TRANSLANGUAGING IN A MULTILINGUAL TASK:

University students' strategies and motivation

Master's Thesis

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A situated view of communication and the notion of flexible combining of linguistic resources have in recent years become more central to the study of multilingualism. Central to this view is the idea that speakers cooperate to construct meaning using a range of strategies and resources. However, there is only little research on how this new understanding has influenced language instruction and language students in higher education.

This study aims to make a contribution to filling that gap, using a compulsory multilingual language course offered by the Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication at the University of Jyväskylä as a setting. The aim of the study is to elucidate what strategies of shared meaning construction university students use in a multilingual oral task and what task motivation they experience. The study draws on multilingualism research, particularly on the concepts of translanguaging and translingual practice, to describe students' interactional practices. Task motivation is defined following literature from the field of instructional design.

Students' oral group work in a multilingual task developed by the researcher was recorded and it was examined what strategies the students used to construct meaning together. At a second stage, individual interviews were conducted to investigate task motivation.

The results show that students were able to draw on a range of strategies for meaning negotiation. However, negotiation of interactional terms was limited. Students also experienced overall high levels of task motivation, though the results also showed the continuing impact of more traditional views of language. It is thus suggested that teachers explain the advantages of multilingual tasks and create heterogeneous student groups.

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Translanguaging, translingual practice, higher education, multilingual interaction, task motivation

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Translanguaging in a multilingual task: University students' strategies and motivation

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1 INTRODUCTION

Language and communication skills have long been considered an integral part of higher education in Finland. In addition to their mother tongue, Finnish university students study English and the second national language, i.e. Finnish or Swedish. Traditionally, these language studies have been kept separate from students' subject studies, and formal education has for a long time been characterized by the same view of language as a neatly separable object of study confined to the classroom (Jalkanen and Taalas 2013: 76).

However, along with larger changes such as digitalization and democratization of knowledge, conceptions of language have undergone changes in recent years. The so-called multilingual turn (Meier 2017) has brought with it a range of new concepts. These concepts have in common that they view language as a situated practice (Jalkanen and Taalas 2015: 64). They also tend to take a holistic and dynamic view of bi- and multilingualism, viewing languages not as separate systems equipped with inherent meaning. Instead, "languages [are] inter-related and interdependent in the mind rather than separate" (Meier 2017: 14) and meaning is negotiated in any given situation. The most well-known concept often drawn on in this shifting view of language is that of translanguaging, which denotes both the languaging practices of multilinguals, whereby they flexibly use their linguistic resources as well as a pedagogical approach that views multilinguals to have one integrated repertoire. Together with translingual practice, translanguaging forms the centerpiece of the theoretical framework of this study.

To respond to the numerous social changes and demands, the Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication of the University of Jyväskylä has established the so-called new, integrated structures for communication and language courses. As part of this development project, compulsory language and communication studies are no longer separated by language, but instead focus on different practices using the whole range of students' communicative resources. Among other benefits, this encourages the usage of translanguaging practices. While previous research on the new course model has, for instance, already explored students' views on multilingualism (Pirhonen 2015) and the benefits of a multilingual approach to academic writing (Kuitunen and Carolan 2019), it still remains to be explored what negotiation practices students draw on in a multilingual oral task. This is exacerbated by the fact that there are only few studies about dynamic multilingualism in higher education (Jalkanen 2017), with the few

existing studies on translanguaging practices at higher-education level mostly based in non-Western locations and in strongly multilingual settings (Mazak and Carol 2017).

Previous research has shown that translingual practitioners and lingua franca users make use of a range of strategies to negotiate meaning (Canagarajah 2013, Pitzl 2010, Kaur 2009). However, strategy use will depend not only on ability but also on attitude and effort. For this reason, an examination of strategy use by students in a multilingual oral task was added to by also investigating students' motivation from a task perspective. Motivation in general is an important driving factor in foreign language acquisition in general. However, as Włosowic (2013) argues, it gains even more importance in the context of multilingualism, since the development and maintenance of a larger repertoire require more effort, sustained over a longer period of time. For this study, Keller's (1979, 1983, 2008) ARCS model of motivational design was chosen since it accounts for both task-specific and contextual variables. The model measures motivation by examining the dimensions of attention, relevance, confidence and satisfaction.

Due to the exploratory nature of this research and the increasing calls for more qualitative studies examining motivation in foreign language learning, particularly by practitioners (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011), this thesis takes a qualitative approach. Data both from multilingual classroom interactions and from interviews were collected. While interaction data were analyzed using interactional sociolinguistics, interview data were analyzed using qualitative content analysis. It is hoped that this research will provide insight into the translingual practices students dispose of as well as into students' views on an oral task that incorporates the principles of translanguaging and dynamic multilingualism.

In the following, I will first introduce the theoretical framework, clarifying the concepts of translanguaging, translingual practice and the ARCS model of motivation. This part will also examine previous research on translanguaging in education as well as on translingual practice and lingua franca communication. Since such a qualitative study requires contextualization, the third chapter will be devoted to providing information about language studies in Finnish higher education in general and about the new, integrated structures for communication and language courses in particular. It will also present the task examined for this thesis. After discussing the methodologies selected as well as details of the data collection, the thesis will proceed with the analysis. While both sets of data will primarily be discussed separately, interview data will also be drawn on to describe students' meaning negotiation in the oral task. The findings will be

discussed with a focus on how the task should be modified, restricted or expanded. Finally, the concluding part will summarize the most important findings.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The most important theoretical constructs in this thesis are translanguaging, translingual practice and the ARCS model of instructional design. These theories explain the design of the task examined here as well as how students' experiences with the task are measured. The theories, their underlying assumptions and the most central concepts will be presented in the following before moving on to the study background and design.

2.1 Translanguaging and translingual practice

2.1.1 Emergence of the concepts

The view of language underlying the concepts of translanguaging and translingual practice is the outcome of a historical development process, the beginning point of which is what Canagarajah (2013: 19-27) refers to as the *monolingual orientation to communication,* prevalent particularly in Western societies. This view postulates that only one language at a time can be used to create meaningful communication and holds native speakers to be the "owners" of a language, who establish its norms and determine correct from incorrect. It also believes that "prior language knowledge, and bilingualism in particular, was detrimental to the human mind" (De Angelis and Dewaele 2009: 65) and that multilingualism was a hindrance for the development of the individual. The ideal was a dual monolingualism or additive bilingualism, with speakers shuffling to and from a second language they had added to their existing one(s). Terms associated with this view are, for instance, linguistic interference and code-switching. Cenoz and Jessner (2009: 123) refer to this regime as "elite multilingualism", as it posits the idea of two native-like competences within one speaker. Language pedagogy associated with this orientation only permits the use of one language in the classroom and sees multilingual students as problems or, at the very least, challenges.

The development towards a more modern view of multilingualism is a complex one and the process can only be sketched out here. The most central change to the understanding of multilingualism occurred in the increasing perception of connectedness of skills:

> "Literature suggests a new integrated/crosslingual way of looking at language started around the 1980s, based on the much cited, and at the time visionary, interdependence hypothesis […], arguing that bilinguals have an underlying integrated language proficiency rather than separate monolingual competencies" (Meier 2017: 4).

This view is also referred to as the holistic view of bilingualism, where "the bilingual is not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals, but has a unique linguistic profile" (Baker 2000: 120). This argument was first advanced by Grosjean in the 1980s, who contrasted it with the at the time still dominant so-called fractional view. Another important concept ushering in change was Cummins' concept of the Common Underlying Proficiency (Conteh 2018), which posited the existence of a cognitive interdependence between language systems at a deeper level that allowed for transfer of knowledge and skills. Non-native speakers were now less likely to be seen as deficient versions of native speakers, and partial competence gained valuation. Studies also came to show that metalinguistic awareness is an important factor in explaining the superior learning of further languages by bilinguals, as it leads to the development of learning strategies (Cenoz and Jessner 2009: 126).

The holistic view of bilingualism has since been backed up by findings not only from research in SLA, but also in neuroscience. For instance, it has been demonstrated that people draw on several of their existing language skills, even when actively producing just in one (De Angelis 2007) and draw on their existing knowledge and skills regardless of the language currently in use:

> "From a psycholinguistic perspective, if we view multilinguals' languages as being represented within the individual where cross-linguistic influence is an important part of the dynamic and catalytic system, we see that they are not separable into individual languages." (Kemp 2009: 16).

The relationship between the languages in a speaker's repertoire is complex and, depending on the situation, there may even be more interference of a foreign language with another foreign language than interference of the mother tongue, and two languages may affect production in a third at the same time (De Angelis 2007). Additionally, acquisition has been found not to be sequential, as practices and resources are updated throughout an individual's life. Some fields, such as psycholinguistics or sociolinguistics may draw borders between languages based on sociocultural usage rather than formal traits, further complicating the question of language separation (Kemp 2009).

While Canagarajah (2013) argues that non-Western settings in particular have never fully adhered to the monolingual orientation, he sees the change in orientation in Western countries to be propelled by both migration and technological developments, creating a situation that has been referred to as "superdiversity" (Vertovec 2007). The changed view of language has given rise to a number of concepts to describe language mixing, flexible language use and calling into question the strict separation of languages. Among these terms are polylingualism, transidiomatic practices, metrolingualism, dynamic multilingualism and codemeshing (Garcia and Kano 2014: 260). The space offered in this thesis does not suffice for a detailed presentation of these concepts, but they are abundant to a point where Paulsrud et al. (2017: 15) go so far as to refer to the current state of research as "the post-multilingual world".

Meier (2017) subsumes the emergence of these concepts under the term *multilingual turn,* finding important commonalities in the assumptions underlying those concepts: The view of language learning is often sociocultural or socioconstructivist, seeing learning as arising out of human interaction. Languages and the social world are also connected in that languages have societal implications, being associated with power, norms and established beliefs rather than only being systems of linguistic quality. Languages are seen as deterritorialized resources, used by learners with diverse backgrounds who interact with each other as social practitioners "who construct meaning and new knowledge in social interaction with others" (Meier 2017: 6). Consequently, studies are often performed at the micro level using qualitative methods, investigating how languages are constructed through local practice. The relationship between individuals and their environment is bidirectional, giving language users agency to shape their environment through their language use instead of just being cognitively able vessels. Finally, many concepts are associated with a critical perspective, aiming at social justice and questioning norms and established beliefs, seeing language as a tool of power. This also goes for the separation of disciplines, since studies may bridge e.g. linguistic and educational disciplines.

However, one of the most central changes brought on by the multilingual turn is the new concepts' perception that languages are no longer neatly separable. Meier (2017: 13) sums up the new view of language as being an "integrated, crosslingual, non-linear, heterogeneous, patterned and dynamic" system. An individual's repertoire is multimodal and, importantly, "languages [are] inter-related and interdependent in the mind rather than separate" (Meier 2017: 14). In Meier's view, everyone is a (potential) bi-/multilingualist, since ownership of a language is no longer restricted to its native speakers. Instead of owning languages, people

have access to certain linguistic resources and broaden their linguistic repertoires by doing, using language in a flexible and dynamic view, resulting in what Meier (2017: 16) refers to as "mixed and integrated languages", since new resources are integrated into the existing repertoire.

2.1.2 Defining translanguaging and translingual practice

The concepts of translanguaging and translingual practice, which are at the center of this thesis, can be located as being part of the multilingual turn, as they share many of the views identified as characteristic by Meier (2017). In fact, the concepts are so similar that they will be presented together in the following. According to Rosiers et al. (2018: 15), "translanguaging" is the most commonly used term to describe the new conception of linguistic practices, which is why it shall also be used here. It was originally established in the 1980s by Cen Williams to describe a set of teaching practices allowing for the planned and structured use of more than one language inside a classroom in a Welsh setting where Welsh is the minority language. It entailed e.g. using both English and Welsh in a single task, one at receptive, the other at active level.

The "trans"-part of the concept is interpreted in three ways by Garcia and Wei (2014): Translanguaging refers to practices that cross over socially constructed borders, for instance borders between languages. These practices have a transformational quality, the second dimension of the "trans"-action. Finally, studies on translanguaging are usually transdisciplinary, being grounded in sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics but being applied in and having consequences for SLA.

"Languaging" in turn was first mentioned in 1973. The term and its underlying philosophy show a shift away from structuralism, which viewed language as separate from, and merely descriptive of, reality and the self (as is visible e.g. in the works of Saussure). Instead, a view of languaging posits that "languaging both shapes and is shaped by context" (Garcia and Wei 2014: 19), entailing the bidirectional interaction between speaker and context that is characteristic of the multilingual turn. It is important to note that this view of communication stresses speakers' agency, appointing them a role in making meaning instead of just passing on existing meaning, always dependent on the context: "Although definitions overlap in recent publications, 'languaging' is generally viewed as a holistic process during which people use

language to express their thoughts, obtain knowledge and experience, make sense and communicate with each other" (He, Lai and Lin 2017: 91). Garcia and Wei (2014: 21) thus refer to this new view also as "the human turn in sociolinguistics". Palmer et al. (2014: 759) embed this development in the so-called practice turn, which turns away from viewing social phenomena as fixed structures and towards viewing them as practices. Contrary to what its name might imply, languaging extends not only to using language(s), but also to any and all semiotic resources, including, but not limited to, images, gestures, facial expressions, etc. (Garcia and Wei 2014). It also implies a high importance of receptive skills (Canagarajah 2013). Since languaging is "a 'process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language'" (Swain and Watanabe 2013: 1), it is instrumental in learning, allowing people to cognitively mediate their experiences and to access their learning process.

The concept of "translanguaging" was later expanded, among others, by Garcia (2009) to describe not only a set of classroom practices but a natural behavior of multilinguals in which they flexibly combine the communicative resources at their disposal. This was driven by research into the communication practices of young urban speakers in particular, who have been shown to practice translanguaging in their everyday interactions (Wei 2011). According to Garcia and Wei (2014), multilingual speakers adapt to the situation and use their resources strategically and spontaneously. However, due to the multimodal nature of communication and the sociocutultural grounding of the translanguaging theory, variation can also be intralingual and features can not only be taken from different languages, but also from different dialects, sociolects etc. The fact that multilinguals' utterances are still often made up exclusively of features conventionally associated with only one language is in this model explained by social conventions, i.e. the deficit view of mixing linguistic features mentioned above.

Canagarajah (2013) refuses to use the term "multilingual" since the latter would imply language separation. However he is critical of translanguaging's focus on the mental activity inherent in translanguaged language use, preferring to focus on the social and ecological side of using interaction for meaning-making and developing the term "translingual practice" to suit his view. For the purposes of this thesis, however, I find this difference negligible: To begin with, as pointed out above, translanguaging also involves a view of humans as agents, capable of negotiating meaning in interaction. Secondly, the same assumptions are made by Canagarajah (2013) about translingual practice that also apply to translanguaging: He refutes language separation and instead believes competence in one language to affect competence in other languages, sees languages as mobile resources and accords meaning-contributing power

to both the environment and *all* semiotic resources. However, since this thesis focuses on students' meaning-negotiating in the task, drawing also on Canagarajah (2013) is indispensable because of his focus on interaction – even though he *is* using a slightly different terminology.

To sum up, "translanguaging" can be used to refer to both a pedagogical approach and a practice employed by multilinguals. The uniting factor is the abolishment of strict language separation:

> "For us translanguaging is an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages" (Garcia and Wei 2014: 14).

The term values appropriateness and comprehension over structural correctness and accords agency and power to the speakers, who do not use an existing, unchanging system of language to express a separate world, but rather use all their existing communicative resources to transform the world. Consequently, an analysis of translanguaging behavior is not an analysis of separate languages, but an analysis of a speaker's repertoire.

2.1.3 Translanguaging and translingual practice in the classroom

As seen above, translanguaging is also conceived of as a natural practice of multilinguals. This begs the question of why it should be practiced in a classroom setting if it already occurs naturally. First of all, a translanguaging view does not make competence obsolete, it merely shifts competence from grammatical competence to performative competence (cf. Canagarajah 2013). Since partial, non-native knowledge of a language is also seen as a valuable resource, less time has to be invested in e.g. grammar correction and more time can be invested in e.g. learning interactional strategies or reflecting on the relationship between language and power. If "meaning doesn't arise from a common grammatical system or norm, but through negotiation practices in local situations" (Canagarajah 2013: 7), these negotiation practices have to be learned and practiced. Canagarajah (2011) consequently suggests using the classroom as a safe space in which to allow students to employ the different communicative practices at their disposal. Since "in modern times, a group of two or more languages rather than one single language often meets a society's and an individual's fundamental needs in respect to communication, cognition and identity" (Aronin and Hufeisen 2009: 105), the classroom can serve as preparation for the multilingualism that students will encounter in the future. Even if

multilingualism has a broader conception in its more modern theories, and even if it supports society's needs, its development in the individual needs to be supported by the surrounding culture (Franceschini 2009: 28).

Additionally, if people always draw on their entire repertoire when constructing an utterance and cognitively mediating knowledge, it is beneficial to permit the presence of the entire repertoire even in the foreign language classroom. Strict language separation in the foreign language classroom has been critiqued for inhibiting the development of a natural bilingualism and there is also "empirical evidence demonstrating the value of using the first language for second language development" (Palmer et al. 2014: 758). Students can use translanguaging to express their identities, connect with their existing practices and to play with language (Paulsrud 2017), while teachers can use it to bridge a gap between policy and practice (Palmer et al. 2014). Research has also shown that permitting students to access their entire repertoire increases uptake of content by using language as a cognitive tool (Doiz and Lasagabaster 2017, Swain and Watanabe 2013), empowers students (Meier 2017, Cook and Hall 2012) and supports development of new practices, including academic practices (Mazak, Mendoza and Mangonéz 2017).

Finally, even when supporting a more structuralist view, multilingual instruction can help combat the dangers inherent in a phenomenon like semilingualism, where knowledge of all languages is only partial and insufficient. This is usually combated by adding instruction in the mother tongue to the curriculum (Salö and Karlander 2018) since evidence suggests that the introduction of a language into formal education supports the development of bi- or multiliteracy (Palmer et al. 2014: 757, De Angelis 2007: 119). Multilingual teaching could serve as a low-threshold way of implementing said introduction. Gunnarsson et al. (2015) enumerate the following benefits of translanguaging in teaching:

> " i) the message of the instructor may be more easily conveyed and comprehended and be more deeply processed by the students if students' background languages are drawn on and students engage in dual or multiple language processing […] ii) students can communicate in several languages they know in order to get their point across in the classroom […] iii) the development of the weaker language can be facilitated […] iv) home-school links and cooperation can be increased […] v) the integration of fluent speakers with early learners can be more easily achieved […] vi) increased student motivation […] and vii) increased student participation in teacher-led discussion […]." (Gunnarsson et al. 2015: 2).

However, as Meier (2017) concludes, multilingual teaching still faces a number of challenges: In the Western world in particular, monolingual norms are still widely accepted and actively drawing on all available linguistic resources in a given situation will often be frowned upon. Pedagogic traditions in most places still posit the myths of the native speaker, of language separation and of sequential language acquisition. These may be coupled with misunderstandings about multilingualism, such as the outdated beliefs about its cognitive drawbacks. Finally, since these new perceptions of language see language to have social implications, pedagogy also needs to be critical and examine the relationships between language and power, which may be a challenging endeavor in many settings. As a possible solution, Meier (2017) suggests empowering local stakeholders with knowledge of the local conditions. However, Doiz and Lasagabaster (2017: 160) still conclude that

> "although research shows that 'What emerges is an increasing possibility that banning the first language from the communicative second language classroom may in fact be reducing the cognitive and metacognitive opportunities available to learners' (Macaro, 2009: 49), the idea that instruction should be carried out exclusively in the target language without recourse to students' L1 is still very much entrenched".

These challenges may also be the reason why guidance for teachers is still rather limited and attitudes and practices related to multilingualism display a large amount of variation depending on local conditions and attitudes (Strobbe et al. 2017). The guide developed by CUNY-NYSIEB in 2012 is probably the most comprehensive and practice-oriented translanguaging guide for educators yet: It guides teachers to develop an environment that celebrates students' home languages, presents examples of assignments that promote translanguaging practices and stresses the importance of reflection for multilinguals' development as language users. However, the guide is designed only for use in primary and middle school (Celic and Seltzer 2012).

This is a recurring issue in the study of translanguaging practices and pedagogy: Studies on translanguaging often examine informal settings, English-speaking countries or immigrants, heritage language speakers or other minorities, and use translanguaging pedagogy as a way of bringing lesser valued languages into the classroom in an effort to increase their valuation (see e.g. Jørgensen et al. 2011, Wei 2011, Creese and Blackledge 2010, Hopewell 2017, Ngcobo et al. 2016, Allard and Wedin 2017). If formal education is chosen as a setting, this is usually restricted to pre-school, primary school or at most secondary school and does not consider adult education or higher education. One possible explanation for the apparent lack of multilingual teaching in higher education might be the history of its language policies:

> "Historically, the academy and other educational institutions have largely mirrored the monolingual ideologies of European and North American universities, where the use of code-switching or translanguaging practices has been viewed as an impure or illegitimate means of teaching and disseminating knowledge" (Carroll and van den Hoven 2017: 141).

An important exception to this focus of research is Mazak and Carroll (2017), who present a range of translanguaging instructional practices from different settings. However, several of these are traditionally bi- or multilingual (Puerto Rico, Eastern Ukraine) and therefore pose a set of particular demands. Generally, practices show significant local variation and the issues that multilingualism in instruction encounters vary. Traditionally monolingual settings, such as the Danish university in the study by Daryai-Hansen, Barfod and Schwarz (2017) show the continuing impact of the monolingual norm.

This frequent focus of translanguaging studies is criticized by Ruuska (2016: 20), who recognizes "a tendency to privilege a critical, antihegenomic identity performance, and a focus on creativity and active agency" in works taking a sociolinguistic approach in SLA. In contrast to the participants in studies like Wei (2011), the participants in Ruuska's (2016) study, adult foreigners from Western countries living in Finland, mostly do not see themselves as constructing a new identity in their translanguaging-involving communication strategies and do not see themselves as going against a dominant ideology of language purity. Instead, they see their language-mixing as wrong from a linguistic standpoint, even though they are able to use it effectively as a communication strategy. This shows the tension between the fractional view, which still appears to dominate in the Western world, and the practices of speakers, which is relevant beyond non-Western immigrants and heritage language speakers.

The relative restriction of research to K-12 education and minority speakers is problematic and insufficient insofar as working environments are predicted to only become more multicultural and multilingual, requiring a range of interactional competences institutions of higher education have to prepare students for. Gunnarsson et al. (2015) also argue that translanguaging practices in education are not only appropriate for multilingual settings, but also for settings where the target language is a foreign language, due to the above-mentioned interdependence of languages in the system. The EU has also recognized the shift in the way multilingualism is conceived of, and updated the CEFR-framework to reflect this. The companion volume, published in 2020, states the CEFR to have a "vision of the user/learner as a social agent, co-constructing meaning in interaction" and to be guided "by the notions of mediation of and

plurilingual/pluricultural competences" (Council of Europe 2020: 21), a clear shift away from a fractional and structuralist view of language.

Another reason for the relevance of the translanguaging framework in Western higher education is the dominance of English. Goodman (2017: 51) suggests that languages other than English are struggling for space in the European higher education arena. Carroll (2017) can also be interpreted in a similar vein, as he sees translanguaging in higher education as a tool in the prestige planning of languages. In the world of higher education, these can also include any language other than English, as English has what he refers to as "hegemonic tendencies" (Carrol 2017: 180) in higher education. Rosiers et al. (2018: 18) also appoint translanguaging a transformative quality, able to "equalize the hierarchy of languaging practices".

These views have high relevance for the setting at hand, since English is clearly considered the most important language in higher education in Finland and internationalization is often understood to happen through English (cf. chapter 3.1). In the context of prestige planning of languages in higher education, translanguaging practices in instruction can play an important role, as they create space for languages other than English in an approachable, low-threshold fashion, without e.g. obliging students to take entire courses in an additional language, as was previously a more common practice. As Garcia and Wei (2014) also point out, translanguaging pedagogy can also be used in traditionally more monolingual settings, either to introduce additional languages into the classroom or to explore intralinguistic variation in expanding practice. Since English has relegated other languages to later acquisition, demand for native-like competence in those languages has reduced, allowing also for introduction of partial skills into the classroom (Aronin and Hufeisen 2009)

One of the rare examples of an examination of translanguaging practices also in an officially monolingual setting is Rosiers et al. (2018). They find that translanguaging takes place both during informal and during formal parts of instruction as well as during the shifts between modes. Translanguaging for socio-emotional purposes (e.g. signaling identity) took place in both monolingual and multilingual settings, while a pedagogical purpose (e.g. ascertaining understanding) was served only in the multilingual classroom. Features drawn from other languages or language varieties were often just individual words, though it appears that labeling a course as multilingual leads to increased usage of translanguaging practices.

Another study the setting of which is somewhat comparable to the given one is Daryai-Hansen, Barfod and Schwarz (2017), who also examine a traditionally monolingual setting: a language

class at a Danish university. The authors observe the pattern that the students in their courses are able to use several translanguaging strategies, which enable them to work flexibly with their existing language skills. At the same time, they are often bothered by their language-mixing occurring in the foreign language classroom, with some students stating that they would prefer to be forced to stick to using the foreign language, indicating a strong influence of the monolingual norm in higher education.

To sum up, as Meier (2017: 26) argues, "a multilingual approach to learning and teaching does not advocate a laissez-faire attitude, where learners and teachers use any language they like, as this may neither be useful for learning nor empower learners". Instead, she advocates a practice- and user-based perspective, considering how learners use their resources in interaction in everyday life. The category of (grammatical, syntactical…) appropriateness of an utterance does not disappear. Instead, "appropriateness is determined by intelligibility" (Pitzl 2010: 25). In designing the class described in this paper, an attempt has been made to reflect this.

2.1.4 Meaning negotiation in multilingual settings

Now that the basic tenets and assumptions underlying the concepts of translanguaging and translingual practice have been established, it needs to be considered how meaning negotiation happens in practice in situations of "imperfect" linguistic competence. If "meaning does not reside in the language" but is "produced in practice through negotiation strategies" (Canagarajah 2013: 40), meaning negotiation gains high importance. In addition to the classification system of meaning-negotiation strategies introduced by Canagarajah (2013), I will also draw on works examining lingua franca and LFE (lingua franca English) interactions (e.g. Firth 1996, 2009, Planken 2005, House 2003, Pitzl 2010, Mauranen 2006, Kaur 2009) since these appear to be the main resources on how interlocutors manage to negotiate meaning in spite of non-native competence. Multilingual interactions involving languages other than English have been far less studied outside the research already mentioned above. Studies on LFE also have the advantage that they do not assume a hierarchy among the speakers. Instead, authors on LFE point out that when it comes to English, ownership of the language has shifted away from native speakers and is now shared between all users of English (Pitzl 2010: 5) – a feature that, if one is thorough with the view that no separate languages exist, should apply to

all putative languages. Additionally, issues of language ownership can be assumed to not be very relevant to begin with in the participant group due to participants' rather similar ethnolinguistic origins.

Khubchandani (1997, as quoted by Canagarajah 2013: 40) identifies two main tools experienced speakers use in their translingual practice: Synergy and serendipity. Synergy is defined as "the creative agency subjects must exert in order to work jointly with the other participant to accomplish intersubjective meaning" (Canagarajah 2013: 41), in other words, the willingness to make one's own effort to jointly establish meaning. Serendipity, in turn, "involves an attitudinal readiness to accept 'deviations as the norm'" (Canagarajah 2013: 40), in other words, an openness to working with input that does not follow the norms and a willingness to react spontaneously to whatever norm-deviations the other may produce. Canagarajah (2013: 73) summarizes translinguals to have a "collaborative disposition", visible e.g. in monitoring co-participants' reactions to check for their understanding and providing their own signaling of understanding during other speakers' turns.

Beyond these general attitudinal traits, more specific strategies for successful translanguaging practice can be identified. Canagarajah (2013: 76) develops what he terms a "grammar of practices", to contrast it with the features that structural linguistics associates with the term "grammar". This view expands on Chomsky's understanding of "competence" and is closer to Hymes' (1972), for whom communicative competence means "both (tacit) knowledge and (ability for) use" (quoted in Kaur 2009: 15). According to Canagarajah (2013), meaning is "an inter-subjective accomplishment" (Canagarajah 2013: 69) and communicative success a collaborative achievement, meaning that both speaker and listener participate in meaning creation (Pitzl 2010). In the following, I will use this classification system found in Canagarajah (2013) also on strategies described by other authors, since it is one of the most encompassing for describing multilingual interaction.

The first communication strategy presented by Canagarajah (2013) is so-called envoicing, defined as "encoding one's identity in texts and talk" (Canagarajah 2013: 80). It is based on the observation that participants use their communicative resources differently and perform certain communicative functions differently: Choice of resources is a strategic choice made based on how the participant wants to present themselves. This is particularly visible e.g. in idiosyncrasies that are maintained throughout the conversation as well as in use of humor and

can also apply to non-verbal communicative resources. For instance, Canagarajah (2013) shows how one participant uses laughter to stand her ground.

The second strategy is referred to as recontextualization and refers to how participants “frame their talk in ways conducive to uptake and achieve the appropriate footing for meaning negotiation” (Canagarajah 2013: 80). Interlocutors negotiate what cultural norms and language norms will apply to the interaction (if any) and take on a particular attitude towards the interaction, referred to as a footing. For instance, Planken (2005) finds that experienced sales staff in international negotiations will preface sales negotiations with so-called “safe talk” about the intercultural setting, thereby establishing a frame in which mistakes and difficulties are to be expected and accepted and where using a non-native language is the norm. By giving feedback on other participants’ language use, participants can also e.g. establish a temporary norm that no idioms may be used or that natives too have to speak slowly and clearly.

In addition to recontextualization, there is entextualization, which describes how participants “manage their productive processes by exploiting the spatiotemporal dimensions of the text” (Canagarajah 2013: 84). While entextualization is particularly relevant in written text, where e.g. individual words could be printed bigger or in a different font, it can also be used in spoken language. For instance, speakers will use segmentation by inserting pauses or topicalization by moving the primary info to the front of an utterance, leaving more minor information for later. In addition, in both written and spoken text speakers can preface or conclude a statement with an explanatory note. Finally, speakers have been observed to monitor their speech and make adjustments in case of not attaining the desired uptake.

The final major set of strategies is referred to as “interactional” by Canagarajah (2013). He describes translingual practitioners to be “co-constructing meaning by adopting reciprocal and collaborative strategies” (2013: 82), meaning that these strategies are used in cooperation with other participants. Speakers align their language resources with the speaking situation and with other speakers, making use of affordances offered by the setting. Interactional strategies include repeating both what one has said oneself and what the interlocutor has said (self- and other-repetition without transformation), paraphrasing, making lexical suggestions (so-called candidate hearings or candidate completions), encouraging other speakers, letting mistakes slips and (momentarily) accepting difficulties in understanding.

The most important implication of these strategies and their use is that understanding is not black-and-white; instead, it is constantly updated and adjusted as conversation progresses

through a process in which even misunderstandings play an important role as offering the option of creating or deepening shared understanding (Pitzl 2010: 8-14, Kaur 2009: 40-43). Both understanding and misunderstanding fall on a scale along which they move back and forth. This view also implies that it is not just stable background factors, such as culture of origin, that affect interaction, but situated practices that make use of e.g. situated roles or physical context (Pitzl 2010).

According to Firth (2009), common features of LFE interaction include cooperation, orderly turn-taking similar to native-language conversation and a consensus-seeking attitude among participants. Miscommunications are rare and, where present, tend to be "interactional non-fatalities" (Firth 2009: 161), i.e. conversational breakdown does not occur (see also Pitzl 2010: 26). This is due to a range of strategies employed by speakers: They provide feedback about their own understanding "at finely calibrated junctures" (Firth 2009: 157), e.g. by summing up each other's and one's own statements and expanding on others' turns, and accept a certain degree of uncertainty before understanding is called into question.

Many actions used to prevent a breakdown in conversation can be subsumed under the so-called "let-it-pass"-strategy: Interactants provide very little other repair-and instead leave space for self-repair. They do not comment on all (potential) ambiguities and instead wait for certainty to arise later in the conversation or for the information in question to turn out to be redundant. Research suggests that this is common also in native-speaker conversation, however, as "communication is inherently ambiguous" (Blum-Kulka and Weizman 1988, as quoted by Pitzl 2010: 19). Essentially, participants may act as if they have understood something when they actually have not, which at times makes it hard to identify usage of the "let-it-pass"-strategy (Kaur 2009: 45). Listeners may also use this strategy as a face-saving device, especially when the language spoken is not their native language (Kaur 2009).

A second central interactional strategy is referred to as "make-it-normal", which includes adopting others' mistakes and speech patterns. The participants enter the conversation with the attitude that their talk is "understandable and 'normal' even in the face of misunderstandings and abnormalities" (Firth 1996, as quoted by Pitzl 2010: 28). Both the "let-it-pass" and the "make-it-normal"-strategies account for the fact that non-native interactions are often characterized by differing and limited levels of competence, a fact that participants are purported to often be aware of (Kaur 2009: 14-17).

Another major group of interactional strategies is what Mauranen calls "proactive work" (2006: 135). This is work done by the speaker to support the listener in understanding and to simultaneously achieve a higher level of certainty in terms of the others' uptake. Proactive work includes providing unprompted clarification, repetition or paraphrase, comprehension and confirmation checks, making unprompted self-repair and working to construct an utterance together with an interlocutor for instance by pausing for insertion of candidate words. Overall, increasing redundancy seems to aid understanding. Because of these proactive strategies, self-repair appears to be more common than other-repair and other-repair often takes the form of suggestions rather than corrections (Kaur 2009).

Overall, lingua franca interactions are characterized by both variability and adaptation: The extent of use of interactional strategies by the stronger speaker has been shown to correlate with the extent to which the weaker speaker signals trouble and uncertainty (Kaur 2009). Since the features of variability and adaptation are consistently present in lingua-franca interaction, "[e]xperienced users of English as a foreign language may acquire communicative skills which are different from those of native speakers" (Graddol 1997, as quoted by Pitzl 2010), underlining the importance of providing the students with an environment in which to practice said skills. Varonis and Gass (1985) point out that strategies for meaning negotiation are most used in interactions between two non-native speakers, since "it is the participants' 'shared incompetence' […] that is said to encourage greater efforts at negotiating meaning" (as quoted by Kaur 2009: 53). Consequently, providing a setting that does not involve a native speaker of the language being used should not be considered an issue.

Finally, a short remark should be made about the view of mistakes adopted in this thesis: Conversation analysis, pragmatics and intercultural communication studies tend to see miscommunication only as problems, to be either resolved or to cause conversational breakdown. Since the aim of this thesis, however, is also to elucidate what strategies students already *are* able to make use of, I will follow Kaur's (2009) view on "sequences of problematic understanding" (8): They matter because they have the potential to make visible how meaning-building through interaction happens, not solely because of the fact that they are misunderstandings or issues. An excessive focus on mistakes also prevents one from noticing proactive interactional strategies, which may be able to help participants avoid miscommunication in the first place.

2.2 Task motivation and motivational design

As previously introduced, this thesis is also concerned with the type and extent of motivation that students experience in the multilingual task. However, a substantial issue with the concept of "motivation" and its examination lies in the numerous definitions that have been given for it over time and the consequently also highly varying ways of measuring it. At a very general level, motivation "concerns the *direction* and *magnitude* of human behavior, that is, the *choice* of a particular action, the *persistence* with it, and the *effort* expended on it" (Dörnyei 2001:9). Dörnyei and Otto (1998: 65) expand on this definition: "In a general sense, motivation can be defined as the dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritized, operationalized and […] acted out.". As this definition already showcases, motivation subsumes a variety of attitudes that in turn find their expression in a variety of behaviors. Which of these are measured, and how, has changed throughout time, becoming more and more complex. In the following, I will provide a short overview in order to contextualize the ARCS model of motivational design used in this thesis. This is important because the ARCS model draws on earlier models of motivation.

2.2.1 Historical overview

In the first half of the 20th century, the dominant conception of learning was shaped by behaviorism. At this stage, motivation did not play much of a role, as individuals were primarily viewed as subject to their environment. The cognitive revolution in the second half of the 20th century then shaped a number of new models of motivation, e.g. expectancy-value theory and attribution theory. Common to these were an increasing emphasis on individual factors, rather than generalizing across individuals, as well as stress on cognitive rather than emotional factors. Since the 1950s, the social-psychological view has developed and later dominated, shaped most importantly by Gardner and Lambert. Models of motivation using this perspective, unlike more cognitively oriented models, also tend to account for affective factors, e.g. as in the integrative vs. instrumental orientation. However, their weakness lies in generalizing motivation across contexts and in searching for stable variables instead of taking into account individual situations, leading to inconclusive outcomes (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011, Crookes and Schmidt 1989: 225). Their "failure to distinguish between social attitude

and motivation” (Crookes and Schmidt 1989: 245) also makes them unsuitable for use in a multilingual class whose language is not tied to a particular social group. Social-psychological models have also been criticized for not having enough applicability in an actual classroom setting and for not paying enough heed to learners’ agency (Dörnyei 1994: 273, Crookes and Schmidt 1989: 226).

As such, during more recent years, a growing concern in the context of motivation research has been applicability in the classroom and there has been a call for more action research done by practitioners (Crookes and Schmidt 1989). Motivation researchers have increasingly been paying attention to the wider context and to how it interacts with the individual. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011: 8, 46) refer to this as “a second cognitive revolution or ‘discursive turn’” and also call this period “cognitive-situated”. They go on to state that “socio-contextual factors have moved increasingly centre-stage in the analysis of motivation and have begun to push the boundaries of the cognitive tradition in exciting ways” (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011: 25). This includes the perception that an individual is not just subject to the environment but interacts with the (constantly changing) environment in a complex way, requiring a “dynamic and holistic” (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011: 32) approach in research. Each broader context affects motivation in its own way, an impact that is even visible at task level and not just in the attitude to a language or a course as a whole (Dörnyei and Ottó 1998). As such, since the 1980s, motivation research has been more and more concerned with examining individual learning situations as well as the effort individuals exert in these situations (as opposed to overall attitudes to a language or a subject), a view of motivation which is much closer to classroom practice (Dörnyei 1994: 277).

Unlike earlier models of motivation, more recent models are opposed to viewing motivation in a linear fashion as cause-and-effect chains. Rather, “motivation to do something usually evolves gradually, through a complex mental process that involves initial planning and goal setting, intention formation, task generation, action implementation, action control and outcome evaluation” (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011: 6). This view of motivation, according to Dörnyei and Ushioda, meshes better with how people actually experience motivation. Motivation is now generally believed to exist in a cyclical relationship with learning, and in interdependence with a number of both environmental and individual factors. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) argue that, on the backdrop of this growth in complexity, motivation should increasingly be researched using primarily qualitative methods, rather than the quantitative models typically used to depict cause-and-effect chains. This complexity further increases

when studying multilingual settings and tasks, as motivation for one language will not necessarily be transferred to motivation in another language (Włosowic 2013).

There are parallels between new approaches in conceiving of multilingualism and of motivation: Language learning and language usage are subject to both user-internal and user-external factors, which interact with each other in dynamic, constantly changing, emergent and complex ways. Learners and language users are not just influenced by social systems, they also influence the world around them as well as each other. There are few universals and connections are non-linear. New models are also critical of existing models' assumptions and simplifications and instead treat learners and language users as individuals with their own identities. It is thus not surprising that dynamic systems theory has had an impact in both the fields of multilingualism and motivation (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011).

To sum up, models of motivation can be drawn from a reductionist or from a comprehensive perspective. The choice of a comprehensive model was made based on the fact that real-life classrooms have an "intricate motivational life" (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011: 9), for which reductionist theories may be unable to account. Since the purpose of this thesis is to study an example of implementation of a multilingual task and since the author is a practitioner herself, this was seen as more appropriate than a reductionist, quantitative cause-and-effect approach. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) also criticize correlation-based quantitative analyses for their simplification, calling for models that account for the background influence of a larger number of factors and that include multiple levels. Additionally, "university students do, in fact, have control over the degree to which they engage with the 'other' language in question" (Pavlenko 2013: 14), meaning that a model of motivation used in the higher-education context needs to be able to account for individual differences and for the combination of cognitive and affective dimensions of motivation that characterize the language learning of adults. As such, a comprehensive model of motivation is likely to require a qualitative research method and a taking into account of the context of the situation under examination.

2.2.2 Examining task motivation

As stated above, the more situated view of motivation and the increasing focus on classrooms as settings and application contexts has led to an increased interest in tasks as units of analysis and bases of motivation. As Dörnyei (2003: 14) explains "tasks constitute the basic building

blocks of classroom learning, and accordingly, L2 motivation can hardly be examined in a more situated manner than within a task-based framework.". Tasks are segments of a teaching unit and play a central role in language instruction (Bygate, Skehan and Swain 2001). More detailed definitions of what constitutes a learning task abound, and depend largely on the perspective adopted by the author (Bygate, Skehan and Swain 2001: 5). Generally, in the language classroom, tasks have an objective and require students to use language to communicate meaning. Since the task examined in this thesis was created for in-classroom usage and not just for the purpose of this research, and since the class is learner-focused, out of the possible definitions provided by Bygate, Skehan and Swain (2001: 11), I find the following the most fitting for the purpose of this thesis: "A task is an activity, influenced by learner choice, and susceptible to learner reinterpretation, which requires learners to use language, with emphasis on meaning, to attain an objective.". In defining the boundaries of a task, I follow Dörnyei (2002: 139), who defines a task as "a complex of various goal-oriented mental and behavioral operations that students perform during the period between the teacher's initial task instructions and the completion of the final task outcome". During the task, students communicate meaning in their language of choice with the objective of presenting previously set content. Since the task is susceptible to learner interpretation, students also have a say in the decision of when the task is completed. More detailed information on the task examined can be found in chapter 3.3.

Research into task-related motivation tends to focus on short-term motivation and on identifying features promoting intrinsic motivation and an appropriate level of challenge. However, as previously pointed out, motivation is complex and motivation experienced during a task is likely to also be related to more stable, task-external factors. In addition to the ARCS model that will be used here, other examples of models accounting for both stable and situation-specific factors are the process model (Dörnyei and Otto 1998) as well as the concepts of state and trait motivation.

Examining the tasks that structure classroom activities is an opportune target for research by practitioners, but is particularly telling in the context of research into motivation. As Klimas (2013: 122) writes, "tasks are essential elements of motivated behavior as they not only form students' immediate interest and commitment, but they also shape attitudes towards learning in general". In other words, even a student interested in the target language or seeking high achievement will likely have their motivation hampered by tasks that are unclear, seen as irrelevant, not evaluated fairly or that instigate unhealthy competition. This might be

particularly true in the given case, as the course presents a view of language that might differ considerably from students' prior learning. As such, course tasks aim to create a connection with and render tangible the holistic and dynamic view of multilingualism, giving them a central position in learning.

Importantly, a situated view of motivation, as I take here, moves away from considering general achievement of proficiency the ultimate criterion variable, since said proficiency can result from many other factors such as talent, luck or test type. Instead, it looks at concrete learning behaviors as indicators of motivation and examines how these interact with a variety of relevant factors during the task, leading to, as Dörnyei (2002: 155) calls it, "a clearer and more elaborate understanding of L2 motivation" and one that is more in line with classroom practices. In the following, I will present in more detail the model used here to examine motivation for a learning task.

2.2.3 The ARCS model of motivational design

The ARCS model of motivational design, developed by John Keller, is part of a development in motivation research that examines more closely individual learning situations rather than constant and context-independent factors. As a model in the field of instructional design, it aims to enable practitioners to create instruction more appealing to learners, which consequently requires a way of measuring appeal that is based in classroom practices. Keller (1983: 387) refers to the model as "a systematic, theory-based approach to designing motivating instruction". It is based on Keller's 1979 theory of motivation, performance and instructional influence, a macro theory combining narrower theories and paradigms (Keller 1983: 393) and focuses on the impact the instruction has on student motivation rather than on student personality. The underpinning theory has since been validated in several studies (Keller 2008). Due to the complexity of the model development, I will in the following focus on the dimensions that make up motivation in the model. A full overview is provided in Keller (1979).

The model examines the set of motivational components that Dörnyei (1994: 277) refers to as "course-specific" (as opposed to teacher-specific or group-specific) and focuses on how different motivational dimensions of the learning situation interact with learning. Dörnyei (1994: 277) refers to the model as "particularly comprehensive and relevant to classroom learning", making it suitable for use in a qualitative study aiming at a complex view of

motivation. While the model is not specifically designed for L2 learning but rather for learning from a psychological perspective in general, it is mentioned or described in many studies on motivation in L2 learning (Crookes and Schmidt 1989, Dörnyei 1994, Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011). Additionally, this model is suitable for examination in a classroom that goes beyond the fractional view of bilingualism that is often inherent in views of motivation following the social-psychological view.

Keller defines motivation as "the choices people make as to what experiences or goals they will approach or avoid, and the degree of effort they will exert in that respect" (Keller 1983, as quoted by Crookes and Schmidt 1989: 228). Consequently, Keller's learning-oriented theory of motivation goes beyond attitude and affect, and instead covers the four factors of attention/interest, relevance, confidence/expectancy and satisfaction/outcomes. Taken together, these factors explain why learners engage with certain tasks, the goals they set, the effort they will expend on these tasks and the duration for which this effort will be sustained. The model takes into account the complexity of situated motivation by combining a number of more traditional and restricted concepts, such as attribution theory or learning orientations. Unlike earlier, more restricted models, motivation is also explicitly not measured based on learning outcomes (see above) but rather on intensity and direction of behavior. It is thus also able to account for the question of whether a student chooses to engage in a task, and to what extent. Subsequently, I will give some more detailed definition of the four aspects of motivation included in the model. As earlier texts about the model use different names for the factors, those will also be introduced; however, I will be using the terminology found in more recent works (Keller 2008) throughout the rest of the thesis.

Attention, earlier referred to as interest, is defined as a response to a stimulus. When interest is aroused "we make a decision to attend to [stimuli] and possibly to attend at length, and become involved in complex active behavior which revolves around such stimuli" (Crookes and Schmidt 1989: 228). Attention can be both voluntary and involuntary. Crookes and Schmidt (1989) attach particular importance to the teacher's presentation of a task, describing this framing as a phase during which to engender student motivation. In learning materials, age-appropriateness, varied layouts, photographs and videos are seen as advantageous. Varied teaching methods that prevent boredom and introduction of new tasks are also believed to help create interest and curiosity, as do an optimal level of difficulty and an environment that encourages risk-taking rather than punishing for making mistakes (Keller 1983: 398-406). Such an environment encourages curiosity and exploration. As pointed out previously, more recent

research has also been interested in motivation development and maintenance throughout a learning task, and the model also accounts for this process view of motivation, investigating whether "arousal is sustained appropriately over time" (Keller 1983: 385). However, it has been found that it is generally difficult to sustain interest in long tasks if the tasks are seen as irrelevant and "abstract and remote from the learner's experience" (Keller 1983: 404), making relevance even more central a factor.

Relevance, the second factor of the model, is probably the factor closest to attitude if defined as attitude to target language speakers. Relevance requires "the learner to perceive that important *personal* needs are being met by the learning situation" (Keller 1983: 406). These needs can be related to the learning content, e.g. learners may want to pass a class, see the task as a sub-goal to attaining a higher-rank goal or feel like they will require the skill to be learned later in life. As Włosowic (2013: 91) writes, "An important source of motivation is perceived language needs". However, needs can also be related to the learning situation or task itself: Learners will tend to value a sense of achievement, will feel the need to bond with others and to feel a degree of control over the learning situation, particularly in adult learners. It is also worth examining whether a learner's reference group values success in a task, which increases task relevance for the learner. In group work, collaborative tasks which do not engender competition have been found to be particularly successful in satisfying learners' need for bonding and in enabling a shared sense of achievement, as long as individual students are not dominating in the task. Additionally, teacher's feedback plays a role in recognizing when sub-goals are reached. Generally, "it may be hypothesized that activities which allow for these factors to come into play are more likely to result in sustained engagement than those which do not" (Crookes and Schmidt 1989: 234), i.e. interest in a task and attention paid to the task is more long-lasting if students perceive a task to meet their needs and if it aligns with their values. Thus, information on whether students perceive a task as relevant will be valuable in regard to judging how well motivation is sustained throughout a task.

Confidence, earlier called expectancy, is "a person's attitudes towards the likelihood of success or failure on a task" (Crookes and Schmidt 1989: 229), which are believed to affect actual task success. It is closely related to attribution theory and the concept of locus of control, whereby students ascribe success (or lack of it) either to their own effort or to external circumstances. A cooperative class structure as well as an emphasis on learning rather than performance are said to increase students' expectancies of success, and consequently engagement, participation and risk-taking. Another relevant factor is (perceived) task difficulty and effort required as well

as teacher support before and during the task, e.g. in providing feedback or clarifying the requirements for success in the task. This concept is related to self-efficacy and as such is also influenced by previous experiences with similar tasks (or lack thereof). Confidence will be low if a student has previously experienced failure in related tasks and if he or she attributes this failure to him- or herself. Generally, "personal motivation will tend to increase with increases in personal expectancy for success" (Keller 1983: 418). This, in turn, affects task performance, as individuals "evaluate the experience or the language situation/outcome before they actually get involved with the learning experience and therefore, react to it in a fairly stereotypical way" (Manolopoulou-Sergi 2004, as quoted by Gabrys-Barker and Otwinowksa 2012:7)

Satisfaction, earlier called outcomes, refers to rewards or punishments associated with the task. Generally, intrinsic motivation (i.e. motivation arising from the task) has been seen as superior to extrinsic motivation (i.e. being provided a reward for completing a task). Keller assumes that a performance is always followed by both an extrinsic and an intrinsic outcome, which interact with each other. In addition to stressing intrinsic outcomes, teachers should refrain from putting students under excessive surveillance during the task. In terms of teacher feedback, Crookes and Schmidt (1989) point out that it should be informative, ascribing success to individual actions by the student. Having attainable sub-goals is said to help students feel task satisfaction.

As a theory of instructional design, Keller's model aims not only at diagnosing issues in learners' motivation by help of the four dimensions, but also provides a range of tools with which to tackle said motivational issues before testing anew if motivation has improved. However, such an extensive type of action research would be beyond the scope of this thesis, both in terms of time as well as in terms of scope. This thesis thus corresponds to the first level of Keller's model for designing motivating instruction: An analysis of the current situation. As part of the discussion, I will however also be making suggestions on how to further develop the task in order to alleviate potential motivational issues since the purpose of the theory is twofold: Understanding how motivation arises and developing tasks that lead to higher and more sustainable levels of motivation.

The ARCS model's view of motivation is perhaps best summed up in the following quote:

> "We can say that in order to have motivated students, their curiosity must be aroused and sustained; the instruction must be perceived to be relevant to personal values or instrumental to accomplishing desired goals; they must have the personal conviction that

> they will be able to succeed, and the consequences of the learning experience must be consistent with the personal incentives of the learner" (Keller 1979: 32).

The model answers to Dörnyei and Otto's (1998) criticism of more reductionist models: While also accounting for choice motivation (which leads students to tackle a task), its main focus is on executive motivation, which allows learners to persist in a task (Włosowic 2013). Executive motivation is, for instance, present in the concept of relevance, which can be measured even if a student did not choose a task voluntarily (as is usually the case in classroom settings). Additionally, the model allows for a view in which motivation changes throughout a task, which is in line with more modern perceptions of the concept of motivation. For instance, attention is not just relevant when students are presented with a task, but, in Keller's own view, needs to be sustained throughout. Keller also acknowledges the bidirectional interaction between learners' motivation and their environment (Keller 1983: 389, Keller 1979: 27). The methods of data collection in this thesis were also chosen to allow an insight into the connections between different factors affecting task motivation as well as into students' attitudes and perceptions during the task. These choices have been made in an effort to capture the complex, dynamic and situated nature that modern views of motivation demand, particularly in the context of a multilingual task. The following graphic provides a final overview of the way the four factors impact effort and how they relate to performance and task outcome.

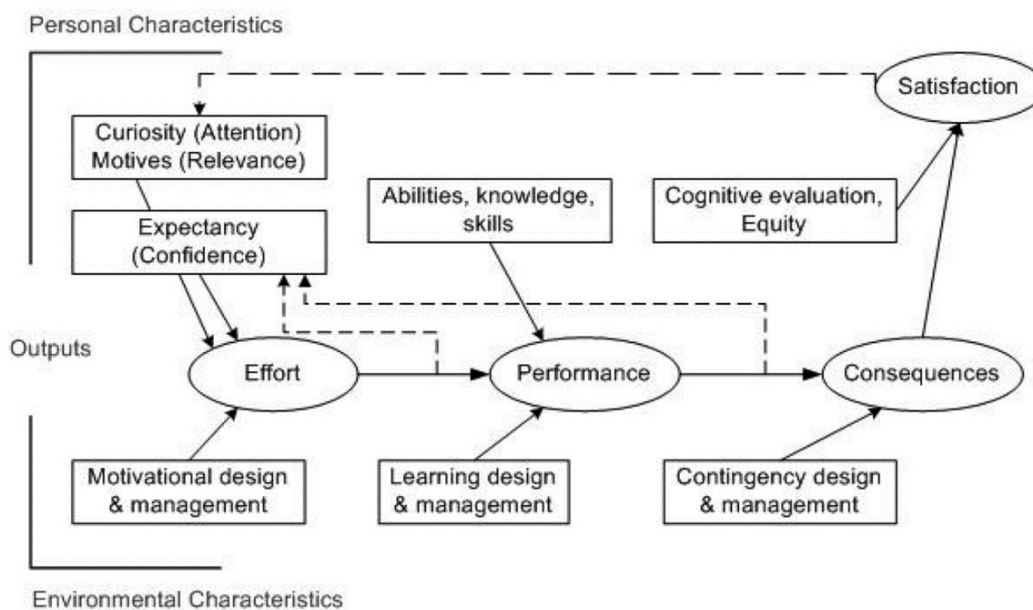

Fig. 1: The macro-model of motivation and performance (Keller 2008: 83)

In the context of this graphic, it remains important to restate that the aim of this model, as well as of this thesis, is not to give an all-encompassing explanation for final task performance. As is visible in the graphic, performance is also dependent on a range of other factors (here referred to as "abilities, knowledge, skills"), which are not measured by the ARCS dimensions and consequently are also not asked for in the data collection. The purpose of the model is to help teachers develop motivating instruction – which will often lead to better student performances, but is not guaranteed to do so.

Of course, there are still simplifications inherent even in this model. As Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011: 197) write on operationalizing motivation:

> "There are no objective measures of motivation; all the motivation indices used in research studies are inherently subjective, and one of the most difficult tasks of the motivation researcher is to keep this level of subjectivity to a minimum".

However, as previously mentioned, the ARCS model has the advantage of combining narrower and more reductionist models into one allowing for more complexity, accounting for "the myriad external and internal characteristics" (Keller 1983: 389) that influence motivation. Additionally, I have tried to counterbalance the simplification stemming from the model by choosing to do a qualitative study and semi-structured interviews. Secondly, my work is a Master's thesis, and the task selected is already very complex. A certain simplification thus cannot be fully avoided. There is also the issue that even Ushioda herself, a proponent of more relational analysis, does not provide strategies of enquiry for such an approach. She does, however, suggest micro-level analysis, conversation analysis and qualitative studies (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011). These suggestions have been taken into account here, while also answering Crookes and Schmidt's (1989) call for more research by practitioners.

3 CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

As has previously been outlined, this thesis conceives of languaging as a social process existing within a specific social setting which both enables and constrains it. This makes it important to investigate the specific social backdrop of the given setting, since the (language) ideologies present in a situation have an impact on how actors use language and relate to languages (Mayer et al. 2012) and thereby also influences the shape that multilingual education takes in that

specific setting (Cenoz and Jessner 2009). This social setting and the associated dominant ideologies will be presented in the following three chapters, focusing on language studies in higher education in Finland before moving on to the backdrop of the course in which this study was implemented.

3.1 Language studies in Finnish higher education

Language and communication studies in higher education in Finland are somewhat unique in their implementation: In other countries, they are usually organized by the subject study departments or do not exist as units of study per se and are assumed to be included in subject studies (Jalkanen, Almonkari and Taalas 2016). Instead, in Finland language and communication studies in higher education have traditionally been organized by language centers, independent units within the university dispensing language and communication studies, while the university's individual departments are responsible for subject studies. As at previous levels of education, these studies have usually been separated by language, reflecting a rather structuralist view of language and a fractional view of multilingualism. However, changes have been occurring, taking into account the changed view of language and communication introduced earlier in this thesis.

The Finnish government's updated regulations on university degrees (Finlex 1039/2013) stipulate that graduates with a Bachelor's degree (the level covered here) have to have sufficient communication and language skills for tasks in their own field as well as for international activity and cooperation ["riittävä viestintä- ja kielitaito oman alansa tehtäviin sekä kansainväliseen toimintaan ja yhteistyöhön"]. Additionally, they are required to be able to keep up with developments in their own field, develop scientific reasoning and working methods, lay the groundwork for lifelong learning and be able to apply new information to tasks in their own field and in international cooperation. Language and communication skill requirements are set for every level of study, meaning that universities are expected to develop students' skills in the field throughout their entire studies instead of only when it comes to e.g. writing a final thesis, as different activities within studies will require different academic practices. This is in line with reforms made in compulsory education at primary and secondary level, where new curricula also stress language awareness, literacy skills and the prominent role of language in all kinds of learning, not only language learning (Jalkanen 2017).

In 2015, the University of Jyväskylä introduced a new language policy. In this Language Policy, the University of Jyväskylä describes itself as a traditionally strongly Finnish-speaking, but multilingual and multicultural academic community [“perinteiltään vahvasti suomenkielinen, mutta monikielinen ja -kulttuurinen akateeminen yhteisö” (2015: 1)]. Multilingualism and multiculturalism are said to be present in everyday campus life and are seen as valuable resources. In line with the government regulations, the policy states as one of its central goals to prepare students for working in a multicultural environment. Departments are free to use other languages in addition to the official working languages Finnish and English. In practice, most instruction is given in Finnish, with some instruction given in English. Additionally, knowledge of the second national language (i.e. Swedish) is compulsory.

An understanding of language in line with the more modern views of multilingualism presented above is strongly present in the policy: Language is defined as communicative competence [“viestinnällisenä kompetenssina” (ibid.)], which moves towards a view of language as communicative resource rather than languages as separate entities. Language is not just used to pass on information, but also to construct information, can take on different shapes in different fields and is thus an integral part of doing one’s studies and doing research. This view of language is also context-based and situational. It is also important to note that multilingualism and internationalization are seen as being part of students’ everyday and upcoming reality rather than as something restricted to a select few who e.g. choose to go on a student exchange abroad, leading to an effort to enable internationalization at the home university (Jalkanen, Almonkari and Taalas 2016: 16).

The policy also explicitly mentions the concept of dynamic multilingualism, stating that it promotes dynamic multilingualism, the ability to react flexibly and quickly to communicative situations, the readiness to also use limited language skills as well as openness and a positive attitude towards different languages and different ways of using language. It goes on to say that modern use of language is characterized by naturally and flexibly using languages in parallel in different communicative situations and that in different situations it is possible to use several languages that feel natural to the audience and not all languages have to be mastered to the same degree. The possibility to use different languages is said to increase participatory equality and to lead to more fluent communication. [“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. Moderniin monikielisyyteen kuuluu kielten luonteva ja joustava rinnakkaiskäyttö erilaisissa viestinnällisissä tilanteissa. Eri tilanteissa voidaan käyttää useita läsnäolijoille luontevia kieliä ja kaikkia kieliä ei tarvitse osata samantasoisesti. Mahdollisuus käyttää eri kieliä lisää tasavertaisen osallistumisen mahdollisuutta ja sujuvoittaa viestintää." (Jyväskylän Yliopiston Kielipolitiikka 2015: 1)].

The importance of preparing students for work in a multilingual setting is in line with students' own expectations about their future: In a survey implemented at the university in 2016, about half of students polled expected to be working in a multinational and/or multilingual environment in the future (Jalkanen 2017). As Finland is a relatively small country, the drive for internationalization has often been the ideological motivation for multilingualism (Kuitunen and Carolan 2019: 60). However, a certain conflict arises on how to prepare students for internationalization: Traditionally, in Europe preparing young people for international interaction has meant prioritizing English-medium instruction, e.g. by replacing classes in the native language with classes in English. This phenomenon, also referred to as Englishization (Earls 2016: 330) has become common all over Europe in an effort to increase internationalization (Mazak 2017: 7).

The focus on English is also reflected in the developments in language education in Finland at all levels of education: For instance, at the Language Centre of the University of Helsinki, the largest number of ECTS are dispensed in English and Swedish, with other languages far behind (Helsingin Yliopiston Kielikeskus n.d.). In many fields, English is now seen as more of a matter of course than as a competitive advantage (Jalkanen and Taalas 2013: 82). Declining motivation for studying languages other than English has been raised as a cause for concern, not only in Finland (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011, Taalas and Pitkänen-Huhta 2020, Earls 2016). These concerns range from a lack of competitiveness of citizens to a more romantic language ideology, which fears loss of the values and views carried by other languages. An exclusive focus on English is also in contrast with the European Union's goal of knowledge of two foreign languages by all citizens and is not in agreement with the multilingual lived realities of students (Earls 2016).

The juxtaposition of strong English skills and a multilingual lived reality is also found at the University of Jyväskylä: In a 2012 survey done by the Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication, 65 percent of respondents viewed multilingualism as important for their studies, while as many as 76 percent believe it to be important in their working life. While

English and Swedish were the most spoken languages, a significant number of students also stated skills in other languages, such as German (49 percent) and French (22 percent). This showcases students' varied linguistic resources, but also leads to the question of how these resources can be used in (compulsory) language studies.

A clear majority of students also expressed interest in studying languages at university and learning about other cultures. In spite of this, only a fifth had participated in a student exchange abroad, increasing the importance of enabling internationalization and dynamic multilingualism at the home university. While students described their study material as international and themselves as possibly using up to four languages in a given task, English still maintained its central role, with some students describing their material as nearly entirely in English (Jalkanen and Taalas 2015). In addition to a broad linguistic repertoire, students also require interactional and negotiation skills to navigate the world of university that is often characterized by group work and requires active efforts at interaction (Jalkanen and Taalas 2015). At the same time, students' own goals tend not to revolve around such transversal skills and are more focused on structuralist aspects. For instance, a survey at the university showed that students' most common goals for their Swedish studies were improving grammar and enlarging their vocabulary, rather than making reference to interactional skills (Jalkanen and Taalas 2015: 75-76).

Since the inclusion of a language in higher education can lead to its increased prestige, "the EU identifies universities in particular as having a responsibility and playing a key role in promoting language learning and linguistic diversity" and as having "the potential to make a significant contribution to the integration of multilingualism in society" (Earls 2016: 331). In addition to this particular role, institutions of higher education in general are required to constantly adapt to the changing demands of a multilingual, multicultural and multimedial world. The Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication at the University of Jyväskylä has responded to these challenges by making significant changes to its course offerings and the organization of instruction during recent years. In the following sub-chapter, these changes will be presented to offer further context for the course this study was implemented in.

3.2 New, integrated structures for communication and language courses

UVK (*uusiutuvat viestintä- ja kieliopinnot*, in English: new, integrated structures for communication and language courses[1]) is a pedagogical development project at the Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication of the University of Jyväskylä, as well as the studies created as a consequence of said development project. On its official website, the Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication describes the studies as multilingual, phenomenon-based, tied to the individual fields of study and timed in accordance with students' other studies to support students' communicative needs in time. The goal of the development project is to make university studies more consistent by connecting communication and language studies with students' other studies, holistically developing students' academic skills in order to develop discipline-specific literacy and supporting students from the beginning of their studies (Kuitunen and Carolan 2019).

Instead of teaching languages and skills separately in different courses, they are now combined within the compulsory language studies running throughout students' BA studies, which in turn are connected to students' subject studies. This combats students' perception that language classes are an extra requirement bogging down an already hefty course load, reduces the study load by eliminating overlap and increases the valuation of language and communication studies by connecting them more closely to subject studies. The studies were and are developed by teacher teams in cooperation with the individual university departments, meaning that communication and language studies differ across departments and that both content and language teachers collaborate in the curriculum design. Student feedback is taken into account in developing studies, and it is aimed to regularly update studies in accordance with changing needs. The studies are compulsory for all BA students beginning their studies after the introduction of the new model. Planning of the new, integrated structures for communication and language courses began in 2013, with the studies having been introduced into all undergraduate programs by 2021.

When it comes to the principles underpinning the development of this project, one important observation is the multitude of contexts in which tomorrow's university-educated professionals will have to operate, each potentially requiring a different mode of interaction. These contexts are often multilingual, multicultural and multimedial and require a high level of communication

[1] This is an internally used translation I will be using throughout the thesis

skills (Jalkanen 2017) and the ability to network (Jalkanen, Almonkari and Taalas 2016, Jalkanen and Taalas 2015). Additionally, these contexts (audiences, working modes, disciplines, literacy spheres) are constantly changing, requiring that professionals be aware of the modes of interaction associated with each context and able to adapt their interactions accordingly to be appropriate and effective (Taalas and Laakso 2019, Jalkanen and Taalas 2015). Students will not only have to be able to share their own knowledge, but also to make use of others' knowledge, constructing an understanding together (Jalkanen and Taalas 2015).

Other key ideas are developing the students' multilingual repertoires in view of increasingly needed multilingual skills and taking into account the discipline-specific nature of language to increase students' awareness of their communication skills and development needs. This awareness-building is supported by metalevel work, e.g. through reflection, explicit strategy development and peer work and feedback. As per Taalas and Laakso (2019), "the overarching goal [of the UVK program] is to build the mandatory and elective communication and language studies, internationalization and employability, as well as metalevel skills into a structure that supports the development of academic language, communication and intercultural skills." This dovetails with the university's language policy, which mandates the ability to react flexibly to changing situations, and observations about students' career plans.

A clear connection to the translanguaging theory (see chapter 2) rests in one of the core changes made through the introduction of the new studies: That of combining studies in different languages with each other as well as with subject studies. Jalkanen (2017) names the fragmentation in teaching language(s) as one of the main issues with the traditional way of teaching language(s) in university, referring also to the dynamic model of multilingualism. Additionally, Jalkanen (2017) stresses the idea that a language does not have to be mastered at the level of the traditionally imagined ideal native speaker, but that different kinds of resources are sufficient in different situations and communities. As per Jalkanen (2017), the goal is to let students use the entirety of their linguistic repertoire and to let them continue developing the latter. ["Tavoitteena on, että opiskelijat voisivat hyödyntää koko kielirepertuaariaan ja kehittää sitä edelleen"]. Associated with letting students use all their communicative resources is a broader conception of intercultural and international skills, including e.g. free-time activities, ability to look beyond one's own experiences and consuming global media (Jalkanen, Almonkari and Taalas 2016: 14).

Just as most concepts and theories associated with the multilingual turn, the development project has a clear sociocultural orientation: In the new communication and language studies, students are expected to learn the particular language associated with their scientific field, since by participating in the expert community, students learn the practices of language use in their field [“osallistuessaan asiantuntijayhteisön toimintaan opiskelijat omaksuvat myös oman tieteenalansa kielenkäytön käytänteitä “ (Jalkanen 2017)]. Growing into these practices supports students in becoming part of the scientific community in their field both during their studies and beyond (Jalkanen, Almonkari and Taalas 2016). They become acquainted with different types of text and the language associated with them, granting them more control over their own language use.

The new courses also aim to bring a variety of texts and their associated language and practices into the classroom to increase the overlap between classroom activities and students’ general learning practices (Jalkanen and Taalas 2013). Through metalevel work and the close connection to subject studies, students are also to become able to take charge of planning their own skill development throughout their studies (Jalkanen 2017), reflecting on their own identity as academics and learners which in in this view heavily pertain to language learning, a practice that is seen as supportive of lifelong learning. Additionally, the new communication and language studies contain a lot of group and peer work to stress the social role of language (Jalkanen, Almonkari and Taalas 2016), including group projects and multi-stage peer feedback, whereas previously developing language and communication skills was seen as more of an individual process (Jalkanen and Taalas 2013).

The task analyzed here was dispensed in a course that is part of the new, integrated structures for communication and language studies at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, where BA students have been studying in the new courses since 2017. The graphic below gives an overview of the structure and progression of communication and language studies at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy (YFI UVK). The studies run throughout students’ undergraduate studies, which typically begin in the fall semester and continue for three years, though the studies also offer room for flexibility.

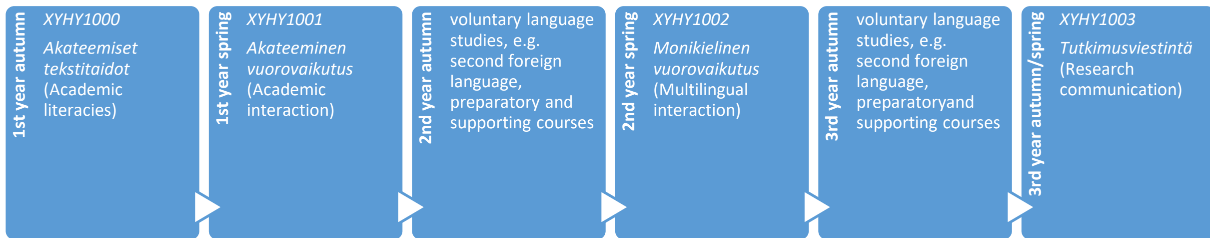

Fig. 2: Progression of language and communication studies at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy

Each of the compulsory courses has 3 ECTS and a somewhat different focus, which is chosen to assist, support and feed into the student's other studies: "Academic literacies" acquaints students with different text genres in their field and gets students to reflect on the importance of communication in their field in an effort to help them plan their developmental goals for the rest of their BA studies. "Academic interaction" has a particular focus on oral interaction and contains an oral presentation from students' own field. "Multilingual interaction" involves source texts in different languages, supports students in participating in multilingual communicative situations and in its second part has a particular focus on Swedish, allowing students to pass the national language exam for the second domestic language. "Research communication" supports students in the writing of their BA thesis, acquainting students with the conventions of the text genre, encouraging them to use all their linguistic resources in searching for information and reflecting on the dialogic nature of research reporting.

Though all the courses focus on different practices and culminate in different assignments, they are all driven by the same principles mentioned above. In line with the principles of plurilingualism, assignments make reference to students' existing skills and thus support transfer (Boeckmann 2013). This integration applies to both linguistic resources and communication skills and practices. For instance, students may be asked to write a summary of a presentation in a different language or to orally present a group project using different languages. International, multilingual teaching teams further normalize multilingualism in academic communication.

To summarize, the premise underpinning the new structures for communication and language courses is based in the new view of language, according to which language skills are situational practices firmly located in a specific time and place [“kielitaito nähdäänkin tilanteisina, aikaan ja paikkaan kiinteästi kietoutuvina käytänteinä”] and language is conceived of as a practice that makes use of linguistic resources [“kielen mieltäminen toimintana, jossa hyödynnetään kielellisiä resursseja” (Jalkanen and Taalas 2013: 76)]. This view is in line with the language policy of the University of Jyväskylä, and it turns away from the fractional and structuralist view that has long characterized language education not only in Finland.

The recent changes in language education require a range of research to be performed on new types of instruction that enables combining of linguistic resources, transfer of skills and metacognitive reflection. In the following, I will present the task that was examined for this thesis. For this, it needs to be kept in mind that the setting comes with its particularities: On the one hand, the courses offer ideal opportunities to practice translingual practices, as the studies are referred to as multilingual and are practice-based. On the other hand, the learner group is relatively homogeneous and the setting is marked by a monolingual tradition. Therefore, this study also examines how students relate to a task revolving around translingual practices and a holistic view of multilingualism.

3.3 Structure of the class

The class session from which the observation data is taken took place in the “Multilingual Interaction”-course at the Department of Social Science and Philosophy (see graphic above) during the third course session. “Multilingual interaction” is roughly made up of two parts, the first focusing on multilingualism skills and related concepts and the second on Swedish skills, since at the end of the course students are to take the compulsory Swedish exam. The units are linked together by class sessions examining language from a social studies perspective while also training students’ Swedish skills.

The class taught by the researcher was the final one in the introductory multilingualism unit. The first two classes of the unit focused on intercultural communication: The classes talked e.g. about the emotions connected to encountering another culture, cultural essentialism, the impact of cultural context on meaning, the neurological benefits of multilingualism, the complexity of intercultural communication and the connection between access to linguistic

resources and power. The classes were taught by a colleague of the researcher's and involved both theoretical context and practical exercises. After the first class, students were given an assignment to document their language use for a week by help of a few questions, using pictures, screenshots, links and text. The language to be used in the diary was not specified, though students were requested to include pictures. Students were asked to return their language diaries to the online course platform before the class. In the assignment, students were informed that they should be prepared to talk about their diaries during the third class session, though it was not specified what form this oral part of the task would take.

While the researcher was the main person responsible for planning the session, she was assisted in both planning and implementation by two other teachers from the planning and teaching team. The teachers used several languages during the session. The following table illustrates the structure of the class taught by the researcher and provides context for the multilingual task.

Table 1. Progression of the session

Activity number	Description of activity	Activity purpose
1	Students are shown a list of terms relating to multilingualism introduced in the preceding two classes (e.g. polyglot dialogue, intercomprehension, mediation). Concepts are provided in different languages. Students work in groups. They are asked to choose a concept and explain it to the others in a different language; the others guess the concept. Students are explicitly asked to refer to previous weeks' activities and materials.	Warm-up for the main translanguaging task (presenting the learning diaries). Repeating new concepts in view of the final assignment (reflection paper). Basis for the ensuing discussion.
2	Discussion first in small groups, then with the class as a whole, drawing on students' experiences: Students reflect on how both listeners and speakers can help construct mutual comprehension. We also talk about cultural differences, e.g. to what extent interrupting each other is accepted in different cultures.	Laying the groundwork for the translanguaging task. Making explicit skills that are needed when translanguaging in addition to (structural) language skills. Sensitizing students to the variety of semiotic resources involved in communication.
3	**Main translanguaging task**: Students work in the same groups as before. They take turns orally presenting their diaries, though using e.g. pictures from the diaries is permitted. Students are asked to use all the languages mentioned in the diaries in their	Presenting allows students to practice translanguaging skills, encouraging students to use all the linguistic resources at their disposal within one conversation. Having to fill in the questionnaires is to encourage the students to interact

	presentations. Teachers stress that even using a small snippet of the language is sufficient. The other students fill in a questionnaire about the others' diaries, the language in which to take notes is up to the students. The questions are designed to create asymmetry of information in an effort to create a genuine need for conversation among the students (Ortiz Neira 2019). After the presentation, the listeners return the filled-in questionnaires to the presenter. Presenters are asked to keep the filled-in worksheets, as they might assist them in writing their reflective texts at the end of the course.	in a way that stresses mutual understanding and to prevent understanding from remaining at a surface level (Pitzl 2010). Through the filled-in questionnaires, presenting students receive feedback on others' comprehension as well as observations about their diaries, which are to support students in writing their reflective papers.
4	Summary. Students are presented with a quote taken from Meier (2017) summing up the understanding of language predominant since the multilingual turn, stressing fluid borders between languages and the social context of language use. Finally, information is provided on how the course will continue.	Provides theoretical context to class content. Students are to see that the UVK model and its conception of language is based on current research and a more modern view of communication than present in the earlier model. Ties together the contents of the multilingualism teaching unit.

At the end of the course, students were given an assignment of writing a reflection paper drawing on the different course tasks. Students are asked to reflect on their experiences in the course, their learning and their identities as language learners and users. Students were also asked to make use of the new terminology encountered during the course. Both the reflection paper and the language diary were graded pass-fail. It was hoped that this would encourage independent reflection on the part of the students and application of the class concepts to students' own language use, increasing the engagement of students with the relatively abstract and theoretical terminology.

As is visible from the session overview, the class session stressed communicative achievement and flexibility rather than structural correctness. The teachers themselves followed this model, using several languages during class, talking about their work experiences in the multilingual academic setting and allowing students to answer questions in a language different from the one the question was asked in. To increase students' views of themselves as competent multilinguals, students' prior experiences with intercultural and foreign-language interactions were activated at stage 2, and the group had a lot to share. To summarize, it was aimed to have

the class include all of the translanguaging instructional strategies mentioned by Palmer et al. (2014): Teachers function as multilingual models, students' multilingualism is stressed and multilingual interaction is presented in a positive light.

4 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Research questions and aim

As was discussed above, there is a dearth of research into multilingual classrooms at a higher-education level (Mazak and Carroll 2017). The reasons for this are several: Institutions of higher education have historically followed monolingual ideologies (cf. Creese and Blackledge 2010: 104) and, as outlined in chapter 2.1.3, there are a number of challenges connected with implementing in classrooms a view of language that follows that of the multilingual turn. On the other hand, this topic is considered crucial to research and to develop: Young people today grow up in a world of superdiversity (Jørgensen et al. 2011) which imposes the demand to flexibly adapt to changing situations and to make use of all one's resources.

In restructuring its compulsory language courses, the Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication has responded to these changed realities. However, as outlined above, the change is relatively recent and therefore still requires research. As the author herself works at the Centre for Multilingual Academic Communication as a teacher for German and English, and as German is one of the non-compulsory languages in most students' studies, the researcher is particularly interested in the integration of non-compulsory languages in the new courses. However, as this research is only a Master's thesis, its scope is too small to explore the entirety of the question of how integration of non-compulsory languages has been achieved in the language courses at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy. I thus decided to investigate the topic of multilingualism in one course through the example of a multilingual task that aims at integrating as broad a range of linguistic resources as possible. To my knowledge, no such research has been published in the context of UVK-courses so far.

The primary aims of this research are the following:

- Contribute to the existing literature on multilingualism in higher education, and, in particular, on the usage of translanguaging teaching practices in higher education
- Help develop teaching in the new, integrated structures for communication and language courses by investigating how a task grounded in translanguaging is received by the students and whether it allows for translanguaging to occur
- Test and examine an example of a teaching practice connected to dynamic multilingualism in order to help develop teaching tools particularly at higher-education level

To help understand the integration of broader linguistic resources into the course as well as students' experiences with said integration, the following two research questions were chosen:

> 1) What strategies do students use to cooperate in meaning-making in a multilingual oral task?

As seen above structural knowledge of a "language" loses importance in a view aligned with the multilingual turn. Instead, what Canagarajah (2013) refers to as "performative competence" grows in importance. This leads to the question of how said competence can be exercised, trained and observed through in-classroom activities. This research question makes an exploratory contribution to that question: In the first section of the analysis, it will be investigated, using Canagarajah's (2013) grammar of practices as well as strategies mentioned in works on EFL (Kaur 2009, Firth 2009, Planken 2005, Pitzl 2010), what strategies students draw on in negotiating and constructing meaning in a multilingual oral task. It will be examined how students use their multilingual resources to arrive at a shared meaning with other group members, how potential difficulties are navigated, and how and whether students cooperate in meaning-making.

In this first part of the analysis, it is important to keep in mind that students' strategy and resource use is subject to two factors: One the one hand, students may or may not have certain strategies in their arsenal for negotiating a multilingual interaction. On the other hand, the question is whether the task in question actually allows for said arsenal to come to bear. In other words, if strategy use in a task is limited, this may also be due to other factors, such as lack of motivation, lack of clarity about task requirements or an overly restrictive assignment. It may also be questioned whether students see applying translingual practices as conducive to

their learning goals in the first place, as Finnish university students' Swedish learning goals appear to still be marked by a structuralist principle, with students citing vocabulary and grammar as their learning objectives (Jalkanen and Taalas 2015: 77). Consequently, it was considered important to also add a research question exploring students' experiences with the task. While this second research question has its own separate purposes, it will hopefully also add to understanding students' observed interactions.

2) What task motivation do students experience in the task?

The second research question applies the ARCS-model of instructional design (Keller 1979, 1983, 2008) to the same multilingual oral task already examined in the first research question. As Keller (1983) writes, every problem with one of the dimensions of motivation is a potential obstacle to learning. This research question thus helps elucidate what obstacles, if any, existed in the task, and helps make suggestions for a more motivating design of instruction. It can also contribute explanations as to why students use their linguistic resources in a particular manner.

As the author is also one of the course teachers, this research can be considered an action research by a practitioner, as called for by Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) and suggested by Keller (1983) himself. All data is analyzed using qualitative methods, which will be closer presented in chapter 4.3.

An advantage of having a qualitative study of an exploratory nature is that it does not limit upfront the issues raised in conjunction with the task. As has become apparent in chapters 2 and 3, a multitude of factors could potentially have an influence on how students relate to the task. These include, but are not limited to: The monolingual tradition in academia, perceptions of multilingualism both among students as well as those presented during the new communication and language studies, students' plans for their further studies and career paths, perceptions of the usefulness of language and communication studies, students' identities as multilinguals or non-multilinguals and students' attitudes to peer work. During the background writing process, it was perceived as impossible to predict which issues would emerge as the primary ones due to the newness of the class in general as well as the teacher's relatively recent acquaintance with the new studies. The research questions are thus designed to leave room for students' input and experiences.

Before continuing on to describing the data collection, a final remark needs to be made on the language used in the thesis. A theoretical framework that opposes language separation obviously begs the question of how to describe language use in a specific situation if languages

cannot be labelled as they traditionally have been. Expressions describing linguistic features such as "feature traditionally associated with language X" appear in literature, but turn out to be clumsy over larger stretches of writing. The terminology of labeled languages will also be the most familiar to most audiences. Additionally, languages may appear as such to interaction participants and thereby gain relevance for an interaction. I will therefore follow Canagarajah (2013: 15), who explains his solution to the issue in the following way:

> "[Language resources] acquire labels and identities through situated uses in particular contexts and get reified through language ideologies. Therefore, labeled languages and language varieties have a reality for social groups. [...] The main difference is that I don't treat these labeled languages and varieties as having an ontological status. They don't have an objective reality out there. They are constructs that are always open to reconstitution and relabeling."

Garcia and Wei (2014) use a similar solution, acknowledging languages to be categories that have shaped thinking, but that should not be used as categories for analysis. Therefore, I see it as appropriate in my analysis to label features conventionally associated with language X as language X – particularly since the Western university is probably the setting where this view is the most prevalent (Mazak and Carroll 2017) and since this view was also present in my own data.

4.2 Data collection

The data collection was twofold, as both interview and interaction data were gathered. The interaction data were collected during a regular class session as part of the regular course in an effort to delimit the observer's paradox. After students were informed of the handling of data and the purpose of the study, small groups were formed based on who was willing to be recorded. Small groups were made up of two to four students and students were allowed to choose their own groups. All interactions within a small group were recorded and recordings had a length of fifteen to twenty-five minutes each. A total of four small groups were recorded and each group member received a lunch voucher in return for their participation.

The interview data were collected on the days following the group work through individual interviews. Since the setting was relatively new and the study somewhat exploratory, interviews were chosen as an approach for collecting data on student motivation, as these are appropriate when the descriptions themselves made by participants are interesting (Dörnyei

and Ushioda 2011: 213). The form of the interview was semi-structured, which Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011: 236) describe in the following manner:

> "The interviewer provides guidance and direction […], but he or she is also keen to follow up interesting developments and to let the interviewee elaborate on certain issues in an exploratory manner. […] This type of interview is suitable for cases when the researcher has a good enough overview of the phenomenon or domain in question but does not want to use ready-made response categories that would limit the depth and breadth or the respondents' story."

This format was thus chosen to give the interviewer the possibility to react flexibly to students' statements while still allowing an anchoring in the theoretical framework. In practice, the researcher came up with questions to measure attention, relevance, confidence and satisfaction in accordance with the ARCS model, but also diverged from them in order to react to relevant points emerging from the interview situation. Interviews were conducted in Finnish though students were offered the option of using English if this felt more comfortable. An overview of the questions can be found in appendix 2.

Individual interviews were chosen to further protect participants' privacy and allow them to talk openly about the interaction in their small group. A total of five interviews were conducted with lengths ranging from twenty to thirty minutes. Before the interviews, students were informed of participation conditions and were asked to sign a consent form through Webropol. In exchange for participation, interviewees received a lunch voucher. After recording, interviews and classroom interactions were transcribed using the transcription conventions found in appendix 3, first using a preliminary transcription for analysis purposes, then fully transcribing relevant parts using the above method. In line with the demands of interactional sociolinguistics (cf. chapter 4.3.2), transcription was meaning-focused and included a moderate amount of detail. Where needed, the original recording was referred to for analysis purposes, since it is the recording, not the transcript, that should serve as the basis for analysis (Kaur 2009: 68).

One issue in transcribing the classroom interaction data was the question of how to transcribe non-standard pronunciation or grammar, since the oral task involved use of non-native languages. Following Kaur (2009) it was decided to prioritize readability of the transcript: While grammatical deviations from the norm are transcribed as they appear in speech, non-standard pronunciation is usually not, except where it is seen as a potential source of trouble.

4.3 Method of analysis

4.3.1 Qualitative content analysis

As mentioned previously, this thesis is of qualitative in nature for reasons that have already been outlined above. Interview data will be analyzed using qualitative content analysis, following primarily Mayring (2010).

As the name already implies, qualitative content analysis, also referred to as qualitative text analysis, is an approach to the qualitative analysis of language-based material. It aims at being systematic and intersubjectively comparable while also living up to the complexity, the variability of meaning and the need to interpret of text-based material [“systematisch, intersubjektiv überprüfbar, gleichzeitig aber der Komplexität, der Bedeutungsfülle, der ‘Interpretationsbedürftigkeit’ sprachlichen Materials angemessen” (Mayring 2010: 10)]. The aim is thus to move away from the reductive nature of quantitative methodologies while still maintaining analytical rigorousness and grounding research in theory.

As a qualitative method of analyzing linguistic material, qualitative content analysis has a number of advantages: Being a softer [“weich[…]” (Mayring 2010: 123)] approach, it allows participants’ voices to shine through instead of forcing them into a strict mold. As it is able to also take into account context in analyzing meaning, qualitative content analysis can also recognize more hidden and latent meaning and make inferences about conversation participants. Finally, it also allows the analyst to make inferences about the communicative situation. As a qualitative method requiring a number of contextual factors to be taken into account, it is usually performed on small sets of data. The following diagram shows an overview of the qualitative content analysis approach:

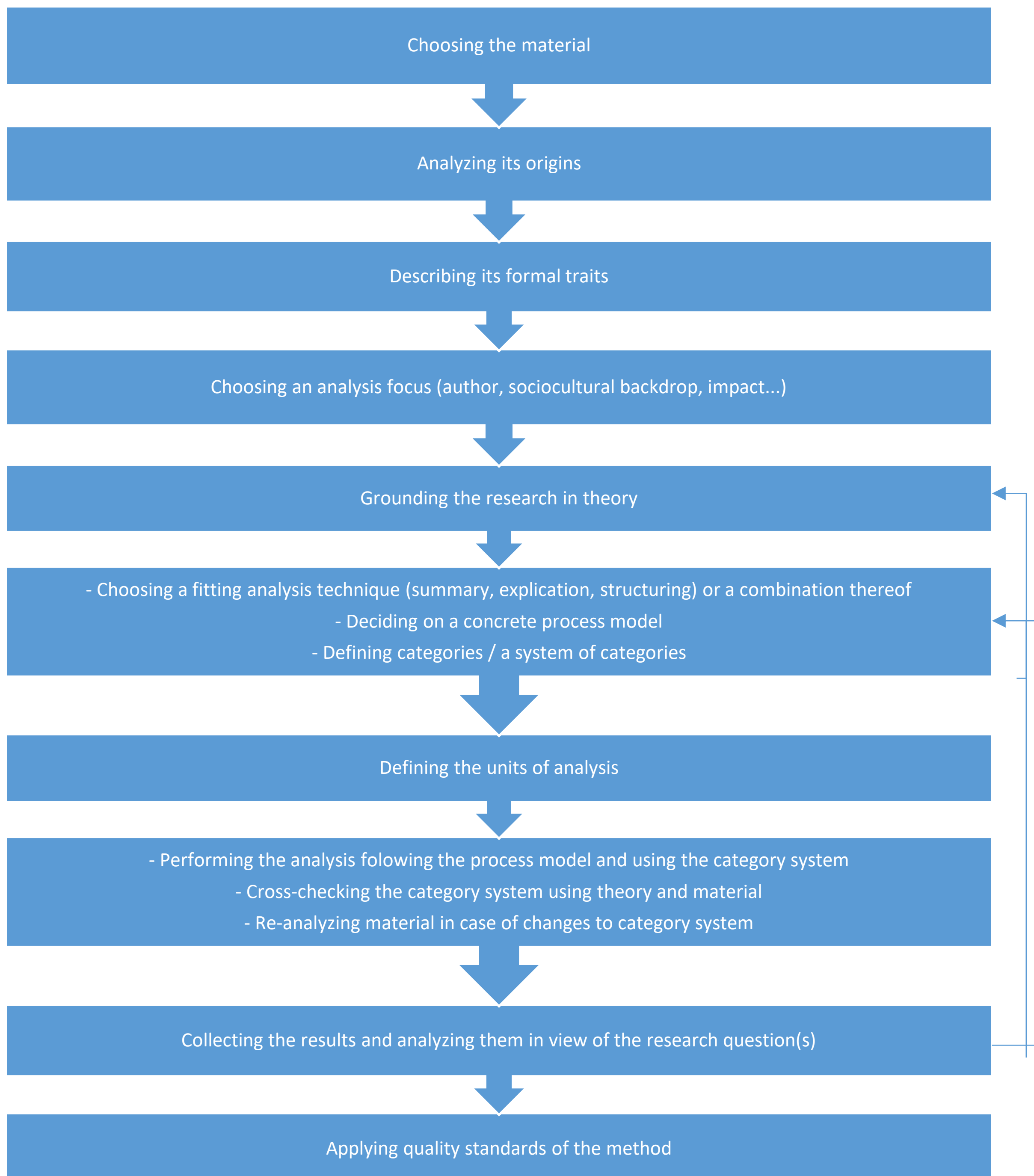

Fig. 3: The process of performing qualitative content analysis (translation from German original based on Mayring 2010: 60)

As the graphic shows, qualitative content analysis starts with collection, description and contextualization of the material. Afterwards, research questions are developed which are precise, grounded in theory and content-related [“präzisen theoretisch begründeten inhaltlichen

Fragestellung" (Mayring 2010: 57)]. Based on the research questions, an analysis method can be selected, which in the case of this thesis is a combination of summarizing (working out main/frequent points raised) and structuring (analyzing the relationship between points raised). Mayring (2010: 92) calls structuring the probably most central technique of content analysis ["wohl zentralste inhaltsanalytische Technik"], while summarizing was considered important in order to present the main findings.

At the same stage, a central step of qualitative content analysis needs to be performed: Creating categories to analyze the material with. Categories can be both inductive and deductive, and are likely to constantly be reworked throughout the analysis, hence the arrow running backwards from the analysis step. In this case, I started with a deductive development of categories based on the ARCS view on motivation, first assigning statements to the dimensions of attention, relevance, confidence and satisfaction. I also developed sub-categories within the individual dimensions, based on aspects of the dimensions mentioned in the literature such as group atmosphere or previous learning experiences.

At the analysis stage, elements of the documented communication are assigned to categories, often using paraphrases of the text. At this stage, quantitative approaches are often also used in counting element frequencies. This is the approach suggested by Mayring (2010), since the basic approach of qualitative content analysis is to maintain the strengths of quantitative content analysis and to develop, on its basis, systematic ways of qualitatively oriented text analysis ["die Stärken der quantitativen Inhaltsanalyse beizubehalten und auf ihrem Hintergrund Verfahren systematischer qualitative orientierter Textanalyse zu entwickeln" (Mayring 2010: 48)]. I will draw on element frequencies in identifying points frequently made in interviews. However, intensity of elements will also be taken into account. To qualitative content analysis, intensity and frequency go hand in hand in determining importance.

For this thesis, the analysis was performed in Microsoft Word, using a numbered list of categories assigned to color-coded text chunks using the comment function (see appendix 1 for a list of categories). After an initial round of identifying chunks and assigning them to categories, transcripts were checked again to make sure that assignment of categories was consistent across transcripts. At this stage, it was also noticed that there was a slight overlap between some categories, which was later accounted for during the analysis stage. As Mayring (2010) advises, at the next stage, chunks were extracted in a paraphrased form to make visible the relationship between categories and to check for frequencies across interviews. The aim

was to find out which aspects of task motivation are experienced by students during the task under investigation and which aspects of the task impact different motivational dimensions, and how. In a final step, it should be checked whether the analysis has lived up to the demands of qualitative content analysis.

Qualitative content analysis is usually performed on written text, meaning that spoken text such as interviews should be transcribed for analysis. Following Mayring (2010: 53), transcription should focus on content, meaning that formal aspects that the analyst views not to contribute to meaning, such as clearing one's throat, do not need to be transcribed. However, there are also cases where formal aspects can contribute to meaning. Qualitative content analysis has a pragmatic view of meaning, meaning that people work together to create and deduce shared meaning, allowing the analyst to make inferences about meaning. This view guided the transcription process of the interviews (see appendix 3 for the transcription conventions).

Performing qualitative content analysis places a number of demands on the analyst in order to be scientifically viable: Most importantly, the approach to summing up and reducing text needs to be systematic. The system of categorization plays a paramount role here. In the case of this thesis, the first analysis stage based on a preliminary transcript quickly showed the relevance of the model for students' task descriptions since many chunks could easily be assigned to categories and since many aspects mentioned in the theory, such as group atmosphere and prior task experience, were also mentioned during the interviews. However, in line with qualitative content analysis' demand for constant category monitoring and, if necessary, adapting, some smaller changes were made to the category system during the analysis stage. These include adding categories that came up repeatedly during interviews, such as "clarity of success requirements" for the dimension of confidence. Additionally, a category describing task relevance from the teacher perspective was added to collect students' comments about translingual practice in their oral group work, i.e. to capture whether the assignment allowed for translingual practice to take place. This is in somewhat of a contrast with the ARCS model, which focuses on students' perspective on task relevance, but was considered important in light of the first research question.

According to Mayring (2010), validity of categories can be increased by assigning an example from the text to each category at the beginning stage of analysis, something that I also applied at the beginning stage of my analysis (see appendix 1). Finally, after coding all preliminary transcripts, categories that did not have at least one item assigned to them were deleted.

To summarize, the coding system was first devised based on the ARCS model. Data then underwent preliminary transcription and the coding system was applied to the data. At this stage, the coding system also underwent slight modification. Data chunks were then extracted and the categories with the important mentions, both in qualitative and in quantitative respect, were prioritized during the analysis, while also taking into account relationships between categories that emerged during the interviews.

4.3.2 Interactional sociolinguistics

The methodology used in the analysis of the interactional data is interactional sociolinguistics, a branch of discourse analysis. Since this methodological approach has a particular view of human interaction, the main assumptions and understandings underpinning this methodology need to be presented. It will be demonstrated that the understanding of language and interaction that underlies interactional sociolinguistics is highly compatible with the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2, making this a suitable methodology.

In short, interactional sociolinguistics "is concerned with how speakers signal and interpret meaning in social interaction" (Bailey 2015: 1). Participants' interpretations are important, since interactional sociolinguistics, like the theories of translanguaging and translingual practice, assumes that there is no one-on-one match between utterances and the meaning that is attached to them, even if all participants have high competence in the language used. This is because participants may contextualize utterances in different ways, using different clues to build their interpretations (Schiffrin 1995). I will look at this contextualization process in more detail below. At this point, it is important to state that meaning is thus not an objectively existing state, but rather a "situated interpretation" (Bailey 2015: 1) by participants, and interactional sociolinguistics helps researchers bridge the gulf between observable interactional phenomena and derived interpretation. Just as in translanguaging theory, understanding is seen as "interactive and jointly constructed" (Roberts 1996, as quoted by Pitzl 2010: 29). Consequently, interlocutors are constantly busy interpreting the messages sent by others and working towards the desired uptake of their own messages. Humans cooperate in meaning construction and use a number of strategies to help them do so. This cooperation and the resulting strategies are not exclusive to multilingual interactions, but characterize all human communication.

Since all meaning is situated, context plays a significant role in performing an analysis using interactional sociolinguistics. Perhaps nowhere does this become clearer than in the central role the so-called contextualization cues play in creating and deriving meaning. Schiffrin (1995: 313) defines contextualization cues as "aspects of language and behavior (verbal and nonverbal signs) that relate what is said to contextual presuppositions, that is background knowledge that allows situated inferences about what one's interlocutor intends to convey". In other words, certain form-level features of an utterance (prosody, word choice, gestures, sequencing choices) let interlocutors know "what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (Bailey 2015: 4).

Contextualization cues trigger a so-called inferential process in the other participants, during which they make inferences about the intended message before finally interpreting the utterance by selecting an interpretative framework. Interpretive frameworks, such as reading an utterance as a joke, come with certain conversational norms, e.g. what can be said jokingly might not be allowed to be said seriously. Herein lies one of the difficulties of intercultural communication that once again reinforces the importance of context for interactional sociolinguistics: Contextualization cues and their associated interpretative frameworks are highly culturally bound, including such ones associated with "marginal features" (Schiffrin 1995: 313). The difficulty consequently inherent in intercultural encounters is furthered by the fact that contextualization cues are usually subconscious.

However, misunderstandings brought on by misinterpretation of contextualization cues are not limited to intercultural encounters and are not responsible for all cases of communicative failure (Pitzl 2010: 16, Kaur 2009). Since interpretative frameworks are linked to a person's background, this approach, unlike conversation analysis, considers factors such as native-speaker status as potentially relevant in an interaction even if they are not directly invoked by the participants. However, an issue that delimits context-based inferences in actual research is obviously the question of what background information to collect on participants. A compromise has to be found here between helping the researcher understand a participant's background and protecting their identity.

An important tenet that helps in successful interaction is the so-called cooperative principle, the assumption that "interlocutors are cooperative and trying to make sense" (Bailey 2015: 1). Examples of a display of the cooperative principle include conversational repair, understanding checks and phrasing more likely to be understood. Cooperation is not just limited to the

speaker, but applies to all participants. Listeners can use minimal responses such as *Mhm* and *Uhuh*, lax tokens such as *yeah*, one-word responses such as *Right*, phrases such as *I see what you mean*, repetitions, sentence completions and short ratifying utterances to provide feedback to the speaker (Tannen 1992).

Another important principle that helps construct meaning is the objective of saving face. As Schiffrin (1995: 310) writes, "social interaction – and the maintenance of face – also facilitates linguistic meaning". This is because participants will usually assume that all participants' aim is to both maintain face and help others maintain face, which helps participants choose an interpretation that would be conducive to maintenance of face.

One final term that needs to be mentioned to lay the groundwork for my analysis is that of involvement. Involvement is at the basis of every conversation, since "understanding presupposes conversational involvement" (Gumperz 1982, as quoted by Tannen 1989: 10) and "conversational involvement is the felicitous result of conversational inference, the ability to infer, globally, what the interaction is about and what one's participation in it is expected to be, as well as, locally, what each utterance means." (ibid.). Involvement can be understood both as a mental state as well as coordination in interaction. All participants thus need to be aware of their role in the interaction and of where the interaction is headed and they can support the creation of involvement in other participants by supporting correct inferences in others. Creese and Blackledge (2017) enumerate a number of involvement strategies, including repetition, mentioning details, using speech markers and dialogue texts, rising intonation and drawing on existing narratives.

Unlike conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics is more meaning-focused and prefers detailed analysis of a single case. As per Bailey (2015: 14), it "can be applied to any interaction" since people will always make inferences about others' meanings and use communicative strategies. It is usually performed on data from naturally occurring settings and interactions and tends to be used in qualitative studies of smaller samples, since context has to be accounted for. The level of detail in the transcript of audio or video data should correspond with the research interest. Since the focus is on meaning, the level of detail in transcripts is usually lower than a transcript for conversational analysis would require it to be (see appendix 3 for the transcription conventions). Once transcription has occurred, analysis should be relatively detailed (depending on the level of detail in the transcript), culturally informed and proceed line by line.

In view of my later analysis, it needs to be restated that in the view of both interactional sociolinguistics and the theory of translanguaging meaning negotiation is a joint affair. As per Tannen (1992: 453):

> "A central concern of IS [A/N: interactional sociolinguistics] is the interactive nature of conversation. The model of language as produced by a speaker alone is questioned; rather, listening and speaking are seen as inextricably intertwined. Thus any utterance by any participant in a conversation is a joint production, influenced by speaker, listener and audience."

Consequently, my analysis will focus on how this shared meaning-making is achieved in an oral multilingual task and, at a more specific level, whether students use cooperative strategies in their group work. The focus is thus on how the cooperative principle is visible in students' multilingual oral interactions, drawing on the categories mentioned by Canagarajah (2013) and in ELF literature. However, other key terms mentioned here will also be referenced in the analysis where relevant. In short, interactional sociolinguistics is an excellent tool of analysis for investigating the contributions of all parties to an interaction. Its presupposition that meaning results from interaction and not merely from action provides one with the tools for tracking how that co-construction takes place in a particular instance of interaction.

5 RESULTS

5.1 Results of the group work analysis

In the following, I will present the results of my analysis of the oral group work during which students presented their language diaries through multilingual presentations. Before beginning the presentation of my findings, it is important to restate that the aim of this analysis is not a formalized description of the language used by students. As Andersen (1993, as quoted by Kaur 2009: 12) puts it: "There is no consistency of form that goes beyond the participant level". The focus is thus on the pragmatic use of translingual practices. The practices will be grouped by the framework developed by Canagarajah (2013), while also using terminology primarily from Kaur (2009) as well as other sources on ELF. Since limitations on use of these practices are also partially imposed by the nature of the task, I also draw on interview data to also allow

students to comment on why they used their linguistic resources during the task in a particular fashion.

Since the amount of data collected for this analysis was sizeable, my analysis follows both qualitative and quantitative aspects: I will provide examples for the translingual practices most used by students, while also including such instances that most closely resemble those described in the existing literature to showcase how the task allowed for important translingual practices to take place. As mentioned previously, the particular context of these interactions should be kept in mind, and will be addressed more specifically when it comes to the task's limitations.

5.1.1 Use of envoicing

Following Canagarajah (2013), the first major strategy is envoicing. It "refers to modes of encoding one's identity and location in text and talk" (Canagarajah 2013: 80) and helps speakers establish relationships with one another. As Canagarajah (2013) writes, envoicing has not been considered much in ELF literature since the latter tends to be more concerned with semantic content. However, when using the methodology of interactional sociolinguistics, semantic content cannot be separated from the setting and speakers' identities and relationships since speakers actively use the context in their interactions. Consequently, envoicing needs to be included in this study. One issue, however, is the limited availability of background data on the participants, which makes it more difficult to trace identity expressions in the interactions.

However, there is one tool that nearly all participants use that Canagarajah (2013) also cites in his analysis as an example of envoicing: Students use laughter and humor to negotiate their relationships with each other and with the situation. While laughter and humor are found on many occasions, some characteristic instances will be presented below to illustrate their strategic use.

One instance of laughter that occurs repeatedly is located when students attempt a language switch. Laughter often occurs when students switch to a language other than Finnish or English, as in the example below: The students have just negotiated the order in which to present; this negotiation was done in Finnish. Student 3 then starts her presentation:

(1) Interaction data

1 Student 3	no niin so den första dagen •jag tittade på kläder•		
	so the first day •I looked at clothes•		
2 Student 1		((laughs))	kläder↑
		((laughs))	**clothes↑**

In this instance, the student switches from Finnish, her native language, to Swedish. While this particular student was not interviewed, most participants described Swedish as a language they found difficult to use or they avoided entirely. Participants described feeling a threshold for using the languages they felt they were not as strong at. Consequently, this switch probably requires some courage and self-motivation from student 3 to cross the threshold. She does so accompanied by her own laughter. Laughter is a common coping mechanism for stress and anxiety to begin with (Nezlek and Derks 2001) and students often used laughter in situations of overt negotiation or uncertainty probably for that purpose. In light of the assumptions of interactional sociolinguistics laughter can also be considered a contextualization cue. By laughing, students invoke a joking interpretative framework, hoping to lower the listeners' expectations and trying to create a more relaxed, low-pressure atmosphere. By laughing along, the listener in this example can be said to accept said interpretative framework. The fact that most students probably desired a rather low-pressure setting for the task and that establishing this setting was mostly successful is also confirmed by the interview data (see the dimension "confidence" in the below analysis). Switches from a "weaker" to a "stronger" language are not as often accompanied by laughter and therefore may seem more natural and easier to make to students. This might speak in favor of recommending to start with a "weaker" language but to permit switches into a "stronger" one, as the threshold for the inverse switch might be higher.

The second common way in which laughter is used is to diffuse situations of overt difficulty that require explicit negotiation. While actual misunderstandings, as showcased in the literature (Kaur 2009, Pitzl 2010), are rare, they do occasionally arise, as do other difficulties in understanding. These are not always necessarily due to insufficient linguistic resources, but can also be situational or simply be based on different assumptions. The following extract is an example of such a difficulty. Student 1 has been presenting for a while when he notices that student 2 and student 3 have not been taking any notes on their worksheets about his presentation, which appears to confuse him. The following interaction ensues:

(2) Interaction data

1 Student 1	I communicated with an exchange [student] so if you want to put that
2 Student 3	[yeah]
3 Student 3	aah I'm [sorry yeah I can do] these notes for after you have done the whole
4 Student 1	[notes notes for (x)] [oh yeah yeah]
5 Student 3	thing so
6 Student 1	ah yeah yeah
7 Student 3	sorry ((laughs))

The fact that both students successfully negotiate this misunderstanding is revealed by the particles "oh" and "ah", which according to Kaur (2009) indicate a change in the state of knowledge: Student 3 first realizes that student 1 has expected her to take notes all along, whereas student 1 later learns that student 3 is planning to only fill in the worksheet after he has presented everything. Student 3, who uses laughter repeatedly throughout the interaction, uses it here to end this difficulty on a positive note. She can also be considered to be saving the other student's face by voluntarily taking the blame for the misunderstanding. Canagarajah (2013) considers identity-encoding through laughter to be more typical for women, and while the dataset is not sufficient to comment on this, the above exchange is certainly an instance of it.

As Canagarajah (2013) writes, translingual practice also helps speakers establish relationships with each other. These are based in roles that need to be negotiated in practice, since to speak is to "populate language resources with one's own intentions and histories" (Canagarajah 2013: 80). The data show repeated instances of participants drawing on their identities as students, an identity that is easily accessed since it can be assumed to be shared across all participants. Students use this shared identity to build rapport, again strategically invoking an interpretative framework, as in the following example, where student 1 is presenting. Importantly, this exchange happens at the beginning of student 1's presentation:

(3) Interaction data

1 Student 1	Okay Wednesday the fifteenth I started my day with communications in a
2	lecture eight fifteen o clock as usual
3 Student 3	yeah ((laughter))
4 Student 1	This week •always begin at eight fifteen I mean [come on]•
5 Student 3	[((laughter))]

Since student 1 knows that the other participant is also a student, he may be considered to be making this complaint about early starts to the day in order to build rapport with the other

participant. Student 3 responds, indicating in a short fashion that she can relate. Student 1 then invokes a humorous framework, which the other student responds to, building on their shared identity. In addition, this extract also shows to what extent meaning is context-dependent: Student 3's "yeah" in line 3 not only expresses that she has understood what student 1 has said, but can also be considered to express a certain commiseration, which emerges from the analyst's knowledge of the context, i.e. the students' shared status as students. This use of the shared identity already points at an issue that emerged throughout the analysis: It is difficult to simulate a setting in which the other's identity is entirely different or unknown.

Students also use humor to maintain their relationships as equals in instances of other-correction, as the following example shows. Student 3 is doing her presentation and says that she watched an English-language show about fitness with Finnish-language subtitles. The extract begins with student 1, one of the listeners, performing a comprehension check:

(4) Interaction data

1 Student 1 but the *document* was English-lang[uage]
2 Student 3 [Eng]lish yes so I [mix the]
3 Student 2 [documenta]ry
4 Student 1 •documentary• ((laughs))
5 Student 2 •tää tää oli meidän teksti• joskus lukiossa koska me sanottiin aina
•that was our text• at some point in high school because we always said
6 dokument
7 Student 1 joo
yes
8 Student 2 dokumentti
9 Student 1 ((laughs)) •niin se tuntuu loogiselta•
•yes that seems logical•
10 Student 2 •nii• mutt dokumentti tarkoittaa nii tämmöstä [niiku] ((paper rustling))
•yes• but dokumentti means something [like]
11 Student 1 [ah]
12 Student 3 [ah]
13 Student 1 asiakirja
document
14 Student 2 asiakirja
document
15 Student 1 to[tta]
t[rue]
16 Student 3 [nii mi]ten se lausu[taan]
[so ho]w do you pronoun[nce that]
17 Student 2 [doku]mentary
18 Student 1 document[ary]
19 Student 3 [ah]
20 Student 2 ((laughs))
21 Student 1 hyvä korjaus

Good correction

As Kaur (2009) also finds in her analysis of lingua franca interactions, other-correction is relatively rare, and my dataset bears out this observation, with self-correction being more common. The above example illustrates one possible reason why: Other-correction always poses the risk of being interpreted as an attack on the speaker's face. At the same time, the example also illustrates how students use all their resources, including non-verbal ones, to avert this interpretation: After repeating student 2's correction, student 1 laughs, invoking a relaxed framework and showing a positive attitude to the correction. Student 2, who has made the correction, then tells an anecdote in which he presents the mistake as common and easy to make, even implying that he himself used to make the same mistake. Interestingly, he switches into Finnish to tell the anecdote, possibly because this face-saving move is easier to make in the mother tongue. He later joins in the laughter, and the episode ends with student 1 saying "good correction", showing that she does not feel offended by student 2's correction.

This example also illustrates the advantage of a multilingual task: The sound "ah" can be considered to signify a change in the state of knowledge (Kaur 2009). Consequently, both student 1 and 3 have learned something from this episode, i.e. the word "documentary" and its correct pronunciation. For these two students, the task has thus allowed them to improve their skills. At the same time, they were permitted to perform face-saving actions in any language of their choosing, and it is not surprising that student 2 chooses his mother tongue to do so.

As has been pointed out (Nezlek and Derks 2001), humor is strongly connected to culture and invoking a humorous framework may therefore not be as easy in multicultural settings. This issue is difficult to counter in a relatively monolingual classroom setting, particularly because invoking a humorous, light-hearted framework appears to be a relatively common strategy. However, the importance of laughter as an interactional resource points to the relevance of the translanguaging framework: Laughter is an example of a translingual resource that has a broad range of meanings depending on the context and is compatible with all kinds of linguistic resources, regardless of the language they are conventionally associated with. This shows both the flexibility of interactional resources, as well as their highly contextual nature. It is also a means of envoicing that the students know well how to use.

5.1.2 Use of recontextualization

Occasionally, negotiation of the setting becomes more explicit. This "framing for the conversational activity" (Canagarajah 2013: 93) is referred to as recontextualization. Canagarajah (2013) enumerates a range of practices that fall under the umbrella of recontextualization, including negotiation of the speed of talk and the use of idioms, during which speakers monitor listeners' receptive skills and adjust their speech accordingly. However, the data only visibly contains one practice that has to be counted under recontextualization, namely the verbalization of language use. For instance, the following example is taken from the middle of student 2's presentation:

(5) Interaction data

1 Student 2	yeah from the situation in Australia so maybe trying to get a bigger picture also
2	from there. So that was the English. Yes. Okay. Uh then we can change in
3	Swedish okei u:h

This kind of an announced code-switching, nearly always before a switch has occurred, is somewhat common but does clearly not accompany all instances of code-mixing or code-switching. It is possible that the speakers provide this kind of introduction for their own benefit to help themselves plan their upcoming utterances and to switch into a certain "mode", a phenomenon that nearly all participants mentioned in their interviews. Alternatively, students may be using this strategy to prepare their respective listeners. However, if we adopt a model where meaning is seen as "an inter-subjective accomplishment" (Canagarajah 2013: 69), these two aspects are not mutually exclusive. Instead, speakers may be using this practice to further uptake in general.

Additionally, it also needs to be kept in mind that students may not be very used (yet) to tasks that require them to use several languages actively within the same task and may experience the removal of language separation in a task as difficult. In the interviews, several participants state that they prefer monolingual tasks because the latter enable them to switch into an English/Swedish …. – mindset which they feel improves their performance. By help of this verbalization, students may be trying to establish a "momentary monolingualism" where they can force themselves, and possibly also their listeners, to (exclusively) use a language other than their mother tongue.

There is a reason why only little recontextualization occurs. As Canagarajah (2013: 80) writes about the use of recontextualization in lingua franca English, "when speakers from diverse cultural and social backgrounds use English for the negotiation of meaning, there are questions as to whose frame and which footing applies". While student populations all over the world are becoming more and more diversified, and while Finland is no exception to this trend, the course participants cannot be referred to as being from diverse cultural backgrounds. This has implications for the necessity of negotiation: Unlike in the data analyzed by Canagarajah (2013), there are no instances of e.g. a participant visibly adapting their level of idiom use after monitoring other participants' level of comprehension. And while instances of "let-it-pass" occur (see below), the level of comprehension still appears to generally be high. This is also confirmed by interview data, where no participant reported a breakdown in conversation or difficulty in comprehension in spite of little negotiation of frame and footing. As seen above, the students' shared background also has implications for the choice of interpretative framework, which is much easier to make when participants' background is shared. As mentioned above, this makes it significantly easier to employ a joking framework in particular, but, as seen here, tends to make recontextualization unnecessary.

5.1.3 Use of entextualization

Where visible differences in access to resources occur, students negotiate them successfully using other strategies, for instance entextualization. It refers to how speakers "manage their productive processes by exploiting the spatiotemporal dimensions of the text" (Canagarajah 2013: 84). According to Canagarajah (2013), these practices are more easily employed in written language, where one has access to fonts, text size and similar aspects. However, certain strategies of entextualization are also employed by the students in their oral interactions.

The most important one is probably the use of pictures. As explained in the task description above, students were able to prepare for the group work by taking pictures for their language diaries. Throughout the data, students presenting their diaries make reference to their pictures, sometimes relying on them to a point where it is difficult to guess at the picture the students are talking about, as in the following example, which is taken from the beginning of student 1's presentation:

(6) Interaction data

1 Student 1 So uh okay this begins from Sunday the twelfth and I just wanted to put this

2	because ((laughter))
3 Student 2	[((laughter))]
4 Student 3	[((laughter))]
5 Student 1	this this sometimes you must escape all the communications and just speak the
6	•language of mechanics• ((laughter))
7 Student 2	[((laughter))]
8 Student 3	[((laughter))]
9 Student 1	it's kind of own it's kind of own language the language of mechanics yeah
10 Student 3	yeah

In this extract, it is difficult to guess what picture student 1 is showing merely based on the oral interaction, which proves that the picture is substantial in communicating meaning. Combined with the nonverbal message of laughter, it seems to be enough to establish a joking framework. In the final line, student 3 actually provides agreement, showing that the meaning negotiation has apparently been successful. In the interviews, many students also mention the pictures, particularly when asked about the difficulty level of the oral task. They state that having brought pictures helped establish a structure for their presentation and that understanding the other group members was rendered easier by also being able to draw on their pictures.

The next relatively common phenomenon could be considered an example of segmentation, where speakers organize their speech in a way that makes it more conducive to uptake. There are several instances where students preface their talk with speech on upcoming content. The following is an example of this, taken from the beginning of a student's presentation:

(7) Interaction data

1 Student 1	No niin mulla on täällä äh niiku ääni- ja kuva-asioita mitä mä oon katsonut ja **So here I have uh like sound and graphic things that I have watched and**
2	kuuluttanut eli mulla on podcasteja kolmella eri kielellä (x) englanniksi **consumed so I have podcasts in three languages (x) in English in French**
3	ranskaksi ja suomeksi ja erityyppisiä ja sitten on um erikielisiä tv-sarjoja ja **and in Finnish and different and then there are um TV series in different**
4	erilaista erilaisia kieliä käytetty **languages and different different languages used**

In lines 1 and 2, the student prepares her listeners for the topic of the first part of her presentation, i.e., her media consumption. Similarly to the recontextualization practice of announcing a code-switch that was discussed above, this kind of segmentation may help both the speaker and listener achieve comprehension. This is particularly important in the face of the fact that the assignment was relatively complex and offered the students a lot of freedom. In fact, in the interviews, many students both mentioned the large differences between the diaries in their group.

A similar example are summarizing same-speaker paraphrases that often appear at the end of a student's presentation, occasionally also within them at the end of certain sub-units such as one day of the week. The following is an example, taken from student 1 finishing up his presentation:

(8) Interaction data

1 Student 1	så just to conclude this in English in the past week I have ended up situations in
2	which I have at least benefitted from English Swedish Persian and blind some
3	kind of blind people's language ((laughs)) and I I just use languages mostly to
4	survive but in the weekend I've tried to figure out Persian just for fun

As can be seen, student 1 has previously used Swedish, but decides to code-switch into English for his summary. In the interviews, student 1 described his English as very good and himself as very confident about his English skills. Consequently, he uses his language skills strategically, opting for a language he feels comfortable with for his summarizing paraphrase.

Another interesting aspect is that the listeners have not previously displayed issues in understanding, which according to Kaur (2009) often trigger same-speaker paraphrases. Consequently, this self-summarizing, or placing a same-speaker paraphrase at the end of one's turn, can also be considered an example of what Mauranen (2006) terms proactive work, as it is a specific example of same-speaker paraphrase and serves to increase redundancy. As Kaur (2009) points out, speakers not only work to combat problems when they arise, but also do work to prevent problems without the listener marking them as such. In the following, I will present some examples of proactive work by speakers. Since proactive work is an example of a collaborative strategy, it should be subsumed under Canagarajah's (2013) interactional strategies, which the next sub-chapter will focus on.

5.1.4 Use of interactional strategies

5.1.4.1 Strategy use by speakers

One feature that repeatedly appears in the data is what Kaur (2009: 182) calls the "comprehension check", which a speaker uses to "establish that his or her prior utterance has been sufficiently understood by the recipient". Speakers usually use question tags to check for comprehension. The most common ways of doing comprehension checks in the data are "yeah", "okay" and using rising intonation. In the data, the latter is most common when

students are speaking Swedish, as in the following example in which student 1 is presenting his diary:

(9) Interaction data

1 Student 1	so här har vi hade ett (.) video↑ Um det är (.) ett läkare pratade of
	So here we have had a (.) video↑ Um it's (.) a doctor talked about
2	om hälsosam situation i värld en (.) han pratade vad är nyt och (.) uh hur är i
	about health situation in world and (.) he talked what is now and (.) uh
3	värld nu med hälsosam och i Finland.
	how it is in world with health and in Finland.

The student's questioning intonation in line 1 can be considered a comprehension check, as he seems uncertain of the word ”video”: He pauses before it and then provides it with questioning intonation. Interestingly, the listeners do not always react to speakers' comprehension checks, and the above is a good example of why: In this context, the absence of a correction equals the listeners' acceptance of the word and the student can now assume that his utterance has been understood. This absence of a listener reaction is most common in cases like the above, whereas listeners are more likely to react to question tags. Again, it has to be stressed, however, that such checks are not exclusive to foreign-language use, but students also use them to e.g. negotiate in Finnish in which order they will present. Consequently, it can sometimes be difficult to distinguish a comprehension check and checking for agreement. In both instances, however, it is clear that the speaker strives for acceptance of his speaking turn by the listeners before continuing, showcasing the cooperative principle.

Another recurring tool that is mentioned by several authors and is relevant in conjunction with different strategies is the creation of redundancy. Creating redundancy can also be considered a proactive strategy, as in the following example where student 2 is talking about her movie-watching habits:

(10) Interaction data

1 Student 2	also på svenska jag tittar ofta på Wallander filmer trots att jag har sett lik[som]
	Also in Swedish I often watch Wallander movies even though I have seen
2 Student 1	[mh]
3 Student 2	rela- flera ga[nger]
	rela- several ti[mes]
4 Student 1	[((laughs))]
5	juu
	yes
6 Student 2	men uhm jag tycker jag tycker bara om att titta på de har filmer trots att jag har
	but uhm I like I like to watch only those movies even though I have

7	jag vet vad som händer i slutet men jag täncker att det är också en bra set att äh **I know what happens in the end but I think that it's also good to see uh**
8	öva lite på svenska lyssnar på [svenska] **practice a bit in Swedish listening to [Swedish]**
9 Student 1	[joo] **[yes]**
10 Student 2	språket (x) om du inte förstår nånting så har du teksten där under uhm **language (x) if you don't understand anything you have the text under it uhm**
11	yes I wrote the same thing in English I've seen them many times

In this example, student 2 repeats at least three times that she likes to watch certain Swedish-language movies even though she has already seen them several times, creating significant semantic redundancy. One of these repetitions is also made in English, a type of paraphrase or repetition that repeatedly appears in the data. Student 2 also participated in the interviews, where she professed uncertainty about her Swedish skills and stated that she would like to improve. It is possible that the redundancy stems from her uncertainty about her own level of Swedish, however, there are no comprehension checks as in an earlier excerpt. Alternatively, it is possible that she creates redundancy due to a presumed lack of skills in the listener. The latter interpretation is more in line with the literature: For instance, Kaur (2009) finds that speakers are more likely to use both problem-solving and problem-avoiding strategies if the listener's competence seems lower, stating, however, that the listener has to signal trouble for the speaker to increase their strategy use.

The issue here, though, goes back to the same issue that was already mentioned in the sub-chapter on recontextualization: The participant group is relatively homogeneous. All interview participants voiced uncertainty about their Swedish skills and two of them also voiced the presumption that they have this uncertainty in common with the other course participants. Since interactional sociolinguistics permits for relevance of context even when the speakers do not orient to said context, it is also possible that student 2 creates redundancy based on the assumption that student 1's Swedish skills are limited. It is impossible to say whose skills are more relevant for student 2's choice of redundancy in this example. However, it does point at the limitation of practicing translingual practices in a relatively homogeneous student group with some knowledge of other students' skills: It eliminates, if only to a certain extent, the need to investigate the conversation partner's resources and to then negotiate language choice and level.

The final example of proactive work that is to be addressed here is self-repair, as in the following example where student 2 is presenting:

(11) Interaction data

1 Student 2	uh joten tässä ku oli perjantai niin olin yhdellä niistä lukuisista venäjän kielen **uh so here when it was Friday so I was in one of the many lectures on**
2	ja kulttuurin luennoista uh and in Saturday I met with my friend who is from **Russian language and culture uh**
3	Russia. He studies in Saint Petersburg and we talked about Finnish and Russian
4	languages because he himselves he himself uh studies Russian. No no. He
5	himself studies Finnish.
6 Student 1	Mh

There are two instances of self-repair visible in this example: The student first makes a grammatical correction, correcting “himselves” to “himself” and then a semantic correction, correcting the subject that his friend studies. However, he does not correct the wrong preposition in English before “Saturday”. The listener then signals her understanding of the repaired version. There is no space to investigate closer what kinds of corrections students make, and the data show a range of self-repairs that speakers make, including syntax, pronunciation and word choice. It is questionable whether all these self-repairs are actually needed to create listener comprehension or whether they are due to structuralist views on “correct” language. One noticeable feature of self-repairs, however, is that they all concern instances of foreign language use, suggesting that speakers monitor their foreign-language use more closely than they do use of their mother tongue. Additionally, my data also bears out Pitzl’s (2010) observation that other-repair is not as common as self-repair, presumably because other-repair always comes with a threat to face and needs to be negotiated carefully (see section 5.1.1). In sum, self-repair is a relatively common feature in students’ foreign-language utterances.

When talking about phenomena that might be considered mistakes from a structuralist viewpoint, however, it is also important to address the absence of corrections rather than those instances where correction takes place. Generally, most of these phenomena do not negatively affect understanding, for instance the use of the wrong preposition above. From a post-multilingual turn perspective, not correcting such instances is probably the superior solution, since “appropriateness is determined by intelligibility” (Pitzl 2010: 25). In most instances where such phenomena occurred, there was neither self-correction nor other-correction, which leads to the conclusion that during the task students focused well on the level of intelligibility.

However, during the interviews, one student actually stated that she felt like the advantage of monolingual tasks is to receive more other-correction, hinting at the influence of prior language instruction by more structuralist principles. One possible solution is again to primarily connect the task to a foreign language, particularly a "weaker" one, while also permitting resources more associated with English or the mother tongue in cases of difficulty. This might lower the threshold for other-corrections in the foreign language. A similar approach is used by Daryai-Hansen, Barfod and Schwarz (2012). Additionally, it is worth pointing out that other-corrections still occasionally occurred in the multilingual task, as the data showcase.

5.1.4.2 Strategy use by listeners

Since in both interactional sociolinguistics and the theoretical framework used here "the model of language as produced by a speaker alone is questioned" (Tannen 1992: 453), some examples shall be provided in the following of how listeners get involved in meaning construction. Paradoxically, since listeners constantly monitor their own comprehension, one strategy they use is characterized by a lack of listener utterances. This is referred to as the "let-it-pass"-strategy (Pitzl 2010).

Ignoring smaller "issues" of grammar or syntax, such as in example 11, should not be counted under the umbrella of the "let-it-pass"-strategy by the listener, as the latter actually requires an absence of understanding: "The hearer thus lets the unknown or unclear action, word or utterance 'pass' on the (common-sense) assumption that it will either become clear or redundant as the talk progresses" (Firth 1996: 243). As Pitzl (2010) also points out, the "let-it-pass"- strategy can be difficult to identify because the data might not always show an absence of understanding. Nevertheless, it can be presumed that there was some use of the strategy, particularly with languages the respective listener had little or no knowledge of. For instance, one student told in her interview about another group member who had learned Korean from K-Pop songs:

(12) Interview data

"No siis se osaa koreaa oikeastaan (x) tosi hyvin ett se on niin pitkään kuunnellut korealaisia kappaleita. Se on oppinut niistä. Niin totta sitt se puhui sitä vähän enemmän jopa. Mutt kun me ryhmässä mitenkään ymmärtänyt sitä se oli hauska."

"They actually know Korean (x) very well because they had listened to Korean songs for so long so they had learned from them. They talked about that a bit more but because no one in our group understood them it was funny"

The student apparently let the text in Korean pass but did not end up frustrated since she still describes the experience as "funny".

Additionally, there is one instance where an unclear word becomes undeniably clear later in the conversation. In the following extract, student 1 is has just started her presentation:

(13) Interaction data

1 Student 1 och sen uh uh literatur uh jag läste en uh seriebok
and then uh literature uh I read a uh graphic novel
2 Student 2 mmh
3 Student 1 *Skiten* [Skiten] på svenska uh Ulla Donner som är också finska men skriver på
***Skiten* [Skiten] in Swedish uh Ulla Donner who is also Finnish but writes**
4 svenska
in Swedish
5 Student 2 [((laughs))]
6 okay men du läser på svenska
okay but you read in Swedish

Student 2 (who, again, had expressed uncertainty about her Swedish skills in the interviews) actually performs a confirmation request in line 6, presumably to give herself a level of understanding she is more satisfied with. Much later in the conversation, when student 1 has finished presenting and is now talking about the general principles of her language learning and use, the following exchange occurs:

(14) Interaction data

1 Student 1 mä valitsin tuon sarjakuvakirjan ruotsiksi vaikka mä olisin voinut lukea sen
I chose that graphic novel in Swedish even though I also could have read
2 myös suomeksi
it in Finnish
3 Student 2 mm
4 Student 1 sileen [et uh]
So [that uh]
5 Student 2 [ah se] oli sarjakuvakirja
[ah it] was a graphic novel
6 Student 1 Joo
Yes
7 Student 2 Ah okei joo se meni se meni ohi mä aattelin ett sä oot lukenut •ihan oikein
Ah okay yes I didn't catch that I thought you had read an •actual real
8 kunnon [niiku hevy duty kirjan• ((laughs))]
[like heavy duty book• ((laughs))]
9 Student 1 [u:h en mä osais ((laughs))]

[u:h I wouldn’t be able to ((laughs))]

As mentioned above, the expression “ah” is used to signify a change in the state of knowledge. It is thus clearly visible that student 1 has now understood what student 2 has read, a difficulty presumably arising from her not understanding the Swedish word for “graphic novel”. It thus becomes visible that student 2 has used the “let-it-pass”-strategy in the first extract. Even though this might be considered an extreme example of the “let-it-pass”-strategy (there are about seven minutes between the two extracts), it does showcase its general principles: Student 2 experiences difficulties understanding in the first extract. She focuses her efforts of confirmation requesting on what she considers to be the more important information (the question of whether student 1 is reading in Swedish, rather than what she is reading) and lets the other content pass. Interestingly, this instance of student 2 revealing her own lack of understanding is again accompanied by laughter, which student 1 responds to in kind. The students both invoke a joking, somewhat self-deprecating framework to negotiate their difficulties in understanding, a framework the use of which is probably helped by the fact that they are both students of Swedish.

Since the “let-it-pass”-strategy can be difficult to identify, the method of listener involvement found most commonly in the data are clearly minimal response tokens and related utterances. Common tokens include the minimal response “mmh”, the lax tokens “yeah” and “wow”, one-word responses such as “nice” or “interesting” and short phrases such as “that’s great”. They are often used at junctions for turn-taking or when the speaker pauses or shows hesitance, showcasing that they serve to provide confirmation to the viewer. Interestingly, some students seem to provide significantly more of these short responses than others, although this being a qualitative study it is impossible to say with certainty whether the amount of backchanneling provided is truly dependent on the person (which could also make them instances of envoicing). It is also possible that the other students are more likely to give nonverbal feedback, something that would obviously not be visible in the audio data. Additionally, Kaur (2009) points out that minimal response tokens are common in interactions between non-native speakers, since they allow the listener to save face without having to lie about their lack of understanding. Whatever the case, minimal response tokens and related short tools for backchanneling appear commonly in the data and the students appear to be well-versed in their use.

Longer instances of backchanneling are by far not as common, though examples are found in the data for many of the strategies described in the literature. The following is an example of

other-paraphrase, serving to signal agreement (Kaur 2009). Student 2 has just asked student 1 whether she thinks that she is free to choose her language or whether someone else is choosing for her:

(15) Interaction data

1 Student 1	uhm je ne pense pas que c'est ma choix **Uhm I don't think that it's my choice**
2 Student 2	mh
3 Student 1	mais un choix commun s'il y a une situation uhm uh il y a un motif pour ce **but a shared choice if there's a situation uhm there is a reason for the**
4	situation uh (.) nous detons uh choisir un langue parler uh (.) qui est bon pour **situation uh (.) we have to choose a language to speak uh (.) which is good**
5	tous de nous [(x) ((laughs]] **for all of us**
6 Student 2	[si] c'est bon c'est ce qu'elle a dit egalement que bien sur il y a des situations **[yes] it's good that's what she also said that of course there are situations**
7	ou on doit choisir une langage qui est um meilleur pour tout le [monde] **where one has to choose a language which is uhm better for every[one]**
8 Student 1	[mh]
9 Student 2	pas une langage qui est miex parlée (par nous) **not a language which is better spoken (by us)**

This exchange is interesting in that this student group was the only one to use a significant amount of resources from a non-compulsory language (French). Based on the interview and the interaction data, student 2 has more experience speaking French than student 1, as she has studied the language for a longer time. The above is a good example of how, as a listener, she supports student 1 in their interaction and how they build meaning together. She does this by employing an other-speaker paraphrase in lines 6 to 9. According to Kaur (2009), these are usually employed to elicit confirmation from the speaker; and student 1 also seems to give an affirmative reaction in line 8. Unlike in the examples provided by Kaur (2009), she does not simplify but rather renders more complicated syntax and lexis. However, a possible reason is that this paraphrase might be used more for the purpose of expressing agreement rather than to check her own understanding, as student 2 is probably aware of the fact that she has more experience speaking French than student 1.

As has already been pointed out above, outright other-repair by listeners is rare due to the threat this action poses to face. However, listeners are more likely to insert themselves where a threat to face is less likely, as in the case of candidate completions. In these cases, speakers often signal that they are in need of help. The following is an example of candidate completion that showcases well how students use all their available resources and work together to navigate a

moment of difficulty. In this extract, student 2 is presenting and has previously been using English.

(16) Interaction data

1 Student 2 Uh then we can change in Swedish okei då uh svenska är ganska (.) ((laughs))
2 ä:h
okay there uh Swedish is very (.) ((laughs)) u:h
3 Student 1 lätt
easy
4 Student 2 lätt inte inte så så jag har (x) svenska mmh ganska valmentava moduuli
5 ((laughs))
easy not not so so I have (x) Swedish mmh very prepatarory module
6 Student 1 prep- svenska pre[para voi olla]
prep- Swedish pre[para maybe]
7 Student 2 [prep-kursen] joo joo noo nii
[prep-course] yes yes well well

In this excerpt, student 2 appears to be struggling, as is visible in her pauses and expressions of hesitation. As mentioned earlier, laughter can also be interpreted as a sign of uncertainty. However, this example shows that these expressions of hesitation and uncertainty serve a communicative function, as they lower the threshold for student 1 to intervene. Student 1 does so in line 3, providing a candidate completion. In the next line, student 2 is again looking for a lexical item and uses a Finnish-language term instead, with her laughter again showing that she is probably not entirely satisfied with her solution. Again, student 1 picks up on this and offers a candidate completion. Both students in this extract do face-saving work: Student 2 invites student 1 in to volunteer help, signaling that an intervention on his part will likely not be interpreted as an attack on face. In turn, student 1 expresses uncertainty about his own suggestion in line 6 by accompanying it with “maybe”, invoking a framework that stresses their shared identity as learners of Swedish. The extract also showcases how the two students use all their available linguistic resources to communicate meaning: Student 2 translanguages in line 4 to make herself understood. It is also probably that student 1’s candidate completion in line 6 is an outcome of his drawing on knowledge of other lexical items such as the English term “preparatory”: The candidate completion is made in a hesitant manner and the lexical item is not completed. Since comprehension has primacy, however, student 2 accepts the suggested item and both participants accept the lexical imperfection.

Another tool used by listeners to help proffer their own understanding is the clarification request, used to "elicit clarification of the interlocutor's preceding utterances" (Kaur 2009: 182). In the following extract, student 3 is just finishing presenting:

(17) Interaction data

1 Student 3 and then last day I read my school books in English
2 Student 1 okay what course was it
3 Student 3 uh democracy •theory• ((laughs))
4 Student 1 so is the whole course in English or only this
5 Student 3 uh only books and materials
6 Student 1 okay

Student 1 performs her clarification request on line 4 when she asks about the course language. This clarification request could probably best be classified as a completed alternative-type question where student 1 offers student 3 two options to choose from. This type of request might be easier to respond to for the speaker, as the listener has already gone through the effort of verbalizing the two available options. Again, the episode ends with the previous listener confirming that she has now understood.

Finally, the following serves as an example of a confirmation request, used to "elicit confirmation that the utterance has been correctly heard or understood" (Kaur 2009: 182). Towards the end of student 1's presentation, student 3 checks her worksheet trying to fill in all the questions. During the presentation, student 1 had talked about speaking English with a girl from Malaysia:

(18) Interaction data

1 Student 3 Se oli malesialainen [se kaveri↑]
She was Malaysian [that girl↑]
2 Student 1 [u:h]
3 Student 3 Mikä maa se oli↑
What country was it↑
4 Student 1 Joo Malesiast
Yes from Malaysia
5 Student 3 Joo
Yes

The initial confirmation request, made in line 1 by student 3, could probably be considered a paraphrase of student 1's earlier presentation about how he had used English during the week. Unlike in the above example, where the student had been asking for unknown information, student 3 does not seek any new information, she merely seeks to check if her initial

understanding has been correct. She then uses another strategy, the same-speaker paraphrase, when student 1 only provides a minimal response in line 2. Interestingly, the same sound is interpreted by the students as one of affirmation in other instances, showing the highly situational nature of meaning. Finally, student 3 confirms to student 1 that she has understood and is satisfied with the answer. Again, the student performs the work of negotiation in Finnish. This is not always the case in the data, but appears to be the students' usual choice (see above).

As the above examples show, the students listening often get involved in the interaction and turn into the speaking party. Suggesting candidate completions or providing other-paraphrases provides feedback and support to the speaker and help participants reach conversational outcomes that are satisfying for all parties. Even though not all strategies mentioned in the ELF literature and by Canagarajah (2013) are found in the data, this is probably at least partially due to the limited number of interactions recorded since some instances were found for all major categories of strategies. The participating students thus seem to be very aware of the different translingual practices and can use them to together construct shared meaning. Partially, this is probably also due to the fact that speakers also use these strategies to construct meaning together in their mother tongues, as has become visible for instance in example 18. However, knowing how to use these strategies is even more important in foreign-language conversations, since two non-native speakers are likely to do the highest amount of meaning negotiation (Kaur 2009), for understandable reasons.

5.1.5 Use of translanguaging

While the above examples have showcased that students perform many cases of meaning negotiation using resources associated with languages they believe to be their weaker ones, the examples also include instances of resource combining, for instance with the purpose of face-saving or requesting completions, which may induce students to use resources from their mother tongue to negotiate situations more challenging to face. This illustrates an advantage of a multilingual task: Faced with a task aiming primarily at meaning negotiation, combining resources conventionally associated with different languages becomes a strength rather than an error. However, even outside such a task purpose, the strict separation of languages is difficult to maintain. We have seen above, for instance, how students use vocabulary known to them in another language to come up with a word in another language. To further illustrate this point,

this analysis will be concluded by presenting some examples of translanguaging in the task where students strategically bridge the borders between traditional language separation.

The resources that most clearly are used in stretches of speech conventionally associated with another language are lexical items taken from English. Student use terms like “screencäppi”, “character sheeti” or the above “heavy duty kirja”. These are examples of a phenomenon that has been referred to as “Finglish” (Varis 2015), where speakers of Finnish use lexical items commonly associated with English in their speech. The origins of the dominant position of English in students’ private lives are also clearly visible in their media consumption, with titles like “Skins” or “Dungeons and Dragons” being referenced in their original language even when the surrounding speech is more likely to be thought of as Finnish. This showcases how translanguaging is at least partially driven by the internationalization of lived realities, where international media is consumed primarily in English.

The inverse of students using resources from other languages to express their lived realities is much less common, although the following could be considered an example of it. Student 2 is presenting and is presumably showing a picture of an English-language course book:

(19) Interaction data

1 Student 2 A:nd fi hazi alsora in this picture is a course book as a prime example of the
in this picture
2 kurssimateriaali that I got to use in many of the courses because many of them
course material
3 have uh have English-language materials.

Although the student also uses some Arabic words, the speech is mostly made up of words associated with English, save for “kurssimateriaali”. It is possible that this is an expression of the student’s everyday practices (Garcia and Wei 2014), where the student would for instance access a course syllabus in Finnish, including the word in question. In this case, the multilingual task would allow the student to flexibly use her existing language practices.

Another explanation is that a lexical item will not always be part of the student’s repertoire from a strictly monolingual point of view. However, allowing for students to use all their linguistic resources can help in their communication, as in the following example where student 2 is presenting to student 1:

(20) Interaction data

1 Student 2 för exempel har jag tittade ganska lätt youtube videos med de har ganska uh (.)

	for example I have watched very easy youtube videos with they have very
2	picture and the voice in the same so ((laughs)) det är ganska lättare uh (.) joo
	it's very easy uh (.) yes
3 Student 1	joo jag första
	yes I understand

Student 2 is initially attempting to construct her entire utterance using Swedish-associated word items. However, she is struggling, as is showcased by the pauses and the noises of hesitation. She finally decides to use lexical items conventionally more associated with English, showcasing her use of language as an "integrated, crosslingual, non-linear, heterogeneous, patterned and dynamic" system (Meier 2017: 13). It is questionable whether the student is satisfied with her own solution, as the ensuing laughter could be interpreted as an expression of awkwardness or uncertainty (see above). However, this instance of translanguaging is successful at least in two respects: First of all, in the sense of intelligibility, which has primacy in the theories of translanguaging and translingual practice. Student 1 displays his cooperative orientation by backchanneling and signaling comprehension.

Secondly, the excerpt shows one of the principle assumptions of translanguaging as a pedagogy, namely the practice of "building on bilingual students' language practices flexibly in order to develop new understandings and new language practices" (Garcia and Wei 2014: 92). Inserting a known lexical item allows student 2 to maintain her train of thought and to continue presenting. She returns to using lexical items from Swedish. Thus, the exercise becomes a practice of oral Swedish, allowing students to build on her existing resources while developing further. This behavior may also occasionally result in neologisms, as in the following instance, in which students 1 and 2 are discussing their diaries after they have both finished presenting them:

(21) Interaction data

1 Student 2	okay on [peut] continuer en en en Francais je sais pas si ca va
	Okay we [can] continue in in in French I don't know if that will
2 Student 1	[ah oui]
	[ah yes]
3 Student 2	bénéfitter Hanna en particulier mais alors est-ce-que tu as choisi toi-meme
	benefit Hanna in particular but well did you choose yourself which
4	quelle langage tu utilises dans ces situations
	language you use in these situations

In line 3, the standard term would probably be "bénéficier". It is impossible to say whether the neologism results from the absence of the "bénéficier"-term in her vocabulary or from her

previous usage of English in the task. What is important to say is that it is highly intelligible in spite of it being a neologism, which showcases the situated and contextualized nature of meaning and the potential of drawing on existing linguistic resources. The use of deducting in example 16 can also be considered an example of this behavior of flexibly and creatively drawing on existing resources. Translanguaging pedagogy assumes that new practices and skills can be built up by relying on existing ones. For instance, the study by Daryai-Hansen, Barfod and Schwarz (2012) showcases how students manage to broaden their linguistic repertoires by drawing on all their available resources throughout their studies.

The question remains, of course, to what extent students perceive the practice of such strategies in multilingual tasks as beneficial and relevant, or whether they see them as being in disagreement with their earlier language studies. This issue will be explored in the following part of the analysis, which will focus on students' task motivation. Certain reflections of beliefs about language separation also appear throughout the interactions, such as when students announce code switches or when they appear to be dissatisfied with drawing on Finnish- or English-language terms. However, overall, it has to be stated that the participants call a large range of translingual practices their own and deploy them successfully, strategically and in cooperation to create mutual understanding.

5.2 Results of the interview data analysis

In the following, student motivation will be explored based on the individual interviews. Using the framework by Keller (1979, 1983), my findings will be structured based on the four dimensions of motivation. The interviews mostly revolved around the oral interactions in class but also allowed students to comment on their language diaries, as the two tasks are closely intertwined and the interview questions were designed to allow students to mention what they perceived to be relevant (see 4.2). It is therefore impossible to analyze motivation in the oral task in isolation. Finally, a summary will discuss which task aspects had the clearest positive impact on students and which task aspects could be improved upon.

5.2.1 Attention / Interest

Keller (1983) enumerates a range of preconditions that should be met for interest to arise. Chief among these is curiosity, which leads learners to react positively to new experiences, to explore their environment in a quest to learn more and to persist in doing so. While all students stated that they had never or only very rarely had oral tasks involving more than two languages, the task was not described as interesting based on a novelty factor alone. It is thus not enough to introduce "new, strange, incongruous or mysterious elements" (Keller 1983: 399) in the form of a new task type, but tasks need to be closer examined for what elements succeed in creating motivation.

One important precondition for exercising curiosity is feeling comfortable about risk-taking. As Keller (1983: 400) explains: "In the classroom we often say that we want to foster creativity; we want students to do original thinking. Then we punish them for giving us 'wrong' answers". Students should not be afraid of making mistakes. This is particularly important for the task at hand: As outlined in the theoretical section, the view of language underpinning both this activity and the course in general moves away from the mistake-focused approach of structuralist linguistics and towards a freer approach to language in use.

In general, both the oral and the diary task scored very high on this dimension: Several students mentioned the "freedom to put your own spin on the task *(vapautta että sä voit tehdä vähän niin kuin omanlaisen)"* as a positive and mentioned that the presentations in their small groups were very different, showing that the task was working in terms of allowing students to use their resources in an individual manner. There is, however, a caveat to be made here, seeing as the majority of students also voiced initial uncertainty about how the written assignment in particular was to be done. I will explore this point further in the section on confidence and expectations.

Students also lauded the fact that, while they were able to bring some pictures and notes into class, the presentation was not announced in advance and was therefore to be given rather spontaneously. For instance, when asked whether he would have liked to do more preparation for presenting, one student stated:

> (22) Interview data
>
> "Mä en tie sitten tuoko se liika töitä tai paineita joillekin ihmisille. Että niitäkin on hyvä olla tämmöisiä ex-tempore juttuja. Katsotaan miten selviydytään."

"I don't know if that creates too much work or pressure. It's also good to have ex tempore things, let's see how you manage."

While academic language classes obviously also need to prepare students for text genres like academic presentations that require more in-depth preparation, they should be preceded by smaller oral tasks that require less preparation. This is particularly important on the backdrop of the fact that communication using all available resources is an everyday phenomenon, not one restricted to high-stakes academic settings, a fact that becomes more apparent in a spontaneous oral assignment. One student even explicitly stated that the low-threshold form of the assignment made her less scared of making a mistake in one of her lesser-known languages, which is a very important step in encouraging students to make use of all their available resources. Ideally, this form of assignment should not be graded, particularly not numerically. I will comment further on the issue of grading and feedback in section 5.2.4.

Another important aspect in the context of eliciting curiosity is group dynamics: Nearly all students described the atmosphere in their groups as positive and stated that this made it easier to talk in languages other than Finnish. The positive atmosphere was usually put down to prior acquaintance or even friendship with other group members. Teachers thus should invest in group-building activities to create an environment that raises the courage to use all one's linguistic resources. Finally, several students also mentioned they found it easier to talk about their everyday language habits rather than a more abstract topic. This is also an important point in the context of encouraging students to use their lesser-known languages, since concrete topics are usually more easily explored from the point of view of skill level.

A further important precondition for interest is "a gap between a given and desired state of knowledge" (Keller 1983: 400), i.e. the perception that the available activity will lead to learning. On this point, the tasks were only moderately successful. Three students entered the diary task with the perspective that there was only little new knowledge to be gained since they already felt very aware of their own language use:

(23) Interview data

"No ehkä vähän sellainen että ku jotenkin se kielen käyttäminen tuntuu ehkä jollain tapaa että se on itsestään selvä että käyttää paljon kieliä päivän aikana. Niin sitten ehkä tuo tehtävä tuntuu sen takia jotenkin ehkä vähän turhalta koska sehän tuntuu ihan itsestään selvältä että mä puhun, mä kirjoitan, mä luen uutisia, mä teen kaiken eikä mun tarvi niinku erityisesti tiedostaa enkä tehdä kielipäiväkirjaa kun mä tien sen muutenkin."

> *"Well maybe language use it's such a matter of course to use several languages a day so in that way the task maybe felt a bit pointless because it's so logical that I talk and I write and I follow the news, I do everything so I don't have to be conscious of that and do a diary because I knew that anyway."*

This issue of a small curiosity gap could be alleviated by guiding students to even deeper reflection with the help of questions. However, one student out of the three also stated that she ended up actually having a surprising new insight from the tasks, meaning that learning expectations do not necessarily correspond with actual learning and showing that there is value in the reflection. I will return to this point in the section on outcomes. Finally, some students also stated that they were looking forward to taking pictures and talking about their everyday lives. This could be connected to Keller's (1983) emphasis on the fact that people tend to prefer the concrete and personal over the abstract and impersonal, proving that the lack of a curiosity gap can at least somewhat be made up for with the insertion of a "personal, emotional element into otherwise purely intellectual or procedural material" (Keller 1983: 402). The teachers also further supported this by encouraging students to talk about their personal experiences at the warm-up stage.

An issue in the context of making material personal and concrete relates, of course, to the fact that the view of language present in the course may diverge quite significantly from the one students have previously encountered. As discussed in section 3.1, formal education systems, not only in Finland, will often still practice a two-halves approach with strict language separation and grading in accordance with structuralist criteria. Additionally, Western institutions of education tend to have a strong monolingual tradition, meaning that views such as those brought on by the multilingual turn may seem somewhat foreign to students. One major goal, however, as mentioned in 3.2 and 3.3, was to introduce these concepts to the students in clear terms and to make visible their relevance for students' own life. While relevance is discussed in the next section, the extent to which the tasks succeeded in making key concepts and ideas less abstract was tested in the interviews by asking students to describe what they thought to be the learning outcomes of the tasks in their own words. This was, overall, very successful: The most frequently mentioned points were becoming aware of one's own language use, practicing skills in one language as well as multilingualism skills, surviving in multilingual situations and gaining the courage to speak. There were also some outcomes mentioned that were not planned; these will be discussed in the section on outcomes. Consequently, it can be said that the tasks succeeded in creating a visible connection for the students between their lived realities and the views and concepts of the multilingual turn.

Finally, it needs to be mentioned that Keller distinguishes between arousing and sustaining interest. Due to the methodology chosen, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between the two, since no data on motivational aspects were collected during the tasks. However, some points emerged during the interviews that may have helped sustain students' interest: One student in particular stated that she enjoyed listening to the other group members' good pronunciation and that she was looking forward to getting to practice a lesser-used language. For the diary task, while most students enjoyed taking pictures, one student stated that he found it "annoying (*"ärsyttävä*)*"* to always have to remember to take pictures. The good news is that, according to Keller (1983), sustained interest is supported by high task relevance, meaning that understanding task relevance helps make inferences about how well interest is maintained. Consequently, students' statements on task relevance shall be investigated next.

5.2.2 Relevance

As already mentioned above, motivation for a task is maintained longer if the task is perceived as relevant. This is because "sustained motivation requires the learner to perceive that important personal needs are being met by the learning situation" (Keller 1983: 406). These can include physical needs as well as for instance need for achievement, affiliation or power. Generally, "personal motivation will increase with increases in the perceived likelihood of a task to satisfy a basic need, motive or value" (Keller 1983: 407). It is important to stress that these needs, motives or values need not be explicitly invoked in the task. Instead, the study of motivation, particularly in more modern views and when using qualitative approaches, is more complex and can account for a larger number of background variables that exist in complex relationships with each other to account for the "intricate motivational life" (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011: 9) that takes place in the average (language) classroom. In a multilingual task in a multilingual course, this complexity further increases. Nevertheless, a certain simplification is inevitable if one wants to present data. I will thus follow Keller (1983) in his examination of three basic types of values that drive relevance: instrumental value, personal-motive value, and cultural value.

First of all, motivation for a given task is assumed to be higher when "it is perceived to be a required step for attaining a desired future goal" (Keller 1983: 408), which is referred to as instrumental value. Consequently, in the interviews, students were asked about their language

studies, their subject studies, their career plans and the role language skills played in them with the aim of getting a glimpse into students' goals and what they mean for their valuation of different language skills to gain an insight into the instrumental value.

One goal mentioned by all the students was to pass the compulsory Swedish exam. This was the way that Swedish most commonly appeared in students' future goals. One student said that "many are scared of using Swedish and are afraid of the exam (*"tosi moni arastelee käyttää sitä ruotsia ja pelkää sitä tenttiä*)". Consequently, most students had the sub-goal of improving their Swedish skills "at least to the level that I can get my BA degree *(sille tasolle että ainakin ei jää kanditutkinto siitä kiinni)"* and the view that most students in the course would probably have to improve their Swedish was relatively common. Thus, it can be said that the cultural value, meaning that "a desired goal is perceived to be consistent with the values of […] reference groups" (Keller 1983: 408), is high in the case of tasks that aim at improving Swedish skills (at least as long as this aim is visible to students). Swedish, however, appeared less or not at all in students' goal descriptions beyond the BA degree.

For English, the situation is somewhat reversed: Most students felt confident about their English skills (this point will be revisited in the section on confidence). While one student mentioned that he felt he no longer had to work on his English, the others gave the sub-goal of wanting to improve their English. One student even expressed a desire to have courses entirely in English. English also featured prominently in students' descriptions of the language skills they believed they would need in the future.

Swedish and English, however, are compulsory languages and the main foreign-language components of the course. Since the aim of the multilingualism section is also to incorporate other languages into the course to draw on a wider range of students' linguistic resources, it also needs to be examined what role other language skills play in students' future conceptions. In the interviews, students were usually not asked about the role of specific individual languages, unless they themselves had mentioned the language themselves. Instead, students were merely asked to describe their language learning goals and habits at university and to talk about the language skills they believed they were going to need in the future.

One major issue in language studies that was raised by all students is lack of time. As one student explained:

(24) Interview data

"Tottakai mä haluan että kehityn jä näin, mutta sitten toisaalta mä en lue muita kieliä ja mä koen että yliopisto on täynnä niin paljon kursseja jotka kiinnostaa paljon enemmän kuin kielten opiskelu näiden pakollisten kielien lisäksi."
"Of course I want to get better, but I'm not studying other languages, and I feel like there are so many classes at university that interest me so much more than language studies in addition to the compulsory languages".

Several students stated that they were trying to find smaller, low-threshold ways of incorporating language learning or maintenance into their everyday life, such as spending time with exchange students or watching Swedish-language television, and one student mentioned that the group work phase had actually provided her with new ideas for doing so. These activities are probably not only driven by a desire to *improve* skills, but also by a desire to *maintain* skills. Several students mentioned that they had studied additional languages previously (German, Spanish and French) and now found it unfortunate that they could not continue their studies. On this backdrop, tasks that allow students to use all their linguistic resources gain relevance because they align with students' instrumental values, at least if used regularly: Even if a student might not have the time to take a course in French, they can still make a contribution to maintaining their French skills when compulsory classes allow or even demand students to use all their existing skills. This is also, however, dependent on how multilingual tasks are instructed and implemented: Language use in several small groups was restricted to Finnish, English and, sometimes, Swedish even though further resources would have been available according to the interviews.

For students who are actively studying another foreign language in addition to English and Swedish, a multilingual task can also be an opportunity: One student was actively studying German at the time of the interview and said about the presentation:

(25) Interview data

"Ja mä oikeastaan olin tosi innostunut mun vuorosta koska mä olin niinkun miettinyt mitä mä sanon saksaksi. Se on aina silleen koska mä osaan saksaa kyllä vähemmän mutta mä oon tosi kiinnostunut opiskelemaan sitä joten jos mun pitää sanoa jotain saksaksi mä on hirveän innostunut mun vuorosta. Ja sitten mä odotin mun vuoroa sanoa jotain saksaksi."
"I was actually really excited about my turn because I had thought about what I can say in German. It's always like that for me because I know less German but I'm really interested in studying it so when I know I have to say something in German I am always super excited for that. So I was waiting for my turn to get to say something in German."

Depending on students' interest in language studies, interest in a multilingual task may thus be quite high and while no other student expressed such a current learning goal in relation to a specific non-compulsory language, most students stated the importance of language studies for themselves to be quite high.

Since the UVK studies are designed with the purpose of preparing students for both their (later) studies and their later professional life, it also needs to be examined how students' future plans relate to the relevance of this example of a multilingual task:

The main language that appeared in students' goals and conceptions was English, followed by Swedish and, to a much lesser extent, German and French. Several students stated that they were planning on working in international tasks and cited English as the most important language for their future plans. Swedish was mentioned as relevant for tasks in the field of national politics, while German and French were mentioned as good languages to know when working for the European Union. When students were talking about their further studies and work in the field of academia, English was the only language mentioned outside of the compulsory Swedish exam, with students referring to the fact that research is nowadays primarily published in English.

Interestingly, in describing their learning needs and wishes, students usually gave language-specific descriptions such as "getting for example my English to the level where I can talk expertly about things from my own field *(kunhan saan kehitettyä mun esim englannin kielen taso sille tasolle että pystyn oman alan asioista oikeisti asiantuntevasti puhumaan)"* and made few mentions of interactional practices. Partially, this is probably the outcome of the aforementioned conception of language separateness in Western education systems. However, interview data as well as the previous section also suggest that students already possess a number of interactional skills gained through work, studies and everyday life, which, as per Garcia and Kano (2014) could be conceived of as translanguaging practices. When asked about multilingual situations they had found themselves in, students gave numerous examples usually involving two languages: translating for a relative, polyglot dialogue with friends, "metrolingualism" in joking interactions with friends, interacting with exchange students with poor English and attending multilingual events. Subject studies also regularly require translanguaging skills that were mentioned by all but one student and always involve Finnish and English:

(26) Interview data

"Jos meillä on joku suomenkielinen kurssi, nii silti se lähdemateriaali saattaa olla enkuksi. […] Nykyjään on kaikki tieteellinen kirjoittaminen enkuksi, niin saattaa olla jokus hirveän haastava tehdä sitä kääntämistä koko ajan suomen puolelle."
"So if we have a class in Finnish, the source material may still be in English. [...] So anyways now all the academic writing is in English. And then it can be super difficult to do that translating all the time into Finnish."

(27) Interview data

"Kuten mä sanoin, meillä on tosi paljon aineistoa englanniksi. Jos on vaikka yksi kurssi jolla mä käyn niin siinä on aina luentopäiväkirja, niin siinä on tosi paljon englanniksi materiaali mistä pitää aina kirjoittaa luentopäiväkirjaan merkintä […]. Materiaali on englanniksi ja kirjoitat siitä suomeksi."
"Like I said, we have a lot of sources in English. For example one course I'm currently taking a course where you have to do a lecture diary and there is a lot of material in English about which you have to write entries [...] So you get the material in English and then you write about it in Finnish."

The first student actually cited this practice in subject studies as a good reason for training language switching in the UVK course. The second student stated she would like to work in the same manner with her lesser-known languages, but doubted that her skills were good enough to do so. The latter was an issue repeatedly cited by students as a reason for not using a specific resource, citing too low a skill level. For instance, when asked about multilingual interactions outside the classroom, one student stated:

(28) Interview data

"En mä oikein tie. Ku se on […] oikeastaan semmonen niiku, jos vaikka sattaisi olla joku vaihtari täällä, niin nekin puhuu enkkua. [...] Niin sitt en mä oikein, niin kuin mä sanoin mä oon joskus opetellut espanjaa, mutta en mä niiku ymmärtäis siitä mitään jos joku puhuis mulle, kyllä se aika haastava ois."
"Well I don't know. It's just like, if there's an exchange student here for example, they also speak English. So I don't really. Like I said, at some point I was studying Spanish but I wouldn't understand if someone was speaking to me, it would be quite hard."

Consequently, while most students would like to maintain their language skills, lesser-known languages are often not used for the reasons mentioned above. This makes it even more important to incorporate them into compulsory language studies: The more skills remain unused, the more they atrophy. Tasks should, however, be low-threshold to also allow students to draw on their lesser-known languages. Additionally, they should be interspersed with sections that allow students to focus on individual languages: Several students cited that they preferred tasks that allow them to focus on using one language because they made it easier to

get used to using the language. One student for instance mentioned that she found it easier to speak English in a monolingual course because "if it's a monolingual English course, then maybe you have already gotten used to the fact that you constantly need to use English (*jos sä oot jossain pelkän englannin kurssilla niin sitt sä ehkä joudut tottumaan siihen että sä joudut puhumaan englantia koko ajan)"*.

Another issue that was raised related to the relevance of other-corrections, which at least one student saw as more helpful when coming from participants with similar language skills:

> (34) Interview data
>
> "koska siinä on […] muutkin puhuu sitä kieltä ja etenkin kun on vielä aloittelija siinä kielessä niin sitten se on silleen. Jotenkin jos muut ymmärtää mitä sä sanot tai jos tekee virheen niin se on ehkä enemmän semmoinen (x) jos se vaikka sanoo pitää käyttää vaikka datiivia. […] niin se toinen voi korjata ja sä opit siitä. Tässä se oli enemmän että mä puhun omaksi iloksi […] ja mä jotenkin tykkään jos se on minulle uusi kieli että mä pystyn oppimaan sitä vaikka sitä on kiva käyttää nii must on kivempi kuitenkin se että mä vielä opin siitä. Että jos on saksan tunnilla ja joku pystyy korjaamaan jos mä teen virheen. Mutta sitten taas jos puhuu ihmisille jotka ei osaa sitä kieltä ollenkaan, niin ne vaan kuuntele silleen 'siinä sä nyt puhut kieltä jota mä en ymmärrä'."
> *"because there the others also speak the language and especially when you're still a beginner in the language, when the others understand you, they notice you make a mistake and tell you for example to use dative […] so the other person can correct you so you learn from that. There it was more like I talk for my own entertainment […] and somehow I like when it's a new language for me that I can learn it. Even though it's great to use it, for me it's more fun if I also learn from it. When I'm in German class someone can correct me when I make a mistake but when you speak to people who don't know the language at all, then they just listen to you like 'So you speak a language I don't understand'."*

In addition to this student's explanation of language skills as a factor, it is possible that obstacles to other-correction are lower in a monolingual class also due to students' expectations: If a task is perceived as aiming at grammar practice, other-correction may feel less threatening to face. If students' own goals are focused around structuralist factors, this may make a task appear more relevant to them. However, a focus on structuralist factors also comes with certain risks: With Swedish in particular, several interview participants reported that in the task they either only used the language very shortly or avoided it entirely. This is in line with findings by Bergroth-Koskinen and Seppälä (2012), who find that university students are often performance-focused. In a rather free-form task such as the one studied here, which allowed students to freely choose what resources to use without any restrictions, many students

may consequently have the tendency to avoid using their lesser-used resources, which leads to a vicious circle.

Since relevance is not based on a task *actually* contributing to reaching a goal but instead about the *perception* of it doing so, it is important to both include sections that allow students to focus on individual languages as well as to make explicit the skills that get trained in multilingual tasks. This also caters to the fact that interest is also grounded in varied teaching methods and tasks (Keller 1983): Several students cited that they would enjoy having occasional multilingual tasks, saying for instance that these would be fun. More detailed suggestions for multilingual interactional tasks, however, will be made in the discussion section.

Finally, personal-motive values pertaining to task relevance shall also be addressed: The dimension of achievement will be discussed in the section on satisfaction and outcomes. Affiliation needs can be met in tasks that "establish trust and provide opportunities for no-risk, cooperative interaction" (Keller 1983: 412). In this sense, tasks training translanguaging skills, if introduced correctly, are ideal because, by their very nature, they require cooperation. The extent to which this succeeded was already covered in section 5.1. However, as already mentioned above, students generally described the atmosphere in their small groups positively. Giving students freedom in task implementation, allowing them to bring notes and pictures into the presentation task and not (numerically) grading the tasks were further seen to reduce risk. Interview data show that a positive group atmosphere and students feeling comfortable in the group work led them to use an even broader extent of their linguistic resources during the presentation (see also Dörnyei 2002). For instance, one student who had not included Swedish in her language diary and was thus not obliged to use it during the presentation ended up using Swedish in the interaction in spite of that, saying that "because the other person was speaking Swedish so maybe it was also fun in the situation to maybe interrogate them a little bit and get them to speak more Swedish *(koska se kaveri puhui siinä ruotsiksi niin ehkä se oli myös siinä tilanteessa hauska vähän yrittää häntä hiillostaa että hän joutuu puhumaan lisää ruotsia)".*

This ability to flexibly adapt to the situation is an important skill, but requires the students to feel comfortable with risk-taking, particularly on the backdrop of the fact that all participants mentioned a certain anxiety connected particularly to the use of their lesser-used resources. This will be investigated further in the following section on confidence.

To close this section on relevance, a word of caution is in order: As Keller (1983: 414) states, "the important principle for the instructional designer to retain is that motivation for learning

is enhanced when the *perceived relevance* of the instruction is increased" (emphasis in the original). Consequently, this section has focused on relevance from the students' point of view. Relevance from the teacher's perspective, i.e. how well the oral task allowed students to practice translanguaging skills, was already covered in section 5.1, where I also made reference to relevant interview data.

5.2.3 Confidence / Expectancy

The dimension of confidence is grounded in the idea that "a person's attitudes towards success or failure have a causal influence on actual events" (Keller 1983: 415). Again, since the ARCS model is a metatheory, Keller subsumes a number of existing constructs under the confidence header, only some of which can be explored here based on the quantitative and qualitative extent to which they came up in the interviews.

Generally, "personal motivation will tend to increase with increases in personal expectancy for success" (Keller 1983: 418). An important predictor for personal expectancy are prior experiences in the same or similar tasks. In the interviews, students were thus asked about how they viewed themselves as language learners, language users and their prior experiences in language studies. There were both similarities and differences across students' reports: All but one student reported some anxiety about using foreign languages, and even the one remaining student reported anxiety in high-stakes situations like graded presentations. Anxiety was often put down to lack of using the language, perceived lack of skills and the perception that skills did not match demands. The latter was particularly common for Swedish. "Voluntary" languages were usually described as less anxiety-inducing, since the perceived demand level was lower. Success expectancy thus tends to vary by language, with the following quote being quite representative of the distribution:

(29) Interview data

"Mä koen että mä oon tosi hyvä englannissa ja mä koen että mun aksentti ei oo semmonen perus-suomi aksentti. Mulla on semmonen aksentti ett sitt kuule että mä oon eurooppalainen mutta mä uskon että kukaan ei joku jengi vaikka ei (x) mistä mä oon suoraan. Niin englanti on mulle tosi helppo puhua, että mä oon pystynyt hoitamaan tosi stressaavissakin tilanteissa ulkomailla englanniksi asioita niiku puhelimessa. Mutta esimerkiksi ruotsi on mulle, sitä en käytä ollenkaan, mä en oo yhtään varma ruotsin kanssa. Ruotsi on mulle aina hirveän ahdistava kun sitä pitää käyttää. Sitten esimerkiksi saksa, niin kuin mä sanoin, se on mulla tosi jännittävä päästä sitä, että mä jopa ootan että mä pääsen sitä käyttää. (x) mua kiinnostaa

opiskella saksaa. Ja mulla on paljon myönteisempi suhde saksaan kuin mulla on ruotsiin. Niin se riippuu mun mielestä tosi paljon kielestä, miten paljon pääsen käyttämään sitä."
"I think I am very good at English. I don't have a typical Finnish accent, I have an accent where you hear that I am European but for example wouldn't (x) where exactly I am from. So it's very easy for me to speak English, I have also been able to resolve really stressful situations in English when I was abroad on the phone. But for example with Swedish, I don't use it at all, I'm not at all certain of it, Swedish is always super stressful for me. And then for example German, like I said, I'm even excited for getting to use it because I find it interesting to study German. And I have a much more positive attitude to German than to Swedish. So it depends a lot on the language, how much I get to use it"

As mentioned above, most students had already made successful experiences in multilingual settings both in their subject studies and outside the classroom, usually involving Finnish and English. Success expectancies for other languages, however, were much lower due to lack of these experiences. It is thus important to create success experiences in the classroom and to introduce tasks early that include using lesser-used linguistic resources. Multilingual tasks are ideal in that respect, since they allow students to support their "weaker" languages with resources from other languages, as was seen in the first part of the analysis. This creates success experiences that increase task motivation in later tasks. This is particularly important in the case of Swedish, where expectations of others are usually assumed to be high (Keller 1983: 416) and students worry about their own skill level.

In the case of translanguaging skills, self-assessments were more variable. Some students described themselves as experienced multilinguals, with one student stating for instance:

(30) Interview data

"Must tuntuu itsestä on ihan luonteva vaihtaa kielestä toiseen, vaikka nopeastikin."
"For me it's very natural to switch from one language to the other, even quickly."

These students were usually also the ones that reported regular multilingual interactions in their everyday lives. Other students had lower expectancy of themselves as multilinguals, stating for instance:

(31) Interview data

"Koska jos mä en tällä hetkellä oo niin hyvä puhumaan eri kieliä, niin sitt se tuntuu tällä hetkellä myös aika kaukaiselta ajatukselta että mä puhuisin jotain viitä kieltä."
"Because maybe if I'm not so good right now at speaking different languages, it feels like a farfetched thought to think that I would speak five languages."

Since this is a qualitative study, it is impossible to say whether self-image as a multilingual truly depends on prior instances of multilingual interactions, but both the ARCS-framework and the interview data indicate so. Interestingly, as mentioned above, all students can be presumed to have a certain amount of experience in multilingual situations since subject studies often involve both Finnish and English. Following the idea that previous experience increases expectancy, which in turn increases motivation, it is important for the teachers of multilingual classes to point out these previous experiences to show students that they already possess a certain set of translanguaging skills – in fact, reading in one language and discussing in the other, which students report they often do, lies at the origin of translanguaging in language instruction (Conteh 2018). Pointing this out could be expected to increase success expectancy.

This point undoubtedly connects to another important dimension of expectancy, that of task difficulty. According to Keller (1983), an overly easy task may initially increase expectancy, but later lead to boredom and a worse performance, while an excessively difficult task will decrease success expectancy. When asked to assess task difficulty, the response was overall quite positive, indicating that the task had the right level of demands. Students reported that it helped that the task revolved around everyday activities, that they were allowed to bring notes into class and that putting thought into the language diary helped prepare for the presentation task. They also did not report any full breakdown of communication, while still encountering smaller issues that required solving (see the next section), which also points at a fitting difficulty level.

When contrasted with monolingual courses or tasks, students usually reported that they found it more difficult to use foreign languages in the multilingual task (see above). However, this is not to be seen as a weakness of the task because tasks involving translanguaging will demand skills that strictly monolingual tasks do not but that were part of the learning goals of the task. Part of the negative impact this has on students' expectancy could possibly be alleviated by talking even more clearly about the objectives of the oral task: In talking about their performance, two students mention that they had "problems" using Swedish and criticized their pronunciation and grammar. While this focus is probably also an outcome of prior language instruction that still tends to be structuralist, courses that involve multiple languages should thus still have tasks involving primarily one language to allow students to focus on issues like grammar and pronunciation, while it should be made clear that translanguaging tasks like this one also train skills in addition to those conventionally associated with foreign language

instruction. Additionally, it is also worth pointing out that comprehensible language use always requires a certain level of "correctness".

Finally, a note should be made on the issue of feelings of control: Keller (1983) states that expectancy is assumed to be higher when a task induces feelings not only of personal competence, but also of control. Based on the interview data, this is the case and is generally a positive dynamic: Students appreciated that they had freedom with the language diaries and the presentation and that the task was not graded. One student remarked that she found the task very personal, meaning it was good that students could choose their own approach. Control also interacted with task difficulty: When asked how using her lesser-known languages in the task succeeded, one student remarked for instance:

(32) Interview data

"Must tuntuu että kaikki valitsi semmoisia helppoja kohtia siitä mitä kertoo siinä kielessä. Niiku pääasiat enkuksi ja suomeksi."
"I think everyone picked easy things to talk about in that language. The main things in English and Finnish."

Based on interview data, this seemed to be a common approach. On the one hand, this is a positive thing, as it hands over control to the students and allows them to practice their lesser-known languages in a low-threshold, no-pressure way. On the other hand, it may also lead to what one participant referred to as "sidestepping" lesser-known languages or languages students may have less interest in practicing. In fact, some groups did not use any other languages in addition to Finnish and English. To what extent students should be obliged to use a particular language is thus an important question for teachers of multilingual courses. A good solution might be to make use of receptive skills, since the threshold for their use can be assumed to be lower than with active skills.

Another issue lies with the interaction between control and what Keller (1983: 419) calls "requirements for success", i.e. the objectives of a task: While the task instructions were clear enough to allow the students to do the tasks, the interviews revealed some uncertainties with several students about how exactly the diary in particular was to be done: Questions related for instance to the length of the diary, the language it was supposed to be done in and the amount of text that was required to accompany the pictures. These issues do, however, form the flipside to the freedom and sense of control the task instructions apparently conveyed. According to the interviews, they also did not cause any major problems: The task was not graded and these

issues related more to technicalities rather than to the overarching objectives of the task (see section 5.2.2).

5.2.4 Satisfaction / Outcomes

Satisfaction is the final dimension of task motivation in the ARCS-model, both in terms of students' relationship with a task and in terms of the layout of the theory. Keller (1979, 1983) distinguishes between extrinsic and intrinsic outcomes, where "*extrinsic outcomes* result from environmental controls and circumstances, and *the intrinsic outcomes* result from one's internal emotions and evaluations in response to the performance" (Keller 1983: 422, emphasis in the original). Intrinsic outcomes are generally seen as superior to extrinsic outcomes, not only according to Keller's metatheory, and can even negatively affect intrinsic outcomes, with students' reliance on extrinsic payoffs suppressing extent and intensity of intrinsic payoffs. Interviews thus focused on intrinsic satisfaction, while also including some questions about feedback and grading, which however, to some extent, have already been addressed above.

Overall, task satisfaction appeared to be high. When asked about what they had learned from the presentation task and the diary task, respectively, two students gave the following answers:

(33) Interview data

"Ehkä eniten mä itse mietin sitä kun me käytiin niitä läpi ja sitten vaikka joku mun kaveri sanoo että se katsoo kaikki reseptit englanniksi ja mä olin silleen 'what', koska ei oo samoja ainesosia tai lähikaupassa […] ja kaikki tällaisia eri juttuja. Ja sitt ehkä kun mä oikeesti laitoin viikon paperille ja mä (x) silleen että miten paljon mä käytän suomea ja miten vähän muita kieliä. Nii sitt ehkä itse tulee sellainen ett 'aaah miks mä oon taas unohtanut katsoa uutiset ja miks mä oon taas unohtanut vaihtaa tekstitykset vaikka ruotsiksi' ja kaikki tällaista mitä mä itse ajattelen että mun pitäis tehdä niin koska se on hyödyllistä mutta sitten mä oon vaan laiska ja en saa tehdyksi sitä. Nii ehkä tuo toi itselleni sellaista no nii, nyt pitäis alkaa käyttää niitä kieliä."
"Maybe mostly I think, when we were presenting and someone else said they only use English-language recipes, I was like 'what', we don't even have the same ingredients. And then when I really put my week on paper and I (x) how much I use Finnish and how little I use other languages, then I get like 'aaah, why did I forget again to watch the news in English' and 'why didn't I put subtitles in Swedish', all these things that I think I should do because it's useful, but then I'm just lazy and I don't get it done. So maybe that gave me this 'okay, now I should start using these languages'."

(34) Interview data

> “Mä havahduin miten paljon mä käytän englantia arjessa. Siis mä tajusin että mä käytän oikeastaan päivittäin englantia ja suomea. Että mä en ollut koskaan ajatellut että mulla ois englantia ihan päivän alusta päivän loppuun asti koko ajan niiku elämässä läsnä.”
> *“Well, I noticed how much I use English in everyday life. I realized that I actually use English and Finnish every day. I never would have thought that I use English from morning to evening and that it’s always present in my life.”*

These learning outcomes (reflecting on own language use vs. ideas for studying) diverge from each other and thus show that the tasks offered several different sources for gaining intrinsic satisfaction that are all relevant for the tasks’ purpose: Being aware of one’s existing resources helps one for instance in drawing up development goals, while knowing how to extend one’s language skills helps one gain access to an even greater range of resources. Another student noted that the language diary assignment actually had an impact on his language use during the week under examination and that he felt like the diary motivated him to engage with a broader range of linguistic resources than usual:

(35) Interview data

> “Se kannusti mua siinä, koska mä halusin opiskella sitä persiaa siinä ja sitten muutenkin. Kyllä se sattaa olla että se vaikutti vähän alitajuisesti. […] Ja sitten taas siinä on semmonen kahtalainen: Siinä on hyvä vaikutus oli sillä kielipäiväkirjalla mun tilanteisiin, ja sitten taas niillä tilanteilla oli hyvä vaikutus siihen kielipäiväkirjaan.”
> *“It motivated me, and I had intended to learn a bit of Persian there and in general. It’s possible that it influenced me subconsciously. [...] And there’s two sides: The language diary influenced the situations positively and the situations influenced my language diary positively.”*

Since this is a qualitative study, it is impossible to say to what extent keeping the language diary and knowing it would have to be presented motivated the other students to modify their language practices. In any case, this can also be considered a positive outcome from the point of view of translanguaging skills, since engaging with lesser-known or even unknown languages can train skills such as making inferences, tolerating uncertainty and asking for rephrasing.

As mentioned above, students’ satisfaction with their performance in the oral presenting task was somewhat hampered by a structuralist focus on grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. However, overall, students’ intrinsic satisfaction with the outcomes of the oral task was still high. In their answers, some students also mentioned interactional skills, such as “I tried to maintain our conversation and ask others (*mä yritin pitää sitä meidän keskustelua yllä)”* or

"the others understood what I had gotten out of it (*muut ymmärsi mitä mä olin siitä saanut irti)"*. It thus seems to be a good solution to focus on interactional skills during the warm-up stage and to stress that the main aim is not to produce flawless grammar and pronunciation.

Finally, some short remarks shall also be made about extrinsic feedback: As already stated above, many students remarked on the fact that both tasks allowed for a variety of personal approaches, meaning that diaries and presentations differed. This can make performance evaluation, which Keller (1983) cautions against in any case, more difficult. In the interviews, students did say that they considered it a positive thing that the language diary in particular was not graded:

> (36) Interview data
>
> "ehkä se on vähän sellainen tilanne tai siis sellainen tehtävä että kaikki teki sen niin eri tavalla. Että vaikka joku panosti siihen että se on tosi visuaalinen ja hieno ja sitt joku teki sen sillen ihan nopeasti vaan ja näin. Nii mun mielestä sitä ois voinut ehkä olla vähän vaikea arvioida. Ja sitten ehkä mieluummin mä vaikka haluaisin jostain kielellisestä semmosesta vähän isommasta tuotoksesta kuin sitten tommosesta missä on pieniä pätkiä. Että mun mielestä tää oli ihan hyvä arviointi."
> *"Maybe it's just such a task that everyone did in a different way. So someone might have focused on the visual aspect and make it pretty and some people just did it really quickly. It might have been difficult to grade, in my opinion. And I also would prefer to get a grade for a larger language work than for something with short chunks. So I think it was good, the grading."*

Similar remarks were also made about the presentation task, mainly focusing on the fact that an absence of grading reduced perceived risk (see above). However, one student noted that she would have liked to get verbal feedback for the diary task as she had put a lot of work into the task. A verbal feedback focusing e.g. on the quality of the observations in the diary would be in line with what Keller (1983) suggests for informative feedback. In general, however, it appears to be a good choice to intersperse larger, graded assignments with smaller, lower-threshold tasks that offer the opportunity for personalization and enjoyment. Even in the absence of extrinsic payoff, all students experienced at least some amount of intrinsic payoff.

Overall, task motivation appeared to be high. Students positively described the group atmosphere, the lack of grading and the freedom offered by the task, while also displaying some uncertainty and hesitance that were at least partially induced by the task design. In the following, I will thus, after providing an overview of students' translingual practices and task motivation, also make suggestions for how to improve task design in order to better service both students' interest and the course's conception of language.

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the following, I shall summarize my findings based on the data analysis, covering both what strategies students used in the interaction task and students' task motivation. It will also be discussed how the assignment enabled and/or limited students' multilingual meaning negotiation. Based on this, suggestions will be made for the development of multilingual oral tasks in the setting examined. At the end of this section, suggestions are made for further research.

6.1 Summary of core findings and task evaluation

Overall, students used a range of translingual practices and strategies for meaning-negotiation, with envoicing, recontextualization, entextualization and interactional strategies all being found in the data. Minimal listener responses and proactive work emerged as the main ways students cooperate in meaning-making. Some strategies described by Kaur (2009) and Canagarajah (2013) were not found in the data set, such as contrasting or topicalization. However, this might also be due to the relatively small size of the data set.

Students overall used varying strategies successfully to reach a shared understanding in their groups. The data bear out the observation made in previous literature that both the speaker and listener are involved in meaning negotiation and responsible for creating understanding. Listeners participated by performing confirmation or clarification requests, by accepting the speaker's suggested interpretative framework (mostly a humorous one) or, more rarely, by providing other-correction or candidate completions. Speakers, on the other hand, invited in listeners' participation by drawing on certain interpretative frameworks or showing uncertainty through pauses, laughter or strategic use of linguistic resources, e.g. by using a word conventionally associated with another language. Consequently, explicit requests for help were found to be exceedingly rare. This cooperation thus helped all participants maintain face. Students appeared to be aware that successful interaction required involvement from all parties. In the interviews, one student actually cited maintaining the conversation as her greatest strength, though this was not mentioned by other interviewees.

From a standpoint of strategy use, students in this group thus seem well-prepared for meaning negotiation in multilingual interactions. There are several potential reasons for this: For one,

meaning negotiation is present in all interactions: While strategy use is highest in conversations between several non-native speakers (Kaur 2009), people will also for instance create redundancy or perform clarification requests in interactions with speakers who share the same cultural background and work to create involvement (Tannen 1989). Thus, while strategy density will probably have to be increased in a multilingual interaction, many practices known from native-language interactions can still be applied. All students in the course had also had formal language studies before, as the study of at least two foreign languages is compulsory in the Finnish education system. Additionally, during the interviews, all students cited examples of multilingual situations they had found themselves in, both inside and outside their studies. On the other hand, Kaur (2009: 231) posits that the mere act of speaking a non-native language with another non-native speaker encourages meaning negotiation:

> "The regularity with which these practices are employed in the data suggest that achieving understanding in ELF is not a matter that is taken for granted but is instead worked at and pursued by the participants of the study throughout the interaction. This orientation very likely stems from 'the natural commonsense assumption that it is not easy to achieve [mutual understanding] without special effort' […]. It is likely that it is the participants' shared lack of competence in the language that provides a common ground that promotes greater collaborative effort."

However, even if one believes a cooperative attitude to be more present in a non-native speaker interaction, this still does not explain abilities in meaning negotiation. Instead, as cited above, translingual practices should be practiced in safe settings, as the students seem to be able to draw on their existing experiences when faced with such a task.

However, the issue is that previous language studies, as mentioned above, all too often reflect a fractional view of multilingualism and a structuralist view of language. It is only natural that these views continue to affect students' goals, expectations and working methods. As Paulsrud et al. (2017: 15) conclude

> "questioning the idea of language as bounded and named does not automatically mean that such boundaries (although imagined) are not essential in the identity processes of individuals. Rather, researchers need to show sensitivity in order to understand how and why these constructed boundaries are essential in people's lives and to critically analyze and highlight the power structures embedded in such constructs".

Consequently, while students' multilingual interaction was successful, the interviews showed several influences probably owing to the more structuralist view of language that has probably dominated in students' previous language studies. In assessing their performance in the task, most students were critical of their own pronunciation and grammar in particular, in spite of

the fact that they had overall experienced the task to have gone well. It was also an often-voiced concern that monolingual tasks are preferable since, according to the students, they allow one to focus more on the individual language and to consequently make fewer mistakes while also letting students work together with others based on similar language skills.

This view of monolingual tasks might reflect the fact that university students are often focused on performance (Bergroth-Koskinen and Seppälä 2012) and can be taken into account by varying tasks and assessment criteria throughout the course. Teachers should also stress the role of translanguaging in building language skills, particularly in the beginning stages of language and communication studies (Kuitunen and Carolan 2019). Students could also be encouraged explicitly to use their lesser-known languages, since several students stated that they avoided them during the task. Courses should have low-threshold, ungraded tasks to allow students to try out different strategies and use resources they feel less comfortable using. As mentioned in the second part of the analysis, the interview participants all appreciated the fact that the oral task was not graded and that the diary task was pass-fail only, as this gave them the freedom to work without worrying too much about their performance or about observation from a teacher. Students should also be aware that a certain level of anxiety and uncertainty are actually conducive to better multicultural interaction (Griffin 2012: 134).

Other course tasks, as well as tasks in other language and communication courses for the target group, have tackled the issue of limited active abilities by exploiting the lower threshold for use that is usually present for receptive skills, for instance by having students write or present in Finnish but requiring them to use at least one source in Swedish. This was a clear weakness in the given task, which required one group member to use certain resources actively in order for another group member to be exposed to them. Finally, to connect multilingual courses to previous language studies that probably used language separation, students could also occasionally be grouped by their existing knowledge, particularly of additional languages. Such a grouping would enable the other-correction desired by the student quoted above, and thereby increase relevance, particularly at the beginning stages of language studies when students prefer more explicit instruction (Pirhonen 2015). This positively impacts motivation since, as mentioned above, relevance is a matter of perception that is conducive to higher motivation.

On the other hand, the study showcases a number of advantages of a task that not only permits but also encourages translanguaging and translingual practice. For one, students appear to prefer solving issues relating e.g. to task planning or navigating face-threatening situations

using resources they feel confident using, i.e. mostly those associated with Finnish and English. This makes it easier e.g. to perform an other-correction while still using a wide range of linguistic resources in the task overall, since language switching and mixing is not designed to be permanent. Students may also be able to produce longer stretches of talk in their "weaker" languages when allowed to also draw on resources conventionally associated with other languages to assist them. The data shows several instances of such behavior, in particular in connection with speaking Swedish. This may lower the threshold for using lesser-used resources, improving skills over time by scaffolding with a "stronger" language. Students can also act in accordance with their everyday practices and even create neologisms. The data also showcase that some of the assumed advantages of monolingual tasks such as error corrections also take place in a translanguaging task.

Finally, the task is an example of a way of bringing resources not connected to Finnish, Swedish or English into the classroom, as the dataset also included resources taken from German, French, Russian and Arabic. As pressure to graduate quickly has increased (Jalkanen and Taalas 2015), students will often not take additional language classes in spite of existing interest. To encourage even more use and development of these lesser-used resources, tasks should also draw on receptive skills and the aforementioned grouping by prior knowledge could be implemented for some tasks. Differing skill levels do not appear to be a major issue in meaning negotiation, as the data shows for instance for French, English and Swedish. Overall, the data bear out the observation by Rosiers et al. (2018) that labeling a course as multilingual encourages multilingual practices, as students appeared to be motivated to use a wide range of resources and to cooperate in meaning-making.

In spite of these overall positive outcomes, there were also some issues with the task that partly also point at larger-scale challenges. One issue that was noted in the above analysis is the relative lack of recontextualization practices that took place during the interactions. It is posited that this is due to the group makeup: While there are of course some differences between individual students' repertoires, the target group is relatively homogeneous in terms of their language skills (Jalkanen and Taalas 2013): Nearly all participants speak Finnish as their mother tongue and have a cultural background that is primarily Finnish, while also possessing strong English skills as well as conversational Swedish skills. Skills in other languages are much less represented. This is problematic insofar as it is particularly in settings of cultural and language contact that "there are questions as to whose frame and which footing applies" (Canagarajah 2013: 80). In the given setting, it is thus difficult to practice how to negotiate said

questions. The analysis also showed that in addition to a shared cultural backdrop, which simplifies use of humorous frameworks, the students also exploit their shared identities as students. Since, as pointed out above, many students do not participate in an exchange program, the issue of homogeneity should be tackled via internationalization at the home university. For instance, language and communication classes could invite in exchange students to enable a setting in which a true negotiation of frame and footing applies. The question remains open whether settings of intercultural contact in general require a higher density of negotiation practices (Kaur 2009), though they seem to at least lead to a higher density of recontextualization practices.

A second, though more limited, issue was that the task partially failed to function as an information-gap exercise: As Bygate et al. (2001: 11) write, tasks are “influenced by learner choice, and susceptible to learner reinterpretation”, and this was clearly visible in the recordings of the oral interactions. The questions about the presenting student’s language diary had been designed to encourage interaction, forcing listeners to reach a certain level of understanding and to make further enquiries as necessary. However, many groups interpreted them as guidelines for presenting, with presenting students covering the topics in the order in which they were queried on the list of questions, and ascertaining that all topics were being covered without the student being prompted to do so. To a certain extent, this limited oral interaction, since listeners had to do less work to make sure they could fill in the question sheet. On the other hand, it is exactly those spaces of true negotiation, for instance about how to share responsibilities, in which dynamic multilingualism comes most to the fore. As Creese (2017: 5) writes, “flexible bilingualism is put into practice where speakers are concerned with the usual, mundane and often unnoticed classroom practices of teaching and learning”. The data show that these negotiations did indeed contain a range of communicative resources, primarily those associated with English and Finnish. This dynamic is also exploited in larger course assignments, as students for instance negotiate workload and time management in the runup to a large oral presentation.

Finally, the relatively high level of task motivation recorded during the interviews is also due to the groundwork laid in previous courses and in students’ subject studies. This is not only true in terms of perceived relevance, since students have been introduced to the concept of dynamic and holistic multilingualism since the beginning of the language and communication studies. Possibly more importantly, it is also important for group atmosphere and cohesion. In the ARCS model, group atmosphere has an impact on both confidence and satisfaction, and the

interview data bear out the idea that the relationship with other students is an important factor in task motivation: Students report that they felt comfortable presenting, even using resources they had less experience using. They described the atmosphere in their little groups as relaxed, lowering the fear of making mistakes. Many also cited it as helpful that they were friends with some or all of the other group members. Time spent doing group-building activities and allowing students to get to know each other is thus time well spent – maybe even more so in a course that is designed to have students using all their communicative resources, and to give them the safe space they need to develop and practice their translingual practices.

6.2 Limitations

The most significant limitation of this research is probably the researcher's position as a course teacher. However, while the author was a member of the teaching team of the course, she did not participate in the teaching of the rest of the course (outside the multilingual unit) and did not participate in grading. Thereby, the author attempted to minimize the impact of her role as a teacher. It also needs to be considered that the role of the researcher as a member of the teaching team poses an advantage: The presentation task was a standard part of the course, the recording was made in the normal classroom and all students, whether or not they participated in the study, did the oral task. This increases the representativeness of the sample for an oral classroom task, as it limits impact of the observer's paradox (Kaur 2009).

The interviews were held in Finnish, since it was believed that this would give participants the largest range of expression. Finnish is not the researcher's mother tongue; however, she rates her Finnish skills as very high (C1-C2). Participants were given the opportunity to also use English during the interviews; however, all participants preferred to use Finnish. The researcher also has a very high skill level in English and intermediate Swedish skills, which were the main languages in addition to Finnish that were used in the oral task.

In addition to foreign language skills, there is also the question of culture: Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008) for instance recommend that a researcher be a member of the culture from which analyzed data is drawn, due to the cultural specificity of many interactional resources. This is only the case for me to a limited extent. However, I have lived in Finland already for many years and have also worked as a teacher in Finland for three years, so I consider my skills sufficient for performing the present analysis. Additionally, it also needs to be pointed out that

not only national culture can impact the way a person interacts: Age, gender, socioeconomic background, role in the given situation and many other factors can also play a role. It is basically impossible for a researcher to share all these roles with a participant. Still, it should be kept in mind that the aim of this research is not to investigate how participants' cultural background impacts their interactional patterns, and there are also researchers according to which the impact of culture on interactional patterns is overstated (Kaur 2009).

Finally, a limitation needs to be pointed out regarding the literature used for the theoretical framework: As mentioned in section 2, very little literature exists describing interactional features of multilingual or non-native interaction involving languages other than English. At the same time, as mentioned in the same chapter, the monolingual norm is a Western phenomenon and thus more characteristic of the cultures the researcher has access to. It is possible that research on multilingual or lingua-franca communication exists in cultures where translingual practice is the norm rather than the exception, but that this research is not accessible to the researcher. However, as pointed out above, interactional strategies are not language-specific. Research into English-language lingua-franca communication was regarded as suitable for my purposes because it is relatively vast. It also serves as a supportive framework to develop research in a new direction.

6.3 Further research directions

As Jalkanen (2017) writes, there is still much work to do in a pedagogy that supports dynamic multilingualism. Multilingualism is already visible as an overarching theme, but is still growing into itself in terms of teaching practices. Such a significant change in thinking does not happen in an instant. ["Dynaamista monikielisyyttä tukevan pedagogiikan kehittämisessä riittää työtä vielä pitkäksi aikaa. Monikielisyys näkyy jo läpileikkaavana teemana, mutta opetuksen käytänteissä se hakee vielä muotoaan. Näin suuri ajattelutavan muutos ei tapahdu hetkessä."]. It is hoped that this research can make an (albeit small) contribution to developing multilingual teaching practices, particularly at a higher-education level, by exploring an example of a multilingual teaching practice and investigating to what extent it piques students' motivation. The findings point at both the strengths and the weaknesses of the assigned task, which can be used to develop teaching practices that allow students to use all their linguistic resources while also taking into account the continued influence of structuralist and fractional conceptions of

language. Suggestions include cooperation with students of other cultural backgrounds, scaffolding using "stronger" languages, capitalizing on receptive skills and investing in the classroom atmosphere.

Because of the exploratory nature of this research, many aspects remained unexplored that future research could focus on by modifying for instance the target group or the research design. Primary is probably the question of how meaning negotiation takes place in a similar task but in a more heterogeneous group: Does strategy use, in particular the use of recontextualization, increase when students no longer share a cultural background and are less able to make assumptions about the other party's linguistic repertoire? This research could also consider how (or if) humorous frameworks are invoked in a more heterogeneous setting.

Secondly, the timeframe of data collection only offered a view of students' task motivation at one specific point in time. While interactions were recorded, task motivation was measured based on data obtained only later. Future research could collect data on task motivation also while students are still performing the task. Dörnyei and Otto's (1998) model of task motivation, for instance, devotes a significant amount of space to the changes that motivation undergoes during task performance. Such an approach could do this view of task motivation more justice.

Finally, Dörnyei (2002) also points out that the appraisal of a task is related to more general motivational variables, such as willingness to communicate and linguistic self-confidence. While an effort has been made here to offer the most important information about the setting of this study and to also collect context information through the interview data, such traits of individual students have remained unexplored in this research. Further case studies could investigate the connection between different motivational variables and students' motivation and performance in a multilingual oral task. Additionally, as Dörnyei (2002) also writes, situation-specific motives are affected by at least two levels: The task-related level and the course-related level. Since this thesis has focused on the task-related level of situated motivation, further research could approach the issue from a course-level standpoint, investigating how attitudes to, expectations of and experiences in the entirety of the course affect motivation at a given moment.

In making these suggestions, however, it needs to be pointed out that reproducing this task in a different setting will not necessarily lead to the same level of task motivation. As Keller (1983) points out, motivation is subject to change, and what works today might not work

tomorrow. However, this should not be seen as a weakness. Rather, it should be seen as the outcome of a shift in theory and empirical research that pays more attention to individual differences and accounts for the fact that situations in educational settings are dynamic and complex – just like the people that act within them.

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8 APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Coding scheme for the qualitative content analysis

Dimension	Category	Example (translations from Finnish originals)	Comments etc
IAttention/ interest	A Teachers‘ task presentation		Was eliminated due to lack of assigned chunks
	B Varied teaching methods, newness of task	“Well the earlier XYHY course probably had tasks where we had to use several languages. But in the same task…I don’t remember.”	
	C optimal level of difficulty	“They were pretty everyday things. And we had it ready on paper so you don’t have to start explaining in English how you use languages but you had it ready and then you	also see: 3C, perceived task difficulty

		presented it. So it didn't feel bad"	
	D environment encourages risk-taking rather than punishing mistake-making	"But in general, the instructions were clear, but there was also freedom to put your own spin on the task, so at least in our group, people had gone in different directions"	Connected with confidence, stressing the ability to put your own spin on things. Include comments on whether they are friends with the other group members → this could also be linked to control over the learning situation
	E sustained interest in the task	"But when I was doing the task the assignment felt difficult and annoying because there was this that you had to take pictures, and that created a lot of problems for me personally because I had written about them more diary-style. I had thought about the languages that I had used and because I was at home a lot I didn't really know where to get pictures from so I was a lot like where do I get pictures from. Do I take pictures of my German book and stuff like that. I thought it was fun to think about these things but the aspect of having to take pictures was annoying."	also connected to relevance: if relevance is low, difficult to sustain interest
	F curiosity, gap between known and to be learned, perception of upcoming learning, perspective of new knowledge	" So I first thought it's like, not challenging but a bit annoying"	
II Relevance	A goal relevance: wanting to pass a class	"Well not really, I feel like it's no longer very important to me. That, I am so satisfied with my skills in English. Of course vocabulary always grows. But on that point there is already, like for example with academic	

		writing, I prefer writing in English to writing in Finnish, so it's already that way round. But then for Swedish in particular because there will be the Swedish exam so on that I have to that's quite important to study."	
	B goal relevance: sub-goal to higher-ranking goal	"Maybe mostly I think, when we were presenting and someone else said they only use English-language recipes, I was like 'what', we don't even have the same ingredients. And then when I really put my week on paper and I examine how much I use Finnish and how little I use other languages, then I get like 'aaah, why did I forget again to watch the news in English' and 'why didn't I put subtitles in Swedish', all these things that I think I should do because it's useful, but then I'm just lazy and I don't get it done. So maybe that gives me this 'okay, now I should start using these languages'. "	
	C goal relevance: practiced skill will be needed in later life / in real life	"I don't think I will be working in international tasks, but I think as long as I get for example my English to the level where I can talk expertly about things from my own field and stuff like that. Maybe that's my concrete goal right now. Because maybe if I'm not so good right now at speaking different languages, it feels like a farfetched	also includes instances of previous or current relevance also added task relevance for language use in the subject studies

		thought to think that I would speak five languages and I would be there like."	
	D task relevance: sense of achievement	"Maybe I was kind of an exception, it was an exceptional week and I decided to use it for the language diary. That motivated me."	
	E task relevance: bonding with other group members		Was subsumed under confidence → cooperative class structure
	F task relevance: reference group values task		Was eliminated due to lack of assigned chunks
	G task is collaborative and does not lead to competition, no student dominates	"But at least it makes the atmosphere relaxed, that we were just there."	also see confidence → cooperative class structure
	H task relevance: control over learning situation	"Because now I focused more on observing my week"	
	I teacher feedback (helping understand if sub-goals are reached)		Subsumed under outcomes → teacher surveillance
	J task relevance from a teacher perspective – does this help train translingual practice?	"There were no problems with understanding"	Unlike other categories, category not deduced from ARCS model. Added by researcher at analysis stage to help explain findings in 5.2.
III Confidence / expectancy	A cooperative class structure	"Well in my group there were people that were quite familiar to me, that probably made it feel not horrible."	
	B focus on learning, not performance	"Fortunately I hadn't used Swedish, because that would have been even harder for me."	
	C perceived task difficulty and required effort		Subsumed under attention → optimal level of difficulty
	D teacher support before and during task		Subsumed under satisfaction → teacher surveillance
	E previous experiences with similar tasks, self-view as a language user and learner	"Well in my native language I speak however, there are no qualms, but in other languages, what I	

		manage to say is probably very different because I'm not sure of what I'm saying. And then because the people around me use a lot of Finnish so there aren't a lot of opportunities. But also that I don't dare to use languages so readily. So I think too much about what I say and I don't have the courage to just speak however. So I'm somewhere in the middle I would say."	
	F clarity about success requirements	"The language diary itself, I only remember that I wasn't 100% sure of what was asked for there."	
IV Satisfaction/ outcomes	A intrinsic outcomes	"But when I did the task, maybe I noticed that it turned out more positively than I thought because it really got me reflecting about my own language use."	
	B extrinsic outcomes		Subsumed under satisfaction → teacher surveillance
	C teacher surveillance (limited), teacher feedback (informative)	"Maybe on the other hand, if the teachers had observed us more, maybe we would have put more work in. Maybe I would have thought more about whether the language is correct. If you know that the grammar gets graded."	
	D attainable sub-goals		Was eliminated due to lack of assigned chunks

Appendix 2: Interview questions

Attention/Interest:

Do you remember how you felt about the task when we first introduced it?

Miltä sinusta tuntui silloin, kun tehtävää esiteltiin / kun pääsitte aloittamaan työskentelyä?

Was the assignment clear or would you have wanted further instructions?

Oliko tehtävänanto riittävän selvä? Mikäli ei ollut, muistatko vielä, mistä piti ryhmässä vielä sopia, ennen kuin pääsitte aloittamaan?

Did you find the task interesting? What was, what wasn't?

Oliko tehtävä teidän mielestä kiinnostava? Mikä oli, mikä ei ollut?

Was this type of task new for you or have you done something like this before?

Oliko tämä ensimmäinen kerta kun teillä oli tällainen msonikielinen tehtävä tai tällaisia tehtäviä ollut aiemmin? (Jos on ollut, missä se oli: kieliopinnoissa, omissa aineopinnoissa?)

How did the communication in your group go? Was it easy to communicate with the others and understand them, or were there a lot of instances where you really didn't understand each other?

Miten keskustelu ryhmässänne sujui? Oliko helppo ymmärtää muita ja tulla ymmärretyksi, tai pitikö paljon arvata/kysyä tarkentavia kysymyksiä/jäikö jotain asioita ymmärtämättä?

Did you also use languages you don't know well, or "only" Finnish and English? If yes, how did you feel using those?

Montako kieltä pääsit käyttämään? Kaikkia joita osaat, vain tiettyjä? Jos ei pääsyt käyttämään kaikkia, miksi ei? Jos pääsit käyttämään kaikkia, minkälainen kokemus se oli?

Can you describe the atmosphere in your group? Did you know the other students previously? How did you feel about working with them?

Voisitko vähän kuvata ilmapiiriä teidän ryhmässä? Olivatko muut ryhmälaiset sinulle jo aiemmin tuttuja? Minkälainen olo oli siitä, että tehtiin tehtävä ryhmätyönä?

Can you describe the difficulty level of the task? Too hard, too easy, just right?

Oliko tehtävä teidän mielestä vaikea/helppo? Voitko myös sanoa, mikä oli helppoa/vaikeaa?

Are you generally afraid of making mistakes when speaking a foreign language? How about in this task? Was it easier or harder than in monolingual language classes?

Miltä sinusta tuntuu yleensä vieraiden kielten puhuminen? Miltä tuntui tässä tehtävässä? Oliko se yhtä jännittävää/helpompa/vaativampaa?

Is it clear to you why we did this task? Did you know what we wanted you to learn from it?

Onko sinulle selvää, miksi meillä oli tällainen tehtävä? Tuntuuko siltä, että tiedät, mitä halusimme teidän oppivan tai harjoittelevan siinä?

Relevance:

In general, how important is it for you to do well in your language studies?

Ovatko sinulle kieliopinnot yleensä tärkeitä? Haluatko niissä hyvän arvosanan?

Do you think language skills will be important in your future career?

Uskotko, että kielitaito tulee olemaan tärkeä sinun tulevalla urallasi? Tuletko käyttämään paljon vieraita kieliä?

Do you feel like this task taught you something that will be relevant for your future career?

Liittyikö tämä tehtävä johonkin, mikä tulee olemaan tärkeää sinun tulevalla urallasi?

Can you see yourself having multilingual conversations in the future? Have you had a multilingual conversation before?

Onko sinulla aiemmin ollut monikielisiä keskusteluja (myös opintojen ulkopuolella)? Voitko kuvitella, että sinulla voisi olla tämän tyyppinen keskustelu myös kieliopintojen ulkopuolella?

What were your goals for this task?

Minkälaisia tavoitteita sinulla oli tehtävään suhteen?

Can you describe the cooperation in your group? Do you feel like you were working together to understand each other?

Voisitko vähän kuvata yhteistyötä teidän ryhmässä? Tuntuuko siltä, että teitte kaikki työtä sen eteen, että ymmärsitte toisianne? Tuntuuko siltä, että muut olisivat voineet tukea sinua siinä vielä paremmin?

Can you describe a situation where it was hard to understand each other? How did you resolve it?

Muistatko vielä: Oliko keskustelussa tilanteita, joissa oli vaikea ymmärtää, tai joissa muut eivät ymmärtäneet sinua? Muistatko vielä, miten ratkaisitte nämä tilanteet?

Did you get enough feedback from the teachers?

Did you get enough/too little/ too much assistance from the teachers?

Saitteko tarpeeksi palautetta/tukea opettajilta? Jos ei, missä olisit vielä tarvinnut apua? Mikä olisi vielä tukenut teidän työskentelyä?

Expectancy/confidence:

Would you say you are a good language learner/language student? Why/why not?

Oletko omasta mielestäsi hyvä kielenoppija (koulussa, yliopistossa, yleensä)? Miksi/miksi ei?

Do you think you did well in the task? What did you do well? What could you have done better?

Olitko omasta mielestäsi hyvä tässä tehtävässä? Mitä teit hyvin? Mitä olisit voinut tehdä toisin/paremmin?

Can you describe, in your own words, what you think you were supposed to learn through the task?

Voisitko kuvata omin sanoin: Mitä me halusimme teidän oppivan/harjoittelevan tehtävässä?

Satisfaction/Outcomes:

Are you satisfied with how you did in the task?

Oletko tyytyväinen siihen, miten tehtävä sujui ja miten siinä itse toimit ja onnistuit?

Did you get to use all your language skills in the task? If not, can you describe what stopped you?

Sanoisitko, että pääsit tehtävässä käyttämään kaikkia kieliä, joita osaat? Jos et, osaatko sanoa, miksi se ei onnistunut?

In your opinion, was it good that we didn't grade the task or would you have wanted a grade?

Oliko sinun mielestä hyvä että tehtävästä ei saatu arvosana? Olisitko halunnut siitä arvosanan?

Are you happy with the feedback you got from the teachers or would you have wanted more feedback?

Would you like to have more tasks like this in the future?

Haluaisitko tulevilla (kieli)opinnoilla enemmän monikielisiä suullisia tehtäviä?

Do you think you learned anything from this task?

Onko sinulla sellainen olo, että opit tehtävästä jotakin? Tuntuuko siltä, että pääsit harjoittelemaan taitoa?

Appendix 3: Transcription conventions

Transcription conventions in the interviews:

[ ] [ ]	simultaneous speech
(sana)	probable utterance
(xxx)	incomprehensible item, probably one word only
(hhh)	laughter
san-	cut off word or sentence
((sana))	transcriber's comment
(.)	untimed pause

Transcription conventions in the oral interaction task:

wo[rds]	simultaneous speech; left-hand brackets mark the start of the overlap,
[wo]rds	right-hand brackets the end of the overlap
text=	
=text2	latching speech
cut off wo-	cut off word or sentence
(-)	untimed pause, length one second or longer
(.)	untimed pause, less than a second
LOUD SPEECH	speech spoken louder than surrounding talk
°quiet speech°	speech spoken more quietly/softly than surrounding talk
<slow>	slow speech
>fast<	fast speech
●laughing●	laughing production of speech
wo(h)rd (h)	denotes laughter within words
♪singing♪	singing production of speech
whispering	whispering production of speech
@tone@	altered tone of voice, (e.g. when quoting somebody)
stressed	emphatic stress
exte:nde::d	noticeable extension of the sound or syllable

mispronounced	mispronunciation (either accidental or on purpose)
↓	follows falling intonation
↑	follows rising intonation
,	continuing intonation
((laughs))	transcriber's comments
(maybe)	probable utterance
(x)	incomprehensible item, probably one word only
(xx)	incomprehensible item of phrase length
(xxx)	incomprehensible item beyond phrase length
((x))	incomprehensible sound
((xx))	incomprehensible sounds