JYU DISSERTATIONS 808

Mai Shirahata

Students Navigating the Paradoxical Loop of Essentialism

Language Ideologies in Internationalizing Higher Education

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation enhances our understanding of possible social meanings of language ideologies for students in internationalizing and Englishizing higher education, taking Finnish higher education as a case. I approach the social dimension of language ideology concerning students from an intercultural communication perspective. The dissertation comprises three empirical articles. I explored language ideologies in discourse about language and students at different levels: university language policies (macro-level discourse) in the first article, identity construction and negotiation among students as language speakers (micro-level discourse) in the second article, and a student organization's social media communication practices (meso-level discourse) in the third article. The guiding methodology for the three articles is critical discursive psychology (CDP). CDP's combination of critical and ethnomethodological approaches to discourse analysis with a focus on the dilemmatic nature of discourse enabled a critical yet situated communication analysis through the lens of language ideology. As a whole, this dissertation addresses the interconnectedness between macro-, meso-, and micro-level discursive processes of intergroup relations or interpersonal relationships among students. The findings indicate that different language ideologies prevalent on international campuses may act as discursive resources to momentarily construct different inclusive, exclusive, and hierarchical relationships among students. In the context of internationalizing higher education of the 2020s, students may be navigating the paradoxical loop of essentialism. Students may inevitably essentialize themselves and be essentialized by others as members of specific national or ethnic groups to highlight their internationality. Yet, they may also liberate themselves from such essentialism by flexibly negotiating different perspectives on language and people.

Keywords: critical discursive psychology, English as a medium of instruction, intergroup relations, internationalization of higher education, interpersonal relationships, language ideologies, social categorization of students

TIIVISTELMÄ (ABSTRACT IN FINNISH)

Shirahata, Mai
Opiskelijat kiinni essentialismin paradoksaalisessa silmukassa: Kieli-ideologiat kansainvälistyvässä korkeakoulutuksessa
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Tämä väitöskirja tarkastelee kieli-ideologioiden sosiaalisia merkityksiä opiskelijoille kansainvälistyvässä ja englannistuvassa korkeakoulutuksessa, esimerkkitapauksena suomalainen korkeakoulutus. Väitöskirja kytkeytyy kieli-ideologioiden lisäksi kulttuurienvälisen viestinnän näkökulmiin. Väitöskirja koostuu kolmesta empiirisestä artikkelista. Tutkin kieli-ideologioita kieltä ja opiskelijoita koskevassa diskurssissa eri tasoilla: ensimmäisessä artikkelissa yliopistojen kielipolitiikassa (makrotason diskurssi), toisessa artikkelissa opiskelijoiden identiteetin rakentumisessa ja neuvottelussa kielenpuhujina (mikrotason diskurssi) ja kolmannessa artikkelissa opiskelijajärjestön sosiaalisen median viestintäkäytännöissä (mesotason diskurssi). Näiden kolmen artikkelin ohjaavana metodologiana on kriittinen diskursiivinen psykologia. Kriittisen ja etnometodologisen lähestymistavan yhdistäminen diskurssianalyysiin ja keskittyminen diskurssin dilemmatiseen luonteeseen mahdollistivat kriittisen mutta aineistölähtöisen viestinnän analyysin kieli-ideologian linssin läpi. Tämä väitöskirja käsittelee kokonaisuutena opiskelijoiden välisten ryhmien välisten suhteiden tai ihmissuhteiden makro-, meso- ja mikrotason diskursiivisten prosessien keskinäistä kytkeytyneisyyttä. Tulokset osoittavat, että niin kutsutuilla kansainvälisillä kampuksilla vallitsevat erilaiset kieli-ideologiat voivat toimia diskursiivisina resursseina, joiden avulla rakennetaan hetkellisesti erilaisia inklusiivisia, eksklusiivisia ja hierarkkisia suhteita opiskelijoiden välille. Tutkimuksen keskeinen väite on, että 2020-luvun kansainvälistyvän korkeakoulutuksen kontekstissa opiskelijat saattavat päätyä navigoimaan essentialismin paradoksaalisessa silmukassa. Opiskelijat saattavat väistämättä essentialisoida itsensä tiettyihin kansallisiin tai etnisiin ryhmiin kuuluviksi ja tulla muiden essentialisoimiksi korostaakseen kansainvälisyyttään. He voivat kuitenkin myös vapautua tällaisesta essentialismista neuvottelemalla joustavasti erilaisista näkökulmista kieleen ja ihmisiin.

Asiasanat: kriittinen diskursiivinen psykologia, englanninkielinen koulutus, ryhmien väliset suhteet, korkeakoulutuksen kansainvälistyminen, vuorovaikutussuhteet, kieli-ideologiat, opiskelijoiden sosiaalinen kategorisointi

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In January 2020, I came back to Jyväskylä to work on my doctoral studies or to take a longer break from teaching. I simply needed time to reflect on my teaching, learning, and life experiences to navigate the great confusion I was facing as a schoolteacher for my teenage students. In a sense, this dissertation documents my journey of reflection. I hope that my work will be of benefit to students.

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Jyväskylä 13.6.2024
Mai Shirahata

FIGURES

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1 INTRODUCTION

On the wave of globalization in many spheres of our society, more and more universities around the world have been striving for the internationalization of their education and communities. In this process, the English language has established a solid position for itself as the international language or lingua franca in higher education worldwide. This can be seen in the ubiquity of English-medium instruction (EMI) in non-English speaking countries such as the Nordic countries (Henriksen et al., 2019). Students from different parts of the world socialize and study together using English as the primary lingua franca in international EMI programs and courses. We can easily imagine that such international lingua franca learning environments likely highlight students' linguistic resources and backgrounds (see e.g. Jenkins, 2014; Jenkins & Mauranen, 2019). Students may interact not only in English but also in other languages (e.g. Mortensen, 2014), and different or the same language requirements may be applied to students with different backgrounds in the admission process (e.g. Saarinen & Nikula, 2013). Language ideologies—sets of common-sense or normative beliefs about language and its speakers (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994)—may thus become highly relevant to the social world of students. Students may draw on different language ideologies to orient themselves to their peers as members of specific social groups. Taking an intercultural communication perspective, I am interested in the roles of different language ideologies in the discursive construction of intergroup relations and interpersonal relationships among students in the context of internationalizing higher education of the 2020s.

Language ideologies are sociopolitical issues rather than interpersonal issues. However, social categories afforded by language ideologies may act as individual persons' identities when those categories are acted upon in social interaction (Stokoe, 2012). I therefore argue for the importance of exploring the interconnectedness of different levels of discourse about language and students in internationalizing higher education. In this article-based dissertation that comprises three empirical articles (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023; Article II, Shirahata, 2023; Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023), I address the interconnectedness between macro-, meso-, and micro-level discursive processes

of intergroup relations or interpersonal relationships among students. In brief, I explored language ideologies manifested in university language policies in Article I (macro-level discourse), identity construction and negotiation among students as language speakers in Article II (micro-level discourse), and a student organization's social media communication practices in Article III (meso-level discourse). Across all the articles, I employed critical discursive psychology (CDP) as the guiding methodology. I find CDP's combination of critical and ethnomethodological approaches to discourse analysis with a focus on the dilemmatic nature of discourse (Wetherell, 1998) useful for addressing the social dimension of language ideology concerning students in the internationalizing higher education context, given that power relations among students as speakers of different languages might fluctuate as they negotiate their frames of reference and identity (Baker, 2016; Zhu, 2015). With the use of CDP, I take a robust social constructionist approach to interculturality, doing a critical yet situated communication analysis.

In intercultural communication literature in the past decade, friendships among students on international campuses where English is used as a lingua franca have typically been framed as 'intercultural' friendships between local and international students or among students from different countries. This is regardless of research method and geographical area: e.g. quantitative research in the US (Gareis et al., 2011) and the UK (Rienties, et al., 2015), qualitative research in Belgium (Meng et al., 2021), China (Li, 2015), Japan (Morita, 2012), and Turkey (Aydın, 2020), as well as mixed methods research in Ireland (Byrne et al., 2019), the Netherlands (Mittelmeier et al., 2018), and the US (Gareis et al., 2019). In my view, these studies have a common serious drawback in the research design—friendships among students, which are inherently interpersonal relationships, are turned into intergroup relations between or among different national or ethnic groups without sufficient logical bridging. For example, Meng et al. (2021) portray their study as examining 'Chinese international students' intercultural interactions in a European country (Belgium): their experiences of intercultural interactions with two distinctive groups of cultural "others" (i.e. multi-national students and domestic students)' (p. 1518, emphasis in original). It may be the pre-categorization of students by nationality that characterizes the peer interactions as 'intercultural' in the first place (see Baker, 2022 for a discussion of methodological nationalism in intercultural communication research).

In today's society, students may not always fit into neatly bounded national or ethnic categories, as Byrne et al. (2019) note: 'most students had multiple cultural backgrounds that are not necessarily represented by nationality' (p. 3). This dissertation therefore approaches the intersection between intergroup relations and interpersonal relationships among students in a more nuanced manner, seeing students' identities as both bound to and free from national or ethnic categories. By focusing on language ideologies, I address the discursive construction of intergroup relations and interpersonal relationships among students without pre-categorizing them by nationality or ethnicity. I argue that

the examination of language ideologies as building blocks of social reality is a fruitful starting point for intercultural communication research to engage with 'the paradoxes of interculturality' that have been pointed out by Dervin (2023; see Chapter 1.2 for more details).

Synthesizing the findings of the three articles, this dissertation offers theoretical insights into possible social meanings of language ideologies for students in internationalizing higher education from an intercultural communication perspective. It also provides methodological insights for language ideology research, intercultural communication research, and research in humanities and social sciences. The dissertation concludes with practical implications for university policy planning and communication strategies, student organization communication practices, and supportive learning environments for students, as well as suggestions for future research.

1.1 Language ideologies in internationalizing higher education

Given the greater presence and status of the English language, today's internationalization of higher education in non-English speaking countries can be described as 'Englishization' (Galloway et al., 2020; Lanvers & Hultgren, 2018). This intersection of internationalization and Englishization may bring language ideologies to the fore in the social world of students on campus, drawing attention to different ideas about people as language speakers. This section will provide a snapshot of existing knowledge about language ideologies in the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education that might concern students.

The spread of EMI across the world (Macaro et al., 2018) evidences that English has been meeting the practical linguistic needs of many universities in different geographical areas in the process of internationalization 'at home' and 'abroad' (de Wit & Altbach, 2021; Knight, 2013). Along with the increasing number of international learning environments where English is used as the primary shared language among students, *English as a Lingua Franca* has been prominently advocated as an inclusive view of English in higher education (e.g. Baker, 2016; Jenkins, 2014, 2015, 2019; Jenkins & Mauranen, 2019; Leung, et al., 2016; Mauranen, 2012). This notion encourages individuals and institutions to acknowledge students with different linguistic backgrounds as legitimate speakers of English in their own right. It defies *native-speakerism* of English, the persistent ideology about English that reserves the authenticity of language use for those who can be recognized as members of specific English-speaking countries, the so-called 'native speakers' of English (e.g. Doerr, 2009; Holliday, 2006, 2015; Lowe & Pinner, 2016). In this changing ideological landscape of English in higher education, the discussion and reflection of language ideologies has indeed been inscribed in the internationalization of higher education through EMI in non-English speaking countries.

In recent years, Nordic universities, many of which are pioneers in establishing international EMI programs and courses, have been reported to be facing an ideological tension between the pursuit of internationalization through the use of English and the preservation of the national language(s) (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). This tension can be traced to the introduction of *parallel language use* in the joint Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2007), which may act as a guiding principle for Nordic universities when they develop their language strategies or policies (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). In short, parallel language use 'refers to the concurrent use of several languages within one or more areas' (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2007, p. 93). The document displays a clear contrast between Nordic languages and English, implying that English is conceived as a threat to Nordic languages in the scientific domain (see Davidsen-Nielsen, 2008). It may be this threat that keeps issues related to language ideologies, especially the balanced use of Nordic languages and English, as a major agenda in increasingly internationalizing Nordic higher education. However, there has been mounting criticism against parallel language use for its abstractness and impracticality (e.g. Airey, et al., 2017; Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012; Hultgren, 2016; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014; Linn, 2010).

In European higher education, the power relations between English and other languages have been discussed from the viewpoint of balancing multilingualism and *English linguistic imperialism*—'perceptions of English as a threat to the continued vitality of a national language' (Phillipson, 2015, p. 20). While multilingualism may enable universities in non-English speaking European countries to utilize English as an additional linguistic resource for engaging in international activities, English linguistic imperialism presents English as a linguistic challenge to their national language(s) in the process of internationalization. This dilemmatic situation indicates that the notion of national language has been an important element of nationalism to develop and maintain nations as 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 2006; see also Blommaert, 2010; Peled, 2012). Ethnolinguistic nationalism, in essence, enables people in a particular country to imagine themselves or be imagined by others as fellow nationals who speak the same language. Historically, universities have been functioning as both national and international institutions (de Wit & Altbach, 2021; Scott, 2000), playing a meso-level role in national language planning (Liddicoat, 2016a; Lo Bianco, 2005). One can thus expect that universities most likely need to take ethnolinguistic nationalism into account when formulating their institutional language policies.

As observed in the tension between ethnolinguistic nationalism and the Englishization of Nordic higher education, language ideologies seem to play a central role in university language policies in the process of internationalization of higher education in non-English speaking countries. Relatedly, in recent language policy research, language policy is broadly conceptualized as including not only language planning but also linguistic practices and language ideologies (Johnson, 2013; Spolsky, 2004, 2021). With this expanded view of language policy, Shohamy (2006) argues that language policy serves as a manifestation of hidden

ideological agendas, often directed towards the public by authorities. University language policies can therefore be regarded as mechanisms or devices to turn national- as well as institutional-level language ideologies into practice (Shohamy, 2006). In line with this theoretical development in language policy research, previous studies on university language policies have explored language ideologies and reported that such institutional policies typically present English as an international language, in contrast to the national language(s), regardless of geographical area: e.g. in Catalonia and the Basque Country in Spain and Wales in the UK (Cots et al., 2012), China (Zhang, 2018), Denmark (Hultgren, 2014), Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017), Finland (Saarinen & Rontu, 2018), Finland, Estonia, and Latvia (Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017), Iceland (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson, 2010), Israel (Mizrahi‐Shtelman & Drori, 2023), Japan (Rose & McKinley, 2018), Norway (Linn, 2010; Ljosland, 2015), Sweden (Björkman, 2014; Hult & Källkvist, 2016; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014), and Taiwan (Lin, 2020).

However, emphasis on the use of each language may vary between governments and universities (e.g. Hultgren, 2014; Saarinen & Taalas, 2017; Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017), across governments or universities (e.g. Cots et al., 2012; Lin, 2020; Saarinen & Rontu, 2018; Saarinen & Taalas, 2017; Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017), as well as across disciplines (e.g. Kuteeva & Airey, 2014; Lin, 2020). Furthermore, in addition to adhering to national policies, university language policies may also be expected to reflect language practices among students and staff (e.g. Aizawa & Rose, 2019; Björkman, 2014; Ljosland, 2015; Moore, 2016; Ou & Gu, 2021; Sahan, 2021; Zhang, 2018). Today's universities are thus likely to be placed in a difficult position as meso-level actors in language planning (Liddicoat, 2016a; Lo Bianco, 2005) who need to coordinate top-down and bottom-up language policies and practices on campus.

Bearing in mind that language ideologies mediate between ideas about language and people as language speakers (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), different language ideologies operating in internationalizing higher education may afford students specific social categories, and, by extension, ideas about intergroup relations. For instance, the notion of national language can be used to categorize students into different national groups and create in- and out-groups based on their nationality, as visible in Piller's explanation of the *one-nation-one-language* ideology: 'the belief that monolingualism or the use of one single common language is important for social harmony and national unity' (2015, p. 922; see also Anderson, 2006; Blommaert, 2010; Peled, 2012). Similarly, *native-speakerism* of English, a version of the notion of English as the national language of English-speaking countries that emphasizes the standard language structure and use (see Doerr, 2009; Lowe & Pinner, 2016), can be used to classify students as either 'native or non-native' speakers of English. This classification creates a hierarchical relationship between the two groups (e.g. Holliday, 2006, 2015) although 'native' speakers may not always be placed above 'non-native' speakers (Houghton & Rivers, 2013; Lowe & Kiczkowiak, 2016). In contrast, *English as an International Language* (e.g. Crystal, 2003) or *English as a Lingua Franca* (e.g. Jenkins,

2019) provides an inclusive group category of English speakers for students with different national or linguistic backgrounds.

Multilingualism, an overarching ideology for all the above-mentioned ideologies, can be seen as contributing to a loose kind of inclusion among speakers of different languages, acknowledging the coexistence of different languages in a community or an individual's linguistic repertoire (e.g. Phillipson, 2006; 2015). Even so, it may highlight mutual exclusiveness when the distinctiveness of each language is brought into focus. Nikula et al. (2012) cast doubt on the inclusivity of this form of multilingualism, labeling it as *monolingual multilingualism*: 'the representation of languages as hierarchical entities of *our*, *national*, *foreign* and so on, which implies that languages are learned and used separately, each in their own sphere' (p. 61, emphasis in original; see also Makoni & Pennycook, 2012; Peled, 2012). Interestingly, these language ideologies prevalent in university language policies can also be found in student talk (e.g. Baker & Hüttner, 2017; Kuteeva, 2014, 2020; Lin, 2020; Martin-Rubió & Cots, 2016; McCambridge & Saarinen, 2015; Mortensen & Fabricius, 2014; Sahan et al., 2022; Sung, 2020). There might be some interplay between different stakeholders' discourses about language and students in the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education.

In this section, I mapped out the language ideologies prevailing in internationalizing and Englishizing higher education that are likely to be relevant to students. To make a step forward in this area of research, this dissertation addresses the intersections between macro-, meso-, and micro-level discourses about language and students in this complex phenomenon (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023; Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023; Article II, Shirahata, 2023, respectively), with a specific focus on social categorization of students through language ideologies. I argue that it is important to examine the social meanings of language ideologies for students in a bigger picture to constructively work on issues of inequality among diverse students for enhanced equity.

1.2 Paradoxes in intercultural communication scholarship

In light of the cosmopolitan student body at international universities, it is likely that students communicate with their peers using a lingua franca, and their interactions may be characterized as intercultural communication: 'one domain where "culture" as concerned with the specific—and different—ways of life of different national and ethnic groups is constructed' (Piller, 2017, p. 10). Given this possible crossing between lingua franca and intercultural communication, I find it valuable to take an intercultural communication perspective for addressing the social dimension of language ideology concerning students in the internationalizing higher education context. In this section, I will discuss recent theoretical turns in intercultural communication scholarship.

For long, the central concern in the field of intercultural communication has been how to manage 'cultural differences' between people 'from different

countries'. As a typical example, Hofstede's influential theory of *cultural dimensions* seeks to explain the influence of national 'cultural' values on people's behaviors in international business management (Hofstede, 1980; Hofstede et al., 2010; see also Trompenaars, 1994; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2021). In spite of a number of criticisms of 'the plausibility of systematically causal national cultures' (McSweeney, 2002, p. 109), Hofstede's theory has been dominant in intercultural communication research. More recently, Meyer's *culture map* (2014) provided a similar framework to explain the business 'culture' in different countries. In essence, the classical understanding of interculturality grounds itself on cross-cultural comparison, essentializing people as embodiments of specific national 'cultural' values and practices in the international world. Based on such a view of interculturality, many definitions and models of intercultural competence have been proposed by different scholars (e.g. Bennett, 1986, 2004; Byram, 1997, 2021; Deardorff, 2006; see Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009 for a comprehensive review). For instance, Spitzberg and Changnon define intercultural competence as 'the appropriate and effective management of interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive, and behavioral orientations to the world' (2009, p. 9). People are essentialized as mere representatives of their respective national groups, although they can also be seen as unique individuals (see Gudykunst, 2005).

Meanwhile, a more fluid yet still rather classical understanding of interculturality has also been present in language education, acknowledging multilingual speakers' identity negotiation or transformation. Liddicoat et al. (1999) argue that intercultural language learning involves 'a continual negotiation between the poles, until learners find a comfortable position leading to a hybrid third place for themselves' (p. 182; see also Kramsch, 1993; Kramsch & Uryu, 2012; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Language learners are conceived as flexibly carving out a unique position as multilingual speakers, engaging with interculturality, rather than clinging to their own 'culture' or assimilating to the target (foreign) 'culture' that is linked to the language they are learning (Liddicoat et al., 1999). This view of interculturality blurs the boundary between the two 'cultures' while such a boundary is still assumed at the same time. The quotation marks around the term 'culture' in this paragraph indicate my confusion about what 'culture' exactly refers to in Liddicoat et al.'s (1999) argument as well as in general use. The term appears polysemic with possible elements such as knowledge, values, beliefs, and communication practices. Despite its high polysemy, the term 'culture' has worked as a plausible explanation for a variety of social matters (see Breidenbach & Nyíri, 2009). This implies that the abstract notion of national culture has been an important idea for many of us, helping us navigate our everyday lives in which nationalism is deeply ingrained (Billig, 1995).

However, in recent years, the classical view of interculturality has been increasingly challenged to bring about a paradigm shift in intercultural communication research. For example, Dervin and Gross (2016) problematize the

cross-cultural comparative understanding of interculturality for its success-orientated approaches to intercultural communication, little reflexivity, and apparent Western-centrism, all of which stem from essentialism. In line with a view of communication as social interaction jointly accomplished in a particular context (Nevile & Rendle-Short, 2009), Liddicoat (2009) describes intercultural communication as 'communication that is continually mindful of the multiple possibilities of interpretation resulting from the possible presence of multiple cultural constructs, value systems and conceptual associations which inform the creation and interpretation of messages' (p. 131). Given this reflexive nature of any communication, we can easily conclude that creating a universal formula for 'successful intercultural communication' is unachievable (Nynäs, 2001, p. 34, as cited in Dervin & Gross, 2016). Simply put, interculturality cannot be planned ahead, as it emerges through a dynamic process of meaning negotiation.

People may negotiate their frames of reference and identity that are ascribed to their membership in specific national or ethnic communities to achieve locally situated interactional goals (e.g. Amadasi & Holliday, 2017, 2018; Arano, 2019; Bolden, 2014; Gu et al., 2014; Kecskes, 2019; Nowicka, 2022; Zhu, 2015; Zhu et al., 2019, 2022). Furthermore, people may speak multiple languages and be creative in their language use beyond fixed boundaries of national or ethnic languages (e.g. Li, 2011, 2018; Lüdi, 2013, 2020; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, 2011; Tai & Li, 2021; Zhu et al., 2020). These communication practices may not always conform to a classical image of intercultural communication—people being or moving between two or more discrete cultures. In adverse cases, the simplistic view of interculturality undermines the co-constructedness and situatedness of communication, and consequently allows 'cultural differences' to ubiquitously explain misunderstanding and conflicts (see Breidenbach & Nyìri, 2009), where the issue might be attributed to language-related problems and/or ambiguity in speech (e.g. Kaur, 2011), insufficient shared sociopragmatic and sociocognitive knowledge and/or a lack of shared understanding of past interpersonal experiences (e.g. Pietikäinen, 2018; Trbojević-Milošević, 2019), or language inequality (e.g. Ou & Gu, 2021). Seemingly, when scholars (and their research participants themselves) bring up 'cultural differences' to explain what they perceive as 'unsuccessful intercultural communication', they inevitably essentialize people as members of specific national or ethnic groups for the sake of the participants' intercultural experiences and/or intercultural communication research (see Baker, 2022 for a discussion on methodological nationalism in intercultural communication research; see also Wimmer & Schiller, 2002).

Meanwhile, scholars who align themselves with critical theory have been criticizing the essentialist view of interculturality as potentially contributing to the maintenance of long-lasting inequalities among different national or ethnic groups, especially between the West and non-West (e.g. Baker, 2022; Dervin, 2011, 2016, 2023; Holliday, 2011, 2022; Kramsch, 2011; Kramsch & Uryu, 2012; Nakayama & Halualani, 2010; Piller, 2011, 2017; Zhu et al., 2022). To avoid apparent Western-centric essentialism in research, Piller (2017) stresses the

importance of examining 'who makes culture relevant to whom in which context for which purposes' from a social constructionist perspective (p. 7; see also Baker, 2022; Dervin & Liddicoat, 2013; Scollon et al., 2012). In a similar fashion, for both scientific and everyday intercultural engagement, Holliday (2022) encourages us to move away from ideology-loaded narratives of national or ethnic cultures by recognizing the complexity and hybridity as the norm in our social experiences (see also Amadasi & Holliday, 2017, 2018; Baker, 2022). To clarify, hybridity here differs from what Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) call *happy hybridity*—'an unproblematic category of cultural diversity that somehow provides solutions to sociocultural relations and conflicts' (p. 244); rather, it involves 'the push and pull between fixity and fluidity' (p. 249; see also Holliday, 2022).

The critical theory view of interculturality requires intercultural communication scholars to reflect on their ethical attitudes towards inequalities among people with diverse backgrounds. However, I would argue that if scholars are not careful enough, this ostensibly ethical practice might inadvertently contribute to the perpetuation of inequalities. With reference to Lipari (2004) on communication ethics, Xu (2013) claims that what we need for ethical intercultural communication is attentive listening to create space for suffering others out of responsibility for them, not speaking on their behalf out of paternalistic pity for them. Acknowledgedly, there may be only a fine line between responsibility and paternalistic pity for the socially vulnerable. It may also be difficult to distinguish between treating everyone equally and ignoring inequalities. For instance, Xu (2013) proposes a critical dialogic approach to intercultural communication research that combines perspectives of critical theory and dialogism with a rather neutral understanding of cultural differences: 'Cultural differences have always been treated as a problem that hinders meaningful intercultural interactions, yet examinations of actual intercultural interactions may find both positive and negative outcomes related to cultural difference and sameness' (p. 388). On the one hand, this neutral approach may establish equal intergroup relations; on the other hand, it may risk ignoring intergroup inequalities to promote a celebration of happy hybridity (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010).

Moreover, since both critical theory and dialogism are about the relationship between the self and the other (see e.g. Deetz, 2001; Dervin, 2011; Linnel, 2014), the privileged West and the underprivileged non-West have often been assumed a priori by default. Ironically, the problematic categories of the West and non-West, along with the fixed power relations between the two, have been essentialized and reinforced to be problematized (see Pennycook, 2012 for a discussion on problems of key concepts in critical theory). This situation may have presented scholars' attitudes towards the socially vulnerable within their studies as patronizing rather than attentive. Besides, it has resulted in the creation of different kinds of essentialism to counter Western-centrism (see Asante et al., 2014), such as Afrocentricity (Asante, 2014) and Asiacentricity (Miike, 2019). Essentializing Africanness or Asianness is part of theorizing intercultural communication from Afrocentric or Asiacentric perspectives, in that these

perspectives need to be distinguished from Western-centric and other perspectives. While we assume essentialism and non-essentialism to be placed at the opposite ends of the spectrum of interculturality, this continuum apparently forms a loop. That is to say, countering one kind of essentialism most likely calls for another kind of essentialism. In this respect, Dervin and Jacobsson (2021) propose the notion of simplexity—the continuum of simplicity and complexity—as a realistic rather than idealistic approach to work with interculturality:

> Simplexity, a portmanteau word from *the simple* and *the complex*, reminds us that, as human beings, we have no choice but to encounter the Other through limiting, reducing 'us' and 'them' (in relation to culture, gender, age, but also hair colour, height, etc.) while opening up our eyes and capturing moments of complexity in the way we perceive 'us' and 'them'. (p. 84; see also Dervin, 2017)

We can make sense of our social world only by simplifying the way we perceive ourselves and others, while there are myriad ways to orient ourselves to others in the complex world of human beings. Simplicity is part of complexity, and complexity can be approached only through simplicity. Simplexity can therefore be utilized as a practical framework to explore interculturality that takes shape moment by moment in the process of negotiating meaning.

Most recently, Dervin (2023) encourages exploring 'the paradoxes of interculturality'—'*Interculturality is an unstable subject that calls to be destabilised* ad infinitum' (p. 6, emphasis in original). He also problematizes critical perspectives on interculturality based on non-essentialism and decolonialism as becoming dominant ideologies in the field of intercultural communication, which may undermine diverse perspectives, just like classical perspectives based on essentialism and colonialism. However, soon after he points out that 'many ideologies of interculturality from within [the "Western" province] are also silenced', he continues to argue: 'those of us who are privileged enough to be "heard" need to be silent for a while and leave the floor to other unnoticed voices, especially from the Global South' (Dervin, 2023, p. 122, emphasis in original). This inconsistency in Dervin's writing shows how challenging it is to explore different perspectives on interculturality as equally important resources to construct different versions of social reality (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; see also Burr, 2015; Gergen, 2015) when scholars have 'a heavy ethical burden' (Baxter & Asbury, 2015, p. 197) to emancipate and empower those whom they find to be socially vulnerable.

This section provided a brief overview of the theoretical development or confusion of interculturality in intercultural communication scholarship. To avoid the paradoxical loop of essentialism in intercultural communication research, I take a stronger social constructionist approach to the study of interculturality. I consider national or ethnic categories and accompanying intergroup relations, including the unequal power relations between the West and non-West, as dynamic social constructs. Put differently, I attempt to understand possible ways in which interculturality emerges in interaction when people orient themselves towards others in many different ways. In this dissertation, I explore how different versions of intergroup relations or

interpersonal relationships among students might be constructed through different language ideologies employed by different stakeholders in the internationalization of higher education—universities, students, and student organizations (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023; Article II, Shirahata, 2023; Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023, respectively). I propose a robust social constructionist approach to interculturality as one promising way of doing a critical yet situated communication analysis while rejecting methodological nationalism, a form of essentialism.

2 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Language and language ideologies

Language and language ideology are a set of core notions in this dissertation, as I am interested in the roles of different language ideologies in the discursive construction of intergroup relations and interpersonal relationships among students. In line with the theoretical turns regarding the notion of interculturality in intercultural communication scholarship, the notion of language has also been undergoing a paradigmatic shift in applied linguistics and intercultural communication research. In this section, I will discuss some key points in the reconceptualization of language, in connection with the notion of language ideology.

Language is one of the important semiotic resources in our society, especially in knowledge-intensive interactions, as exemplified by the existence of this dissertation. I assume that the author and the readers of this dissertation can together agree that the language of this text is English (with partial use of Finnish and Japanese), based on the common understanding of language as being identified by a specific name—a named language. Nevertheless, this conventional notion of language has been increasingly challenged for its sociopolitical nature in the fields of applied linguistics and intercultural communication. Blommaert (2010) points to covert politics among different linguistic resources available in our society in his argument on multilingualism: some 'belong to a conventionally defined "language", while others belong to another "language"' (p. 102, emphasis in original). In modern times, a specific set of linguistic resources can have the status of a language (e.g. English, Finnish, Japanese) only when it can be regarded as playing a vital role in the development and maintenance of a nation-state or an ethnic group (see Anderson, 2006; Horner & Weber, 2017; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Peled, 2012). This indicates

that the language-variety classification is made on sociopolitical rather than purely linguistic grounds. For example, Irvine (1989) reports that rural Wolof villagers in Senegal recognize the Lawbé (Woodworkers, a caste group in the Wolof caste system) as a distinct ethnic group that speaks Pulaa (as well as Wolof), although, historically, Wolof Woodworkers (called *seeñ*) also existed in the caste system. This observation suggests that linguistic differentiation is iconically linked to social differentiation in the changing relationships among social groups in the Wolof community. Indeed, languages are sociopolitical constructs that symbolize ethnolinguistic nationalism based on a monolingual view of national or ethnic membership (Gal, 2006; Irvine & Gal, 2000).

Shohamy (2006) argues that language serves as 'a form of control' in regulating language rights and language structure and use (such as correctness, authenticity, and grammaticality) as well as a social marker of group membership, loyalty/patriotism, economic power, and identity (p. xv; see also Gal, 2006). Language can therefore be understood as inherently ideological, shaping and being shaped by social processes of power and inequality (Heller et al., 2018). With a focus on the linguistic aspect of language ideology, Silverstein (1979) describes language ideologies as 'any sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (p. 193; see also Rumsey, 1990). With emphasis on the sociopolitical aspect, Irvine (1989) defines language ideology as 'the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (p. 255; see also Irvine & Gal, 2000; Woolard, 1998; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Taken together, language ideologies may rationalize not only language structure and use but also intergroup relations among different linguistic groups and interpersonal relationships among people as language speakers, including inequalities, by mediating between ideas about language and ideas about people. Importantly, when people deploy language ideologies in their accounts of their social lives, they may do so from a specific position with specific social and/or moral interests (Gal, 2005). This invites critical investigation into the application of language ideologies. Furthermore, language ideologies may produce and are produced by feelings or emotions (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Kroskrity, 2010; Woolard, 1998). This aesthetic or affective aspect might further complicate language-related issues at both intergroup and interpersonal levels.

Along with a growing awareness of the sociopolitical and ideological nature of language, people's real-life language use, especially that of multilingual speakers, has been increasingly explored in applied linguistics and intercultural communication studies. Intriguingly, once we have a closer look at our language use, the common notion of language as a distinct named language becomes subject to scrutiny. For instance, Li's (2011) anecdote from his interviews with three English–Chinese bilingual university students in London invites us to ponder the fuzziness of the notion of language:

> I heard them constantly use an interjection in English *Cake sellers!* I could not understand why they were saying it, until one of the parents explained to me that it translates into Chinese as 卖糕的 (*mai gao de*) which sounds like the English *My God!* It

> apparently does appear in the popular press in China and Taiwan, although the young men told me that they learned it from their Chinese friends. (p. 1226)

Li (2011) experienced difficulty in comprehending this pun although he also speaks English and Chinese. As demonstrated in the students' language use, the distinction between different named languages (i.e. English and Chinese in this case) can be unclear. There are a number of studies that have also observed multilingual speakers utilizing their rich linguistic resources in various creative and strategic ways (e.g. Li, 2018; Lüdi, 2013, 2020; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, 2011; Tai & Li, 2021; Zhu et al., 2020).

To recognize the legitimacy in multilingual speakers' unique language use, Li (2018) proposes *translanguaging* as a practical theory of language as follows:

> Translanguaging reconceptualizes language as a multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory, and multimodal resource for sense- and meaning-making, and the multilingual as someone who is aware of the existence of the political entities of named languages and has an ability to make use the structural features of some of them that they have acquired. (p. 22; see also García & Li, 2014; García & Otheguy, 2020)

Li (2018) claims that translanguaging challenges conventional approaches to multilingualism (see Nikula et al., 2012 for *monolingual multilingualism*) that assume multilingual speakers as swapping between 'different languages as structural and cognitive entities' (p. 13) by underscoring languages as 'historically, politically, and ideologically defined entities' (p. 27). Translanguaging stresses the social and political significance of acknowledging multilingual speakers' fluid and dynamic use of linguistic resources. In recent years, in addition to translanguaging, the reconceptualization of multilingualism has also been advocated by many different approaches to multilingualism, such as *metrolingualism* (e.g. Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), *multilanguaging* (e.g. Lüdi, 2013), *polylanguaging* (e.g. Jørgensen et al., 2011), *symbolic competence* (e.g. Kramsch, 2011; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008), and *translingualism* (e.g. Canagarajah, 2018). This theoretical development indicates that it is becoming common to see language as not only a social construct bound to a specific national or ethnic group (i.e. a named language) but also dynamic social practice (i.e. languaging) in applied linguistics and intercultural communication research. I agree that a broader understanding of multilingualism is crucial for the social acceptance of multilingual speakers' complex identity construction along with their unique language use.

However, Li's (2018) proposal of translanguaging as a practical theory of language may be seen as lacking persuasiveness, in that research reports of translanguaging studies appear similar to those of codeswitching studies—scholars refer to named languages in their reports, irrespective of their different approaches to multilingualism. Auer (2022) investigates some translanguaging studies (e.g. García, 2009; Jørgensen et al., 2011; Li, 2011) and concludes:

> While codeswitching as a bilingual practice presupposes the perceived difference of the codes, this does not hold for language mixing, which may result in the emergence of new registers and even varieties. It has been shown that the examples presented as evidence for translanguaging often fall in the category of classical codeswitching, i.e.

> the speakers rely on, and thereby construct, languages. By codeswitching, the speakers 'do languages'. (p. 148)

Auer (2022) argues that forms, contexts, and ideologies as the three aspects of language are interconnected with one another, and casts doubt on the idea that ideologies can be exclusively attributed to authoritative national institutions, which assumes that people language naively (see also Lo Bianco, 2008; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004, 2021 for the interrelationships of planning, ideology, and practice in language policy). In this line of discussion, metrolingualism offers a middle-ground perspective. It explains that people 'use, play with and negotiate various identities through language; it does not assume connections between language, culture, ethnicity, nationality, or geography but rather seeks to explore how such connections are produced, resisted, defied or rearranged' (Makoni & Pennycook, 2012, p. 449). In metrolingualism, people are portrayed as both languaging and doing languages depending on context, attending to 'both fixity and fluidity' of their identities (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 252).

Overall, I find it possible to describe people's language use as languaging (i.e. dynamic social practice) as well as speaking different languages (i.e. named languages). However, I understand that we need the notion of language as national or ethnic language for practical reasons to explain our linguistic practices in both scientific and mundane settings, as long as the conventional understanding of language remains common sense in society. Considering the interrelationships between language and identity in society, I also recognize the ideological importance of named languages as social markers of national or ethnic group membership in both research and everyday life, especially in interactions characterized by interculturality. Piller (2017) succinctly argues that 'language choice—as practice and ideology—is a crucial aspect of intercultural communication' (p. 7). As seen in the above discussion, scholars advocating a broader understanding of multilingualism aim to empower multilingual speakers by acknowledging their unique language use, which involves multiple languages as conduits for membership in multiple national or ethnic groups. This research aim as such affirms that named languages are important discursive resources for research activities for those scholars as well as others.

Apparently, the discussion about language above has been focusing on the view of language as a social marker of group membership based on a monolingual view of national or ethnic membership. Yet, language can also be defined as 'a multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory, and multimodal resource for sense- and meaning-making' (Li, 2018, p. 22). For example, major languages typically have two distinct modes of communication—speaking and writing. Speech involves phonological features (e.g. pronunciation, intonation, stress), and text includes typographic elements (e.g. layout, typeface, font size). Through the lens of codeswitching, Auer (2022) illustrates how two modes (speaking and writing) of two languages (English and Chinese) intersect in the pun '*Cake sellers!*' featured in Li's (2011) study. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly difficult to define language, in relation to other semiotic resources, in the changing landscape of communication practices due to emerging new communication

technologies such as emojis, stickers, GIFs, text-in-images, memes, and video clips (Herring, 2018; Herring & Androutsopoulos, 2015). For example, some scholars may refer to emojis as a universal 'language' of computer-mediated communication across different named languages (Danesi, 2016; Moschini, 2016). However, it still seems challenging to determine whether emojis constitute a 'language' or not, given considerable variation in how they are understood and employed among individuals (Miller et al., 2016) and across geographical and linguistic communities (Barbieri et al., 2016; Ge & Herring, 2018).

The question of what constitutes a language can be further pondered by situating emojis within the theoretical development of language throughout history. Alshenqeeti (2016) finds some similarities between emojis and hieroglyphs as well as cuneiform, and claims emojis as 'a new form of an old method of communication' and 'a form of paralanguage, offering users a means to communicate with their own social groups in a form of code' (p. 64). Some people may agree with this view of emojis as a language or paralanguage in the juxtaposition of emojis with hieroglyphs and cuneiform, seeing this view as part of the reconceptualization of language as languaging. Others may interpret such a view of emojis as a rejection (or ignorance) of prior work in sociolinguistics (see Auer, 2022 for a similar critique of translanguaging). Nevertheless, the instability in defining language may encourage scholars to address the convergence of language and other semiotic resources in communication at a specific time and space, especially in online communication that is characterized by such a convergence (e.g. Jovanovic & van Leeuwen, 2018). Here, reflecting on our communication practices, we can easily see that multimodal affordances are not limited to online communication. Human communication has always been multimodal, as people utilize various semiotic resources, such as facial expressions, gestures, and gaze, as well as languages, when interacting with others (Jewitt, Bezemer, & O'Halloran, 2016). Another interesting point is that, even in the domain of computer-mediated communication, standard language ideologies can be identified as contributing to the differentiation of internet-specific language variety from other linguistic forms (Squires, 2010). I would therefore argue that there is a rationale for examining the convergence of various semiotic resources in language ideology research where relevant.

As discussed in this section, one can say that the notion of language is a language ideology in and of itself. Accordingly, the paradigmatic shift in the conceptualization of language from language as a named language to language as languaging can be understood as providing fundamentally different epistemological perspectives in applied linguistics and intercultural communication scholarship. Since named languages have been firmly established as products of language ideologies in our society, even with new communication technologies, it would be impossible for us to describe our language use by referring to named languages without reproducing language ideologies. In this dissertation, I look into language ideologies as forming a 'prevailing discursive environment'—a deployment of normative discourses about social reality, which may render other discourses less visible or

marginalized (Seymour-Smith et al., 2002, p. 254)—in which students may be embedded in the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education. As to the multimodal nature of communication, it was specifically addressed only in the analysis of social media posts by a student organization (Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023). This is because multimodal affordances played a major role in the formation of language ideologies in social media posts but not in university documents (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023) or student talk (Article II, Shirahata, 2023).

2.2 Identity and social categorization

Given my interest in the discursive construction of intergroup relations and interpersonal relationships among students through different language ideologies, identity and social categorization form another set of core notions in this dissertation. As discussed in the previous section, language may typically act as a social marker of group membership. This indexicality of language, coupled with a social constructionist approach to interculturality, implies that social categorization is a crucial aspect of constructing identities and relationships among students. In this section, I will discuss identities and social categories as dynamic social constructs shaped through communication, mainly with the use of language.

In everyday situations, we often prove our identities with an official photo identification document issued by an authorized government agency, such as a passport. This common practice gives us a stable image of our identities. A similar static image of identity can be found in humanism in philosophy: 'the idea that the person is a unified, coherent and rational agent who is the author of their own experience and its meaning' (Burr, 2015, p. 62). However, social constructionism challenges this fixed view of identity:

> There is nothing about the nature of the world or human beings that leads necessarily to the conceptual categories present in any language. But in their insistence upon the shifting, transitory and contestable nature of the meaning of language, and therefore of our experience and identity, poststructuralism has identified language as a site of struggle, conflict and potential personal and social change. (Burr, 2015, p. 72)

A person can be experienced differently by themselves and others without undergoing any physical changes, depending on how the person themselves and/or others describe them, although this may not always be the case. Social constructionism encourages us to rethink a taken-for-granted reality to possibly bring about personal and social change, seeing language as the construction site of not only reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Gergen, 2015; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) but also knowledge and power (Burr, 2015; Foucault, 1972; Heller et al., 2018). Acknowledging this powerful role of language in creating social reality, I would argue that it is crucial to examine identity construction from a social constructionist perspective to seek different ways of understanding relationships among people, including power relations.

Braithwaite et al. (2022) define interpersonal communication as '*a symbolic process of creating and sharing verbal and nonverbal messages, co-creating meanings for the purpose of forming, developing, maintaining, and altering identities and relationships*' (p. 5, emphasis in original; see also Baxter, 2004). Given the dynamic nature of social interaction, it is compelling to see the construction of identities and relationships as a fundamental aspect of communication. In intercultural communication research, communication has been characterized as either interpersonal or intergroup, depending on the kind of identity enacted through interaction. Interpersonal communication typically refers to interactions where personal identity (i.e. idiosyncratic characteristics) is enacted, while intergroup communication refers to interactions where social identity (i.e. membership in social groups such as nationality, ethnicity, age, gender, and social class) is enacted through communication (Gudykunst, 2005; Hecht et al., 2005). Nevertheless, human interactions likely shift between interpersonal and intergroup communication, as social identities can be momentarily established through various verbal (e.g. language, speech accent, conversation topic) and non-verbal (e.g. dress, makeup, music, physical features) social cues accessible in the interactional context (Dragojevic & Giles, 2014). Correspondingly, in psychology, Crocetti et al. (2018) argue that 'the integration of personal and social identity is made by the self in an incessant effort to adapt to the multiple demands of the social contexts with which individuals interact' (p. 306). I therefore find it important to address the interconnectedness of personal and social identity.

From a sociocultural linguistic perspective, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) propose an analytical approach to 'identity as a relational and socio-cultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories' (p. 585–586). Accordingly, over the past twenty years, some conversation and discourse analysts have specifically addressed the manifestations of persons' membership in social groups as their momentary identities in local interpersonal interactions by combining membership categorization analysis and conversation analysis (i.e. the integration of macro-level categorization and micro-level sequential analysis of social interaction; see Stokoe, 2006, 2012): e.g. business-person category, gender, kinship position, neighbor category in bilingual families in Iran (Bani-Shoraka, 2008), age, ethnicity, and gender in an immigrant family in the U.S. (Bolden, 2014), age, ethnicity, and race in a teenager group at an international school in Japan (Greer, 2012), ethnicity among students in a secondary school in the Netherlands (van de Weerd, 2019), ethnicity, gender, and social class in an elementary school peer group in Sweden (Evaldsson, 2005), and grandparent status between two friends in the UK (Raymond & Heritage, 2006).

Social categorization implies stereotyping, and vice versa, and both social practices are essential for us to manage day-to-day social situations, simplifying the complex social world to a manageable level (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Tajfel, 1981; van Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis, 2000). Scollon et al. (2012) argue that stereotyping 'carries with it an ideological position' with negative or positive attitudes towards stereotyped groups 'to support social or political relationships

in regard to members of those groups' (p. 271; the attitudes can also be mixed, see Fiske et al., 2002). In light of the link between social categorization and stereotyping, social categories can be seen as entailing ideology-loaded perceptions of individuals as members of specific social groups. Apparently, social categories, stereotypes, and ideologies are intertwined with one another. In this vein, language ideologies can be considered as language-related stereotypes. For example, Houghton and Rivers (2013) define native-speakerism as 'prejudice, stereotyping and/or discrimination . . . on the basis of either being or not being perceived and categorized as a native speaker of a particular language' (p. 14).

Of particular note here is that making a moral or ethical judgement on a particular type of social categorization or stereotyping may not bring constructive insights to society, taking Haslam et al.'s (1997) argument into consideration:

> At the heart of our approach to stereotyping is the argument that stereotypes are not inferior representations of social reality that are used as a basis for perceiving, judging and acting only when superior, more accurate individualized representations are unavailable (Oakes & Turner, 1990; Oakes & Reynolds, 1997; Spears & Haslam, 1997). On the contrary, we argue that stereotypes generally serve to represent group-based realities apprehended from the perspective of a perceiver's own salient group membership. (p. 208)

Social categorization or stereotyping can be understood as a well-established way of constructing identities (see Bodenhausen, 2010; Petsko & Bodenhausen, 2020). Acknowledging that identity construction through social categorization may profoundly involve the negotiation of different values and interests, it may be of benefit to explore the process of stereotyping in social interaction although it is also important to identify the content of stereotypes, as suggested by Taylor (1981/2015).

In intercultural communication research, Fant (2012) gives a caution against the careless use of the concept of stereotype:

> It is, today, a commonly shared insight that all power generates resistance (cf. e.g. Foucault 1980). Scholars of social sciences and humanities should be careful about keeping a mental distance from power hierarchies, local or global, in order to avoid becoming instruments of power. Facing the various and often subtle mechanisms of what Fairclough (1992) refers to as "minorization"—the discursive creation of "minorities" (this term being taken in a wide sense) of lesser value –, it is essential not to embrace stereotypical representations of groups of people in order to fight prejudice and discrimination. (pp. 288–289)

In the examination of prejudice or discrimination against specific national or ethnic groups, resorting to stereotypical representations of those groups may leave issues of power unattended. Intercultural communication scholars need to be aware of this risk to prevent inadvertently contributing to the maintenance of prejudice or discrimination through their scientific work. The careless use of stereotypes can be regarded as a typical example of methodological nationalism in intercultural communication research (see Baker, 2022), which may cover power inequalities with 'the deceptively cozy blanket of culture' (Eriksen, 2001, p. 142). It is such a concern that has been a driving force for the shift from the

classical/essentialist to the critical/non-essentialist view of interculturality (e.g. Dervin, 2011, 2016, 2023; Holliday, 2011, 2022; Piller, 2011, 2017). That said, the counteraction of one form of essentialism would lead to the adoption of another form of essentialism, as discussed in Chapter 1.2.

Given this paradoxical loop of essentialism, a careful examination of the process of stereotyping or social categorization may help avoid the careless use of stereotypes or social categories in intercultural communication studies.

Based on a view of communication as joint social action (Nevile & Rendle-Short, 2009), regardless of the salience of interculturality (Liddicoat, 2009), people's identities constructed through communication are expected to be interactionally meaningful and functional. The intertwining of identity and interactional work has thus been increasingly addressed in language and communication research. One such common approach is membership categorization analysis which is interested in 'peoples' routine methods of social categorisation and local reasoning practices as a display and accomplishment of "doing" society' (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015, p. 5, emphasis in original). For instance, Stokoe (2009) shows how social categories, such as age, gender, and marital status, are drawn into neighbor disputes in the UK (see also Stokoe, 2003). More specifically concerning power relations among different ethnic groups, van de Weerd (2019) illustrates how ethnic labels can be used for shifting power positions and engaging in jocular mockery in interaction among secondary school students in the Netherlands, along with their identity construction and negotiation (see also van de Weerd, 2020). With respect to language ideologies, Liddicoat (2016b; the methodology is not specified as membership categorization analysis, but I find the analysis being similarly conducted) elucidates how power inequalities between so-labeled 'native and non-native' speakers are co-constructed (and resisted) in various online interactions (see Siegel, 2016 in the case of face-to-face interactions in English as a lingua franca). I would therefore argue that it is meaningful to examine the orientation or process of social categorization or identity construction while identifying the kinds of social categories or identities constructed through interaction, as with the analysis of stereotyping (see Taylor, 1981/2015).

It would be even more promising to address the process of social categorization as part of identity construction, recognizing that people construct different identities for dealing with different everyday social interactions (Crocetti et al., 2018) by deploying different social categories (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015) or adopting different subject positions (Davies & Harré, 1990). Kang & Bodenhausen (2015) conclude their literature review on the multifaceted nature of identity as follows: 'Perceiving and experiencing the multiplicity of identity is becoming an ever more defining feature of modern life, so the goal of optimizing these perceptions and experiences is of paramount importance' (p. 566). A great deal of previous studies has pointed to the possibility that people negotiate their identities that are grounded on their membership in specific national or ethnic communities as well as other social categories (e.g. Amadasi & Holliday, 2017, 2018; Arano, 2019; Bolden, 2014; Gu et al., 2014; Kecskes, 2019;

Nowicka, 2022; Zhu, 2015; Zhu et al., 2019, 2022). Amadasi and Holliday (2018) explore how a new international postgraduate student in the UK negotiates societal and personal narratives of national identity, together with the researchers, during an interview. Zhu et al.'s (2022) study captures the moments when 'cultural differences' are made visible, acted upon, and resisted in everyday conversation among students (international Chinese and local British students) in a university student accommodation in the UK. Seemingly, paying special attention to what Bolden (2014) calls 'intercultural moments'—'moments during which cultural and linguistic differences between people become manifest' (p. 208)—may shed light on the multiplicity, or fluidity in identity construction with a focus on interculturality. Such an interactionally sensitive approach to interculturality may reduce the aforementioned risk of essentialism in intercultural communication research.

In this section, I discussed a theoretical and analytical approach to identity based on social constructionism, seeing language as both shaping and being shaped by us to uphold existing social realities and orders, as well as to create new ones. This social constructionist understanding of language and identity highlights the importance of investigating how people construct their identities and relationships with others through moment-by-moment social categorization. Hence, in this dissertation, taking a social constructionist approach to interculturality, I explore possible ways in which different stakeholders in the internationalization of higher education—universities, students, and student organizations (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023; Article II, Shirahata, 2023; Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023, respectively) talk intergroup relations or interpersonal relationships among students into being from the stakeholders' own positions. I attempt to unpack possibly interconnected processes of relationships among students in the context of internationalizing higher education to provide some practical implications to constructively work for enhancing equity among students.

2.3 Critical discursive psychology

As discussed earlier, I understand that people make use of social categorization moment by moment in social interaction to discursively construct their identities and relationships with others. This understanding of social reality underpins my proposal of a robust social constructionist approach to interculturality. To put such an approach to interculturality into practice in this dissertation, I employ critical discursive psychology (CDP) as the analytical and epistemological framework to explore language ideologies in the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education, with a specific focus on the social world of students. This section will provide an overview of the development and applications of CDP.

CDP represents a strand of discursive psychology (DP) that applies discourse analysis to the study of psychological phenomena such as attitudes,

causal attribution, emotions, identity, and prejudice (Edwards & Potter, 2001; Potter & Edwards, 2001). Wiggins (2017) summarizes that DP has its theoretical and analytical roots in Ludwig Wittgenstein's philosophy, speech act theory, ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, sociology of scientific knowledge, semiology, and post-structuralism. In psychological research, what people say or write has conventionally been understood as reflecting their private inner thoughts, and it has been treated as an account of their attitudes or behaviors (see Burr, 2015; Gergen, 2015). Against this positivistic view of discourse, DP has been providing an alternative theoretical and analytical framework based on a social constructionist view of discourse (Hepburn & Wiggins, 2007). People's talk or text is seen as a public construction site of their minds, rather than a representation of their cognitive minds (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). It is a research object in and of itself. In principle, discourse is considered as being constructed and constructive, action-oriented, and situated (Edwards & Potter, 2001; Potter, 2012; Potter & Edwards, 2001). Scholars are interested in how people create different versions of social reality to accomplish different social actions (e.g. requesting, accepting, refusing, questioning, answering, complaining, evaluating, justifying, insulting, praising) through their talk or text in a specific context (Wiggins, 2017; Wiggins & Potter, 2008).

DP and CDP can be positioned between the two orientations on the spectrum of ethnomethodological/data-driven and critical/theory-driven or guided approaches to discourse analysis (Wiggins, 2017). At one end, ethnomethodology has been applied to the study of talk or text to elucidate people's methods of creating and upholding orderliness of everyday social interaction for practical reasoning within social groups, communities, or societies to make sense of their social environments (Liddicoat, 2020; Sidnell, 2015). At the other end, critical theory has been integrated into the study of discourse to scrutinize and question commonly accepted social norms in ideological and material social structures and practices in order to challenge power abuse and inequalities in society (Fairclough, 2012; van Dijk, 2015). While DP examines 'how people and their identities, responsibilities and behaviours are produced in particular ways in talk, and the implications of these constructions for that specific context' (Wiggins, 2017, p. 41), CDP explores 'how a particular issue, such as gender or sexuality, is understood in a cultural context and how this translates into people's discourses about that issue' (p. 46). Typically, CDP addresses macro-level psychological phenomena, while DP focuses on micro-level phenomena. This difference in the scope of analysis renders CDP more suitable than DP for exploring language ideologies in the global phenomenon of internationalization of higher education.

In the debate between Emanuel Schegloff and Margaret Wetherell (Schegloff, 1997; Wetherell, 1998) on discourse analytical approaches to sociopolitical issues, Wetherell argues:

> My aim was not to endorse this division of labour—conversation analysis then ethnomethodology then post-structuralist analysis or ethnography of communication or critical discourse analysis—but to suggest that for social psychological discursive projects a more synthetic approach is required focused on the development of analytic

> concepts which work across some of these domains such as, for instance, the notion of positioning, interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas, and so on. (1988, p. 405)

CDP attempts to shed light on possible intersections between situated and broader societal discourses about social or political issues through the combination of ethnomethodological and critical or sociopolitical analysis of talk or text, centering on the dilemmatic nature of discourse. In short, CDP provides a theoretical and analytical toolkit for a synthetic approach to discourse analysis. I find this toolkit useful for examining language ideologies in the context of internationalizing higher education where English is used as the primary lingua franca among students. Critical analysis enables the exploration of language ideologies that may contribute to power inequalities among students as speakers of different languages in the global phenomenon of internationalization or Englishization of higher education (Lanvers & Hultgren, 2018; Phillipson, 2015). Ethnomethodological analysis allows addressing the local institutional, organizational, or interpersonal needs of social categorization through language ideologies, facilitating attention to the potential negotiation of frames of reference and identity in international lingua franca learning environments (Baker, 2016; Zhu, 2015). Taking the two types of analysis together, alongside a focus on the complexity of the social world due to the dilemmatic nature of discourse (Billig et al., 1988), CDP may add nuance to the analysis of language ideologies in this dissertation.

CDP analysis revolves around three key concepts: *interpretative repertoires*, *subject positions*, and *ideological dilemmas*. Interpretative repertoires are coherent sets of lay descriptions or accounts about objects, events, and actions that people draw on in their everyday talk or text within a community (Edley, 2001; Wetherell & Potter, 1988). They are comprised of common themes, places, and troupes that people in the community can easily recognize (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell, 1998; Wetherell & Potter, 1988). Interpretative repertoires provide people with 'a basis for shared social understanding' (Edley, 2001, p. 198) for everyday social interaction in the community, bridging between situated and broader societal discourses about various topics (Wiggins, 2017). Metaphorically put, 'interpretative repertoires are like the pre-figured steps that can be flexibly and creatively strung together in the improvisation of a dance' (Edley, 2001, p. 198). These repertoires not only enable people to talk or write about various topics but also afford them specific subject positions (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell, 1998). A position here refers to 'a cluster of short-term disputable rights, duties, and obligations' (Harré, 2012, p. 193). Once subject positions are taken up by people through interaction, these positions become people's identities within a particular talk or text (Davies & Harré, 1990; Edley, 2001; Wetherell, 1998). Interpretative repertoires are therefore important in our social lives as discursive building blocks for constructing different versions of 'our lived reality' (Wetherell & Potter, 1988, p. 172) with potential practical consequences (Seymour-Smith et al., 2002).

In cases where multiple repertoires are deployed within a single story, ideological dilemmas may be created as a result of apparent inconsistencies or

contradictions among the different co-occurring repertoires (Wetherell, 1996). These dilemmas are central in CDP. Billig et al. (1988) argue that ideological dilemmas are 'fundamentally born out of a culture which produces more than one possible ideal world, more than one hierarchical arrangement of power, value and interest' (p. 163). Managing such a dilemma is hence not a simple matter of choice between alternatives; it involves 'an assessment of conflicting values' (Billig et al., 1988, p. 163). In brief, CDP analysis starts with searching for interpretative repertoires in the data set at hand, and then moves on to addressing the subject positions these repertoires afford to people or entities, and lastly examines whether ideological dilemmas arise among different co-occurring repertoires. A challenging point of such analysis is that there are no ready-made specific analytical steps to identify interpretative repertoires, subject positions, and ideological dilemmas. Edley (2001) notes: 'Identifying interpretative repertoires turns out to be a "craft skill" rather than being something that one can master from first principles' (p. 198). The vagueness in the implementation of CDP analysis may invite questions regarding the validity of findings. To minimize this analytical challenge, greater emphasis can be placed on sequential analysis within CDP, following Hepburn and Wiggins's (2007) suggestion to develop a more conversation analytic approach in DP analysis.

CDP has often been employed to examine social or political psychological topics such as gender (e.g. Locke & Yarwood, 2017; Reynolds & Wetherell, 2003) and racism (e.g. Burke, 2018; Wetherell & Potter, 1988). The social dimension of language ideology, the topic of this dissertation, is also a sociopolitical psychological topic. Language ideologies are rarely explicit topics of conversation as such in mundane settings. However, these ideologies can easily be traced from what people talk about and how they talk about it. For example, specific language ideologies may be recognizable when people or institutions describe or explain their linguistic practices, resources, and backgrounds, as reported in previous studies on language ideologies in higher education (e.g. Kuteeva, 2020; McCambridge & Saarinen, 2015; Sung, 2020). In everyday or institutional talk or text, each language ideology may enable us to make sense of our social world in terms of language, affording specific language-related social categories (e.g. 'native and non-native speakers', 'multilinguals') that can act as our identities in a particular moment. Furthermore, given the emergent nature of identity in discourse (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), people most likely draw on a variety of language ideologies in their stories, some of which might be inconsistent or contradictory (e.g. the notion of English as the national language of English-speaking countries and the notion of English as a lingua franca). In such a case, people may find themselves caught in a dilemmatic situation (e.g. people as 'native and non-native' speakers of English or people as speakers of English as a lingua franca). These characteristics of language ideologies altogether provide a sufficient ground to consider such ideologies to be interpretative repertoires about language and its speakers in this dissertation.

According to Wiggins (2017), common data sources for CDP studies include individual interviews (e.g. Reynolds & Wetherell, 2003), focus group discussions

(e.g. Bowleg et al., 2015), and news media text (e.g. Burke, 2018; Lennon & Kilby, 2020). This is expected since scholars who choose to work with CDP set up their studies based on their interests in specific social or political issues. As for individual interviews and focus group discussions, these are a practical means to access on-topic talk that aligns with the researcher's accounts and agenda, but this convenience may heighten the risk of subjective bias (Edwards & Stokoe, 2004). Puchta and Potter (2002), for instance, illustrate how moderators may craft freestanding opinions out of participants' talk in market research focus group discussions. The researcher's potential subjective bias has been one of the major sources of conflict between critical and ethnomethodological approaches to discourse analysis (see Schegloff, 1997; Schegloff, 1998; Weatherall, 2016; Wetherell, 1998 for the debate between Emanuel Schegloff and Margaret Wetherell). In response to Wetherell (1998), Schegloff (1998) criticizes her scant attention to the interviewer's interactional actions in her analysis of interviews with male teenagers concerning sexuality and gender, seeing the interviewer playing 'the *agent provocateur*' role (p. 415, emphasis in original) during the interviews. However, in order to carry out any research project, scholars need to have common-sense knowledge about the specific social or political issues they are interested in. They are necessarily partial or full members of the community to which the issues are of concern, and by corollary, they draw on common-sense knowledge to some extent when analyzing data (Stokoe & Smithson, 2001).

Given this very condition, as Nikander (2012) suggests, research interviews can be seen as '*pieces of interaction in their own right*' (p. 398, emphasis in original) where interviewers as well as interviewees are active participants in conversation. Accordingly, the researcher's positioning and agenda in interaction can be regarded as part of the object of analysis. Such treatment of the researcher's subjectivity implies that criticality in social scientific research is understood differently in critical and ethnomethodological approaches to discourse analysis. While critical approaches deal with *emancipatory critique*, ethnomethodological approaches deal with *ethnographic critique* in Pietikäinen's (2016) classification. Emancipatory critique challenges the status quo of society to call for change to emancipate socially oppressed people; in contrast, ethnographic critique addresses the intersections between social structures and local experiences from multiple positions rather than the dualism of power (Pietikäinen, 2016). CDP apparently attempts to synthesize emancipatory and ethnographic critique. However, I find balancing the two to be a challenging task that may present a paradox for scholars. Emancipatory critique is targeted at societal ideologies beyond local beliefs, and consequently, scholars may be inclined to focus on what is not observable in talk or text data at hand, which is against DP's analytical principle. It seems ambitious to achieve hybrid criticality while managing the possible paradox in CDP.

In this section, I discussed CDP in terms of its epistemological grounds, analytical concepts, and previous applications, to justify my choice of CDP as the guiding methodology for studying the social meanings of language ideologies for students in the internationalizing higher education context. I also noted some

challenging or controversial points in the implementation of analysis that seem to be attributed to the inherently conflicting nature of ethnomethodological and critical approaches to discourse analysis as well as the lack of specific analytical procedures of CDP. In my understanding, CDP analysis is grounded in the exploration of the fluidity of identity and power dynamics, along with the variability of discourse. The examination of structural inequalities serves as an additional layer in the pursuit of a hybrid of ethnographic and emancipatory critique. I recognize the opposite stance as potentially leading to increased subjective bias. To mitigate this risk and appreciate stakeholders' perspectives, while keeping my critical interest in language ideologies, I primarily used naturally occurring data: university documents (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023) and social media posts by a student organization (Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023) that existed before my studies. I also conducted student focus group discussions (Article II, Shirahata, 2023), but I did not serve as a moderator to guide the students' talk. During the analysis, I focused on the local construction process and the meaning of each language ideology as an interpretative repertoire. With the application of CDP to these different data types—text, talk, and social media posts (the first two being more conventional, and the last being more recent), I will further develop CDP as a theoretical and methodological framework to address sociopolitical issues, especially language ideologies.

2.4 Research objective

This dissertation takes a robust social constructionist approach to interculturality, which is grounded on a social constructionist understanding of language and identity, to avoid the paradoxical loop of essentialism in intercultural communication research. This stronger flavor of social constructionism guided all the three empirical studies as part of this dissertation (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023; Article II, Shirahata, 2023; Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023), regardless of research focus and data type. The objective of this dissertation is to enhance our understanding of how different language ideologies may act as discursive building blocks to construct intergroup relations and interpersonal relationships among students on the international campus today. I engage with the following overarching question: How may different language ideologies manifest themselves in macro-, meso-, and micro-level discourses about language and students in the phenomenon of internationalizing higher education? I am interested in exploring the social meanings of language ideologies for students in a bigger picture, that is to say, a 'prevailing discursive environment' (Seymour-Smith et al., 2002, p. 254) that might be created by different stakeholders in the internationalization of higher education—universities, students, and student organizations—to shape the experiences of students as language speakers on campus. By synthesizing the findings of the three articles, I address the interconnectedness between macro-, meso-, and micro-level discursive processes of intergroup relations or interpersonal relationships among students in

internationalizing higher education, aiming to provide practical insights into how equity among students can be constructively enhanced from the stakeholders' perspectives. Along with achieving the research objective, this dissertation demonstrates one promising way of approaching interculturality as dynamic social practice, employing CDP. It thus also contributes to the development of CDP as a theoretical and methodological framework for sociopolitical issues, especially language ideologies, from a social constructionist understanding of interculturality.

3 DISSERTATION ARTICLES

3.1 Research phases

This dissertation is a compilation of three empirical research articles (see Table 1 for the titles of the articles and the research questions). One of the articles was single-authored by me, and two were co-authored with my supervisor(s). As to the co-authorship practice in each of the two co-authored articles, I took primary responsibility as the first author in all research phases, from initiating the research idea to composing the article. The second (and third) author(s) contributed to each article by discussing with me the theoretical and methodological framework, the procedure of data collection, analytic choices during data analysis, and key arguments, as well as by participating in the writing of the article, mainly focusing on parts of the theoretical and methodological framework.

The order in which I worked on the three articles reflects my learning process regarding the research topic of this dissertation—the social meanings of language ideologies for students in internationalizing higher education. My preliminary research plan was to focus on micro-level discourse about language and students by exploring language ideologies in student talk through individual and focus group interviews. The plan included a comparison of the cases of the University of Jyväskylä (JYU) in Finland and Akita International University (AIU) in Japan. Both are public institutions with unique positions in their national contexts, but they differ significantly in scale. JYU is a multidisciplinary university with 6 faculties, and it is known for its keen interest and active involvement in applied linguistics research and practice. AIU is a small liberal arts college, and it is the only public higher education institution in Japan specifically dedicated to EMI. I expected to learn more in-depth about each university's case by comparing the two very different universities.

However, I made major changes to my research plan. At the very beginning stage of my research project, my colleagues advised me to look into university language policies as well as student talk, pointing out that language ideologies are broader societal discourses. It also became practically and ethically questionable to ask students about their interpersonal experiences with their peers in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic, which coincided with the first year of my doctoral studies (i.e. the period of my initial data collection). I therefore started by comparing language ideologies in the university language policies of JYU and AIU relevant to students in the first article.

Meanwhile, I came to understand that interviewing is not suitable for addressing interpersonal relationships as they are collaboratively constructed by students among themselves, not with me. Hence, once I learned that the pandemic situation had relaxed, I moved on to exploring language ideologies in focus group discussions among JYU students in the second article. Two groups of students voluntarily participated in the study, and each group happened to include a student who self-identifies and is identified by peers as a so-called 'native' speaker of English. This unplanned set-up made me focus on the case of JYU.

After completing the two articles that addressed different levels of discourse—macro- and micro-level discourses, my supervisors and I recognized the benefit of exploring meso-level discourse as well. I thus analyzed language ideologies in social media communication practices of the Student Union of the University of Jyväskylä (Jyväskylän yliopiston ylioppilaskunta, JYY) in the third article. Along with the second article, I focused on the case of JYU, as I realized that international comparison may be better suited for exploring macro-level discourses of national institutions, rather than meso-level discourses of student organizations as well as micro-level discourses of students. Ultimately, this dissertation, as a synthesis of the findings of the three articles, explores the interconnectedness between macro-, meso-, and micro-level discursive processes of intergroup relations or interpersonal relationships among students. The following are summaries of the articles, accompanied by my reflections on the research process.

TABLE 1 Research articles included in the dissertation

Article	Research questions
I. Shirahata, M., & Lahti, M. (2023). Language ideological landscapes for students in university language policies: Inclusion, exclusion, or hierarchy. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 24*(3), 272–292. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2022.2088165	(1) What language ideological landscapes are constructed in the language policies of JYU and AIU that concern students? (2) What social categories and power relations do these ideological landscapes afford to students?
II. Shirahata, M. (2023). English is 'the language everybody shares' but it is 'my native language': Language ideologies and interpersonal relationships among students in internationalizing higher education. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 23*(5), 453–469. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2023.2217793	(1) What language ideologies become relevant to students' discursive construction of their identities in international master's programs of JYU? (2) How do the students negotiate their identities when an ideological dilemma occurs?
III. Shirahata, M., Lahti, M., & Siitonen, M. (2023). Language ideologies in a Finnish university student union's Facebook communication practices. *Social Semiotics*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2023.2267462	(1) What language ideologies are constructed in JYY's Facebook posts? (2) What intergroup relations do these language ideologies discursively afford to students?

3.2 Language ideological landscapes for students in university language policies: Inclusion, exclusion, or hierarchy (Article I)

In the first article included in this dissertation (Shirahata & Lahti, 2023), my co-author and I compare the university language policies of JYU and AIU that are relevant to students. The objective of this article is to examine interrelationships among different language ideologies in university language policies that form a *language ideological landscape*, as termed by Kraft and Lønsmann (2018), in the process of internationalization of higher education through EMI. Our focus is on social categories and power relations among students.

The comparison of the two national contexts is informed by apparently different views on the relationships between English and the national language(s) in Finland (a Nordic country) and Japan, as reported in prior literature. In the

Nordic countries, the greater presence of English has been described as posing a challenge to the preservation of the national language(s) in the academic domain (e.g. Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). In Japan, the promotion of English over Japanese in international settings has been noted to highlight the uniqueness of Japanese national identity against English-associated others (Phan, 2013). By comparing the cases of JYU and AIU, my co-author and I explore the social meanings of language ideologies for students in the process of internationalization of higher education through EMI as a global phenomenon.

The theoretical underpinnings of the article rest on the meso-level role of universities in language planning (Liddicoat, 2016a) and their central position in scholarly discussions on language and multilingualism. These discussions include the understanding of language ideology as 'interest-laden and positioned' (Gal, 2005, p. 25), the conceptual shift from the notion of language as an internally homogenous entity to the notion of language as dynamic interactional practice (e.g. Lüdi, 2013; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012), the criticism of *native speakerism* of English (e.g. Holliday, 2006, 2015), and the proposal of *English as a Lingua Franca* (e.g. Jenkins, 2011). University language policies are therefore expected to be shaped through negotiations of different language ideologies among different stakeholders involved in national-level language planning, internationalization initiatives, and multilingualism research. My co-author and I argue that it is important to examine a language ideological landscape in such policies, as it creates the 'prevailing discursive environment' (Seymour-Smith et al., 2002, p. 254) that students can utilize to explain and justify their orientations towards their peers.

We initially collected data from several policy documents of JYU and AIU (e.g. policy and regulation documents) to search for de jure language policies (i.e. declared language policies; see e.g. Johnson, 2013). As the analysis advanced, we collected additional data from various procedure documents (e.g. admission requirements, program descriptions and curricula) to search for de facto language policies (i.e. linguistic practices; see e.g. Johnson, 2013). In total, we collected 39 JYU documents (written in Finnish and English, Finnish only, or English only) and 16 AIU documents (written in Japanese and English or Japanese only; see Shirahata & Lahti, 2023 for the complete list of the data sources with detailed information). Our data sources were limited to documents that were publicly accessible to relevant stakeholders on the webpages of the two universities.

CDP allowed for the mapping of language ideological landscapes in the language policies of JYU and AIU. We regarded language ideologies as interpretative repertoires, social categories for students as subject positions, and inconsistencies or contradictions among different co-occurring language ideologies as ideological dilemmas in this article. In each university's case, I first went through the documents to find different descriptions of language-related matters (e.g. preferred language choices in different contexts on campus, expected language proficiency for studies), and then searched for patterns across these descriptions to address language ideologies in an inductive manner. I also

examined the subject positions afforded to students by these ideologies as social categories for students as language speakers and power relations among them. Lastly, I mapped out the language ideological landscape, paying attention to ideological dilemmas among the identified language ideologies. Although I was in charge of the analysis, I discussed my analytic choices with my co-author throughout the process. We also leveraged our combined linguistic resources to work with the documents in English, Finnish, or Japanese.

Our analysis identifies several language ideologies in the different policy and procedure documents of JYU and AIU. These ideologies, as different sets, construct different language ideological landscapes in the two universities' language policies that concern students, from the universities' distinct positioning in the process of internationalization of their education and communities (see Figure 1–4). In both cases, *multilingualism/monolingualisms* as both de jure and de facto language policies is comprised of *national language ideologies* (as both de jure and de facto policies), *international language ideologies* (as both de jure and de facto policies), and *native-speakerism* (as a de facto policy). Since these ideologies are all rooted in the conventional notion of language as a self-contained system bound to a specific national group, national language ideologies, international language ideologies, and native-speakerism afford students prototypical social categories and power relations: *locals and foreigners* for mutual exclusion, *cosmopolitans* for inclusion, and '*native and non-native speakers*' for hierarchy. Altogether, multilingualism/monolingualisms portrays the student community as consisting of students from different national communities. *Languaging*, based on the recent notion of language as dynamic social practice, is visible only as a de jure policy of JYU.

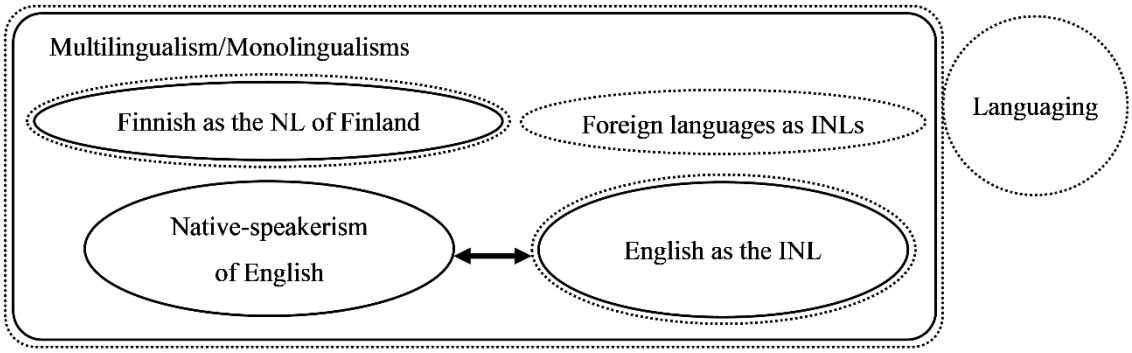

FIGURE 1 Language ideological landscape in JYU language policies

Note. dotted figures–de jure policies, solid figures–de facto policies, double arrow–ideological dilemma, NL–national language, INL–international language. From "Language ideological landscapes for students in university language policies: inclusion, exclusion, or hierarchy," by M. Shirahata and M. Lahti, 2023, *Current Issues in Language Planning, 24*(3), p. 279 (https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2022.2088165). CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

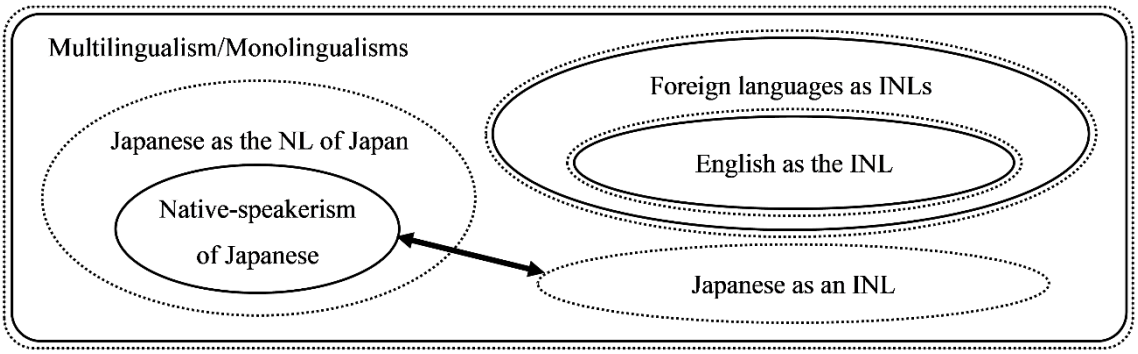

FIGURE 2 Language ideological landscape in AIU language policies

Note. dotted figures–de jure policies, solid figures–de facto policies, double arrow–ideological dilemma, NL–national language, INL–international language. From "Language ideological landscapes for students in university language policies: inclusion, exclusion, or hierarchy," by M. Shirahata and M. Lahti, 2023, *Current Issues in Language Planning, 24*(3), p. 280 (https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2022.2088165). CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

FIGURE 3 JYU as part of a larger international community

From "Language ideological landscapes for students in university language policies: inclusion, exclusion, or hierarchy," by M. Shirahata and M. Lahti, 2023, *Current Issues in Language Planning, 24*(3), p. 280 (https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2022.2088165). CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

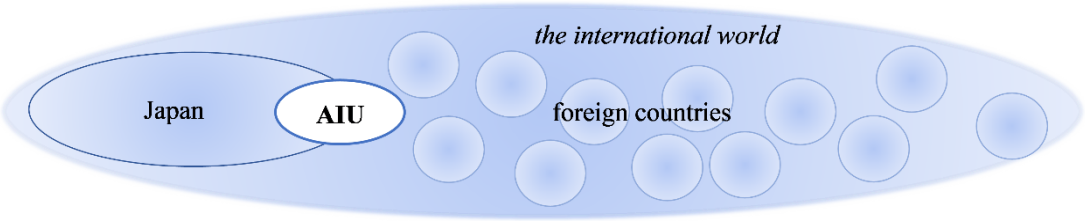

FIGURE 4 AIU as a mediator between the local and international community

From "Language ideological landscapes for students in university language policies: inclusion, exclusion, or hierarchy," by M. Shirahata and M. Lahti, 2023, *Current Issues in Language Planning, 24*(3), p. 281 (https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2022.2088165). CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

The language ideological landscapes of JYU and AIU, along with accompanying constructions of social categories and power relations among students, are summarized as follows:

(1) *JYU's multilingualism/monolingualisms for mutual exclusion and inclusion or hierarchy among students, with languaging in a marginal position*:
In the policy-level texts, Finnish is clarified and emphasized as the national language of Finland in contrast to foreign languages as international languages in JYU. Nevertheless, English is not included as a foreign language but is presented as the primary international language. In this language classification, *Finnish as the national language of Finland*, *foreign languages as international languages*, and *English as the international language* are constructed to form *multilingualism/monolingualisms* in the de jure language policies of JYU as 'part of a larger international community (the world at largest)' (Shirahata & Lahti, 2023, p. 281). This de jure multilingualism/monolingualisms provides students with the social categories of *locals from Finland and foreigners* for mutually exclusive relationships and *foreign language-* and *English-speaking cosmopolitans* for inclusive relationships. Interestingly, in only one paragraph of JYU Kielipolitiikka [JYU Language Policy], multilingualism is explained without mentioning any named language or nationality to characterize language as an emergent practice of people's linguistic resources in interaction. In this way, *languaging* is vaguely constructed as a de jure language policy, offering a very different view of multilingualism and language.

In the practice-level texts, Finnish is again clarified as the national language of Finland, and English is again not classified as a foreign language. In some language requirements for admission, English, especially its academic variety, is regarded as the international language. In other language requirements, however, the varieties of English used in educational institutions in Western countries (European countries including Finland as well as Western English-speaking countries such as the UK) are assessed as more authentic or legitimate than other varieties. Therefore, in the de facto language policies of JYU, *Finnish as the national language of Finland*, *English as the international language*, and *native-speakerism of English* adjusted to the context of JYU in Finland (a European country) are established to form *multilingualism/monolingualisms* with an ideological dilemma between the two conflicting views of English—the notion of English as the international language and native-speakerism of English. This de facto multilingualism/monolingualisms consolidates the social categories of *locals from Finland and foreigners* for mutually exclusive relationships. Meanwhile, it jeopardizes the category of *English-speaking cosmopolitans* for inclusive relationships by the categories of '*native/native-like and non-native speakers' of English* for hierarchical relationships. On the whole, JYU's multilingualism/monolingualisms displays the university's interest in preserving Finnish while internationalizing the student community through English, reserving foreign language-speaking cosmopolitans as the only conflict-free inclusive category for students.

(2) *AIU's multilingualism/monolingualisms for inclusion, implicit mutual exclusion, and hierarchy among students*:

In the policy-level texts, Japanese is only implicitly clarified as the national language of Japan in contrast to foreign languages, especially English, as international languages in AIU. Interestingly, foreign languages are emphasized over Japanese, and English is clearly presented as the primary international language. However, Japanese is also presented as an international language along with English, most notably in the graduate programs. As shown in this language classification, *foreign languages as international languages*, *English as the international language*, *Japanese as the national language of Japan*, and *Japanese as an international language* are constructed to form *multilingualism/monolingualisms* in the de jure language policies of AIU as 'a mediator between the local (Japan) and international (the world at largest) community' (Shirahata & Lahti, 2023, p. 283). This de jure multilingualism/monolingualisms offers students the social categories of *foreign-language-*, *English-*, and *Japanese-speaking cosmopolitans* for inclusive relationships and *locals from Japan and foreigners* for implicitly mutually exclusive relationships.

In the practice-level texts, English and other foreign languages are again presented as international languages, with English as the primary one. In the language requirements for admission to the Japanese-medium program, 'native speakers' of Japanese are unconditionally granted authenticity or legitimacy for their Japanese language proficiency and status over 'non-native speakers'. Meanwhile, 'native speakers' of Japanese are required to be more proficient in English than 'non-native speakers' of Japanese or to be proficient in another foreign language. These requirements indicate that English and foreign languages are valued as international languages. In the de facto language policies of AIU, *English as the international language*, *native-speakerism of Japanese*, and *foreign languages as international languages* are established to form *multilingualism/monolingualisms*. This de facto multilingualism/monolingualisms consolidates the social categories of *English-* and *foreign-language-speaking cosmopolitans* for inclusive relationships, and produces new categories of '*native and non-native speakers' of Japanese* for hierarchical relationships. Altogether, AIU's multilingualism/monolingualisms creates an ideological dilemma between the two conflicting views of Japanese—the notion of Japanese as an international language and native-speakerism of Japanese, juxtaposing the inclusive category of Japanese-speaking cosmopolitans by the hierarchical categories of 'native and non-native speakers' of Japanese. Even so, the categories of English- and foreign-language-speaking cosmopolitans can facilitate inclusion without any conflict. AIU's multilingualism/monolingualisms reflects its interest in English and other foreign languages as valuable resources for internationalization while assuming the vitality of Japanese. In the background, the categories of Japanese and foreigners remain available for implicit mutual exclusion among students.

My co-author and I conclude that multilingualism rooted in a monolingual view of membership in a national community dominates the language ideological landscapes in the language policies of JYU and AIU, despite growing awareness of people's flexible and fluid use of linguistic resources in multilingualism research (e.g. Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). The clear distinction between the national language and foreign languages as international languages in both universities can be seen as their (explicit or implicit) enactment of ethnolinguistic nationalism (e.g. Anderson, 2006), as they internationalize their education and communities. Likewise, bearing in mind that native-speakerism is a version of the notion of national language (see e.g. Doerr, 2009), the tension between the maintenance of ethnolinguistic nationalism and the pursuit of internationalization can also explain the dilemma between native-speakerism of Japanese and the notion of Japanese as an international language in AIU as well as the dilemma between native-speakerism of English adjusted to the context of JYU and the notion of English as the international language in JYU. It seems inevitable for universities to construct native-speakerism when the national (or institutional) language(s) act(s) as an international language(s). Yet, universities can mitigate potential inequalities among students due to native-speakerism, as seen in AIU's emphasis on foreign languages as international languages in the linguistic repertoires of 'native speakers' (see Jenkins & Leung, 2019) and JYU's presentation of English as the international language without a label of a foreign language (see Kuteeva, 2014) along with the reference to the notion of languaging (see Makoni & Pennycook, 2012).

Overall, JYU's and AIU's multilingualism/monolingualisms can be interpreted as products of negotiations of national and institutional discourses or interests in language planning and practices in the process of internationalization through EMI in their respective national contexts (see Saarinen & Taalas, 2017 for the Finnish context; see Phan, 2013 for the Japanese context). The comparison of the two university cases indicates that both multilingualism and languaging can be strategically deployed as discursive resources in university language policies as meso-level language planning (Liddicoat, 2016a), allowing universities to maintain ethnolinguistic nationalism while ensuring equality among students. Given the prevalence of multilingualism on today's international campuses, students as language speakers most likely need to negotiate different ways of developing peer relationships (e.g. inclusive relationships as cosmopolitans, exclusive relationships as locals and foreigners, and hierarchical relationships as 'native/native-like and non-native speakers'). In addition to ethnolinguistic nationalism, my co-author and I identified broader nationalism in the policies of JYU and AIU during data analysis (e.g. applicants who received their higher education in Finnish institutions are favored in many of JYU international master's programs when it comes to proving proficiency in English; AIU undergraduate programs have a limited intake of foreign students). We therefore see the benefit of exploring the interconnectedness between university language policies and other university policies in the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education for future research.

My approach to language ideologies in this dissertation developed through the process of working on the first article. In the article, my co-author and I demonstrated sequential analysis of text to support categorization analysis of language ideologies. In other words, we explored not only what language ideologies are identified but also how each language ideology is constructed in the policy documents of JYU and AIU. In line with this practice, despite our focus on social categories and power relations among students, we examined the positioning of the two universities in their internationalization to further address the local construction processes and social meanings of language ideologies and to identify ideological dilemmas. We also attended to all the languages mentioned in both policy and procedure documents in our data set while mapping out the interrelationships among different co-occurring language ideologies in the language policies of the two universities. As the analysis progressed, I came to understand the potential of this ethnomethodologically-oriented nuanced holistic examination of language ideologies to address the complex reality of internationalizing higher education. Not only inclusive but also exclusive and hierarchical ideologies may be essential for accommodating various needs of different stakeholders. This learning experience encouraged me to keep approaching language ideologies from an ethnomethodological as well as critical perspective in my second and third dissertation articles.

3.3 English is 'the language everybody shares' but it is 'my native language': Language ideologies and interpersonal relationships among students in internationalizing higher education (Article II)

In the second dissertation article included in this dissertation (Shirahata, 2023), I analyze two focus group discussions among students who study in international EMI master's programs at JYU through the lenses of language ideology and identity. The objective of this article is to explore the roles of different language ideologies in identity construction and negotiation among students in the context of internationalizing and Englishizing higher education, from a perspective of intercultural communication.

I assume that JYU students are exposed to both emerging and established language ideologies through the university's language policies and practices, which incorporate recent insights from applied linguistics research. I am therefore interested in exploring how students utilize different language ideologies to collaboratively create different kinds of interpersonal relationships among themselves while engaging in small group conversations.

This article is theoretically based on a social constructionist approach to identity and recent discussions on language in intercultural communication research. Typically, intergroup relations and interpersonal relationships are defined as constructed when people construct their social identities (i.e.

membership in social groups) and personal identities (i.e. idiosyncratic characteristics), respectively (Gudykunst, 2005). Yet, intergroup relations might be brought up in interpersonal relationships. In the past twenty years, discourse studies that combine membership categorization analysis and conversation analysis (see e.g. Stokoe, 2012) have illustrated how membership in social groups can be momentarily turned into a person's identity through social interaction. I therefore see language ideologies (intergroup issues) as building blocks that people can employ to discursively construct their identities and interpersonal relationships with others, particularly considering the role of language in shaping power (Heller et al., 2018). This understanding of language ideologies aligns with a recent critical perspective on language in intercultural communication research that recognizes language choice and language proficiency as both practically and ideologically crucial in communication (Piller, 2011). Acknowledging the negotiation of identities as a common feature of intercultural and lingua franca communication (Zhu, 2015), I find it valuable to explore how students in international EMI programs may draw on different language ideologies to construct and negotiate their identities during conversations with their peers.

In Spring 2021, I recruited research participants by advertising the study through a mailing list of JYU international master's programs, a few lecturers, and a few student communities. I requested students to participate in the study with their program peers because they were expected to discuss their experiences of interpersonal relationships in their programs. Two groups of students agreed to voluntarily take part in the study, with 3 participants in Discussion 1 and 2 participants in Discussion 2. No demographic profiles (e.g. program name, place of origin) were collected from the participants. The sessions, each lasting approximately one hour, were carried out in English via Zoom. I hosted the Zoom meetings, but I did not moderate or participate in the discussions. In each session, I provided six topics as prompts for discussion (see Shirahata, 2023 for the list of the topics). I also gave the participants a space to further discuss some of the topics and initiate new conversations on their own in the last phase of the discussion. For data analysis, I video-recorded the sessions and transcribed the recordings, resulting in 43 pages for Discussion 1 and 45 pages for Discussion 2.

I analyzed the students' talk using CDP, regarding language ideologies as interpretative repertoires, students' identities as subject positions, and inconsistencies or contradictions among different co-occurring language ideologies as ideological dilemmas. I first went through the recordings to identify various descriptions of language and students (e.g. accounts about languages spoken by students in the participants' programs, language choices and practices in different situations, expected language practices and proficiency for different purposes), and then searched for patterns across these descriptions to ethnomethodologically and inductively address language ideologies. By corollary, I examined the specific subject positions these ideologies assigned to students in the participants' programs as their identities. Finally, I paid special attention to ideological dilemmas along with the participants' identity

negotiation. Since I understand identity as relational (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), my analysis was extended to interpersonal relationships among students in the participants' programs, including power relations.

Across the two focus group discussions, my analysis captures some established language ideologies rooted in the notion of language as national or ethnic language (see Figure 5). More specifically, *national language ideologies*, *lingua franca ideologies*, *multilingualism*, and *native-speakerism* are prevalent in the students' talk, constructing students as *members of specific national or ethnic communities*, *speakers of specific languages as lingua francas*, *multilinguals*, and either so-called *'native' or 'non-native' speakers of English*. In addition, the analysis identifies *languaging*, which is the emerging notion of language as dynamic social practice (see Figure 5). This ideology with a focus on the distinction between academic and everyday languages constructs students as *students*. Apparently, when the notion of English as a lingua franca is juxtaposed with the notion of English as a national or ethnic language or native-speakerism of English (see Figure 5), the participants who consider English as their first language face ideological dilemmas in their identity construction in both discussions. Nevertheless, the dilemmas seem to be handled through the participants' identity negotiation facilitated by multilingualism or the notion of languaging.

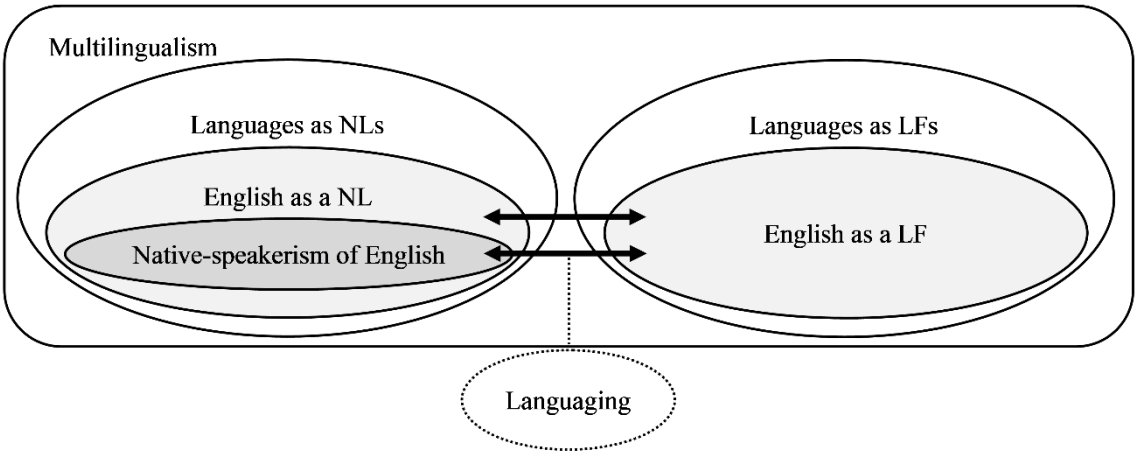

FIGURE 5 Language ideologies in the student focus group discussions

Note. solid figures–language ideologies based on the notion of language as national or ethnic language, dotted figure–the notion of language as languaging, double arrows–ideological dilemmas, NL–national or ethnic language, LF–lingua franca. From "English is 'the language everybody shares' but it is 'my native language': Language ideologies and interpersonal relationships among students in internationalizing higher education," by M. Shirahata, 2023, *Language and Intercultural Communication, 23*(5), p. 459 (https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2023.2217793). CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

The roles of language ideologies in identity construction and negotiation among JYU students are summarized as follows:

(1) *Multilingualism enveloping divisive interpersonal relationships among students as English speakers for inclusion*:

At the very beginning of both discussions, a connection is established between a language and membership in a specific national or ethnic community while the participants describe the linguistic demographics of students in their programs. Language is thus defined as national or ethnic language, and students who speak a specific named language as their first language are conceived as members of a specific national or ethnic community. Meanwhile, the position of those who speak the language not as their first language is clarified as speakers of the language as a lingua franca. Finally, all the students are portrayed as multilinguals who speak one or more language(s) as a lingua franca(s) as well as their first language(s). Multilingualism, encompassing national language and lingua franca ideologies, can be therefore understood as enabling students with diverse national or ethnic backgrounds and linguistic repertoires to discursively develop inclusive interpersonal relationships in the international programs.

In both discussions, English is highlighted as the primary lingual franca among students in the participants' programs. Notably, this central position of English in multilingualism appears to create a dilemma between the notions of English as a lingua franca and English as a national or ethnic language. I identify a few moments in each of the two discussions when one of the participants pronounces English as her first language. This distinguishes her as a member of an English-speaking national or ethnic community from her peers, leading to divisive interpersonal relationships. Such a division potentially jeopardizes inclusive interpersonal relationships among students in the participants' programs, all as speakers of English as the lingua franca. Nevertheless, the inclusion is reestablished when this particular participant is reconstructed as a multilingual who speaks English and at least one other language, like her peers. Seemingly, the ideological dilemma is managed through this identity negotiation. Multilingualism, particularly emphasizing languages other than English, can be thus interpreted as discursively fostering inclusive interpersonal relationships in the international programs where English serves as the lingua franca among students. However, the degree of inclusiveness of multilingualism for those who consider English as their first language is likely to depend on whether there is a threshold for proficiency in (an)other language(s). In Discussion 1, at one point, such a participant presents herself as not multilingual due to her limited proficiency in Finnish. At another point, she is constructed as a multilingual who speaks multiple languages, irrespective of proficiency.

(2) *Languaging enveloping hierarchical interpersonal relationships among students as English speakers for inclusion*:

When it comes to proficiency in English for academic purposes, the aforementioned dilemma takes a different form. A dilemma appears to occur between the notion of English as a lingua franca and native-speakerism of English. In each group discussion, there are a few moments when one of the participants clarifies English as her first language for academic purposes. This reserves authority on English for her, and inevitably creates hierarchical

interpersonal relationships between her as a so-called 'native' speaker of English and her peers as 'non-native' speakers. This hierarchy potentially poses a risk to inclusive interpersonal relationships among students in the participants' programs, all as speakers of English as the lingua franca. This risk is taken up and discussed in Discussion 2. The participant who considers English as her first language continues to problematize her authoritative role as a so-called 'native' speaker of English in a hypothetical situation, even though the other participant disagrees with her view. The presence of native-speakerism of English across the two discussions indicates that this ideology, while controversial, is necessary for those who consider English as their first language to construct their identities in the international programs where students study together using English as the lingua franca.

In both discussions, the participants' talk on topics concerning language use for academic purposes revolves around English with few references to other languages. Multilingualism therefore seems to make little contribution to inclusion among students in the participants' programs in terms of language proficiency for academic purposes. Alternatively, the notion of languaging can be seen as facilitating the construction of inclusive interpersonal relationships and the management of the dilemma between the notion of English as a lingua franca and native-speakerism of English. At a point of discussion in each of the two discussions, the type of English for academic purposes is clarified as academic language with specific purposes and characteristics, which differs from everyday language. This makes language classification based on nationality or ethnicity irrelevant to the talk about English, suggesting the notion of languaging that draws attention to purposes of language use. This focus shift enables the participants who consider English as their first language to position themselves and their peers equally as students learning academic English for inclusion, rather than adhering to the distinction of so-called 'native' and 'non-native' speakers of English for hierarchy. Along with this identity negotiation, the dilemma between the two contradictory ideologies about English seems to be managed. However, difficulty in clearly distinguishing academic from everyday language is noted in Discussion 2.

The construction of multilingualism during the initial phase of the two student focus group discussions indicates that the established notion of language as national or ethnic language (Anderson, 2006) is likely to function as the default identity framework for students in international EMI programs. Multilingualism based on such a monolingual view of national or ethnic groups might help students accentuate the internationality of their community, presenting them not merely as English speakers but as multilinguals with different national or ethnic backgrounds. Yet, it might also contribute to creating in- and out-groups and hierarchies among students as speakers of different languages (see Nikula et al., 2012 for *monolingual multilingualism*). The ideological dilemmas about English displayed in the two discussions point to the likelihood that the supposedly inclusive notion of English as a lingua franca in higher education (e.g. Jenkins, 2014) may not always lead to

inclusion among students in international learning environments. In this respect, the co-construction of hierarchy between so-called 'native' and 'non-native' speakers of English (see Liddicoat, 2016b) among the participants of this study can be interpreted as demonstrating their agreement on the importance of native-speakerism for their identity construction. Despite its prejudicial nature (Holliday, 2006), this ideology is seemingly acknowledged by the participants as an identity resource for students who consider English as their first language, in tandem with the notion of English as a national or ethnic language.

Interestingly, inclusive interpersonal relationships among students in the participants' programs appear to be sustained by highlighting multilingual resources of students whose first language is claimed and recognized as English (see Jenkins & Leung, 2019) or the specificity of academic language (see Kuteeva, 2014). I therefore argue that both multilingualism (with emphasis on linguistic diversity) and the notion of languaging (with attention to specificity of language use) may be important discursive resources for sustainable inclusion among students in internationalizing higher education through EMI. The combination of these language ideologies might ensure 'both fixity and fluidity' in identity construction and negotiation among students as language speakers (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 252). Students can be encouraged to negotiate their identities between multilinguals and English speakers with different backgrounds. More broadly but similarly, Amadasi and Holliday (2017) encourage students to creatively engage with others utilizing *thread intercultural narratives* rather than *block intercultural narratives*. However, some challenges might arise in understanding expected proficiency in each language for being multilingual and in distinguishing between academic and everyday languages, as brought up in the students' talk in this study.

Admittedly, this article is a product of serendipity. It was not my plan to include a student who identifies herself and is identified by her peers as a so-called 'native' speaker of English in both student groups. Since CDP is fundamentally ethnomethodological in my understanding, I refrained from specifying or inquiring about students' demographic profiles, including their linguistic repertoires and national or ethnic backgrounds, while recruiting research participants and before conducting the focus group discussions. This accidental set-up enabled me to address some delicate matters of identity construction and negotiation that students, as classmates or friends, might be working on, in the context of internationalizing and Englishizing higher education. In the article, I explored what language ideologies are made relevant to JYU students' identities and how each language ideology is constructed in their talk through categorization analysis of language ideologies grounded on sequential analysis of talk. In doing so, I addressed the local construction processes and social meanings of language ideologies, capturing the emergence of ideological dilemmas, the moments of identity negotiation, and the management of these dilemmas. Indeed, it is expected that different groups of students would use the same language ideologies differently for identity construction, and further research is needed for more implications. Nevertheless,

the findings of this small-scale study provide valuable insights that lecturers and universities can draw upon to reflect on their language policies and practices to enhance inclusiveness in international learning environments where English serves as the primary lingua franca.

3.4 Language ideologies in a Finnish university student union's Facebook communication practices (Article III)

In the third article included in this dissertation (Shirahata, et al., 2023), my co-authors and I examine language ideologies in the student union JYY's Facebook communication practices. The objective of this article is to explore language ideologies and accompanying intergroup relations among students in a student organization's social media communication practices in the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education through the use of English.

Nordic universities have seemingly found themselves in an ideological tension between ethnolinguistic nationalism aimed at preserving Nordic languages and internationalization initiatives facilitated through the use of English (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). Meanwhile, social media has been extensively used in higher education by student organizations as well as individual students. Against these backdrops, my co-authors and I are interested in the manifestations of the ideological tension in Nordic higher education in social media communication practices of university student unions.

In 2021, those who were categorized as 'international students' made up about 4% of the student body at JYU, and the university typically hosts between 300 and 500 exchange students each year. In such a student community situation, JYY express difficulty in implementing the complete parallel use of Finnish (JYY's official language) and English in their day-to-day communication, as outlined in their equality plan (see Shirahata, et al., 2023). Yet, at the same time, they promise to 'actively reduce' linguistic exclusion of 'international students', most of whom are non-Finnish speakers. This plea from JYY prompts my co-authors and me to explore the construction of intergroup relations among students through language ideologies in JYY's Facebook posts, as a case.

The theoretical framework of this article includes an understanding of language ideologies as practical lived ideologies and the significance of multimodal affordances of social media. Language ideologies can be produced and reproduced as not only intellectual ideologies in the realm of scientific discussion but also lived ideologies in different social spheres from media and policy to everyday interaction (see Billig et al., 1988). Those lived ideologies are widely circulated in society as normative beliefs about language with specific moral and political interests (e.g. Gal, 2006). However, each person and social group may employ multiple ideologies (even contradictory ones) to conduct and justify their social actions, tailored to their interactional needs (e.g. Kraft & Lønsmann, 2018). Given the nature of language ideologies in practice, the

convergence of communicative *affordances* (see Gibson, [1986] 2015) in social media appears to be an interesting context to explore. Social media communication assembles various new text, image, and sound features of online communication, including emojis, typically used as a universal 'language' of online media (Danesi, 2016). We therefore argue that it is beneficial to address *modal ensembles* of meaning (Kress, 2010, p. 159) in social media when analyzing language ideologies in the context of internationalizing higher education.

We collected 218 Facebook posts published by JYY from July 2021 to June 2022, spanning approximately throughout the academic year 2021/22. For the specific focus of this study on multimodality, we selected 190 posts containing both text and visual imagery (28 posts with only text or visual imagery were removed from our data set). Typographic elements that are considered multimodal, such as layout, are beyond the scope of this study. JYY's Facebook posts are accessible to anyone, as their Facebook page is public.

In this study, we examined language ideologies as practical lived ideologies using CDP. Such lived ideologies can be overtly enacted when people or entities express ideas or accounts about language; they can also be covertly enacted when people or entities make systematic linguistic choices in their text or speech. In the context of our study, JYY seldom bring up language-related issues in their Facebook posts. Thus, we conducted a systematic analysis of JYY's choices of linguistic and visual means to address specific topics in their posts, expanding the definition of interpretative repertoire in CDP to include systematic choices of means of communication (see e.g. Burke, 2018 for the previous application of CDP to the analysis of visual images). In the article, we consider lived language ideologies as interpretative repertoires, social groups among students as subject positions, and discrepancies or conflicts among different co-occurring language ideologies as ideological dilemmas.

First, I inductively searched for patterns in JYY's communication practices (e.g. language use, the use of emojis and visual images, the availability of hyperlinks) while going through the selected Facebook posts. Next, I explored patterns in the matters featured in the posts concerning the social and political context and language use to figure out JYY's contextualized language use. Through this exploration, I examined language ideologies possibly underpinning JYY's language use in their Facebook posts. Along with languages, I also attended to emojis, visual images, and hyperlinks. Furthermore, I investigated the implied audiences of the JYY's posts, which construct student groups with certain intergroup relations in the JYY community. Lastly, I addressed possible dilemmas among the identified language ideologies. Although I took on the primary responsibility for the analysis, my co-authors supported me by engaging in discussions about my analytic choices.

In our data set, the patterns of JYY's communication practices construct specific language ideologies in their Facebook posts: *Finnish as the local language*, *English as the international language*, *Finnish–English bilingualism*, and *social media communication* (see Figure 6). When Finnish and English are considered as means of communication, JYY's bilingualism discursively promotes inclusive

intergroup relations among students who are either *Finnish speakers* or *English speakers*. However, when Finnish and English are seen as conduits for localness and internationality, respectively, this bilingualism results in mutually exclusive intergroup relations among students categorized as either *Finnish speakers/locals* or *English speakers/internationals*. The local–international categorization creates a dilemma between the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international language within JYY's bilingualism, rendering the inclusivity of this bilingualism ambiguous. Here, the use of multimodal affordances seemingly allows JYY to mitigate the ideological dilemma, highlighting shared symbolic understanding rather than relying solely on languages. Social media communication seems to serve as a shared means of communication in the JYY community, to possibly facilitate inclusion among students as *social media users*.

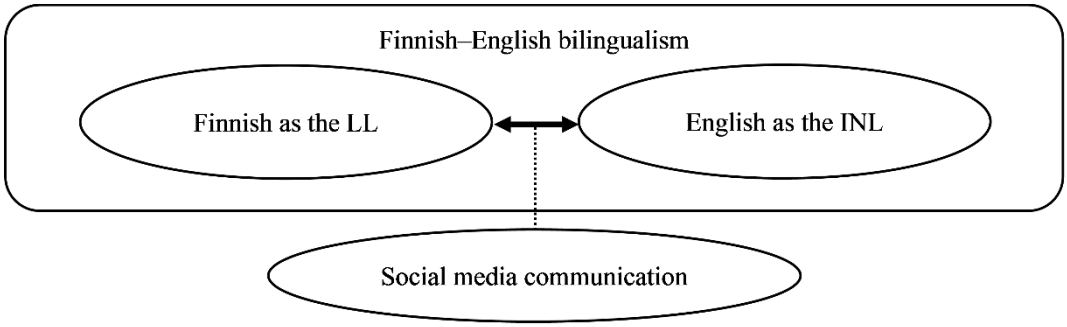

FIGURE 6 Language ideologies in JYY's Facebook posts

Note. solid figures–language ideologies, double arrow–ideological dilemma, LL–local language, INL–international language. From "Language ideologies in a Finnish university student union's Facebook communication practices," by M. Shirahata, M. Lahti, and M. Siitonen, 2023, *Social Semiotics*, Advance online publication (https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2023.2267462). CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Language ideologies and accompanying intergroup relations among students underpinning JYY's Facebook communication practices are summarized as follows:

(1) *JYY's Finnish–English bilingual language use for integration among students*:
JYY use both Finnish and English in almost every instance of text (186/190 posts), with the majority of cases (146/190) involving the parallel use of the two languages. This pattern of JYY's language use establishes Finnish and English as their working languages, implying that their members are assumed to be speakers of either Finnish or English. Finnish serves as the primary working language, and English as the additional one. This prioritization of Finnish over English is evident from the consistent placement of Finnish text before English text and the greater presence of Finnish compared to English in the main text and the accompanying visual image(s) across JYY's posts (see Shirahata et al., 2023 for more details). It is thus implied that Finnish-speaking students, as the primary audience, occupy the center of the JYY community,

while English-speaking students, as part of the audience, reside in the periphery. Given this hierarchical intergroup relation between Finnish and English speakers, JYY's Finnish–English bilingual language use can be interpreted as proactively aiming at the integration of English-speaking students with limited proficiency in Finnish into the predominantly Finnish-speaking student community.

(2) *JYY's Finnish–English bilingualism for inclusion or mutual exclusion among students*:
My co-authors and I identify language ideologies underpinning JYY's Finnish–English bilingual language use by examining the patterns of the social and political context and language use in the matters featured in JYY's posts. Such contextual and linguistic information is explicitly or implicitly available within the posts and/or through the linked references. Overall, the featured matters cover a broader range of contexts, including a specific university (JYU), region (Jyväskylä), country (Finland), and continent (EU), with Finnish expected to be predominantly used for local matters (125/190 posts) and English for international matters (8/190). These contextual and linguistic patterns position Finnish as the local language for normal use and English as the international language for occasional use. Therefore, JYY's Finnish–English bilingual language use can be seen as constructing Finnish–English bilingualism grounded on the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international language, fostering integration among linguistically diverse students in the JYY community.

However, comparing two specific posts challenges such an interpretation of JYY's bilingual language use. JYU's webpage about the recruitment of tutors for new international students, linked to one post, assumes that international students are English speakers, designating English as the international language, in contrast to Finnish as the local language. Similarly, the other post, which is about the recruitment of tutors for new students in Finnish study programs, assumes that Finnish speakers are local students. In this linguistic and social categorization, a dilemma occurs between the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international language. There is no logical possibility of classifying students who are proficient in both Finnish and English as both local and international students, Finnish-speaking students as international students, or non-Finnish-speaking students as local students. This ideological dilemma indicates that while JYY's Finnish–English bilingualism might foster inclusion among students who speak either Finnish or English as long as the languages are considered as means of communication, the same bilingualism might contribute to mutual exclusion among students as either Finnish speakers/locals or English speakers/internationals once the languages are considered as conduits for localness or internationality.

(3) *JYY's social media communication for inclusion among students*:
Alongside languages (i.e. Finnish and English), JYY use emojis, visual images (illustrations, photos, and videos), and hyperlinks across their posts. Emojis,

visual images, and hyperlinks appear to have little connection with the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international language, differing from languages in terms of property and function. These semiotic resources can be understood as creating a certain degree of cohesion between Finnish and English texts. This view presents social media communication as a shared means of communication to mitigate the ideological dilemma within JYY's Finnish–English bilingualism, allowing inclusion among students as social media users.

Recent discussions in multilingualism research suggest an understanding that people's language use transcends the boundaries of named languages (e.g. Li, 2011). Nevertheless, the dilemma within JYY's Finnish–English bilingualism indicates that the working languages of a student organization officially affiliated with a university are likely to serve as conduits for localness or internationality, discursively contributing to mutual exclusion among students as either locals or internationals. My co-authors and I find this language-related categorization of students to be a natural aspect of today's internationalization of higher education in non-English speaking countries where universities as national institutions engage in international activities through English (see Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). In Finland, the university law designates only Finnish and Swedish as the official languages, and only 4% of the student body is made up of international students at JYU. Given this social and political context of JYY, the ambiguous form of inclusion among students constructed by JYY's Finnish–English bilingualism can be understood as a reflection of their plea to 'actively reduce' linguistic exclusion of international students, as expressed in their equality plan. This discursive act by JYY might be taken as their commitment and efforts towards greater inclusion in their community. Students who cannot fit into the categories of Finnish speakers/locals and English speakers/internationals can be seen as experiencing not only marginalization but also intergroup mobility.

Interestingly, in JYY's Facebook posts, the ideological dilemma seems to be mitigated by JYY's use of emojis, visual images, and hyperlinks along with languages. This suggests that multimodal affordances of social media (Herring & Androutsopoulos, 2015) can be a discursive resource for inclusion among students as social media users on international campuses, despite the potential central role of language on the Facebook platform (Bezemer & Kress, 2017) and the need for further research to recognize emojis as a universal 'language' of online media (Danesi, 2016). Social media may therefore offer a space for online intercultural communication among students with different linguistic resources and backgrounds (Jones & Hafner, 2021). We argue that university student unions (and other student organizations) might be able to find unique ways to overcome language barriers in their communities by exploring and trying different modes of communication. Language contributes only partially to the meaning of text or speech (Kress, 2012).

Compared to my first and second dissertation articles, this article sheds light on a very different aspect of the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education through the lens of language ideology. My earlier dissertation

articles identify the salient manifestation of native-speakerism of English (Holliday, 2006), and this observation aligns with prior research on language ideologies in higher education (e.g. Jenkins, 2014). In this article, JYY's Facebook communication practices simply present English as an international language or a lingua franca. My co-authors and I backed up categorization analysis of language ideologies by systematically analyzing JYY's choices of communication methods and the matters featured in the posts concerning the social and political context and language use. Additionally, we addressed JYY's positioning in a broader society (from a specific university to a continent). We thereby explored the local construction processes and social meanings of language ideologies in JYY's Facebook posts. Since our analysis included visual means of communication in addition to linguistic ones, multimodal affordances of social media drew our attention to their potentially significant discursive role in facilitating inclusion in the student community, which in turn leads to the management of the ideological dilemma concerning languages. However, we recognized a fundamental challenge in applying ethnomethodological analysis to visual data. We concluded that, unlike prior CDP studies addressing visual images in news media (e.g. Burke, 2018), common-sense beliefs in society cannot or should not be used to support our interpretation of one student organization's discourse. In the process of sorting out this issue, I learned the importance of navigating a delicate balance between common sense and subjective bias when conducting discourse analysis.

4 DISCUSSION

4.1 A synthesis of key findings from the dissertation articles

In this section, I will synthesize key findings from the three empirical articles summarized in the previous chapter (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023; Article II, Shirahata, 2023; Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023; see Figure 7 for the visual representation). In doing so, I will explore the interconnectedness between macro-, meso-, and micro-level discursive processes of intergroup relations or interpersonal relationships among students in internationalizing higher education.

Article I (Shirahata & Lahti, 2023) maps out the language ideological landscapes in the language policies of JYU and AIU that are relevant to students in the process of internationalization of their education and communities through EMI. This international comparison indicates that multilingualism/monolingualisms may serve as a resource to characterize a student community as international although the notion of languaging might challenge such a portrayal. More specifically, national language ideologies, international language ideologies, and native-speakerism may afford students specific social categories with power relations: locals and foreigners for mutually exclusive relationships, cosmopolitans for inclusive relationships, and so-called 'native and non-native speakers' for hierarchical relationships (an extended version of exclusive relationships), respectively. When it comes to language proficiency for academic purposes, a dilemma may be created between the international language ideology and native-speakerism concerning the same language. This might result in a juxtaposition of inclusion and hierarchy as alternative ideas about relationships among students.

Article II (Shirahata, 2023) illustrates the roles of different language ideologies in identity construction and negotiation among JYU students in two focus group discussions. The student talk suggests that national language

ideologies and lingua franca ideologies forming multilingualism may discursively construct students as members of specific national or ethnic communities and speakers of specific languages as lingua francas for exclusive interpersonal relationships as well as multilinguals for inclusive interpersonal relationships in the context of internationalizing and Englishizing higher education. Furthermore, when the focus is specifically on academic English, native-speakerism and the notion of languaging may construct students as either so-called 'native or non-native speakers' of English for hierarchical interpersonal relationships and simply students for inclusive interpersonal relationships, respectively. Due to the centrality of English in the context, a dilemma may occur between the notion of English as a lingua franca and the notion of English as a national or ethnic language or native-speakerism of English. This dilemma likely juxtaposes inclusion and exclusion or hierarchy as alternative forms of interpersonal relationships among students as English speakers. However, inclusion can be maintained through multilingualism and the notion of languaging, as long as students are open to identity negotiation.

Article III (Shirahata et al., 2023) delineates language ideologies and accompanying intergroup relations among students in the Facebook communication practices of the student union of JYU. Their practices imply that, in the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education through the use of English, a clear distinction between students as locals and internationals may create a dilemma between the notion of local language and the notion of English as the international language within bilingualism, a form of multilingualism. Consequently, mutually exclusive intergroup relations might be constructed among students as either locals or internationals. Meanwhile, multimodal affordances of social media as a lived ideology may facilitate inclusive intergroup relations among students as social media users, mitigating the dilemma concerning languages.

Apparently, a set of similar language ideologies are likely to be deployed across different levels of discourse about language and students although the same kind of ideology can be drawn upon to construct different kinds of intergroup relations or interpersonal relationships among students, as in the case of international language ideologies (see Figure 7). Multilingualism, national language ideologies, international language ideologies, and lingua franca ideologies most likely become relevant to students in the process of highlighting the internationality in a student community across macro-, meso-, and micro-level discourses. Native-speakerism would also likely become pertinent to students when language proficiency is specified for academic purposes in international learning environments, especially in macro- and micro-level discourses. The notion of languaging may become emphasized along with the acknowledgment of students' dynamic linguistic practices in an international academic community, with attention to the distinction between academic and everyday languages. Similarly, multimodal affordances of social media as a lived ideology may become salient to highlight the multimodal nature of communication when the convergence of new and conventional means of

communication is brought into focus in students' communication practices. I conclude that macro-, meso-, and micro-level discursive processes of intergroup relations or interpersonal relationships among students as language speakers can be seen as interconnectedly forming a 'prevailing discursive environment' (Seymour-Smith et al., 2002, p. 254) for students in internationalizing higher education.

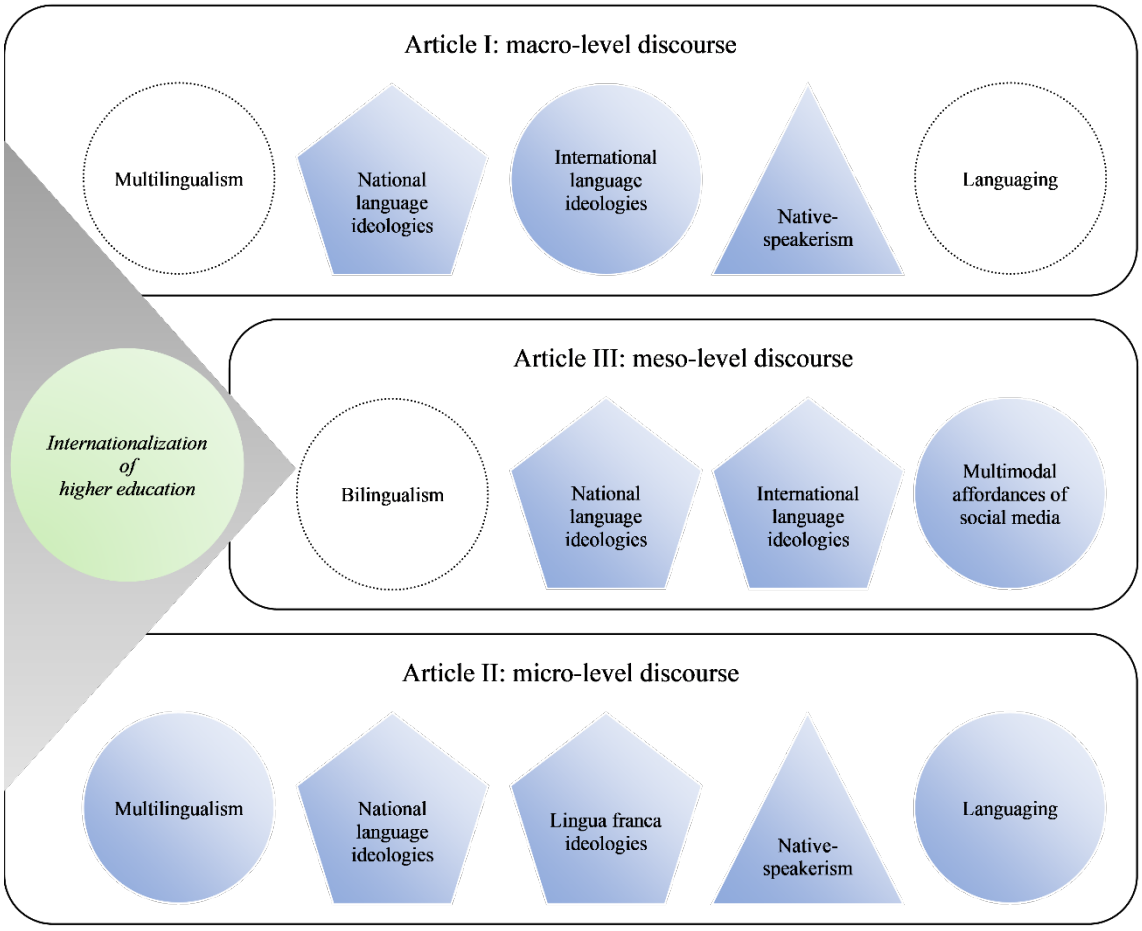

FIGURE 7 Key findings from the three dissertation articles

Note. solid figures in each discourse–language ideologies and social categorization of students (pentagons–exclusive, circles–inclusive, triangles–hierarchical), dotted circles in each discourse–language ideologies without social categorization of students

4.2 Theoretical propositions

Silverman (2011) argues that achieving generalizability in qualitative research is attainable through careful purposive and theoretical sampling, in contrast to statistical sampling employed in quantitative research. Despite different research foci and data types, all of my dissertation articles address language ideologies as discursive resources to construct the social world of students in the

internationalizing higher education context. All are CDP studies with a stronger social constructionist approach to interculturality. Given this consistency in the research topic, context (population and setting), methodology, and epistemology, I claim that the selection of cases for my empirical studies is purposive and theoretical. Hence, the findings of the three articles can be generalized to formulate theoretical propositions. This dissertation, based on the synthesis of the key findings from the three articles, offers theoretical propositions for understanding possible social meanings of language ideologies for students in internationalizing higher education from an intercultural communication perspective (see Figure 8 for the visual representation).

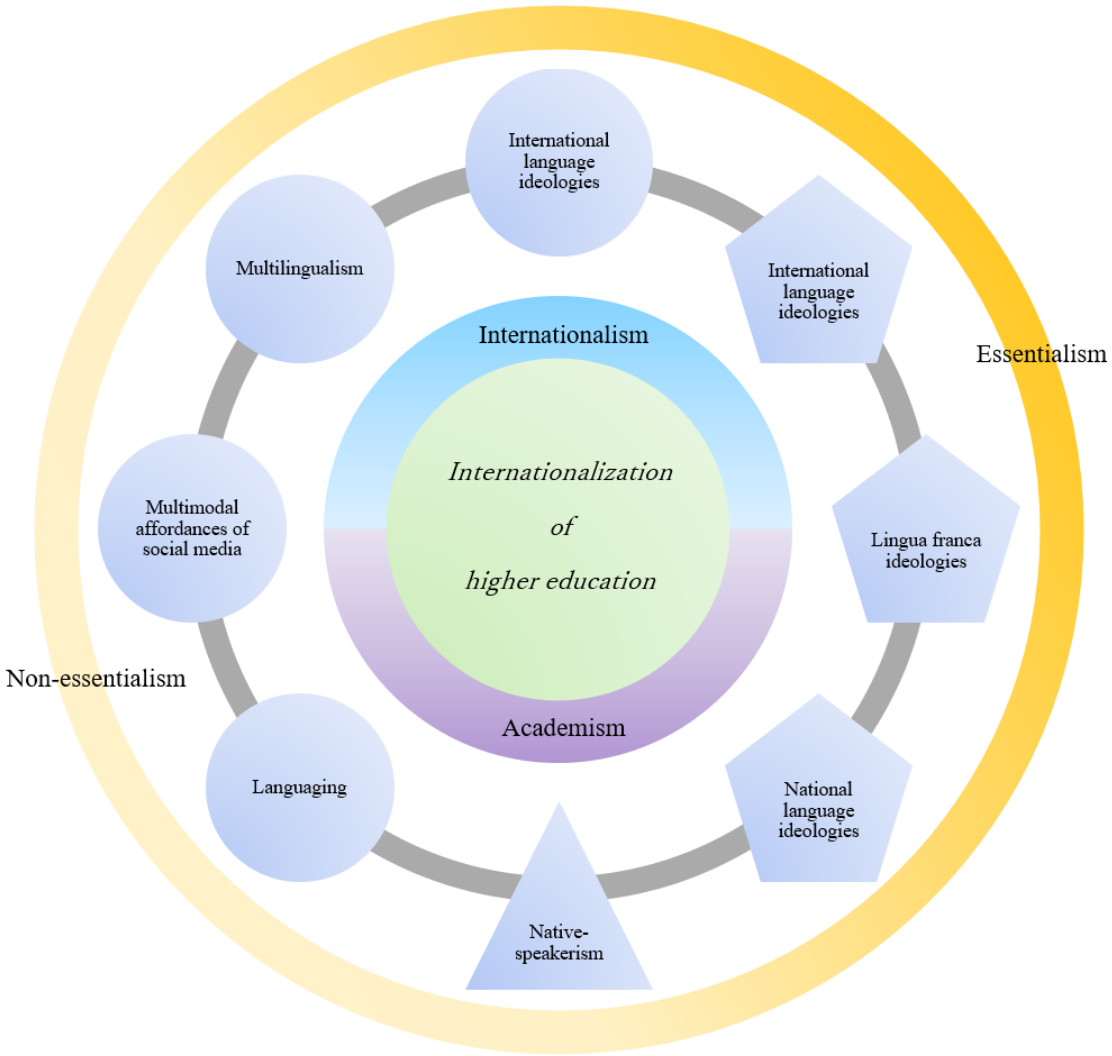

FIGURE 8 Possible social meanings of language ideologies for students in internationalizing higher education from an intercultural communication perspective

Note. the inner circle–internationalism and academism as aspects of the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education, solid figures in the middle circle–language ideologies and social categorization of students (pentagons–exclusive, circles–inclusive, triangles–hierarchical), the outer circle–the paradoxical loop of essentialism

(1) *Multilingualism as a resource for constructing an international community*:
In the context of internationalizing higher education, national language ideologies may serve as discursive building blocks for students to construct mutually exclusive relationships as locals and foreigners as well as members of specific national or ethnic communities. By extension, lingua franca ideologies may lead to mutually exclusive relationships among students as speakers of specific languages as lingua francas. International language ideologies may create inclusive relationships among students as cosmopolitans, as well as mutually exclusive relationships as internationals and locals (when juxtaposed with the national language ideology about the local language). Furthermore, multilingualism may contribute to inclusive relationships among students as multilinguals. A set of these ideologies, based on a monolingual view of national or ethnic membership, may enable not only universities but also individual students and student organizations to express ethnolinguistic nationalism (Anderson, 2006; Blommaert, 2010; Peled, 2012), as illustrated in Article I (Shirahata & Lahti, 2023), II (Shirahata, 2023), and III (Shirahata et al., 2023). Multilingualism anchored in such nationalism can be seen as highlighting the aspect of internationalism in the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education in which English is used as the primary international language or lingua franca among students (e.g. Jenkins, 2014; Jenkins & Mauranen, 2019). It seems that multilingualism allows students to see themselves and be seen by others as part of an international community, rather than solely an English-speaking community. In this way, a loose or ambiguous form of inclusion can be established among students with different linguistic resources and backgrounds (e.g. Phillipson, 2006; 2015) while maintaining these differences for mutual exclusion. Students may thus need to live with this ambiguity of multilingualism (i.e. *monolingual multilingualism*, see Nikula et al., 2012) as long as they wish to find themselves in an international community.

(2) *Native-speakerism as a resource for constructing an international 'student' community*:
Native-speakerism may establish hierarchical relationships among students as either so-called 'native or non-native speakers' of a specific language. Despite mounting criticism against this ideology—especially in the case of English—for its illusiveness (e.g. Piller, 2001) and prejudice (e.g, Holliday, 2006), native-speakerism is highly likely to be employed to assess students' language proficiency for academic purposes by not only universities but also students themselves, as seen in Article I (Shirahata & Lahti, 2023) and Article II (Shirahata, 2023), respectively. Seemingly, native-speakerism draws attention to the intersection of internationalism and academism—the two aspects of the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education in which a specific language(s) is/are used as the primary international academic language(s) or lingua franca(s) among students. This ideology suggests that students with different linguistic resources and backgrounds see themselves and are seen by others as part of not only an international

community but also an academic community. The prevalence of native-speakerism indicates that acknowledging and promoting inclusive views of English, such as *English as an International Language* (e.g. Crystal, 2003) and *English as a Lingua Franca* (e.g. Jenkins, 2019), in higher education may not necessarily lead institutions and individual students into discarding the notion of English as the national language of English-speaking countries or the first language for people from those countries. Doerr (2009) argues that English as a Lingua Franca cannot act as 'a liberating force', pointing out that 'the hierarchy between "native" and "non-native" speakers is ultimately not caused by linguistic elements but by social relationships between groups of people who use these linguistic varieties' (p. 5). Here, the absence of this ideology in the Facebook communication practices of the student union of JYU in Article III (Shirahata et al., 2023) implies that the hierarchical nature of native-speakerism is attributed to academism rather than internationalism. Regardless of background, students may need to navigate power relations concerning authority over language use for academic purposes throughout their studies.

(3) *Languaging and multimodal affordances as resources for negotiating old and new ways of being among students*:
The notion of languaging may facilitate inclusive relationships among students with different linguistic resources and backgrounds simply all as students. Furthermore, multimodal affordances of social media may lead to inclusive relationships among students as social media users or people who use new as well as conventional means of communication. These ideologies seemingly align with the recent dynamic view of language, such as *translanguaging* (e.g. Li, 2018), *metrolingualism* (e.g. Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), and *symbolic competence* (e.g. Kramsch, 2011), with special attention to purposes of language use and multimodal affordances. The notion of languaging may draw students' attention to the very basic social category for them—students—shifting focus from possibly hierarchical national or ethnic categories of language and people in the context of internationalizing higher education, as observed through identity negotiation among JYU students in Article II (Shirahata, 2023). Multimodal affordances of social media may bring to students' awareness the convergence of various new and conventional modes of communication, as suggested in Article III (Shirahata et al., 2023). These ideologies might undermine the conventional definition of language as an internally homogenous entity (Lüdi, 2013), raising issues such as the impossibility of being 'native' in academic language (see Kuteeva, 2014) and the potential of seeing emojis as a universal 'language' of online media (Danesi, 2016; see also Alshenqeeti, 2016). Altogether, the overemphasis on named languages in communication (Kress, 2012) appears contestable, possibly even in academic interactions. Supposedly, the notion of languaging and multimodal affordances of social media may challenge a conventional understanding of internationalism and academism in the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education. Students might be

encouraged to ponder language ideologies and linguistic practices in international learning environments to negotiate old and new ways of being with their peers.

The theoretical propositions above suggest that, in the context of internationalizing higher education of the 2020s, students cannot avoid essentializing themselves and being essentialized by others as members of specific national or ethnic groups. However, students can also be free from such essentialism as long as they can be open to various perspectives on language and people. I therefore argue that students may be utilizing different language ideologies to navigate the paradoxical loop of essentialism (Dervin, 2023).

4.3 Methodological propositions

In all the empirical articles included in this dissertation, I used CDP to address the social dimension of language ideology concerning students in the internationalizing higher education context. Each article addressed a different research focus and data type: university language policies in university documents (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023), identity construction and negotiation among students during focus group discussions (Article II, Shirahata, 2023), and a student organization's communication practices in their Facebook posts (Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023). This variety of applications of CDP, with a stronger flavor of social constructionism to the analysis of language ideologies, offers methodological propositions for language ideology research, intercultural communication research, and research in humanities and social science.

(1) *An ethnomethodologically-oriented nuanced critical approach for hybrid criticality in language ideology research*:
My dissertation articles may highlight a major benefit and drawback of combining ethnomethodological and critical approaches to discourse analysis in language ideology research. Each article showcases a different form of critical/theory-guided analysis grounded on ethnomethodological/data-driven analysis of language ideologies. Categorization analysis of language ideologies is supported by sequential analysis of text or talk, or systematic analysis of social media posts with attention to the positioning of the two specific universities—JYU and AIU, JYU students, or the student union JYY in Article I (Shirahata & Lahti, 2023), Article II (Shirahata, 2023), and Article III (Shirahata et al., 2023), respectively. This suggests that sequential analysis or systematic analysis can complement categorization analysis within CDP to improve the overall analysis (see Hepburn & Wiggins, 2007 for a similar suggestion for DP) and potentially enhance the validity of findings. In each article, ethnomethodological analysis sheds light on the stakeholders' situated needs of social

categorization through different language ideologies to accommodate the fluidity of frames of reference and identity in international lingua franca learning environments (Baker, 2016; Zhu, 2015). Meanwhile, critical analysis addresses power relations, including inequalities, among different languages and people as language speakers in the internationalization or Englishization of higher education as a global phenomenon (Lanvers & Hultgren, 2018; Phillipson, 2015). In all the articles, the examination of ideological dilemmas (Billig et al., 1988) points to the complex reality of internationalizing higher education from the stakeholders' perspectives. I therefore argue that this ethnomethodologically-oriented nuanced critical approach to language ideologies may reduce the risk of subjective bias potentially attributed to critical analysis, facilitating a hybrid or synthesis of emancipatory and ethnographic critique (Pietikäinen, 2016) in language ideology research. However, this approach comes at the expense of making research claims too moderate to effectively advocate social change (Pietikäinen, 2016; see also Olthuis et al., 2013). Some might find this dissertation not critical enough.

(2) *Stronger social constructionism, in tandem with ethnomethodological discourse analysis, as a way to engage with the paradoxes of interculturality in intercultural communication research*:
In my dissertation articles, I explored the process of social categorization of students through language ideologies. I avoided pre-categorizing students based on nationality or ethnicity, seeing all possible social categories for them (including national or ethnic categories) as social constructs. Article I (Shirahata & Lahti, 2023) describes the discursive constructions of social categories for students in university documents, Article II (Shirahata, 2023) in student focus group discussions, Article III (Shirahata et al., 2023) in a student organization's social media posts. Each study can therefore be considered as an instance of a robust social constructionist approach to interculturality. In this approach, ethnomethodological discourse analysis enables the avoidance of methodological nationalism (Baker, 2022) along with the reduction of potential subjective bias while addressing the emergence of interculturality in 'intercultural moments' (Bolden, 2014) in each study. Furthermore, this dissertation as a compilation of the three empirical studies provides an interesting methodological insight for intercultural communication scholarship. While I avoided the paradoxical loop of essentialism in intercultural communication research (Dervin, 2023) in each of my studies, I now identify students as possibly being caught in such a loop in the context of internationalizing higher education. I would not have been able to identify this loop in the social world of students if I had been caught in the loop myself by reaffirming particular power inequalities among students from different countries while critically questioning such power inequalities (see Pennycook, 2012) out of 'a heavy ethical burden' (Baxter & Asbury, 2015, p. 197). Perhaps it may be of benefit for those who are interested in intercultural communication research to adopt an

ethnomethodological approach to the exploration of the social processes of national or ethnic categories of people, rather than presuppose such categories, from the very beginning of their research projects. Even in doing so, researchers can still pay critical attention to the processes of inequalities among people, as demonstrated in this dissertation.

(3) *Constructive self-criticism as an essential part of research in humanities and social sciences*:
My dissertation articles, utilizing CDP's synthetic approach to discourse analysis with special attention to ideological dilemmas (Billig et al., 1988), address the manifestations of language ideologies as both intellectual and lived ideologies (Billig et al., 1988). This is achieved through categorization analysis of language ideologies backed up by not only sequential analysis of text (Shirahata & Lahti, 2023) or talk (Shirahata, 2023) but also systematic analysis of social media posts (Shirahata et al., 2023). However, as noted in Article III (Shirahata et al., 2023), it can be highly challenging to ethnomethodologically analyze visual data (e.g. images, photos, videos, emojis). Seemingly, this challenge raises a fundamental question—What does doing 'research' mean in humanities and social sciences? Admittedly, the very act of explanation heavily relies on linguistic means of communication in modern society (Foucault, 1972; Heller et al., 2018), and thus it may not be as compatible with visual data (what is created by visual means) as it is with text or talk data (what is created by linguistic means). Indeed, language plays a powerful role in creating social reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Gergen, 2015; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) and also in constructing scientific knowledge about such reality (Burr, 2015; Foucault, 1972; Heller et al., 2018). This implies that those who do research in humanities and social sciences are required to critically reflect on their own experiences and knowledge—their relationship with power—during their research activities. Foucault (1972) argues for the importance of 'reveal[ing] discursive practices in their complexity and density' in a particular time and space to be aware of 'the possibility of changing discourse' (p. 209). Addressing lived as well as intellectual ideologies (Billig et al., 1988) may facilitate constructive self-criticism as part of research, challenging what researchers find to be common sense or knowledge. It may encourage researchers to respect the perspectives of stakeholders in their research topic rather than their own. By engaging with different discursive practices, researchers might unexpectedly see the potential for social change in our complex social world.

The methodological propositions above suggest the necessity for researchers in intercultural communication, or humanities and social sciences in general, to engage with philosophical inquiry into the notions of critique, interculturality, and social reality, even when conducting an empirical study on a particular topic. Foucault (1972) notes:

> You surely cannot forget that it is on the basis of that language, with its slow genesis, and the obscure development that has brought it to its present state, that we can speak of other discourses in terms of structures; it is that language which has given us the possibility and the right to do so; it forms the blind spot on the basis of which things around us are arranged as we see them today. (p. 201)

I emphasize the importance of profound critical reflection on researchers' own discursive practices in their knowledge construction.

4.4 Practical implications

This section offers practical implications for enhanced equity among students on international campuses, addressing different stakeholders in the internationalization of higher education—universities, students, and student organizations. The implications that I suggest here are all derived from the stakeholders' discursive actions identified in the dissertation articles (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023; Article II, Shirahata, 2023; Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023). These rather abstract implications are intended to assist the stakeholders in developing more concrete ideas on their own to meet their specific needs.

As indicated by the investigation of the language policies of JYU and AIU in Article I (Shirahata & Lahti, 2023), universities most likely need to strategically mitigate hierarchical relationships among students due to native-speakerism. Bearing in mind that the hierarchical nature of native-speakerism may stem from academism rather than internationalism (as discussed above), I suggest universities separate academism from internationalism, if at all possible. For example, universities (and lecturers) may work on clarifying admission and assessment criteria, focusing on expected communication practices (including linguistic and other relevant practices) from students for academic purposes in each local context. In doing so, they may also try to develop a shared understanding of such criteria with students. Academic writing can be discussed and clarified in terms of structure, grammar, vocabulary, argumentation, logical reasoning, visualization, and more. In cases where universities, as meso-level actors in language planning (Liddicoat, 2016a), are expected to prioritize 'local students' over 'international students' in admission, they may set up different quotas for the two groups (as in the case of AIU, see Shirahata & Lahti, 2023). This exclusive practice may provide a more coherent explanation than setting language requirements that enable universities to prioritize 'local students' over 'international students' (as in the case of English proficiency at JYU and the case of Japanese proficiency at AIU, see Shirahata & Lahti, 2023). However, this practice needs to be carefully considered in accordance with local social contexts, in that the criteria for being 'local' (e.g. citizenship, permanent residence, educational history) may vary in each society. In addition, universities (and lecturers) may attend to the multilinguality of every student, regardless of background, to highlight internationalism. They may consider students' proficiency in multiple languages as an asset in the admission process, even

when a specific language (e.g. English) is designated as the medium of instruction in international learning environments (as in the case of language requirements for the Japanese-medium program at AIU, which requires applicants with Japanese as their first language to be proficient in a language other than Japanese, see Shirahata & Lahti, 2023).

As identified in the focus group discussions among JYU students in Article II (Shirahata, 2023), the management of native-speakerism is highly likely to be a concern for students as well as universities. I encourage students to engage with the core of native-speakerism by separating academism from internationalism. This may allow students to focus on developing academic linguistic skills without being bewildered by their national or ethnic backgrounds concerning language proficiency for academic purposes. Students may help each other simply as students with different levels of language proficiency. That said, as noted in Article II (Shirahata, 2023), further research is required to determine whether the deployment of inclusive language ideologies facilitates a stronger fellowship or friendship among students, and/or vice versa. In this respect, universities (and lecturers) may create more opportunities for supportive interpersonal communication among students to nurture *thread intercultural narratives* (see Amadasi & Holliday, 2017), such as incorporating social activities into coursework (e.g. cooking together and reflecting on the experience through a theoretical lens) and implementing group work with alleviated grading concerns for students with different levels of language proficiency. I also encourage students to appreciate their varying levels of multilinguality of themselves and their peers. For example, students may encourage one another to utilize their linguistic resources to a fuller extent in the process of reading and writing, even though academic literature is often written, and assignments need to be completed, in a single named language. They may also be creative in their everyday social interactions by having spontaneous language exchanges with their peers.

Unlike universities and students, student organizations may face a dilemma between using the local language and opting for English as the international language in the student community, as traced in the Facebook communication practices of the student union JYY in Article III (Shirahata et al., 2023). The sole use of the local language is likely to exclude students who are not proficient in that language, many of whom would be 'international students'. Nevertheless, the exclusive use of English may be less likely for student organizations affiliated with universities due to ethnolinguistic nationalism. At the same time, fluency in both languages may be unlikely for all students. In this situation, my suggestion to student organizations is to utilize different modes of communication—*orchestrating modal ensembles* (Kress, 2010). For instance, they may communicate messages to their members through speech or text, supplemented with illustrations, photos, moving images, videos, sounds, music, objects, etc. (as in the case of JYY's Facebook posts, see Shirahata et al., 2023). In a broader sense, this may include creating opportunities for students to interact with one another (e.g. art, music, sports, online game events). Furthermore, benefitting from

technological advancements in communication, student organizations may utilize machine translation tools to generate speech and text in multiple languages. As part of this practice, they may promote tolerance among their members for language use that might be considered less normative (e.g. literal translation). They may also encourage their members to be tolerant of 'ungrammatical' language use and translanguaging or code-switching.

All in all, to enhance equity among students on international campuses, it appears beneficial for universities, students, and student organizations to address the multiplicity or fluidity of students' identities. As seen in my dissertation articles, students as language speakers may find inclusive relationships among them at risk when they are trapped in ideological dilemmas (e.g. being 'native or non-native speakers' of a language or 'lingua franca speakers' of that language, being speakers of the local language or speakers of that language as an international language). By nature, ideological dilemmas cannot be resolved but can be managed through a topic change (see Billig et al., 1988). Students can therefore be encouraged to explore different discursive ways of creating relationships by shifting the focus in their identity construction. They might be able to construct various inclusive relationships based on shared interests in the subject area, common campus experiences, or similar life situations or styles.

4.5 Research limitations and suggestions for future research

To conclude, I note some limitations in my doctoral research project and offer suggestions for future research on language ideologies in internationalizing higher education contexts from an intercultural communication perspective.

(1) *Towards a wider range of international comparisons to address different perspectives on the internationalization of higher education as a global phenomenon*:
Among all the empirical studies included in this dissertation (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023; Article II, Shirahata, 2023; Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023), only Article I includes an international comparative element (a comparison between the cases of JYU in Finland and AIU in Japan). Since the focus of this article was macro-level discourse, my co-author and I saw considerable value in comparing the two national contexts. It is this international comparison that enabled us to address each university's unique positioning in the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education as a global trend. In this dissertation, although an international comparative design is not applied to all the studies, coherence is adequately achieved through consistency in the research topic, context (population and setting), methodology, and epistemology across the studies. There is also great value in the serendipitous exploration of possibly delicate identity matters among students as either 'native or non-native' speakers of English in Article II. Future research may conduct a wider range of international comparisons to

enhance our understanding of the social meanings of language ideologies for students in the phenomenon across diverse national contexts. However, the size and range of data set from multiple research sites may be too big and broad to handle with CDP, especially when emphasizing ethnomethodological analysis over critical analysis. For example, in the case of Article I, the data sources ultimately included both policy and procedure documents from the two universities in the two national contexts, and the documents were written in English and/or the local language in each context (Finnish or Japanese). This size and range of the data set, coupled with my practice of CDP analysis that leaned more towards ethnomethodological/data-driven rather than critical/theory-guided, increased the complexity of the analysis. For more international comparisons, research collaboration with others would be ideal or even necessary.

(2) *Towards a holistic approach to language ideologies with attention to potential intersections between different policies and practices in the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education*:
Given the research topic of this dissertation—the social meanings of language ideologies for students in internationalizing higher education, my data analysis focused on university language policies and practices (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023), identity construction and negotiation among students as language speakers (Article II, Shirahata, 2023), and a student organization's communication practices that include the use of languages (Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023). Nevertheless, I noticed possible interconnectedness among different university policies and practices in the process of internationalization (Article I), the multifaceted nature of identity (Article II), and the convergence of different modes of communication on social media (Article III). This implies that language ideologies might be connected to other ideologies (e.g. nationalism, internationalism, academism, scientific discipline, class, age, gender). Therefore, future research may explore potential intersections between language policies and practices and other policies and practices (e.g. tuition fee and scholarship policies, study right policies, degree regulations, residence permit regulations), multiple identity options for students (e.g. nationality or ethnicity, household formation, family roles, employment, membership in student clubs and organizations, local social roles), and various modes of communication (e.g. text, speech, visual images, sounds, objects, gestures, facial expressions). Such a greater holistic approach to language ideologies may contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education. That said, once again, the abovementioned issue of the size and range of data set may arise, necessitating research collaboration or scaling down a study to a manageable level by selecting a few focus areas.

(3) *Towards a meaningful engagement with the paradoxical nature of interculturality*:
As seen in my ethnomethodologically-oriented nuanced critical approach to language ideologies in this dissertation, despite having the term 'critical' in

its name, CDP with emphasis on ethnomethodological analysis rather than critical analysis may not allow making stronger research claims to advocate social change effectively. With the research claims in my dissertation articles (see Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023; Article II, Shirahata, 2023; Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023), it is not possible for me to propose any concrete ideas on how to solve issues of language ideologies in internationalizing higher education contexts. I simply acknowledged this limitation, recognizing the dilemmatic nature of discourse (see Billig et al., 1988). Alternatively, I offer some nascent ideas that universities, students, and student organizations as major stakeholders in the internationalization of higher education might consider for discussion and reflection on their policies and practices. I understand that what I do with my research activities is participate in never-ending scientific discussions through inquiry and critique (see Gergen, 2015). This view is reflected in my methodological approach to intercultural communication research in this dissertation. It may be crucial for intercultural communication scholars to make their methodological choices based on not only practical but also philosophical considerations about how to approach critique, interculturality, and social reality, in order to engage with 'the paradoxes of interculturality' (Dervin, 2023). In all of my dissertation articles, I employed CDP, a specific form of discourse analysis, with a stronger social constructionist approach to interculturality. Perhaps, future research may include systematic analysis of numerical data or statistical analysis. In the context of internationalizing higher education, numerical data (e.g. the ratio of 'local students' and 'international students', the ratio of courses instructed in the local language(s), English, and other languages, university financial statements and reports) might present discourses different from those in talk or text.

SUMMARY

Introduction

This article-based dissertation explores possible social meanings of language ideologies—sets of common-sense or normative beliefs about language and its speakers (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994)—for students in the context of internationalizing higher education of the 2020s. It comprises three empirical articles (Article I, Shirahata & Lahti, 2023; Article II, Shirahata, 2023; Article III, Shirahata et al., 2023). Article I addresses the manifestations of language ideologies in university language policies (macro-level discourse), Article II in identity construction and negotiation among students as language speakers (micro-level discourse), and Article III in a student organization's social media communication practices (meso-level discourse). This dissertation synthesizes the findings of the three articles to offer theoretical insights into the roles of different language ideologies in the social world of students and methodological insights into language ideology research, intercultural communication research, and research in humanities and social sciences.

In today's higher education in non-English speaking countries, one can recognize the intersection between internationalization and 'Englishization' (Galloway et al., 2020; Lanvers & Hultgren, 2018), as seen in the spread of EMI across the world (Macaro et al., 2018). In this linguistic transformation, an ideological tension between the pursuit of internationalization through the use of English and the preservation of the national language(s) has been reported in Nordic higher education (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). This tension, derived from ethnolinguistic nationalism (Anderson, 2006; see also Blommaert, 2010; Peled, 2012), highlights a central role of language ideologies in university language policies in the process of internationalization of higher education. Seemingly, today's universities are placed in a challenging position as meso-level actors in language planning (Liddicoat, 2016a; Lo Bianco, 2005), coordinating top-down and bottom-up campus language policies and practices. In this respect, given that student talk can also display language ideologies prevalent in university language policies (e.g. Kuteeva, 2020; McCambridge & Saarinen, 2015), I find it important to address the interconnectedness of discourses about language and students by different stakeholders.

In the field of intercultural communication, the management of 'cultural differences' between people 'from different countries' has long been the central concern (e.g. Hofstede, 1980; Hofstede et al., 2010; Meyer, 2014). People are thus essentialized as embodiments of specific national 'cultural' values and practices. In recent years, this cross-cultural comparative understanding of interculturality has been increasingly challenged for its essentialist nature (Dervin & Gross, 2016). Alternatively, interculturality has been conceived as emerging through a dynamic process of negotiating meaning (e.g. Holliday, 2022; Liddicoat, 2009). Piller (2017) further stresses the importance of examining the social construction processes of 'culture' (see also Baker, 2022; Dervin & Liddicoat, 2013; Scollon et al., 2012), seeing apparent Western-centric essentialism in research as potentially

contributing to long-lasting inequalities between the West and non-West. Ironically, however, the problematic categories of the West and non-West and their power relations have been essentialized and reinforced to be problematized (see Pennycook, 2012 for a discussion on problems of key concepts in critical theory). Most recently, Dervin (2023) proposes to explore 'the paradoxes of interculturality'—'*Interculturality is an unstable subject that calls to be destabilised* ad infinitum' (p. 6, emphasis in original). In this context of the theoretical development, I take a stronger social constructionist approach to interculturality, considering national or ethnic categories and accompanying intergroup relations as dynamic social constructs.

Theoretical and methodological framework

Language and language ideology serve as a set of core notions in this dissertation. In modern times, languages commonly refer to named languages (e.g. English) and symbolize ethnolinguistic nationalism based on a monolingual view of national or ethnic membership (Anderson, 2006; Gal, 2006; Irvine & Gal, 2000). The notion of language can therefore be seen as a language ideology in and of itself, shaping and being shaped by social processes of power and inequality (Heller et al., 2018). Language ideologies require critical investigation because they may rationalize relationships among people as language speakers—including inequalities—as well as language structure and use, with specific social and/or moral interests (Gal, 2005; Irvine, 1989; Silverstein, 1979; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). A growing awareness of this sociopolitical and ideological nature of language has led to the reconceptualization of multilingualism, acknowledging multilingual speakers' complex identity construction along with their unique language use (e.g. Li, 2018; Lüdi, 2020; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010). People's language use can now be described as dynamic social practice as well as speaking different named languages. These different views of language provide fundamentally different epistemological perspectives in applied linguistics and intercultural communication scholarship. Furthermore, emerging new communication technologies, such as emojis (Danesi, 2016), add further difficulty in defining language, and give a rationale for examining the convergence of language and other semiotic resources (Jovanovic & van Leeuwen, 2018) in language ideology research where relevant.

Identity and social categorization form another set of core notions in this dissertation. In everyday situations, our official identification documents, such as passports, give us a stable image of our identities. Social constructionism challenges this fixed view of identity for potential personal and social change, seeing language as the construction site of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Gergen, 2015; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) as well as knowledge and power (Burr, 2015; Foucault, 1972; Heller et al., 2018). Identity can therefore be approached as 'a relational and socio-cultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 585–586) through the integration of macro-level categorization and micro-level sequential analysis of social interaction (see Stokoe, 2006, 2012). One can also acknowledge social categorization or stereotyping as a well-established and potentially ideology-

loaded way of constructing identities (see Bodenhausen, 2010; Petsko & Bodenhausen, 2020), given the apparent intertwining of social categories, stereotypes, and ideologies (Scollon et al., 2012). However, as Fant (2012) cautions, the careless use of stereotypes in intercultural communication research may inadvertently contribute to the maintenance of prejudice or discrimination against specific national or ethnic groups. To avoid this typical example of methodological nationalism (see Baker, 2022), it would be meaningful to examine the orientation or process of social categorization or identity construction while identifying the kinds of social categories or identities, paying special attention to 'intercultural moments'—'moments during which cultural and linguistic differences between people become manifest' (Bolden, 2014, p. 208).

To put a robust social constructionist approach to interculturality into practice, this dissertation employs critical discursive psychology (CDP) as the analytical and epistemological framework. In CDP, a strand of discursive psychology (DP), talk or text is regarded as a public construction site of minds rather than a representation of cognitive minds (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). CDP explores 'how a particular issue, such as gender or sexuality, is understood in a cultural context and how this translates into people's discourses about that issue' (Wiggins, 2012, p. 46). It can be understood as an attempt to elucidate possible intersections between situated and broader societal discourses about sociopolitical issues. CDP provides a theoretical and analytical toolkit for combining ethnomethodological and critical or sociopolitical analysis of talk or text (Edley, 2001; Wetherell, 1998), utilizing three key concepts: *interpretative repertoires* (Wetherell & Potter, 1988), *subject positions* (Davies & Harré, 1990), and *ideological dilemmas* (Billig et al., 1988). I find that this synthetic approach to discourse analysis with a focus on the dilemmatic nature of discourse may add nuance to the examination of language ideologies in this dissertation. However, I also recognize some challenges or controversies concerning potential subjective bias in the implementation of the analysis (see Schegloff, 1998), seemingly stemming from the lack of specific analytical procedures (see Edley, 2001) and the inherent conflict between emancipatory and ethnographic critique (see Pietikäinen, 2016) underlying critical and ethnomethodological analysis.

Discussion

Theoretical propositions

(1) *Multilingualism as a resource for constructing an international community*:
In the context of internationalizing higher education, a set of language ideologies based on a monolingual view of national or ethnic membership—national language ideologies, international language ideologies, lingua franca ideologies, and multilingualism—may enable universities, students, and student organizations to express ethnolinguistic nationalism (Anderson, 2006; Blommaert, 2010; Peled, 2012). Multilingualism anchored in such nationalism (i.e. *monolingual multilingualism*, see Nikula et al., 2012) apparently creates an ambiguous form of inclusion/exclusion among

students on international campuses where English serves as the primary lingua franca. Students may need to embrace this ambiguity to see themselves and be seen by others as part of an international community, rather than solely an English-speaking community.

(2) *Native-speakerism as a resource for constructing an international 'student' community*:
Native-speakerism may establish hierarchical relationships among students in international lingua franca learning environments. Both universities and students are highly likely to employ this ideology when assessing students' language proficiency for academic purposes, despite mounting criticism (e.g. Holliday, 2006; Piller, 2001). This prevalence of native-speakerism indicates that inclusive views of English, such as *English as an International Language* (e.g. Crystal, 2003) and *English as a Lingua Franca* (e.g. Jenkins, 2019), may not necessarily lead to the renunciation of the national language ideology about English in the context of internationalizing or Englishizing higher education. Navigating power relations concerning authority over academic language may be part of learning for students of any background.

(3) *Languaging and multimodal affordances as resources for negotiating old and new ways of being among students*:
The notion of languaging may shift students' attention from national or ethnic categories of language and people to the very basic social category — students. Meanwhile, multimodal affordances of social media may facilitate students' awareness of the convergence of new and conventional modes of communication. These ideologies might highlight the impossibility of being 'native' in academic language (see Kuteeva, 2014) and the potential of emojis as a universal online 'language' (Danesi, 2016; see also Alshenqeeti, 2016). They might thus challenge the conventional definition of language as an internally homogenous entity (Lüdi, 2013), possibly encouraging students to negotiate old and new forms of peer relationships in international learning environments.

Methodological propositions

(1) *An ethnomethodologically-oriented nuanced critical approach for hybrid criticality in language ideology research*:
My dissertation suggests that an ethnomethodologically-oriented nuanced critical approach to language ideologies may facilitate a hybrid of emancipatory and ethnographic critique (Pietikäinen, 2016) in language ideology research. While ethnomethodological/data-driven analysis may attend to stakeholders' situated needs of social categorization through different language ideologies, critical/theory-guided analysis may address power relations, including inequalities, among different languages and people as language speakers in a global society. In addition, examining ideological dilemmas (Billig et al., 1988) highlights the complex social reality from the stakeholders' perspectives. However, this approach may render

research claims too moderate for the effective promotion of social change (Pietikäinen, 2016; see also Olthuis et al., 2013).

(2) *Stronger social constructionism, in tandem with ethnomethodological discourse analysis, as a way to engage with the paradoxes of interculturality in intercultural communication research*:
Taking a robust social constructionist approach to interculturality, coupled with ethnomethodological discourse analysis, may reduce potential subjective bias and reject methodological nationalism (Baker, 2022) while addressing the emergence of interculturality in 'intercultural moments' (Bolden, 2014). Adopting an ethnomethodological approach to the social processes of national or ethnic categories of people from the very beginning of their research projects may enable researchers to engage with the paradoxical loop of essentialism in intercultural communication research (Dervin, 2023). The processes of inequalities among people can be addressed in research without presupposing particular power inequalities as problematic because of 'a heavy ethical burden' (Baxter & Asbury, 2015, p. 197).

(3) *Constructive self-criticism as an essential part of research in humanities and social sciences*:
In modern society, language plays a powerful role in constructing scientific knowledge about social reality (Burr, 2015; Foucault, 1972; Heller et al., 2018). Therefore, researchers' critical reflection on their own experiences and knowledge—their relationship with power—may inherently constitute a part of research in humanities and social sciences. Addressing both intellectual and lived ideologies (Billig et al., 1988) may facilitate constructive self-criticism, encouraging researchers to respect the perspectives of stakeholders in their research topic rather than their own. Researchers might unexpectedly find the potential for social change by engaging with different 'discursive practices in their complexity and density' (Foucault, 1972, p. 209).

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ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPES FOR STUDENTS IN UNIVERSITY LANGUAGE POLICIES: INCLUSION, EXCLUSION, OR HIERARCHY

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Language ideological landscapes for students in university language policies: inclusion, exclusion, or hierarchy

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ABSTRACT

Many universities in non-English speaking countries have been adopting English as a medium of instruction to internationalize their education. We set out to compare the language policies of a Finnish and a Japanese university using the lens of language ideology – a set of normative beliefs about the social dimension of language. Data were collected from selected documents of the two universities, and analyzed utilizing critical discursive psychology. This social constructionist approach allows mapping out language ideological landscapes – interrelationships among different co-occurring language ideologies – from which students may draw ideas about how they orient themselves towards their peers on international campuses today. Our analysis shows that different language ideological landscapes are constructed in the language policies of the two universities, affording them different positioning in the phenomenon of internationalization. The findings suggest that both multilingualism and languaging would be important discursive resources for universities to maintain ethnolinguistic nationalism and ensure equality among students with different linguistic backgrounds, in the process of internationalization of higher education through English. On international campuses where multilingualism is prevalent, students are likely to be constructed as cosmopolitans for inclusion, locals and foreigners for exclusion, or 'native/native-like and non-native speakers' for hierarchy through different monolingual language ideologies.

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Introduction

Over the last decades, adopting English-medium instruction (EMI) has been a common strategy for non-English speaking countries to internationalize their higher education (Macaro et al., 2018). In this transformation, we are especially interested in how language ideologies – sets of normative beliefs about the social dimension of language – in university language policies might inform the ways that students make sense of their interactions with their peers, acknowledging that such ideologies likely create a certain system of social categories and power relations by mediating between ideas about

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language and people (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). We approach language ideologies as both constituted by and constitutive of their context (Kraft & Lønsmann, 2018), and see university language policies as evidence of language ideologies that are widespread on university campuses and that are relevant for the ways that members of the university community construct and are constructed by the social world.

Language policies have been approached as consisting of declared language policies (de jure policies) and linguistic practices (de facto policies; Johnson, 2013; Lo Bianco, 2008; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004). Previous studies on university language policies have drawn on this framework to identify discrepancies between language ideologies in university language policies and linguistic practices of students and staff members. Some studies (e.g. Jenkins, 2014; Kuteeva, 2014) challenge 'native-speaker' norms of English prevalent in university language policies as creating inequalities among students. Instead, they argue for the notion of English as a lingua franca to respect students' multilingual practices. Other studies (e.g. Airey et al., 2017; Björkman, 2014; Jenkins & Leung, 2019) suggest that, rather than prioritize national categories of language, universities should take academic and discipline-specific linguistic practices into account.

However, as meso-level actors in language planning (Liddicoat, 2016; Lo Bianco, 2005), universities apparently also need to balance the vitality of English and the national language(s) in terms of higher-level language planning (see Robertson & Kedzierski, 2016). It is therefore important to examine how different co-occurring language ideologies interconnect with one another in university language policies (both de jure and de facto policies), forming what Kraft and Lønsmann (2018) have termed a *language ideological landscape*. Kraft and Lønsmann highlight the futility of examining the ideologies connected to one specific language in isolation since 'ideologies of one language are linked to its relationship to other languages and to ideologies of these other languages' (2018, p. 47). Furthermore, Phan (2016) points to the importance of 'mov[ing] beyond making polarized assumptions about English language users' identity positionings based largely on moral and ethical judgements of one another's ideologies' (p. 354).

In this paper, we analyze language ideological landscapes in the language policies of the University of Jyväskylä (JYU) in Finland and Akita International University (AIU) in Japan, with a focus on social meanings afforded to students. In recent years, Nordic countries have been seen as putting an emphasis on the need to protect their national languages from the spread of English in the academic domain (e.g. Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012; Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). Meanwhile, Japan has been seen as emphasizing its own uniqueness against others associated with English by promoting English while undermining Japanese in international contexts (Phan, 2013; see also Hashimoto, 2000, 2013). We find that comparing these two potentially different contexts can offer interesting insights into the process of internationalization of higher education through EMI. Our data were collected from selected documents of JYU and AIU to identify both de jure and de facto language policies that are relevant to students – their academic success and interactions on campus. In the analysis, we utilize critical discursive psychology to illuminate inconsistencies or contradictions among different co-occurring ideologies. Our questions are: (1) What language ideological landscapes are constructed in the language policies of JYU and AIU that concern students? (2) What social categories and power relations do these ideological landscapes afford to students?

Theoretical framework

Language ideologies

We define language ideologies from a critical perspective as 'the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (Irvine, 1989, p. 255). Language ideologies connect language and the social world, endowing groups of speakers with specific characteristics, status, rights, and obligations (see also Woolard, 1998). Language ideologies inform our understandings of linguistic practices, simultaneously erasing phenomena that do not align with the specific point of view (Gal, 2006). However, speakers have more than one dominant ideology at their disposal, as the notion of language ideological landscapes and the analytical concepts of critical discursive psychology put forward. Interactions between and among speakers of different languages or language varieties may be regarded as potentially rich in language-related categorization. Different language ideologies publicly available and maintained in popular, institutional, political, or scientific discourses may serve as the material for people to construct in- and out-groups and rationalize such categorization and constructed power relations (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

We see language ideologies as situated and both constituted by and constitutive of their context (Kraft & Lønsmann, 2018). As meso-level actors in language planning (Liddicoat, 2016; Lo Bianco, 2005), universities can be seen as not only reproducing higher level national and institutional ideologies about language but also as constructing other ideologies and possibly challenging existing dominant ideologies – especially since universities are at the center of scientific debates about language and multilingualism. In this sense, university language policies are likely to be products of negotiations among different stakeholders including those involved in national-level planning, internationalization efforts as well as those with an understanding of language and multilingualism research. With this in mind, university language policies can be approached as representing language ideologies pervasive on university campuses, which inform the ways that members of the university community create and are created by the social world.

We are specifically interested in language ideological landscapes constructed in university language policies. We see that these (potentially diverse and perhaps even dilemmatic) constellations of ideas about the status, epistemic authority, or desirability of speakers of different languages and language varieties on international campuses may serve as the 'prevailing discursive environment' (Seymour-Smith et al., 2002, p. 254) from which students can draw to explain and rationalize the ways in which they orient themselves to their peers. Here, we also acknowledge that the applications of any language ideology are 'interest-laden and positioned' (Gal, 2005, p. 25) and thus construct and normalize a certain system of social categories and power relations among them.

Language ideologies and paradigms in multilingualism research

Language ideologies are produced and reproduced across different social spheres such as in media, policy, or mundane everyday interactions. To understand them in more depth, it is important to reflect them against discussions about language and language diversity in the realm of scientific discourse. In fact, intellectual ideology (represented in formal

theories) and lived ideology (represented in commonsensical ideas) should be seen as intricately interrelated and mutually informing each other (Billig et al., 1988).

Ideas about the nature of language and language use in the context of language diversity and multilingualism research have been changing so drastically that one could describe them as a paradigmatic shift. The conventional conception of language has seen language as an idealized, immutable, and decontextualized entity that pre-exists and determines language use (Lüdi, 2013). This view treats language as a nameable closed and internally homogeneous system bound to a national group that is a conduit for some underlying 'national culture' and that is mutually exclusive – though intertranslatable – with other such systems (see Gal, 2006; Piller, 2012). By highlighting the distinctness and internal homogeneity of a social group, this standard language ideology legitimates political arrangements such as claims to a territory, state, and political autonomy (Gal, 2006).

The notion of homogeneous speech communities of monolingual, monocultural nationals that such traditional conceptualization of language conveys has been increasingly challenged (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007). Alternatively, language has been approached as *languaging* – an emergent, contextual, and interactional activity (Lüdi, 2013) that is not backed up by a self-contained linguistic system. This approach treats persons in interaction as dynamically and creatively drawing on any linguistic resources they may have to address local interactional problems and construct shared understanding.

Critics of traditional approaches to language (e.g. Makoni & Pennycook, 2012) have discussed the problematic nature of the concept of multilingualism, pointing out that it reproduces the notion of language as a distinctive and objective entity. New constructs that highlight the creative, emergent, context-bound, and pragmatic character of linguistic practices have been offered. *Translanguaging* (e.g. Canagarajah, 2011; García & Li, 2014) highlights how speakers draw on and transcend their linguistic repertoires that defy the traditionally construed boundaries among supposedly autonomous language systems to generate new meanings and identity positions, exhibiting both creativity and criticality. *Multilanguaging* (e.g. Lüdi, 2013) describes how interactants negotiate shared understanding through simultaneously mobilizing their multilingual repertoires or resources (both verbal and embodied). In defining *metrolingualism*, Makoni and Pennycook refer to practices where interactants 'use, play with and negotiate various identities through language; it does not assume connections between language, culture, ethnicity, nationality, or geography but rather seeks to explore how such connections are produced, resisted, defied or rearranged' (2012, p. 449).

These developments are also reflected in discussions on the global position of English. There has been severe criticism of the concept of the *native speaker* (e.g. Holliday, 2006, 2015; Kabel, 2009; Piller, 2001) that highlights the notion's socially constructed character and its ideological power in normalizing ethnolinguistic nationalism, promoting a monolingual mindset and justifying not only symbolic but also material inequalities among different speakers of English. Jenkins (e.g. 2011) has argued for abandoning the English as Second Language/English as Foreign Language paradigm that constructs L2 speakers of English as deficient and never able to meet the 'native speaker' proficiency standard. Instead, she points to English as a Lingua Franca as a new empowering discourse where English is recognized as a global language that belongs to anyone who uses it in different domains of social life. In a similar vein, Kuteeva (2014) speaks of

academic English as one variety of global English that is nobody's first language – thus challenging the native speakerism ideology and its persistence in higher education contexts (see also Piller, 2016).

Methodology

Critical discursive psychology

Critical discursive psychology (CDP) reframes traditional psychological concepts, such as social categories, as socially constructed emergent and fluid resources that may be made relevant in text and talk to create order in the social world (Reynolds & Wetherell, 2003; Wiggins, 2017). One of the core ideas of CDP is that talk and text about any topic can be highly irregular and incongruent, leading to different, dilemmatic versions of social reality (e.g. Wetherell, 1996). CDP works with the analytical concepts of *interpretative repertoires*, *subject positions*, and *ideological dilemmas*. An interpretative repertoire is an easily recognizable common-sense description or explanation about a topic made up of familiar themes, tropes, and places (Wetherell, 1998). Interpretative repertoires are building blocks for developing different versions of the social reality (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). They can be seen as bridges that connect situated discourse to the broader social context and socially available collective resources for discussing different topics (Wetherell, 1996). The interpretative repertoires deployed in text and talk afford specific subject positions – roles, rights, and obligations – to entities and persons (Reynolds & Wetherell, 2003). Within a single text there may be different interpretative repertoires employed; the inconsistencies among these repertoires may result in ideological dilemmas as divergent and perhaps even competing accounts are offered to the readers to ponder, negotiate, and make sense of (e.g. Reynolds & Wetherell, 2003). We find these analytical concepts useful to examine interrelationships, especially inconsistencies or contradictions, among different co-occurring language ideologies that together form a specific language ideological landscape.

Data set

We analyze the language policies of JYU in Finland and AIU in Japan that are relevant to students. These universities were selected because both are in unique positions in their national contexts. JYU is a multidisciplinary public university that comprises 6 faculties and provides 17 English-medium master's programs (one of them is a joint program with other European universities) in different disciplines as well as various bachelor's and master's programs primarily in Finnish. It is also common that some courses are entirely or partially delivered in English in the programs other than the English-medium ones. What is unique about JYU is that it is highly interested and active in applied linguistics research and its application to linguistic practices on campus. In contrast, AIU is a small public liberal arts college that offers 3 undergraduate and 2 graduate programs in English and 1 graduate program in Japanese (about Japanese language teaching). It is the only Japanese public college/university that specifically focuses on EMI. Some compulsory courses in the Japanese-medium program are also taught in English. A small admission quota is officially placed for foreign students in the undergraduate programs, but not in

the graduate programs. We expect that similarities between these very different universities can be interpreted as something common across different contexts of EMI for internationalization of higher education.

The initial data were collected from several policy documents of JYU and AIU (see Table 1) in order to identify de jure language policies in policy-level texts. Students may not read these documents on their own, but the documents would be relevant to them as ultimate references of their linguistic practices on campus. Moreover, it is likely that other persons on campus that students interact with (lecturers, administrative staff) are very much aware of these documents and draw on them in interactions with students. As the data analysis progressed, further data were collected from some procedure documents (see Table 2) in order to identify de facto language policies in practice-level texts. These documents are highly relevant to students because they are expected to read the documents in the application process for admission to their programs and over the course of their studies. The overall word count of the 39 JYU documents was 86,393, and that of the 16 AIU documents was 73,814. We limited our data sources to documents publicly available on the JYU and AIU webpages in the form of PDF files or webpage text to make sure that we analyzed documents that were indeed publicly available to relevant stakeholders. We call all the different data sources *documents* for the sake of practicality.

Data analysis

We regard language ideologies as interpretative repertoires because the two concepts are remarkably similar. In fact, language ideologies can be explained using the analytical concepts of CDP. Language ideologies are widely used in text and talk to describe or explain language or language use in relation to people as language speakers, providing entities and persons with language-related social categories (see Woolard, 1998), thus placing them in specific positions in relation to one another. When some language ideologies are deployed side by side, ideological dilemmas may be created between and among them (e.g. 'native-speaker' norms of English and the notion of English as a lingua franca, see Jenkins, 2014). Hence, one can say that language ideologies are interpretative repertoires about language and its speakers.

Table 1. Initial data sources.

Institution	Name of document	Language	Word count
JYU	Jyväskylän Yliopiston Kielipolitiikka [University of Jyväskylä Language Policy]	Finnish	974
	Jyväskylän Yliopiston Johtosääntö	Finnish	4,425
	University of Jyväskylä Regulations	English	7,219
	Jyväskylän Yliopiston Tutkintosääntö	Finnish	4,923
	Degree Regulations of the University of Jyväskylä	English	8,712
AIU	国際教養大学学則	Japanese	11,720
	Akita International University Institutional Policies and Regulations	English	5,826
	国際教養大学大学院学則 [Akita International University Graduate School Institutional Policies and Regulations]	Japanese	6,694
	国際教養学部ミッションステートメント・3つのポリシー	Japanese	3,544
	Akita International University Policies (*mission statement included)	English	1,630
	専門職大学院ミッションステートメント・3つのポリシー	Japanese	2,106
	Graduate Program Policies (*mission statement included)	English	951

Note: The Japanese word count is its character count.

Table 2. Additional data sources.

Institution	Name of document	Language	Word count
JYU	Master's Programmes: How to apply?	English	5,421
	Admission Criteria (*16 English-medium programs)	English	38,949
	Study Guide (*16 English-medium programs)	English	14,321
	Hakeminen Yhteishaussa [Applying in the Joint Application] (*Bachelor's and Master's programs)	Finnish	1,449
AIU	入学者選抜要項 [Admission Information] (*undergraduate)	Japanese	26,122
	学生募集要項 外国人留学生入試	Japanese	6,610
	Undergraduate Admission Information and Application Form for International Students	English	2,717
	専門職大学院 出願要件	Japanese	1,851
	Graduate Program Admissions	English	747
	英語集中プログラム	Japanese	1,245
	English for Academic Purposes	English	592
	日本語プログラム	Japanese	530
	Japanese Language	English	929

Note: The Japanese word count is its character count.

The first author was in charge of the analysis, but she discussed her choices with the second author throughout the process to ensure the robustness of analysis. First, she went over the material to identify different ways of discussing language-related matters (such as the nature of language and multilingualism on campus, preferred languages and language choices in different situations and interactions, expected language proficiency of students, etc.). She then inductively searched for patterns across these representations to identify language ideologies, with reference to some common language ideologies reviewed in the previous section. By corollary, she attended to the different subject positions these ideologies afford to students, that is, different language-related social categories for students and power relations among them produced in the documents. Next, she explored ideological dilemmas in each university's language policies to map out the language ideological landscape. Finally, she addressed possible connections between institutional discourses of JYU and AIU in our findings and the national discourses of Nordic countries and Japan in prior literature (e.g. Phan, 2013; Saarinen & Taalas, 2017).

The documents analyzed in this study are in three languages: Finnish, Japanese, or English (see Tables 1 and 2). Although the first author was responsible for the analysis, the authors used their combined linguistic resources to help the first author make sense of all the documents in detail. The first author is fluent in Japanese and English, while the second author is proficient in Finnish and English. The first author carried out the analysis of all the AIU documents, checking the consistency between the Japanese and English versions of the documents. Yet, she discussed her findings with the second author throughout the process. The second author assisted in the analysis of the JYU documents by discussing JYU Language Policy (only available in Finnish) thoroughly with the first author, and also comparing the Finnish and English versions of other JYU documents. In case of slight differences between the two versions of the document, the original language version was given priority in the analysis.

Findings

Our analysis of policy- and practice-level texts of the different documents of JYU and AIU identifies different de jure and de facto language policies as manifestations of

language ideologies. As shown in Figures 1 and 2, different sets of co-occurring ideologies construct different ideological landscapes in the language policies of JYU and AIU that concern students, affording the two universities different positioning in the phenomenon of internationalization (see Figures 3 and 4). Despite the differences, *multilingualism/monolingualisms* is commonly formed of three types of monolingual language ideologies – *national language ideologies*, *international language ideologies*, and *native-speakerism* – which are all based on the notion about language as a closed system bound to a national group and existing before/outside interaction.

National language ideologies as both de jure and de facto policies encourage students to cherish languages as not only means of local communication but also conduits for underlying membership in national communities. International language ideologies allow students to utilize named languages as means of international communication. Lastly, native-speakerism as another de facto policy connects authenticity or legitimacy of language proficiency and status to students from specific countries. These three types of ideologies provide students with three prototypical sets of social categories: *locals and foreigners*, *cosmopolitans*, and *'native and non-native speakers'* – the nature of which is mutually exclusive, inclusive, or hierarchical. Hence, multilingualism/monolingualisms as both de jure and de facto language policies constructs the student community as based on membership in different national communities.

In addition, only as a de jure language policy of JYU, *languaging* is constructed based on the notion about language as an emergent, contextual, and flexible practice in interaction. It draws attention to linguistic practices in everyday interactions on campus and in society. We will hereafter explain how different language ideologies are constructed and interrelated in the language policies of JYU and AIU, paying attention to accompanying constructions of social categories for students and power relations among them.

JYU's de jure multilingualism/monolingualisms for mutual exclusion and inclusion with a hint of languaging

In the first paragraph of JYU Kielipolitiikka [JYU Language Policy], *Finnish as the national language of Finland* and *foreign languages as international languages* form multilingualism/monolingualisms, providing students with the mutually exclusive social

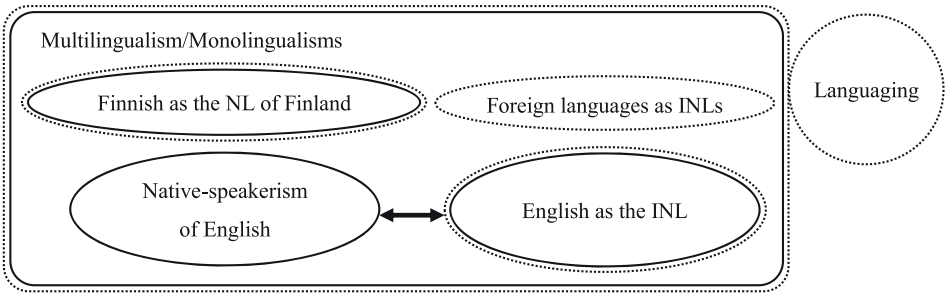

Figure 1. Language ideological landscape in JYU language policies.

Note: dotted figures–de jure policies, solid figures–de facto policies, double arrow–ideological dilemma, NL–national language, INL–international language.

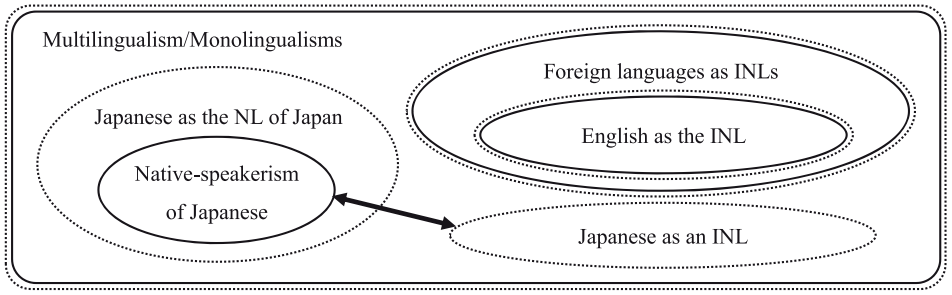

Figure 2. Language ideological landscape in AIU language policies.

Note: dotted figures–de jure policies, solid figures–de facto policies, double arrow–ideological dilemma, NL–national language, INL–international language.

categories of *locals from Finland and foreigners* and the inclusive category of *foreign-language-speaking cosmopolitans*.

Extract 1

> Jyväskylän yliopisto on perinteiltään vahvasti suomenkielinen, mutta monikielinen ja kulttuurinen akateeminen yhteisö. Vuonna 2015 yliopistossa työskentelee ja opiskelee yli sadan eri kansalaisuuden edustajia. Yhteiskunnan moninaisuus näkyy selvästi myös yliopiston arjessa, jossa monikielisyys ja -kulttuurisuus ovat resursseja, joita arvostetaan ja hyödynnetään tavoitteellisesti läpi yliopistoyhteisön. (JYU Kielipolitiikka)
> [The University of Jyväskylä has a strong Finnish-speaking tradition, but is a multilingual and multicultural academic community. In 2015, more than a hundred representatives of different nationalities will work and study at the university. The diversity of society is also clearly visible in the everyday life of the university, where multilingualism and multiculturalism are resources that are valued and utilized purposefully throughout the university community. (JYU Language Policy, authors' own translation)]

In Extract 1, Finnish is highlighted over other languages in the portrayal of JYU having 'a strong Finnish-speaking tradition'. Also, the apparently contrasting notion of 'a multilingual and multicultural academic community' can be interpreted as putting an emphasis on Finnish over foreign languages because multilingualism and multiculturalism are linked to 'different nationalities' to introduce the notion of national language based on a monolingual view of national membership. In this policy-level text, Finnish is clarified to be the national language of Finland in contrast to foreign languages as international languages, the ones brought into JYU by foreigners through internationalization, to result in the construction of de jure multilingualism/monolingualisms in the language policies of JYU. Students would thus be primarily classified as either locals

Figure 3. JYU as part of a larger international community.

Figure 4. AIU as a mediator between the local and international community.

from Finland or foreigners for mutual exclusion, depending on whether they speak Finnish as their first language or not. They would also be grouped as foreign-language-speaking cosmopolitans for inclusion, foreigners as those who speak their first languages as international languages in JYU and locals as those who possibly speak foreign languages as international languages.

Notably, the emphasis on Finnish over foreign languages echoes JYU's positioning in the phenomenon of internationalization. In Extract 1, JYU is depicted as part of a larger international community (the world at largest) in the connection between 'the diversity of society' and 'the everyday life of the university'. In other words, the university finds itself in internationalization of a wider society because the boundaries between the university, the Finnish society, and the larger world are presented as permeable.

Part of another paragraph of the same document in the section titled 'yliopisto opiskeluympäristönä' ['the university as a study environment'] adds *English as the international language* to multilingualism/monolingualisms, offering students the inclusive social category of *English-speaking cosmopolitans*.

Extract 2

> Tähän kuuluvat sekä suomen kielen ja kulttuurin vaaliminen että toisen kotimaisen kielen, englannin kielen ja vieraiden kielten viestintätaitojen monipuolistaminen sekä kulttuuritietoisuuden ja -osaamisen kehittäminen. (JYU Kielipolitiikka)
> [This includes the preservation of the Finnish language and culture, as well as the diversification of communication skills in the second domestic language, English and foreign languages, and the development of cultural awareness and competence. (JYU Language Policy, authors' own translation)]

In Extract 2, Finnish is first clarified to be the primary domestic language in contrast to 'the second domestic language'. It is then presented as the national language in contrast to 'foreign languages'. In this language classification, the position of English is particularly interesting in that it is not classified as a foreign language. However, since English and foreign languages are together contrasted with Finnish, English can be seen as an international language along with foreign languages, even as the most common international language in JYU. Students would thus be grouped as English-speaking cosmopolitans for inclusion, regardless of their membership in different national communities.

Besides multilingualism/monolingualisms, *languaging* is constructed somewhat oddly in only one paragraph of JYU Language Policy, which is disconnected from the rest of the document for the different understanding of language operating there.

Extract 3

> Kielipolitiikka edistää dynaamista monikielisyyttä, kykyä reagoida joustavasti ja nopeasti viestinnällisiin tilanteisiin, valmiutta käyttää osittaistakin kielitaitoa sekä avarakatseisuutta ja positiivista asennetta eri kieliä ja erilaista kielenkäyttöä kohtaan. (JYU Kielipolitiikka)
> [Language policy promotes dynamic multilingualism, the ability to respond flexibly and quickly to communicative situations, the readiness to use even partial language skills, as well as open-mindedness and positive attitudes towards different languages and different language use. (JYU Language Policy, authors' own translation)]

As the phrase 'dynamic multilingualism' signals, the explanation of multilingualism in Extract 3 is very different from the more traditional understandings visible throughout the document and other documents. No named languages and nationality-related terms are found in this paragraph. Instead, language is defined as a practice that emerges through people's use of their linguistic repertoires in interaction, as indicated by the phrases 'respond flexibly and quickly to communicative situations' and 'use even partial language skills'. Such use of linguistic repertoires is also associated with 'open-mindedness and positive attitudes' towards linguistic differences at different levels. Apparently, the notion of languaging differs from monolingual language ideologies predominant in both policy- and practice-level texts of JYU documents. Since linguistic practices in interaction are flexible and fluid in nature, this ideology unlikely offers any fixed social categories to students, and it does not necessarily change JYU's positioning in internationalization.

AIU's de jure multilingualism/monolingualisms for inclusion and implicit mutual exclusion

In the first paragraph of AIU Institutional Policies and Regulations, *foreign languages as international languages*, *English as the international language*, and *Japanese as the national language of Japan* together form multilingualism/monolingualisms. This affords students the inclusive social categories of *foreign-language- and English-speaking cosmopolitans* and the mutually exclusive categories of *locals from Japan and foreigners*.

Extract 4

> Akita International University … aims to educate students so that they may use their fluency and practical skills in foreign languages, especially in English … to contribute to the prosperity of both the international and local community. (AIU Institutional Policies and Regulations, also available in Japanese)

In Extract 4, the term 'foreign language' appears to be used on the premise that Japanese is the national language of Japan. This implicit contrast between foreign languages and Japanese clarifies that foreign languages are conceived as international languages in the description of 'foreign languages, especially in English' as resources to 'contribute to the prosperity of both the international and local community'. Here, English is presented as the most common international language in AIU by being singled out from other foreign languages although it is still classified as a foreign language. Such a language classification in this policy-level text constructs de jure multilingualism/monolingualisms in the language policies of AIU. Interestingly, since Japanese is absent in this paragraph, foreign languages are highlighted. Students would thus be primarily grouped as foreign-language-speaking cosmopolitans for inclusion, especially English-speaking ones,

including those who speak their first languages as international languages in AIU. At the same time, they would be implicitly classified as either locals from Japan or foreigners for mutual exclusion, depending on whether they speak Japanese as their first language or not.

The emphasis on foreign languages along with the absence of Japanese is explained by AIU's positioning in the phenomenon of internationalization. In Extract 4, AIU is depicted as a mediator between the local (Japan) and international (the world at largest) community in its mission: 'to educate students … to contribute to the prosperity of both the international and local community'. The Japanese society is separated from the larger world, and the university is placed somewhere between the two while also being separated from both communities.

In this vein, AIU Graduate Program Policies adds *Japanese as the international language* to multilingualism/monolingualisms, offering students the inclusive social category of *Japanese-speaking cosmopolitans*.

Extract 5

> The mission of the Akita International University Graduate School of Global Communication and Language (AIU GSGCL) is to prepare students for careers in professional communication fields that make positive contributions to today's global society. With programs in English and in Japanese … , the GSGCL provides students with the knowledge and practical skills they need to advance their careers. (AIU Graduate Program Policies, also available in Japanese)

In Extract 5, Japanese and English are portrayed as resources to 'make positive contributions to today's global society'. Taking into account that the terms 'global' and 'international' are used interchangeably in different AIU documents, one can say that Japanese is seen as an international language (especially in the graduate programs) in addition to English. Depending on circumstances, students would be grouped as Japanese-speaking cosmopolitans for inclusion although the implicit mutually exclusive classification of locals from Japan and foreigners would be also relevant.

JYU's de facto multilingualism/monolingualisms for mutual exclusion and inclusion or hierarchy

In the list of acceptable proof of Finnish language proficiency for the Finnish-medium programs of JYU, *Finnish as the national language of Finland* is constructed, affording the mutually exclusive social categories of *locals from Finland and foreigners* to students.

Extract 6

> - Perusopetus, toisen asteen tutkinto tai muu korkeakoulukelpoisuuden antava tutkinto suoritettu suomen kielellä (mikäli päättötodistuksessa äidinkieli hyväksytyllä arvosanalla) … .
> (JYU Hakeminen yhteishaussa)
> [- Primary education, secondary level degree or another degree giving eligibility for higher education completed in Finnish (if mother tongue features in the final certificate with a passing grade) … .
> (JYU Applying in the Joint Application, authors' own translation)]

The terms 'mother tongue', 'second language', 'the second domestic language', 'L1', and 'L2' are used in the document. In Extract 6, for example, the term 'mother tongue' clarifies Finnish to be the national language of Finland in that other countries hardly provide their primary/secondary education in Finnish as students' mother tongue. Students are thus seen as either locals from Finland or foreigners for mutual exclusion based on their first language. Nevertheless, they are treated equally to a certain extent when in fact those who are considered locals from Finland also need to prove their proficiency in Finnish.

The application process of 4 English-medium programs includes the demonstration of English language proficiency. In the assessment criteria, *English as the international language* is constructed, offering students the inclusive social category of *English-speaking cosmopolitans*.

Extract 7

English language proficiency demonstrated during the application process
The Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication (Movi) of JYU will assess the academic readiness and language proficiency of the applicant based on a written pre-task and an interview. The evaluation criteria are based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), adapted for academic purposes.
(JYU Admission Criteria, Master's Degree Programme in Educational Sciences)

All applicants are assessed on their English language proficiency by JYU with the same criteria 'CEFR', as in Extract 7. English is not necessarily connected to specific countries although the CEFR is a European framework. Furthermore, the terms 'academic readiness' and 'academic purposes' clarify that English here refers to its academic variety. English, especially academic English, is treated as the international language, without being classified as a foreign language. Hence, students from different national communities are seen as English-speaking cosmopolitans for inclusion.

However, exclusive/hierarchical constructions of students as English speakers are also to be found in different documents of JYU. In the list of acceptable proof of English language proficiency for 12 English-medium programs, *native-speakerism of English* is constructed, providing students with the hierarchical social categories of '*native/native-like and non-native speakers' of English*.

Extract 8

- Upper secondary education completed in English in a Nordic country (Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland), the United Kingdom, Ireland, the United States, Canada, Australia or New Zealand.
- A higher education degree completed in English in an EU/EEA country, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, Australia or New Zealand.
- An international language proficiency test in English … .

(JYU Admission Criteria, Master's Degree Programme in Banking and International Finance)

As in Extract 8, JYU accepts a certificate of upper secondary or higher education 'completed in English' in one of the listed countries as proof of English language proficiency, as well as a score on an English language proficiency test (e.g. TOEFL). Notably, some of the listed countries are Western English-speaking countries, which are often recognized as homelands of 'native speakers' of English, and others are European countries whose

national languages are not necessarily English. The list of the countries presents the varieties of English spoken by those who received education in Western countries as more authentic or legitimate than the varieties spoken by others. This unequal treatment constructs native-speakerism of English with alternation according to the European context. Students are thus hierarchically classified as 'native/native-like or non-native speakers' of English depending on the location of their previous education. Yet, it seems that those who completed their higher education in Finnish institutions are also favored because JYU also accepts a certificate of higher education completed in Finnish or Swedish from a Finnish institution when it includes English language studies (with some conditions).

The co-occurrence of those different language ideologies in the different practice-level texts establishes de facto multilingualism/monolingualisms in the language policies of JYU. As with the de jure multilingualism/monolingualisms, Finnish is clarified as the national language of Finland to solidify the mutually exclusive categories of students as locals from Finland and foreigners although Finnish language proficiency is not firmly connected to membership in the Finnish society. With respect to English, while it is treated as the international language in some English-medium programs, in many such programs native-speakerism of English is constructed to create an ideological dilemma when paired with the notion of English as the international language. Consequently, the hierarchical categories of students as 'native/native-like and non-native speakers' of English contradict the inclusive category of students as English-speaking cosmopolitans. All in all, JYU's multilingualism/monolingualisms as a whole conveys JYU's strong interest in the preservation of Finnish in its internationalizing student community through English. Seemingly, the category of students as foreign-language-speaking cosmopolitans is the only social category that can facilitate the inclusion of students without any conflict.

AIU's de facto multilingualism/monolingualisms for inclusion and hierarchy

In the additional note of the language requirements for the undergraduate programs of AIU, *English as the international language* is constructed, affording students the inclusive social category of *English-speaking cosmopolitans*.

Extract 9

> Even in countries/regions (e.g. U.S.A, Australia, etc.,) and educational institutions (e.g. International school, etc.,) where the education system in which the first language is English and entirely taught in English, applicants are required to submit an official document that proves the medium of instruction is English.
> (AIU Undergraduate Admission Information and Application Form for International Students, also available in Japanese)

In addition to a score on an English language proficiency test (e.g. TOEFL), AIU accepts a certificate of previous education 'entirely taught in English' as proof of English language proficiency for foreign applicants (and also local applicants in some admission types). As in Extract 9, the locations of such education are not limited to specific countries or institutions where English is 'the first language' of students although 'U.S.A.' and 'Australia' are listed as examples. English is treated as the international language while being

classified as a foreign language (i.e. the national language of English-speaking countries). This view of English is also evident in the contrast between Japanese as the national language of Japan and English, which underlies the interview required of most local applicants in both Japanese and English. Overall, students with different first languages are seen as English-speaking cosmopolitans for inclusion.

The notion of English as the international language is more consistent in the language requirements for all the graduate programs. In the same document, *native-speakerism of Japanese* is also constructed together with *foreign languages as international languages*, providing students with the hierarchical social categories of '*native and non-native speakers' of Japanese* and the inclusive category of *foreign-language-speaking cosmopolitans*.

Extract 10

English Language Teaching Practices
TOEFL iBT®TEST 88, TOEFL®PBT TEST 570, or an equivalent level of English demonstrated by another English test … .
Japanese Language Teaching Practices
Native Speaker of Japanese (Must meet 1) or 2) of the requirements below)

1) TOEFL iBT®TEST 71, TOEFL®PBT TEST 530, or an equivalent level of English demonstrated by another English test … .
2) Must meet both of the following requirements- TOEFL iBT®TEST 61, TOEFL®PBT TEST 500, or an equivalent level of English

demonstrated by another English test … .

- Those who demonstrated proficiency by language test other than English … .

Non-Native Speaker of Japanese (Must meet both of the requirements below)

1) TOEFL iBT®TEST 61, TOEFL®PBT TEST 500, or an equivalent level of English demonstrated by another English test … .
2) JLPT (Japanese Language Proficiency Test) 1st-level, or N1 level.**Global Communication Practices**

TOEFL iBT®TEST 79, TOEFL®PBT TEST 550 or an equivalent level of English demonstrated by another English test … .

(AIU Graduate Program Admissions, also available in Japanese)

All applicants are required to submit their scores on an English language proficiency test, as shown in Extract 10. The irrelevance of whether they speak English as their first language or not emphasizes English as the international language, and thus students are seen as English-speaking cosmopolitans for inclusion. In the case of the Japanese-medium program, the waiver of 'JLPT' given to 'native speakers' of Japanese indicates an assumption that their membership in the Japanese society promises them high proficiency in Japanese. This unconditional grant of authenticity or legitimacy of language proficiency and status to 'native speakers' constructs native-speakerism of Japanese, hierarchically classifying students as 'native or non-native speakers' of Japanese depending

on whether they speak Japanese as their first language or not. Yet, 'native speakers' of Japanese are alternatively required a higher score on a test of English than 'non-native speakers' or a high score on a test of another foreign language (e.g. Korean, Chinese, European languages). These alternative language requirements emphasize foreign languages as international languages. In a sense, all applicants are seen as foreign-language-speaking cosmopolitans for inclusion, 'native speakers' of Japanese as those who speak foreign languages as international languages and 'non-native speakers' as those who speak their first languages as international languages in AIU.

The co-occurring different language ideologies in the different practice-level texts together form de facto multilingualism/monolingualisms in the language policies of AIU. Foreign languages, especially English, are treated as international languages in line with the de jure multilingualism/monolingualisms, and thus the inclusive categories of students as foreign-language- and English-speaking cosmopolitans are reinforced. However, since native-speakerism of Japanese is constructed, an ideological dilemma is created when paired with the notion of Japanese as the international language. This dilemma places the inclusive category of students as Japanese-speaking cosmopolitans in contradiction with the hierarchical categories of students as 'native and non-native speakers' of Japanese. Nevertheless, the inclusion of students can be facilitated by the categories of foreign-language- and English-speaking cosmopolitans, as seen in the emphasis on foreign languages as international languages in the alternative language requirements for 'native speakers' of Japanese in the Japanese-medium program. AIU's multilingualism/monolingualisms as a whole indicates AIU's strong interest in foreign languages, especially English, as resources for internationalization alongside the assumed vitality of Japanese. In any case, the categories of students as locals from Japan and foreigners remain for implicit mutual exclusion.

Discussion

We have mapped out the language ideological landscapes in the language policies of JYU and AIU as 'prevailing discursive environments' (Seymour-Smith et al., 2002, p. 254) from which students may draw ideas about how to orient themselves towards their peers as language speakers. As illustrated in our analysis, multilingualism based on a monolingual view of national membership is dominant in both universities, although the notion of languaging with an attention to linguistic practices in interaction is also identified in one paragraph of JYU Language Policy. In JYU's multilingualism/monolingualisms, Finnish is emphasized as the national language of Finland in contrast to foreign languages as international languages, and an ideological dilemma occurs between the notion of English as the international language and native-speakerism of English. This ideological landscape affords students the social categories of locals from Finland and foreigners for mutual exclusion, foreign-language- and English-speaking cosmopolitans for inclusion, and 'native/native-like and non-native speakers' of English for hierarchy. In AIU's multilingualism/monolingualisms, an emphasis is put on foreign languages, especially English, as international languages in implicit contrast to Japanese as the national language of Japan, and an ideological dilemma occurs between the notion of Japanese as an international language and native-speakerism of Japanese. This ideological landscape affords students the social

categories of foreign-language-, English-, and Japanese-speaking cosmopolitans for inclusion, locals from Japan and foreigners for implicit mutual exclusion, and 'native and non-native speakers' of Japanese for hierarchy.

In acknowledging that the notion of national language plays a significant role in developing and maintaining a modern nation-state and its people as an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006; see also Blommaert, 2010), the construction of the national language in contrast to foreign languages as international languages in JYU and AIU can be interpreted as expressing ethnolinguistic nationalism (whether it be explicit or implicit). Apparently, multilingualism based on a monolingual view of national membership is vital for universities to maintain ethnolinguistic nationalism in the process of internationalization although it has been challenged for failing to attend to the flexibility and fluidity of people's linguistic practices (e.g. García & Li, 2014; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). The student community would thus necessarily be constructed as based on membership in different national communities.

In this respect, with the understanding that native-speakerism is grounded on the notion of national language (see Doerr, 2009; Hackert, 2009), the ideological dilemma between the notion of Japanese as an international language and native-speakerism of Japanese in AIU can be seen as displaying the tension between internationalization and ethnolinguistic nationalism. Likewise, the dilemma between the notion of English as the international language and the altered version of native-speakerism of English in JYU can be interpreted as displaying such a tension, in that English is presented as a language of higher education institutions in Western countries including Finland. This indicates that native-speakerism needs to be constructed for the maintenance of ethnolinguistic nationalism concerning language proficiency and status when the national (or institutional) language(s) is/are also seen as an international language(s) although this specific ideology has long been criticized for potential contribution to inequality among English speakers with different linguistic backgrounds (e.g. Holliday, 2006, 2015; Kabel, 2009; Piller, 2001).

However, some attempts to mitigate the presence of native-speakerism are visible in both universities. In the case of AIU, the notion of foreign language, especially English, as international languages is emphasized in the alternative language requirements for 'native speakers' of Japanese in the Japanese-medium program. This practice still within the scope of the notion of national language is in line with the recent argument that multilingual resources of 'native speakers' of English are important for enhanced communication and fairness among students in international universities where English is used as an academic lingua franca (Jenkins & Leung, 2019). In the case of JYU, the notion of English as the international language is also constructed against native-speakerism of English, without classifying English as a foreign language. This view of English is closer to the recent understanding of academic English as nobody's first language (Kuteeva, 2014; see also Jenkins & Leung, 2019; Leung et al., 2016), which has developed and been developed by the reconceptualization of language as languaging (e.g. García & Li, 2014; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). Seemingly, JYU is attempting to put the notion of languaging into practice in their language policies although 'English' (a named language) still figures in their documents.

Overall, JYU's multilingualism/monolingualisms with the emphasis on Finnish can be interpreted as reconstructing the recent discourse in Nordic countries – English as a threat to Nordic (academic) languages (Björkman, 2014; Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012;

Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). It enables JYU, as part of a larger international community, to emphasize the need of protecting Finnish against the vitality of English in its internationalizing community where Finnish is not presented as an international language. However, English is not portrayed as a threat to Finnish; rather, it is internalized as its institutional language (see Lanvers & Hultgren, 2018). Meanwhile, AIU's multilingualism/monolingualisms with the emphasis on foreign language, especially English, appears to be in line with the Japanese national discourse – English as a resource to highlight Japanese national identity (Hashimoto, 2013; Phan, 2013; see also Hashimoto, 2000). It allows AIU, as a mediator between the local and international community, to focus on internationalization through English. Yet, Japanese is not necessarily undermined, as indicated in the construction of Japanese as an international language and native-speakerism of Japanese.

The comparison of the language ideological landscapes in the language policies of JYU and AIU suggests that, in the process of internationalization through EMI, both multilingualism and languaging would be important discursive resources for universities as meso-level actors in language planning (Liddicoat, 2016; Lo Bianco, 2005) to cope with both maintaining ethnolinguistic nationalism for the sake of higher-level language planning and ensuring equality among students with different linguistic backgrounds. Multilingualism portrays students as members of national communities and likely creates inequalities among them, but at the same time, it can facilitate inclusion of all as cosmopolitans. In contrast, languaging can remove national categories from the student community, but it cannot contribute to the maintenance of ethnolinguistic nationalism. On international campuses where multilingualism is prevalent, students are likely to be constructed as cosmopolitans for inclusion, locals and foreigners for exclusion, or 'native/native-like and non-native speakers' for hierarchy through different monolingual language ideologies. This means that students as language speakers would need to negotiate different ways of being with their peers on campus, some of which might present moral and ethical dilemmas to students.

In this paper, we focused on the language policies of the two universities. However, we also identified nationalism on a broader scale and related social categories for students in the universities' policies not about language per se (e.g. the favor to those who completed their higher education in Finnish institutions in terms of proving English language proficiency in many English-medium programs of JYU; the small admission quota for foreign students in the undergraduate programs of AIU). Addressing interconnectedness of different policy areas in future research may provide further implications for university language policies as part of a bigger picture of internationalization or Englishization of higher education, and its meaning for students.

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II

ENGLISH IS 'THE LANGUAGE EVERYBODY SHARES' BUT IT IS 'MY NATIVE LANGUAGE': LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG STUDENTS IN INTERNATIONALIZING HIGHER EDUCATION

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English is 'the language everybody shares' but it is 'my native language': language ideologies and interpersonal relationships among students in internationalizing higher education

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the roles of different language ideologies—sets of common-sense beliefs about language and its speakers—in students' identity construction and negotiation in the context of internationalizing higher education. Along with the increasing diversity of students as English speakers, language ideologies have been critically examined for potential contribution to inequalities among students. I analyze two focus group discussions of students from international English-medium instruction master's programs at a Finnish university. I explore the students' talk using critical discursive psychology to illuminate possible intersections between language ideologies and students' situated identity construction, paying attention to ideological dilemmas alongside students' identity negotiation. The findings indicate that both emerging and established language ideologies may become relevant to students' identity construction and negotiation. Possibly, turning students' attention towards the multilinguality of every student and the specific purposes and characteristics of academic language might contribute to the discursive sustainability of inclusive interpersonal relationships among students.

Tässä artikkelissa tarkastellaan eri kieli-ideologioiden—eli arkisten kieltä ja sen puhujia koskevien uskomusten—rooleja opiskelijoiden identiteetin rakentamisessa ja neuvotteluissa kansainvälistyvän korkeakoulutuksen kontekstissa. Englanninkielisten opiskelijoiden lisääntyvän monimuotoisuuden myötä kieli-ideologioita on tutkittu mahdollisena opiskelijoiden välisen epätasa-arvon rakentajana. Analysoin kahta fokusryhmäkeskustelua, joiden osallistujat ovat erään suomalaisen yliopiston kansainvälisten englanninkielisten maisteriohjelmien opiskelijoita. Tutkin opiskelijoiden puhetta kriittisen diskursiivisen psykologian avulla tarkoituksenani ymmärtää mahdollisia yhtymäkohtia kieli-ideologioiden ja opiskelijoiden identiteetin rakentamisen välillä. Kiinnitän erityisesti huomiota opiskelijoiden identiteettineuvotteluihin liittyviin ideologisiin dilemmoihin. Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että sekä uudet että vakiintuneet kieleen liittyvät ideologiat voivat tulla merkityksellisiksi opiskelijoiden identiteetin rakentamisessa ja neuvotteluissa. Pohdin, kuinka opiskelijoiden huomion kiinnittäminen jokaisen opiskelijan monikielisyyteen ja akateemisen kielen erityisiin tarkoituksiin ja ominaisuuksiin saattaa edistää opiskelijoiden välisten osallistavien vuorovaikutussuhteiden diskursiivista kestävyyttä.

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This article has been corrected with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.

Introduction

This paper examines the roles of different language ideologies in students' identity construction and negotiation in the context of internationalizing and Englishizing higher education. Language ideologies are, simply put, sets of common-sense beliefs about language and its speakers that might contribute to inequalities by hierarchically categorizing people into different linguistic groups (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). With the growing diversity of students as English speakers, the notion of English as a lingua franca has been increasing its presence in higher education. This notion defies the taken-for-granted idea of reserving the authenticity of English for those who are recognized as speaking English as the first language, the so-called 'native speakers' of English (see e.g. Björkman, 2011; Jenkins, 2014). People get labeled as 'native' or 'non-native' speakers of English based on their membership or non-membership in English-speaking national or ethnic communities rather than their proficiency in English (see Doerr, 2009). It would be reasonable to challenge the utility and legitimacy of the categories of 'native' and 'non-native' speakers in higher education, where students' language proficiency is most likely concerned. Nevertheless, even in Nordic universities, many of which are major providers of international English-medium instruction (EMI) programs (Henriksen et al., 2019), 'native-speaker' norms of English are prevalent in not only university language policies (e.g. Saarinen & Nikula, 2013) but also students' discourses (e.g. Kuteeva, 2014; McCambridge & Saarinen, 2015).

This current coexistence of the conflicting views of English in internationalizing higher education makes me ponder the possible meanings of different language ideologies in interpersonal relationships among students. Language ideologies are, in principle, matters of intergroup relations, in that they provide social categories by mediating between ideas about language and people (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). However, these ideologies may also be consequential to interpersonal relationships because membership in social categories can become part of a person's identity through interaction (Stokoe, 2012). Bucholtz and Hall (2005) propose approaching 'identity as a relational and socio-cultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories' (p. 585–586). Furthermore, in shedding light on the intersection between intercultural communication and lingua franca communication (especially in English), Zhu (2015) argues that people are likely to negotiate their national or ethnic identities when interacting with others in a lingua franca. It is therefore meaningful to address language ideologies with respect to identity construction and negotiation of students in international EMI programs.

In this paper, I analyze two focus group discussions of students from international master's programs at the University of Jyväskylä in Finland (JYU) through the lenses of language ideology and identity. This specific Nordic university was chosen as a research site because, through the university's active incorporation of recent findings in applied linguistics research into its language policies and practices, JYU students are likely to be exposed to emerging as well as more established language ideologies. I am interested in different kinds of interpersonal relationships among students being collaboratively created through language ideologies as the students talk in small groups. The discussion theme was interpersonal relationships among students in the participants' programs, in connection with language practices and proficiency. I analyze the students' talk using critical discursive psychology to illuminate possible intersections between language ideologies and students' identity construction. I pay special attention to ideological dilemmas—dilemmas among different co-occurring ideologies—alongside students' identity negotiation. The findings will enhance our understanding of how students may navigate their interpersonal relationships with their peers in international EMI programs of higher education today. The research questions are: (1) What language ideologies become relevant to students' discursive construction of their identities in international master's programs at JYU? (2) How do the students negotiate their identities when an ideological dilemma occurs?

Theoretical framework

Given that what we label as intercultural communication can be inherently multilingual (see Piller, 2011), people's linguistic practices, repertoires, and backgrounds are expected to be crucial in intercultural communication. I therefore recognize the importance of exploring language ideologies in identity construction from an intercultural communication perspective, and this paper demonstrates one way of doing such an exploration.

Language ideologies, intergroup relations and interpersonal relationships, and identity

With a critical view of the role of language in the social world, Irvine defines language ideology as 'the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (1989, p. 255). Language ideologies may explicitly or implicitly inform us of ideas about who should be using what language and how, in terms of characteristics, roles, status, rights, obligations, and affections (Kroskrity, 2010). Hence, when people interact with one another by means of speaking or writing, language ideologies available in everyday and scientific discourses at the institutional and societal level may become discursive resources for social categorization. People may draw on different linguistic practices, repertoires, and backgrounds to categorize themselves into in- and out-groups—thus constructing and rationalizing specific intergroup relations (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Indeed, language ideologies primarily pertain to intergroup relations; however, they may also be relevant to interpersonal relationships, in light of the process of identity construction, and I am interested in the intersection of these different levels of relationship.

In communication research, intergroup relations are conceived as constructed through the enactment of social identity (i.e. membership in social categories such as ethnicity and social class), and interpersonal relationships through that of personal identity (i.e. idiosyncratic characteristics; Gudykunst, 2005). Nevertheless, matters of large-scale intergroup relations may become relevant to interpersonal relationships in local interactional contexts through the enactment of identity. At any point of a social interaction between two or more persons, their membership in social categories might be brought up or acted upon—thus momentarily turning the interpersonal interaction into an intergroup one. Accordingly, in the last two decades, a growing number of discourse studies have attended to both macro-level categorizational and micro-level sequential aspects of social interaction by utilizing a combination of membership categorization analysis and conversation analysis (see Stokoe, 2012).

In line with this methodological development, this paper addresses the relevance of language ideologies to interpersonal relationships among students along with their identity construction in locally situated interactions. I argue that it is important to examine language ideologies as discursive building blocks for people to construct their identities to make sense of their interpersonal relationships with others, seeing language as shaping social processes of power and inequality and vice versa (Heller et al., 2018).

Language and identity in intercultural communication

Piller (2011) notes that intercultural communication (by means of speaking or writing) is marked by multilingual practices, and points to language choice and language proficiency as crucial aspects of intercultural communication in both practical and ideological senses. Notably, multilingual practices are most likely interpreted as the concurrent use of multiple national or ethnic languages in intercultural interactions, given that intercultural communication is often regarded as involving people with different national or ethnic backgrounds (regardless of whether presupposed, emergent, or negotiated) in intercultural communication studies (e.g. Piller, 2011; Zhu, 2015).

The notion of language as national or ethnic language—a fixed social construct—has long been taken for granted for the formation and maintenance of nation-states (see Anderson, 2006). In recent years, however, multilingualism based on such a monolingual view of national or ethnic membership has been challenged as (re)constructing discursive and material inequalities among people in the globalizing society (e.g. Makoni & Pennycook, 2012; Nikula et al., 2012). In this vein, sociolinguistic aspects of English have been receiving a great deal of scholarly attention. For example, Holliday (2006) coined the term *native-speakerism* to problematize inequalities between those who are recognized as so-labeled 'native' and 'non-native' speakers of English. Alternatively, some inclusive views of English, such as *English as a lingua franca* (Jenkins, 2015) and *lingua franca English* (Canagarajah, 2007), have been introduced to empower anyone who speaks English in their own right. I support the virtue of inclusiveness in lingua franca discourses; however, I also wonder if this shift can accommodate the complexity of the social reality for many of us who still live in the world of nation-states (see Billig, 1995). I find the coexisting conflicting views of English in internationalizing higher education intriguing in terms of how students as language speakers navigate their interpersonal relationships.

In the last ten years, some scholars with critical attitudes towards intercultural communication studies (e.g., Dervin & Liddicoat, 2013; Piller, 2011) have been encouraging examining 'who makes culture relevant to whom in which context for which purposes' (Piller, 2011, p. 13) in order to address inequalities disguised by 'cultural differences'. Here, 'culture' refers to something related to national or ethnic membership of interactants, acknowledging that what makes communication intercultural is often the involvement of people from different national or ethnic groups (as explained above). Zhu (2015) claims that it is important to negotiate frames of reference and national or ethnic identities for the engagement in intercultural and lingua franca communication. Furthermore, Liddicoat (2016) identifies inequalities between the so-labeled 'native' and 'non-native' speakers as being co-constructed in interpersonal interactions by both those who benefit from native-speakerism and those who do not. To address the complexity of identity in relation to language as practice and ideology, the notion of language as languaging—a fluid and dynamic practice—has been proposed to reconceptualize language, for instance through the concepts of *translanguaging* (Li, 2018) and *metrolingualism* (Makoni & Pennycook, 2012; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010). Metrolingualism is defined as 'creative linguistic conditions across space and borders of culture, history and politics, as a way to move beyond current terms such as *multilingualism* and *multiculturalism*' (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 244, emphasis in original).

Supposedly, internationalizing higher education where English is used as the primary (academic) lingua franca may turn out to be one of the common settings of intercultural and lingua franca communication. Therefore, I set out to examine the roles of different language ideologies in identity construction and negotiation in interpersonal interactions among students in international EMI programs.

Methodology

This study takes a social constructionist approach. I understand language as constituting and being constituted in social realities (Burr, 2015), and I also consider the interrelationship between language and power (see Heller et al., 2018). People are likely to be afforded multiple versions of their identities through social interaction, some of which might be contradictory, and people as language speakers may be consciously or subconsciously engaging in some power-plays. In acknowledging the emergent, relational, and dilemmatic nature of the social world and the dynamics of power and inequality, I analyze focus group discussions with the framework of critical discursive psychology.

Critical discursive psychology

Critical discursive psychology (CDP) is a type of social constructionist discourse analysis in the critical paradigm, but it takes an ethnomethodological approach to talk and text (Wiggins, 2017). This unique combination of theory-guided and data-driven analysis allows examining manifestations of large-scale societal issues in locally situated interactions to critically examine different versions of social reality constructed in talk and text, and thus elucidating the intersection between macro- and micro-level discourses (e.g. Edley, 2001). CDP uses the key analytical concepts of *interpretative repertoires*, *subject positions*, and *ideological dilemmas*. Interpretative repertoires are common-sense descriptions or explanations about objects, actions, and events, which are comprised of easily recognizable themes, places, and tropes (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell, 1998). Interpretative repertoires connect wider societal discourse to situated discourse, 'providing a basis for shared social understanding' (Edley, 2001, p. 198). These repertoires serve as discursive building blocks of social reality, each repertoire offering a different version of reality (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell, 1998). Once interpretative repertoires are employed in talk and text, they afford people specific subject positions as their identities in discourse (Edley, 2001; Wetherell, 1998). Since different repertoires offer different subject positions, ideological dilemmas may be created when there are inconsistencies or contradictions among the different repertoires co-occurring in a particular talk or text (Edley, 2001). These dilemmas socially produce 'more than one possible ideal world', which requires 'an assessment of conflicting values' (Billig et al., 1988, p. 163). Billig et al. (1988) claim that these dilemmas cannot be resolved and can only be handled by changing the topic of discussion.

The three analytical concepts of CDP can be reasonably applied to the exploration of language ideologies. As reviewed above, language ideologies are beliefs widely shared in society that describe or explain language structure and use and people as language speakers. These ideologies may create language-related social categories, and thus afford people specific subject positions based on their linguistic practices, repertoires, and backgrounds. Some language ideologies may contradict one another, and in such a case ideological dilemmas are likely to be created for people. In short, language ideologies can be regarded as interpretative repertoires about language and its speakers. CDP therefore helps identify language ideologies (large-scale societal issues) relevant to students' discursive construction and negotiation of their identities (locally situated interactions). I find the concept of ideological dilemmas particularly useful for this study to explore contradictory versions of the social reality of students that are possibly produced by different co-occurring language ideologies. The findings will offer insights into the ways in which different language ideologies may act as discursive resources for students to navigate their interpersonal relationships with their peers in the context of today's internationalizing higher education where English serves as the primary (academic) lingua franca.

Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions are a method of qualitative data collection which utilizes a group discussion 'focused' around the research topic of interest or a set of relevant issues (Wilkinson, 2016, p. 84). They are commonly used as data sources in CDP studies (e.g. Edley, 2001) to increase the accessibility to on-topic talk (Edwards & Stokoe, 2004). Although some controversy persists regarding the naturalness of interaction in interviews including focus group discussions, I see these types of interaction as forming 'a specific discursive space' in and of itself (Nikander, 2012, p. 410). As Morgan (2012) summarizes, the focus of analysis has traditionally been on content ('what is said') of discussions, rather than process ('how it is said'). In recent years, the importance of addressing the connection between the substantive content and the interactive process has been increasingly emphasized (Morgan, 2012). This paper, which combines focus group discussions with CDP, is in line with this shift, in that CDP attends to both content and process of interaction (as explained

above). I am interested in how different kinds of interpersonal relationships among students are collaboratively created through language ideologies as students chat in small groups.

Data set

Two focus group discussions of students from international master's programs at JYU are explored in this study. JYU is a Finnish multidisciplinary university with 6 faculties and 17 international master's programs taught in English in different disciplines (including a joint program with other European universities). Both local and international students are eligible to study in those programs. Of particular note, JYU has been active in integrating recent findings in applied linguistics research into its language policies and practices (e.g. language requirements for admission). It is likely that these policies and practices are exposing JYU students to emerging as well as more established language ideologies. I find JYU interesting as a research site to study the meanings of language ideologies in the social reality of students.

The focus group discussions were conducted in Spring 2021. I recruited participants through a mailing list of the international master's programs, a few lecturers in those programs, Facebook pages of a few JYU student communities, and a newsletter of the student union of JYU. I asked potential participants to come with one or two of their program peers to have a group discussion about interpersonal relationships among students in their programs, in connection with language practices and proficiency. Eventually, two groups of students voluntarily participated in the study (3 participants in Group 1 and 2 participants in Group 2). I did not collect any demographic profile of the participants (e.g. which program they were in, where they were from). The sessions were conducted in English via Zoom for about one hour (52 minutes in Group 1 and 67 minutes in Group 2). All the participants had their cameras on during the sessions. I provided the following topics as prompts to facilitate discussion: (1) people in your program and the languages they speak, (2) the atmosphere in your program group, (3) doing group work with people in your program (in general/with some particular experiences), (4) interacting with your program peers on campus outside the classroom (in general/with some particular experiences), (5) language proficiency and academic success in your program, and (6) language and friendship with your program peers. In both sessions, I introduced the topics one by one in the chat box over the course of the discussion. After covering all the topics, the participants were given an opportunity to elaborate on some of the topics and also start a new talk according to their interest.

My role in both sessions was to take care of administrative matters as the meeting host, not to moderate the discussion. I had my camera off during the discussion, and I did not ask any follow-up questions to steer the discussion, or offer further explanation on each topic or term. With the participants' permission, I video-recorded the Zoom sessions using the program's own recording function, and later transcribed the recordings using Gail Jefferson's transcript symbols (2004; see Appendix) with some modifications. The transcript of Group 1 is 43 pages long, and that of Group 2 is 45 pages long.

Data analysis

In this study, I take language ideologies as interpretative repertoires about language and people as language speakers, students' identities as subject positions, and contradictory co-occurring language ideologies as ideological dilemmas. First, I went over the recordings to search for different ways of talking about language and students (e.g. ideas about who speaks what language among students in the participants' programs, roles of different languages for the students in different interactional situations on campus, their language practices and proficiency expected from one another for everyday and academic purposes). I then examined patterns across these different descriptions to identify language ideologies, taking an ethnomethodological, inductive approach although I was already familiar with some common language ideologies in both everyday and scientific discourses

about internationalization of higher education. At the same time, I addressed the construction of the students in the participants' programs as language speakers. In order to identify these specific students' identities, I paid attention to the participants' use of pronouns in different descriptions about the students. By doing so, I shed light on some possible intersections between the students' situated identity construction in my data and language ideologies pervasive in internationalization of higher education. Lastly, I examined inconsistencies or contradictions among different language ideologies co-occurring in the participants' talk to search for ideological dilemmas and possibly accompanying identity negotiation of the participants. Throughout the analysis, I attended to interpersonal relationships (including power relations) among the students in the participants' programs, in acknowledging identity as relational (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

Findings

My analysis identifies some common language ideologies based on the established notion of language as national or ethnic language in the participants' identity construction across the two student focus group discussions (see Figure 1). First of all, *national language ideologies* mediate between languages as first languages and membership in specific national or ethnic communities to construct students as *members of specific national or ethnic communities*. In contrast, *lingua franca ideologies* legitimize the use of languages as lingua francas to present students as *speakers of specific languages as lingua francas*. Accordingly, *multilingualism* acknowledges the coexistence of different languages as first languages or lingua francas in students' linguistic repertoires to portray students as *multilinguals*. Lastly, *native-speakerism of English* gives the authority on English to students who are recognized as speaking English as the first language over those who are not, classifying students as either so-called '*native' or 'non-native' speakers of English*. Despite the prevalence of these ideologies, the emerging notion of language as languaging is also present in the discussions. The notion of *languaging* with a focus on purposes of language use distinguishes academic from everyday language in the use of linguistic repertoires to construct students as *students*.

In both group discussions, ideological dilemmas occur to apparently complicate the identity construction of the participants who regard English as their first language when the notion of English as a lingua franca is paired with the notion of English as a national or ethnic language or native-speakerism of English (see Figure 1). However, multilingualism or the notion of languaging is identified as enabling the participants to reconstruct their identities, and thus the dilemmas are seemingly managed in the participants' identity negotiation. In what follows, I will explain how my analysis identifies these ideologies in the two focus group discussions with respect to the

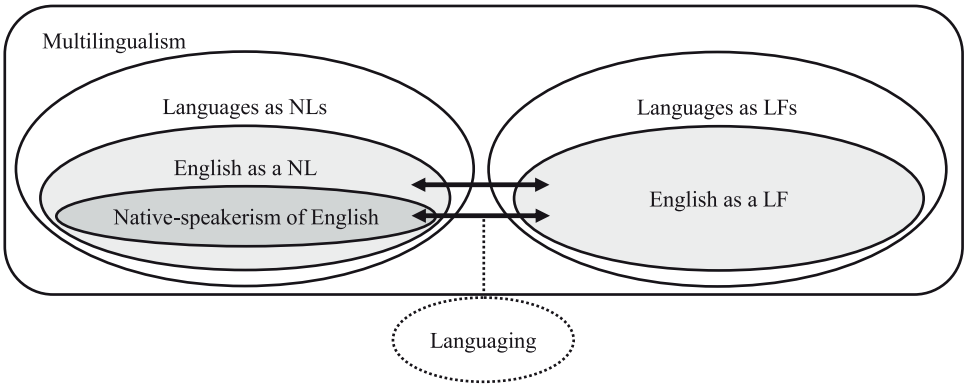

Figure 1. Language ideologies in the student focus group discussions.

Note. solid figures–language ideologies based on the notion of language as national or ethnic language, dotted figure–the notion of language as languaging, double arrows–ideological dilemmas, NL–national or ethnic language, LF–lingua franca.

participants' identity construction of themselves and their peers, paying attention to the management of ideological dilemmas alongside the participants' identity negotiation.

Multilingualism for inclusion with a dilemma of being speakers of English as the first language

National language ideologies, lingua franca ideologies, and multilingualism appear to be enabling the participants in both group discussions to describe the student linguistic demographics of their programs. In Group 1, for example, these ideologies can be identified during the discussion on the first topic '*people in your program and the languages they speak*' (Extract 1):

Extract 1–Group 1 (Topic 1: people in your program and the languages they speak)

```
1     S2:    we have a quite international program?
2     S3:    [ mm hm
3     S1:    [ mm hm
((Lines 4-11 omitted))
12    S3:    yeah I think (.) a lot of us are also j- um Finnish (.) Finnish
13           [ (unclear)
14    S1:    [ mmm ((nods))
15    S2:    [ ((nods))
((Lines 16-26 omitted))
27    S3:    one from Ne- Nepal and (.) u:m (.) Pakista:n =
28    S1:    =and they actually speak the same language?
29    S3:    ((nods)) right
((Lines 30-35 omitted))
36    S1:    and then there is (1) I I feel a lot of people who speak or
37           understand German?
38    S3:    mm hm (.) those [ who studied (.) [ like learn (unclear)
39    S2:                    [ mmm ((nods))
40    S1:                                      [ ((nods))
41    S3:    high school (.) in [ high school
42    S2:                       [ mmm ((nods))
((Lines 43-69 omitted, some more named languages were listed))
70    S1:    but I guess that (.) everybody somehow speaks at least (.) or
71           has learnt (.) one or more foreign languages in their life?
72           (.)
73    S3:    mmm [ ((nods)) =
74    S2:       [ ((nods)) =
75    S1:    =or (.) I think we' re (.) have people who speak quite many
76           languages?
77    S2:    ((nods))
78    S3:    [ yeah
79    S2:    [ yeah (.) that' s true
```

S2 succinctly describes the participants' program as 'a quite international program' (Line 1 in Extract 1), which is contrasted with 'Finnish' (i.e. locals) by S3 (Line 12 in Extract 1). S3 lists a few more nationalities or ethnicities—'one from Nepal and Pakistan' (Line 27 in Extract 1). Language is defined as national or ethnic language when the subject of talk changes from nationality or ethnicity to language in S1's comment on the language of the peers from Nepal and Pakistan —'they actually speak the same language' (Line 28 in Extract 1). The notion of lingua franca appears soon after S1 refers to 'a lot of people who speak or understand German' (Lines 36–37 in Extract 1). S3's subsequent phrases—'those who studied' and 'learn in high school' (Lines 38–41 in Extract 1)—clarify those students as being recognized as speakers of German as a lingua franca, rather than their first language to claim membership in German-speaking national or ethnic communities. To conclude the topic, S1 portrays the students as a group of multilinguals who speak at least one language as a lingua franca in addition to their first language(s)—'everybody somehow speaks or at least has learnt one or more foreign languages in their life' (Lines 70–71 in Extract 1); 'we're people who speak quite many languages' (Lines 75–76 in Extract 1). Given the initial description of the program

as 'a quite international program', multilingualism complements internationality in the talk. Multilingualism can therefore be interpreted as a discursive resource for inclusive interpersonal relationships in the international groups of students from different national or ethnic communities with different linguistic repertoires.

Multilingualism in both group discussions apparently pivots around English, in that it is pronounced as the lingua franca among the students (in fact, the discussion was conducted in English). This centrality of English seems to result in creating a dilemma between the notions of English as a lingua franca and English as a national or ethnic language when English is claimed to be someone's first language. In Group 2, the ideological dilemma and its management can be spotted in the discussion on the first topic '*people in your program and the languages they speak*' (Extract 2):

Extract 2–Group 2 (Topic 1: people in your program and the languages they speak)

```
1   S4:  so we speak quite many (1) it' s a quite diverse group even though
2        it' s very[ small
3   S5:           [ ((nods))
4   S5:  (.) yeah (.) I would say ((scratches her nose)) (.) I mean (.) most
5        (.) er (.) everyone exc- I think I' m the only person who speaks
6        English[ as the first language in our program but[ (.) er (.)
7   S4:         [ ((nods))                                 [ yeah
8   S5:  English is the (.) like (.) the language that everybody shares
9        [ and that we study in (.) u:m
10  S4:  [ ((nods))
((Lines 11-45 omitted, more detailed information was provided on the
 students' linguistic repertoires))
46  S5:  yeah (.) I always (.) I feel like the hhh[ eh ((laughs)) the
47  S4:                                            [ eh ((laughs))
48  S5:  (.) the one the one (.) L1 speaker (.) in our group of
49       [ English (.) I just get to benefit from that ehh ((laughs))
50  S4:  [ (unclear) ((muted))
51  S4:  the chosen one[ ehh ((laughs))
52  S5:                [ .hh ehh ((laughs)) (.) .hh
53  S4:  but you speak German as well and
54  S5:  yeah ((lifts her eyebrows))
```

S4 describes the students in the participants' program as 'speak[ing] quite many [languages]' (Line 1 in Extract 2) and portrays them as 'a quite diverse group' (Line 1 in Extract 2). Considering that language is already defined as national or ethnic language at the beginning of the discussion, the adjective 'diverse' here can mean international. Subsequently, S5 claims to be 'the only person who speaks English as the first language' (Lines 5–6 in Extract 2). The prefatory phrases 'I would say' and 'I mean' (Line 4 in Extract 2) imply her hesitation to make such a claim. She then quickly repronounces English as 'the language that everybody shares and that [the students] study in' (Lines 8–9 in Extract 2). The conjunction 'but' (Line 6 in Extract 2) between the two views of English indicates the dilemma between the notions of English as a national or ethnic language and English as a lingua franca. Later on, S5 again presents herself as 'the one L1 speaker in [the participants'] group of English' (Lines 48–49 in Extract 2), and further describes her position as beneficial—'I just get to benefit from that' (Line 49 in Extract 2). Although she does not specify what benefit she gets and how she gets it, her remark emphasizes the possible risk of jeopardizing the inclusion of her as part of the group of students as speakers of English as the lingua franca by the differentiation of her as a member of an English-speaking national or ethnic community from her peers. S4 first acknowledges this differentiation by reusing her word 'the one' in his phrase 'the chosen one' (Line 51 in Extract 2). But then, he draws attention to 'German' in her linguistic repertoire (Line 53 in Extract 2), which she accepts (Line 54 in Extract 2). At this moment, S5 is reconstructed as a multilingual who speaks English as the first language and German as a lingua franca to be recognized as part of the international group of students. The ideological dilemma is seemingly managed along with this identity negotiation by shifting attention from English to German. Hence, multilingualism with a focus on languages other than English can be seen as discursively enhancing

inclusive interpersonal relationships in the international groups of students who communicate in English as the lingua franca.

Yet, whether those who regard English as their first language can be acknowledged as multilinguals or not seems to depend on how proficient they are expected to be in (an) other language(s). In Group 1, being a multilingual is defined narrowly in the discussion on the last topic '*language and friendship with your program peers*' (Extract 3), and broadly in the last phase of the discussion session when the participants talk freely about the importance of learning local languages to understand local people while being abroad (Extract 4):

Extract 3–Group 1 (Topic 6: language and friendship with your program peers)

```
1    S2:   [ ((puckers her mouth)) (.)[ hh ((laughs)) it just depends how
2    S3:   [ ((smiles))
3    S1:                              [ ((smiles))
4    S2:   fluent you are[ like (.) you are so fluent in English and
5    S1:                 [ ((nods))
6    S2:   Finnish and German[ that (.) ((laughs, lifts her hands))
7    S1:                     [ ((smiles))
8    S3:                     [ ((smiles))
((Lines 9-17 omitted))
18   S2:   =yeah for me like my Finnish vocabulary is not good enough
19         [ but (.) I (.) it' s too difficult for me to[ really ((smiles))
20   S1:   [ ((nods                                    [ ((smiles))
```

Extract 4–Group 1 (free discussion)

```
1   S3:  yeah is that why you[ try to learn different
2   S2:                      [ I don' t know ((smiles))
3   S1:                      [ (unclear) ((muted, smiles))
4   S3:  um many languages ((smiles, moves her hands, pulls her hair
5        behind her ear))
6        (.)
7   S2:  [ I mean (.)[ ehh ((laughs, scratches her forehead)) (.) I I en-
8   S3:  [ (unclear) ((muted, smiles))
9   S1:        [ ((smiles))
10  S2:  I enjoy learning and[ I love culture (.)
11  S1:                      [ ((nods))
12  S3:                      [ ((nods, smiles))
```

S2 expresses admiration for S1's linguistic competence—'you are so fluent in English and Finnish and German' (Lines 4–6 in Extract 3). S2 then assesses her Finnish vocabulary as 'not good enough' (Line 18 in Extract 3). In this sequence of talk, she defines being a multilingual as being proficient in multiple languages for everyday communication, like S1. S2 thus fails to construct herself as a multilingual, highlighting her low proficiency in Finnish. After a while, in the last phase of the discussion session, S3 points to many languages in S2's linguistic repertoire—'is that why you try to learn different many languages' (Lines 1–5 in Extract 4). S2 ambiguously approves S3's comment—'I mean I enjoy learning and I love culture' (Lines 7–10 in Extract 4). In this segment of talk, being a multilingual is redefined as speaking multiple languages regardless of proficiency. Here, S2 is reconstructed as a multilingual. This identity negotiation suggests that, by removing the threshold for language proficiency, multilingualism can be made more inclusive in the international groups of students when those who regard English as their first language assess their proficiency in languages other than English relatively low.

Languaging for inclusion with a dilemma of being so-called 'native' speakers of English

In both group discussions, a dilemma seems to be created between the notion of English as a lingua franca and native-speakerism of English when English is claimed to be someone's first language as to proficiency for academic purposes. For instance, the ideological dilemma can be found in the

discussion of Group 1 on the fifth topic '*language proficiency and academic success in your program*' (Extract 5):

Extract 5–Group 1 (Topic 5: language proficiency and academic success in your program)

```
1   S1:  mmm I think we all have a quite good level of English (.)
2        [ and I also guessed that otherwise we wouldn' t have been
3   S3:  [ ((nods))
4   S2:  [ ((nods))
5   S1:  accepted to this program anyway?
6   S2:  mm hm=
7   S1:  =or wouldn' t have applied
8        (.)
9   S2:  yeah
10       (1)
11  S1:  and especially has worked also talking (.) with each other in
12       English for the whole time
13       (5)
14  S2:  yeah I guess I (.) I just can' t imagine studying not in my
15       native language[ (.) and it really impresses me that people can
16  S1:                 [ ((smiles))
17  S2:  do a whole master' s program in English?
18       (.)
19  S3:  mmm=
```

S1 portrays the students in the participants' program as equally proficient speakers of English in her assessment on their English proficiency—'we all have a quite good level of English … otherwise we wouldn't have been accepted to this program anyway or wouldn't have applied' (Lines 1–7 in Extract 5). After a long pause, however, S2 pronounces English as '[her] native language' (Lines 14–15 in Extract 5), and then assesses her peers' academic performance in English—'it really impresses me that people can do a whole master's program in English' (Lines 15–17 in Extract 7). In this sequence of talk, a link is established between S2's authority on English over her peers and her membership in an English-speaking national or ethnic community. The contrasting descriptions by S1 and S2 of the students' English proficiency for academic purposes can be interpreted as displaying the dilemma between the notion of English as a lingua franca and native-speakerism of English. This dilemma implies that the inclusion of all the students as speakers of English as the lingua franca is potentially jeopardized by a hierarchical relationship between S2 as a so-called 'native' speaker of English and her peers as 'non-native' speakers. Nevertheless, this possible risk is not explicitly brought up in the participants' talk.

Meanwhile, such a risk is articulated by S5 in Group 2 during the discussion on the third topic '*doing group work with people in your program*' (Extract 6):

Extract 6–Group 2 (Topic 3: doing group work with people in your program)

```
1   S5:  and I don' t even (.) er I will say the only thing that I like worry
2        about[ because English is my first language ((laughs))
3   S4:       [ ((nods))
4   S5:  [ (.)            .hh is like normally[ eh ((laughs)) .hh
5   S4:  [ ((smiles)) yeah                    [ ((nods))
6   S5:  if I see that something is incorrect ((moves her hand)) grammar-wise
7        or whatever else[ (.) I would just go behind ((moves her hand))
8   S4:                  [ yeah
9   S5:  people and fix it (.)[ but (.) when eh ((laughs))[ .hh when it
10  S4:                    [ yeah                        [ ((laughs))
11  S5:  questions you for all you are the only person that has English
12       as the first language ((puts her hand on her chest))[ (.) and
13  S4:                                                      [ yeah
14  S5:  this becomes (.) it has ((moves her hand)) like a different
15       [ tone ehh ((laughs)) .hh ehh ((laughs)) it' s like ((laughs))=
16  S4:  [ ((nods))
```

```
17  S4:  =no: I don' t ((smiles)) (.) think[ like that
18  S5:                                    [ mmm
19  S5:  I mean maybe you wouldn' t but you never want to like ((smiles)) (.)
20       er: I don' t know you don' t wanna insult someone (.) er accident-
```

S5 expresses her worry about being a person who speaks English as '[her] first language' (Line 2 in Extract 6) in a hypothetical situation in which she corrects her peers' English without telling them —'if I see that something is incorrect grammar-wise or whatever else I would just go behind people and fix it' (Lines 6–9 in Extract 6). This sequence of talk indicates that she gives the authority on English to herself as a member of an English-speaking national or ethnic community. She continues to say that being 'the only person that has English as the first language … has a different tone' (Lines 11–15 in Extract 6). Despite S4's disagreement with her—'no I don't think like that' (Line 17 in Extract 6), S5 problematizes her supposed role as a language checker for her peers, pointing to the possibility that she might 'insult someone accidentally' (Line 20 in Extract 6) by secretly correcting their English. Many fillers (e.g. 'it's like', 'I mean', 'maybe you wouldn't but', 'you never want to like', 'I don't know'; Lines 15–20 in Extract 6) imply her hesitation to articulate such a worry. In this segment of talk, native-speakerism of English seems to be enabling S5 to hypothetically construct and also problematize herself as a so-called 'native' speaker of English in contrast to her peers as 'non-native' speakers. The two group discussions taken together indicate that native-speakerism of English can be seen as a necessary but controversial resource for the identity construction of those who regard English as their first language in the international groups of students who study together in English as the lingua franca.

As seen above, the participants in both group discussions center on English when the topics are related to language use for academic purposes, and correspondingly multilingualism cannot be identified as highly relevant to their identity construction. Instead, the notion of languaging can be identified alongside native-speakerism of English, for example, during the discussion of Group 2 on the fifth topic '*language proficiency and academic success in your program*' (Extract 7):

Extract 7–Group 2 (Topic 5: language proficiency and academic success in your program)

```
1     S5:    and the (.) the other thing is like (.) it' s (.) er: (.) as far
2            as like academic success (.) I mean that' s really about like er
3            (.) academic (.)[ er (.) English and like a very[ (.) I mean
4     S4:                     [ ((nods))                     [ mm
5     S5:    (.) u:m (.) you know (.) specific terms (.) a:nd (.) u:m (.)
6            certain kinds of of knowledge that[ (.)
7     S4:                                      [ mm
8     S5:    I mean[ that like things I also (.) didn' t know[ (.) u:m
9     S4:          [ ((rests his chin on his hands))        [ mm
((Lines 10-45 omitted, the difficulty of academic English is discussed))
46    S5:    u:m (.)[ I I think sometime it' s hard to distinguish like the:
47    S4:           [ ((scratches his face))
48    S5:    (.)[ like general (.) proficiency from like the: (.) learning
49    S4:       [ ((rests his chin on his hand))
50    S5:    about (.) academic style writing[ and (.) er[ (.)
51    S4:                                    [ ((nods))  [ mm
```

S5 characterizes 'academic English' with 'specific terms and certain kinds of knowledge' that are 'things [she] also didn't know' (Lines 3–8 in Extract 7). The specific purposes and characteristics of academic language are emphasized in such a description of academic English. As shown in the phrase 'I also' (Line 8 in Extract 7), she singles herself out as an exception among the students in the participants' program, constructing herself as a person who would be expected to know those characteristics of academic English. S5 seems to be differentiating herself as a so-called 'native' speaker of English from her peers as 'non-native' speakers, given her earlier construction of herself and her peers as such. At the same time, she is including herself as part of the group of students who are learning academic English. In a sense, the very short phrase 'I also' captures a moment when S5

is reconstructing herself and her peers equally as students by shifting the focus from national or ethnic categories of language to purposes of language use. This identity negotiation can be interpreted as putting native-speakerism of English and the notion of English as a lingua franca aside to result in the management of the dilemma between these two ideologies, both of which are bound to English, a named language. It also suggests the notion of languaging as a discursive resource for inclusive interpersonal relationships in the international groups of students who use English as the academic lingua franca. That said, a clear-cut distinction between academic and everyday languages seems unlikely, as S5 expresses difficulty in distinguishing 'general [language] proficiency' from 'academic style writing' (Lines 46–50 in Extract 7).

Discussion

My analysis identifies national language ideologies, lingua franca ideologies, multilingualism, native-speakerism of English, and the notion of languaging as relevant to students' discursive construction of their identities in the two groups of students from international master's programs at JYU. In particular, the notion of English as a lingua franca prevails throughout the discussions, creating dilemmas when paired with the notion of English as a national or ethnic language or native-speakerism of English. These ideological dilemmas apparently put the participants who regard English as their first language in a difficult position when they construct their identities. Inclusive interpersonal relationships between them and their peers (all as speakers of English as the lingua franca) are potentially jeopardized by divisive or hierarchical interpersonal relationships between them and their peers (as members and non-members of English-speaking national or ethnic communities or as so-called 'native' and 'non-native' speakers of English). There are nevertheless moments where those specific participants are reconstructed as multilinguals just like their peers, or all of them as students, by shifting attention from English to other languages and from national or ethnic categories of language to purposes of language use. Seemingly, this identity negotiation as a result of emphasizing multilingualism or the notion of languaging enables the dilemmas to be managed, leading to the discursive maintenance of inclusive interpersonal relationships among the students in the participants' programs.

In the early phase of the discussions, the participants and their peers are constructed as multilinguals who speak at least one language as a lingua franca as well as their first language(s). This suggests that the established notion of language as national or ethnic language (Anderson, 2006) is likely to serve students in international EMI programs as the default framework of identity in terms of language. Although the monolingual view of national or ethnic membership has been challenged as disregarding the fluid and dynamic nature of linguistic practices and identity construction (e.g. Li, 2018; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), multilingualism based on such a view of language and people may be essential for students to highlight their internationality when they are all recognized as English speakers regardless of membership in different national or ethnic communities. On the one hand, this traditional, conventional understanding of multilingualism might enable students to see themselves as an international group of multilinguals. On the other hand, it might (re)construct in- and out-groups and also hierarchies among languages and speakers of those languages in the student community. Nikula et al. (2012) have pointed out this risk in their explanation of 'monolingual multilingualism': 'the representation of languages as hierarchical entities of *our, national, foreign* and so on, which implies that languages are learned and used separately, each in their own sphere' (p. 61, emphasis in original).

The central position of English as the primary (academic) lingua franca most likely contributes to the construction of not only inclusive but also divisive and hierarchical interpersonal relationships among students. Over the last few decades, stakeholders of internationalization of higher education, including students, have been encouraged to see English as a lingua franca for its theoretical inclusiveness (e.g. Björkman, 2011; Jenkins, 2014). In practice, however, the notion of English as a lingua franca may not always support the inclusion of all students as English speakers, as illustrated by the ideological dilemmas about English in this study. Students who regard English as their first language

may differentiate themselves and/or be differentiated from their peers based on their membership in English-speaking national or ethnic communities, and furthermore, this differentiation might create a hierarchy between them and their peers as so-called 'native' and 'non-native' speakers of English. Notably, despite the fact that native-speakerism of English has been receiving criticism for its artificial and prejudicial nature (e.g, Holliday, 2006), none of the participants in both group discussions seems to be fully accepting the hierarchy nor directly challenging it. Rather, the hierarchical interpersonal relationships are co-constructed in the discussions (see Liddicoat, 2016). This co-construction implies that the participants who regard some language(s) other than English as their first language(s) are enacting respect for their peers' claim of membership in English-speaking national or ethnic communities, which is afforded by native-speakerism (see Doerr, 2009).

Meanwhile, inclusive interpersonal relationships among the students in the participants' programs are maintained in both discussions, seemingly by emphasizing multilingualism or the emerging notion of language as languaging, as seen in the participants' identity negotiation. Interestingly, this is in line with two major suggestions made in recent literature. From a perspective of linguistic diversity (see Piller, 2016), Jenkins and Leung (2019) stress the importance of multilingual resources of students who regard English as their first language to enhance communication and equality among students in international universities where English is used as the primary (academic) lingua franca. Similarly, Jenkins emphasizes multilinguality in her recent definition of English as a lingua franca: 'multilingual communication in which English is available as a contact language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen' (2015, p. 73). Yet, as the case of Group 2 indicates, to what extent multilingualism can be inclusive is subject to whether a threshold for language proficiency is set or not. As another suggestion, recent studies on university language policies call attention to the specific purposes and characteristics of academic language (e.g. Kuteeva, 2014; Leung et al., 2016) and discipline-specific linguistic practices (e.g. Airey et al., 2017), which are not necessarily tied to national or ethnic categories of language. However, such categories may often be more salient than the distinction between academic and everyday languages, given the difficulty of clearly distinguishing academic from everyday language, as pointed out by Group 1.

Overall, I find it valuable to learn that multilingualism (with a focus on languages other than English) and the notion of languaging (with a focus on purposes of language use) may play important discursive roles in sustaining inclusive interpersonal relationships among students in internationalizing and Englishizing higher education. The flexible use of emerging and established language ideologies may allow students to 'accommodate both fixity and fluidity' of their identities as language speakers (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 252). The findings suggest that turning students' attention towards the multilinguality of every student and the specific purposes and characteristics of academic language might encourage students to see themselves all as multilingual students for enhanced inclusion—rather than solidifying themselves as English speakers for division and hierarchy along with inclusion. In doing so, the ideological dilemmas about English might be managed although they cannot be resolved (see Billig et al., 1988). These implications align with Amadasi and Holliday's (2017) argument on intercultural narratives—students need to be encouraged to nurture 'thread narratives that resonate across boundaries to reveal shared cultural creativity' rather than 'block narratives that restrict, separate, and maintain essentialist boundaries' (p. 258) for creative engagement with others in new environments. Lecturers and universities may consider these points in their classrooms and institutional language policies and practices to provide inclusive learning environments for diverse students.

To conclude, I would like to note that the participants in this study might have been highly motivated to demonstrate their fellowship or friendship during the group discussions, taking into account that they were recruited as groups of program peers who agreed on sharing their talk about interpersonal relationships among students in their programs. Indeed, it requires further research to examine if the kinds of relationships students wish to create with their peers might determine the ways in which different language ideologies are made relevant to students' identity construction and negotiation, and/or vice versa.

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Appendix

Transcription symbols

(.)	brief interval
(2)	interval in seconds
=	no break or gap
:	stretched sounds
underlined	emphasis
?	rising intonation
.hh	inbreath
[	overlapping talk
(unclear)	unclear utterances
(())	transcriber's descriptions

III

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN A FINNISH UNIVERSITY STUDENT UNION'S FACEBOOK COMMUNICATION PRACTICES

by

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Language ideologies in a Finnish university student union's Facebook communication practices

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines language ideologies – sets of normative beliefs about language and its speakers – in a Finnish university student union's Facebook communication practices. Prior research has discussed how today's Nordic universities appear to be caught in an ideological tension between the preservation of ethnolinguistic nationalism and the pursuit of internationalization through the use of English. We are interested in the case of university student unions in the changing landscape of communication practices today. We analyzed the student union's Facebook posts using critical discursive psychology. Our analysis identifies the university's Finnish–English bilingualism as discursively affording an ambiguous kind of inclusion to students as Finnish-speaking/local and English-speaking/international students, and also social media communication as possibly contributing to the inclusion of all students as social media users. We argue that multimodal affordances of social media may act as an alternative discursive resource for inclusive intergroup relations among students in a student organization on an international campus.

KEYWORDS

Critical discursive psychology; internationalization of higher education; language ideologies; multimodality; social media; student union

Introduction

This paper explores how different language ideologies – sets of normative beliefs about language and its speakers – manifest in a Finnish student union's communication practices in social media. In a number of non-English-speaking countries, English-medium instruction has been adopted as a common strategy to internationalize higher education (see Macaro et al. 2018). A similar development has also taken place within the context of our study – that of Nordic countries in general and Finland in particular. In this transformation, university student unions in Finland may be facing issues related to language ideologies because these ideologies might create inequalities among linguistically diverse students by mediating "between social structures and forms of talk" (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, 55).

In recent years, Nordic countries have increasingly seen the greater presence of English in their scientific domains as a threat to Nordic languages (Davidsen-Nielsen 2008). The

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contrast between English and Nordic languages here implies an ideological tension between the preservation of ethnolinguistic nationalism and the pursuit of internationalization through the use of English. Saarinen and Taalas (2017) identified this tension in language policies in Nordic higher education at the national and institutional levels. Given the social function of language ideologies, today's Nordic universities most likely need to juggle different language ideologies to strive for equality among students with different linguistic backgrounds (see Shirahata and Lahti 2023 for the case of a Finnish university). In this paper, we explore how this tension might manifest itself in the communication activities of university-embedded student unions.

The rapid development of communication technology – the global expansion of the Internet in the 1990s and social media in the 2000s – has been changing the landscape of communication practices (see Herring and Androutsopoulos 2015). Zhou, Su, and Liu (2021) argue for the importance of investigating how people combine various traditional and new modes of communication (e.g. face-to-face conversations, phone calls, text messages) to maintain relationships with their partners, families, friends, colleagues, and/or acquaintances. It is thus worthwhile to pay attention to these changes in communication practices when examining language ideologies in higher education today, where many individual students and student organizations extensively rely on social media in their day-to-day communication.

We explore, as a case, language ideologies and accompanying intergroup relations among students in social media communication practices of the Student Union of the University of Jyväskylä, Finland (Jyväskylän yliopiston ylioppilaskunta, JYY). The University of Jyväskylä (Jyväskylän yliopisto, JYU) had approximately 14,051 degree students in 2021, out of whom 561 (4%) were categorized as "international students".[1] In addition, there are typically between 300 and 500 incoming exchange students yearly. Up front, JYU seems to create a paradoxical vision of their language policy (Jyväskylän Yliopisto 2015b, 1): "Jyväskylän yliopisto on perinteiltään vahvasti suomenkielinen, mutta monikielinen ja kulttuurinen akateeminen yhteisö" [The University of Jyväskylä has a strong Finnish-speaking tradition, but is a multilingual and multicultural academic community; authors' own translation]. This ambiguity, including its practical implications, is not explicitly addressed in university documents. Meanwhile, the student union JYY openly pronounce the challenges of the parallel use of Finnish and English in their equality plan:

> The Universities Act defines Finnish as JYY's official language (The Universities Act 558/2009, 46 §). As the resources allow, JYY aims to use English as often as possible in communication. However, JYY communication is not entirely bilingual. This puts international students in a weaker position in relation to Finnish speaking students. However, the student union aims to actively reduce these differences by paying attention to non-Finnish speakers in its communication. (Student Union of University of Jyväskylä 2019, 8)

In the equality plan, JYY officially admit that the ideal or complete parallel use of Finnish and English is difficult to implement in the organization's everyday activities although they are aware that the use of Finnish only excludes non-Finnish-speaking ("international") students in the community's communication. We are intrigued by JYY's plea to "actively reduce" everyday acts of linguistic exclusion. We therefore find it relevant to explore language ideologies that are traceable from JYY's communication practices in social media, and how intergroup relations among students representing different language

backgrounds are discursively constructed through these ideologies. We chose to analyze JYY's Facebook posts using critical discursive psychology. This social constructionist discourse analysis allows addressing manifestations of language ideologies in local communication practices and also attending to possible dilemmas among different co-occurring ideologies. The findings shed light on how language ideologies may be constructed via multimodal social media practices as discursive resources for complex intergroup relations among students on Finnish university campuses today. We engage with the following questions: (1) What language ideologies are constructed in JYY's Facebook posts? (2) What intergroup relations do these language ideologies discursively afford to students?

Language ideologies as practical and lived

Our study is informed by the understanding of language ideologies as sets of meanings according to language and its presumed speakers, where groups of language speakers come to be associated with specific qualities, rights, and obligations (e.g. Irvine 1989). Language ideologies often function as "a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk" (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, 55). People consciously or subconsciously make references to these ideologies when bringing up different group memberships (e.g. nationality or ethnicity) in interactions with others. At the broader societal level, language ideologies have long been considered crucial for the construction of national or ethnic identities (see Kroskrity 2010). Piller (2011) claims that language proficiency and language choice are likely to be one of the major sources of inequality in so-called intercultural communication. She argues that underpinning natural language use is "a system of choices to which speakers enjoy differential levels of access" (144).

In higher education today, the expansion of English-medium instruction in non-English-speaking countries has been propelling an ideological shift concerning English, from reserving English as the language of specific English-speaking countries to acknowledging English as a lingua franca. The construct of "native and non-native speakers" of English (see Holliday 2006) that privileges some groups of people over others has been problematized. Instead, seeing English as a lingua franca has been advocated to enhance equality on international campuses (e.g. Jenkins 2018). This situation of the English language leads to and is led by the paradigm shift in the field of applied linguistics from defining language as named languages to highlighting the fluidity of linguistic practices in interaction (e.g. Makoni and Pennycook 2007).

Rather than formal language ideologies, we are interested in lived ideologies (see Billig et al. 1988) represented in popular ideas about language produced and reproduced in different spheres of social interaction from media and policy, through organizational communication and social media to mundane everyday conversation. Language ideologies represented in individual persons' language practices have been argued to be more consequential to language practices of a community than language planning or management (e.g. Lo Bianco 2008; Spolsky 2004). Such lived ideologies are morally and politically loaded as they construct a version of the social world aligned with a specific point of view while suppressing others (e.g. Gal 2006). Since they are shared and widely circulated, they come to be viewed as commonsensical and a mere representation of some objective and natural state of affairs (e.g. Kraft and Lønsmann 2018). However, it is also important to consider that persons and groups might draw on more than one lived

ideology to justify and normalize their conduct depending on the needs of the unfolding situation (Kraft and Lønsmann 2018); in this way, we see lived ideologies as practical, and we acknowledge their fragmented and potentially contradictory character (see e.g. Wetherell, Stiven, and Potter 1987).

We further see that such practical lived ideologies can be talked into being explicitly through expressing ideas or sharing accounts about the social dimension of language; they can also be constructed implicitly through systematically enacting certain linguistic choices in interactions with others. To take this thinking to the context of our study, we have noticed that JYY rarely explicitly discuss issues of language in their Facebook posts. The union's lived ideologies concerning the social dimension of language can be inferred from a systematic study of how JYY select specific linguistic and visual means to communicate about specific topics with their audience(s).

Multimodal affordances of social media

The context in which this paper is set is that of online communication, here specifically social media. Social media offers its users a variety of communicative *affordances* (see Gibson [1986] 2015). In their clearest form, such affordances appear as pre-designed templates or functionalities that instill possibilities and constraints for communication. There is, in other words, an interdependence between the way social media is designed and the way it is used (Jovanovic and Van Leeuwen 2018). Social media communication is typically multimodal in nature. It may, for example, mix (moving) images with writing and a specific kind of layout, and include music or other types of sound. Together, these form *modal ensembles* of meaning (Kress 2010, 159). In his explanation about multimodal discourse analysis, Kress (2012) emphasizes the importance of looking into all modes of communication, seeing language as "always a partial bearer of the meaning of a textual/semiotic whole" (38). Herring (2018) proposes such an analytic approach specifically to discourse analysis of computer-mediated communication, which has become increasingly multimodal with the emergence of new features (e.g. emojis, stickers, GIFs, video clips). In our study of language ideologies, we cover multiple modes of communication that JYY utilize in their Facebook posts.

A specific kind of visual mode typical for social media is the *emoji* (絵文字: 絵 *e* "picture" + 文字 *moji* "letter, character"), a graphical symbol that depicts for example faces or objects. Emojis were originally created for a Japanese mobile communication platform in the late 1990s, and they are now available on various mobile and web platforms worldwide. As summarized by Danesi (2016) and others (Bai et al. 2019; Tang and Hew 2019), emojis have orthographic and semantic structure and pragmatic functions: functioning as punctuation marks, referring to concepts, expressing emotions, playfulness, and intimacy, adding nuance and tone to text, etc. Emojis may seem to represent a kind of universal "language" of online media, where a standardized list is kept up by the Unicode Consortium[2] (Danesi 2016; Moschini 2016). However, in reality, there is considerable variation both between how emojis appear across platforms as well as how they are interpreted by individual users (Miller et al. 2016). There also seem to be differences in the interpretation and use of emojis across different geographical and linguistic communities (Barbieri et al. 2016; Ge and Herring 2018). Nevertheless, we agree that emojis serve as a

universal semiotic resource for computer-mediated communication to a considerable extent (Danesi 2016).

Social media interaction often mixes aspects of private and public communication (Jovanovic and Van Leeuwen 2018). This is also the case with Facebook, and here especially its "pages" that are meant for communities or organizations. Facebook pages represent the type of one-to-many social media where the receivers are not truly known to the sender of the message. Since pages such as the one of JYY are public, anyone using Facebook can follow them.

Methodology

Critical discursive psychology

We apply the framework of critical discursive psychology (CDP) that offers a communicative reading of traditional psychological concepts (such as social categories) by redefining them as discursive resources that can be drawn upon in text and talk to construct social order (Potter and Wetherell 1987; Wiggins 2017). Central to this approach is the idea that text and talk on any topic can be inconsistent and even dilemmatic (e.g. Wetherell 1996). CDP has typically been applied to examine topical talk in researcher-provoked data, such as in the analysis of interview and focus group data where the participants have been asked to discuss specific themes (e.g. Seymour-Smith, Wetherell, and Phoenix 2002). Applications of CDP to naturally occurring data, and especially under the theme of language ideologies, are rare (for exceptions, see Shirahata and Lahti 2023).

We see that the notion of lived practical ideologies in which we are interested is akin to CDP's analytical concept of *interpretative repertoires*. We adapt the concept to our needs by both expanding and narrowing it down. Just as interpretative repertoires have been defined as commonsensical and recognizable storylines, descriptions or accounts employed to deal with a specific topic (e.g. Wetherell 1996), we *expand* this definition to also include patterned systematic ways of selecting specific linguistic and visual means to communicate about specific topics (for some examples of CDP being used to analyze visual images, see Burke 2018; Lennon and Kilby 2020). By the same token, we *narrow* the concept of interpretative repertoires down by departing from the notion of the commonsensical as typically defined in CDP (i.e. with relation to some broader sociocultural context, e.g. Wiggins 2017). Instead, we treat the commonsensical as local and locally accounted for: what appears to be commonsensical (reoccurring, patterned, accountable) within the scope of our data set. In this way, our application of CDP is purely inductive, and it acquires a strong ethnomethodological flavor. In line with CDP, our analysis remains poised on identifying potential *ideological dilemmas* or cracks and inconsistencies among different co-occurring language ideologies (e.g. Wetherell 1996).

Data set

Membership in JYY is compulsory for bachelor's and master's degree students of the University of Jyväskylä to register for attendance each academic year (it is optional for doctoral and exchange students). JYY use a number of communication channels: Facebook (7.1 K followers), Twitter (2,226 followers), Instagram (4,567 followers), LinkedIn, their own website, newsletters, and periodicals. We chose JYY's Facebook posts as our data source for the following reasons: we are interested in language ideologies with respect

to recent communication practices as well as more established ones; the number of the followers of JYY's Facebook page is noticeably bigger than those of the union's other social media sites; and JYY's Facebook page is public and open to anyone, even those without a Facebook account.

Our data set consists of Facebook posts created by JYY from July 2021 (a month before the beginning of the academic year 2021/22) to June 2022 (a month after the end of most courses during the academic year). Within this time frame, JYY published 218 posts. In this study, given our interest in multimodality or the cooccurrence of linguistic and visual means in social media communication, we decided to focus on the posts that include both text and visual imagery (190 posts), which resulted in removing the posts with only text or visual imagery (28 posts altogether: 25 with only visual imagery and 3 with only text) from our data. While we acknowledge that all text is multimodal with typographic elements such as layout, typeface, or font size, these elements are out of the scope of this study. We also excluded reactions and comments to the posts from the analysis. Hyperlinks were followed when available to better understand the content and meaning of the posts. In our initial analysis, we classified the posts into five genres: event/election/survey/meeting announcements and reports (116 posts), open position advertisements (31), administrative/practical information provisions (23), greetings/appeals (18), and sustainability campaigns (2).

Data analysis

In our analysis, language ideologies were regarded as interpretative repertoires identifiable through recognizing patterned ways of selecting specific linguistic and visual means to communicate about specific topics. We saw different language ideologies as different interpretative repertoires about language and its speakers. When it comes to CDP's analytical concept of subject positions, we approached it as constructions of student groups together with their characteristics, rights and obligations as language speakers. We acknowledged that subject positions can be produced explicitly through direct references to groups, but also implicitly through mentions of qualities, activities, or responsibilities commonsensically associated with some groups. We also considered how communication practices such as selecting a specific language in creating a post on a specific topic construct subject positions through implying a specific student group with a specific language proficiency as the audience of the post. Last but not least, we addressed possible discrepancies or conflicts among the identified language ideologies as ideological dilemmas. Keeping in mind that CDP uniquely combines theory-guided and data-driven analysis, we attempted to illuminate the aspect of local communication practices as manifestations of language ideologies or large-scale societal beliefs.

The first author was primarily responsible for the analysis, and the second and third authors assisted her by discussing the analytic choices with her. The first author went through the selected JYY's Facebook posts to inductively identify patterns in JYY's communication practices (e.g. which languages are used and how visible they are, whether emojis are used or not, what types of visual images are accompanied by text, whether hyperlinks are available or not). She then examined patterns in the matters featured in the posts in terms of the social and political context and language use, in order to address JYY's contextualized language use. In this way, she elucidated language

ideologies that may be underpinning JYY's language use on the Facebook platform. She also explored JYY's use of emojis, visual images, and hyperlinks along with languages so as to identify language ideologies that are associated with recent communication practices in social media. In the process of identifying language ideologies along with JYY's communication practices, the first author also tried to determine what student groups are implied as the audiences of JYY's Facebook posts. Through the construction of these student groups within the JYY community, at the same time, certain types of intergroup relations among students are established. In some cases, students may be categorized as belonging to one big group, leading to inclusion; in other cases, students may be divided into in- and out-groups resulting in mutual exclusion. Finally, the first author examined the interrelationships among the language ideologies for possible discrepancies or ideological dilemmas.

Findings

Figure 1 visualizes the language ideologies in JYY's Facebook posts that we have identified. Overall, we see the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international language as together forming Finnish–English bilingualism. This bilingualism discursively affords both inclusive and mutually exclusive intergroup relations to students in the community: the inclusion of all students who speak either Finnish or English and the mutual exclusion of Finnish-speaking/local students and English-speaking/international students in the community. The inclusive relation is based on the view of Finnish and English as means of communication, whereas the mutually exclusive relation is based on the view of Finnish and English as conduits for localness and internationality respectively. The construction of a clear distinction between Finnish-speaking students as "local" and English-speaking students as "international" creates a dilemma between the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international language within JYY's Finnish–English bilingualism. Meanwhile, social media communication as a shared means of communication is identified as possibly challenging the division of students constructed through the use of Finnish and English, allowing JYY to mitigate the ideological dilemma for the inclusion of all students as social media users. In the following, we will examine several empirical examples to illustrate how the identified language ideologies are locally deployed in JYY's Facebook posts. We will first focus on languages,

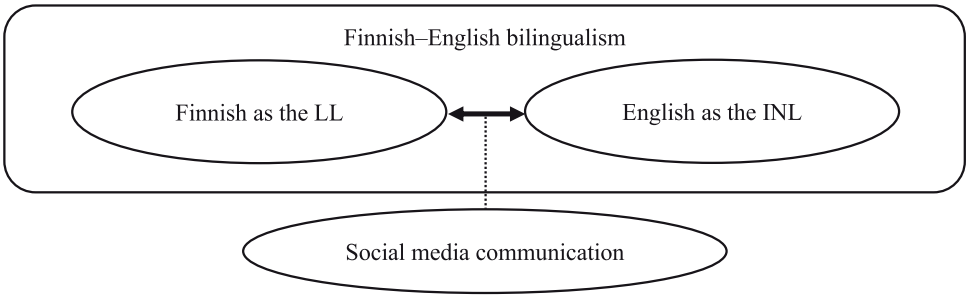

Figure 1. Language ideologies in JYY's Facebook posts. Note: solid figures – language ideologies, double arrow – ideological dilemma, LL – local language, INL – international language.

and will then move onto emojis, visual images (illustrations, photos, and videos), and hyperlinks.

JYY's Finnish–English bilingual language use prioritizing Finnish over English: integrating English-speaking students into the primarily Finnish-speaking JYY community

Table 1 maps out the patterns of JYY's language use in text and accompanying visual images of their Facebook posts. In almost all the cases (186/190 posts) both Finnish and English are used in text, and in most cases (146/190) Finnish and English are used in parallel. For example, the post in Figure 2 notifies the JYY community of the easier access to COVID-19 vaccination service in the local region. It provides the same information in the Finnish and English texts although there are some form-level differences (e.g. a positive or negative form, a suggestion or question form) between the two language versions. This typical pattern of JYY's language use in Facebook presents Finnish and English as the working languages of JYY. The members of JYY are thus assumed to speak either Finnish or English. However, the two languages have different status – Finnish acts as the primary working language, and English as the additional one. This hierarchical relation between the two named languages is easily noticeable from the fact that Finnish text is always displayed ahead of English text. This order is usually signaled by the symbol (FI/EN) at the beginning of the main text, as in Figure 2.

The higher status of Finnish over English is also evident from the imbalanced presence of the two languages in the main text and the accompanying visual image(s) in JYY's posts as a whole (see Table 1). As well as many posts in which Finnish and English are used simultaneously in text, there are posts in which the Finnish text is longer and contains more detail than the English text (11/190), or full information is given in Finnish but only a short summarizing note is provided in English (29/190). There are no reverse cases. Furthermore, while there are some posts in which only Finnish is used in text (4/190), there is not a single post in which only English is used. As to accompanying visual images, only Finnish is used in image captions in many posts (83/190) although there are also many posts in which Finnish and English are simultaneously used in image captions (50/190). In some posts (23/190), the Finnish caption is longer and contains more detail than the English caption, but not vice versa. There is only one post in which only English is used in the image caption (the post announces a Christmas fair by a local civic organization committed to international development cooperation).

In light of the hierarchical relation between Finnish and English across JYY's Facebook posts, it can be inferred that Finnish speakers are the primary audience although English

Table 1. JYY's language use in their Facebook posts.

		Image caption					
		No text	FI/EN	FI > EN	FI	EN	Total
Text	FI/EN	31	43	23	48	1	146
	FI > EN		6		5		11
	FI*EN	2	1		26		29
	FI				4		4
	Total	33	50	23	83	1	190

Note. FI/EN – Finnish and English simultaneously used; FI > EN – Finnish used more than English; FI*EN – Finnish used with a short summarizing note in English; FI – only Finnish used; EN – only English used.

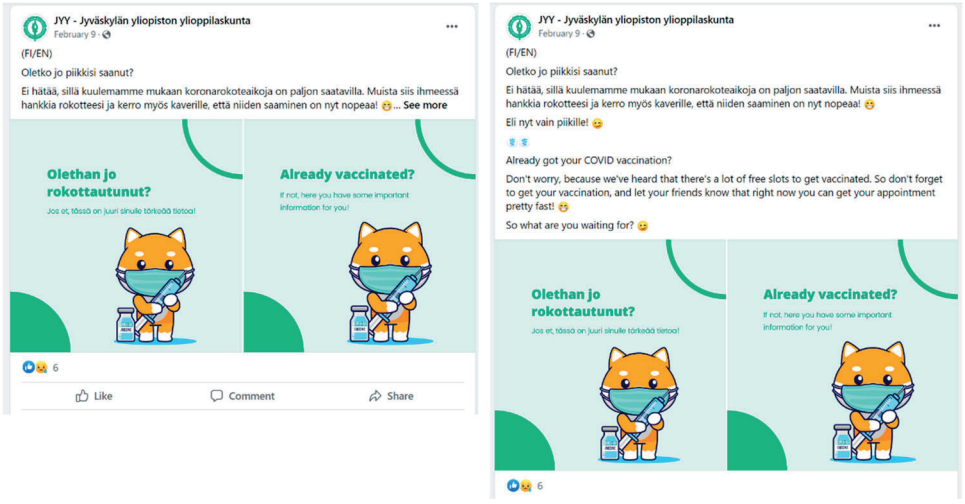

Figure 2. A post about COVID-19 vaccination information.

speakers are also considered part of the audience. In other words, Finnish-speaking students are placed in the center of the JYY community, and English-speaking students in the periphery. JYY nevertheless use Finnish and English in parallel in most of their posts. Therefore, JYY's Finnish–English bilingual language use in their posts can be taken as an attempt to integrate English-speaking students with limited proficiency in Finnish into the primarily Finnish-speaking community.

JYY's Finnish–English bilingualism with a dilemma between Finnish as the local language and English as the international language: inclusion of all as Finnish- or English-speaking students or mutual exclusion of local and international students in the JYY community

We will now move on to examine the patterns of the matters that JYY feature in their Facebook posts in terms of the social and political context and language use. In doing so, we will address language ideologies that may be embedded in JYY's Finnish–English bilingual language use prioritizing Finnish over English. The social and political

Table 2. The matters featured in JYY's Facebook posts.

		Language use						
		FI/EN/SV	FI/EN	FI > EN	FI	EN > FI	EN	Total
Social and political context	JYY (& JYU, etc.)		39	92	15			146
	JYU		5	5	2	6		18
	Regional		2	6	4		1	13
	National	2	8	1				11
	EU		1					1
	Global					1		1
	Total	2	55	104	21	7	1	190

Note. FI/EN/SV – Finnish, English, and Swedish equally used; FI/EN – Finnish and English equally used; FI > EN – Finnish used more than English; FI – Finnish exclusively used; EN > FI – English used more than Finnish; EN – English exclusively used.

context and language use in the featured matters are notified explicitly or implicitly within the posts and/or by the linked information.

As summarized in Table 2, JYY's posts feature not only JYY's own matters but also the university's (JYU's), regional, national, EU, and global matters. This broader range of the contexts locates JYY in a specific university, region, country, and continent. As to the language use, the posts that are about local matters – JYY's, the university's, regional, or national ones (125/190 posts, see the columns FI > EN and FI in Table 2) – are mostly in Finnish instead of English, which is to be expected. The use of English is expected in only a small number of the matters (8/190, see the columns EN > FI and EN in Table 2), all of which but one (a global matter) are the university's or regional matters that have something to do with internationality: the recruitment of JYU's tutors for new international students (5 posts), the recruitment of JYU's student ambassadors who are expected to collaborate with international students (1), and the announcement of a Christmas fair by a local civic organization committed to international development cooperation (1). This greater presence of Finnish over English in the matters featured in JYY's posts indicates that the use of Finnish as the local language is the norm, and the use of English as the international language is occasional. Here, the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international languages are visible, forming Finnish–English bilingualism. This bilingualism can thus be identified as underpinning JYY's Finnish–English bilingual language use in their Facebook posts.

In the previous section, we pointed to the possibility that JYY may be attempting to integrate English-speaking students into the primarily Finnish-speaking community through the employment of English in addition to Finnish as their working languages on the Facebook platform. In this line of analysis, JYY's Finnish–English bilingualism can be regarded as discursively warranting their attempt of integration in the linguistically diverse community. However, a comparison of two specific posts (Figures 3 and 4) challenges this interpretation. The post in Figure 3 announces that JYU is recruiting tutors for

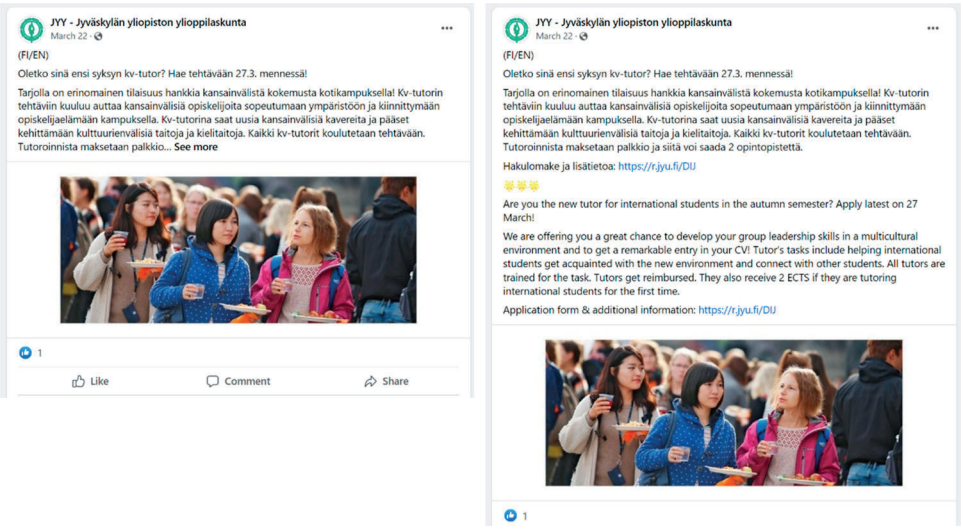

Figure 3. A post about the recruitment of JYU's tutors for international students.

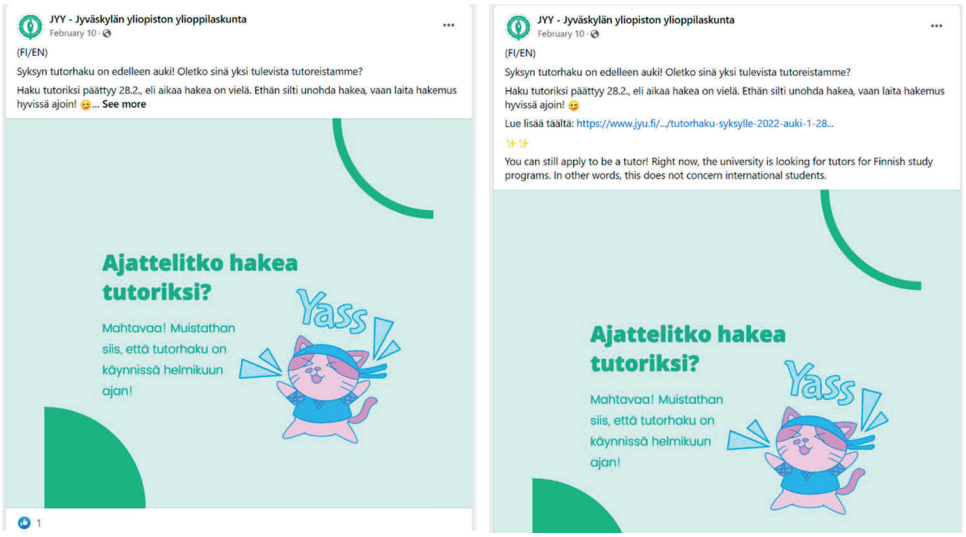

Figure 4. A post about the recruitment of JYU's tutors for Finnish study programs.

new international students. The post itself does not provide any information on the language requirements to be an international tutor, but such information is available through the link to JYU's webpage about the position written in English. On this webpage, "good command of English" is listed as the primary language requirement, and "working knowledge of Finnish" as "an asset" (Jyväskylän Yliopisto 2015a). Apparently, international students are conceived as speakers of English rather than Finnish, and English is construed as the international language, as contrasted with Finnish as the local language. Meanwhile, the post in Figure 4 announces that JYU is recruiting tutors for new students in Finnish study programs. It is clarified here that tutoring students in those programs "does not concern international students", implying that students who speak Finnish are usually conceived as local students. All in all, the members of JYY are classified as either local students who are assumed to speak Finnish, or international students who are assumed to speak English. This classification creates a dilemma between the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international language within JYY's Finnish–English bilingualism. It is not logically possible to see students who speak both Finnish and English as both local and international students, to see students who speak Finnish as international students, or to see students who do not speak Finnish as local students.

When Finnish and English are regarded as mere means of communication, JYY's Finnish–English bilingual language use in their Facebook posts appears to be enabling JYY to integrate English-speaking students into the primarily Finnish-speaking community. However, once Finnish and English are regarded as conduits for localness and internationality respectively, the dilemma arises between the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international language. This results in the construction of a clear distinction between Finnish-speaking students (possibly also proficient in English) as local students and English-speaking students (some of them possibly proficient in Finnish) as international students. Hence, on the one hand, JYY's Finnish–

English bilingualism might act as a discursive resource for the inclusion of all students who speak either Finnish or English, but, on the other hand, it might act as a resource for the mutual exclusion of Finnish-speaking/local students and English-speaking/international students in the community.

JYY's social media communication in their Facebook posts: inclusion of all recipients as social media users

The multimodal nature of social media communication in JYY's Facebook posts may be seen as mitigating the ideological dilemma constructed through their language use. Across their posts, JYY utilize emojis, visual images, and hyperlinks, along with languages. In this section, we will examine the basic properties and functions of emojis, visual images, and hyperlinks in the data. In addition to the posts examined above (Figures 2–4) we include one more post (Figures 5) to illustrate our argument. The post in Figure 5 gives instructions for getting the cloth patch for the student overalls[3] in connection with JYY board elections.

The double use of one type of emoji (💲💲) in the post in Figure 2 and (✨✨) in the posts in Figures 4 and 5 and the triple use of one type of emoji (🌟🌟🌟) in the post in Figure 3 mark off a boundary between the Finnish and English texts within the post. The visual images in the posts in Figures 2 and 4 can be recognized as illustrations, the image in the post in Figure 3 as a photo, and the image in Figure 5 as a video. The use of similar green-colored backgrounds for the illustrations in the posts in Figures 2 and 4 and the video in the post in Figure 5 achieves some degree of cohesion across the JYY's posts in terms of visual design. Likewise, the Finnish and English texts sharing a photo or a video in the posts in Figures 3 and 5 respectively can be interpreted as creating some cohesion within each post. Lastly, the blue underlined URLs in Figures 3–5 should be recognized as hyperlinks for further information. When examining the posts, we had little difficulty in recognizing emojis, visual images, and hyperlinks as such and understanding

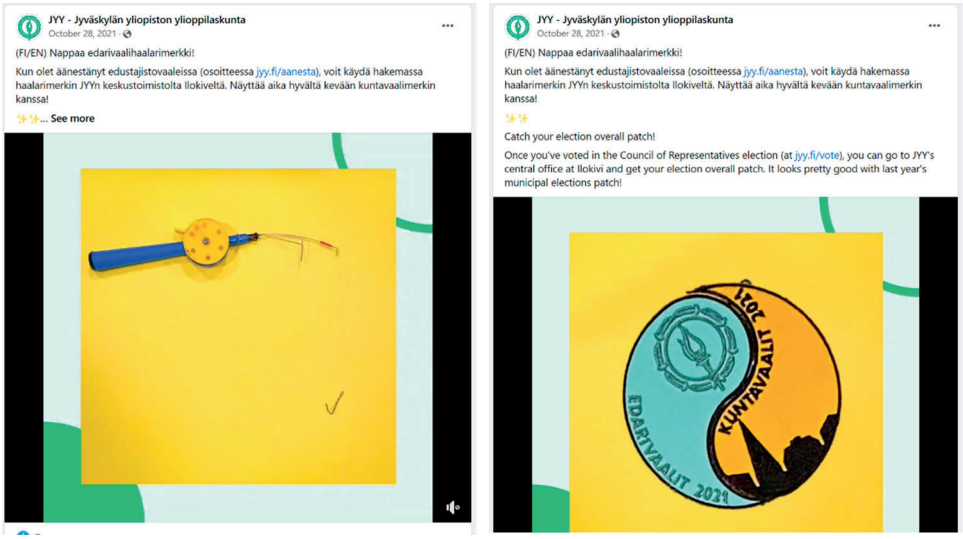

Figure 5. A post about the instructions for getting a specific overall patch.

the basic properties and functions of these symbols. We assume that JYY members should also be able to do so as long as they are familiar with social media communication.

Apparently, emojis, visual images, and hyperlinks are different from languages in property and function and have little to do with the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international language. This point is highlighted in the posts in which Finnish and English are used in parallel. In the post in Figure 2, for example, the same emojis (😁 and 😉) are used in both Finnish and English texts, and the same illustration is displayed as the accompanying visual images, apparently creating a certain degree of cohesion between the two language versions of the post. Language – Finnish or English – is the only difference between the two versions. Hence, both Finnish-speaking/local and English-speaking/international students in the JYY community can be grouped together as social media users. Social media communication as a shared means of communication may be allowing JYY to mitigate the dilemma between the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international language, with respect to intergroup relations among students (as addressed above), for the inclusion of all in the community.

Discussion

Our analysis identifies patterns of the communication practices in JYY's Facebook posts and language ideologies and intergroup relations they entail. In our data set, languages, emojis, visual images, and hyperlinks are utilized as central means of communication. JYY use Finnish and English as the primary and additional working languages to convey the main message. Emojis, visual images, and hyperlinks appear to be creating a certain degree of cohesion between texts in the two named languages. JYY's language use can be seen as constructing Finnish–English bilingualism with a dilemma between the notions of Finnish as the local language and English as the international language. These different language ideologies together can be seen as shaping the image of the student union into an international Finnish university's student community. With respect to intergroup relations among students, JYY's local bilingualism proposes both inclusion of all students who speak either Finnish or English and mutual exclusion of Finnish-speaking/local students and English-speaking/international students. Since a clear distinction between Finnish-speaking students as "local" and English-speaking students as "international" appears to have been established, the mutual exclusion among students is inevitable. Due to this condition, JYY's bilingualism takes an ambiguous character as a resource for inclusion. Meanwhile, the way multimodal affordances are used suggests an attempt to include all students who use social media. Here, social media communication as a shared means of communication seems to offer a possible solution to the ideological dilemma by emphasizing shared symbolic understanding, rather than relying on named languages only.

Prior research has found that native-speakerism of English (Holliday 2006) is often relevant to discussions about students' language use (e.g. Mortensen and Fabricius 2014) as well as institutional language policies (e.g. Jenkins 2014) in internationalizing and "Englishizing" higher education. This language ideology reserves authenticity or legitimacy of the use of English to people who are recognized as "native speakers" of English (Lowe and Pinner 2016), by combining the notions of national or ethnic language and

standard language (Doerr 2009). We hardly see a trace of this ideology in JYY's language use. English is simply construed as an international language or a lingua franca. However, as with other kinds of inclusive views of English, JYY's view of English is unlikely to defy the global spread of English or *normative standard English*, which is "social in character, being connected with capital and power and with the construction of particular kinds of human subjectivities" (O'Regan 2021, 6). Undoubtedly, the use of English as a lingua franca in higher education in non-English-speaking countries has been opening up new opportunities for students with different linguistic backgrounds to socialize and study together. Meanwhile, the political and economic power of English has been solidified. There is a need for further reflection and discussion on how the use of English for internationalization of higher education perpetuates the hegemony of English.

Of particular interest is that the dilemma within JYY's Finnish–English bilingualism creates a kind of dichotomy, and therefore does not allow students who speak both Finnish and English to be seen as both local and international students. Although an individual's language use should not be confined to named languages (Li 2011; Makoni and Pennycook 2007), the working languages of a student organization under the official umbrella of a university most likely act as conduits for localness or internationality to result in the discursive construction of the mutually exclusive intergroup relations between local and international students. Indeed, today's universities are still constructing themselves as national institutions involved in the process of internationalization of higher education through English (see Saarinen and Taalas 2017). In the JYY community, students with the international status who are proficient in Finnish and students with the local status who are proficient in English but not in Finnish are located between groups of international and local students. This situation can be interpreted in both negative and positive ways – those students are either marginalized or they can have the benefit of intergroup mobility.

Social media is characterized by "the cooccurrence or convergence of different modes of communication on a single platform" (Herring and Androutsopoulos 2015, 130). Accordingly, JYY's Facebook communication practices include emojis, visual images, and hyperlinks as well as more traditional language use, highlighting the multimodal nature of communication that has always been present in human communication as in gestures, gaze, facial expressions, etc. (see Jewitt, Bezemer, and O'Halloran 2016). In JYY's Facebook posts, emojis are used across Finnish and English texts. Emojis are at times referred to as a universal language of online media that transcends the boundaries of named languages (Danesi 2016; Moschini 2016). However, we found it challenging to examine the semantic structure and pragmatic functions of emojis in an ethnomethodological approach, and we were only able to identify some orthographic functions. The same applies to hyperlinks; the basic function (i.e. digital referencing for further information) is obvious, but more sophisticated semantics and pragmatics are not. Further research is needed to explore the concept of emojis as a universal "language" although they can stand alone as a unique universal semiotic resource for computer-mediated communication (see Danesi 2016).

Visual images, more than anything else, challenged us to value the ethnomethodological aspects of CDP (see Potter and Wetherell 1987). In the early stage of analysis, we attempted to make interpretations about people featured in photos, only to realize how much we rely on our knowledge and experiences to make inferences about

people on the basis of their appearances. This is because JYY's Facebook posts contained no explanation or interaction concerning the accompanying photos to support our interpretation. Also, since JYY is only a university's student organization, it did not seem reasonable for us to back up our interpretation by drawing on common-sense beliefs widely circulated in society, as in some media discourse studies that applied CDP to examine visual images in news media (e.g. Burke 2018; Lennon and Kilby 2020). A similar difficulty has been noted by Bezemer and Kress (2017), who acknowledge the difficulty of making sense of a video in a teenager's private Facebook post without reading the text in the post; however, the researchers elicited cohesion being produced across different modes of text making. In line with Bezemer and Kress's (2017) finding, the current study suggests that, despite the potential centrality of language on the Facebook platform, multimodal affordances of social media may act as a discursive resource for inclusive intergroup relations among students in a student organization on an international campus, providing an online space for intercultural communication where students with different linguistic backgrounds become aware of and learn about one another (Jones and Hafner 2021).

In the introduction, we took a look at JYY's equality plan to learn their official expression of difficulty in practicing the ideal or complete parallel use of Finnish and English in their everyday activities and the resulting possible exclusion of non-Finnish-speaking students/international students through the use of Finnish only. These concerns are reflected in JYY's Finnish–English bilingualism that affords students both inclusive and exclusive intergroup relations, together with the potential marginalization of or intergroup mobility for students who do not fit in the categories of Finnish-speaking/local students and English-speaking/international students. The university law in Finland recognizes only Finnish and Swedish as the official languages; international students make up only 4% of the student body. Against this social and political backdrop, the construction of a rather perplexing social reality might be seen as a sign of JYY's commitment and efforts to achieving a higher level of inclusion in the student community. It is certainly a challenge to find a balanced approach to language practices on the campus. Going forward, we need more research across a range of societal and linguistic contexts to gain a better understanding of the variety of potential approaches to language ideologies and practices in the ever-more international field of higher education.

Since we expanded the scope of language ideology in this paper by including not only linguistic but also visual means of communication, we were able to elucidate the inclusion of all in the JYY community that is made possible by multimodal affordances, as an alternative to the ambiguous kind of inclusion. When university student unions face language barriers, it would be important to explore different modes of communication, the configurations of traditional and new media (Zhou, Su, and Liu 2021), especially newly available communicative affordances (see Herring 2018), understanding that language accounts only partially for the meaning of text or speech (Kress 2012). This also applies to research. Jovanovic and Van Leeuwen (2018) conclude their study on social media dialogue: "as discourse analysts, we should, at all times, search for both, for constraints as well as for signs of freedom" (697). This is something we strived for in our study as well. We hope that in future studies, scholars will continue exploring the many ways in which multimodal affordances may challenge existing understandings of language practices and ideologies in the context of social media use.

Notes

1. https://www.jyu.fi/tilastot/fi/jy-lukuina
2. https://home.unicode.org/emoji/about-emoji/
3. Student overalls are part of the university student tradition in Finland. Students often collect overall patches by participating in different student events.

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