use of their own L1 as an effective interactional mechanism. *Codeswitching* has been frequently found in formal and informal ELF conversations (Cogo, 2009), business meetings (Pitzl, 2005) or as part of the virtual speech community in informal blogs (Vettorel, 2014; Luzón, 2016). However, the high frequency of occurrences of multilingual resources in the lectures analysed is more than expected if we take into account previous studies in different university contexts where no *code-switching* or *literal translation* was found (Björkman, 2011a; Smit, 2010), or where the incidence reported was lower (Gotti, 2014). Therefore, the use of Spanish in these lectures is a distinctive feature, resulting from the situational context of the ELF interactions analysed for this study. Yet, the number of occurrences found in each of the corpora is not equal. More occurrences of these two strategies are found in the bachelor's degree (68) than in the master's degree (11).

There may be several reasons for this difference in the frequency of occurrences of this strategy in the two sub-corpora. First, the bachelor's degree may require more negotiation of meaning to overcome the diverse first-language backgrounds of the participants and their varying levels of English proficiency, as acknowledged by the lecturers during the interviews. Secondly, the lecturers' attitudes towards the change in the vehicular language were different. The data from the interviews show that the master's degree lecturer was more reluctant to use Spanish during EMI lectures than the lecturers in the bachelor's degree. Thirdly, the frequent alternation of English and Spanish in the BAM degree lectures is also due to the fact that most of the materials in this degree were adapted by the same lecturers from the materials they use in their Spanish-medium classes. This characteristic feature of the BAM degree makes it relevant to analyse how the languages in the lectures and the written materials interacted and to what extent language alternation in those materials was used as a pragmatic strategy to facilitate comprehension. Section 4.4.3.1 reveals the intertextual relations between the recorded lectures and the PowerPoint presentation slides created by the same lecturers to serve as auxiliary material for the lecture development.

The participants' use of their multilingual resources reveals that, although English is unequivocally the vehicular language or the lingua franca in both degrees, Spanish, that is, the L1 of the majority of the participants, is also present and used as a pragmatic resource in the context under analysis. The next sections will explore the purposes and functions of these two strategies in the present EMI settings and different excerpts extracted from the corpus will illustrate the particular context-dependent uses of each of them.

4.4.3.1. Code-switching

Code-switching constitutes an integral part of the oral discourse practices of ELF (Klimpfinguer, 2009: 367). It can be broadly defined as "the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two [or more] languages" in the same conversation (Bullock & Toribio, 2009: 1). It is employed in ELF research as an inclusive umbrella term to include different code-mixing, borrowing and code-switching phenomena (Klimpfinguer, 2007, 2009; Cogo, 2009, 2011). The ELF paradigm approaches code-switching and code-mixing as multilinguals' pragmatic strategies, while English as a foreign language (EFL) perceives them as evidence of gaps in knowledge. From an ELF perspective, non-native speakers are by no means the "failed" native speakers of EFL; on the contrary, proficient ELF users emerge from the research as skilled communicators. They innovate in English, making full use of their multilingual resources to create their own preferred forms (Jenkins, 2011).

Code-switching is closely related to the process of 'translaguaging', a concept used to refer to "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García, 2009: 45). As Velasco & García (2014: 8) explain, 'translanguaging' is related to and includes translations and code-switching, but these concepts presuppose alternation of two languages or codes as separate entities. Translanguaging goes further, because it assumes that bilinguals have only one complex linguistic repertoire from which they select features that are socioculturally appropriate from the strongest language to develop the weakest one, and in this way, it implies a deep understanding of meaning and can result in increased proficiency in the two languages (Lewis et al., 2012).

The current study is in line with previous ELF research which approaches *code-switching* from a sociolinguistic interactional approach, regarding it as part of the pragmatic and strategic behaviour of the participants, looking at its social dynamics at the micro level of the language choices the speakers make during their EMI discourse, the functions it performs in communication and how meaning is generated and co-constructed (Klimpfinger, 2007, 2009; Cogo, 2009, 2011; Vettorel, 2014). The results of the analysis show that what participants do in this corpus is, in fact, to alternate between the English language (the medium of instruction) and their mother tongue (Spanish) as a means to achieve locally meaningful understanding among the participants in interaction (Auer, 1999: 309-312). In this sense, this research understands *code-switching* as an additional tool that multilingual speakers have at their disposal, enabling them to achieve various conversational goals such as to signal culture and multilingual identity, to keep one's flow or to appeal for assistance (Klimpfinger, 2009).

Particularly, *code-switching* is a frequent communicative strategy in this corpus, since a total number of 59 occurrences (8%) have been found. This is a quantitative relevant result when compared with other EMI teaching-learning scenarios in different countries where oral speech has been analysed and no *code-switching* was present (Björkman, 2011b; Smit, 2010). Yet it is not a systematic *code-switching* between the participants' L1 and L2, or as previous research has coined a 'simultaneous parallel code use' in which "the choice of the language depends on what is deemed most appropriate and efficient in a specific situation" (Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use 2014) and it is neither used by all the lecturers (it was used by 4 of the 6 participants). In other words, there are not long stretches of *code-switching* in this corpus, it only involves isolated words. *Code-switching* in the data analysed for this study is used as another scaffolding device to negotiate meaning and to support the lecturer-student's process of successful communication (and learning).

As the lecturers participating in the study stated during the interviews, they tend to strictly use the English language during these EMI sessions, which is the vehicular language for communication and instruction. Nonetheless, particularly the BAM degree lecturers recognise that they have no problem to code-switch to Spanish if they feel that this could be the way of ensuring understanding, and therefore learning. This positive attitude towards switching the language of instruction is reflected on the quantitative data, since *code-switching* is used in all the lectures recorded in the BAM degree. This can be accounted for the high number of Spanish students who share their L1 with the teachers and the lecturers'

assumption that the international students, even if they are not native Spanish, do have certain knowledge of the language, since the faculty itself establishes it as a requirement to study subjects in English integrated in the BAM degree²¹.

One of the lecturers argued that he prefers to code-switch during an explanation or translate a term if that helps most of the class understand the idea, since most of the students in the class have Spanish as their L1 and he knows that it is a shared language/resource which is very likely to help in the communicative process²².

L1: Of course, I am aware that I have to give the class to everyone and that I cannot say, there are 10% who will not get the gist of the lesson because they do not speak Spanish, no...no. I have to do something, but let's say I consider this an extra...an extra that will help them, but I have not stopped explaining something in English just because I code-switched at a particular moment, I think. Of course, the students who do not master Spanish can miss this explanatory reinforcement. But most of them understand it. At least I make sure that most of the class understands the idea. At least if the Titanic is sinking, at least we are going to save 90% of the passage, right? and if 10% sinks bad luck, right? I prefer that 90% of the students saved to no one and, still, I don't think they'd drown.

This demonstrates the teacher's awareness of the context. The teacher is aware of the fact that he cannot use code-switching to provide complete explanations, but he can use code-switching to reinforce explanations previously provided in English since most of the students are Spanish. In other words, code-switching is not used as an independent strategy, but as a strategy to supplement others (e.g., reformulation).

Focusing on the master's degree, *code-switching* is only used in two of the four recorded lectures, this is, used by only one lecturer. As opposed to the BAM degree lecturers, the master's degree lecturer who was interviewed and who actually made no use of other languages during his lesson considered that *code-switching* to Spanish without the permission of the non-Spanish speakers is an impolite act in any kind of interaction where

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²¹ See page 9. 5.1 Requisitos lingüísticos en la Universidad de Zaragoza (UZ) https://econz.unizar.es/sites/econz.unizar.es/files/users/movilidad/spanishguide1718.pdf

²² All the semi-structured interviews with the lecturers participating in this study were carried out in Spanish, but for the purpose of supporting and triangulating the results along this chapter some relevant fragments have been translated into English.

there are participants that are not going to understand the information provided in a language other than the shared one. He considered that *code-switching* should never be a systematic pragmatic behaviour to solve any kind of miscommunication issue and stated that he would deploy the last resource possible until no other pragmatic strategy could be used but *code-switching*. Since, as a matter of fact, it is usual for the lecturers in the master's degree to have a great number of students from different countries and different first languages, they have rather more interiorised the use of English as a medium of instruction. Besides the master's degree lecturer also argued that there is no point in codeswitching since in his field of work English is the language par excellence, and so he recognised that it is much easier to speak in English in these subjects than in Spanish. Yet, his response during the interview shows that he does not take into account that Spanish is also a lingua franca for these students as they live in Spain. In other words, he does not consider that Spanish is also part of the students' multilingual resources.

L5: English is the language that homogenises Science and therefore, it comes more naturally to me to explain through the medium of English.

As can be observed in the examples below and in line with the findings in previous research (Hülmbauer, 2007; Klimpfinguer, 2007, 2009; Rogerson-Revel, 2008; Cogo, 2009, 2011), code-switching is an additional tool that these multilingual speakers have at their disposal, enabling them to achieve various conversational goals in communication including to appeal for assistance, to introduce another idea, to fill gaps in ELF speakers' linguistic knowledge, to negotiate meaning, to signal cultural identity and often it serves more than one function at the same time. Besides, what distinguishes this strategy from the others studied in this research is that this strategy provides nuances of expression that would be unavailable only using the English language and, therefore, it enriches the message conveyed. In addition, it serves to construct solidarity and group cohesion (Cogo, 2009) signalling membership of the same multilingual ELF community, projecting their social and cultural identities and providing nuances of acceptance.

As pointed above, there are several factors that lead the lecturers to code-switch during their explanations. Firstly, the fact that the BAM degree is taught simultaneously by the same lecturers in a Spanish-medium group has an impact on the language they use in the English-

medium group, particularly, but not exclusively, when it comes to discipline-specific vocabulary. In other words, some of the words that lecturers use in the Spanish-medium group are also used in the English-medium group. For instance, in Excerpt 32 the lecturer is explaining the way to ask questions in a Marketing research questionnaire. He mentioned the words used to refer to 'gender' in Spanish to illustrate his point and he lists these words.

32) L2: Questions? This is just a reminder of Unit 6. Be careful when asking about, for example, gender. You have to use very concrete words, very un-ambiguous words. In Spanish, we have all these kinds of questions to ask about gender, you can say <L1sp> hombre, mujer, varón, hembra, femenina, masculino, varón, mujer </L1sp>. Sometimes people confuse these kinds of terms so why not just put <L1sp> hombre, mujer </L1sp> or male, female for gender.

This type of *code-switching* is a win-win pragmatic strategy firstly because lecturers feel comfortable with the Spanish terminology with which they are rather more used to working with, and secondly, because in general terms their audience shares that vocabulary, since most of them are Spanish speakers. Therefore, he uses both languages so that the students know the correct terminology both in English and in Spanish. Nonetheless, afterwards he also uses the English terms, as this lecturer made it clear during the interview that he is aware that not every student present in the class masters the Spanish language (13% of the students present in the class were not Spanish, but international students) and so he is aware that this strategy is not enough to scaffold meaning.

This use of both languages simultaneously is also reflected in Excerpt 33 in which the lecturer uses a Spanish term and he translates it into English, establishing his own version of the translation. He even acknowledges the fact that lecturers in the BAM degree have to replicate the Spanish contents into English. Most probably this lecturer uses the Spanish term to help the students remember and understand the concept and because he probably thinks that in this context it is also important that they learn such specific terminology in Spanish.

33) L2: You have already seen projecting tech (2) projective techniques ok? in order to know the subconscious of consumers (.) the hidden attitudes ok? (.) the intrinsic motivations of certain behavior and then we have this kind of objective task performance technique or <L1sp>Técnica del desempeño de la tarea objetiva</L1sp> (.) Why I put the translation? because I didn't find it e:h in English ok? But as we have to exactly replicate the Spanish contents into English I had to put this ok? But (.) well (.) this kind of technique is when for example (.) we ask some consumers to recall an event.

Equally, it seems unavoidable for the lecturers in this Spanish-speaking context to use Spanish terms which refer to Spanish national concepts such as education institutions. As Mauranen (2006a: 143) pointed out in a previous study, "it is virtually impossible to separate academic culture from local culture". This is illustrated in *Excerpt 34* in which Spanish terms such as "Primaria, "E.SO.", "FP" and "Bachiller" happen to be part of an example used as part of an explanation. It seems that among primarily Spanish native speakers it is more natural to use the Spanish terms rather than translating them into English since meaningmaking is completely ensured as most of the participants share the language and the linguacultural referents. Additionally, the terminology employed in this excerpt concerning the Spanish education system does not have a one-to-one correspondence with English-native referential translations.

34) L1: This time we have a school ok? there is the possibility to expand the area, devote is to sport activities and we need to know the opinion of students, ok? and we develop a paper-based questionnaire aah it's handed handed it, hand it in to the students in order for them to give them back the following week, so imagine that I hand out the questionnaires and I ask you to return me next week, but we know that not everyone will follow back, will return the questionnaire, to to solve this problem the researchers apply the Police & Simon's solution, ok? we have these four groups <L1sp> Primaria, ESO, FP </L1sp> and <L1sp> Bachiller </L1sp> we have the percentage of students and then we have the probability of answering the questionnaire, so aah it's not in the questionnaire but imagine that we need 100 questionnaires.

Participants also change their code when they are talking about something they feel close to in an affective way, or something that is common in their daily lives as in Excerpt 35

('faculty'). They also change their code unconsciously when they are talking about something related exclusively with the Spanish and local culture, as in Excerpt 36 ('fiestas del Pilar') in thus signaling their own cultural and multilingual identity (Klimpfinger, 2009).

35) L1: So, it's much easier to read this graph, it's much more easier, because the more to the left is my library the better, the more to the rig- to the right the worse, ok? So, my aim, the aim of my library is to go (.) to stay as close to the left as possible and for example the library of ehh <L1sp> facultad </L1sp> is the less comfortable.

36) L1: But for example (.) sh- should we offer this wine <LNfr> Château </LNfr> glamorous in this cup, glass shiny and this in a typical plastic glass of <L1sp> **fiestas del Pilar** </L1sp>? what should we do? Different glasses or the same glasses?

Moreover, a different lecturer said that Spanish is also used when the lecturer is explaining or arguing something, which was not prepared for the purpose of that particular lesson, namely terminology or exemplification that was not prepared in advance (i.e., a gap in the language), in order to keep one's flow or to appeal for assistance. In fact, in the present corpus *code-switching* and *literal translation* are mainly used during lecturers' digressions when dealing with side-topics under the need of explicitness or economy in their discourse.

This is the case in Excerpt 37, which shows how a lecturer verbalised a lexical gap in the course of his speech. The lecturer was explaining the concept of 'pressure groups', an important factor in the Marketing competition and he provided different examples, some of them apparently improvised in the course of the argumentation. This digression leads the lecturer to get the help of the students in order to recall the translation of the word 'tarifa' into English ('fare'), which he immediately integrates into his discourse. The speaker relies on the interlocutors' linguistic repertories as well as on the certainty that a paraphrasing strategy ("a price, a package, you see a product for people that don't have much money") for it will ensure shared meaning. Therefore, the lecturer is appealing for help in the shape of a *code-switching* since he is trying to retrieve the correct translation from Spanish to English and in doing so he defines the term to make himself understood and to prompt listeners to

co-create shared meaning. In the end, *code-switching* is used in this case to ensure conversational fluency (Prodromou, 2008).

37) L2: But people argue against these companies and they got that the price was not so highly increased. So a medium. Okay? And they also launch a a <L1sp> tarifa </L1sp>, how do you say <L1sp> tarifa </L1sp>?, a price, a package, you see a product for people that don't have much money. Right? So, how is <L1de> tarifa </L1sp> by the way? <L1sp> tarifa </L1sp> in English?

S3: **The fare**, meaning something...

L2: **Ah the fare. Of course, the fare, the price anyway**. Okay, the price of the electricity. The fare, very good.

This excerpt clearly exemplifies how ELF interactants co-construct meaning when one of them requires it, even if the boundaries between lecturers' role and students' role are clearly delimited. The interesting aspect of these results is the fact that when lecturers need to fill in a linguistic gap, they do not tend to use their creativity by means of coining words as previous research on lingua franca interactions has shown (e.g., Pitzl, 2005, 2010). They use codeswitching to make sure that meaning is correctly conveyed.

Code-switching is also triggered in this corpus by the classroom materials that lecturers use in order to scaffold students' knowledge. As stated above, more occurrences of code-switching have been found in the BAM degree as a result of the use of some lecturing materials that the same lecturers also used to teach the same subject to a Spanish-medium taught group. Therefore, the use of code-switching is also determined by the language used in the various genres employed in the classroom. This includes some of the slides of the PowerPoint presentations that the lecturers projected for lecturing simplification or some printed materials that the lecturers shared with the students.

First, the use of the Spanish language on the written classroom handouts may lead the lectures to verbalise those contents in Spanish even if English is the vehicular language for instruction. That is, the language on the materials which support the lecturing practice has an impact on the lecturing language used. This mainly happens when the lecturer reads something written in Spanish when providing examples or presenting exercises. Surprisingly, the lecturer does not translate the written content into English after reading it

in Spanish, but he just reads the content in the language in which it is written and then moves back to English, as can be observed in Excerpts 38, 39 and 40.

38) L2: we ask at the point of sale (2) eeh identification data, there is identification data, you can see here at the top of the page there is <L1sp> cuestionario número, día, hora </L1sp> Ok? so this is the code that the interviewers have to use, need to use in order to identify eh which questionnaire they are dealing with ok?

39) L2: Control questions, there are also control questions, questions 2 and 3, <L1sp> ¿Cuáles cuáles son las razones principales por las que compra en KIABI? </L1sp> and <L1sp> ¿Cuál es la razón principal por la que ha venido a comprar hoy? </L1sp> so they are giving us reasons for coming to the to the establishment and then in question 18 (2) are you satisfied no, sorry, (3) 8 sorry question 8, I wa:s <L1sp> valore de 1 a 5 siendo 1 la peor nota y 5 la mejor la siguientes facetas respecto al estrablecimiento </L1sp>.

40) L2: mmh mmh handed at home well the truth is that we don't really know what kind of service this is because we don't have all the information aah we can assume that this is a traditional mail questionnaire, which can be embedded in the magazine because in the introduction we read that they are addressing to some managers some executives ok? but they are not asking about eeh ooh how how the participant must return the questionnaire ok? they they say eeh <L1sp> Le rogamos que conteste a las preguntas y nos devuelva debidamente rellenado el cuestionario que aparece a continuación </L1sp> how do I return the questionnaire?, I don't have the information here, so perhaps this is not the best way of giving instruction for giving for completing the questionnaire.

This *code-switching* strategic behaviour happens as well as a result of watching audio-visual materials in class. Excerpt 41 shows how the lecturer is commenting on a YouTube video in

Spanish about a social experiment concerning children's social behaviour and he reproduces the same words that are said in the video, using, therefore, the Spanish language.

41) L1: have you realise at the beginning e:h the the men, the old, the adults that are organising everything, ok? <L1sp> **me voy un momento y os dejo solos, ahora vengo** </L1sp> It's a trick I mean you never leave alone kids, more indeed if they are 4 years old, so in order that they are quiet and they behave without the influence of an adult we must leave them alone.

The most interesting aspect to comment about Excerpts 38, 39, 40 and 41 is the fact that the lecturers switch code to Spanish language without apparently being in need of deploying any pragmatic strategy, but they show that changing code to their L1 could pose no problem in the communicative act. Hence, the switch into Spanish is used to display the participants' membership to the same lingua-cultural community of speakers or, in Cogo's words, it is aimed at creating in-group solidarity (Cogo, 2011: 119), "accommodating" to certain shared variants in the local context.

Finally, the analysis shows the lecturers also use their multilingual resources in the presentation slides dataset. The analysis has revealed the presence of various languages, primarily English, but also Spanish. The dataset of PowerPoint slides was used to examine how code-switching is also used in slides as a strategy to facilitate understanding and the teaching-learning task in the particular EMI settings. Previous studies have brought to light the usefulness of combining multilingual and multimodal communicative resources in academic contexts (He et al., 2016: 44). This is reflected in the analysis of the PowerPoint presentations datasets in this research, which reveal that, although most of the slides in the presentations are written in English, some materials have been re-used from the slides used in the classes of the Spanish-medium groups. This written *code-switching* is even more latent in the BAM degree slides since, as already pointed out, parallel lecturing sessions of the same subjects are provided to the Spanish-medium group and to the English-medium group by the same lecturers.

The lecturers were asked during the semi-structured interviews about the inclusion of some of the materials in Spanish in the presentations used in their EMI lessons. This was the fourth question included in the first part of the interview (*How do you think the contents in*

Spanish fit into an EMI class?). They answered that they just forgot to eliminate or translate those slides written in Spanish into English. However, they also affirmed that they just included some of them purposefully since they were representative and clear enough to be understood by both the local and the international students. In some cases, contents in Spanish were graphs or brief explanations in Spanish in which the language was not considered an obstacle by the lecturers, since they believed that their international students would be able to follow the explanation attached to that contents even if they did not master the Spanish language. This undeniably denotes that the use of other languages different from English during the lessons is not a problem, as far as they assume that students will be able to follow the explanations provided through those written materials. The analysis has discovered different types of interactions between languages in the presentations:

- Slides written in Spanish in presentations were the rest of the slides are written in English
- Slides written in English with hidden notes in Spanish
- Slides written in languages different from English and Spanish.

Firstly, the analysis of the different PowerPoint presentations shows that the Spanish language is present on several slides, but it is not mirrored on the lecturer's verbalisation of that content. Some lecturers just keep their flow in English, even while showing and referring to the Spanish-written contents, translating them or just dodging the Spanish code in that particular slide. Examples of this can be observed in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2. In the example in figure 4.1, the lecturer includes different slides in Spanish concerning the definitions of three specific marketing-related terms which are 'validity', 'reliability' and 'security' which correspond to the Spanish terms 'validez', 'fiabilidad' and 'capacidad'. The figure also includes a Spanish-written slide concerning an example of a weist-measuring procedure that the lecturers comment on in English to provide exemplification, as can be seen in Excerpt 42.

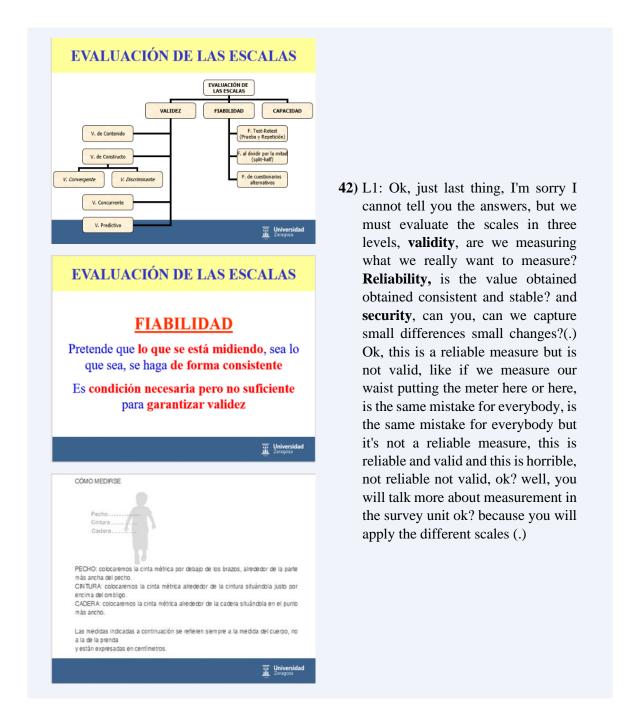


Figure 4.1. BAM Degree. Marketing research. Topic: Measurement.

The same kind of linguistic relation between an explanation provided in English while the slide projected is in Spanish can be observed in Figure 4.2. In this case both the transcribed fragment and the slides belong to the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials. As can be observed in the transcribed speech the lecturer is explaining the uses of "Magnetic nanoparticles". Both the written explanation and the graph that followed it are in Spanish while the explanation provided by the lecturer is entirely in English (See Excerpt 43).

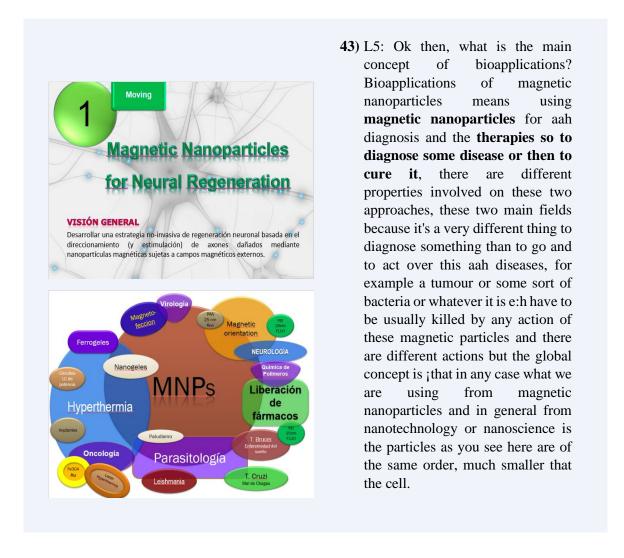


Figure 4.2. MSc in Nanostructured Materials: Topic: Magnetic Nanoparticles.

The relevant aspect about these two examples is the fact the lecturers do not refer to the fact that the slides are written in Spanish and not in English, which is the vehicular language in that course. Therefore, presumably they are assuming that most of the students understand the terminology in Spanish and they are able to relate the examples they are providing in English to exemplification they are, at the same time, projecting in the associated slides.

However, it has been observed that the use of Spanish in this kind of written material is accepted as normal by some lecturers but avoided by others. For instance, a lecturer teaching in the BAM degree seems to feel comfortable with the combination of the two languages and he even remarked the inclusion of some Spanish-written contents on the slides in the flow of the corresponding explanations about "likert scales" (See Figure 4.3) in English. As this BAM degree lecturer argued during the interview, the presence of some contents in Spanish in some of the slides was a matter of reusing the materials both for the

Spanish-medium group and the English-medium one. This lecturer acknowledged just forgetting to change or translate that slide into English, yet he confirmed that it posed no problem since students could follow the explanations despite the code-mixing in the oral and written genres.

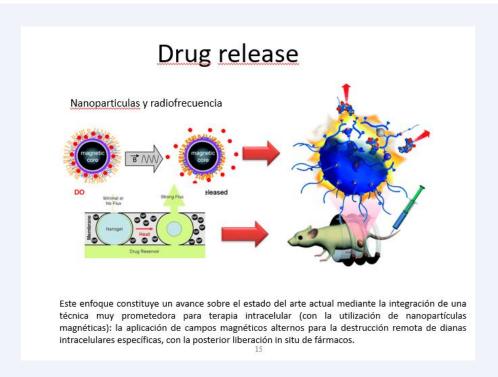


44) L1: Two advanced methods, there are many advanced methods from itemised rating scales, the first is Likert scales, I want to I want to measure the agreement disagreement with some statements related certain stimulus, a:m I think you have the example in **Spanish** here in the slides.

I want to know you attitude, your opinion about the use of the bicycle as the vehicle to to school to the faculty, ok? so, I ask you to tell me your level of agreement or disagreement, completely agree, agree, not agree nor disagree, disagree, completely disagree with the following statements, if you see e:h there are: I've written just opinions about the use of the bicycle maybe you agree with me, maybe you disagree with me, maybe I disagree with those statements ok?

Figure 4.3. BAM Degree. Marketing research. Topic: Measurement.

Yet, a different lecturer teaching in the master's degree had a different reaction when he realised the use of the Spanish language in a particular slide. He apologised amid an explanation for not having translated that content into English as can be seen in Figure 4.4 and Excerpt 45, since, as he mentioned during the interview, he assumes that there are students present in the classroom who do not understand Spanish and he argued that it should have been written in English. This lecturer recognised in the interview that leaving a slide in Spanish was just an oversight, but he also recognised some of the contents in his Master's subject are similar to other subjects he teaches or has taught and he might reuse those slides if considered comprehensible enough.



45) L6: All the fields the in one way or another are overlapping around the magnetic nanoparticles 13:00 which is biology you can see here parasitology, e:h sorry this is in Spanish e:h I I forgot. This is drug drug release as you see here, this is polymer chemistry also aah let's say that every application that you can see here is related with one property of this magnetic moment, in front or related with the external constant or alternate magnetic fields, ok? and note that this is just one kind of magnetic particle, we have very different kinds of magnetic particles, we have (ceramic) particles, we have polymeric particles, we have metal particles and each one of these particle have a very broad e:h field of application, so let's go to the first application.

Figure 4.4. MSc in Nanostructured Materials: Topic: Magnetic Nanoparticles.

What is remarkable from all these excerpts is the fact that no comprehension problem was detected since a general let-it-pass attitude is found due to the fact that most of the students present in the lessons recorded either have Spanish as their L1 or are able to understand the lesson without asking for clarification or translation of the written or oral codeswitching used by the lecturers.

Regarding the lecturers' notes for the explanation of each of the slides, one would expect them to be written in the same language as the slides. In fact, this is the case of most of the notes included in the presentations collected; most of the PowerPoint slides and their corresponding notes are written in English as it is the vehicular language in both programs. Yet the notes of some slides are, surprisingly, written in Spanish (the L1 of the lecturers) in

both programs. Figures 4.5 and 4.6 are just an example of some of these notes. Figure 4.5 shows a slide from a PowerPoint presentation collected in the subject Introduction to Marketing Research in the BAM degree and Figure 4.6 has been taken from a PowerPoint presentation collected in the subject Fundamental Properties of Nanostructured Materials in the master's degree.

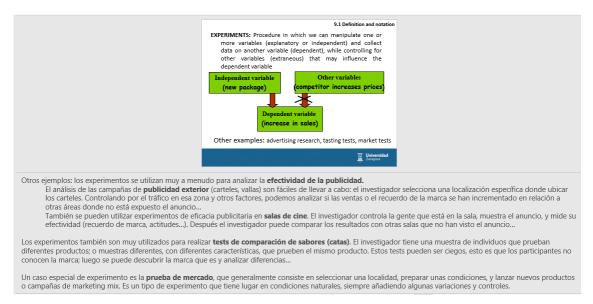


Figure 4.5. MSc in Nanostructured Materials. Slide contents in English and notes in Spanish.

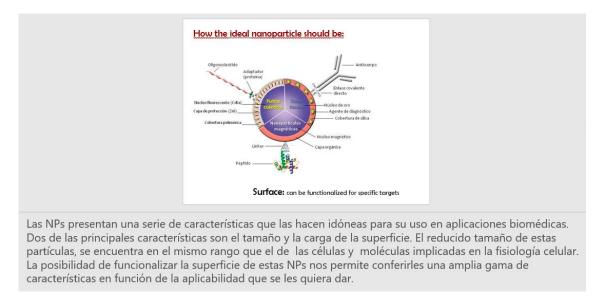


Figure 4.6. BAM degree. Slide contents in English and notes in Spanish.

For these lecturers, the most common medium for instruction is Spanish and all of them have more expertise teaching in that language than through English. They are used to teaching in their L1, since it is the common and institutional language of the university in which they develop their teaching career. Most probably these lecturers have taught these contents many

times in the same or similar subjects in Spanish. It is not surprising that lecturers re-use the same slides and explanations if they are to teach the same kind of contents and that may be one of the reasons for the inclusion of these notes and slides in Spanish. However, it is also possible that, as Spanish L1 speakers, they tend to work in Spanish and the preparation of the lessons and their corresponding notes are carried out in that language since at that very moment they are not involved in English-medium scenarios but their vehicular language is Spanish. In other words, the vehicular language inside de classroom should be English, but the language outside the classroom is Spanish, as the lecturers argued during the interviews, because they live, work and socialise in a Spanish-medium context.

Finally, English and Spanish are not the only languages occurring in this supporting genre. Portuguese is also present in one of the PowerPoints presented in the master's sessions. The contents, including both the graphs and the footnotes, are in Portuguese (see Figure 4.7). The lecturer that included that slide recognised that it was part of the teaching material that he used when he was living and working in Brazil for 10 years. Yet, no codeswitching instance to the Portuguese language was found associated to the verbalisation of these slides during the lecturer's speech transcript. Therefore, even if a different language (Portuguese) from the in-class vehicular language (English) and the out-class vehicular language (Spanish) is present in this corpus, this fact did not result in comprehensibility problems, mostly because it is a slide composed by highly visual graphs which help comprehension.

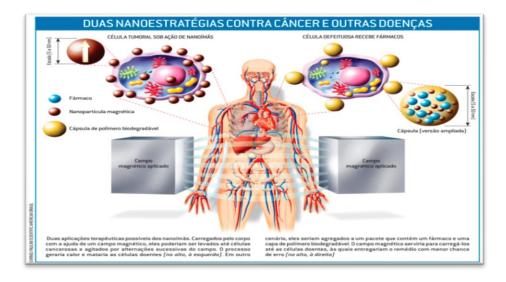


Figure 4.7. MSc in Nanostructured Materials. Slide contents in Portuguese.

Results shed light on the impact that the language/languages used in the PowerPoint slides have on the language choices lectures made for their instructional speech. The joint analysis of the different transcribed excerpts and the slides has shown that not only English is used by the lecturers participating in this study, but their L1 has also a prominent role in their classroom discourse. It has been observed that lecturers make use of all the resources available to convey meaning both in their oral and written discourse and code-switching is one of them. The use of the lecturers' L1 in particular written slides generated some straightforward oral switch from English to Spanish when using them as a visual reference for the oral discourse construction, although it was not common among all the lecturers. This code-switching strategy apparently caused no miscommunication or non-understanding problems to the students, who were the audience at whom those slides and simultaneous explanations were addressed.

Lecturers at this university usually teach in Spanish, except for the subjects in which the data were collected (EMI programs). It is not surprising that in a Spanish speaking context Spanish is used as a fall-back language and even more if it is the L1 of all the lecturers participating in this study. Yet, what all the above excerpts have in common is the let-it-pass attitude of the students (either national or international) who did not ask for a translation into English or asked for clarification. What is more, there is a general understanding atmosphere in which both students and lecturer seem to feel comfortable with the *code-switching* strategy. This has to do with the fact that the lectures that have been analysed are undeniably taking place in a rather monolingual context (a Spanish university), despite the presence of international students. Therefore, even though English is the medium of instruction in this academic context, both lecturers and most of the students command and share the Spanish language. Hence, lecturers use Spanish as part of their multilingual resources to make themselves understood in the EMI classroom.

Therefore, *code-switching* seems to be an efficient and time-saving strategy which is useful in a rather monolingual context. By means of code-switching lecturers overcome their linguistic/content difficulties with relevant items of vocabulary in their L1, request the student's alignment in face of them and at the same time ensure interlocutors' understanding. Following Auer (1998a, 1998b, 2011), in this particular context code-switching is seen as a contextualisation cue for the participants' social identity to emerge and at the same time as an organisational we-code aimed at creating in-group solidarity (Cogo, 2011:119). As Hyland (2002a: 1091) states, "academic writing is not just about conveying an ideational

'content', it is also about the representation of self'. In this case, the academic practice of the lecturers code-switching between their L1 and their vehicular language for instruction in different genres (oral and written), i.e., the inclusion of other languages in their presentations, reveals their view of languages as vehicles to achieve communicative purposes, and therefore the intrinsic ELF character of these lectures. It has been shown that in these particular academic settings bi/multilingualism at small scale has become a resource rather than a problem, as Jenkins (2015) puts it. *Code-switching* is therefore used to achieve successful communication and local accommodation, providing an alignment component among lecturers and students. Therefore, the main functions of *code-switching* in this corpus are the following:

CODE-SWITCHING

- 1) To scaffold concepts when supporting the student's learning.
- 2) To ensure interlocutors' understanding.
- 3) To keep the lecturers' flow.
- 4) To create in-group solidarity.
- 5) To provide an alignment component among lecturers and students.
- 6) To signal culture and multilingual identity.

4.4.3.2. Literal translation

Literal translation is the second type of multilingual resource that participants in the recording have used. It implies translating literally a lexical item, an idiom or a structure from the vehicular language to the L1 and vice versa. In this particular study it involves Spanish and English as the main codes. This strategy occurs only 20 times in the whole corpus, which represent only 2.7% of the total amount of occurrences found. Nevertheless, these occurrences are worth exploring and illustrating. As Cogo has observed in previous studies (2009, 2010), ELF speakers perform sophisticated strategic behaviour to enhance understanding, create supportive and cooperative communication and display community membership in discourse, and these are precisely the functions of this strategy in this study.

In the present corpus, the participants' awareness of their use of culturally sensitive expression motivates the pre-empting strategy of *translation*, which is usually combined with other strategies such as *defining*, both intended to avoid non-understanding. Effective interactional work is carried out by means of the combinations of these strategies in a supportive manner, so that meaning is explored, clarified and eventually understanding is

promoted. Most of the times the translated elements are relevant items of vocabulary which tend to be disciplinary-related terms or vocabulary which arises when the lecturers are providing examples. There are also humour expressions that get translated by the lecturers, since they are aware that they can be misunderstood and, therefore, attention has to be paid to them. They are all instances which mostly involve single words (function words) or short idiomatic phrases, which are easily employed in the lecturers' speech without apparently causing problems of intelligibility, but in order to prevent these problems, as previous studies have observed (Klimpfinger, 2007), lecturers use more than one language to establish successful interactions.

In Excerpts 46 and 47 lecturers translate specific terminology from the different subjects such as 'outlayer/valor expremo o extraño', 'fractionation/fraccionamiento', and 'optical tweezers/pinzas ópticas'. In all the excerpts lecturers mention the concept in English and then they translate them into Spanish and they even comment on the accuracy of the translation of those terms (e.g., Excerpt 46). Excerpt 46 is particularly interesting since actually in Spanish and English the same term is used, the English term. Hence, he does not translate it so that they learn the term in English, but to explain its meaning.

- 46) L2: I'm losing information but most of the people moves from here to here you are the only outlayers ok? Do you understand 'outlayer'? Have you ever used (.)? Ah well sorry you always speak English @@ in econometrics we also use the word outlayer, ok? For an extreme value, in a series an extreme value is an outlayer, in English and in Spanish ok? In Spanish, we can also say <L1sp> un valor extremo, un valor extraño </L1sp> but we usually say <L1sp> un outlayer <L1sp> ok?
- 47) L5: There are two main techniques that can be used for single molecule study in biology, one is the is the AFM, Atomic force Microscopy that you probably are familiar with, because eeh this is a technique that is used in the institute of nanoscience here in Zaragoza. There are several instruments able to measure this, and the second is called **optical** tweezers <L1sp> pinzas ópticas </L1sp> tweezers in case you don't know the translation of that <L1sp> pinzas ópticas </L1sp> These are, this is a technique that it is not ee:h available here in Zaragoza.

These excerpts shed light on the linguistic difficulties that EMI may pose both to the lecturers and the students involved. From the EMI perspective these excerpts reveal that lecturers are aware of possible breakdowns in communication due to a lack of shared terminology in English. In face of this, they make use of their shared terminology in Spanish to ensure interlocutors' understanding. Using the L1 of most of the participants can be useful in these cases, especially when approaching a new topic for the first time in the subject. L1 could have a supportive function for meaning making together with the explanation, but could also have a learning function, as it can help to build up lexicon both in English and in the L1and to foster students' metalinguistic awareness (Ball et. al., 2015) or in Gibbons' words, the lecturers can use it to provide the students with opportunities to build on the resources of their mother tongue, using L1 in a strategic way (Gibbons, 2015: 24). This is again a way to save time since lectures are time constrained. From the ELF perspective, it is a way to accommodate linguistic differences and difficulties. Lecturers believe that learning through understanding is the uttermost important objective in any lecture. Therefore, they do not hesitate to ensure understanding by means of their shared multilingual resources if that may help their students in accomplishing that learning task.

Nonetheless, not only subject-related terminology is translated by the lecturers. Different English terms emerging from the lecture materials are also translated when exploring an idea. The lecturers interviewed argued that although they are not language teachers, they just shared their knowledge with their students and they use all their resources to try to clarify concepts and ideas. To illustrate this pragmatic behaviour Excerpt 48 shows how a lecturer teaching Marketing in the Business Administration Degree, translates literally the term in English "AIDS" to the Spanish term "SIDA" while explaining different aspects concerning questionnaires. Similarly, in Excerpt 49 the lecturer translates literally to Spanish the term 'White pages' ('páginas amarillas') since he considers it a relevant example when talking about samples. In Excerpt 50 the lecturer makes sure that his students know the meaning of 'spokes' and he provides the Spanish translation for it, ('radios'). The three translations are made pre-emptively before any student asked for any kind of clarification. In these three examples, *literal translation* is used as a pragmatic strategy in order to ensure interlocutors' understanding and in this context it seems to be a successful strategy by which the lecturer is efficiently conveying meaning and saving time to keep his flow while students are easily processing the information.

- **48**) L3: Then we have the loss of status error or biases, which is very related to the threatening questions, threatening topics, socially desirable topics and undesirable topics. "Do you care about AIDS?" **AIDS** is the English term for <L1sp> SIDA </L1sp>.
- **49)** L2: If we are using the fix telephone (.) we are using the white pages (.) <L1sp> las páginas amarillas </L1sp> something like that (.) well (.) these days the representativeness of the samples (.) of the units that appear in the white pages (.) I would question that (.) ok?

50) L1: will you dare to come to the faculty with a bicycle with 4 wheels as when you were kids, I don't think so, ok? bicycles have two wheels, bicycles have a handle, do you agree? bicycles have a sit, mm bicycles have mmm spokes, do you know the meaning of spoke? <L1sp> radios</L1sp> (.) ooh well I have a: or the professionals have bicycles with a: I don't know in English, <L1sp> lenticula </L1sp> wheel, you know? those, <L1sp> vale </L1sp> most of the bicycles, almost all common bicycles have spokes, ok?

The results also show that lecturers rely on semi-preconstructed phrases in their L1 coined as idioms, during these EMI sessions. Seidlhofer argues that "[t]he idiom principle can be seen as a means whereby users of a language accommodate to each other by conforming to shared conventions of established phraseology" (Seidlhofer, 2009a: 197), as they are part of the interlocutors' commonly shared knowledge. Among members of the same linguaculture, idiomatic expressions function as "territorial markers" of social identity and group membership" (Seidlhofer, 2009a:198). In ELF settings, however, the use of idioms is radically different since usually not all the participants belong to the same lingua-culture, as it is the case here, and they may not share the culturally-dependent knowledge implied in this phraseological expression. Yet, idiomatic expressions have been observed as used by ELF speakers and even constituting an integral part of the linguistic resources speakers can

draw upon to achieve effective communication (Cogo, 2012a: 103). This is precisely the case in the present corpus.

Excerpt 51 supports evidence on the problematic issue of phraseological competence and social/contextual integration in ELF contexts (Cogo, 2010). The use of idioms requires the ability to create and draw on 'deep commonality' which characterises first language users (Prodromou, 2008), but at the same time the capacity of trying not to be elusive with the international students that might not be competent enough in Spanish so as to understand the idiomatic expression. In this case the lecturer firstly uses the literal translation of a Spanish idiom in English ("what's the relation between the speed and the pork"), because this is an English-medium lecture and the idiom may also make sense when translated into English; then he uses the Spanish idiom ("¿Cuál es la relación entre el tocino y la velocidad?") and then, he reformulates the meaning of this figurative expression to ensure understanding. The relevant aspect is the lecturer's translation of the idiomatic expression into English and the explanation that follows to help the international students interpret the idiom and place it into context.

51) L1: mm I don't know an expression similar in English to the Spanish one that (.) what's the relation between the speed and the pork (.) <L1sp> ¿cuál es la relación entre el tocino y la velocidad? </L1Sp> ok? So we must try to avoid that our relations are like this, because ou:r we say this expression is because we find that there is no a relationship between the two elements, the two variables so we must try to avoid that we establish a relationship between two variables that have no relation at all.

According to Seidlhofer (2009: 2015), idiomatic expressions can be used as means whereby users of a language accommodate to each other adjusting language in compliance with the cooperative and the territorial imperatives. The "territorial imperative" is used by ELF speakers "to secure and protect [their] own space and sustain and reinforce [their] separate social identity, either as an individual or as a group" (Seidlhofer, 2009b: 196). On the other hand, the cooperative imperative is implicit, since this requires the speakers' "procedures for making their communicative intention accessible" (p.196). In other words, both imperatives are needed in this case for making what is said acceptable to others. In this case they are well fine-tuned, since the use of an idiomatic expression in Spanish serves to establish rapport

among the Spanish audience and to identify them as "members of the here-and-now group, as insiders in the conversation and [...] makers of a shared territory expressive of common understanding and attitude", as well as creating a "shared affective space" (Seidlhofer, 2009a: 206). On the other hand, the *reformulation* strategy fosters the cooperative function of communication, contributing to a commonly constructed (pragmatic) meaning among all the participants in the lecture (not only the Spanish speakers). Besides, the use of this idiom in both languages may provide an alignment component among the participants, since either they share the lingua-cultural knowledge or they are conscious of it to acknowledge it as an idiomatic Spanish expression understandable in that context. At the same time, by means of translating it into English and explaining its meaning the lecturer ensures that it does not lead to any potential non- or misunderstanding among the non-native Spanish speakers, but rather it reinforces a successful negotiation of meaning.

These extracts help to demonstrate the multilingual nature of ELF, especially in an EMI context where the lecturer and most of the students share a common language, and the way speakers can draw on partially or completely shared languages (as is the case of Spanish in this context) when they need to negotiate meaning in interaction. As Jenkins (2015: 61) points out, at this point in ELF research, emphasis should be given to the mutual flow of several languages in which "English is only one language among others present or latent in any interaction". Therefore, more emphasis should be placed on the multilingual nature of ELF, rather than focusing on how ELF users' L1 affect their English.

To conclude, the findings suggest that these speakers are making use of the *literal translation* strategy to fulfil the following functions:

LITERAL TRANSLATION

- 1) To signal their identities through the language.
- 2) To reinforce successful negotiation of meaning.
- 3) To ensure understanding.
- 4) To ensure conversational fluency.
- 5) To establish rapport among the audience.

4.4.4. Clarification strategies

Clarification strategies is the fourth macro-category in this study. As is can be seen in Table 4.9, they include *comprehension check*, asking for repetition, appeal for help and clarification request. As their name indicates, these strategies are used when speakers need to add or elucidate certain information after an interlocutor's explicit request of feedback, clarification or help to keep communication flowing or when the lecturer assumes that his or her message was not clear enough.

This category is different from those already described because the strategies that compose it are intrinsically dialogic in speech since all of them imply a speaker prompting the interlocutor(s) to help him/her not to break down communication. As previous research has demonstrated, in dyadic communicative encounters listeners, in particular, recur to "minimal incomprehension signals" (Mauranen, 2006a) or 'direct questions' when they encounter comprehension problems. By means of "utterance completions" (Seidlhofer, 2001) and "overlaps" (Cogo, 2009) they manifest their willingness to cooperate in the fulfilment of the communicative act. This suggests that these strategies are used mostly in explicit remedial work.

The dialogic nature of the strategies included in this category is restricted by the nature of the turn-taking adopted by the different lecturers and students in each of the 12 lectures recorded, or, in other words, by the amount of interaction established among them. Yet, this category is the third one with more occurrences in the corpus. As Table 4.9 shows, the total amount of occurrences of this category, considering the four strategies that it includes, is 56, which accounts for 7.6% of the total amount of occurrences in the corpus.

Macro-categories	Pragmatic strategies		Occurrences	%
Clarification strategies	Comprehension check	30	56	7.6%
	Asking for repetition	20		
	Appeal for help	8		
	Clarification request	12		

Table 4.9. Clarification strategies

The dialogic nature of these strategies is related to the fact that all of them imply questions to be answered in order to keep the flow of the speech. In most of the occurrences of these

strategies it is the lecturer who asks questions of different types to the audience (the students), although there are also instances of students asking questions to the lecturer. As Björkman (2012) highlights, multi-party interaction is not common in lectures, yet communicative effectiveness can be achieved collaboratively. Collaboration among the participants in any interaction is quintessential if they are to co-create meaning and questions aimed at checking comprehension, requesting repetition, help or clarification are in this study part of the remedying and establishing solidarity strategies adopted by the participants to enhance communication during the course of the speech events. As Morell argues (2005: 124), reciprocal (teacher-students) discourse within the lecture permits lecturers to have a better grasp on the students' level of comprehension, experiential or encyclopaedic knowledge, willingness to learn and attention. In other words, questioning the students and encouraging their contributions during the lectures allows lectures to focus the lessons towards the students' needs and interests ad hoc.

The reduced number of occurrences of these four pragmatic strategies sheds light on the scarcity of interaction in the lectures recorded and therefore, corroborates the mainly monologic nature of the EMI lectures taking place at the University of Zaragoza in the degrees analysed for the current case analysis. In fact, these strategies have mostly been found in the lecturers recorded in the degree in BAM with the exception of *comprehension check*, which was more evenly encountered in both degrees in terms of occurrences along the different lectures. This result also reveals that more interaction between lecturers and students in order to clarify meaning is produced in the bachelor's degree than in the master's degree. The reasons may be the rather practical nature of some lessons in the BAM degree subjects as compared to the master's degree sessions as well as the lecturers' different approaches towards interaction during the lectures.

These strategies often take the form of questions. According to Firbas (1976: 12), questions and assertions have different functions. In the case of assertions, at the simplest level, the speaker states his knowledge of something and wants to convey this piece of information to the listener. In questions, the speaker is in need of a piece of information, and his/her main goal is to fill the information gap by obtaining that particular piece of information (Firbas, 1976:12). Hence, functionally, they establish a different relation between the speaker and the interlocutor, in this case the lecturer and the students, and this is why questions are of special relevance for this research. The pragmatic strategies that are formulated in the form of questions do not only require the lecturers' ability to engage in

effective questioning to ensure understanding, but they also need the students' total comprehension and willingness to respond, since the answer may lead to achieve successful understanding or, in the absence of an answers more negotiation of meaning will be needed. Different types of questions are used in the dyadic pragmatic strategies intended to clarify meaning or ensure understanding, including both Yes/No questions ("Any problems with this question?") and Wh-questions ("What do you mean?"). They tend to be non-standard questions in terms of their syntax, since for instance no auxiliary verb is used ("everybody gets where this comes from, yes?") or a single word is pronounced with a rising intonation acting as a question ("ratio?"). There are also differences in the impact some strategies have on the interaction between the lecturer and the student, i.e some of these strategies give rise to interactively motivated explanations and digressions, and on the functions that they fulfil, and some other questions act just as signposting elements to move topic (e.g. "OK?").

The following sections delve into the description of the use of the different strategies in this category. From the examples we can observe the different ways speakers deal with overt disturbance in understanding.

4.4.4.1. Comprehension check

Teaching implies the intrinsic communicational aim of providing explanations minimising non-understanding or even misunderstanding. This may explain why *comprehension check* is the clarification strategy most amply used in this corpus (30 occurrences). It implies asking questions during an explanation in order to check that the interlocutor(s) can follow the speaker's message and thus help avert problems of understanding and thus favour a successful achievement of communicative intention. It is also a way of inserting interactivity in the explanation (Gotti, 2014). This interactional strategy has been considered typical of successful ELF lectures (Suviniitty, 2012: 9).

There are noticeable differences between this strategy and the other clarification strategies. In the first place, comprehension check is a speaker's initiated strategy (Kirkpatrick, 2007), whereas the other are listener's strategies (listener-initiated when turn-taking). Secondly, the negotiation of meaning through this strategy can occur either from explicit indication of trouble ('post-trouble source') or without explicit signals of trouble ('pre-realisations') (Cogo & Dewey, 2012: 115) whereas asking for repetition, appeal for

help and clarification request are deployed as 'post-trouble' sources upon the existence of an element that hinders understanding. Thirdly, comprehension-check differs from the others in that there are comprehension checks that do not lead to any kind of interaction, but which are just sequencers to move to the next aspect to cover during the lecture. This means that whereas, asking for repetition, appeal for help and clarification request strategies have proved to have, most of the times, an immediate verbalised answer on the part of the interlocutors, some comprehension checks do not present any overt reply.

As it has been previously explained, the lectures in the corpus are mostly monologic, which implies a lack of students' participation during lectures. Therefore, non- and misunderstanding on the learner's part could be frequently unnoticed because of the asymmetric power structures of classroom talk, even more when it comes to monologic lectures where one-sidedly explanations are more likely to occur than interactively-accomplished explanations, since lecturers control most of the topic development, including repair work (Dalton-Puffer, 2007: 70-72). This means that students are likely to identify any kind of non-understanding or misunderstanding but they might not bring it to light, and if they do so it might be verbalised or not depending on their turn-taking in the class development, which implies that lecturers might not become aware of it to put any remedy on it. Consequently, the study concentrates only on the visible (verbalised/overt)²³ and clear instances, either one-sidedly or interactional clarification strategies used during the lectures.

The most frequent kind of comprehension-checks in this study are questions in which there is a clear relation between the *comprehension check* and the item of information that the lecturer wants to ensure on the learner's comprehension and understanding (e.g. "Does anybody not understand this question?"). These *comprehension checks* are introduced by the lecturers in their explanations most likely when anticipating possible objections or comments that the students might want to raise, which may be part of the lecturers' intention of promoting negotiation of meaning. Examples of the kind of *comprehension checks* found in this study are presented in Excerpts 52-56.

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²³ No video-taping of the lectures was collected. Only audio-taped data was contemplated which prevents this research from informing on physical responses to non- or misunderstanding on the part of the students.

- **52**) L2: We have this question here, "Which brand of shampoo do you use?" **Any problems with this question? Does anybody not understand this question? OK?** but for example, if I am father of family, I don't know how to say it, who are you referring to? Me, my wife, my household? Which brand of shampoo do you use?
- **53**) L3: Now, types of questions and last point of the unit. **Any questions so far? No? Ok**, so now, this is the last point.
- 54) L1: this is as simple as dividing the nights that they are at home by the total nights possible, right, so we have 1in 5 for one evening, 2 in 5 for two evenings, 3 in 5 for three evenings and so on, ok? everybody gets where this comes from, yes? I'm going little by little, step by step, I want to make sure that all of you are following me, ok? so we want to obtain 100 questionnaires, ok? so the normal thing to do, the the thing that we should follow is this rule, ok?
- 55) L1: the fact that your family name is a bad means that you will have a different behaviour than those whose family name is Rodriguez? I don't think so, so maybe this assignment is not R, but has the same result as if it we- if it were R. **Do you understand?** Because the only reason to belong to a group or another is your family name.
- 56) L1: I can ask the same question, this same question to a 20 years old person, to a 70 year old person, in one case 20 years is going to listen something like this, then if we obtain in this group the same average measure, are you following me? are you following me? If we obtain the same average measure of the capacity to make they move of the music, then both musics are similar and we can use in the experiment, if one music has more capacity to move people that the other.

There are two possible functions for this strategy. One of them is to check the students' understanding about a particular aspect that the lecturers have just mentioned, in so doing providing the floor to the students and so making the lesson more dialogic. However, none of those questions triggered any interlocutor's insights or comments of understanding or non-understanding. None of them is followed by an overt verbalised confirmation of understanding or a reply of non-understanding. This does not mean that students did not express confirmation of understanding by means of gesturing. Lecturers might have received non-verbal responses on the part of the students that allowed them to continue their explanation. However, this hypothesis cannot be verified since there are no video-recordings of the lectures to confirm the tacit expression of understanding or the lack of it. Yet, what can be observed is that in most of these occurrences the lecturers do not give students enough time between the comprehension check and the 'follow up' so that they signal incomprehension by means of verbal explicitness. This means that students may find no real opportunities to verbalise their doubts or gaps in knowledge. Even if the comprehension check is present in the lecturer's discourse, it does not achieve its objective and, therefore, there is not a successful communicative end in the performance of the communicative act.

Therefore, the other possibility is that these types of *comprehension checks* seem to be part of the rhetoric resources of the lecturers, working as rhetoric questions more than actual *comprehension checks*. These structures seem just an internalised signposting element that allows the lecturer to point out to the audience that the previous point was important in the development of the explanation and, moreover, in some cases, lecturers use them to announce that they want to finish that point to move on or change topic. This second observation is based on the lecturers' utterances that tend to follow the covert *comprehension checks* such as: "so let's go into a few more details", "Ok, so now, this is the last point" or "here you have another example".

Nonetheless, in this corpus there are instances where the speakers are in fact in a real need to check whether their interlocutors understood their meaning or not in order to promote a smooth progression of their discourse. The most typical kind of *comprehension check* is a Yes/No non-standard type of question. These checks are strictly used to promote a real coconstruction of meaning between two interlocutors when communication has been succinctly interrupted, which means that they have a dialogic nature since these checks are generally replied by a student and the communication is successfully achieved between both participants as it is the case in Excerpt 57.

In Excerpt 57 there is a mismatch between the speaker's intended meaning and what the listener seems to understand or a lack of understanding on the listener's part. It is then when the speaker is made aware of this mismatch and the negotiation strategy is initiated to solve the non-understanding problem. It can be said that most of the comprehension-checks in the corpus follow the largely used model of negotiation proposed by Varonis and Gass (1985), where non-understanding is made up of four parts: "a trigger, an indicator, a response and an optional reaction" (1985: 73). According to this model, the trigger is the utterance which creates the problem, while the indicator is the signal that shows that there is a problem. This is shown in Excerpt 57, where the trigger occurs in the student's turn (S3) and the indicator in the second turn, or the lecturer's turn (L6). In this instance the lecturer uses *comprehension check* in the form of *other-repetition* and he uses an interrogative intonation when repeating the term that he has been asked for ('mica') in order to check whether that was the term the student was referring to or not.

57) S3: What is a mica surface?

L6: mica?

S3: yes, what is it?

L6: Mica? is a is a I cannot tell <L1sp> mi- mica es un material </L1sp> is a material which is iso- iso- eeh used <L1sp> por </L1sp> insulation aah is a transparent transparent material which is present in rocks and this is its very good, we use mica because it a very very flat surface, doesn't show any irregularities so that it can be used for nanotechnology.

The deployment of this *comprehension check* strategy should be contextualised as part of a dialogue between the lecturer and a student in the class, which reveals the interactive nature of that particular lecture. Actually, the lecturer responds to the student's question by means of *reformulating* the definition of that new subject-related term ("mica"). The interrogative construction is repeated again by the lecturer once the comprehension has been successfully re-established. The repetition of the check is rather used as a filler to gain time in order to find the best answer, since the lecturer verbalises his linguistic shortcoming in the response part ("I cannot tell") and makes it more visible by switching to his L1 (Spanish) when trying to come up with a suitable definition to put into words ("mi- mica es un material"). This shows that a pragmatic strategy may serve more than one purpose and that the categories

used in this study are overlapping since they are combined to achieve successful negotiation of meaning.

The dyadic way in which the example 57 occurrence of the strategy is used is relevant for making the lecture content more accessible for the students, which in the end is the main objective of any lecturer, and it also shows the joint co-construction of meaning carried out between interactants. Yet, as has been shown, the comprehension check strategy is deployed both in a one-sidedly way and in an interactively accomplished way, and so this strategy fulfils different functions in the lectures analysed in this study:

- COMPREHENSION CHECK 1) To avert problems of understanding.
 - 2) To insert interactivity in the explanation.
 - 3) To promote negotiation of meaning.
 - 4) To give students the floor and so make the lesson more
 - 5) To highlight importance and to signpost a topic change.

4.4.4.2. Appeal for help

When difficulties of expression arise on the part of the lecturer, he or she often appeals for the students' help, which comes in the shape of proactive cooperative strategies (as in Mauranen, 2006a), as is the case of appeal for help in order to help avert problems of understanding and thus favour a successful achievement of communicative intention. Most precisely, appeal for help is understood in this study as turning to the interlocutor for assistance and asking an explicit/implicit question concerning a gap in one's lingua franca knowledge/speech. In the present corpus, this strategy was used mostly by the lecturers; the students are the helping figure as regards the meaning-making process.

This strategy emphasises the cooperative work carried out by both learners and lecturers in the explanation/comprehension of specific topics in order to facilitate the achievement of the teaching/learning objectives of the courses and, as Gotti (2014) points out, also to make lessons more dialogic. Yet, this is not a very frequent strategy in the corpus, since it has only been observed in 8 instances in the corpus, which only amounts to a 1.1% of the total amount of pragmatic strategies occurrences. This result may be due to the relatively high level of fluency in the language by all the lecturers, to the fact that lectures are prepared in advance by the lecturers and also to the monologic nature of most of the

lectures recorded caused by the unbalanced turn-taking, given that the lecturers bear most of the turns during the sessions. This strategy has been found by researchers in other Higher Education institutions as is the case in international courses on specialised disciplines offered by the University of Bergamo, analysed by Gotti (2014), but not used in the academic contexts analysed by Björkman (2014) in a university in Sweden, for instance. It can be argued that the Italian and the Spanish Higher Education contexts are similar as they are both south European countries were English is not usually the native language of the lecturers and in which there is a high percentage of local students and the other students come from countries where English is not a dominant official language. This is different in northern European countries in which English is much more embraced for professional and academic purposes and participants in academic interactions such as the ones analysed by Björkman (2014) are more used to using English as their vehicular language. In the later context less help may be required by speakers when participating in English-mediated academic interactions.

Appeals for help are expressed both directly and indirectly in this corpus. This means that lecturers verbalise their trouble sources, which are most of the times related to lexis, but they do not always ask for help overtly. Some occurrences show that lecturers also appeal for linguistic help in a covert way just demonstrating to the audience that they have a linguistic shortcoming and they appeal for their solidarity and/or empathy to help them find or retrieve the correct term. Most of the appeals for help are used when the lecturer is providing an example and he is not able to retrieve a word. As one of the lecturers interviewed explained, most of the gaps are concerned with non-specialised items of vocabulary, which are mostly used when providing examples or explaining a specific technique or concept addressed in the subject, yet shortcomings with specialised terms also trigger the use of this strategy. A lecturer said that it is common in the EMI lecture development to "slip in the language and drop the Spanish term", which means that the participants' L1 is always the fallback language.

As an example of *direct appeal for help*, in Excerpt 58 the lecturer is looking for the English word "cap" when providing an example about altruism used in Marketing campaigns and he is talking about the donation of money some companies make after the collection of symbolic items such as bottle caps. Precisely, he directly appeals for help by means of formulating a standard Wh-question: "what's the name of this in English?" as he presumably physically points out to a bottle cap, which is next to him.

58) L1: So? you that that first time I heard this, I think e:h the men who collects them gives one euro per one kilo, how much? How many kilos have this? How many e:h what's the name of this in English? I don't remember of this [he physically points out to a bottle cap], tap, this, How many do we need to make a kilo? 1,000, 10,000 of them? and you collect for nothing, ok? So, sometimes we make an effort just for our, for altruism.

What is especially interesting in this excerpt is the fact that the lecturer uses some linguistic creativity coining the word "tap", which is similar to the Spanish word for "cap", 'tape', in face of the fact that the audience does not reply to his request for linguistic help immediately. This pragmatic behaviour should be understood in a context where the lecturer and most of his audience have Spanish as their first language. This double strategic behaviour is eventually successful because most the interlocutors share a Spanish linguistic background, whether because it is their first language or because they have some knowledge of it and they are able to infer the meaning of the word that the lecturer wants to convey. Shared knowledge is also part of the successfully communicated meaning in this excerpt, given that apparently the audience may presuppose the kind of altruist collection and the item collected provided that this practice is currently frequent in Spain. Therefore, even though no verbalised communication was established between the lecturer and the students, their implicit shared knowledge and linguistic-cultural background ensured a shared understanding, given that no *clarification request* was produced by the students afterwards and the explanation took a normal course. Besides, it is worth mentioning that this lecturer (or any other) does not resort to the strategy of coining or inventing words to fill in a semantic gap in order to keep his flow. He rather appeals for help and makes it clear that the term he has used may be incorrect, because the teacher here acts as a model for the students, so he wants to use the language correctly.

Another example can be observed in Excerpt 59, in which the lecturer also makes a direct question ("What is the name?") in order to appeal for help to fill in a linguistic gap in English ("dishwasher") when discussing the different kinds of customers in the Marketing research subject. In order to convey meaning the lecturer also defines the particular word ("the machine to clean dishes") to ensure understanding. This time there was a student in the class who actually helped the lecturer to find the word he was trying to retrieve, which shows the cooperation and solidarity stablished between the lecturer and the students.

59) L2: So, do you think or have you seen any change recently in the previous years? In the culture? Sub-culture? Style? Needs of the customer? Yeah? Remember, you are going to be...

Speaker 2: Santos. The family structures, yeah that there are more and more products forced on the people.

L2: Certainly, certainly. And it's quite interesting that I have one friend of mine; she is working in Balay and she told me that surprisingly, because of the internal reports, they have seen that the the not the washing the washing e:h machine no, is the machine to clean dishes, I don't remember the name. What is the name?

S3: Dishwasher.

L2: **The dishwasher. Right. The dishwasher**. They have seen that the dishwashers now, the most sold dishwashers in the previous years are the biggest ones. So its incredible, I don't know how because families have getting more and more smaller, right?

In addition, the results show that lecturers' 'indirect appeals for help' are also present in the corpus. The term 'indirect' means that the speakers do not use a direct or standard question to appeal for help upon a particular linguistic gap, but they reveal the linguistic shortcoming by reformulating the term and urging the students to help him/her find the correct term. Despite being indirect, these kind of appeals for help are also replied by the students in order to help the lecturer keep the flow of the dialogue/monologue.

For instance, in Excerpt 60 the lecturer does not use a standard question but leaves the last sentence unfinished when trying to remember the last item of a list he was enumerating, and he could not remember. The lecturer signals his problem in several ways, e.g., false starts or reformulation. His 'signals' are followed by a turn of guessing by a student until the lecturer finally manages to remember the specific word he was looking for and he thanks the student for his help. Unlike the previous excerpt, in this case, the appeal is not related to common lexis but to disciplinary related terms and theories –the lecturer is looking for a specific manipulation or treatment in a marketing research experiment which is the "agreement or disagreement" of the consumer—.

60) L2: Remember yesterday in the blogger experiment we have three treatments, the expertise of the blogger, the consensus of the e:h comments with the blogger and the use of videos or pictures (.) ok? So we have three te-treatments (.) each treatment with two possible mmm values, ok? or manipulations: video-treatment of the a:h way of communication, video or picture, e:h the treatment of the a:h expertise of the blogger, high/low expertise, the treatment of the mmm, the third one a:h=

S1: =the comments if they were

L2: =the consensus, thank you, e:h agreement or disagreement, mostly agree, most of them disagree, ok?

This can be considered an indirect *appeal for help* which is in fact replied by a student and which eventually leads the lecturer to remember the item of the list, so he is able to keep the flow of the explanation. Therefore, it has been a successful cooperative strategy which demonstrates the interdependence of the interlocutors when negotiation of meaning is needed, and the knowledge development achieved between lecturers and students in these lectures. Put it another way, this act of support comes forth as the student unintentionally crossing the invisible lecturer/student boundary, in which usually the lecturer is the help-provider and the student is usually the help-seeker.

Finally, Excerpt 61 shows how lecturers verbalise their linguistic trouble sources in order, not to *appeal for help*, but just to acknowledge the trouble source appealing for the students' 'solidarity' or 'empathy' (Morell, 2007) until they find the correct wording for the meaning they want to express or the word they were looking for. Since the lecturer was very indirect in his *appeal for help* and he did not provide enough time for the students to help, no verbalised answer was produced by the lecturer's audience. Therefore, he resorted to other pragmatic strategies to face the communicative limitation such as using an 'all-purpose word' like "item". Therefore, in fact the appeal for help in this case serves more to acknowledge a limitation, which, in fact, does not pose a problem for the students.

61) L3: for example, Nespresso, they make a community, you have an account, **you buy your, I don't know the name, your items of café** and then they send you mmm surveys, they give you some rewards, etc etc, ok? it's not easy it's not easy to to make a sample.

This strategy clearly demonstrates the participants proactive attitude to negotiate meaning and to achieve successful understanding when using a vehicular language different from their L1. The use of this strategy shows that, despite the unequal roles in the classroom of lecturers and students, the solidarity or empathy between them as users of English as a lingua franca is beyond the traditional lecturer-student relationship. It is observed that the participants in these interactions have a proactive attitude to establish successful communication and to co-construct meaning when a single speaker is in need of his/her interlocutor's help. Furthermore, the lecturers' trust in their students is demonstrated when they, in most of the cases, do not feel face-threatened to verbalise their linguistic trouble sources. This reveals a solidarity atmosphere which shows the participants clearly involved in an ELF linguistic scenario. To sum up, the main functions of this strategy are the following:

APPEAL FOR HELP

- 1) To seek for the interlocutors' help upon a communicative shortcoming.
- 2) To avert problems of understanding.
- 3) To negotiate meaning.
- 4) To appeal for the students' solidarity or empathy until they find the correct wording.
- 5) To acknowledge a linguistic limitation.

4.4.4.3. Asking for repetition

As Mauranen pointed out, "[t]he default assumption in conversation is understanding and normally understanding is not signalled; the smooth progression and expected turns in themselves indicate comprehension of previous turns" (Mauranen, 2006a: 128). Yet, the speakers' success in communication may depend on their communicative and interactive skills when facing understanding problems, even more in this particular teaching-learning scenario in which knowledge-gaining is at stake. In this particular corpus communicative turbulence (misunderstanding or lack of understanding) is faced by means of using interactive skills such as *asking for repetition* and *clarification request*.

While all the strategies analysed up to now were largely produced by the main speaker in the academic activities observed, i.e., the lecturers, the strategy *asking for repetition* also involves the pragmatic knowhow and reflected behaviour of the rest of the participants, i.e., the students present in the classroom. This means that this particular pragmatic strategy has

been observed as produced both by the lecturers and the students in the corpus, although there are only 6 observable occurrences where the participants prompt their interlocutors to repeat what has been previously uttered, as a way to achieve intelligibility or comprehensibility.

All the requests for repetition in this study have the shape of non-standard questions with the same recurring pitch patterns on stressed parts in the utterance and they can be considered and recognised as questions because of the final rise in the intonation. Besides, what all the occurrences of this strategy share is that they indicate very clearly that a comprehension problem has occurred and that they are effective to successfully re-stablish the understanding and to continue with the interaction.

There are only two variations in the deployment of this strategy. The first one is the interlocutor's asking for an utterance completion by means of repeating the last word with an interrogative rising intonation, recognised by the high final rise in the utterance as it is exemplified by Excerpt 62. This case is particularly interesting because it includes two occurrences of *asking for repetition*. In the first one, the lecturer asks for repetition by repeating the preposition "of" with a raising intonation, most probably due to a problem of intelligibility because the noise in the class was hampering the opportunities to listen correctly. The lecturer repeats the preposition "of" looking for a repetition or an extension of the last part of the explanation provided by the student in the previous turn. However, the student, assuming that it was just a mishearing problem, only repeats the last words he had just mentioned "of another group". The intelligibility problem is not solved until the lecturer asks for repetition or even for further clarification on the grounds that the previous response was unfocused and gave little indication of what apparently was unclear to the lecturer ("of another group?").

62) L1: or the treatment to the test units, it's obvious but but in this case someone is in doubt, we receive the treatment the treatment to the test units

S3: and finally, we have made an observation of another group

L1: of?

S3: of another group

L1: of another group?

S3: or a second observation

L1: a second observation of the same or a different variable

S3: a different dependent of the same group.

In this example the lecturer is not exactly *asking for repetition* but prompting the student to clarify meaning. As can be observed on line 6 of Excerpt 62, the student immediately reformulates his previous utterance providing extra information in order to be more specific and the dialogue continues with the co-construction of meaning until the student formulates the correct version of the explanation that he was previously asked for by the lecturer. In other words, the *asking for repetition* strategy in this case serves as a "recasting and extension of student-initiated meanings" (Gibbons, 2003: 258-259), in order to show the student that in his previous comment he has not offered a complete explanation and that there is a more precise way of expressing that meaning, which in fact the lecturer provides later on ("a second observation of the same or a different variable"). This use of the strategy is also related to 'questioning', a technique used by teachers to foster the students' construction of their own contributions and to create interaction in the classroom (Pica, 1994; Morell, 2005).

The second option that participants in this corpus have used to ask for repetition is saying "sorry" using an interrogative rising intonation, as can be observed in Excerpt 63. In this example, the lecturer is asking a direct question to the whole class in order to solve an exercise. A student wants to answer the question, but she needs more information to do it and she asks another question. The lecturer does not properly hear or understand the student's question and he asks for repetition. Eventually, the student repeats completely the previous utterance and the flow of the dialogue is re-established.

63) L1: Do you think this is an R, this is R? Selection and assignment, random selection and assignment?

S4: Did you select the faculties randomly?

L1: Sorry?

S4: Did you select the faculties randomly?

L1: no mmm, say yes, well first say no

SS: @@@@@.

After analysing this strategy, it can be concluded, that although it is not very common in the present corpus, the occurrences found are an effective means of not letting non-, vague or potentially incorrect understanding pass. By asking for repetition the participants cooperated towards achieving a good basis in their mutual understanding to continue the lecturing discourse. Besides, in this particular teaching-learning scenario the use of this strategy serves both the lecturer and the student to get to know whether the information has successfully reached the interlocutors, and if not, to repeat it or even extend it to scaffold the contents at hand. Yet, it could be said that the ways lecturers ask for repetition are quite simple, i.e., using scarce linguistic resources such as question repeats of the last word or by means of the word "sorry". These realisations of the asking for repetition or clarification strategies have also been used in other similar contexts (e.g., Björkman, 2014; Gotti, 2014) which may mean that they are not only context-dependent and situational forms of getting the information repeated or clarified in ELF interactions. To sum up, the main functions of this strategy in this study are:

- ASKING FOR REPETITION 1) To prompt the interlocutor to repeat the final utterance or word or to extend the last idea conveyed in the previous turn.
 - 2) To guide the interlocutor to the source of the trouble.
 - 3) To indicate the segment that one finds problematic.

4.4.4.4. Clarification request

The request for further explanations or clarifications of specific concepts is frequent on the part of the students, and responded by the lecturers, who indisputably are the knowledgeproviding and guiding figures. These conventional acts have been coded in this study as clarification request. This strategy refers to the act of requesting an explanation of an

unfamiliar meaning structure. It can be considered one of the most typical or frequent strategies in any teaching event, since clarifying meaning and information is part of any teaching-learning experience. As such, most of the *clarification request* occurrences found in the corpus of EMI lectures are related to comprehensibility problems regarding disciplinary concepts and terminology. In some of the lectures, *clarification request* is the only type of interaction between lecturer and students and they are not abundant in the corpus (12 occurrences). Once again, this reflects the lack of interactivity in the EMI lectures recorded for this research.

The following three excerpts illustrate the different *clarification requests* made by the students in order to gain understanding of specific subject-related vocabulary that the lecturer has just mentioned (Excerpt 64) and conceptual and topic-related explanations that the students ask the lecturer to clarify (Excerpts 65 and 66). Most of the occurrences of this strategy in the present corpus follow the already explained model of negotiation of meaning proposed by Varonis and Gass (1985), where non-understanding is made up of four parts: a trigger, an indicator, a response and an optional reaction (1985: 73). The trigger is the utterance which creates the problem, while the indicator is the signal that shows that there is a problem. This is shown in the following examples.

In Excerpt 64, there is a mismatch between the speaker's intended meaning and what the listener seems to understand. More precisely a student is indirectly asking for clarification since he wanted to know the meaning of an acronym ("CAWI"). As one of the speakers is aware of this mismatch, the negotiation strategy can be initiated to solve the problem of non-understanding. In this case the request is easily solved by the lecturer, who provides the student with the term (Computer-assisted website interview). In this excerpt there is no need of much more negotiation of meaning since the non-understanding is solved in what Gotti (2014) calls "the next turn repair initiation".

64) L2: So probably the easiest way or the cheapest way ok they are a magazine (.) they print every month or every week their copies so perhaps it's as easy as to just print a flyer with the mmm embedded into the...

S9: I don't know the meaning of CAWI

L2: Computer-assisted website interview OK? So this is the one that you are going to use in your practical case ok? E-mail, well it could be both but perhaps if you assume that they have got a website you can use a computer-assisted website interview ok?

In Excerpt 65 the *clarification request* made by a student is in the shape of a Wh-question. Yet, this request is replied by the lecturer with another *clarification request* since the lecturer seemed not to understand what the student was asking, which in this case was the unit to measure the 'concentration' that they were referring to. Eventually, the lecturer understands the request and she responds the double *clarification request* by means of *self-repeating* the answer in order to promote explicitness.

65) L4: This means that for this kind of surfactants, if we increase the concentration in the system of all of this critical micelle concentration that the micelles have formed. Below this concentration, we do not have micelles. Okay, we have a dispersed system of the surfactant inward. Ok?

S1: And what's the unit?

L4: What do you mean?

S1: Concentration? The unit?

L4: **Molar, molar. Moles per litre. Moles per litre, okay**? Well, another possibility. Another nano-object are these worm-like micelles, all right?

The differentiating aspect between this excerpt and the previous one is the amount of negotiation of meaning needed to solve the non-understanding. In this example, S1's request for clarification proves to be unsuccessful since the lecturer also asks for clarification in turn by means of a direct question ("What do you mean?). Then S1 elaborates his request by expanding it into an indirect question, which in this case is the specific request for clarification ("Concentration? The unit?"). At the end, the lecturer glosses the problematic

term (in this case a scientific measure –moles per litre–) and goes on to discuss the issue once comprehension is restored. In this excerpt signalling comprehension is made explicitly, which as Mauranen (2006a: 132) explains indicates an enhanced cooperative effort towards ensuring continued communication.

Another example of *clarification request* can be observed in Excerpt 66, where the lecturer is explaining the specific term 'expenditure' ("the expenditure is an ordinal variable"), which in this case functions as the trigger of the *clarification request* on the part of a student who uses a non-standard question to indicate the lecturer his non-understanding ("the expenditure?"). The lecturer provided the required explanation and the non-understanding problem seems to be solved when the lecturer confirms the student's correct understanding by using *other-repetition*. Therefore, the negotiation of meaning established in this excerpt consists of a clear combination of four pragmatic strategies: *Clarification request, defining, comprehension check* and *other-repetition*.

66) L1: in experiments the treatment is always considered as a nominal variable, even though for example the treatment is is eeh we expend one thousand euros in advertising or we expend two thousand euros, of course the expenditure in advertising is a mm mm mm variable, what shall we write on mm mm mm?

S5: the expenditure?

L1: =the expenditure is an ordinal variable

S6: ratio? L1: ratio

There is a different kind of *clarification request* among the occurrences found in the corpus, which is exemplified in Excerpt 67. In this excerpt, the lecturer uses the *clarification request* strategy ("the music is?") to guide the student disciplinary discourse in order to help the student to recast and verbalise the correct information. It seems that the lecturer was not requiring clarification in order to gain understanding for himself but to prompt the student to clarify meaning for his own and his classmates' benefit. Again, as has been discussed in the previous sections, more than one strategy is used by the lecturers to scaffold knowledge and to ensure that understanding and knowledge gaining is produced inside the classroom.

67) L1: ok (.) what is the cause-effect relation that we can conclude from this video? What is the cause? What is the effect?

S13: The music

L1: the music is?

S13: e:h the cause

L1: The cause?

S13: and the age

L1: **the age is?** The effect

The section *Clarification strategies* has dealt with cases where misunderstanding or non-understanding has occurred, and action has been taken in the form of different pragmatic strategies to remedy the problem in order to ensure the progression of the lecturing discourse. The misunderstandings were typically signalled by questions through which the participants cooperated in order to negotiate meaning. Particularly, the analysis of this last strategy has revealed that *clarification request* is not only one of the ways in which interaction between lecturers and students is produced to solve lack of understanding in these lectures, but this strategy is also used with a teaching-learning purpose to scaffold students' knowledge in classroom discourse. Finally, the analysis of the strategies within this category has shown that knowledge and meaning is co-constructed as long as students are catered with some turn-taking and allowed to ask for further explanations on what they believe needs more clarification.

To conclude, these are the main functions of the *clarification request* strategy in the present corpus:

CLARIFICATION REQUEST

- 1) To point out the non-understood item.
- 2) To elicit further explanation or explicitness.
- 3) To open opportunities for negotiation of meaning and, therefore, cooperation.
- 4) To scaffold students' knowledge.

4.4.5. Focus on form

As pointed out in Chapter 2, EMI courses do not directly aim at improving students' English, as this is usually considered the vehicular language to teach subject contents. Nevertheless, previous studies have revealed that in such content-based courses, language sometimes becomes the topic of discussion (Costa, 2012; Hynninen, 2012). This is why this analysis is also concerned with metalinguistic comments that focus on instances where the English language is the topic of discussion, namely fragments in which the participants *focus on form*. It analyses this strategy as a metadiscoursal reference employed by lecturers to explain specialised terms and technical concepts associated with the specific courses they are teaching, and those adopted to overcome the difficulties of comprehension experienced by their students. The strategy *focus on form* is closely related to what Swain and Lapkin (1998: 326) coined as 'Language related episodes', which have been defined as "any part of a dialogue where interlocutors talk about the language they are producing, question their language use or correct themselves or others". In Basturkmen and Shakleford's words they are "transitory shifts of the topic of the discourse from content to language" (2015: 87).

Recent research has investigated how EMI Tertiary Education lecturers focus on vocabulary and other linguistic aspects so as to help international students' overcome difficulties in understanding specific subject contents. Most research deals with corrective feedback in EMI classes from a 'CLIL-isation' approach (Sancho, 2013: 77), which redefines Tertiary Education pedagogy with lecturers having to plan their lessons didactically and linguistically. Yet, there is also research which approaches focus on form episodes as incidental language-learning opportunities that may arise in teaching in higher education (Pecorari et al, 2011). The latter approach is different from the pedagogical linguistic guidance conventionally considered in ESL and ESP literature since it is not a matter of noticing the difference between the student's interlanguage and their target language as part of their study areas. Rather, these EMI situations have been observed involving content lecturers incidentally raising awareness on the appropriate language to use in the specialised context. As Brown and Bradford's (2017) explain, in many EMI courses students are expected to master the English language and English is not the object of study, but this does not mean that EMI courses cannot be directed towards improving students' English skills. According to these researchers "EMI classes may incorporate elements of language sensitivity and language support" (p. 330). In this regards, Hynninen sheds light on the question of ownership of English from the perspective of ELF speakers, concluding from her study that content experts to some extent "shared their conceptions of (good) language use with the students and, in this sense, integrated language to the content classes, even if learning English was not an official aim" (Hynninen, 2012: 16). She argues that even when courses are not language courses, "language sometimes becomes the topic of discussion in the form of language correcting and commentary" (p. 13) thus, involving content lecturers taking on the role of language experts. Similarly, Costa (2012) investigated *focus on form* episodes in English-medium instruction applied science lectures delivered by Italian first-language lecturers. The study revealed that lecturers tended to focus on vocabulary and typographical enhancement, even using *code-switching* as a way of making language more visible. This kind of translation is expected in monolingual university context, as in the case of Italian or Spanish universities.

In this study, "focus on form episodes" are coded as such specific stretches in which the lecturer clearly shifts from content-related discourse to language-related talk. As can be observed in Table 4.10, in the corpus there are 21 occurrences of "focus on form", which account for 2.9 % of the total occurrences of strategies in the corpus. These transitory shifts from content-related topics in the lecturer's discourse to language-related issues are far more frequent in the BAM degree corpus (17) than in the Nanostructured Materials corpus (4).

Pragmatic strategies	Occurrences	%
Focus on form	21	2.9%

Table 4.10. Focus on form.

Focus on form has been found most frequently used in relation to specific terminology to clarify meaning or to enhance language in the teaching-learning process. Yet, it should be noted that other pragmatic strategies are used in this corpus to explain technical concepts. In fact, assigning the code focus on form as the only and meaningful strategy used by the lecturers in a stretch of discourse in the transcriptions of the lectures has been a difficult task. The reason is that clarifying terminology is the aim of many of the strategies used to achieve successful communication in this study and it is not only restricted to commentary alone. As it will be later shown, some of the strategies are frequently used in combination to clarify different meanings and focus on form is one of the strategies that tends to be used in combination with others (e.g. literal translation).

Most of the focus on form episodes are initiated by the lecturer aiming to highlight technical vocabulary considered worth noting, to correct students so as to pre-empt possible infelicities, to provide input enhancement or just to make language more visible. Nevertheless, the different lecturers made it clear during the interviews that they are not language teachers and do not aim at becoming such. They stated that they are meant to teach contents and that the English language is just the lingua franca in those specific lecturing events. However, particularly the BAM degree lecturers show more willingness to raise awareness on linguistic aspects than in the master's degree. During the interviews, one of the BAM degree lecturers explicitly stated that he does not want to teach English because he does not feel confident enough to do so. Yet, he explained that he always tries to 'help' his students (rather than 'teach' them) with specific vocabulary that he considers essential in the subject matter, as long as he is confident enough regarding his own knowledge of the specific item of vocabulary. That is, he just points out specific language-related aspects or provides linguistic feedback in occasional situations. In the interview, the lecturer commented on the terms 'purchase' and 'determine', which are two frequent verbs in their field of study and, he believes are difficult for Spanish speakers to pronounce. The lecturer argues that he and his colleagues were aware of the importance of pronouncing these verbs correctly and they just want to raise their students' awareness about the correct pronunciation of these terms.

A clear *focus on form* episode in the BAM degree lecturers is illustrated in Excerpt 68, in which the lecturer is explaining the correct pronunciation of the term 'questionnaire', correcting the pronunciation mistakes that students had made when pronouncing this word and his own pronunciation infelicities. This could be considered a pre-emptive episode initiated by the lecturer, presumably anticipating that some students may not be familiar with the correct pronunciation, and the lecturer seemingly attempts to help students with technical language of marketing, focusing on form pre-emptively, as Costa (2012) pointed out in her study.

68) L2: Two key points before going on, mmm in case you have (.) you are familiarised with phonetics hmm this is the correct way of saying these words, ok? we have 'survey' it is a noun (.) and 'to survey' it is a a verb, but the most important thing its / kwestʃəˈnɛə/, ok? It's not /kwestʃənare/ it's not / kwestʃəˈnarı/, it's not / kwestʃəˈnɪrı/ ok (.) so this is the this is the word, ok? last year I had a lots lots of / 'kwestʃənarı/ (.)/ 'kwestʃənare/ (.) so you have this information, you can look it up in Wordreference or in other platforms, / kwestʃəˈnɛə/ ok? (.) I'm sorry, because probably I will say another word I will probably say / 'kwestʃənɛə/ because I am used to say 'questionnaire" but the correct way is / kwestʃəˈnɛə/ (.) Ok?

Similarly, in Excerpt 69, the lecturer draws attention to the term "threatening topics" to distinguish it from "sensitive topics" arguing that the former is the correct one. In this case, the lecturer makes use of the *focus-on-form* strategy pre-emptively drawing attention to what he considers a likely mistake on the part of other non-native speakers of the language. However, both terms are, in fact, used in English to refer to subjects or issues that need to be dealt with carefully because they are likely to cause disagreement or make people angry or upset. The *focus on form* strategy is used by the lecturer in this example because he considers the term "sensitive topics" a mistake and he does not want his own students to make a linguistic mistake, as one of the lecturers pointed out in the interview. In other words, it is not a matter of taking the role of an English language expert; in fact, the lecturer acknowledges in his own discourse that the comment on language is just "an appreciation" integrated in the course of a content-related explanation. It demonstrates that the lecturer shows empathy with the students and willingness to help them being more linguistically accurate. In so doing he is negotiating acceptable usage of the language.

69) L2: I have also this list of topics, threatening topics a:h, in in in English if you look for this kind of literature you will find it as threatening topics rather than sensitive topics, ok? This is just one appreciation.

Lecturers also use elicitation and *code-switching* to their L1 to draw attention to technical disciplinary terms on the grounds that most students share that repertoire in Spanish. The code-switching strategy contributes to economy of words as it eases the task of expanding

students' disciplinary and subject-related linguistic repertories. In Excerpt 70 the lecturer, teaching in the BAM degree, provides input enhancement by commenting on and translating the term "random" in order to make language more visible. In this excerpt, the lecturer explains the term "random", which is conventionally and internationally used in the marketing discipline as "R", regardless of the vehicular language used. The lecturer is reflecting on the languages they mostly share in this EMI group (English and Spanish) and he compares the term in English ("random"), for which "R" stands, and the term in Spanish ('aleatorio'), for which "A" would stand. This is why the lecturer mentions that "in the other class" he explained the term "random" differently, referring to the Spanish-medium group where he was also explaining the same contents in Spanish.

70) L1: 'R' (.) In in the other class I had to ask about the meaning of this to explain why is R but here it's very easy because how @@ how do we say ramdom in English? ramdom @@@ ramdom, means ramdom, ok? in Spanish eeh <L1sp> aleatorio </L1sp> so will be an A but we also use R ok? but for you it's much easier when you see this, the units of these groups are selected and assigned and assigned sorry randomly.

The aim of this digression is to specify the easiness for these EMI students to remember the meaning of R (R-random), since English is their vehicular language by contrast with the Spanish-medium group which also uses R referring to 'aleatorio'. This lecturer specified during the semi-structured interview that with this particular focus-on-form episode he wanted to make clear the meaning of "random" in Spanish. He pointed out that sometimes during lecturer-students office hours he had observed that students are only capable of or comfortable saying certain terms in English, and he was concerned with the fact that they might need to know this kind of terminology in Spanish as well. Therefore, the combination of focus on form and code-switching is used to provide the students with the correct discipline-specific terminology both in the vehicular language for instruction but also in the L1 of the majority of the students in the class.

In line with this, the marketing research lecturers argued that there is some specific terminology that they tend to use in English rather than in Spanish because usually they are English terms that tend to be translated to Spanish. As a lecturer explained, they identify some English term as more accurate than the corresponding translation in Spanish:

L1: Our vocabulary, in many cases, comes from English, that is, it has been translated into Spanish. Sometimes a direct translation, using very rare words, for example "cognitive aspects" in English is "cognitive", because it means "rational" in relation to knowledge. So, we have made the direct translation from English to Spanish with a word that is perhaps accepted but not used, and then, when you return to English we walk on a red carpet, because you have the correct term and it comes more easily.

Precisely, the frequent use of English terminology and of the English language in general for scientific purposes in the master's degree explains the lack of *focus on form* episodes combined with *code-switching* in the master's degree lectures. Lecturers in the master's degree do not consider it useful to enhance terminology providing it in English and in Spanish since the students may not even use the Spanish terms. Besides, fewer Spanish students are present in the master's degree lectures if compared to the BAM degree ones, thus, fewer students may profit from having the information translated into Spanish.

The desire to teach terminology in both languages in the BAM degree is also shown in Excerpt 71. In this excerpt, as in the previous one, the lecturer seeks to introduce the correct term in Spanish, which in turn shows the lecturer's awareness of his students' professional diverse contextual linguistic demands, in which discipline-specific terminology in Spanish may also be needed.

71) L1: Today we're going to continue with these ordinal methods to mmm measure subjective variables analysis the itemised rating scales, ok? also called 'classification'. If you go to a Spanish manual, they call it <L1sp> clasificación </L1sp> probably because it is a direct translation from English, Ok? So, classification or rating scale.

Finally, another type of *focus on form* is visible in Excerpt 72, where the lecturer comments on a word in English that may be easily confused, or whose meaning can be misunderstood because its form is similar to two different Spanish words. In this case the lecturer refers to the English term "casual" and how it differs from the Spanish similar terms "causal" and "casual" in order to emphasise their different meanings. He even reformulates the term

"casual" ("by chance") and establishes the relationship between Spanish terms "casual" and "causalidad".

72) L2: Is it possible for us to find a relationship between two variables that, with no e:h theoretical support at all. But it's just more than cause causal is, I don't know if the this word is in English, in Spanish aa it is <L1sp> casual </L1sp> I don't know if this is the same meaning <L1sp> casual </L1sp> just by not <L1sp> cau- causal </L1sp> is by chance eeh in Spanish is not <L1sp> casual es casual, casualidad </L1sp> (.) So, we need a strong hypothesis that supports this relationship.

The findings regarding the *focus-on-form* strategy show that, despite the intrinsic relation between focusing on English language forms and teaching English, the lecturers do not aim at teaching English as a foreign language, since this is not the purpose of the courses. In addition, they do not feel comfortable or competent to take on the role of language experts. This is consistent with Dafouz's (2011: 201) reflection on the fact that lecturers in her study "made a strict division between language issues and content [since] FL matters may be considered by content lecturers as falling beyond their responsibility". These excerpts show that lecturers just aim at supporting their students regarding the specialised language that is at hand during the lectures development by means of sharing their conceptions of 'good' language use.

Woodward-Kron's research (2008) in the university context suggests that there is a close relationship between students' disciplinary knowledge and their understanding of the disciplinary-related language and that being able to use technical vocabulary demonstrates group belonging. All these excerpts exemplify how well participants in the recording are aware of their membership to a "discourse community", where its members need to acquire some specific lexis, i.e., technical terminology, and they all need to have a suitable degree of relevant content and discoursal expertise (Swales, 1990: 24). The special aspect of the excerpts discussed above is that in this EMI context lecturers make linguistic connections between English and Spanish visible in order to help their students acquire the specific terminology in both languages. The attention lecturers devote to terminology in both languages brings to light once again the usefulness of plurilingual resources in the negotiation of meaning and incidental language learning processes. The idea behind it is that

it is necessary to understand the information before using it and that ability in both languages will increase when these languages reinforce each other (Williams, 2002).

Previous studies have proved that lecturers *focus on form* pre-emptively in order to avoid shortcomings in linguistic formulation of the student's contributions (Costa, 2012; Basturkmen & Shackleford, 2015). The present study contributes to providing evidence of it and to emphasising the supportive attitude of most lecturers, who *focus on form* to assist their students primarily with disciplinary language and academic linguistic repertoires. Therefore, the main functions of this strategy in this study are:

FOCUS ON FORM

- 1) To support students with disciplinary language.
- 2) To provide incidental language-learning opportunities.
- 3) To specific terminology.
- 4) To clarify meaning.
- 5) To enhance language in the teaching-learning process.

4.5. Discussion: factors or motivations involved in the use of pragmatic strategies in EMI lectures

The qualitative and quantitative analyses carried out in this study have revealed the strategies employed to overcome the communication difficulties experienced by lecturers who use English as the lingua franca to teach content subjects in two different degrees at the University of Zaragoza. Particularly, thirteen different strategies have been found to be used by the participants in these EMI courses to fulfill different purposes needed to achieve communication effectiveness, as it is illustrated and condensed in Table 4.11. As has been shown, they can be grouped into five categories: 1. Explicitness strategies; 2. Repairing strategies; 3. Multilingual resources; 4. Clarification strategies; 5. Focus on form.

The pragmatic strategies used in the lectures recorded for the study could only be understood in light of the role played by discursively developing conventions of EMI lecturing as well as by the characteristics of the participants in these EMI lectures and the contexts where they took place. As Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006: 173) suggest, the setting where ELF is used has an effect on the participants' interactional behaviour. In other words, local interactional norms have an impact on the communication established and therefore on the pragmatic strategies used to do so. As has been argued in this study, what makes this

4. Results

research particularly interesting is that: 1) it involves participants who have different linguacultural backgrounds and who use English as their lingua franca for instruction in a Spanishmonolingual university, 2) these participants have different commands of the English language, 3) the lectures recorded reflect different types of lecturer-student interactions that take place in the different degrees where data were collected and 4) there are differences among the lecturers' perspectives towards teaching EMI. These facts explain the high use of pragmatic strategies by the lecturers to facilitate the achievement of the teaching/learning objectives of the courses (See Table 4.11).

	PRAGMATIC STRATEGY	FUNCTIONS
EXPLICITNESS STRATEGIES	REFORMULATION	To give the listener the opportunity to re-hear the utterance now formulated in a more explicit accessible way.
		2. To clarify meaning including amplification or simplification of a selected idea.
		3. To provide a linguistically accurate version of the utterance modeling and expanding the student-initiated meaning.
		4. To clarify one's understanding about terms and concepts under discussion (when performed by students).
	DEFINING	1. To make the subject content (more) comprehensible
		2. To increase lecturers' chances of getting their contributions understood as intended.
		3. To draw students' attention and clarify critical notions.
		4. To construct solidarity and group cohesion by ensuring shared understanding.
	3 4 5	To give the listener the opportunity to rehear the item in question.
		2. To ratify meaning: specify information that the speaker wants to highlight in importance.
		3. To create cohesion with the previous discourse.
		4. To facilitate comprehension by providing semantically less dense discourse.
		5. To gain time in discourse processing.
		6. To keep their discourse flowing when trying to find the correct words.
	OTHER-	To acknowledge agreement.
	REPETITION	2. To reaffirm the student in his/her understanding once the correct answer has been provided, i.e. to ratify meaning.

		3.	To echo a student's contribution and so allow the rest of
		5.	the students present in the class to listen to the correct
			answer given the prominent voice of the lecturer.
		4.	To make transitions explicit.
		5.	To create cohesive links with the interlocutor's earlier
			points.
		6.	To process the interlocutor's words before expanding or
			elaborating on that same idea.
REPAIRING STRATEGIES	SELF-REPAIR	1.	To gain accuracy in the language used.
STRATEGIES		2.	To negotiate acceptable usage of the language.
		3.	To 'model' the correct use of the language (e.g. specialised terms).
		4.	To allow incidental language learning.
		5.	To pre-empt potential, rather than real communicative
			troubles.
	OTHER-REPAIR	1.	To assist the interlocutor(s) gain accuracy in the
			language used.
		2.	To negotiate acceptable usage of the language
		3.	To 'model' the correct use of the language (e.g.
			specialised terms/formulations).
		4.	To allow incidental language learning.
MULTILINGUAL RESOURCES	CODE-SWITCHING	1.	To scaffold concepts when supporting the student's learning.
		2.	Ensure interlocutors' understanding.
		3.	To keep the lecturers' flow.
		4.	To create in-group solidarity.
		5.	To provide an alignment component among lecturers
			and students.
_		6.	To signal culture and multilingual identity.
	LITERAL	1.	To signal their identities through the language.
	TRANSLATION	2.	To reinforce successful negotiation of meaning.
		3.	To ensure understanding.
		4.	To ensure conversational fluency.
		5.	To establish rapport among the audience.
CLARIFICATION STRATEGIES	CHECK 2	1.	To avert problems of understanding.
		2.	To insert interactivity in the explanation.
		3.	To promote negotiation of meaning.
		4.	To provide the floor to the students and so making the lesson more dialogic.
		5.	To highlight important and to signpost a topic change.
		1.	To seek for the interlocutors' help upon a
	APPEAL FOR HELP		r
	APPEAL FOR HELP		communicative shortcoming.
	APPEAL FOR HELP	2.	

4. Results

		4.	To appeal for the students' solidarity or empathy until they find the correct wording.			
		5.	To acknowledge a linguistic limitation.			
	ASKING FOR REPETITION		To prompt the interlocutor to repeat the final utterance or word or to extend the last idea conveyed in the previous turn.			
		2.	To guide the interlocutor to the source of the trouble.			
		3.	To indicate the segment that one finds problematic.			
	CLARIFICATION	1.	To point out the non-understood item.			
	REQUEST	2.	To elicit further explanation or explicitness.			
		3.	To open opportunities for negotiation of meaning and, therefore, cooperation.			
		4.	To scaffold students' knowledge.			
FOCUS ON FORM	FOCUS ON FORM	1.	To support their students with disciplinary language.			
	3 4	2.	To provide incidental language-learning opportunities.			
		3.	To enhance specific terminology.			
		4.	To clarify meaning.			
		5.	To enhance language in the teaching-learning process.			

Table 4.11. Pragmatic strategies used by the lecturers and their functions.

The lecturers' use of the strategies covered in Table 4.11 firstly shows their willingness to make adjustments in their speech and accommodations towards their audiences in order to favour mutual intelligibility and successful linguistic communication. All the lecturers demonstrate their eagerness to ensure learning opportunities and using pragmatic strategies to ease the referential understanding, emphasising clarity, and therefore, most frequently preempting problems of understanding.

A high degree of explicitness has been found on the lecturers' choices of pragmatic strategies since the Clarity and Explicitness category accounts for almost half of the instances (45.6%) of the total pragmatic strategies coded. The results show that lecturers use strategies such as *reformulation*, *defining*, *self-repetition* or *other-repetition* very frequently in seeking to simplify the message to the students following the communicational guideline coined by Smit "saying what you mean and meaning what you say" (Smit, 2010: 303). All the lecturers in this study try to ease the referential understanding by eliminating vagueness and dense discourse and using grammatical simplicity with the aim of increasing their' chances of getting their contributions understood as intended, and therefore, clarifying critical notions. Most of the times, these strategies have served to clarify and emphasise specialised subject-related contents and most precisely specific terminology. These results

are consistent with the kind of pragmatic communicative behaviour that was expected in an English as a lingua franca language scenario in which, despite a highly shared Spanish linguistic background, participants with different L1s and English proficiency levels were present.

The second characterising feature of the lecturers' pragmatic choices is a noticeable readiness to negotiate meaning and also acceptable usage of the language. This study supports Gotti's argument (2014: 358) that a general awareness of not being native speakers characterises these academic ELF encounters, which leads lecturers to be more motivated to adopt supportive pragmatic moves to favour successful outcomes than it is commonly noticed in settings only involving native speakers (Mauranen, 2006b; Kaur, 2009). Lecturers tend to use pragmatic strategies such as self-repair or reformulation to gain accuracy in the language used, most of the times being conscious of their minor infelicities. Lecturers value "correct" or standard" use of English, as reflected in the fact that they want to 'model' the correct use of the language and they allow opportunities for incidental language learning, although language learning is not an explicitly stated learning outcome of either of the programmes and acting as language teachers is not the goal of the lecturers. 'Correction' is also sought when it comes to disciplinary contents and specialised terminology. The wide variety of pragmatic strategies used to enhance and make terminology accessible to the students is in agreement with the academic and disciplinary character of the analysed EMI lectures. In fact, there are strategies which seem to be very frequently used in academic encounters such as focus on form (see Björkman, 2011a and 2013 under the name of 'Comment on terms and concepts'), clarification request or comprehension check (see Kaur, 2010 and 2011a under the names 'requests for confirmation of understanding' and 'requests for clarification') and even *other-repair* to assist the interlocutor(s) in gaining accuracy in the language used. This has to do with the participants' roles and the academic goals that need to be achieved for the task at hand. The goal of the speakers in such interactions is not necessarily 'interactional' socialisation but 'transactional achievement of a shared goal' (Shaw, 2011: 74) -that of teaching and learning contents-. Therefore, the knowledgeproviding role of the lecturers as regards subject-related language is combined with their nature of lingua franca speakers when it comes just to facilitating understanding to their interlocutors.

Moreover, the use of different languages, mainly by means of *code-switching* and *translating* from English to Spanish and vice versa, reveals how lecturers make use of all the

4. Results

resources available to convey meaning and most often to ensure conversational fluency. Communication has proved to rely sometimes on partially or completely shared Spanish-cultural and linguistic awareness to succeed in understanding certain notions and/or referents. In the settings where the EMI lecturers were recorded, where the majority of speakers have the same lingua-cultural background (i.e., all the lecturers and high number of students were Spanish, especially in the BAM degree) and the interaction is carried out in their home territory, it was expected that the shared linguistic and cultural background affected the speakers' use of the English language. As Blommaert et al. (2005: 198) suggest, the environment can affect the participants' capacity to make use of their linguistic resources and skills and impose on the participants specific requirements that they may fail to meet. This strategic use of the languages and the background shared among the participants signals the participants' membership to the same lingua-cultural community of speakers and a local-contextual in-group solidarity (Cogo, 2011: 119). This cultural impact is more noticeable in this study than in similar studies in other universities in which English is a dominant official language (See Smit, 2010; Björkman, 2011a).

However, the considerable use of the participants' L1 in the BAM degree shows differences with the scarce use of the lecturers' LI in the master's degree. These results could mirror an already embraced use of English as the lingua franca in the master's degree, where little use of the Spanish language is made, and a less naturalised use of the English language in the BAM degree at this university, where more use of the lecturers' L1 is made to ensure comprehensibility and fluency. This is related to several facts. First, the objectives of each program are different. On the one hand, the English-medium program of the BAM degree is part of the institutions' ongoing efforts to drive an internationalisation agenda 'at home', this is helping the students (most of them local) to become part of an international labour market once they finish their studies. It might, thus, be inferred that the goal of EMI in this faculty is to empower Spanish students linguistically to compete in the global market. On the other hand, the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials is already an example of an achievement of the university's efforts to drive an internationalisation agenda 'abroad' since a considerable number of international students become part of this program and the English language is 'taken for granted' by all the participants in the lectures, included the lecturers themselves. Secondly, the higher use of code-switching and literal translation into Spanish in the BAM degree is also due to the higher number of local students present in those lectures

as compared to the master's degree sessions, i.e., there were more interlocutors sharing the lecturers' cultural and linguistic background.

Another important finding which supports earlier descriptions of ELF interactions (Cogo, 2010) as cooperative is the use of *clarification strategies* in search for an alignment component among lecturers and students and to open opportunities for negotiation of meaning and, therefore, cooperation. Strategies such as appeal for help, or clarification request resulted in some communicative interaction, which, despite not being a common feature in all the lectures, suggests that some lecturers sought collaboration within the class, which is deemed particularly important for a successful progress of the course, as other studies have proved (Dearden, 2016: 24). The BAM degree is clearly more dialogic than the master's degree, the latter mainly adopting a 'lecture' format with a dominant lecturer-led style –a description which substantiates previous studies accounts of EMI courses (Dafouz, 2011; Costa & Coleman, 2012)—. Lectures in the BAM degree tend to be more interactive and practical at times. In turn, the students in the BAM degree also showed a greater willingness to cooperate with their lecturers to accomplish the communicative purpose of the interactions in which they were involved than the students in the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials. The participants in the BAM degree, therefore, succeeded in making their lectures more dialogic, creating opportunities for the negotiation of meaning and clarification, most frequently using intrinsically dyadic pragmatic strategies such as clarification request, comprehension check, asking for repetition, appeal for help, or otherrepetition. These strategies fulfil extremely necessary functions such as inserting interactivity in the explanation, providing the floor to the students and even co-constructing meaning between the interlocutors upon communicative shortcomings. Indeed, the quantitative analysis of the lecturers recorded in both the BAM degree and the master's degree has confirmed the results of previous studies (e.g. Hellekjar, 2010; Suviniitty, 2012) which show that the more interactive the lecturers are, the more communication-enhancing pragmatic strategies are used. This, in turn, may result in more comprehensible lectures, as understanding has gone through a process of interactive negotiated meaning. The results suggest that the use of dialogic strategies provides communication enhancement, and, in this academic scenario, they could be a source of learning.

The different uses of the pragmatic strategies that have been listed in Table 4.11 are part of the pro-active work which is characteristic of ELF communication (Mauranen, 2006a). As some researchers have observed, participants in ELF interactions attempt to pre-

4. Results

empt potential problems of understanding, but there are also cases where strategies are also used to repair communication breakdown (Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Mauranen, 2006a; Lichtkoppler, 2007; Kaur, 2009). The data analysis reveals that the main functions of the pragmatic strategies in the corpus are:

- Pre-empt potential communicative breakdowns, mostly assumed by the lectures using pre-work strategies.
- Remedy production problems which are overtly hindering communication by means of post-work strategies.
- Co-construct understanding through the participants' collaboration and contributions
 to the meaning-making by means of strategies to express cooperativeness, solidarity
 and empathy.

Most of the strategies in this study are used to ensure communicative effectiveness in line with what Mauranen (2006a) coined as "pre-work" also termed "prospective behaviour" and "proactive talk" Swales (2001). It consists of strategies employed by speakers to avoid disturbance in communication i.e., to prevent misunderstanding. In fact, the lecturers' innate and most recurrent pragmatic behaviour is that of pre-empting potential communicative breakdowns before they might be caused. As a general pragmatic attitude, lecturers tend to anticipate non- or misunderstanding problems that students may have, and they try to avoid them immediately. This has to do with the general knowledge-providing and lecturer-centred conception of the lectures recorded which allows for scarce negotiation of meaning in some of the lectures. This frequent use of the pre-work strategies may also reflect the lecturers' lack of confidence regarding their own or the students' proficiency in the English language.

The prospective behaviour of the lecturers in this study is mirrored in their use of explicitness strategies (i.e., reformulation, self-repetition or defining) and multilingual resources (i.e., literal translation, code-switching) which are most frequently deployed preemptively to clarify and even simplify what lecturers apparently deem unclear ideas always aiming at ensuring understanding and mutual intelligibility. In most of the excerpts analysed in the corpus, it is remarkable how lecturers considered their inaccuracies or dysfluencies as disruptors in communication—drawing on pragmatic strategies to solve them—prior to students asking for any kind of post-work upon real unsuccessful communication.

One of the most common ways of prospective talk in the present corpus is that in which lecturers mention a concept and then combine different strategies to explain what it means in other words. As has been said, there is a high frequency of vocabulary-related episodes in the corpus that generally target at explaining technical terms or specialised language intrinsic to the development of disciplinary knowledge. Vocabulary is seen as an important aspect both by lecturers and students in the focus lectures since students may not be familiar with some key terms related to the subject. Therefore, lecturers of both disciplines made subject contents more comprehensible to their students by using these prospective strategies, particularly when introducing conceptual information and terminology.

A lot of fruitful combinations of pragmatic strategies used to prevent nonunderstanding or misunderstanding in relation to specialised language have been found. This means that in order to convey meaning more than one strategy is used. Among the combinations of pragmatic strategies frequently coded in a single excerpt the following can be highlighted:

- Focus on form + Literal translation + defining.
- Focus on form + Reformulation.
- Defining + Reformulation.
- Reformulation + Comprehension check.
- Code-switching + Reformulation.
- Code-switching+ defining.

The combination of these strategies suggests the lecturers' fear of under-performance when delivering lectures in English, as they need to cope with the heavy investment needed in the communication process that is required when using a vehicular language different from one's own to teach in such high-stakes EMI academic settings. Besides, these strategies are the resulting pragmatic behaviour that lectures draw upon to cope with less flexibility in teaching style than when teaching in the mother tongue, less fluency and, therefore, less precise and detailed language to use.

Lecturers also tend to do some post-work, which has also been referred to as remedial work or retrospective work (Swales, 2001). It implies going to a specific problematic instance of speech in a conversation when a "mismatch" between the speaker's meanings

and the hearers' understanding emerges. Remedial work is not as frequently used as prospective work in this corpus due to a general pre-emptive attitude of the participants. Lecturers do remedial work most often using repairing strategies (e.g., self- or *other-repair*), clarity and explicitness strategies (i.e., *self-repetition*, *reformulation*) and clarification strategies (i.e. *asking for repetition/clarification*).

Lecturers use these strategies retrospectively to make up for their own possible dysfluencies in terms of the language used. The lecturers that participate in this study tend to orient their speech towards language native models and their frequent use of *self-repair* concerning grammar, wording or sentence formulation proves it. Most of the *self-repairs* are repairs of linguistic elements related to grammar and vocabulary. Speakers' tendencies to repair their own speech immediately after being uttered or repeat themselves after inaccuracies concerning linguistic matters may derive from their need to ensure the correct meaning, and also their concern about a self-perceived lack of confidence in their language proficiency.

This goes hand in hand with the use of another pragmatic strategy used retrospectively, namely *other-repair*. Although it is not very frequent in the corpus, this strategy has been observed as used by the lecturers to correct student's speech most often providing a linguistically accurate version of the language the student has used. As the interviews demonstrated, lecturers believe in the effective role of grammatical correctness in facilitating mutual intelligibility, which in turn influences their belief in lecturers "modelling" in terms of language (grammar, pronunciation, lexis, etc.), apart from playing the expert role in the subject matter, even though they have confirmed their unwillingness and inability to become language lecturers.

Finally, remedial work is also triggered by lack of clarity or specificity noticed by the lecturers after clarification or repetition requests made by the students. In this regard clarification strategies (i.e., comprehension check, asking for repetition, appeal for help and clarification request) play an important role when requesting the interlocutor's feedback, clarification or help to keep communication flowing. Nevertheless, as has been previously explained, these pragmatic strategies are deployed less often in this study since scarce interaction has been observed in the lectures, given the general monologic nature of the sessions recorded.

Thirdly, it has been observed that ELF speakers also resort to strategies intended to express cooperativeness, construct solidarity and show their belonging to the community of ELF speakers (House, 2003). 'Signaling solidarity' in this research implies a collaborative behavior between the interactants inside the classroom (lecturers and students) in order to ensure understanding and to accept and build on the participants' contributions, while at the same time creating a sense of comity and in-group belonging (Cogo, 2010: 302). As previous studies have emphasised, solidarity is frequently signalled by ELF speakers when they accept and build on the participants' contributions mostly by switching code to their mother tongue in order to accommodate to their interlocutors following both affective and comprehensibility reasons (Jenkins, 2011: 928). In the present study it is not surprising that lecturers make use of strategies such as *literal translation* and *code-switching*, among others, in order to ensure interlocutors' understanding and to convey meaning efficiently, since it is an ELF scenario in which there is total overlap on the language that they choose to use as a lingua franca but there is also a partial overlap on the speakers' L1 (the lecturers and most of the students are Spanish speakers) (Mortensen, 2013: 36).

Lecturers' multilingual repertoires help to establish a good rapport between lecturers and students to achieve communicative alignment, adaptation and local accommodation. In the examples discussed in this chapter, the participants' use of different languages are well fine-tuned, since *translating* or *code-switching* to Spanish serves to establish rapport among the audience and to identify themselves as "members of the here-and-now group" (Seidlhofer, 2009b, 2015). Yet this strategy has been frequently used in combination with other pragmatic strategies, such as for instance: *Literal translation + Indirect appeal for help*, in order to signal linguistic insecurity, indirectly invite listeners to co-create shared meaning, request alignment and finally keep their flow. The use of the lecturers' own first language confirms previous studies that show that English is not the only language used in such ELF encounters and its usefulness to convey meaning (Seidlhofer, 2009b; Jenkins, 2015).

Finally, there is another pragmatic strategy used by the lecturers which shows their ingroup solidarity, namely *focus on form*. As previously explained, this is primarily an EFL lecturers 'strategy intended to help students to meet native-speakers language norms. Yet, in the current corpus the lecturer does not adopt the role of language teacher, but rather the results emphasise the attitude of the lecturers as 'contributing' to improving students' disciplinary language and academic linguistic repertoires. This strategic behaviour can be

4. Results

both categorised as pre-emptive, intended to avoid shortcomings in linguistic formulation of the student's contributions (Costa, 2012; Basturkmen & Shackleford, 2015), but also as a means to show their shared status of non-native status, which in turn contributes to the acceptance both by lecturers and students of all the resources to communicate and make meaning. As Cogo explained, participants in the analysed EMI lectures "are all on the same boat [...] are all foreigners" (Cogo, 2010: 303) since they are non-native speakers of the English language.

In conclusion, the results of this study demonstrate that ELF speakers use various pragmatic strategies to support smooth interaction and also to contribute to the building of considerate and mutually-supportive communicative behaviour, even in academic interactions such as academic content lecturers where the lecturers and the students have different status or interactive positions. As Morell points out, lecturers are concerned with not only the ideational aspects, i.e., the informational content, but also the interpersonal aspects, or everything that plays a role in establishing a relationship between the lecturer and the students (Morell, 2007: 235).

Chapter 5. Conclusion



5. Conclusion

5.1. Summary of the study

The present research has set out to analyse the complexity of lectures' discourse when English is used as the medium of instruction in a primarily monolingual university (i.e., the University of Zaragoza). This research initial interest lied on the exploration of the pragmatic strategies used for communicative purposes when English is the vehicular language in lectures taking place in a context where Spanish is the first language of the majority and thus, the language generally used in academic and non-academic daily life. The English as a lingua franca perspective is presented here as helpful and insightful to do research on EMI tertiary education. The study takes a post-normative approach in which lecturers and students are seen as users of English as a lingua franca, i.e., communicators within their disciplinary domains, rather than as 'deficient native speakers', who use the language to engage in English-mediated academic practices which involve people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This is the reason why the concept of 'English in a lingua franca language scenario' (Mortensen, 2013) is considered to best characterise the contexts that have been analysed.

This research provides empirical data for ELF and EMI studies focusing on their convergence –ELF communication in Higher Education at the University of Zaragoza–. The study serves descriptive interests on the pragmatics of ELF usage in higher education

teaching practices, more precisely on a spoken genre, that of English-mediated lectures. By combining analyses of authentic ELF use with analyses of participants' EMI teaching experiences, this study takes at a close-up view of the language practices in use to uncover the challenges faced by the lecturers in their day-to-day academic communicative labour and their linguistic resources to face them. The study adds new insights and understanding into the processes these particular EMI lecturers go through when handling explanatory actions and exchanges using ELF with the objective of enhancing both communication and teaching-learning experiences.

The research main assumption was the critical role of accommodation as the single most important pragmatic skill in ELF communication and so the study set out to determine the different ways in which accommodation is realised in two programs where English is used as a lingua franca. In other words, the focus of this study was the lecturers' strategic capability for language use in EMI lectures to facilitate understanding and negotiate meaning with the audience, understanding the participants as lingua franca users. Specifically, the aim of the present study was to investigate the role of context-dependent pragmatic strategies deployed in English-mediated lectures in two different disciplines —Social Sciences and Engineering— at the University of Zaragoza and determine the factors or motivations that led the interactants to use them.

The first research question posed in this study concerned the pragmatic strategies used by participants in lectures at the University of Zaragoza to facilitate understanding when using English and their functions. The results of this investigation show that a high number of strategies were used by the lecturers that participated in the study, while, due to the primarily monolingual nature of these lectures, students made use of few strategies. The research found that in the lectures analysed, participants used mainly thirteen pragmatic strategies. The main finding that has emerged from this analysis is a clear distinction of five categories of strategies: explicitness strategies, repairing strategies, clarification strategies, multilingual resources and focus on form. Yet, since the corpus consists of a set of lectures recorded in two different disciplines, some differences have been observed among them. More strategies have been found in the lectures recorded in the BAM degree than in the master's degree in Nanostructured Materials lectures. This difference seems to be due to several factors, which are further explained later, concerning the contextual variables that characterise the lectures in each sub-corpus, such as the type of study (bachelor's degree vs. master's degree), the reason for the use of English in both degrees, the type of participants

in each group or the teacher's attitude. The results of this research show that different lecturers have different conceptualisations of EMI lectures, and therefore, different experiences have been highlighted in the different programs in which data were collected. Although all the lecturers participating are Spanish-native speakers and all of them considered themselves 'users' of English, both the lecturers' personal perceptions towards their teaching experiences and the contextual and disciplinary differences provide rather dissimilar glimpses of what EMI implies in the same university. This is reflected in the different use of pragmatic strategies in both programs. In fact, only four out of the 13 pragmatic strategies are used in all the lectures recorded and by all the lecturers who participated in the study from both degrees and, consequently, they are the pragmatic strategies with a higher incidence in the lecturers' discourse in this study, and which could be considered the basic features of EMI lectures in this context. In order of frequency, these strategies are *self-repair*, *reformulation*, *defining* and *self-repetition*.

These four pragmatic strategies have mainly a pre-emptive use by which lecturers made up for possible disfluencies, non-standardness or unclear utterances mainly assumed by lecturers as disruptors in communication. These strategies are used to clarify meaning and they are often used in relation to specialised subject-related terminology. The use of these strategies is consistent with the function of language in a lecturing context where lecturers need to increase their' chances of getting their contributions understood as intended and they are also consistent with the kind of pragmatic communicative strategies expected to be used by ELF users in an English as a lingua franca language scenario in which participants with different L1s and English proficiency levels were present. Two other pragmatic strategies were used by participants in the corpus, namely code-switching and focus on form. The use of the lecturers' L1 together with the focus on English language forms at some language-related episodes are two of the most relevant and distinguishing features of this research in comparison with other similar studies in different higher education contexts (Leznyak, 2002; Mauranen, 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2012; Planken, 2005; Cogo, 2009; Kaur, 2009; Suviniitty, 2010; Smit, 2010; Björkman, 2011b; Hynninen, 2011; Smit & Dafouz, 2012), where no such pragmatic strategies have been used to negotiate meaning or to prevent misunderstanding. Finally, it should be noted that clarification strategies such us clarification-request or asking for repetition were infrequent due to the fact that these were teacher-fronted lectures where lecturers had most of the turns and therefore interaction among the participants was scarce.

As regards the second research question posed in this study —why do participants use this particular set of pragmatic strategies in EMI lectures?— results have shown that it has to do with context-dependent features, such as the difficulties encountered when using a language different from the participants' L1 in high stake academic programs with the aim of teaching and learning contents, the participants orientations towards English-native models, the different level of language knowledge by students and the lecturers' different attitudes towards the use of English in their lectures, the academic institution's regulations and practices towards languages in each sub-corpus (bachelor's degree vs. master's degree) and the fact that a high number of students share their L1 (Spanish) with the lecturers.

The difficulties in using a vehicular language different from the participants' L1 to teach and learn highly intellectually demanding concepts give rise to a frequent use of strategies mainly by the lecturers. These EMI lectures took place in a Spanish university involving Spanish lecturers and both Spanish and international students with different mother tongues. Therefore, there was partial overlap on the speakers' L1 and complete overlap on the language that they choose to use as a lingua franca –English (Mortensen, 2013, p. 36). As the results from the interviews have shown, both the lecturers and the audience in both programs felt somewhat uneasy regarding the use of English as the medium for instruction. This uneasiness is reflected in a clear dominance of conventional lecture format, including scarce interactivity, especially in the master's degree. Teachers felt their abilities to achieve comprehensibility diminished if they got out of the pre-established and almost scripted discourse for each of the lessons. They recognised that in this respect, they are much more fluent in Spanish (L1) than in English. Therefore, this study supports previous research that demonstrated little improvisation made on the part of the lecturers (Airey's, 2011; Wozniak, 2013), who tend to feel a general lack of flexibility in their teaching style as compared to the same teaching activity carried out in the mother language. Therefore, in general terms pragmatic strategies in this study are used to support smooth communicative discourse and to prevent misunderstanding. This means most usually to preempt communicative breakdowns, negotiate and clarify meaning. Yet, participants also approach pragmatic strategies to remedy production problems and co-construct understanding signaling solidarity. Indeed, this study substantiates previous research findings on the use of proactive (Mauranen, 2006a; Kaur, 2009), interactive (Bjorkman, 2010; Suviniitty, 2012), and explicitation (Mauranen, 2007) strategies to enhance both communication and learning in ELF settings and supports the argument of ELF talk being «cooperative and mutually supportive» (Seidlhofer, 2001, p. 143).

Moreover, some of the pragmatic strategies deployment during the lectures has to do with the lecturers' tendency to orient their speech towards language native models, as their frequent use of self-repair and reformulation concerning grammar, wording or sentence formulation suggests. Lecturers' recurrent use of these strategies is to some extent rooted in their lack of confidence in their language proficiency vis-à-vis language native models. In fact, other pragmatic strategies also focus on "correctness". This is the case of focus on form, by which lecturers shifted from the topic they were discussing (content) to language (vocabulary, pronunciation, etc.). In those episodes lecturers were engaged in helping their students with the (disciplinary) language in order to expand their academic linguistic repertories and so metalingual comments were mainly subject specific. Nevertheless, what the speakers did when commenting and correcting language was negotiating acceptable usage and not integrating language and content in their teaching since that strategic behavior was only used at certain episodes and not as a constant parameter throughout the lectures. This means that lecturers assumed, and students granted them, the role of language experts mainly in terms of subject-related terminology. Therefore, this implies that lecturers were more concerned with the disciplinary terminology their students should acquire than with their students' achieving a "native-oriented" use of the language.

In fact, an aspect in which all the lecturers agreed is their position as non-language teachers but content teachers, which reinforces previous studies' similar arguments (Smit & Dafouz, 2012; Airey, 2012; Costa, 2012; Dearden & Macaro, 2016). The interview results in both programs show that the lecturers teaching activity is not that of teaching English but through the medium of English. Yet, a distinguishing aspect between the different disciplinary teachers was found. The interview results in the BAM degree revealed that lecturers believed that undergraduate students (most of them Spanish native speakers) could improve their language competence as a result of being in contact with the language regularly and thanks to the input they receive from the lecturers' speech. Thus, that may be a reason to keep the use of the language as native-like as possible —a concern that is clearly reflected in the use of pre-emptive pragmatic strategies that allow them to seek correctness in semantic and grammar forms—. On the other hand, results from the interview in the masters' degree showed a much more functional or utilitarian use of the English language, both on the part of the lecturer and the students (a relatively high percentage of them being international

students), where no focus on form was present; It seems that it was not deemed necessary or appropriate as the students were postgraduate students with much more disciplinary competence and fluency in terms of the subject-related language required. This means that while in the master's degree students were considered widely competent in the use of the language for specific and subject-related purposes, students in the bachelor's degree were considered as less equipped with the linguistic resources needed for the tasks at hand during English-mediated lectures.

Another conditioning factor that had an impact on the use of pragmatic strategies in the corpus is the fact that the BAM degree set of lecturers were recorded in a program which is simultaneously taught in English and Spanish to different groups. The policies concerning medium of instruction in this Business degree requires the exact reproduction of contents in both groups (English-taught or Spanish-taught). This primarily has an impact on the kind of materials the lecturers use, as the results of the analysis of the presentations slides revealed. Most of the presentation slides were translated from Spanish to English, even leaving an open door for the reuse of the materials in Spanish in the English-medium lectures. In fact, the use of certain Spanish terminology derived in occasional communicative problems, which caused a greater deployment of pragmatic strategies, such as reformulation, focus on form, literal translation or code-switching, (or even a combination of some of them) than in the master's program, which is exclusively taught in English. Besides, since English is the language of science, terminology in English is much more shared among scientific communities of practice (Wenger 1998). Both lecturers and postgraduate students in the master's degree seemed to be used to working with English as their vehicular language and so they needed fewer multilingual resources. Yet other types of pragmatic strategies have been found as recurrent in the master's degree lecturers in order to cope with the EMI teaching task such as reformulation or defining, all of them employed to reinforce or assure students comprehension and learning.

The strategies found in this study differ from those in similar studies in other universities, mostly in other European countries (Leznyak, 2002; Mauranen, 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2012; Smit, 2010; Björkman, 2011b; Hynninen, 2011), which reveals that pragmatic strategies are highly contextual and used in 'situated and strategic interaction' (Cogo, 2010: 298). This means that what may seem strategically useful in some ELF contexts may not be so in others. The main distinctive feature of this context is the use of the lecturers' own first language. Although there have been lecturers who did not make use of their mother tongue,

the results show that there are lecturers that consider it as useful in the task of scaffolding. Literal translation and code-switching are used in this study as pragmatic strategies in order to ensure interlocutors' understanding and, in this context, they seem to be a win-win strategy by which the lecturers are not only efficiently conveying and scaffolding meaning but also providing an alignment component, since a high number of the students present in the class shared the Spanish-L1 with the lecturers. The study has also revealed that these strategies are often used in combination with others, such as reformulation or focus on form, since lecturers were aware of the fact that they were lecturing in front of an international audience and that the use of their L1 could only serve as reinforcement. Particularly, the use of these strategies has brought to light the usefulness of using more than one language to convey meaning and so to ensure the efficient and successful development of the interaction in some ELF contexts such as the bachelor's degree in Business Administration and Management at the University of Zaragoza. These linguistic choices in the academic discourse allowed for informal interaction (i.e., the use of idioms) that granted extra flexibility in the lecturers' discourse – which has proved to be a great lack in EMI lecturing – and which, in turn, helped to establish a good rapport between lecturers and students. Consequently, this study confirms previous findings and provides additional evidence of the multilingual nature of ELF (Jenkins, 2015).

Finally, the study has shown that there is no clear distinction at times between ELF strategies and the strategies used in teaching-learning contexts to facilitate the understanding of content and to scaffold learning. For instance, the strategies within the clarification category (e.g., asking for repetition or comprehension check) are also frequently used by teachers when negotiating meaning with students (Pica, 1994); some of these strategies (e.g., clarification request) are also related to 'questioning', a technique used by teachers to foster the students' construction of their own contributions and to create interaction in the classroom. Similarly, the strategy focus on form integrates language teaching, when terminology is given a prominent role in the lecture, a finding which contrast with previous studies that have revealed that attention to language forms is overtly neglected by university lecturers (Airey, 2012; Costa, 2012; Aguilar, 2017). Yet, these episodes are understood as incidental language-learning opportunities that may arise at specific moments of the lecture as part of their study areas, which differs from the pedagogical linguistic guidance conventionally considered in ESL, ESP or CLIL literature. Rather, these EMI situations

imply content lecturers raising awareness of the appropriate language to use in the specific context because obviously it is required to understand the content.

To conclude, the analysis of the data shows that non-native lecturers are skilful in exploiting the pragmatic resources available to them when delivering lectures through English as their lingua franca. Lecturers are able to deploy varied pragmatic strategies not only using the English language but also drawing on their linguacultural repertoires, often in flexible ways in order to achieve successful communication, and therefore, the desirable teaching purposes. In other words, being non-native speakers is not a limitation when it comes to pragmatic awareness; it rather becomes a valuable resource as it provides speakers with the ability to use diverse and context-sensitive pragmatic strategies to enhance successful meaning construction. As Cogo and Dewey (2012: 137) emphasise, meaning does not depend on the linguistic forms themselves, rather on the manipulation and selection of the discourse processes which encourage mutual negotiation. Hence, the findings suggest that a skilled EMI lecturer is not a quasi-native speaker of a particular native variety of English, but someone who has acquired the pragmatic skills needed to adapt their English use in line with the demands of the classroom situation.

5.2. Pedagogical implications and proposals to improve EMI instruction

Higher Education institutions need to address the complex reality of EMI in order to achieve high standards of quality both at local and international levels. Therefore, measures such as the inclusion of training programs to instructors in EMI and collaborative work between English language specialist and EMI university lecturers may contribute to improving lecturers' input during EMI lectures. The results of this study may have far reaching implications in what seems to be the future trends in higher education and in the internationalisation processes at the university of Zaragoza. In fact, they can serve to inform a currently developing training program intended to contribute to the internationalisation of the University of Zaragoza: Plan CLIC@Unizar (Content Language Integrated Competences at Universidad de Zaragoza). This program aims at providing the lecturers that teach (or intend to teach) English-medium courses at the university of Zaragoza with the necessary linguistic support and specific training for the implementation of ICLHE (Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education) practices. Therefore, this investigation may

contribute to providing this program with a research-based evidence of the needs and practices of lecturers involved in EMI at the University of Zaragoza. To this end, materials for the program could be created to fulfil two aims: i) to explain the hybridity and flexibility of the English language in current multilingual societies, i.e., to become familiar with different uses of the language; ii) to teach how to use the pragmatic strategies deployed by lecturers and students in intercultural/multilingual classrooms, i.e., what the main functions of these strategies are and how they can be realised. Lecturers could be given examples of real data and asked to identify discourse strategies that help the meaning-construction process or that hinder intelligibility; this may help teachers develop and use these strategies so as to overcome communication problems and to compensate for language diversity and lack of flexibility in EMI lectures.

As regards the first aim, the results obtained in this research echo earlier findings concerning lecturers' attitudes towards native and non-native varieties of English (Matsuda & Friedrich, 2012), with a general preference for the former. Therefore, the first recommendation that can be derived from the present study is the need to make teachers ELF-aware, to move them away from the rooted belief that they should be aiming for an unattainable native-speaker standard in their EMI lessons. EMI lectures need to gain awareness and knowledge of the different varieties of the English language that are a reality in EMI contexts worldwide, including multilingual and multicultural EMI classrooms. Researchers such as Sifakis (2009) argue that in order for a transformative framework to be successful, participants need to be willing to learn more about ELF and be open to change. The implementation of such an approach does not necessarily imply that teachers need to change straight away their entire point of view as regards English and their role within the teaching context. Instead, awareness of the complex matters ELF research sheds lights on and the consequences it has on communication and pedagogy may be promoted. Bearing this in mind, EMI teachers should also be encouraged to prepare their students for the outside world in which the majority of English speakers and users employ English as a lingua franca and not as an L1. Therefore, both the lecturers and the students should accept the exposure to different varieties of English in their EMI classrooms. This indeed will be an essential way of promoting better understanding of the kinds of linguistic environments that may await them once they leave the formal and protected learning that they are experiencing inside those EMI classrooms.

5. Conclusion

The second aim has to do with the relevance of teaching pragmatic strategies to EMI lecturers. As previous studies have pointed out (Chiang & Dunkel 1992; Klaassen & Bos, 2010), lecturers that are highly competent in English do not necessarily give good lectures, unless they make frequent use of communication-enhancing pragmatic strategies. As Macaro points out, "intelligibility would appear to be even more important in an EMI setting than in EFL because it is the message being put across that is the prime pedagogical purpose" (Macaro, 2018: 143). Cogo and Dewey (2012: 166) refer to these as "the communicative assets every ELF speaker must continually try to build up" in order to be able to pre-empt and/or to overcome any possible communication breakdown. As has been pointed out in chapter 2, some pragmatic strategies are well established in the SLA theory and L2 pedagogy literature. However, the perspective is different here: the participants in EMI interactions are all presumed to be English language users and not language learners and therefore they are meant to use pragmatic strategies to achieve successful comprehensibility ends and not to resemble native speakers' use of the language. Taking this into account, following Ball and Lindsay (2013: 49), there are three main areas where pragmatic strategies have an impact and therefore should be learned by EMI lecturers:

- Content: explicitness and clarification strategies are needed to clarify meaning and therefore, content. The teaching of strategies that help increase explicitness can be promoted. For instance, reformulation of unclear utterances together with promoting explanations of concepts and vague ideas by defining them can be very helpful to achieve comprehensibility. Besides, redundancy of ideas to highlight importance and to provide less dense discourse should prevail and this can be achieved by using self-repetition. Comprehension checks should also be used appropriately to ensure that students are successfully following the explanations provided, i.e., lecturers need to allow time for students to verbally point out the unclear ideas or concepts—it cannot be used just as a signposting element in which the 'check' is not really being fulfilled because no real opportunity has given to the students to let the lecturer know about the non-understanding.
- <u>Language</u>: *Explicitness* strategies, *repairing* strategies, *clarification* strategies and *focus on form* can be needed to gain accuracy of expression. Lecturers should have a number of tools they can use to enhance communication, to prevent and solve linguistic shortcomings or just to ensure that the level of language is not too difficult, too fast or unclear. They should also simplify their utterances if necessary, repeat

and/or repair their own or others' utterances and check for comprehension if needed in order to co-construct understanding with the students. Thus, *self-repair* or *defining* may be needed when in face of language-related comprehensibility problems on the part of the students. Asking for repetition or clarification request may be useful when interactive communication with students has not been successful. Teaching lecturers' different forms to check comprehension may grant them with more reliability on the levels of understanding produced in the class. Finally, they can also use vocabulary items the rest of the group will be familiar with or even devote some time to *focus on specialised terminology* that is new for the students.

Engagement with the audience: this implies pragmatic strategies that involve interaction and solidarity with the students. Firstly, more emphasis should be given to explaining interactive teaching methods and clarification strategies may play an important role in the negotiation of meaning process and, therefore, on the students' participation. Secondly, using the multilingual resources of the lecturers and, most importantly, the shared languages among the participants in an EMI lecture, may contribute to gaining more lexical richness and discourse flexibility when explaining concepts and to creating a good rapport among lecturers and the students -in turn, promoting intercultural engagement and effective intercultural relations. Yet, lecturers need to be cautious about when and how to use other languages different form the vehicular one. They should take into account the academic and linguistic backgrounds of the students, since it may be important to comprehend students' reactions, misunderstandings and lack of knowledge about certain culturally dependent allusions and terminology. To avoid this kind of problems more than one pragmatic strategy can be used such as *code-switching* and *reformulation* or *defining* in order to ensure the understanding of every participant in the lecture regardless of their linguistic backgrounds.

5.3. Limitations of the study and future research

The initial research scope of this dissertation was quite ambitious, because it intended to do research on ELF practices in different programs at the University of Zaragoza. However, due to the scarce number of programs taught through the medium of English at the University of Zaragoza and the low number of lecturers accepting to take part in this research, only data

in two programs could be collected. Although all the lecturers taking part in both the BAM degree and the Nanostructured Materials programs were contacted and asked to participate in the study, only six different lecturers (three from each program) agreed to participate. This resulted in almost fourteen hours of recorded EMI lessons—eight of the lectures recorded in the bachelor's degree and four in the master's degree. The small number of lecturers participating in the study and unequal number of lectures recorded in each of the disciplines—mainly because lecturers were reluctant to have several classes recorded since recording implied an intrusion in their teaching activity— may not make a very large and balanced sample, but the corpus has been considered large enough to reveal the kind of strategies that are used by lecturers teaching EMI courses in a Spanish university where most lectures are conducted in Spanish. Additionally, given that the lecturers were somehow reluctant to be video-recorded, the corpus analysed consists only of audio data; it was thus not possible to have information on the non-verbal resources used by the participants, both lecturers and students, to make meaning during the recorded lectures.

Another limitation is related to the aim of exploring the relation between text on slides and pragmatic strategies in the lecturer's discourse. Slides were collected to analyse how they facilitate the process of understanding the lecture contents and the development of the sessions and the relation between the use of particular pragmatic strategies and the text of the slides. Yet, some difficulties were found when carrying out such intertextual analysis; it was difficult to assign written slides to the verbal output transcribed, given that more than one slide referred to the same content, some slides were not commented on, and there was no visual help, since no video-recording was available. Despite these limitations, the analysis was adapted to the corpus available by adjusting the purpose of the investigation. It was observed that, in addition to English, other languages were used on the slides, which seemed interesting and relevant for the study, particularly for the analysis of the code-switching and literal translation strategies.

Finally, aspects that have not been analysed in the current study might be regarded as niches for further research into EMI lectures at the university of Zaragoza. For instance, more research might be needed as regards the comparison between the English-medium and the Spanish-medium lecturing practices in the bachelor's degree in Business administration and Management at this university. It would be interesting to compare the pragmatic strategies used by the same lecturers operating in their mother tongue and in English in the same program to find out whether they are similar in terms of types and frequency or not.

Similarly, further research could assess the effectiveness of the pragmatic strategies used by the lecturers by eliciting the students' feedback and perceptions using ethnographically designed methods. This research has shed light on the different teaching styles of the lecturers, including more or less interaction within the sessions and so it would be helpful to obtain the student's assessment on the extent to which they prefer interactive lectures in which more meaning is negotiated and on the kind of teacher-students' interactions they may consider helpful and effective. Further research also needs to examine the multisemiotic nature of EMI lecturing sessions in order to explore the interrelation of the different modes in lectures in these programs and how they all combine to ensure meaning-making. Finally, since the aforementioned CLIC program, which is currently taking place at the university, has demonstrated the real interest of many lecturers in taking part of EMI programs, more bachelor's degrees and master's degrees are likely to be conducted in English at this university in future years. Thus, a natural progression of this work is to analyse similar aspects in other EMI courses, expanding so the sample of programs, participants and practices of EMI at the University of Zaragoza.

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7. Appendices

7.1. Appendix 1. Semi-structured interview with the lecturers

1. Información general:	Key words
 ¿Cuál es tu lengua materna? ¿Qué asignatura impartes? ¿Impartes la misma asignatura en otra lengua? 	Contextualizar las clases y el background lingüístico del profesor
3. ¿Qué fuentes de información utilizas para preparar tus clases? ¿En qué lengua están? He visto que utilizas géneros en español, ¿Cómo	Libros, publicaciones, vídeos, etc.
crees que encaja esto en una clase de EMI? 2. Percepción del profesor de su dominio del inglés a la hora de impartir EMI	Key words
4. ¿Te consideras un aprendiz o un usuario del inglés?	Experiencia profesional impartiendo clases en inglés
5. ¿Cuáles son tus objetivos con respecto a esta lengua a la hora de impartir clase en inglés?6. ¿Con qué dificultades te encuentras al impartir clases en EMI?	Que te entiendan, enseñar inglés técnico a los estudiantes, dar la clase en esa lengua sin ninguna intención. Falta de vocabulario técnico en
3. El nivel de inglés de los estudiantes	inglés, falta de fluidez, etc Key words
 7. ¿Qué nivel oficial de inglés tienen tus estudiantes? 8. ¿Con qué dificultades se encuentran los alumnos al recibir las clases en inglés?" "Qué 	Ejemplos: diferencias escrito/oral, personalidad, background cultural Razones para justificar las diferencias: Nivel en clase, fuera de clase. Dificultad en la terminología utilizada, etc.

7. Appendices

haces para intentar minimizar esas dificultades?"	
4. Estilo de enseñanza e interacción en clase	Key words
9. ¿Podrías definir cómo es la interacción profesor-alumno en tus clases?10. ¿Crees que se establece una comunicación efectiva en clase? ¿Cómo lo sabes?	En general, diferencias entre grupos, diferencias a la hora de impartir clases en inglés/español Diferencias con alumnos internacionales/sólo españoles ¿Quién habla más?, ¿Cuándo? Ejemplos de comunicación efectiva o no
5. Estrategias pragmáticas utilizadas en el proceso de construcción del significado para resultar efectivo en la comunicación	Key words
(Mostrar ejemplos destacados de cada estrategia al profesor que las ha utilizado, si los hay) Reformulation Self-repair Self-repetition Paraphrasing Code-switching Other-repetition Comprehension check Literal translation Focus on form Other-repair Clarification request Asking for repetition Appeal for help 11. ¿Cuáles crees que son las razones por las cuales has utilizado esa estrategia? 12. ¿Eras consciente de que utilizabas estas estrategias en tu discurso?	Seguir con la explicación; Mostrar que sois multilingües; Para comprobar si los estudiantes han entendido; Para mostrar que no estás seguro de lo que dices con respecto al contenido o a la formulación; Repetir para que el interlocutor lo vuelva a oír; señalar que no has entendido bien; Intentar comunicar el mensaje de la manera más clara posible; Aclarar o ampliar una explicación; Repetir algo para tratar de encontrarle sentido a lo dicho; Para mostrar entendimiento o acuerdo; Repetir lo que otra persona dice para entenderlo; etc.

7.2. Appendix 2. Consent form signed by the lecturers

English as the medium of instruction (EMI) in Spain with a special focus on the University of Zaragoza: Analysis of the use of pragmatic strategies in Academia.

This is a research project conducted in the department of English and German Studies at the University of Zaragoza (Spain). The purpose of this study is to investigate the role English plays as medium of instruction in this university. Particularly, it is focused on spoken language and its main aim is to study the pragmatic strategies used in lectures/seminars as a means for ensuring communication where English is the vehicular language or the lingua franca among speakers with different linguistic backgrounds.

The project compiles a database of spoken discourse, which will be transcribed and stored in electronic form. The recorded material will be used for research purposes only. Proper names and other identifying information will not be made public.

Name:			
Signature			

I hereby give my consent to be audiotaped.

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7.3. Appendix 3. Transcription conventions

1. SPEAKER IDS	
S1: S2: 	Speakers are generally numbered in the order they first speak. The speaker ID is given at the beginning of each turn.
SS:	Utterances assigned to more than one speaker (e.g. an audience), spoken either in unison or staggered, are marked with a collective speaker ID SS .
2. INTONATION	
Example: S1: that's what my next er slide? does	Words spoken with rising intonation are followed by a question mark "?".
3. PAUSES	
Example: SX-f: because they all give me different (.) different (.) points of view	Every brief pause in speech (up to a good half second) is marked with a full stop in parentheses.
Example: S1: aha (2) so finally arrival on monday evening is still valid	Longer pauses are timed to the nearest second and marked with the number of seconds in parentheses, e.g. $(1) = 1$ second, $(3) = 3$ seconds.
4. OVERLAPS	
Example: S1: it is your best <1> case 1 scenario (.) S2: <1> yeah 1 S1: okay	Whenever two or more utterances happen at the same time, the overlaps are marked with numbered tags: <1> 1 , <2> 2 , Everything that is simultaneous gets the same number. All overlaps are marked in blue.
Example: S9: it it is (.) to identify some<1>thing 1 where (.) S3: <1> mhm 1	All overlaps are approximate and words may be split up if appropriate. In this case, the tag is placed within the split-up word.

5. OTHER-CONTINUATION	
Example: S1: what up till (.) till twelve? S2: yes= S1: =really. so it's it's quite a lot of time.	Whenever a speaker continues, completes or supports another speaker's turn immediately (i.e. without a pause), this is marked by "=".
6. LENGTHENING	
Example: S1: you can run faster but they have much mo:re technique with the ball	Lengthened sounds are marked with a colon ":".
Example: S5: personally that's my opinion the: er::m	Exceptionally long sounds (i.e. approximating 2 seconds or more) are marked with a double colon "::".
7. REPETITION	
Example: S11: e:r i'd like to go t- t- to to this type of course	All repetitions of words and phrases (including self-interruptions and false starts) are transcribed.
8. WORD FRAGMENTS	
Example: S6: with a minimum of (.) of participaS1: mhm S6: -pation from french universities to say we have er (.) a joint doctorate or a joi- joint master	With word fragments, a hyphen marks where a part of the word is missing.
9. LAUGHTER	
Example: S1: in denmark well who knows. @@ S2: <@> yeah @ @@ that's right	All laughter and laughter-like sounds are transcribed with the @ symbol, approximating syllable number (e.g. ha ha ha = @@@). Utterances spoken laughingly are put between <@> @ tags.

10. UNCERTAIN TRANSCRIPTION	Ţ
Example: S3: i've a lot of very (generous) friends Example: SX-4: they will do whatever they want because they are a compan(ies)	Word fragments, words or phrases which cannot be reliably identified are put in parentheses ().
11. PRONUNCIATION VARIATION	NS & COINAGES
Example: S4: i also: (.) e:r played (.) tennis e:r <pvc>bices </pvc> e:r we rent? went?	Striking variations on the levels of phonology, morphology and lexis as well as 'invented' words are marked <pvc> </pvc> .
Example: S9: how you were controlling such a thing and how you <pvc> (avrivate) </pvc> (it)	What you hear is represented in spelling according to general principles of English orthography. Uncertain transcription is put in parentheses ().
12. NON-ENGLISH SPEECH	
Example: S5: <l1de> bei firmen </l1de> or wherever	Utterances in a participant's first language (L1) are put between tags indicating the speaker's L1.
Example: S7: er this is <lnde> die seite? (welche) </lnde> is	Utterances in languages which are neither English nor the speaker's first language are marked LN with the language indicated.
Example: S4: it depends in in in LQit> roma LQit>	Non-English utterances where it cannot be ascertained whether the language is the speaker's first language or a foreign language are marked LQ with the language indicated.
Example: S2: erm we want to go t- to <lnvi> xx xxx</lnvi> island first of all	Unintelligible utterances in a participant's L1, LN or in an LQ are represented by x's approximating syllable number.
13. ANONYMISATION	
	A guiding principle of VOICE is sensitivity to the appropriate extent of anonymisation. As a general rule, names of people, companies, organisations, institutions, locations, etc. are replaced by aliases and

	these aliases are put into square brackets []. The aliases are numbered consecutively, starting with 1.
Example: S9: that's one of the things (.) that i (1) just wanted to clear out. (2) [S13]? Example:	Whenever speakers who are involved in the interaction are addressed or referred to, their names are replaced by their respective speaker IDs.
Example: S8: so my name is [S8] [S8/last] from vienna	The speaker's first name is represented by the plain speaker ID in square brackets [S1], etc.
Example: S2: that division is headed by (1) [first name3] [last name3] (1)	Names of people who are not part of the ongoing interaction are substituted by [first name1], etc. or [last name1], etc. or a combination of both.
Example: S5: erm she is currently head of marketing (and) with the [org2] (1)	Companies and other organisations need to be anonymised as well. Their names are replaced by [org1], etc.
Example: S1: i: i really don't wanna have a: a joint degree e:r with the university of [place12] (.)	Names of places, cities, countries, etc. are anonymised when this is deemed relevant in order to protect the speakers' identities and their environment. They are replaced by [place1], etc.
14. CONTEXTUAL EVENTS	
{mobile rings} {S7 enters room} {S2 points at S5} {S4 starts writing on blackboard} {S4 stops writing on blackboard} {S2 gets up and walks to blackboard (7)} {S3 pours coffee (3)} {SS reading quietly (30)} Example: S3: one dollar you get (.) (at) one euro you get one dollar twenty-seven. (.) S4: right. {S5 gets up to pour some drinks} S3: right now at this time (3)	Contextual information is added between curly brackets { } only if it is relevant to the understanding of the interaction or to the interaction as such. If it is deemed important to indicate the length of the event, this can be done by adding the number of seconds in parentheses. Explanation: The pause in the conversation occurs because of the contextual event.

7. Appendices

S1: er page five is the er (4) {S5 places some cups and glasses on the desk (4)}	
S1: i think is the descritip- e:r part of what i have just explained (.)	
15. UNINTELLIGIBLE SPEECH	
15. UNINTELLIGIBLE STEECH	
Example:	Unintelligible speech is represented by x's
	approximating syllable number and placed
Example:	

7.4. Appendix 4. Report extracted from Atlast.ti Software

Project: Marian's PhD Thesis

Report created by Propietario on 03/03/2018

Codes Report

Selected codes (1)

Literal translation

Created by Propietario on 01/06/2017

20 Quotations:

D 38: - 38:6 in order to know the subconscious of consumers the the hidden attitude (11433:11892)

in order to know the subconscious of consumers the the hidden attitudes, the intrinsic motivations of certain behaviour and then we have this kind of objective task performance technique or <L1sp>"Técnica del desempeño de la tarea objetiva" </L1sp>. Why I put the translation? because I didn't find it e:h in English, ok? But as we have to exactly replicate the Spanish contents into English I had to put this, ok? \Box LITERAL TRANSLATION + EXPLANATION OF WHY HE CHANGES CODE

1 Codes:

Literal translation

D 38: - 38:8 well I could shed some doubts in this eeh kind of affirmation dependin... (36124:36485)

well I could shed some doubts in this eeh kind of affirmation depending of the phone you use to make the call, if we are using the fixed telephone if we are using the White Pages <L1sp> las páginas amarillas </L1sp> something like that, well, this days the representativeness of the samples, of the units that appear in the white pages, I would question that, ok?

1 Codes:

Literal translation

D 39: - 39:5 Then we have the loss of status error or biases, which is very related (14291:14566)

Then we have the loss of status error or biases, which is very related to the threatening questions, threatening topics, socially desirable topics and

undesirable topics. "Do you care about AIDS?" AIDS is the English term for <L1sp> SIDA </L1sp>. --> COMMENT ON LANGUAGE/ LITERAL TRANSLATION

1 Codes:

Literal translation

Sometimes people confuse these kind of terms so why not just put <L1sp> hombre, mujer </L1sp> or male, female for gender

1 Codes:

Literal translation

D 45: - 45:17 L: the effect on the dependent variable no, is eeeh eh pleonasm? -->CO... (17293:17569)

L: the effect on the dependent variable no, is e:h eh pleonasm? --> CONFIRMATION CHECK <L1sp> un pleonasmo </L1sp> --> LITERAL TRANSLATION @ you repeat twice the same thing --> PARAPHRASING you, we observe the effect, that's it, we observe the dependent variable, it's the same (.)

1 Codes:

Literal translation

D 45: - 45:18 so we have, we must put the real label and we only can change the sesi... (34550:34826)

so we have, we must put the real label and we only can change the design ok? so we have these 2 designs and to avoid that you think that you the tasters think that we want to compare this with this I'm going to offer you to try another free vintage 2014 <L1sp> Crianza 2014 </L1sp>

1 Codes:

Literal translation

eeh the song you've heard for the kids, no for the... (40430:40764)

SS: yes, if we put eeh the song you've heard for the kids, no for the 11 and mmm aah I don't know a song of a music of mm <L1sp> Dora la exploradora </L1sp> Dora the explorer, --> LITERAL TRANSLATION for four year old kids, would be the same? I don't know it would be, would dance more --> RESTART or less or less but it's not the same, ok?

1 Codes:

Literal translation



