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Durchs Reden kommen d'Leut zam.

[Talking brings people together.]

Austrian aphorism

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Abstract

This study is positioned at the intersection of research into English as a lingua franca, internationalisation in higher education, and language in international business. It is the first substantial empirical analysis to use Dafouz and Smit's (2016) English-Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings (EMEMUS) conceptual framework, and fills a gap left by previous EMEMUS-related research by investigating peer-to-peer interaction with an explicit focus on how students construct disciplinary language and the role of relational talk in achieving their team goals.

The thesis begins by contextualising multicultural student teamwork against a backdrop of the international university, the academic discipline of business studies (particularly marketing), the use of English as an academic and business lingua franca, and multicultural teamwork in organisational and educational settings. It draws on Wenger's (1998) notion of a Community of Practice as an analytical approach that makes it possible to synthesise these multiple perspectives in terms of identifying a joint enterprise, mutual engagement, and a shared repertoire which together make up a successful team's "mental model" (cf. Salas et al. 2005) of team goals and communicative practices.

The empirical part of the thesis comprises a mixed-methods study of two multicultural teams working on a simulation of business activity as part of a global marketing course. Each team consists of two Austrians and two international students, with English as their lingua franca. The participants' emic perspectives of their programme and their teamwork were elicited in retrospective interviews using content analysis, while the main empirical part of the study is a sociocultural discourse-pragmatic analysis of naturally-occurring data collected during team meetings held outside the classroom. This examines how the participants negotiate their content knowledge towards constructing a market analysis on the one hand, and how they use off-topic (or "casual") talk and humour to build team relationships, on the other. Key findings highlight the importance of positive rapport in learning and teamwork; the need to manage the local language appropriately in work talk and relational talk; the role of constructive disagreement in negotiating meaning in peer-to-peer contexts; and the emergence of a highly local community of practice within the team's boundaries. The thesis' conclusions identify a need for more (ethnographic) research into graduates' use of language in the workplace and the implications of this for language and content teaching as well as employability.

Abbreviations

BELF	English as a Business Lingua Franca
CA	Conversation Analysis
CofP	Community of Practice
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELFA	English as an Academic Lingua Franca
EMEMUS	English-Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings
EMI	English-Medium Instruction
EMP	English-Medium Programme
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
IaH	Internationalisation at Home
IE	Interactional Ethnography
M&As	Mergers and Acquisitions
MCST	Multicultural Student Teamwork
MMLS	Multilingual and Multicultural Learning Space
MNC(s)	Multinational Corporation(s)
NSE	Native Speaker of English

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1. Overview

Students starting their first-semester on the English-medium master's in marketing at WU Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU) find a description of the course contents in the online syllabus. This description gives students an inkling of what they can expect in the course¹ - and expectations on both sides are high. The opening sentence draws attention to the course's internationally-oriented positioning. Students are expected to have a "clear understanding" of a range of functional areas – e.g. sales, finance, production – so they can gain an appreciation of how these relate to each other and to marketing. The genre of case analyses is highlighted, with a promise that discussing the cases will challenge, stimulate and "even exhaust" the participants. The course is designed to push the students to work hard, play hard.

This course sounds demanding – if indeed stimulating – for any student embarking on a master's programme; a high-octane course for the students who have chosen, and been accepted onto, a programme at one of Europe's "biggest, most modern" business schools with a goal to "achieve and maintain a place among the world's leading institutions of higher education"². This is notwithstanding the fact that, for the vast majority of these students, the medium of instruction is their second – or even third – language: English.

The rise of English as the medium of instruction (EMI)³ in higher education institutions across Europe has been followed closely by a wealth of research into the topic. Much of this research has focused on policy and the motivations for introducing EMI (e.g. Egron-Polak & Hudson 2010; Wächter & Maiworm 2008, 2014), while more recent work has begun to examine implications for and of EMI as classroom practice (e.g. Björkman 2013; Dafouz 2011, 2015; Smit 2010). This often shares a conceptual base with English as a lingua franca (ELF) research, since it examines the way English is used in – and also outside – the classroom in multilingual and multicultural contexts.

Some of the major foci of such research to date have been on differences from teaching through the L1 for both teachers and students, and particularly the difficulties that arise with a change in the medium of instruction (e.g. Airey 2011a, 2011c; Dafouz et al. 2014; Dimova et al. 2015a; Doiz et al. 2013; Evans & Morrison 2011b, 2011c; Tatzl 2011; Valcke & Wilkinson 2017). A 3-year long, Europe-wide Erasmus Academic Network project was even set up with the title *IntlUni: The Challenges of the Multilingual and Multicultural Learning Space*⁴. Yet to date there has been

¹ Since the course description is publicly available, it has not been quoted here to protect the identity of the participants.

² <https://www.wu.ac.at/en/programs/why-wu/>, <https://www.wu.ac.at/en/the-university/about-wu/> (both last accessed 22.09.2017).

³ English-medium instruction (EMI) is here used to refer to the use of English as the language used to teach university-level content classes in traditionally non-Anglophone countries (e.g. marketing or finance courses taught in English in Austrian universities). This may refer to individual classes or entire courses. A degree course taught entirely through English may be called an English-medium programme (EMP).

⁴ www.intluni.eu (last accessed 24.09.2017)

surprisingly little research examining how students on EMPs are actually doing the business of learning content in an English-medium classroom (with the notable exception of Gundermann 2014; Smit 2010). There has been even less research examining how students do learning outside the formal classroom context and how this prepares them for a global workplace.

The main motivations cited for implementing EMI are a combination of the desire to attract (often highly lucrative) international students and the perceived need to prepare graduates for a global workplace (Egron-Polak & Hudson 2010: 21; Wächter & Maiworm 2008: 13; Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 54). This is particularly the case in business disciplines, which have the highest proportion of EMI across university subjects and sectors, and where English is widely seen as being “indispensable when conducting international business and commercial affairs” (Tietze 2004: 176). It is therefore not surprising that business studies are a popular setting for EMI-oriented research (e.g. Dafouz et al. 2014; Dafouz & Camacho-Miñano 2016; Smit 2010; Unterberger 2012, 2014; Unterberger & Wilhelmer 2011; Wilkinson 2011). It is, however, surprising that there has been relatively little research that examines how the students acquire the content knowledge and disciplinary literacy that they will need when they enter the (English-speaking) working world (though again see Smit 2010).

This is particularly surprising given that studies into the use of English as a business lingua franca (BELF), or English as a lingua franca in the business domain, clearly emphasise the importance of business knowledge as a key element of effective BELF communication (Ehrenreich 2016; Kankaanranta et al. 2015; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Komori-Glatz forthcoming). Discipline- and domain-specific skills are still seen as the priority over language skills (Cogo 2012: 297–298; Ehrenreich 2010: 417). At the same time, these studies also highlight the importance of social relations as an element of business communication, especially in international contexts⁵. While there are some studies examining how students use English as a lingua franca in social contexts (e.g. Kalocsai 2013; Matsumoto 2014), these do not examine how this relationship-building contributes to their learning processes. There is thus an urgent need for more research that examines how (and if) students are acquiring the disciplinary knowledge that they need, and the role of language in building social relations as a part of that.

Social relationships in business contexts are gaining in importance as teamwork has become an essential part of the twenty-first century workplace. Peter Drucker, the “founder of modern management” (Denning 2014), believed that “the modern organization cannot be an organization of boss and subordinate. It must be organized as a team” (Drucker 2006: 150). Likewise, “the primacy of horizontal coordination over vertical hierarchy is a key characteristic” of innovative

⁵ See Ehrenreich (2016: 138); Kankaanranta & Planken (2010: 394-395); Kankaanranta et al. (2015: 129); the role of social relationships in monolingual workplace communication is also studied in work such as Holmes & Stubbe (2003); Koester (2006).

multinational corporations, with “fewer hierarchical organizational levels and the increasing importance of networks among organizational units and people” (Schweiger et al. 2003: 127). This clearly has implications for higher education, whose increasing concerns with employability mean that university courses must prepare their graduates for a multicultural workplace dominated by horizontal networks. When the workplace is multilingual as well as multicultural, these networks may depend on linguistic ability as much as rank or hierarchies (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999b). In sum, as Camacho-Miñano and del Campo (2016) observe,

Being ready for a professional career nowadays includes knowing how to use technology, working in teams, communicating in English as a lingua franca of business and mastering the required expertise for each profession [...] as well as being prepared to work in a continuously changing environment. (Camacho-Miñano & del Campo 2016: 706)

This reflects an earlier call from Angouri and Miglbauer (2014), who conclude their study by arguing that “the meaning of ‘business as usual’ has changed and our students are often unprepared to adapt to the team-based, multilingual, flat global workplace” (Angouri & Miglbauer 2014: 167). But are they? This thesis examines how students on an English-medium master in marketing at WU use English as a business lingua franca in multicultural teamwork. On the one hand, it looks at how they use language to acquire and support the acquisition of disciplinary literacy and their induction into the discipline of global marketing. On the other hand, it analyses how they use language to build relationships with each other and negotiate joint identities as a team of global marketing experts. In other words, it investigates how student teamwork on an EMP simulates workplace interaction and whether students on the EMP are learning and using the skills they need for the “team-based, multilingual, flat global workplace”. In doing so, it also answers Smit’s (2018) call for “not to lose sight of actual language practices that show how [language policies in higher education] take shape on the micro level” (p.9).

The thesis is structured as follows. The conceptual framework (Chapter 2) introduces Dafouz and Smit’s (2016) dynamic, holistic approach to analysing English-medium education in multilingual university settings (EMEMUS) which is used as the overall framework for this dissertation. This rather substantial chapter presents previous research along the six dimensions of *Roles Of English, Academic Disciplines, language (in) Management, Agents, Practices & Processes*, and *Internationalisation & Glocalisation* (ROAD-MAPPING). *Roles Of English* discusses conceptualisations of English as a medium of instruction and English as a (business) lingua franca and their implications for the business university setting. *Academic Disciplines* explores this setting further with a focus on the domain of business studies, the concept of Internationalisation at Home (IaH) as a key motivation for EMEMUS, and business universities’ goal to prepare students for the (globalised) labour market. The next dimension, *language (in) Management*, examines how this is implemented through language policy in the international university and goes beyond Dafouz and Smit’s (2016) original

focus on EMEMUS to look at language policy in the multinational corporation and what implications this has on how business schools approach the issue of increasing their graduates' employability. *Agents* then goes "behind the scenes" to investigate a range of stakeholder perspectives on the business university setting and how these can act as forces of change towards the implementation of EMI. Anticipating the main empirical focus of the study, *Practices & Processes* examines multicultural teamwork in business and educational contexts and introduces Wenger's (1998) concept of Communities of Practice. While a Community of Practice is inherently different from a team (Wenger et al. 2002), this section of the dissertation lays the groundwork for arguing that a successful multicultural team develops a miniature community of practice within its spatial and temporal boundaries, especially in the context of the EMP and its primarily educational aims. Finally, the last dimension of *Internationalisation & Glocalisation* takes a step back to examine broader conceptual notions of language ecologies, culture(s) and how to span the local and the global. By doing so, it aims to place the students' highly local community of practice in context by highlighting how these local practices are constituted by, but also to some extent constitutive of, meso- and macro-level influences.

Chapter 3 then outlines the research design, aims and methodology of the present study. It highlights the motivations behind the study and explains the decisions made regarding the data collection process. Once the stage is set, it presents the research questions and how these were operationalised for the empirical part of the study. This comprises two main parts based on two different data sets. The second data set is then further divided into two analytical foci. A more detailed exposition of the methodology used for each data set is presented before the findings. This structure has led to a rather uneven chapter length but was deemed the clearest and most logical way of presenting the analysis. The first data set (Chapter 4) uses semi-structured interviews to present the participants in the two teams and examine their emic perspectives of language in the EMP as well as during their first professional experiences. The second (Chapters 5-7) is more extensive and takes a close look at how they use language in their teamwork, focusing on a set of meetings where they construct a market analysis. Chapter 5 presents the task in more detail and explains how the interactional data was collected and analysed. Chapter 6, "Communicating facts", explores the students' work talk and how they discuss the input they are given with the aim of converting this input into a meaningful market analysis. This goes beyond simply recognising business terminology to negotiate and construct the meaning and implications of this input in terms of their target markets. Chapter 7, "Communicating with people", analyses how the participants use language to build relationships and identities as a team as well as experts in their discipline. This chapter is in turn divided into two aspects, namely how the participants use "casual" or off-topic talk on the one hand, and humour in both their casual talk and their work talk on the other. Chapter 8 zooms back out and presents a synthesis of the previous research and the findings of the empirical study along the ROAD-MAPPING dimensions. Since these are still rather

extensive, they are then summarised into ten key findings in Chapter 9. The significance of the study and the implications of these findings are also discussed briefly here. To conclude the dissertation, the chapter ends with some limitations of the study and an outlook for future research.

2. Conceptual framework

2.1. Introduction

English is increasingly perceived as “*the* dominant language in international business” (Ehrenreich 2010: 408, original emphasis; cf. Angouri & Miglbauer 2014: 155; Gerritsen & Nickerson 2009: 181; Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999a: 379; Tietze 2004: 176). Likewise, English is taking an ever more prominent position in higher education, even in countries that have no tradition of education in the language such as those in continental Europe (Coleman 2006; Räisänen & Fortanet-Gómez 2008; Smit 2010; Evans & Morrison 2011c; Unterberger & Wilhelmer 2011; Smit & Dafouz 2012; Doiz et al. 2013; Unterberger 2012; Wächter & Maiworm 2014; Wilkinson 2013). Unsurprisingly, the domain of business education, where these two phenomena intersect, is one of the disciplines in which English-medium instruction is most prevalent in European higher education (European Commission 2015: 65; Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 66-67; Wilkinson 2011: 111).

With these developments, the study of English as a lingua franca (ELF) has also emerged as a well-established if continuously evolving area of research examining the use of English among people with different first languages across a range of domains. As “influential, high-stakes environments where language is deeply involved in all their principal activities” (Mauranen 2012: 66), academic and business settings have been two major foci of ELF research. The former in particular has attracted considerable attention resulting in substantial monographs (e.g. Björkman 2013; Jenkins 2014; Kalocsai 2013; Mauranen 2012; Smit 2010) as well as the academia-specific ELFA (English as an academic lingua franca) corpus project (Mauranen 2006a, 2012; Mauranen et al. 2010; Mauranen & Ranta 2008). The study of English as a business lingua franca (BELF) has developed as a smaller field parallel to ELF with its focus on the use of English in multinational corporations and international business (Ehrenreich 2010, 2011, 2016; Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2010; Kankaanranta et al. 2015; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; Pitzl 2010; Pullin 2010, 2013; Pullin Stark 2009; Rogerson-Revell 2007a, 2007b, 2010).

Nevertheless, there is still a gap at the intersection of these various fields of research examining how studies into workplace discourse, particularly in multicultural and multilingual (i.e. BELF) contexts, should inform the (communicative) practices found in educational settings, particularly in the internationalised university where preparing its graduates for a “global/international world” is a leading motivation for introducing EMI (Egron-Polak & Hudson 2010: 21; Wächter & Maiworm 2008: 13; Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 54). There have been some attempts to bridge this gap (e.g. the Ehrenreich & Pitzl 2015 Special Issue entitled *Teaching ELF, BELF, and/or intercultural communication?*) but these remain largely theoretical. While Smit’s (2010) extensive study of English as the lingua franca of a hotel management EMP does address the interplay of ELF and EMI from an empirical perspective, it does so through a primarily educational and linguistically-oriented

lens. The focus of the present study therefore aims to shift this lens to highlight the business and employability angle as well as to offer a critical perspective on the use of English as a (business) lingua franca in an international university setting.

2.2 English-medium education in multilingual university settings (EMEMUS)

As the world and its organisations become increasingly interconnected, “communities interface with and impact upon one another, and [...] language is both a medium and a marker of new forms of interdependence” (Coupland 2003: 467). Research into language thus also needs to reflect the complexity of today’s linguistic realities and the tensions and opportunities afforded by the interplay of global and local. An analysis of data taken from a business educational setting simply cannot ignore the broader business context and the international business environment. It is therefore essential to approach such an analysis through a framework that offers a multi-perspectival view of the topic in question.

Developments in sociolinguistics have reflected the increasing transience and fluidity of twenty-first century societies to move away from largely static or bounded notions of language and community often linked to the idea of the nation-state (Dafouz & Smit 2016; Heller 2008). The “integration of many formerly national economies into one global economy, mainly by free trade and free capital mobility, but also by easy or uncontrolled migration” (Daly 1999: 31), while still an ongoing process, has contributed to these developments, leading to “super-diversity”. Super-diversity represents:

a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything [the UK] has previously experienced [...] distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants. (Vertovec 2007: 1024)

Thus “super-diversity” refers not only to ethnic diversity within a state, but the diversification of diversity itself (Vertovec 2014: 92). While Vertovec’s original conceptualisation of super-diversity is anchored in the field of sociology, the term has been adopted by a range of disciplines, including education and linguistics (ibid.; cf. Blommaert & Rampton 2012; Cogo 2012). With the changing face(s) of (especially) urban populations, super-diversity has implications across primary, secondary and tertiary education, as well as for business contexts. Even in the somewhat rarefied world of European higher education, the last decade has seen a paradigm shift leading not only to an increase in diversity among the student body but to universities themselves becoming increasingly complex, “transnationally connected” institutions.⁶ Concepts of language and the relationships of

⁶ While not relevant for this particular study, the rise in offshore campuses and joint ventures with local universities in Asia (cf. Jenkins 2014) and initiatives such as the MORE project (<https://uniko.ac.at/projekte/more/?lang=EN>)

language to the communities who use it are also evolving to reflect the realities of a highly interconnected and fluid society. While still retaining a focus on “the role of language in the construction of social relations and social organization” (Heller 2008: 504), sociolinguists thus frequently turn their focus to the “the notion of a linguistic repertoire” which

dispenses with *a priori* assumptions about the links between origins, upbringing, proficiency and types of language, and it refers to individuals’ very variable (and often rather fragmentary) grasp of a plurality of differentially shared styles, registers and genres, which are picked up (and maybe then partially forgotten) within biographical trajectories that develop in actual histories and topographies. (Blommaert & Rampton 2012: 11-12, original emphasis)

The notion of a linguistic repertoire itself is not new in sociolinguistics, going back to Gumperz’ (1964) work in the 1960s and examining “how linguistic choices are tied to social constraints and categories” (Busch 2012: 2). Recent applications of the notion (e.g. Blackledge & Creese 2010; Li Wei 2011; Rampton 2011) have examined code switching across social or ethnic boundaries with the aim of understanding “how different communicative resources are employed to create meaning and what such a heteroglossic language practice means to speakers” as well as “the interdependence between symbolic, discursively produced power and subjectivity” (Busch 2012: 3, 5). In this study, the focus is less on the distinctions between different languages and codes – except in the section on humour, where such switches may be invoked deliberately for comic effect – but rather on the development of meaning creation within a (very small) discourse community. It follows Busch’s (2012) conclusion that linguistic repertoire “can be seen as a hypothetical structure, which evolves by experiencing language in interaction on a cognitive and on an emotional level”, but also proposes that it is possible to observe the construction of a highly local repertoire that is not merely hypothetical.

While it is important not to conflate the notion of English as a lingua franca (ELF) with a code or repertoire in itself, recent conceptualisations of ELF reflect an understanding of language use as a function based on shared repertoire(s) rather than as a strictly systemic focus on form (Jenkins et al. 2011; Jenkins 2015; Seidlhofer 2011). ELF communication “is not so much about the geographic location of a communicative event, but rather the linguacultural makeup of its participants” (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 12). In accordance with Busch (2012: 18), the participants’ “linguacultural makeup” or individual repertoires are shaped by their biographical trajectories and the coming together of multilingual individuals in an ELF context is thus highly “variable, fluid, and unpredictable” (Cogo 2012: 290). Any discussion of English being used “*among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option*” (Seidlhofer 2011: 7, original emphasis) cannot ignore the broader sociocultural context(s) and the impact of super-

to enable refugees to study at public universities in Austria, as well as the long-standing tradition of access programmes at British universities, reflect the increasing complexity of the higher education landscape beyond a level of purely ethnic diversity.

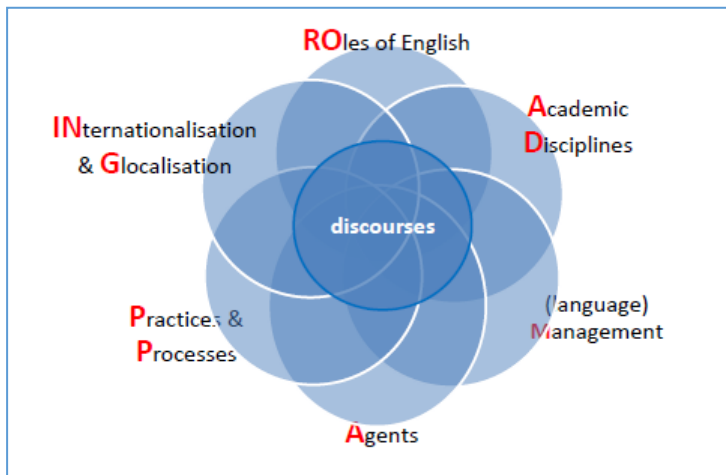
diversity on both language and the role of language in the construction of social relations and social organization. The implications of this will be discussed in the following section (Chapter 2.3.1).

With room for ELF in their understanding of the *Roles of English*, Dafouz and Smit's (2016) conceptualisation of English-Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings (EMEMUS) offers a framework which enables analysts to "zoom in" and "out" without losing sight of either micro- or macro-level phenomena. Anchored theoretically in socio- and eco-linguistic approaches as well as language policy research, this framework uses discourse as an "access point to the analysis of social practices" (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 402) and thereby gain an insight into the interplay of these practices across six dimensions which each offer a different perspective on EMEMUS. While there are numerous approaches to conceptualising and approaching "discourse" (Mautner 2016: 16–20), this project uses Mautner's (2016) succinct definition of discourse as "text and talk in context, analysed with a focus on the social functions it performs" (Mautner 2016: 22). It sees discourse as being "a rich concept" rather than merely vague or "fuzzy": "rich in the associations it can convey, rich in history, rich in its potential to connect with many different research traditions, schools and disciplines" (Mautner 2016: 23). Using discourse as the analytical lens thus makes it possible to illuminate histories and developments and to connect these to current and emerging practices, as well as gaining a multi-layered perspective of the context under investigation. To date, the EMEMUS framework has mostly been used to focus on the institution of the international university as a whole (although see Smit 2014). However, by looking at different types of text and talk as well as using different approaches to discourse analysis, it can also be usefully applied to zoom in on student interaction and examine this as it is embedded in the international university and the broader international business context. In other words, it fulfils Mautner's (2016) call to put language "centre-stage, while not losing sight of the socio-economic context that language use is embedded in" (Mautner 2016: 1).

2.3 ROAD-MAPPING

As mentioned above, the EMEMUS framework identifies six dimensions with discourse "as the intersecting access point" (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 403). These dimensions are *Roles Of English, Academic Disciplines, (language) Management, Agents, Practices & Processes, and Internationalisation & Globalisation*. A graphic representation of the dimensions, highlighting the role of discourse as the point of access and their interplay with each other, can be seen in Figure 2.1 below.

Figure 2.1 The ROAD-MAPPING framework for EMEMUS



(Dafouz & Smit 2016: 404)

The main concerns of each dimension and their relevance for the present study will be explained in more detail in the following sections.

2.3.1 *Roles Of English*: English as a medium of instruction and English as a (business) lingua franca

The first dimension examines “the functional breadth of English [...] in relation to the complete linguistic repertoire of a specific higher education site” (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 403–404). This not only applies to the official implementation of English as the medium of instruction (EMI) and its role in relation to other (e.g. local) languages of instruction, but also reflects the paradigm shift from perceiving English as a foreign language to using it as a lingua franca in both pedagogical and social contexts (Dafouz 2018). The “spectrum of modalities” regarding the medium of instruction identified by the IntlUni project⁷, established to analyse the challenges of the multilingual and multicultural learning space across 38 educational institutions in 27 countries, illustrates the range of roles English and other languages may play in European HEIs (Millar & van Mulken n.d.: 5; see also Smit 2018). This shows that while English may be the unique language of instruction, there are numerous other possibilities, including parallel language use and of course using the national language(s) as the medium of instruction. Indeed, the overall proportion of courses taught through English remains very low, with the most recent and comprehensive figures at just below 6% of all study programmes and only 1.3% of all students enrolled in fully English-medium programmes (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 38). Nevertheless, the exponential rise of EMPs in European higher education over the last decade – “from 725 programmes in 2001, to 2,389 in 2007 and to 8,089 in [2014]” (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 16) – and with countries such as Denmark at the high end of

⁷ www.intluni.eu (last accessed 16 August 2017)

the scale having as many as 38% of all study programmes taught in English (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 43), the role of English as an increasingly important medium of instruction in European higher education cannot be denied. In Austria, just under 10% of university degree programmes were fully taught through the medium of English in 2013/14 (ibid.).

When focusing on the domain of business studies, the role of English becomes even more salient. Wilkinson's claim that "English is becoming the dominant language" in business education (Wilkinson 2011: 111) is somewhat overstated, but English has certainly established a strong foothold in this domain. The Wächter and Maiworm (2014) study found that the subject group of social sciences, business and law had the highest proportion of programmes taught through English at 35%, and conjectured that the majority of these would be "offered in business and law studies, rather than in social sciences" (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 66). Given the highly localised nature of law in general, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that in fact the majority are offered in business alone. This assumption is supported by findings that 28% of the English-taught master's programmes listed on the StudyPortals site in 2013 were in business and economics (Brenn-White & Faethe 2013: 9). Likewise, Unterberger's (2014) status quo study of business programmes offered at Austrian state universities in 2012/13 came up with a similar figure of over 30% of these programmes being offered in English (Unterberger 2014: 77–78). English thus has a strong, if not exactly dominant, role as the language of European business education, particularly at master's level.

The subject group of social sciences, business and law also saw the highest share of Erasmus student exchanges at over 40% in 2012-2013 (European Commission 2015: 65). While there are no figures discussing the language of instruction for this specific group, half of all Erasmus students used English as their "main language for studying abroad" even though only an eighth went to the UK, Ireland or Malta in the same academic year (European Commission 2015: 62, 66). It can therefore be assumed that many, if not most, of these courses take place in English. Thus as the student body on EMPs becomes more heterogeneous, English can be said to function as the classroom "lingua franca" (Jenkins 2014: 8-15; Mauranen 2012: 6-11; Smit 2010: 3, 77-81). At the same time, intercultural communication – particularly, though not exclusively, among Erasmus students – also takes place outside the classroom, where English often takes on the role of a lingua franca regardless of whether or not it is the medium of instruction (Kalocsai 2013: 3–5).

The concept of English as a lingua franca, or ELF, has developed considerably since its beginnings at the turn of the 21st century (for an excellent overview, see Jenkins et al. 2011 and Jenkins 2015). Most recent studies have drawn on Seidlhofer's (2011) aforementioned definition of ELF as:

any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option. (Seidlhofer 2011, original emphasis; cf. Baker 2015; Björkman 2013; Jenkins 2014; Kalocsai 2013)

Jenkins (2015) identifies two phases of empirical research into ELF from which current studies are emerging and evolving. The first, strongly influenced by the World Englishes paradigm, focused on form, pronunciation and lexico-grammar (e.g. Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2001). The second saw a shift away from the desire to codify and towards acknowledging the “[h]ybridity, fluidity, and variability” that are “the main characteristics of ELF communication” (Cogo 2012: 290), as well as a re-conceptualisation of ELF with function taking precedence over form (Cogo 2008; Seidlhofer 2011). The second phase also included a much stronger focus on attitudes towards ELF (e.g. Jenkins 2007), on implications for teaching English (e.g. Sifakis 2007, 2014), and on pragmatics, especially in terms of how to communicate effectively in ELF settings (e.g. Björkman 2013; Mauranen 2012).

Recent research conceptualises ELF as a resource rather than a code, and there are numerous volumes drawing on the substantial body of empirical research conducted over the past decade and a half – many in academic contexts – which develop an understanding of ELF as being highly context-dependent, variable and dynamic (e.g. Baker 2015; Björkman 2013; Ehrenreich 2016; Jenkins 2007, 2014; Kalocsai 2013; Murata 2016; Mauranen & Ranta 2009; Mauranen 2012; Seidlhofer 2011; Smit 2010). Jenkins (2015) suggests that ELF research is now entering a third phase, where she proposes repositioning ELF within a framework of multilingualism. However, it can be argued that multilingualism has always been an integral part of conceptualising ELF (see Cogo 2012; House 2003; Meierkord 2002; Seidlhofer 2011), and that the third and current phase of ELF research focuses more closely on the specifics of interaction in a particular context, as well as how these shape and are shaped by the demands of that context (e.g. Baker 2015; Björkman 2013; Kalocsai 2013; Mauranen 2012; Smit 2010). While ELF in the (multilingual) university setting has already attracted considerable attention, much of this has been focused on teacher-student interaction in formal classroom contexts, particularly lectures. The role of English as a lingua franca in other academic genres (such as teamwork or office hours) thus still requires more scrutiny. At the same time, “classical” ELF research (i.e. in the linguistics paradigm) would benefit from considering Janssens and Steyaert’s (2014) conceptualisation of a “multilingual franca” as including “functional and professional” languages as well as national ones (Janssens & Steyaert 2014: 635)⁸. In other words, while national languages (e.g. French, German, Japanese) are the most obvious elements of multilingualism, researchers – particularly in the business and business education fields – cannot ignore the importance of corporate jargon (e.g. the language of Apple or Microsoft) and the technical language of certain disciplines or professions (e.g. finance, sales, engineering) which

⁸ On the other hand, the Janssens and Steyaert (2014) paper would likewise benefit greatly from a more informed discussion of linguistic understandings of English as a lingua franca.

may be mutually understood or exclusive in contexts where national languages are not (Ehrenreich 2010, 2011).

In the business context, the role(s) of language in general and English in particular is also an area which has received some attention but, as Mautner (2007) suggests, remains a largely unconsummated relationship (attempts to address the paucity of research into language in the context of management will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.3.3). Despite the claims referred to earlier that English has “become *the* dominant language in international business” (Ehrenreich 2010: 408, original emphasis) and “indispensable” (Tietze 2004: 176) for conducting business in the international arena, there is relatively little in-depth research that examines the role of English and the construction of social practices in actual business interaction. One exception is the research conducted through the paradigm of English as a business lingua franca (BELF), first proposed by Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005). This draws explicitly on ELF research but contextualises it in international business (Kankaanranta et al. 2015; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2012; for an excellent, comprehensive and critical overview, see Ehrenreich 2016). BELF is perceived as being “a vital part of the ‘workplace kit’, just like the mobiles or laptops” (Ehrenreich 2011: 21), and a means to communicate with colleagues from all around the world who have “a great range of varying individual linguistic proficiencies” (Ehrenreich 2016: 137). Additionally, “relational talk and rapport building [...] are perceived to be an integral and highly relevant part of BELF competence” (Ehrenreich 2016: 138) and language practices therefore play an important role in terms of constructing a productive relationship (see also Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 394-395; Kankaanranta et al. 2015: 129). Outside an explicit BELF framework, but with very similar findings, Angouri’s work (Angouri 2010, 2012, 2013; Angouri & Miglbauer 2014) has highlighted the role of English “a common language for business activities, the language of terminology for different fields and for cross-border collaboration” (Angouri & Miglbauer 2014: 156).

While the phrase “lingua franca” is used liberally to talk about the use of English in multilingual and multicultural settings, there are many misconceptions about what the term refers to as well as some legitimate and academically sound concerns. Criticism of the concept of ELF in part derives from the shift from a focus on form to a focus on function as outlined above. The early desire to codify ELF as a variety of English following the World Englishes paradigm is understandably met with scepticism, partly because the heterogeneity of ELF interactions make it impossible to develop a systematic code that would apply across the (infinite) range of settings and speaker constellations even if more recent studies still betray a guilty desire to be able to codify a variety of ELF (see MacKenzie 2014: 3-4). At the same time, the emphasis of a shift from seeing speakers in ELF contexts as *users* rather than *learners* may be perceived as “angelizing” forms that are “identical to those traditionally described as errors in SLA” and ELF speakers by “re-describing all involuntary

approximations as signs of unbridled creativity” (MacKenzie 2014: 143). While this criticism is not entirely unjustified, the change in conceptualising ELF as a function rather than a variety has also drawn attention away from error patterns and onto pragmatic strategies for effective communication, which MacKenzie concedes is “to admire in a lot of ELF interactions” (ibid). Understandings of ELF as a more dynamic concept characterised by variation (Smit 2010: 63-68, drawing on James 2005, 2006; see also Cogo 2011) and as a highly situated way of using language based on what is appropriate for that context (Seidlhofer 2007) takes some of the emphasis off *what* ELF users say and redirects it to *how* and *why*; namely, the roles of English and how these are enacted and accomplished. With this, it should be noted that the *how* and *why* encompass a vast range of contexts (formal and informal) as well as speaker proficiencies (from highly limited to native/expert), and an effective ELF speaker’s “repertoire of linguistic resources [...] may need to reflect this” (Ferguson 2012: 179).

Since the first descriptions of English being used as a lingua franca, critics have (rightly) questioned the notion of it being portrayed as a “neutral” code (see Tietze 2004: 177-180 for an overview). In most discussions the concept of what is meant by “English” is not thematised, and even explicit criticisms of the concept of “English as a lingua franca” as a field of study seem to take little interest in understanding the basic precepts (e.g. Phillipson 2015). Nevertheless, aside from their lack of conceptual clarity, the concerns raised by critics are not unfounded, although they can be mitigated to a certain extent. A popular point of criticism links the spread of English to linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992, 2009, 2015) and an Anglo-Saxification of the domains it penetrates, especially in management education (Tietze 2004: 181–184). It is true that several researchers have described English as a “neutral” language, sometimes in the words of the participants in their studies (e.g. Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 388; Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011: 25; Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005: 404; Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2012: 264), and thus appear to lack an awareness of the power embedded or enacted in language. This attribution is based on cases such as the merged Finnish-Swedish bank Nordea, whose implementation of English as the company-internal language was perceived as “neutralising” a conflict that resulted from the symbolic significance of adopting one merger partner’s language over the other in a deal that was supposed to be between equals (Björkman et al. 2005). At the interactional level, too, using a third language as a lingua franca may help to break “tribal” tendencies along language divides, e.g. in a team consisting of French- and German-speaking members (Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011). Even studies that report such findings, though, note that “BELF speakers bring into business interaction their own culture-bound views of how encounters should be conducted”, as well as “discourse practices stemming from their own mother tongues” (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005: 404). Thus it seems to be – to some extent – a question of semantics (in itself of course a valid point of criticism). It may thus be more useful, not to mention accurate, to use terms such as a “shared”, “hybrid” or “contact” language rather than a “neutral” one. Rather than a *tabula rasa*,

the notion of “neutrality” in lingua franca research seems to reflect the idea that nobody has exclusive ownership of or authority over the language and “everybody is allowed to contribute, construct and use” it (Cogo 2012: 298) in whatever way achieves the interactional goals. It should not be forgotten, though, that this “neutrality” or shared interest in mutual goals can and generally will be sacrificed rapidly if it is in the speaker’s interest to do so.

At the same time, these practices may not only comprise the use of English, but also involve other languages (Ehrenreich 2016: 139; see also Angouri 2013: 572; Angouri & Miglbauer 2014: 157; Kassis-Henderson 2005; Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011: 27; Lønsmann 2014: 110-112; Selmer & Lauring 2011). Despite the claims that English is “indispensable” made earlier, the fallacy of the “transnational elite” educated in Anglo-Saxon management discourse (and English-medium educational settings) may grossly overestimate the ubiquity of English as a result of their own and their peers’ (perceived) competences (Fredriksson et al. 2006: 409; cf. also Rogerson-Revell 2007b: 111). Using ELF can thus also act “as a disabler, exercising and resulting in exclusion of speakers with no or very little proficiency in English” (Ehrenreich 2016: 139–140).

Similarly, English proficiency can be used “as a gatekeeper regulating (non-native) student intake” in the international university (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 404; cf. Jenkins 2014; Shohamy 2013). On the other hand, the presence of a strong local language in the ostensibly EMI classroom can also cause “massive problems”, especially at the beginning, if international students have no or little proficiency in it when they join the class (Smit 2010: 126). Not surprisingly, similar observations have been made by studies in business contexts, which found that “lack of knowledge of the local languages has been reported as a factor affecting the employees’ ability to ‘fit in’ and develop a sense of belonging” (Angouri & Miglbauer 2014: 157; Lønsmann 2014: 110-112; Selmer & Lauring 2011). Frustration with the lingua franca may lead to avoidance strategies resulting in limited communication or reverting to the L1 to the exclusion of those who do not speak it (Hinds et al. 2013: 543-547). Additionally, even if English is used consistently as the lingua franca of the immediate working environment (whether in professional or learning contexts), interaction with external actors such as bidding for and winning contracts (Ehrenreich 2010: 423) or interviewing local business stakeholders (Gundermann 2014: 203–204) may inevitably require using the local language – and at a relatively sophisticated level, at that.

A further implication of the last point is the idea that, in a role as the lingua franca of international business and part of the “workplace kit”, English is widely perceived as a minimum requirement and, arguably, taken for granted – even if this is not the case in reality (Hellekjær & Hellekjær 2015a: 237). A language other than English thus may create “added value on the job market” (Wilkinson 2011: 120). In Hellekjær and Hellekjær’s (2015b) study of L3 use in approximately 300 Norwegian exporters, 39% responded that being able to use the L3 well is “very necessary”, with German being the most frequently used L3 at about 16% (p. 152). This reflected

the European Commission's (2012) findings that 17% thought German was the most useful foreign language (after English at 67%), though this figure was not business-specific. Similarly, Ammon (2010) suggests that German represents a "valuable additional qualification" and EMI may therefore in fact increase, rather than decrease demand for learning German as a foreign language (p. 25).

In short, English clearly has an increasingly frequent role as the medium of instruction in internationally-oriented European universities and particularly in the field of business studies, although perhaps not to the extent that one might expect from extravagant claims of it being the "dominant" language of these domains (reasons for this phenomenon will be discussed in Section 2.3.4). As well as being the "official" language of the classroom, it is often also a lingua franca among students with diverse linguacultural backgrounds and between students and teachers who do not share an L1. In this role, English as a lingua franca should be seen as a function rather than a variety of English, with a focus on effective but potentially hybrid, dynamic and fluid communication. Claims of it being a "neutral" language should be viewed very sceptically, with "shared" or "contact" language being a more useful description. While English is rapidly earning a reputation for being the "dominant language" in international business, its role in this context is also as part of the "workplace kit" and its function to help get the job done under the circumstances – and with the resources – available. Effective ELF speakers must therefore be able to adapt to communicating with people who have limited linguistic resources as well as expert and/or native speakers. One element of this function may include the development of a positive and sustainable working relationship. However, in both business and academic contexts there is the danger that variable levels of English proficiency can act as a barrier, although this can equally be the case with a local language if proficiency levels are low.

2.3.2 *Academic Disciplines*: business studies, internationalisation at home, and preparing students for the (globalised) labour market

The dimension of *Academic Disciplines* relates to "the different teaching and learning genres, curricular design, and assessment methods used in the academic setting" (Dafouz 2018: 175). The IntlUni project's findings suggested that some of the challenges of the multilingual and multicultural learning space were "increased by the differences in not only *ethnic* and *local* cultures, but also in *academic* cultures and practices and *disciplinary* cultures in HEI contexts" (Cogo & Westerholm n.d.: 2, original emphasis; cf. Dafouz Milne 2015: 22). Discussions centring on this dimension are therefore largely concerned with the development of disciplinary literacy, namely "appropriate participation in disciplinary communicative practices within the academy" but also "in society at large" (Airey 2011b). It is of course true that this is an issue for all students, not

only non-native speakers of English, since “academic language [...] is nobody’s mother tongue” (Jenkins 2014: 11, paraphrasing Bourdieu & Passeron 1977: 115; also cited in Klitgård 2011: 169; cf. Bhatia 2004; Duff 2007; Hyland 2006; Hellekjær 2010a). However, evidence from (early) research into the effect of using EMI suggests that using a foreign language as the medium of instruction complicates learning processes (Airey 2004; 2009; Evans & Morrison 2011b; Hellekjær 2004), even if the ultimate result may be comparable to learning through the L1 (Dafouz et al. 2014). Engaging in academic discourse socialisation and more general linguistic socialisation simultaneously may well be “understandably more complex” for the non-native English-speaking student (Benzie 2010: 453). Moreover, some scholars note that content experts are often not aware that “meanings they take for granted may be impossible to construe from outside the specialised discourse of the discipline” (Airey 2011b; cf. Dafouz Milne 2015: 21); that they “neither have the desire nor the expertise [...] to teach disciplinary literacy skills” (Hyland 2006: 11); or that there is simply “too little time to discuss discipline-specific language use explicitly, even if content teachers are willing and able to do so” (Unterberger 2014: 43; cf. Dafouz Milne 2015: 21).

At the same time, being able to communicate disciplinary content and engage in a variety of communicative practices specific to their discipline are crucial skills for students to learn. There is an “integral connection between subject knowledge and expertise and the language and communication skills needed to express expertise” (Räsänen 2008: 258). This goes beyond simply knowing disciplinary-specific concepts and genres, but rather emphasises the need to be able to apply these accurately and appropriately:

the specialist language of a discipline is intrinsic to students’ learning of disciplinary knowledge; students need to show their understanding of concepts, phenomena, relations between phenomena etc. by incorporating the specialist language and terminology of their discipline into their writing accurately. They also need to adopt the specialist language in order to make meaning and engage with disciplinary knowledge. (Woodward-Kron 2008: 246; cf. Dafouz Milne 2015: 27)

The specific context of business studies in particular places considerable emphasis on being an “applied” discipline in terms of the well-known Biglan-Kolb-Becher models which categorise subjects along the dimensions of hard-soft and pure-applied and their corresponding practices in terms of knowledge-related and socially-related aspects such as curriculum, assessment, main cognitive purpose, group characteristics of teachers, types of teaching methods, and implicit requirements of students (Neumann 2001: 407–413). Obviously, there is considerable diversity even within a single discipline; in marketing, for example, statistically-informed marketing research would fall at the “hard” end, while consumer behaviour might be seen as a “soft” applied field, where students are expected to “exercise problem-solving abilities” and “need a facility in oral and written expression” and the “need to appreciate, through field and case studies, how actions shape

events” (Neumann 2001: 413). On the whole, though, business studies in general and marketing in particular are generally placed in the soft-applied quadrant, which is “concerned with the enhancement of professional practice and aiming to yield protocols and procedures” (Neumann 2001: 406). In terms of teaching and learning practice, disciplines in this field generally seek “the accumulation of knowledge by a reiterative process shaped by practically honed knowledge and espoused theory” (Neumann 2001: 408); “essay and project-based assessments predominate, but peer and self-assessment tasks are more common” and “there is [...] more need for constructive, informative feedback” (Neumann 2001: 409); “the skills [the students] develop are also practice related [...] A prominent place is given to the development of reflective practice and lifelong learning skills” (Neumann 2001: 410); and teaching frequently draws on “the contributions of experienced practitioners” (Neumann 2001: 411), while learners’ strengths are “problem-solving, using intuition in trial and error situations, trying new experiences, taking risks and adapting to change” (Albergaria Almeida & Mendes 2010: 287–288).

While none of these categories are clear-cut or prescriptive, state-of-the-art pedagogies for tertiary marketing education reflect these broad principles, arguing for a “value co-creation approach to education” which “draws from a theoretical understanding of how firms, customers, and other market actors jointly create value through their interactions” (Conduit et al. 2017: 115). This draws attention to the resources students and teachers bring to an interaction and claims that “co-creation among students lead[s] to the construction of new knowledge, and improved learning outcomes” (Conduit et al. 2017: 116). Teamwork is proposed as an ideal context for such interaction and co-creation as well as being a highly sought-after skill in terms of employability (Anderson & Lees 2017: 129; Carrie et al. 2017: 143; Conduit et al. 2017: 116).

Indeed, studies examining the gap between what students learn in business education courses and what they need as professional graduates have found that the most important themes mentioned by industry experts (both in terms of frequency and weight) consistently include intercultural competence, a global mindset, and teamwork skills (Prestwich & Ho-Kim 2007; Zetting & Vincze 2008; Milhauser & Rahschulte 2010; Wolf & Wright 2014). A high level of proficiency in English is often viewed as “a pre-requisite for all business students in the 21st century” (Dafouz & Camacho-Miñano 2016: 58; Hellekjær & Hellekjær 2015b: 149; Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2012: 264; Taillefer 2007: 137). As mentioned already, the 2014 ACA survey of over a thousand European universities found that one of the most common motivations for introducing EMI is “mak[ing] domestic students ‘fit’ for the global/international labour market” (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 54). The results of the earlier IAU 3rd Global Survey Report (Egron-Polak & Hudson 2010) were even more conclusive, with “Improving student preparedness for a globalized/ internationalized world” being ranked “by a substantial margin” as “the most important rationale for internationalization by respondent HEIs” (Egron-Polak & Hudson 2010: 21; cf. Beelen

2011: 93). Though such large-scale studies do not explore in depth what is understood by such statement, this motivation is presumably linked to giving students the opportunity to become accustomed to working through the medium of English as well as to diversify the student body. The latter – at least in theory – allows domestic students to develop “international and intercultural knowledge and abilities [...] for performing (professionally, socially, emotionally) in an international and multicultural context” (Nilsson 2000: 22). Strategies supporting this kind of development are referred to as “Internationalisation at Home” (IaH) (Nilsson 1999; Crowther et al. 2000), which should “cater for the needs of the vast majority of non-mobile students, mainly through the development of international curricula” (Wächter 2000: 6) and “the embedding of international/ intercultural perspectives into local educational settings” (Turner & Robson 2008: 15)⁹. With the continuing rise in cross-border trade and foreign direct investment, it is essential for business students to learn how to operate effectively in international and multicultural contexts.

Of course, merely implementing EMI is not enough to develop the necessary skills; IaH must be implemented purposefully to allow students to benefit from the diversity of the international classroom and/or curriculum (Bash 2009: 476; cf. Haines 2017; Lauridsen & Lillemose 2015; Leask & Carroll 2011; Leask 2015). Nevertheless, when internationalisation strategies and EMI are implemented purposefully, they can bring added value to the classroom. For example, it has been found that students in an EMI context may take a much more participatory role in learning than their non-EMI counterparts (Dafouz & Camacho-Miñano 2016: 59). The same study also found that the EMI group “found it easier to learn the English terminology than the non-EMI group did in their L1 (Spanish), as the former had not been ‘contaminated’ with a non-technical use of the terms” (Dafouz & Camacho-Miñano 2016: 63). Although there is a need for more comparative empirical research in this area, it could also be argued that the extra consideration given to purposeful implementation of internationalisation strategies (including EMI) can lead to better pedagogical practices, which in turn lead to better learning. Certainly, recent research has highlighted the need for “multicultural teaching skills” and suggests that “good intercultural competences and/or didactic skills” are at least as important as proficiency in the medium of instruction, and may even compensate for the latter (Cogo & Westerholm n.d.: 4; cf. Välimaa et al. 2013: 49).

While there are many (potential) benefits to teaching and learning business content through English, however, there are also several concerns that need to be addressed. The main concern presented here may not be exclusive or specific to the business domain, but it is particularly

⁹ Specific initiatives promoting IaH can involve integrating international or comparative subject matter into curricula, developing interdisciplinary programmes, joint and double degree courses or programmes with compulsory international elements, training workshops for faculty, encouraging staff to cooperate with international research partners, funding incoming international guest lecturers, using technology to encourage virtual mobility such as collaboration between students in different countries, and so on (Dunne 2011; Egron-Polak & Hudson 2010; Hénard et al. 2012; Jenkins 2014; Knight 2008; Leask 2015; Nilsson 2000).

relevant for this field¹⁰. As Phillipson (2015) argues, it is important to ensure that “the increased use of English in new territories, such as continental Europe, is additive rather than subtractive” and “expands the linguistic repertoire of students and researchers [...] so as to meet both national and international needs” (Phillipson 2015: 29). With almost fifty percent of respondents stating that “to attract foreign students as a future highly qualified work force for your region/country” was a motivation for implementing EMI (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 54), it is essential to ensure that (all) students are also equipped for working in the domestic market. Grin (2015) reports on studies conducted in Canada, Australia, Germany and Israel which aim to identify “the penalty incurred by those who do not have adequate knowledge of [the locally dominant language]” (Grin 2015: 47)¹¹. A study examining international degree programmes in Finland found that “the complaint mentioned most often by students is the lack of internships and work placements in their field for students with less-than-perfect Finnish language skills” (Välilä et al. 2013: 41). The implementation of an L2 as the medium of instruction can thus have serious implications for employability in the domestic market if acquisition of the local language is not supported. While these studies do not distinguish between general and technical language skills, it is important to remember that even native speakers of the local language need to acquire the relevant disciplinary language in order to be able to work in these fields, and domain loss is also an important concern for the L1 community (Bolton & Kuteeva 2012; Wilkinson 2013). Disciplinary socialisation through EMEMUS should therefore ideally be bi- or even multilingual in both English and the local language(s) in order to ensure students are sufficiently equipped for both an international/global and a domestic/local labour market, regardless of whether they are home or international students.

To summarise, the acquisition of academic and disciplinary literacy gains another dimension when mediated through an L2. Content teachers may be unaware, unwilling or unable to teach disciplinary literacy explicitly, while, for the students, learning, understanding and being able to apply such knowledge is crucial to entering the discipline either at home or abroad. Business studies in general and marketing in particular place considerable emphasis on being an applied discipline with a strong focus on practice and the co-construction of knowledge in the classroom. Highly interactional pedagogical strategies such as the use of teamwork and problem-solving are valued, which are extremely complex and cognitively demanding when linguistic proficiency and intercultural skills are an additional factor. However, the implementation of EMI to attract international students and diversify the learning space can give students the opportunity to learn these skills and increase their employability if internationalisation strategies are implemented purposefully and integration facilitated effectively. At the same time, it is also important for

¹⁰ Concerns relating to the introduction of EMI that are not as specific to the field of business and employability will be discussed in Section 2.3.4.

¹¹ Chiswick and Miller (2007), for example, estimate that documented immigrants in the US who are able to converse in English “have earnings 8% higher” than their counterparts who lack this skill (p. 242).

educators not to lose sight of the need to prepare (both local and international) students for the domestic labour market, which may imply support for, if not active teaching of, disciplinary literacy in the local language as well as the perceived international lingua franca (i.e. English).

2.3.3 *language (in) Management*: language policy in the international university and the multinational corporation

In the original framework, Dafouz and Smit (2016) describe this dimension as “concerned with L[anguage] P[olicy] statements and declarations” (p. 406). These refer to “efforts to manipulate the language situation” (Spolsky 2004: 8), whether strategic, legal, binding, or implicit. They highlight tensions between official policy and enacted practice and the influence of agents at a range of levels (supranational, national, institutional, etc.) as well as the fact that explicit language policies can be written, spoken or internet-based (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 406). As seen in the previous section, language policy in multilingual and multicultural settings can be a highly complex, not to mention highly charged, issue. While Dafouz and Smit (2016) focus purely on an HE setting, this thesis expands the framework to include the business context which the students plan to enter once they graduate. Reflecting the discussion above on the challenges of balancing an international and local labour market, Cots et al. (2014) draw attention to the dilemma many public HEIs have of bearing “the responsibility to provide the education and training necessary to increase the social and economic opportunities of the population” which almost inevitably involves the adoption of “at least one lingua franca” while also being expected to protect “the cultural heritage and identity (of which language is an intrinsic element) of the community which funds it to develop its social function” (p. 311). Finally, a further tension may arise between bottom-up and top-down pressures (Cots et al. 2014: 312), which will be examined for this context in the next section on *Agents*.

In the international university context, language policy and practice are obviously intertwined, but not always consistent, and sometimes not explicitly considered. The IntlUni project found that over half of the participating institutions had no explicit language policy (Millar & van Mulken n.d.: 1), and the “spectrum of modalities” regarding the medium of instruction reflects the range of implicit and explicit language policies as well as the forces driving such decisions (Millar & van Mulken n.d.: 4). In response to fears about “the marginalisation of Swedish as an academic language”, for example, “universities in Sweden have been directed to produce documents outlining their language policies in an attempt to provide pragmatic guidelines for the handling of English and Swedish across educational programmes” (Kuteeva & Airey 2014: 534). Following the introduction of the Swedish Government’s Language Act of 2009, this largely takes the form of “parallel language use”, which “implies that ‘teachers and students have a full command of Swedish in parallel with English of high quality’” (Kuteeva & Airey 2014: 536, quoting the Language

Act, their translation). Yet this may be difficult to operationalise in practice (Airey 2009; Airey & Linder 2006) and may even be incompatible with certain disciplines, especially if the dominant language of textbooks is English (however problematic that may be in itself). Policies may be put into place to protect regional languages such as Catalan or Basque if the introduction of EMI threatens their position alongside other official languages like Spanish, or, alternatively, to create room for English alongside multiple official languages (e.g. Cots 2013; Cots et al. 2012; Cots et al. 2014).

Unterberger (2014; see also Unterberger 2012) examined the specific situation in Austria and identified a strong trend towards internationalisation in both national and WU-specific institutional policies during the ten years under study. Perhaps surprisingly, however, English-medium education seemed to be “largely neglected in the national policies”, suggesting that “the ministry is not aware of the potential of EMI to accelerate internationalisation processes” (Unterberger 2014: 148). In contrast, her analysis of the institutional policies revealed that “English-medium education is a recurring theme in WU’s internationalisation policies from 2009 to 2012” and she argues that this “clearly demonstrate[s] Europe’s largest institution of business and economics education at the tertiary level considers English-medium instruction as instrumental in stimulating and accelerating its internationalisation process” (Unterberger 2014: 150). This continues to be the case as the university still puts EMI in pole position under “International Affairs” on the strategy section of its website: “In its academic programs, WU intends to sharpen its profile by strengthening its international position through its English-taught master’s and PhD programs.”¹² Additionally, her study found that, while the national policies placed emphasis on facilitating student and staff mobility, the institutional policies focused more strongly on maintaining its competitiveness on the international higher education market, for which implementing English was a crucial policy in terms of securing international accreditations and attractive global partners (Unterberger 2014: 145; 153-157). Again, the university’s current website still reflects these priorities to a large degree; comments on “aiming for excellence” and “increased international recognition” come before “encouraging and supporting student and faculty mobility”. While it must be admitted that explicit mention of “strengthening WU’s international branding” comes in last, the fact it appears at all is a remarkable testimony to the competitive nature of the international HE market, especially in the field of business studies.¹³

In the wider business context, language policy is an equally complex but frequently neglected issue. Indeed, Holden’s (1987) state-of-the-art literature view lamented the lack of attention given to this topic; a decade and a half later, Feely and Harzing (2002) pointed out that very little had changed, leading to descriptions of language as “‘forgotten, orphaned and neglected” (p. 6) in

¹² <https://www.wu.ac.at/en/the-university/about-wu/strategy/international-affairs/> (last accessed 22 August 2017)

¹³ See Mautner (2013: 74–85) for a discussion of university branding and an overview of the marketisation of higher education discourse.

turn-of-the-century management literature. Yet this neglect was not because language was unimportant in international business. A study conducted by the consultancy KPMG in 2001 found that cross-border deals between companies using the same language have a higher success rate, with Anglo-American alliances being as much as “45 percent more successful than the average, while deals between U.S. companies and those from elsewhere in Europe were 11 percent less successful” (Schuler et al. 2004: 142). Maclean (2006) argues that “language has slipped under the radar as a topic of interest in management research” as it is seen as being “both too simple, and at the same time too complex, an issue to be addressed by academic researchers” (p. 1378). Even in more recent research into cross-border alliances (particularly international M&As and joint ventures), while cultural topics have garnered a fair share of references, language is still very much a wallflower. In the *Handbook of Mergers and Acquisitions* (Faulkner et al. 2012), for example, language is only referenced once and in connection with culture under the heading of “Country differences” (Teerikangas 2012: 527). Although “communication” is generally included, this usually refers to (internal) organisational communication and does not address the issue of managing linguistic diversity within a firm. While this and a similar lack of acknowledgement of the role of language in M&As may be partly explained by the fact that such handbooks do not necessarily focus on cross-border alliances, it seems astonishing that a recent volume entitled *Globalizing International Human Resource Management* (Rowley & Warner 2008) has no listing for language in the index at all.¹⁴

In an attempt to address this lack, a small but dedicated group of scholars have established a field of research examining “Language in International Business (IB)” drawing on seminal work by Feely and Harzing (2003) and Marschan-Piekkari et al. (1999a, 1999b; Piekkari 2006) which examines corporate language policy (or the lack thereof) and its implications for enabling the transfer of knowledge and information in multinational corporations. Interest in and contributions to the field have grown steadily over the last decade, with a Special Issue on “The Multifaceted Role of Language in International Business” in the prestigious *Journal of International Business Studies* (Brannen et al. 2014b) and a series of annual international conferences organised by the *Groupe d’Études Management et Langage* (French Research Group on Management & Language)¹⁵. Nevertheless, there is still a rather strong concentration of studies focusing on companies based in Northern Europe, particularly the Scandinavian countries.

As in the academic context, the first question when examining language policy in a corporation is to find out whether there is an explicit language policy at all. Harzing and Pudelko’s (2013)

¹⁴ However, it should be noted that both editions of the *Handbook of Research in International Human Resource Management* (Stahl & Björkman 2006; Stahl et al. 2012) include a full chapter dedicated to language in MNCs (Piekkari 2006; Piekkari & Tietze 2012). There is also a very brief entry on “The language of global management” in the *Wiley Encyclopedia of Management* (Neeley 2014). A systematic analysis of such handbooks is long overdue.

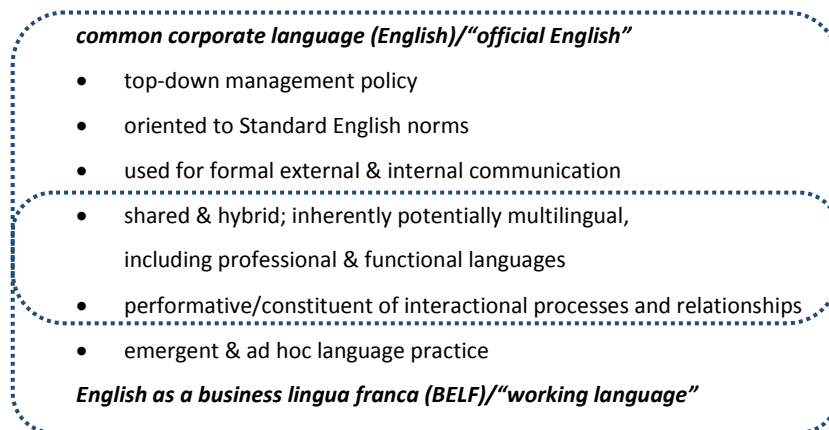
¹⁵ <http://geml.eu/> (last accessed 22 August 2017)

extensive study showed that almost a quarter of their respondents claimed their company had no official corporate language, particularly among Asian companies (47%) and Anglo-based firms (23%) (p. 93). In some cases, these results may be due to ignorance of the official language policy rather than its absence (Fredriksson et al. 2006: 417-418; Harzing et al. 2011: 283-284). Other companies, however, may deliberately eschew the introduction of a common corporate language in favour of allowing language issues to be resolved at a local, operational, or individual-case basis (Maclean 2006: 1378). Of course, this may – and does – happen anyway, even when an official language has been introduced.

The adoption of a corporate language is sometimes also referred to as a “language standardisation” policy. It is generally intended to facilitate formal reporting as well as informal communication between its international units, and believed to encourage a “sense of belonging” and a more integrated corporate culture (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999a: 379; Zander et al. 2011: 297). Luring and Selmer (2012) argue that “more consistency in the use of a common language by employees and managers will improve the diversity climate in multicultural organizations” and “may also diminish the effect of language-based group identity that could create social boundaries between different natural language speech communities” (p. 157-158). In other words, sharing a common language enhances identification with a group and thus a “positive social identity” as part of this group (Lønsmann 2014: 94) and makes it easier to carry out the relational work which “is significant for professional development and wellbeing” (Angouri 2014: 3).

On the other hand, there are also several issues which arise from the introduction of a common corporate language, of which enforcing it is arguably the least problematic. Regardless of whether the corporate language is the local language or another language (e.g. English), it is likely that proficiency levels will vary greatly among employees, which has severe implications for which language is actually used and for what purposes. While there is still relatively little research into the relationship between language policy and practice in companies, BELF research has attempted to address this gap (e.g. Ehrenreich 2009, 2010, 2016; Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2007; Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; see also Angouri 2013; Angouri & Miglbauer 2014; Lønsmann 2014). However, there is still a lack of conceptual clarity between the notion of a common corporate language and the use of English as a business lingua franca. Komori-Glatz’ (Komori-Glatz forthcoming) continuum of English-in-use presents the linguistic manifestations of English in international business(es) in an effort to remedy this lack (see Figure 2.2. on the next page). It follows Piekkari and her colleagues (i.e. Piekkari & Tietze 2012; Piekkari et al. 2014; Piekkari & Zander 2005) in preferring to use the term “common corporate language” to refer to active language management and top-down language strategy and reserves “English as a (business) lingua franca” for the manifestation of English that is actually used to interact with business partners.

Figure 2.2 The continuum of English-in-use in international business(es)
(Komori-Glatz forthcoming)



This continuum should not be seen as a spectrum from “good” to “bad” English, but rather as a range of approaches to English-in-use. Additionally, the reality of language use in a given context may be found anywhere along the continuum (hence the dotted, rather than solid, lines). When English is introduced as a “common corporate language”, it can be an almost abstract concept since the realities of how (and if) it is implemented vary tremendously. Used as an orientation for the language for official communications, language practices at this end of the continuum frequently follow Standard English norms, particularly when directed at external stakeholders, e.g. in published financial reports or when a CEO addresses investors or their workforce with a prepared presentation (Ehrenreich 2010). At the other end of the continuum, how English is used as a (business) lingua franca in any given context depends greatly on many factors, including the setting and purpose of the interaction, the interlocutors’ (shared) linguistic repertoire(s), their experience in technical and multicultural communication, and the length and power dynamics of the relationship (e.g. Ehrenreich 2009, 2010, 2016; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Kankaanranta et al. 2015). For example, communication between employees with limited or imbalanced levels of proficiency in English may vary substantially from Standard English norms, drawing on a mix of shared other languages, non-verbal communication and ad-hoc translation support from technological devices or colleagues to get the message across effectively. In contrast, in a context such as a high-stakes technical negotiation among highly proficient English speakers, the manifestation of BELF as the working language may be almost identical to an abstract concept of English as a corporate language in the sense that the speakers follow Standard English norms; if they share a functional or technical background they may draw on those resources too. Of course, in both cases relationships will be at stake and the way language is used will reflect and affect those relationships. Likewise, the CEO of a multinational addressing a regional subsidiary may use formal English oriented towards Standard norms for their presentation, but begin or close it in the local language(s).

However, proficiency in English is not the only factor that impacts language management at organisational or interpersonal levels. Lønsmann (2014), for example, shows that employees at both ends of the hierarchy struggle with exclusion due to a lack of the relevant language skills; the only difference being that blue-collar workers speak Danish and do not understand official communications issued in English, while the “international experts” are excluded from social activities until they have acquired basic Danish skills (pp. 100-1, 105-6). Marschan-Piekkari et al. (1999b) found that a substantial number of the Kone staff, particularly those in its Spanish subsidiaries, did not have a sufficient level of English to participate in interaction and communication with the Finnish headquarters. Furthermore, while using a shared language can help to create a positive social identity as part of the company as argued above, the reverse can also happen: rather than uniting colleagues, the use of shared language(s) can develop into language “clusters” which in turn create a “shadow” hierarchy that differs quite substantially from the official organisational structure, as happened at Kone (pp. 432-437; see also Angouri 2013: 573).

As with all (language) policy, the introduction and implementation of a common corporate language both reflects and is closely related to the power structures within a business organisation. The adoption of one company’s language over that of its foreign merger partner can prove to be disastrous due to the symbolic significance attached to it, as illustrated by the case of Nordea, where the choice of Swedish as the corporate language became a major issue of debate, especially in Finland, where the firm had its official domicile (Björkman et al. 2005: 164–167). As already mentioned, this is not only relevant with regard to the balance of power between two or more companies coming together in the sensitive context of mergers and acquisitions. It also severely impacts the de facto organisational structure of an existing enterprise, where language clusters of several people as well as individuals acting as language nodes have disproportionate power due to their specific language skills. Marschan-Piekkari et al. (1999a: 386) draw attention to multilingual employees who functioned as “language nodes” creating an interface between different parts of the company, be they functional or geographical, and thus were able to gain access to information flows at a level they might otherwise not have done. Consequently, managers with stronger language skills find themselves taking on responsibilities that would normally correspond to positions higher in the corporate hierarchy, and thus “language can be considered an important channel of influence through which power is exerted in MNCs” (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999b: 431), depending on who is getting what information, from whom, and why.

Similar results were also found in Barner-Rasmussen et al.’s (2014) study on “boundary spanners”, i.e. “individuals who are perceived by other members of both their own in-group and/or relevant out-groups to engage in and facilitate significant interactions between the two groups” (Barner-Rasmussen et al. 2014: 2). They claim that language skills “are critical for the more

demanding functions of facilitating and linking” and that “the most effective boundary spanners were often not located in the most obvious positions (such as top managers or expatriates), but distributed across different organizational levels and job roles” (Barner-Rasmussen et al. 2014: 2, 14). On the other hand, if there is a general lack of proficiency in the corporate language(s) across the company, the anticipated benefits of streamlining the delivery of information across the company’s units must be weighed against the “cost of ‘impoverished internal communication’” resulting from a lack of ability to participate in such knowledge transfers (Maclean 2006: 1382).

Should the decision be made to implement a corporate language, therefore, it is crucial to consider carefully which language(s) should be chosen. Some firms, while still orienting themselves to the monolingual model of a shared corporate language, compromise by introducing a bilingual language policy with official communication taking place in (a choice of) two languages: Nestlé, for example, has English and French as its corporate languages (Feely & Harzing 2003: 45), while Munich-headquartered Siemens uses German and English as the company’s official languages both in theory and practice. Curiously, certain regions (e.g. Eastern Europe, Latin America and China) are reported to show a preference for working in German, while others (specifically Finland) favour English (Fredriksson et al. 2006: 416).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the “dominance of English as an international business language” (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999a: 379) makes it a popular choice when selecting a corporate language. As ultimately happened in the Nordea case, English may be seen as an alternative, third or “neutral” language in M&As between companies where neither has English as a native language (Björkman et al. 2005: 164–167; Maclean 2006: 1378). Of course, though English is generally the chosen language for companies headquartered in Anglophone countries, the reasons for this and the resulting power balance are very different (Harzing & Pudelko 2013: 93). In Nordic and Continental European countries, 88% and 74% of MNCs, respectively, have English as a (or the) corporate language, and even if it not designated as such explicitly, English “is likely to be the default language” (Harzing & Pudelko 2013: 94; cf. also Sørensen 2005). Even in countries like Switzerland, which are traditionally multilingual but not English-speaking, people are “increasingly expected to demonstrate professional mobility, sometimes on an international plane; more often than not, this mobility implies a command of English” (Grin 2001: 67).

At the same time, however, it is important to note that the actual language practices taking place at the operational level may not reflect the official language policy in place. Despite a mono- or at most bilingual company policy, it is virtually impossible (and arguably undesirable) to enforce it throughout the corporation at all times. For instance, English was introduced at Kone first as the language for written company documents and reports, and then as a language for interaction and communication. Nevertheless, Finnish still played an important role, particularly among the top management, while subsidiaries in other countries received training in yet another language native

to the region (e.g. German for the German and Austrian units) (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999b). At Nordea, customers continue to be served in their own language, and the language policy was changed to state explicitly that it only applied “where it was meaningful” (Björkman et al. 2005: 166; similar practices were reported in Ehrenreich 2011: 21). As Angouri (2014) points out, “employees make individual choices and draw on any linguistic resources they have available in order to achieve their interactional goals and agendas” (p. 3). In order to work effectively in such multilingual contexts, however, it is essential for employees to have the linguistic, communicative and intercultural skills to be able to put these policies into practice.

The dimension of language management is therefore primarily concerned with explicit or implicit language policy and its implications and relevance for practice. While Dafouz and Smit’s (2016) original framework focused exclusively on the educational setting, this thesis expands the concept to include the business context which the university claims it is preparing its students for. Language policies in European higher education vary greatly depending on national, regional and institutional priorities. In Austria, both national and WU-specific policies support internationalisation strategies, although they ultimately have different reasons for doing so and the national policies link these to the introduction of EMI much less overtly than the institutional ones do. For the business school, implementing EMI and internationalisation policies is closely linked to remaining competitive on the international HE market and, by implication, establishing itself as a provider of highly employable graduates.

Language in management has had undeservedly little attention in IB scholarship to date, with only a small (though dedicated) stream of research primarily examining language and language policy in corporate settings. Language standardisation in an MNC is intended to facilitate formal and informal communicative workflows as well as to encourage integration among a diverse workforce. However, widely varying proficiency levels in both the official/ corporate language and the local language or language of the HQ can actually hinder integration as well as information flows, and create shadow hierarchies along linguistic lines. Employees with proficiency in the relevant language(s) can find themselves acting as “linguistic nodes” or lynchpins and essential for facilitating knowledge transfer, potentially in return for access to otherwise restricted information or power above their official function or rank. On the other hand, sharing a common corporate language enhances identification with the organisation and supports the relational work necessary for effective performance. English is frequently selected as the common corporate language even when the company is not headquartered in an Anglophone country and is often perceived as the “default” language of international business even when not explicitly stated as such in an official language policy. At the same time, operational practices may not reflect explicit or even implicit policies. It is therefore vital to equip business students with strong linguistic and flexible communicative resources as well as the linguistic awareness to recognise the need for these.

2.3.4 *Agents*: stakeholders and forces of change

The *Agents* dimension “describes the social players engaged in EMI, whether viewed as individuals (teachers, students, administrators or researchers) or as collective entities (faculty, rectorate, student unions, etc.)” (Dafouz 2018: 177). It examines how stakeholders in EMEMUS impact or respond to the implementation of English as the medium of instruction and the interplay of structures and actors in the international HE landscape across micro-, meso- and macro-levels. Agency approaches highlight the interactive (and sometimes conflicting) nature of (change) processes and the “significance of global, national and local forces in shaping the contexts of higher education” (Saarinen & Ursin 2012: 149). With its focus on the student perspective, this thesis keeps these agents at the forefront, with university management, state interests and the expectations of prospective employers as key influences.

Internationally-oriented, publicly funded business universities such as WU are strongly impacted by a variety of forces, and caught between the demands of a globalised professional environment on the one hand and the need to offer high-quality and comprehensive education using limited resources on the other. From the employer’s perspective, Ambos and Ambos (2009) argue that “the true *raison d’être* of the MNC” is “the ability to leverage its knowledge globally” within a set of organisational networks which are “characterized by separation through time, space, culture and language” (p. 1). Maclean (2006) argues that, in order to realise this ability, “corporations need to develop fluid, flexible, and adaptive forms that continuously evolve and cut across formal structures, as in the case of project teams”. Ensuring that flows of communication, information, and knowledge “are not distorted, diverted, or blocked by language factors becomes essential to the development and maintenance of core competencies” (p. 1381). Business schools aiming to optimise their graduates’ employability therefore need to provide them with the skills to enable knowledge transfer across temporal, physical, cultural and linguistic borders, and to prepare them for a world that is increasingly interconnected, but also increasingly in flux. Prospective students themselves have high expectations of university programmes to grant them a foothold into the ever more competitive labour market and to serve as the springboard for their professional networks. HEIs are thus faced with the question of how to attract the brightest students and scholars in a global “brain race” (Knight 2013: 87) as opportunities to study and teach in English are opening up across the entire globe.

Gaining accreditation with agencies such as EQUIS¹⁶, AACSB¹⁷ and AMBA¹⁸, or the so-called “triple crown” of all three, may be perceived by various actors as a means of measuring, and thereby demonstrating, the excellence of their business and management education. While these are met with scepticism from certain corners (e.g. Mautner 2013: 83), they are very popular in

¹⁶ <http://www.efmd.org/accreditation-main/equis>

¹⁷ <http://www.aacsb.edu>

¹⁸ <http://www.mba-world.com> (all accessed 23 August 2017)

others, as evidenced by the literally hundreds of institutions accredited with each body. A commitment to internationalisation is often an explicit requirement for accreditation. For instance, the EQUIS standards and criteria include an entire chapter on internationalisation, with “a clearly articulated strategy and policies for internationalisation” comprising part of the standard itself. “The ability of faculty to teach in English”, “teaching which focuses on global business environments”, “courses taught in English in non-English speaking countries” and “international case studies and learning materials” are examples of key indicators that evidence fulfilment of this standard (EFMD 2017: 64, 67). Another popular measure of quality, although “the heated debate about their validity, reliability and value continues” (Knight 2013: 88), is league tables such as the Financial Times MBA Ranking¹⁹ or the Financial Times European Business School Ranking²⁰. International faculty and the diversity of the student body, as well as international course experience and mobility are important criteria for the FT rankings: the more international aspects an institution has, the better it will score. In the Times Higher Education World University Ranking²¹, the weight of an institution’s international outlook in staff, students, and research amounts to 7.5% of the total score²². While there is still some debate about the correlation of a university’s level of “Englishization” and its world rank (Hultgren 2014), internationalisation is certainly an important factor contributing to the perceived quality of an institution. In the WU context, Unterberger (2014) found that being awarded accreditation by the agencies mentioned above and maintaining a strong position in these rankings was seen as a priority both in the university’s strategic policy documents and among the programme designers (pp. 142, 155).

At a national and supra-national scale, the implementation of the Bologna process and the alignment of degree programmes across Europe (and the Anglophone world), as well as the repositioning of education as a service to be traded under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) has supported the promotion and facilitation of mobility (Hultgren et al. 2015: 5–6). At present, approximately 10% of students in Europe have been mobile before graduation, while a meeting of the European Ministers for Education, Youth and Culture in November 2011 agreed on a target of raising this figure to at least 20% by 2020 (European Commission 2015: 32). This target of course has implications for university language policy, as mobile students often do not have an adequate level of language proficiency to study in the domestic language, leading to English frequently being used as a lingua franca, as discussed in Section 2.3.1. Unfortunately, there is a lack of information about mobility between bachelor and master degrees, which would be revealing, as the demands on a student committing to a 2-year, usually highly specialised master programme in another country are considerably higher than those of a single exchange semester.

¹⁹ http://rankings.ft.com/businessschoolrankings/global-mba-ranking-2016?ft_site=falcon

²⁰ <http://rankings.ft.com/businessschoolrankings/european-business-school-rankings-2016>

²¹ <http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings>

²² <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/methodology-world-university-rankings-2016-2017> (all accessed 23 August 2017)

Additionally, the commercialisation of higher education and the (direct or indirect) financial rewards that can be gained from it have also not been ignored by institutions, which are “fast becoming entrepreneurial institutions, both domestically and internationally” (Tilak 2011: 68; see also Knight 2008: 13). This, too, has an impact on higher education policy and practice, as these shift to reflect affordances for generating revenue, even in state-funded institutions. International/offshore campuses (e.g. Xi’an Jiaotong–Liverpool University²³ or the University of Nottingham Malaysia Campus²⁴) are becoming increasingly common (Jenkins 2014), while the decision to recruit international students for domestic universities may stem from a largely pragmatic rather than ideological motivation, since international and third-country (i.e. not-EU) nationals usually pay much higher fees than domestic students (Coleman 2013: xiv; Hultgren 2014: 395; Jenkins 2014: 29; Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 54). Again, this top-down action has considerable implications for classroom practice.

For lecturers and faculty, internationalisation processes offer both opportunities and challenges. Enhancing the perceived quality of the institution through accreditations and international rankings may allow them to attract better research and industry partners for funding and collaborations as well as improving the calibre of the students and classroom conditions. At WU, for example, using English proficiency as a gatekeeping device on English-medium master’s programmes has substantially reduced the cohort from the start of the programme, making it easier to do groupwork and a more interactive style of teaching that reflect recommendations for EMI pedagogy. On the other hand, many studies have found that English-medium teaching creates an additional workload (Dafouz Milne 2015; Doiz et al. 2011; Tatzl 2011; though see Unterberger 2012, 2014 for contradicting opinions); that it can cause a range of language-related problems for both teachers and students, such as reduced comprehension, reduced fluency and flexibility, issues with disciplinary literacy as described in Section 2.3.2 or being able to present less content in the same amount of time (e.g. Airey 2009, 2011c; Björkman 2010; Cogo & Westerholm n.d.; Dafouz Milne 2015; Evans & Morrison 2011b; Hellekjær 2005, 2009, 2010b; Smit 2010; Thøgersen & Airey 2011; Wilkinson 2011) and that there is a need for language support for teachers and/or students (e.g. Dafouz Milne 2015; Fortanet-Gómez 2012; Gundermann 2014; Hellekjær 2007; Kling et al. 2008; Kling & Staehr 2011; Unterberger 2012, 2014).

Additionally, administrative staff are hugely important yet frequently forgotten agents as they represent the first point of call for prospective and current students as well as faculty (Dafouz 2018: 178; Doiz et al. 2011). In particular, they act as gatekeepers for both internal and external communications and can intentionally or unintentionally withhold vital information from students by emitting it in the “wrong” language. In workplace research, Lønsmann (2014) found that the

²³ <http://www.xjtlu.edu.cn/en/>

²⁴ <http://www.nottingham.edu.my/index.aspx> (both accessed 23 August 2017)

information flow can be disrupted in both directions, namely, company-wide communications in English were simply ignored by the monolingual Danish service assistants (pp. 100-101; cf. Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Kankaanranta et al. 2015), while introduction courses to help integrate new employees in the company were only held in Danish, excluding internationally-recruited expats whose Danish was limited and thereby barring them from obtaining “crucial information” (Lønsmann 2014: 106). In contrast, as noted in the previous section on *language (in) Management*, employees with strong language skills can find themselves with more power than their position in the hierarchy might merit. Linguistic ability can thus endow considerable power and thereby agency, while a lack thereof can be disempowering.

Finally, the students themselves have considerable agency, not only for themselves with both domestic and international students actively seeking the best opportunities for their career development, but also by exerting a not unsubstantial amount of bottom-up pressure on HEIs through their market power. This can continue even after they have selected the degree programme through their choice of destination for exchange semesters and summer schools. At the interactional level, the shift from language learners to language users also has implications for their agency in knowledge construction as well as in building the relationships and social networks that should serve them long after they graduate. As yet, there seems to be little research following EMP alumni into the workplace, or examining the effects of EMI on employability. Erling (2015) discusses EMI in her meta-analysis of the relationship between English and employability in the Middle East and North Africa, but cannot provide any evidence of a direct relationship between EMI and employability apart from concluding that the studies she examined “suggest that there is a relationship between English language skills and economic gain” and arguing that “the same could be said of any language skills” while a number of other socio-economic factors must also be taken into consideration (p. 61).

The stakeholders in EMI settings are thus many and varied, with a range of (sometimes conflicting) motivations and interests. Keywords such as excellence and employability are widely used, but what they represent for different actors and in the context of different structures may not be as universal as they might seem at first glance. Goals of preparing students for domestic and/or global labour markets can be in tension with each other, while welcoming international students and staff – and thus the need to implement EMI – into the classroom may support an institution’s efforts to gain accreditations or improve its position in international rankings, but also brings with it a range of linguistic, pedagogical and administrative challenges. Last but by no means least, the added demands of using English as an academic or business language can have a gatekeeping device whereby actors – whether through accident or design – gain or lose agency depending on their abilities in English or other (especially local) languages. There is an urgent need for further research on how students manage the transition, not only from a (non-English-medium)

bachelor onto an English-medium master, but also from the EMP into the workplace in order to understand how they are agents in their own career development and to what extent selecting and completing an EMP provides them with the skills that they are looking for.

2.3.5 *Practices & Processes*: multicultural teamwork and communities of practice

While the dimension of *Practices & Processes* has the potential to be extremely extensive, Dafouz and Smit (2016) focus “on the teaching and learning activities that construct and are constructed by specific EMEMUS realities” and the practices which reveal “the localized process of developing a shared repertoire appropriate to the academic and social communicative purposes” of the context under investigation (p. 407). When these teaching and learning activities include teamwork and a simulation of workplace interaction, it is essential to integrate research from these settings into the theoretical framework alongside conceptualisations of English as a classroom lingua franca and the (co-)construction of meaning and knowledge.

A social constructionist perspective “understands social realities as constructed instead of given and as accomplishments individuals reach through discursive work” (Angouri & Miglbauer 2014: 154), placing a focus on processes and “the collective generation of meaning” (Crotty 1998: 57). This offers an analytical window for scholars working in both linguistics and international business paradigms. While Janssens and Steyaert (2014) present “an understanding of language that focuses on language use as the mobilization of multiple linguistic resources rather than language as a discrete entity” (p. 624) as highly innovative in the context of management research, there is a (slowly) growing body of scholars across the business and organisational studies disciplines who conceptualise language as “performative” and “a constitutive force” (Brannen et al. 2014a: 497; see also Cooren et al. 2011), reflecting sociolinguistic perspectives that centre on language-in-use (e.g. Blommaert 2010; Heller 2007) and reflecting the definition of discourse as “text and talk in context” with “a focus on the social functions it performs” (Mautner 2016: 22).

A second point of contact between linguistics and business/organisational studies research is Wenger’s (1998) concept of a Community of Practice (CofP), which takes a social constructivist approach focusing on affordances for individual learning. The CofP’s three dimensions of “mutual engagement”, “joint enterprise” and “shared repertoire” (pp. 49, 72-84) allow the researcher to gain an insight into how communicational practices within organisational communities are developed and passed on to new members. “Mutual engagement” is what “defines a community” (p. 74); it draws on “what we do and what we know” but also “our ability to connect meaningfully to what we don’t do and what we don’t know”, i.e. the resources brought by the other members of the community (p. 76). It therefore also involves negotiating and understanding “who does what”. The objectives of the community of practice represent its members’ “joint enterprise”, which

“spurs action as much as it gives it focus” and is a “constitutive resource” of coordination and sensemaking (p. 82). In multilingual and multicultural contexts, achieving mutual understanding may itself constitute a joint enterprise or interactional goal (Smit 2010: 10), although in business contexts, the “drive for efficient use of such resources as time and money, and an overall aspiration for win-win scenarios among business partners” will usually be a more obvious goal (Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 381). The CofP’s “shared repertoire” is negotiated and constructed through its mutual engagement towards the joint enterprise and can consist of linguistic routines, symbols, specialized terminology, stories, jokes, ways of doing things, gestures, actions, physical artefacts or tools, and costumes that are specific to the community and its activities (Kalocsai 2013: 13; Wenger 1998: 83).

The Community of Practice framework has been applied in educational ELF contexts to examine classroom interaction and the construction of knowledge on a hotel management study programme (Smit 2010) as well as social interaction in an Erasmus community (Kalocsai 2013).²⁵ One of the main attractions from the ELF perspective is its focus on language use that is appropriate to the context and the community rather than determined by prescriptive norms (Seidlhofer 2007) and as such “helps to go beyond the controversial *learner-user* distinction” (Ehrenreich 2010: 427, original emphasis) and bridge the gap between professionals’ expertise in their field and level of language proficiency. Though not working in a CofP framework, Kankaanranta and Planken (2010) report that “because BELF is affected by the speaker’s professional expertise, English proficiency, accent, and the discourse practices of his or her mother tongue, it takes time to get used to the idiosyncratic combination of these features” (p. 392). Their references to the shared business domain, its goal orientation and the significance of developing a strong relationship with your business partners as factors that support effective communication closely reflect the dimensions of a community of practice.

Recent research into workplace interaction in multilingual and multicultural settings has highlighted the link between language use and “getting the job done” (Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 395). Studies in workplace settings both in and beyond BELF research recognise that language use “related to accomplishing the work in hand [...] has a taskoriented function and a social function” (Angouri 2013: 569). This reflects findings from monolingual contexts such as Holmes (2003) and Koester (2006), though it is also arguable that, as with learning, working in a lingua franca adds a further and more complex dimension to such interaction.

Studies into teamwork and small group work, too, share an understanding of effectiveness that is measured not only in terms of achieving performance goals but also more intangible outcomes

²⁵ It is perhaps worth noting here that, while the CofP framework has been used to examine specific ELF settings such as the two cited here (or Ehrenreich 2009), it has been convincingly argued that there is no general Community of Practice of ELF speakers, as there is too much heterogeneity among the infinite possibilities of ELF interaction to claim joint enterprise or even shared repertoire (e.g. Ehrenreich 2009: 130).

such as satisfaction and cohesion (Hackman & Wageman 2005: 272; Levi & Slem 1995: 31; Salas et al. 2008: 541). An effective team not only completes its task successfully, but “is better able to perform the next task assigned to it” due to its “good internal social relations” (Levi & Slem 1995: 31). Team members who have experienced an overall positive team process are likely to retain contact with their fellow team members even after the team has been dissolved, providing horizontal connections between organizational units, facilitating information flows and accomplishing tasks across internal boundaries (Stahl et al. 2010a: 444). Thus:

Effective teams require more than just taskwork [...] they require the ability to coordinate and cooperatively interact with each other to facilitate task objectives through a shared understanding of the team’s resources (e.g., members’ knowledge, skills, and experiences), the team’s goals and objectives, and the constraints under which the team works. (Mathieu & Rapp 2009: 91)

In other words, as Marks et al. (2001) put it, “[t]askwork represents *what* it is that teams are doing, whereas teamwork describes *how* they are doing it with each other” (p. 357, original emphasis). One of “the most predominantly referred to and most widely recognized” (Miller 2003: 122) models of small group development which has been eagerly adopted for studies in “a wide variety of work settings from project teams [...] to leadership teams” as well as virtual teams (Bonebright 2010: 118) is Tuckman’s (1965; Tuckman & Jensen 1977) *forming, storming, norming and performing* model. This originated as a “model of developmental stages for various group settings over time” (Tuckman & Jensen 1977: 419) based on a review of literature examining studies of therapy groups, HR training groups and natural/laboratory-task groups. A fifth stage, *adjourning*, was added in the model’s revision ten years later (Tuckman & Jensen 1977), though it is “generally not referred to in research investigations of the model” (Miller 2003: 122). Despite – or more likely because of – its rather flippantly mnemonic labels, the model has played an important role in academic research into small groups and teamwork for fifty years.

Tuckman’s stages break down as follows:

Figure 2.3 Tuckman and Jensen’s revised model of small group development

<i>forming</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • testing & dependence • orientation to task • creation of ground rules • identification of boundaries of (existing) interpersonal roles & task behaviour; dependence on leader
<i>storming</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • intragroup conflict & polarization around interpersonal issues (hostility to other group members or unfamiliar relations) • emotional response (esp. resistance) to task demands • assertion of autonomy and leadership struggles

norming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development of group cohesion & ingroup feeling • expressions of personal opinion • acceptance of members' idiosyncrasies • development of shared mental models & search for most effective ways to work together • open-exchange of relevant interpretations • evolution of new roles & new group standards
performing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development of "functional role relatedness": roles become flexible and functional • group energy channelled into task • emergence of solutions
adjourning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • termination stage • separation • wrapping-up activities • mixed emotions (e.g. sense of accomplishment or sadness at losing friends)

(compiled from Tuckman 1965: 396; Tuckman & Jensen 1977: 419-420, 425-426; Miller 2003: 122, 125; Bonebright 2010: 113-114).

Of course, it does have a number of limitations, some of which Tuckman himself drew attention to in his original article. The main one noted by Tuckman is the over-representation of the therapy-group setting in the literature that formed the basis for the original model. This is important for the present thesis, as a therapy group is clearly a very different environment from a student team on a master's business programme, which can be expected to be reflected in the groups' respective behaviours. This might particularly impact the "storming" stage, since the (pre-)existing roles of co-ordinating therapist and patients is likely to result in a focus on and resistance towards the authority figure in a much stronger way than among ostensibly equal students (although, potentially, language asymmetries or knowledge expertise might affect this theoretical equilibrium). Cassidy (2007), too, suggested that "Tuckman's 'storming' stage may not be a clearly defined stage for practitioners outside of therapeutic groups" (Cassidy 2007: 416). On the other hand, some "storming", if not to the same extent, may be necessary to bring to light areas needing development and/or discussion.

A further criticism of relevance to this setting and linked to the notion of "storming" is the linear nature of Tuckman's model. More recent reviews of group development research have highlighted the dynamic nature of group processes in general and conflict in particular (e.g. Miller 2003: 121). In contrast to Tuckman's linear model, a newer framework offering a taxonomy of the "Big Five" of effective teamwork from Salas et al. (2005) places considerable emphasis on the fluid nature of teamwork, defining a team as "two or more individuals with specified roles interacting adaptively, interdependently, and dynamically toward a common and valued goal" (p. 562). The "Big Five" draws on Hackman and Morris' (1975) *inputs-processes-outcomes* (I-P-O) framework and its focus on team processes and interaction as a form of agency, which, at the time of its publication, was fairly innovative, and represented a paradigm shift from Tuckman's observations of behaviour at each stage. This model highlights how teams do their work as well as what they are aiming to

achieve, suggesting that “group interaction *mediates* input-performance relationships” (Hackman & Morris 1975: 8, original emphasis). In other words, the team members’ effort and their knowledge and skills need to be carefully managed as the team orients its strategies, and the resulting activities, to the team task and its interpersonal objectives.

Going into team processes in more depth, the “Big Five” comprises: team leadership, mutual performance modelling, backup behaviour, adaptability, and team orientation. Salas et al. (2005) also propose three “supporting and co-ordinating mechanisms”, i.e. the development of shared mental models, the achievement of mutual trust, and engagement in closed-loop communication (p. 559; for an overview, see pp. 564-587). Reflecting Hackman and Morris’ (1975) model, the “Big Five” framework is primarily concerned with establishing group cohesion as early as possible in order to minimise the potential for conflict and to create pre-emptive conditions for resolving it smoothly (i.e. using the features of the norming stage to avoid or at least minimise the consequences of the storming one). Discussion and feedback play a crucial role in managing expectations, roles, strategies and activities, and thus creating a shared mental model as a basis for effective teamwork. In their paper, Salas et al. describe “shared mental models” as “an organizing knowledge structure of the relationships among the task the team is engaged in and how the team members will interact” (Salas et al. 2005: 561). This thesis further conceptualises the “shared mental model”, i.e. a team’s “organizing knowledge structure”, not only in terms of identifying shared goals or a joint undertaking (the task) but also as developing communicative practices and behaviour that are appropriate for the context of that particular team (the interaction).

Cohen and Levesque (1991) stress the need for communication to “facilitate the monitoring of joint intentions” (p. 490) which they argue represents the very essence of teamwork:

This acquisition of a commitment to attain mutual belief can be thought of as the team overhead that accompanies a joint persistent goal. A very important consequence is that it predicts that *communication* will take place, since this is typically how mutual belief is attained, unless there is co-presence during the activity. Thus, at a minimum, the team members will need to engage in communicative acts to attain mutual belief that a shared goal has been achieved. (Cohen & Levesque 1991: 500, original emphasis)

Although Cohen and Levesque are writing from a very different paradigm – namely computer science and artificial intelligence – their focus on “mutual belief”, “a joint persistent goal” and “communicative acts” reflects Salas et al.’s (2005) “coordinating mechanisms for effective teamwork [...] the development of shared mental models [...], achievement of mutual trust [...], and engagement in closed-loop communication” (p. 559). The key notions are thus mutuality (comprising both *interdependence* – i.e. the *need* to depend on each other – and *trust*, i.e. a *willingness* to depend on each other), as well as the communicative skills to express and affirm this.

As Donnellon (1996) puts it, “team work is essentially a linguistic phenomenon” since “teams do their work through language” (p. 6).

A multilingual and multicultural team thus has to contend with the additional difficulty of increased diversity and the potential for cultural and linguistic as well as interpersonal problems. While there is considerable debate about whether diversity helps or hinders success, much of the literature is in agreement that it certainly makes processes more complicated and that “the complexity added by culture extend[s] beyond the personality differences experienced in same-culture teams” (Behfar et al. 2006: 246; cf. Teerikangas & Very 2006). The more diverse the group of individuals making up the team, the more challenges the team faces. This seems to be the case regardless of whether this diversity is functional, cognitive, or cultural (Daim et al. 2012: 200; Kirkman & Shapiro 2005; Milliken & Martins 1996), and may be exacerbated if there is a virtual dimension as well (Garrison et al. 2010: 34). Even the *perception* of difference can lead to “difficulties in communication, increased miscommunication, decreased commitment, heightened levels of conflict, and decreased cohesion”, resulting in lower team performance (Garrison et al. 2010: 30; see also Popov et al. 2012). In a comparison of hetero- and homogeneous student teamwork in a business education context, Behfar et al. (2006) found that language, fluency and the level of explicit or implicit communication used caused problems in their heterogeneous groups only, as did certain prejudices and the resulting behaviours that “increased the salience of in-group versus out-group distinctions” (pp. 244–246).

However, multicultural teams are often described as “double-edged swords” (Berg 2012: 408; cf. also Milliken & Martins 1996: 403; Kirkman & Shapiro 2005: 39; Stahl & Voigt 2008: 171-172), i.e. “diversity can have both positive and negative consequences for group processes and outcomes” (Kirkman & Shapiro 2005: 40, cf. Stumpf 2005; Maznevski 2012). Butler and Zander (2008) report that heterogeneous teams “do a more thorough job of evaluating the task problem”, outperforming their more homogenous counterparts in this area (p. 204). Other studies suggest that, in comparison to less diverse teams, mixed teams may or may not perform more poorly in the short-term, but usually perform on a par with the homogenous teams over time (some of these are summarised in Stumpf 2010: 306-307), while high levels of heterogeneity may result in better performance and fewer problems than moderate diversity (Earley & Mosakowski 2000; Milliken & Martins 1996). Finally, there is also some evidence that both organisational and national cultural differences can aid knowledge transfer in general (i.e. not only in the teamwork context) (Vaara et al. 2012).

Specific benefits related to diversity in teams (particularly in terms of nationality) identified in the literature include potential and actual productivity (Stumpf 2010: 303); the resources available to the team (Maznevski 2012: 190); and creativity and innovation resulting from a “healthy interaction of perspectives” (Schweiger et al. 2003; cf. also Adler 2002: 145–147), particularly as

regards problem solving (Garrison et al. 2010: 30). In their large-scale meta-analysis of research into multicultural teams, Stahl et al. (2010b) found that heterogeneous teams experienced “the process loss of increased conflict” but also “the process gain of increased creativity” (p. 702; cf. Butler & Zander 2008; Maznevski 2012) and, somewhat unexpectedly, “higher satisfaction than homogeneous teams” (Stahl et al. 2010b: 703). Other benefits of cultural diversity that still lack in-depth research include group learning, “a reduced tendency towards groupthink” (cf. Adler 2002: 146–147), increased team capability and the development of networks within global organisations (Stahl et al. 2010a: 444). These positive team effectiveness outcomes in heterogeneous teams can be explained as follows:

If team members focus on deep-level aspects of culture, they may also be more inclined to examine the benefits of the different perspectives for creativity and innovation. This may be associated with deeper interaction, directing more effort to the explaining of ideas more carefully, and better listening and feedback — that is, richer and more effective communication. (Stahl et al. 2010a: 443)

In other words, having diverse perspectives may push the team members to discuss ideas in more depth, while the act of engaging in these discussions itself may strengthen relationships between team members since they are listening more closely and communicating more effectively with each other.

Indeed, one of the reasons that heterogeneous teams are seen as being more creative is their potential for “healthy” disagreement (Angouri 2012: 1567), which is itself “a *sine qua non* in decision making and problem solving talk” (Angouri & Locher 2012: 1551, original emphasis). There is “considerable evidence” that task- (rather than person-) related conflict “stimulates divergent thinking and enhances the quality of thought and decisions of the group” (Nemeth et al. 2004: 367). In learning environments, too, research has shown “the potential of disagreements to aid learners in performing language learning tasks and in processing new information” (Hüttner 2014: 195; cf. Fujimoto 2010; Sharma 2012). The social constructivist view argues that “students should become involved in a process of knowledge construction through discussion, debate, or argumentation, which will result in deep learning, deep understanding, and ultimately conceptual change” (Fransen et al. 2011: 1103). In this way, learners can develop “more sophisticated arguments than they might have achieved otherwise” (Hüttner 2014: 198). However, it is crucial that this disagreement takes place in a place of psychological safety, which is defined as “a shared belief that the team is a safe environment for interpersonal risk taking” and “characterized by interpersonal trust, respect for the competence of all team members, and care and concern about members as people” (Schaubroeck et al. 2011: 864). Fransen et al. (2011) suggest that psychological safety might be “conditional for the creation of mutual trust in a learning team” and “necessary for developing shared mental models” (p. 1110). If the team can develop an

environment where disagreement and risk-taking are not perceived as face-threatening but rather “evidence of easy and trusting relationships” (Hüttner 2014: 196), it has the potential for more profound and developed knowledge (co-) construction. In short, “although cultural diversity serves as an initial condition, its ultimate effects on team outcomes may be dependent on whether consequent internal processes develop into virtuous or vicious circles” (Stahl et al. 2010a: 444). Building strong and positive social relationships amongst the team members through rich and effective communication is essential to developing such virtuous circles.

Though “the relational mode is often felt to be more challenging than business-related or specialized talk”, it is widely seen as “an integral and highly relevant part of BELF competence” (Ehrenreich 2016: 138). Both BELF and ELF interaction are generally reported to have a high degree of cooperation and collaboration, with participants showing “a strong orientation towards securing mutual understanding” (Jenkins et al. 2011: 293; cf. Ehrenreich 2016: 138). Of course, this depends greatly on the context, the interlocutors and the goals of the interaction; for example, native speakers of English “frequently use their native competence as an instrument of power” (Ehrenreich 2010: 422), while language use in a high-stakes sales negotiation will differ greatly from that of cooperative teamwork with a mutual goal. Nevertheless, most (B)ELF research has found that the effective communicator in a multilingual and multicultural interaction is not necessarily someone who adheres strictly to standardised language norms or native speaker conventions, but is rather :

Someone who can leap from one language or one mode to another, who can take advantage of a wide repertoire of linguistic and non-linguistic means, make quick shifts and adjust his or her tactics according to the demands of a novel situation. (Mauranen 2012: 239)

Various studies have examined the pragmatic strategies used by speakers in ELF settings to preempt misunderstanding, negotiate meaning and ensure communicative effectiveness in any given situation (e.g. Björkman 2011, 2013; Kaur 2009; Mauranen 2006b; Smit 2010), while informants in BELF research report the use of similar strategies of convergence and accommodation as well as flexible language use that places more value on getting a message across than on grammatical accuracy (e.g. Ehrenreich 2010, 2016; Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2010; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Rogerson-Revell 2010). Though a lack of precision can lead to frustration, as discussed above, even amongst non-native speakers of English, the realities of the globalised workplace mean that finding a(ny) way to communicate effectively tends to take priority over ideal(ised) language use. Additionally, a collaborative approach to making meaning again shifts the focus from *learners* to *users*. This is also reflected in practices revealing a shared authority over and authorship of written texts produced in contexts where there are no designated language experts (Cogo 2012).

Summing up, the *Practices & Processes* dimension reveals how actors in ELF and BELF contexts act and interact with each other towards their interactional goals, which may be tangible and explicit or intangible and implicit, or both. In teamwork, concrete and usually explicit task goals are complemented by more intangible and abstract yet impactful goals such as team cohesion, members' satisfaction, and as a consequence the continuation of their relationships beyond the accomplishment of their task goals. This not only supports the achievement of their next task goals but also encourages knowledge transfer and productivity in future. The construction of shared mental models – i.e. a shared understanding of the team's resources, practices and objectives – through processes of negotiation, potentially including (constructive) disagreement and then convergence, is essential to achieve both team and task objectives. Relational work, although it may be perceived as more challenging than task work, is an inextricable aspect of effective business practice, and is crucial for creating a psychologically safe space where diversity is recognised and respected. In turn, this diversity affords opportunities for more creativity and more profound learning than may be possible in more homogenous contexts. Effective communication plays a vital role in these processes since these constructed realities are seen as being accomplished through discursive work and the development of linguistic and communicative practices that are appropriate to the given context. These may, however, diverge from standard or conventionalised linguistic norms. Wenger's (1998) notion of a Community of Practice and its three dimensions of the *joint enterprise*, *mutual engagement* and a *shared repertoire* are seen as a useful analytical tool for examining communicative and linguistic practices in the context of a multicultural student teamwork on a marketing EMP.

2.3.6 *Internationalisation & Glocalisation*: language ecologies, culture(s) & spanning the local and the global

The terms "globalisation" and "internationalisation" are "complicated and contested" concepts, which are "understood and experienced in a broad array of ways by individuals and groups with different interests, positionalities and points of view" (Sorrells 2010: 171). From an economist's perspective, "globalisation" has a more precise meaning of the "global economic integration of many formerly national economies into one global economy, mainly by free trade and free capital mobility, but also by easy or uncontrolled migration" (Daly 1999: 31) and has been viewed by some as affecting the private sector more directly, while internationalisation "describes a process of intensifying exchange" between entities or systems primarily in the public sector (Scott 2011: 60). In the academic context, internationalisation is generally seen as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions (primarily teaching/learning, research, service) or delivery of higher education" (Knight 2013: 85, drawing on her own definition in Knight 2004). It tends to be perceived as a result, rather than a precursor, of

globalisation and the opportunities for mobility that come with it (e.g. Jenkins 2014; Smit 2010; Wilkinson 2013)²⁶. For example, the integration of the local academic system into the European Higher Education Area (=globalisation) can be identified as an important factor leading to internationalisation processes such as the massive rise in EMI in Austrian state education in the years 2009-2011 (Unterberger 2014: 78). As already indicated, the increase in internationalisation processes are often linked to a rise in concerns about competitiveness and the commercialisation of HE (Knight 2008; Tilak 2011; Unterberger 2014) and this dimension therefore also relates to issues of equity and quality (Dafouz 2018: 179).

The notion of “glocalisation”, which can be seen as “a refinement of the concept of globalisation” (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010: 191), came into the English language from Japan in the 1980s. The notion derives from “the agricultural principle of adapting one's farming techniques to local conditions” and then entered the Japanese business domain to mean “a global outlook adapted to local conditions” (Tulloch 1991: 134). It has remained a key aspect of global marketing strategy, where companies need to determine the extent to which products (or services) should be “localised – that is, they should be suited to local taste and interests – yet [...] global in application and reach” (Khondker 2005: 185) and to balance standardisation with adaptation to maximise market share and economies of scale simultaneously. From an academic perspective, it is important to note that “the very idea of locality, indeed of globality, is very relative”; compared to a region, a village is local, while “a society is local relative to an area of civilisation”, and so on (Robertson 2012: 197). In their study of multilingual workplaces across Europe, Angouri and Miglbauer (2014) claim that the “intersection of the global and the local [...] is a constant underlying trend in our whole dataset” (p. 160). Additionally, notions of “local and “global” need not be tied to physical spaces. A recent conceptualisation of glocalisation highlights the interplay of the “space of flows” (above all information flows through ICT and virtual networks) and the “space of places” (i.e. geographical locations) (Roudometof 2016: 10, 11).

Roudometof (2016) also foregrounds the agency of “groups, organizations, and individuals operating at the micro level” alongside “macro-level forces” (p. 12). This reflects the discussion in the previous section on *Agents*, where top-down mandates to encourage intra-European mobility and internationalisation processes in the university as well as bottom-up demands from students seeking a high-quality degree course have jointly contributed to the rise of EMI in European business schools. It also harks back to alternative origins of the term “glocal” in ecology that “offered a representation of embodied cognitive space” as well as “links along and across spatial scales” from the micro through the meso and finally to the macro level (p. 3).

²⁶ In contrast, firms traditionally see internationalisation (i.e. expansion into new countries) as a step towards becoming a “global” or “transnational” corporation (Adler 2002; Adler & Ghadar 1990; Perlmutter 1969; Vernon 1966).

While these origins of the term “glocal” are based in the field of environmental research and management, ecology of language approaches reflect a similar concern with going beyond an implied “hierarchy in which macro-level phenomena somehow take place on a different plane of existence from micro-level phenomena” (Hult 2010: 18) and seeing social phenomena as being interrelated and multisited (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 402). Ecolinguistic frameworks highlight the “fluid, dynamic nature of the relationships among discourse processes across dimensions of social organization” (Hult 2010: 14; cf. Dafouz & Smit 2016; Halonen et al. 2014) and the idea that “the social world is symbolically constructed through discourses in place” (Hult 2010: 10). It is important to note that the “symbolic construction” of a “social world” inevitably emphasises the social aspect, namely that discourse is a “locus of co-construction” (Hüttner et al. 2013: 270; my emphasis). Examining discourses functions as an “analytical window” (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 407) to understand how actors and agents co-construct social phenomena and to “zoom” in and out across scales, revealing the interplay of micro, meso and macro levels (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 402-402; Halonen et al. 2014; Hult 2010: 14). In other words, “language ecologists perceive human communication and the language varieties it draws on as a resource that members of a society use in situated dynamic ways” within a range of cultural structures (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 401).

A “critical paradigm” of research into culture and intercultural communication has arisen since the end of the last century which views the work of influential scholars such as Hofstede (1984, 2001) as “essentialist”, “reductionist” and promoting or reinforcing stereotypes (Martin et al. 2012: 27; cf. Halualani et al. 2009; Holliday 2010, 2011; Kramsch 2001; Osland & Bird 2000; Nakata 2009; Stumpf 2010). Hofstede’s (1984, 2001) representation of the systematic nature of culture as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another” (p. 21) is still frequently quoted in management literature as the basis for research into the topic (e.g. Caligiuri 2006; Du-Babcock & Babcock 2006; Festing 2012; Maznevski et al. 2005; Olie & Köster 2005; Thomas 2010), as well as recent textbooks on global marketing management (e.g. Alon et al. 2017; Gillespie & Hennessey 2016; Lee & Carter 2012), though the latter do now (reluctantly?) include some acknowledgement of limitations of the framework and “questions about what constitutes a ‘national’ culture” (Lee & Carter 2012: 137). Taras and Steel (2009) offer a concise overview of the “Ten Commandments” (or fallacies, as they see them) of cross-cultural research deriving from Hofstede’s work; these can, in turn, be summarised as criticisms of Hofstede’s quantitative, self-reporting methodology for conducting the study which formed the basis of his research; a focus on values and their causal relationship with culture; and the representation of culture as a stable entity bounded by geography or linked to the nation-state (cf. also Bond et al. 2000; Earley 2009; Hua 2014; Romani 2004; MacDonald & O’Regan 2012; Waldman et al. 2006; Yagi & Kleinberg 2011).

Instead, critical approaches to understanding culture look at/for *meanings* rather than *values* (e.g. Earley 2009) and view culture as dynamic, complex and plural (e.g. Brannen 2009; Holliday 2010; Kotthoff & Spencer-Oatey 2007b; Kramsch 1998; Sackmann & Phillips 2004; Sørderberg & Holden 2002). Many highlight the role of language as both constructing and negotiating aspects of culture (e.g. Risager 2012; Yagi & Kleinberg 2011). Others, such as Kramsch (2011a), shift the focus from *language* to *discourse*:

Culture, defined as membership in a discourse community that shares a common social space and history, and common imaginings, entered the field of applied linguistics through the study of language in its sociocultural context, i.e. discourse. Discourse, as verbal communicative practices and habits of thought, embodies a community's identity and moral values, its understanding of history and its aspirations for the future. (Kramsch 2011a: 314)

With this understanding of discourse, applied linguistics offers an approach to viewing and analysing culture by providing a lens through which the process and phenomena of constructing and maintaining a culture can be made more visible (cf. Holliday 2010; Martin et al. 2012; Scollon & Scollon 1995). "As verbal communicative practices and habits of thought" (Kramsch 2011a: 314), discourse is further conceptualised here in terms of being "a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action" which are both "socially constituted and socially constitutive" (Reisigl et al. 2009: 89). In other words, the analysis of "text and talk in context" (Mautner 2016: 22) reveals their social function to be the embodiment – but also the development – of shared identities, aspirations and meanings.

If culture is viewed in terms of meanings rather than values, analysing its discourse represents a very valuable point of access. For example, the discourse used in Hofstede's definition of culture – the "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another" (Hofstede 2001: 21) – itself betrays (or perhaps affirms) the culture which his study was conducted in: IBM, even in the 1980s a pioneer and leader in the world of information and communication technology. Like a computer, Hofstede's framework aims to make the world more measurable, quantifiable, and manageable. Analysing discourse and discursive practices thus allow us to investigate culture(s) by examining the meanings attached to signs and symbols – verbal and otherwise – within a particular community and how these are (continually) negotiated.

Moreover, an individual can participate in multiple cultures and discourse communities simultaneously:

None of us is fully defined by our membership in any single group [...] One is simultaneously in an indefinite number of discourse systems. One's sense of identity and group membership is a composite of all of these identities and a complex and sometimes difficult interaction among them. (Scollon & Scollon 1995: 157–158)

The “acknowledgement of the inherent complexities, contradictions, and paradoxes that the new work and associated cultural realities mean for organizations, work groups, and individuals” is also “one of the major contributions [...] of the multiple cultures perspective” proposed by Sackmann and Phillips (2004: 381) in the cross-cultural management field. This conceptualises cultures as being “socially constructed” and “focuses on both sensemaking process/content, as well as practical applications” through seeking “shared understandings” and synergies while acknowledging and appreciating differences (p. 380). The multiple cultures perspective can be used with a wide range of methodologies and methods, though surprisingly discourse analysis seems to play a relatively small role (but see Yagi & Kleinberg 2011).

Schuler et al. (2004) too, represent culture(s) as being “nested” or layered (p. 124), which reflects early language ecology approaches (see Hult 2010 for details). Hult (2010) argues that the implicit boundedness of layers and strata is misleading due to the dynamic nature of discourse (and, as seen above, culture, though Hult does not discuss this topic explicitly), a problem also acknowledged by Schuler et al. (2004: 126). It is interesting that both fields of research use such similar terminology, even though there is no clear evidence that they are familiar with each other. This strengthens the call for more research that crosses disciplinary boundaries and recognises work done in other fields that shares a conceptual or methodological approach as well as limitations and solutions or suggestions for overcoming these limitations.

An understanding of multiple cultures as encompassing functional, corporate and organisational cultures, among others, can also obviously be extended to discussions of academic settings. Some researchers have even found that different types of cultures are more significant than national cultures in certain contexts. For example, in their analysis of cultural fit in international M&As, Olie and Köster (2005) list “Unternehmenskultur” *before* “Landeskultur” (“organizational culture” and “national culture”, respectively; pp. 71-72), as does Teerikangas (2006: S32). Though some of its results were inconclusive, Stahl and Voigt’s (2008) meta-analysis of research in this field suggested that differences in national culture are in fact “*less negatively associated*” with all three positive outcomes of “sociocultural integration”, “synergy realization” and “shareholder value” than differences in organisational culture (p. 165-166, 172, my emphasis), i.e. differences in organisational culture are perceived as having a stronger negative effect on integration, realising synergies and creating shareholder value than differences in national culture. In the university context, the commercialisation of higher education, the development of the university as a brand (Mautner 2013: 75–76) and “profiling” the institution on the international HE market (Unterberger 2014) all imply constructing a stronger institutional and organisational academic culture, in some cases even at the level of the programme rather than the university as a whole. Likewise, students need to be inducted into the culture and discourse of their discipline, as discussed in Section 2.3.2. As Brannen (2009) states, “every knowledge context is the embodiment of its own system of

signification, involving distinct work-related assumptions, behaviors, and practices ('culture')" (p. 86).

The Community of Practice approach thus offers a means to bridge "the practitioner's lived communicative realities and the scholar's analyses thereof" (Ehrenreich 2010: 428). It provides an analytical window onto how a multicultural student team constructs its "system of signification" to develop a "knowledge context" which comprises not only the content expertise they need to learn but also their teamwork practices and processes. It should be noted that Wenger et al. (2002) differentiate teams from CofPs, although this thesis argues that a successful team will create a miniature CofP within its formal and temporal boundaries. Wenger et al.'s (2002) delineation of teams and CofPs is largely through the notion of agency: the members of the latter "accumulate knowledge, they become informally bound by the value that they find in learning together", meaning that "power is always mediated by the community's pursuit of its interest", whereas in a work team, "you [i.e. a manager] can choose the goal, because you hired them to meet that goal" (p. 42). Thus the crucial, even definitive, aspect of goal orientation is not a matter of concern for a CofP, which is shaped and driven by joint engagement in an activity, but not engagement towards meeting a joint objective. Consequently, "members [of a CofP] are connected by interdependent knowledge, not by interdependent subtasks [...] it is defined by its fundamental commitment to exploring its domain and to developing and sharing the relevant knowledge" (p. 43), whereas a team's "fundamental commitment" is to meeting its (joint/mutual) goals. Additionally, Wenger et al. (2002) argue that the boundaries of a CofP are "fuzzy" and "evolve and end organically" depending on the relevance and perceived value of its members' contributions, while a team's boundaries are "clear", and both the team's population and its lifespan are determined by external agents or factors (e.g. a manager or the lifespan of the project/task) (p. 42). These differences are represented graphically in Figure 2.4 below.

Figure 2.4 Conceptualising teams vs. communities of practice (see Wenger et al. 2002: 42-43)

characteristic	team	community of practice
foundation	achieve a specific task	explore a domain; develop and share knowledge
members	fixed number; determined by manager	organic; members join or leave the community
agency	formal; established by manager & set goals	informal; bound by joint accumulation of knowledge
power	led/directed by manager	mediated by community's pursuit of interest
orientation	joint objective (concrete task goals)	joint engagement (joint activity without concrete goals)
interdependence	by task distribution	by level of knowledge
lifespan	set (by manager or until task completed & goals met)	infinite, or ends organically when all members have left

Despite these differences, though, the CofP dimensions of *mutual engagement*, *joint enterprise* and a *shared repertoire* can make a useful contribution to investigating the practices and, above all, the processes of a successful team. This is particularly the case for teamwork in the educational context as this comprises an intrinsic learning process and will usually not have an external manager. By examining the team's discourse, we can see how their language (use), drawing on their multiple cultures and shared repertoire(s), both reflects and constructs their mutual engagement in the pursuit of their joint goals. To some extent, this also reflects notions of creating a "third space" or "third place" (Bhabha 1994; Kramsch 2011b; Lo Bianco et al. 1999; Witte 2011) found in sociology and (inter)cultural studies, which is conceptualised "as a symbolic PROCESS of meaning-making that sees beyond the dualities of national languages (L1-L2) and national cultures (C1-C2)" (Kramsch 2011b: 355, original emphasis). It also bears some similarity to Holliday's (1999) "small culture paradigm", which "attaches 'culture' to small social groupings or activities where there is cohesive behaviour, and thus avoids culturist ethnic, national or international stereotyping" (p. 237). Martin et al. (2012) and MacDonald and O'Regan (2012) also identify this movement, the latter borrowing Pennycook's (2010) phrase to describe "interculturalism as a local practice" (MacDonald & O'Regan 2012: 563). However, with its explicit focus on learning and concrete orientation towards a joint enterprise, the Community of Practice approach is a more useful framework for examining interaction with an ultimately educational aim. Despite being originally conceived of in monolingual settings, it highlights the practices and processes aspect of constructing a "third" space or a "small" culture, providing the "large" cultures and multilingual resources are also taken into account as a basis for the CofP's shared repertoire.

As with all the other dimensions, though perhaps to an even greater extent, *Internationalisation & Glocalisation* pulls all the other dimensions together in its synthesis of local and global. Trends towards internationalisation and globalisation in academic and business have resulted in English taking on an unprecedented role as a lingua franca in the classroom and in the corporation. An ecology of language approach reveals the interrelatedness of micro-, meso- and macro-levels comprising the demands of the discipline, the interplay (and sometimes conflict) of policy and practice, and the impact of the requirements and resources brought by agents across these levels. Examining discourse(s) allows the researcher to focus on what is happening at the local level without losing sight of the broader, global picture, whether this be in terms of "large" national cultures, trends in business, academic demands, or a combination of all three (and more that are not under investigation here). "Culture" is defined as membership of a discourse community, constructed through communicative and social practices, and seen as dynamic, complex and plural. The CofP approach sheds light on how individuals bring various cultures (e.g. national, academic, disciplinary) to a space (physical and/or virtual) and negotiate a shared repertoire through repeated interaction with a common goal, which in turn evolves into the construction of a community of practice. While this is not the same as a team, I argue that an effective team can

develop a community of practice through their mutual meaning-making and their striving towards a joint objective and a learning outcome.

2.4 Terminological considerations

Research into culture, teamwork and their intersection (regardless of whether it takes place in a business or educational context) uses a variety of terms such as *multinational* (Earley & Gardner 2005; Hanges et al. 2005), *international* (Cohen & Kassis-Henderson 2012), *cross-cultural* (Montgomery 2009), *multicultural* (DiStefano & Maznevski 2000; Adler 2002; von Glinow, Mary Ann et al. 2004; Kirkman & Shapiro 2005; Jelinek & Wilson 2005; Butler & Zander 2008; Stahl et al. 2010b; Popov et al. 2012), *intercultural* (Stahl & Björkman 2006), *transnational* (Earley & Mosakowski 2000; Schweiger et al. 2003) and *global* (Maznevski & Chudoba 2000; Jonsen et al. 2012; Zander et al. 2012). In most cases, there is little conceptual clarification and these terms appear to be used more or less interchangeably to refer to teams with members from different countries/national or ethnic backgrounds, or who live or work in different countries (Earley & Gardner 2005; Butler & Zander 2008; Jonsen et al. 2012). The term chosen in this thesis to signify these is *multicultural teams*, though this should not take away from the value or relevance of research conducted under any of the other terms.

The reasoning behind choosing *multicultural* team over any other term was as follows. Firstly, *multinational*, *international* and *transnational* were rejected as being too semantically narrow when considering the definition of culture (even “large” cultures) given above. Nationality is generally the most obvious factor, but overlooks the influence of different concepts such as ethnicity or language. Additionally, organisational (or, in this case, academic or disciplinary) cultures are also expected to play a significant role in the discourse of the teams being investigated. Secondly, *global teams* was also deemed unsuitable as it is usually used in connection with virtual teams (Daim et al. 2012; Jonsen et al. 2012; Lee-Kelley & Sankey 2008; Maznevski & Chudoba 2000; Pinjani & Palvia 2013) and implies physical rather than metaphorical distance, although there is usually a “multifunctional and/or multicultural” element (Jonsen et al. 2012); note, again, the foregrounding of function over what is presumably intended to refer to national or ethnic factors). Since this study is conducted in a single institution and the students frequently met face-to-face, this does not apply.

Separating the remaining terms, however, is somewhat more problematic, not least because they are also not used very consistently. In most recent literature, *cross-cultural* seems to be closely associated with Hofstede (1984) and the comparison of two (or more) cultures which are seen as distinct, whereas *intercultural* shifts the focus onto the interplay of cultures (Gudykunst 2000; Kotthoff & Spencer-Oatey 2007b; Sarangi 2009). Another difference appears to be more of a

disciplinary distinction, with *multicultural* being used frequently in management/business research (e.g. Adler 2002; Butler & Zander 2008; DiStefano & Maznevski 2000; Jelinek & Wilson 2005; Kirkman & Shapiro 2005; Stahl et al. 2010b; von Glinow et al. 2004), while *intercultural* tends to arise as a collocation of *communication* and is used more often in linguistics-based approaches (e.g. Alcón Soler & Safont Jordà 2008; Hua 2014, Kramersch 2001; Kotthoff & Spencer-Oatey 2007a). Of course, this suggestion has no statistical basis, so should not be taken as definitive; but it does seem to indicate a general trend. Cavalli et al. (2009), writing for the Council of Europe, use *intercultural* in connection with *plurilingual* and in contrast with *multicultural/multilingual* to highlight the difference between the individual and societal levels, respectively (i.e. “societal multilingualism and individual plurilingualism”, p. 7). *Multicultural* therefore implies the meeting of cultures in a public space, whereas *intercultural* highlights the interplay of cultures within a single individual. Consequently, a team’s members may themselves be intercultural, but the team should be considered multicultural. Additionally, it was decided that *multicultural* was the most appropriate term for the object of this study to reflect its positioning at the intersection of business and management studies and research into the international university, particularly the IntlUni project’s findings on the *Multilingual & Multicultural Learning Space* (MMLS) and Dafouz and Smit’s (2016) conceptualisation of English-Medium Education in the Multilingual University Setting (EMEMUS).

For the purpose of this study, therefore, a multicultural team has the following characteristics (listed for clarity, but not ranked for importance):

- The team consists of a small group of people (2 or more, typically less than twenty; cf. Barzantny 2005: 145–146; Katzenbach & Smith 1993), which is fixed for the duration of a project. (If the team moves onto another project, the members may change; or these members may also continue to exist as a team indefinitely if they have several or repeated projects.)
- Among this group of people, at least two should identify themselves with differing cultures; which should be considered different legal nationalities, self-reported ethnicities, or indicated by different first languages. Since these “large” cultures are both the most salient markers of difference and also represent the university’s official criterion for designating a student “international”, this has been chosen as the primary marker of multiculturalism in the project. Nevertheless, academic and disciplinary cultures are also expected to have a relatively strong impact, with organisational culture playing a lesser role in this context as it is a student group.
- Culture is considered to be the traditions, histories, influences and experiences that shape and are shaped by a discourse community, i.e. a group of people who engage in a common activity and communicate effectively with each other by sharing the meaning of verbal or

non-verbal signs and symbols. Discourse is therefore here both the object of analysis and to some extent a proxy for analysing culture.

- Within this project, the team members work together on a specific task (or tasks) and with a specific objective (or objectives).
- The team members bring a variety of inputs with them (tangible or intangible).
- The team members may operate independently on tasks or sub-tasks, but are dependent on each other and each other's efforts to achieve the team's objectives.
- The team must communicate with each other in some form during the project (written and/or spoken; may involve virtual collaboration/ICT to a greater or lesser extent).
- This communication (i.e. the team's discourse) should evidence mutual engagement, responsibility, and trust amongst the team members.
- The team should complete the tasks and fulfil its objectives in order to be considered successful, i.e. they should produce concrete, tangible results or products.
- At the same time, there should also be less tangible outcomes such as group cohesiveness, member satisfaction, etc.
- When analysing the team's discourse, it should be possible to observe both the wider context influencing their actions and the development of a "small culture" within the team.

Given the multicultural team context and the implied range of national backgrounds, it is expected that the teams do use English as a lingua franca (ELF). As discussed in the *Roles Of English* section (2.3.1), this refers to English as the communicative medium of choice among speakers of different first languages and potentially also the only option. The extent to which the forms they use vary from Standard English forms may, but need not be substantial (MacKenzie 2014: 154); rather, (effective) ELF use differs from "typical" native-speaker use, particularly in business settings, in ways such as a high use of pragmatic strategies e.g. comprehension checks, asking for clarification or confirmation (also in different media, i.e. asking for confirmation of a spoken agreement in writing), active efforts to accommodate to the other interlocutors, a flexible, tolerant attitude to variation and creative or unconventional idiomaticity (e.g. Cogo & Dewey 2006; Cogo & Pitzl 2016; Ehrenreich 2010, 2016; Jenkins et al. 2011; Jenkins 2015; MacKenzie 2014; Mauranen 2012; Pitzl 2012; Seidlhofer 2009, 2011; to name but a few). Conceptualisations of English as a business lingua franca draw on similar principles, emphasising its situation-emergent and hybrid nature but also highlighting the importance of shared business knowledge and the development of relationships as key aspects of effective BELF communication (Ehrenreich 2016; Kankaanranta et al. 2015; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Komori-Glatz forthcoming).

2.5 Summary

The rise of English as the medium of communication in academic and business contexts has seen the development of new fields of research in English as the medium of instruction (EMI) and the internationalisation of higher education, English as a lingua franca (ELF), English as an academic lingua franca (ELFA) and English as a business lingua franca (BELF), and language-sensitive approaches in International Business. The expectation that English and communication skills will be part of graduates' "toolkit" for entering a globalised labour market and a desire to be competitive on the international higher education market has led to a high number of English-medium business programmes in relation to other university disciplines. Yet to date there is little research at the intersection of these fields examining how students are using English as a business lingua franca in multicultural teamwork and whether they are learning and practising what they need to do when they enter the workplace.

Both the multinational corporation and the international university have seen English as "both a medium and a marker of new forms of interdependence" (Coupland 2003: 467). Any analysis of these contexts must reflect the various forces and demands that shape their linguistic realities. The notion of super-diversity in sociolinguistics and ecolinguistic approaches are two examples of attempts to encompass the complexity of an increasingly mobile and diverse society. Dafouz and Smit's (2016) conceptual framework for English-Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings (EMEMUS) and its ROAD-MAPPING dimensions offer a means to "zoom in" on one aspect of these contexts without losing sight of the others. As the authors themselves acknowledge, the dynamic character of these dimensions and their interplay with each other "inevitably implies grey areas, which may be interpreted as rendering the framework imprecise" (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 411), it is precisely this intrinsic interdependence among the various facets of EMEMUS that make the framework a valuable tool for revealing the forces at work in such settings and the richness of discourse as an analytical lens. Discourse is understood as "a locus of co-construction" (Hüttner et al. 2013: 4) as well as a tool "through which we mediate social action" (Jones 2013: 1701). The six dimensions – *Roles Of English, Academic Disciplines, language (in) Management, Agents, Practices & Processes*, and *Internationalisation & Glocalisation* – all highlight a different aspect of EMEMUS and their implications for language and language use in the context under study. While the original framework was designed with the (traditional) university as a whole in mind, it is slightly adapted and expanded here to shift the focus onto a business-oriented institution such as WU. For example, I not only examine the Roles of English as the medium of instruction and the lingua franca of the university, but also as the lingua franca of the globalised workplace that the university's graduates aim to enter. BELF research, while usually not as linguistically detailed as general or academic lingua franca research, places particular emphasis on accuracy and precision with regard to the expression of content knowledge on the one hand, and the importance of developing a relationship

with your interlocutor(s) on the other. In *Academic Disciplines*, I highlight contemporary marketing pedagogy's emphasis on practice-oriented teaching and a "value co-creation approach" to teaching where students are expected to jointly construct new knowledge by drawing on the resources they bring to an interaction. Teamwork was likewise identified as an ideal tool for doing this in the classroom as well as a highly desirable skill in terms of employability. The greatest divergence from Dafouz and Smit (2016) can be found in the *language Management* dimension, which in the original framework examines language policy in HEI contexts. Here, it also includes *language in Management*, i.e. the scarcity of research into language from a management and organisational studies perspective, the implications of language policy in corporate settings, and discussions of English as a business lingua franca in relation to English as a common corporate language. These clearly show that, while part of a spectrum, the language policy of a common corporate language can look very different from actual language practices in a company, which may be emergent, ad-hoc, and multilingual. The *Agents* dimension is clearly closely intertwined with the *Management* dimension, and examines the (supra-)national, institutional and individual actors who influence the policies outlined in the previous dimension. While the stakeholders in the international business university are not greatly different from those in more broadly-oriented institutions, the focus on and even possibilities for competitiveness – such as accreditation bodies for management education – bring out some agents as well as push- and pull-factors that seem to be more influential in the business studies field. While Dafouz and Smit (2016) concentrate on *Practices & Processes* in the classroom, I drew attention to previous research on teamwork practices and processes from organisational studies and cross-cultural management fields and also introduced Wenger's (1998) Communities of Practice approach under this dimension. This shares the development of a shared repertoire with Dafouz and Smit's (2016) conceptualisation of the *Practices & Processes* dimension but also highlights the importance of the joint enterprise (or goals) and the shift away from the conventional teacher-student hierarchy of the classroom setting to a flatter peer-group context of a team²⁷. Last but not least, *Internationalisation and Glocalisation* synthesised the other dimensions to a certain extent by drawing attention to the importance of looking at both the local and the global and the need to span micro-, meso- and macro- levels in order to gain a full insight into the complexity of today's interconnected and interdependent society. It foregrounded an understanding of culture as dynamic, plural and based on socially constructed shared meanings rather than shared values. It returned to the notion of a Community of Practice as a "small" culture whose discourse simultaneously reflects and constructs a shared repertoire based on the similarities but also synergies from differences in national, academic and disciplinary (among other) cultures. Finally, I discussed some terminological considerations centring on how to define a multicultural team and their use of English as a (business) lingua franca.

²⁷ Of course, a team can also have clear hierarchies, while teachers can be part of a CofP (see Smit 2010). However, this difference is very salient for the setting of this particular study, where the teams only had a nominal leader and were working outside the classroom in their own time.

To conclude, multicultural teams are “in a permanent state of recreation” (Holden 2002: 46), constantly balancing the demands of the task goals and the resources (cultural, linguistic, cognitive, social) that their members bring to it. Language is an intrinsic and integral part of this process, as it is largely through language that this balance can be negotiated and re-negotiated. When the team members’ lingua franca is not their native one, the language itself may need to be negotiated. With this in mind, the value of the team members’ individual and collective relationships cannot be underestimated, as team cohesion and satisfaction are equally important goals and positive rapport and trust play an important role in contributing to these, particularly when diversity rather than similarity is prominent at the outset. Creating a psychologically safe space also enables constructive disagreement, which has been found to lead to more creative solutions, better learning outcomes, and the development of “virtuous”, rather than vicious, circles. For business students wanting to enter the globalised labour market, it is essential to learn the skills needed to operate well in teams and in multicultural and multilingual environments as well as to gain a solid foundation of business knowledge. For the university, it is also crucial to provide graduates with skills that make them employable, as the number of graduates in employment – and especially in “good” employment, i.e. large multinational firms – is an important criterion for boosting the institution’s ranking, which in turn serves to attract new high-calibre students. The role of English (as the medium of instruction but also as the university’s lingua franca outside the classroom) plays an important role in this; but managing the language is as important as implementing it.

3. Research design, aims, and methodology

3.1. Research aims

The overarching research question for this study is:

How do students on an English-medium master's programme at WU use English as a (business) lingua franca in multicultural teamwork?

This question addresses a gap at the nexus of research into English-medium instruction in internationally-oriented higher education and communication in English as a lingua franca in business contexts. As already mentioned, the field of business studies accounts for the highest rate of English-medium programmes in Europe (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 66) on the one hand, while, on the other, English is frequently perceived as being “*the dominant language in international business*” (Ehrenreich 2010: 408, original emphasis; cf. Angouri & Miglbauer 2014: 155; Gerritsen & Nickerson 2009: 181; Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999a: 379; Tietze 2004: 176). Yet there is still relatively little research focusing primarily on the students’ perspectives and experiences of an EMP (with the exception of Hynninen 2013; Kalocsai 2013; Smit 2010) and even less that examines the student perspective through an analytical lens informed by business practice. At the same time, while there is growing interest in the use of English as a business lingua franca, most research in this field focuses on experienced practitioners (e.g. Ehrenreich 2010; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011; Pullin 2013; Rogerson-Revell 2007b). While pedagogical innovations for content teaching are leading to a rise in problem-based learning (Wilkinson 2008) and the blurring of lines between education and professional practice in consultancy-based projects and compulsory internships as part of a degree programme, little attention seems to be paid to language in terms of bridging theory and practice when entering a globalised workforce.

With its commitment to preparing its students for an international labour market representing a criterion for fulfilling its central strategic goals (Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien 2015: 5), WU is an ideal site for examining the interplay of policy and practice in business-oriented education with an international outlook. It cannot be argued that any institution is typical of the European higher education landscape, since one of the key characteristics of the latter is heterogeneity (Millar & van Mulken n.d.: 1). However, as one of the largest business-only universities in Europe, with over 22,000 students, approximately 700 of which are enrolled in the seven English-medium master programmes, a mid- to high position in international rankings, a strong network with other European and global partner universities, and a location at the crossroads of Europe, WU represents a logical choice for examining ELF, EMI and internationalisation processes at a European

university²⁸. Furthermore, Unterberger's (2014) in-depth study of policy and programme design at WU complements this study with a macro perspective, allowing for an unusually holistic overview of a specific site and granting an insight into how each level affects or reflects the others.

While it is crucial to remember that this is an educational rather than a workplace setting, WU's aforementioned commitment to preparing its graduates for an international labour market reflects common motivations for implementing English as the medium of instruction. As discussed in Sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.4 of the conceptual framework, the rapid spread of EMI in HEIs across Europe frequently represents a strategic response to meeting the future needs of their graduates, many of whom expect to enter a work environment which is regarded as being both multicultural and dominated by the use of English. The broader perspective of employability and the interplay of common trends in educational and professional contexts brings (multicultural) teamwork to the fore as a logical focus for investigating how students use English as their lingua franca in a business-oriented context.

Multicultural teamwork has seen a massive rise in both research and practice in IB contexts (Stahl et al. 2010a; Stahl et al. 2010b; Tenzer et al. 2014; Zander et al. 2012). At the same time, teamwork is a popular pedagogical strategy to encourage meaningful interaction among international groups of students, particularly in business schools – at least in theory, although this may not always work out in practice (Berg 2012; Butler & Zander 2008; Cohen & Kassis-Henderson 2012; Kimmel & Volet 2010; Spencer-Oatey & Dauber 2016). The high communicational and interactional demands of teamwork in general (Butler & Zander 2008; Donnellon 1996), the fact that teamwork projects in educational contexts are usually conducted with relatively little input from the teacher or lecturer (cf. Hynninen 2013), and the concrete goals that define teamwork and distinguish it from other forms of interactive activity make teamwork an exemplary site for researching communication and interaction within a clearly defined context.

At WU, students on the English-medium master's programmes are frequently required to work in groups consisting of students from all over Europe and even the world to produce projects, reports and presentations. Engaging in teamwork and improving their communication skills are frequently highlighted as learning aims in the syllabi of EMPs at WU (Unterberger 2014: 165–168), but the students generally receive very little concrete input towards how they are expected to do this. As a result, these small team projects represent a crucible where students often encounter intercultural interaction and team management for the first time, and are able to get a taste of what awaits them in their future careers. As well as handling the challenges of using English as their lingua franca in terms of surface-level communication, the teamwork setting highlights the role of

²⁸ see <https://www.wu.ac.at/en/programs/services-for-prospective-students/prospective-masters-students/international-students/about-wu-orientation-and-important-contacts/facts-and-figures/> (last accessed 8 August 2017); see WU (2014, 2016) for more details.

E(LF) as a “tool” for getting a job done. This study therefore aims to examine how students used English as a lingua franca in a multicultural team at two levels, namely, to complete a complex business-oriented task and to manage intercultural interaction.

3.2. Research methodology and study design

3.2.1 Epistemological considerations and data set

In order to engage deeply with the research question and gain a “thick description” (Dörnyei 2007: 132) of how students use English as their (business) lingua franca in multicultural teamwork, the data collection process is ethnographically informed. As well as being a popular methodology for ELF research, especially in educational settings (e.g. Batziakas 2016; Hynninen 2013; Kalocsai 2013; Smit 2010), an ethnographically-informed approach reflects Salas et al.’s (2008) call for future research to “study teams ‘in the wild’” and to look at how teams are “embedded in organizations and broader sociotechnical systems” (Salas et al. 2008: 544).

More specifically, this study adopts an interactional ethnographic approach (Bridges 2016; Castanheira et al. 2001; Castanheira et al. 2007), which examines

what is constructed in and through the moment-by-moment interactions among members of a social group; how members negotiate events through these interactions; and the ways in which knowledge and texts generated in one event become linked to, and thus a resource for, members’ actions in subsequent events. (Castanheira et al. 2001: 357)

Interactional ethnography (IE) takes an explicitly interdisciplinary stance and aims to “trac[e] how and what members in particular educational settings propose, recognize, acknowledge and interactionally accomplish as socially and academically significant” (Bridges 2016: 00:14:07-00:14:30). Recent examples of interactional ethnographic research have shifted a focus from primary and secondary education to higher education and, in particular, examining learning opportunities in content classes (Bridges 2016). Additionally, IE emphasises the importance of looking beyond purely “in-the-moment” analysis and aims to understand the interplay of “knowledge construction in-situ” with “system-level unit” of analysis, i.e. examining “whole-part-whole relationships” that reflect the complexities of learning (Bridges 2016: 00:11:03-00:13:20). It is therefore strongly compatible with Wenger’s (1998) Communities of Practice (CofP) framework, which conceptualises practice in terms of “meaning as an experience of everyday life” (Wenger 1998: 52) and communities of practices as having “shared histories of learning” (Wenger 1998: 86). In other words, “objective forms and systems of activity, on the one hand, and agents’ subjective and intersubjective understandings of them, on the other, mutually constitute both the world and its experienced forms” (Lave & Wenger 1991: 51). While there is a constant tension between attempting to maximise academic rigour and endeavouring to capture the messy realities of life

and learning, this close analysis of local interaction against a backdrop of larger systems of knowledge and practice allows the researcher to gain a fuller understanding and a more critical evaluation of the research site by combining emic and etic perspectives (Smit 2010: 87).

With these epistemological considerations in mind, the full data set comprised the following:

- audio and video recordings of the students' scheduled team meetings
- observer's field notes
- audio and video recordings of students' presentations in class & PowerPoint presentations
- Facebook "chat" (private conversation group exclusive to team members and researcher)
- written case studies/reports
- retrospective interviews conducted after end of project discussing their views and experiences of the project

Additionally, for the purposes of gaining an etic perspective that could offer both a business- and educationally-oriented measure of the teams' success as well as a practitioner's beliefs and experiences as a comparison, the final study also included the following data:

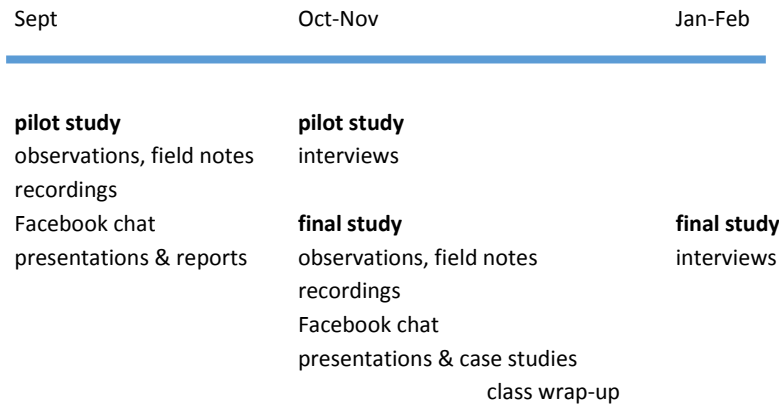
- a 30-minute interactive "wrap-up" held by the lecturer in class at the end of the project reflecting generally on the class' performance and discussing best practice
- a retrospective interview conducted with the lecturer discussing their view of the task and the teams' performances.

The data was collected over the course of a semester during my contract as a research assistant at WU (2012-2018). The precise dates are withheld in order to protect the anonymity of the participants. A pilot study was held at the beginning of the semester in a separate course which allowed the researcher to test the technological processes, draw initial, tentative conclusions, and refine the interview guide. Some examples of practical issues that derived directly from experiences with the pilot study were the importance of a quiet space for recording the team meetings and the need for more comprehensive field notes. Informal discussions with the students during breaks and at the social events linked to the block seminar reinforced the value of developing rapport as much as possible to facilitate data collection and highlighted potential areas of interest. For instance, discussions about the participants' motivation for selecting WU and their previous and future work experience emerged as key questions and were integrated into the interview guide for the final study. Additionally, although it was not intended or designed as a control group, having data from a separate class with a much shorter timeframe and a less complex task drew attention to the role of off-topic talk and disagreement as a topic that merited further

research even from the initial impressions gained through the observations and the comments in both sets of interviews.

The overall timeframe of the data collection process, including the pilot project, can be seen in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 Data collection timeline



3.2.2. Sampling

Since the aim of this study was to examine language practice(s) in the context of a specific setting, it was important that the sampling be “purposive” but not necessarily representative (Dörnyei 2007: 126). As already mentioned above, the heterogeneity of the European higher education landscape makes any claims of generalisability in such contexts virtually impossible (Millar & van Mulken n.d.: 2). Instead, the programme, class and participants were selected according to criterion sampling, i.e. they had to meet specific predetermined criteria, which are outlined in Figure 3.2 below.

Figure 3.2 Sampling criteria

Selection	Sampling criteria
programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ fully English-medium programme ✓ mid-range admissions criteria ✓ only WU-internal students ✓ soft-applied discipline with communicative focus
class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ highly interactive course design ✓ parallel classes ✓ global orientation ✓ teamwork project task ✓ “real-world” application & concrete task outcomes
teams	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ mix of nationalities/L1s ✓ mix of gender ✓ no long-term friendships (e.g. colleagues from bachelor programme) ✓ willingness to be observed & recorded

The conditions for the selection of the programme also included an element of typical sampling (Dörnyei 2007: 128) among the criteria. All WU master programmes are fully taught in one language, i.e. English or German, rather than in a combination of both. The first criterion would therefore have been met by any of the seven English-medium programmes. The remaining criteria, however, reduced the possibilities slightly. On the one hand, the admissions criteria for English proficiency for students holding a bachelor degree from WU varied slightly from course to course.²⁹ The CEMS Master in Management, for example, required the highest grade average, while Supply Chain Management required the lowest. The Master in Management was also excluded through the third criterion, as its affiliation to the high-prestige CEMS alliance meant it had a high number of exchange students in each course. While this of course would be of great interest in other studies, the high rate of turnover meant that the possibility for repeated collaboration with colleagues from the same team in the future was diminished. Since the potential for long-term or repeated interaction with current team members is an indicator for successful team work in terms of team satisfaction (Levi & Slem 1995: 31; Stahl et al. 2010a: 444), this was considered an important factor for selecting participants. Finally, the Marketing programme, which had a median requirement for English-language proficiency and no incoming exchange students, also met the final criterion of encompassing both “hard” subjects such as market research and “softer” subjects like consumer behaviour in which communication played a more overt role.

As part of another project conducted previously among three EMPs at WU (Komori 2012, 2013), I had the opportunity to attend and observe informally various classes on the programmes under study. It became clear that many courses, even when described as “interactive” by the lecturer, were still dominated by a frontal lecture format mitigated by open-class discussions or a question-and-answer format but with relatively little student-student interaction integrated into the class. While this study makes no evaluative claims about these methods, it was imperative to find a course with a truly interactive element in order to be able to address the research question. The “International Marketing”³⁰ class fulfilled this and the remaining requirements. As well as general class participation accounting for 30% of the grade, the students had two concrete tasks, namely, writing case assignments based on real companies and completing a market entry simulation including two PowerPoints presenting and to some extent explaining their decisions. The team project thus had clear outcomes in the form of textual products as well as a simulation of business activity in the form of a complex computerised role-play where they had to take on the position of

²⁹ At the time of the data collection, external applicants had the same requirements for evidencing proof of their English proficiency (based on international certification such as IELTS, TOEFL, etc.). Internal applicants could present a grade average from the English courses in their bachelor programme as an alternative form of evidence, which differed according to the individual programmes. While the range was relatively small, there was a correlating significant difference in the general perception of their own language competences which could affect the students’ willingness or ability to contribute in discussions (Komori 2012). At the time of writing, English-language requirements for admission to all the programmes have been streamlined (only the CEMS programme still retains an additional foreign language requirement).

³⁰ This is a pseudonym for the course in the interests of protecting the identity of the participants.

an international marketing management team³¹. With an element of competition as the teams in each class were ranked against each other in order of profits generated, the lecturer claimed that the task was “very very realistic” in terms of the activities and decisions being made as well as the mixed team setting³². Last but not least, the parallel course made it possible to record two different teams doing the same activity. While the messy reality of natural data precludes a scientific comparison of the two teams, the similar conditions of the teams’ composition and the tasks allow some general trends and tendencies to be identified and offers a more critical evaluation of the findings than if the teams had been doing different tasks in different contexts.

In terms of the teams’ composition, the (B)ELF orientation of the research question meant it was essential to have a mix and as far as possible a balance of nationalities and first languages. While native speakers of English (NSE) were not automatically excluded, a team consisting entirely of non-native speakers of English was preferred. Again, an element of typical sampling was in play here, as there was only one NSE in the class. Over half the students in the cohort were German native-speakers (and the vast majority of these Austrians with a WU bachelor degree), and thus almost all groups in both classes had at least two German speakers. Nevertheless, the participants represented a relatively broad balance of linguacultural backgrounds, as can be seen in Figure 3.3 below. The teams were named according to the class (A or B), which simply reflected the timing of the course rather than a selection according to ability or any other distinguishing criteria. The students were given pseudonyms that reflected their gender and their first language (most taken from internet lists of the 10 most popular boys’/girls’ names from the respective country), but bore no resemblance to their own name or otherwise had any connection to the person.

Figure 3.3 Participants

Team	Name	Nationality	Home language	Bachelor degree (city)
MktgA	Benone	Romanian	Romanian	Budapest
	Carina	Austrian	Austrian German	Vienna
	Christian	Austrian	Austrian German	Vienna
	Qingling	Chinese	Mandarin Chinese	Beijing
MktgB	Fabian	Austrian	Austrian German	Vienna
	Igor	Russian	Russian	St Petersburg
	Maria	Austrian	Austrian German	Vienna
	Rafael	Brazilian	Brazilian Portuguese	Lisbon

Access was gained to the courses by approaching the lecturer directly with a referral from my head of department, which greatly facilitated this. Contact and an informal introduction was made before the class began, my hopes/wishes and the general parameters for the data collection discussed, and permission to approach the students granted. I was permitted to introduce myself

³¹ More details of this task can be found in Section 5.2.

³² This statement was based on the lecturer’s own experience of working in similar multinational fast-moving consumer goods companies for many years as well as on feedback from marketing managers – i.e. current business professionals – who played the same simulation in the lecturer’s MBA courses.

and the project by email and briefly in person during seminar. Attending the earlier classes before the project began and talking informally to the students before and after class as well as during coffee breaks helped to answer any questions or address any concerns the students had as well as develop a basis for rapport and trust. I explained the overall aims of the project, what I wanted to do in terms of data collection, and how the data collected might be used and anonymised. The potential participants were aware that they would not be compensated with any direct material reward, but would benefit from being granted access to my department's project rooms, which were much quieter and generally much more easily available than the publicly accessible student project rooms.³³ Finally, the participants signed a consent form to indicate that they had been informed (more details on this can be found in Section 3.2.3 below). Above all, it was crucial to establish that my interest and role were in understanding how the students used language and not evaluating correctness or proficiency (van Lier 1988: 39). Since I had taught several of the Austrian students in ESP classes in their bachelor programmes, clarifying this was absolutely vital. On the other hand, having a shared background also meant that, at least for some of the students, there was a point of contact and they understood my general interest in language. This made my motivation for the study more transparent, which in turn supported the development of goodwill and trust towards the endeavour.

Of course, this does raise some issues of bias, particularly in the interview data, since it could be assumed that the former relationship might affect the participants' answers, especially when it came to questions concerning language competence. However, it is hoped that the extensive (and intensive) time spent with the teams and efforts to probe further in the interviews, including appeals for honesty, mitigate some of these concerns. Furthermore, the context of the master's programme is highly removed from the setting of the bachelor, not only due to the change in the medium of instruction but also because of the much higher level of participation, individual attention, course structure and limited population. I also do not teach any of the courses on the Master's programme so there was no danger of a conflict of interest in that respect. Combined with the competitive admissions process, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that although the personal connection remained to some extent, the students no longer felt the need to "prove" or indeed be falsely modest about their language competence.

3.2.3. Quality and ethical concerns

Reliability and validity are key yet somewhat problematic issues in qualitative research (Flick 2009: 384–392). For ethnographic research, "the quality of recording and documenting data becomes a

³³ I also took each team out for lunch at the end of the project and occasionally provided coffee or biscuits, but this was not an explicit form of compensation per se. In the email soliciting participants sent out before meeting the class, participants were offered the opportunity to return to me as a resource for non-study-related language advice, e.g. checking CVs or job applications, but in the event none actually took me up on this offer.

central basis for assessing their reliability and that of succeeding interpretations” (Flick 2009: 386), while test interviews and internal consistency derived from the use of an interview guide supported efforts towards optimising reliability in the interviews. The use of content analysis for the interview data was complemented by a sociocultural discourse-pragmatic analysis approach and some simple descriptive statistics for the interactional data. This adoption of multiple methods allowed for “methodological triangulation” (Denzin 2009 [1970]: 320; Flick 2009: 444) while drawing on different data sources offered “data triangulation” (Denzin 2009 [1970]: 301; Flick 2009: 444). It was therefore possible to construct an understanding of how the teams used language from both emic perspectives (retrospective interviews and student data) and etic perspectives (observations, field notes, video and audio recordings, and detailed transcripts of the meeting interaction and lecturer data).

The teams’ meetings were recorded using a Sony DCR-SR58 Handycam digital video camera mounted on a small but flexible (“gorilla”) tripod and an Olympus LS-3 linear PCM digital audio recorder. Where possible, the meetings were held in a quiet project or seminar room with one recording device at each end of the table in order to maximise coverage. In almost all instances (except on a small number of occasions when the two teams’ meetings clashed or I had my own teaching commitments) I was also present and made field notes to supplement these recordings. The files were electronically archived as MPG/MP4 video files or .wma audio files which could be imported into the NVivo software.³⁴ Concerns about reliability in this respect were taken into consideration when selecting parts of the meeting data for closer analysis. A discussion of further steps taken to enhance the reliability of the analysis itself can be found in the respective chapters.

Obviously, the decision to use video-recorded data was not taken lightly, as the presence of a video camera is considerably more intrusive than a microphone for audio recording only (Smit 2010: 95) and may distract or “elicit out-of-the-ordinary behaviour” from the participants (Dörnyei 2007: 184). It must be acknowledged that the students did occasionally make references to being recorded and were undoubtedly aware of the presence of the camera, particularly in the early stages. Likewise, the small size of the group made it impossible for me to “hide” although I tried wherever possible to stay out of the direct line of sight, which may have been “a reactive factor” producing changes in behaviour (Denzin 2009 [1970]: 261). There were some indications that they moderated their use of “bad” language (e.g. swearing) and it could be extrapolated that they therefore also moderated their behaviour to prevent conflict situations arising. However, in the retrospective interviews they claimed that “we got really used to [being recorded]” and “you forget about it”. Additionally, since I stressed the non-evaluative nature of my research at the beginning of the project, there was little incentive for them to adapt their behaviour to meet my

³⁴ The video recordings were originally MPG files that had to be converted to MP4 files to be imported into NVivo. I am eternally grateful to Daniel Fixl, who devoted considerable time to finding a way for me to make this happen.

expectations. The fact that they occasionally did use some fairly unrestrained language and “crazy” behaviour suggested that, even if they remained aware of the presence of the camera and of myself, they generally accepted it as part of the environment. Last but not least, it could also be argued that having clear task objectives – not to mention considerable time pressure – meant that they were less likely to be influenced by the camera or the researcher as they might be in more social or conversational settings (cf. Hynninen 2013: 72). The added value of having video data for disambiguating speakers (Dörnyei 2007: 184) in the teams’ (often highly involved) interaction as well as gaining access to paralinguistic data such as smiling and gestures was therefore perceived as vastly outweighing the risk that the students may have modified their behaviour because of it.

My role as an observer was also somewhat problematic, as, strictly speaking, it was impossible for me to be a purely non-participant observer due to the fact that I had to participate in discussions about scheduling (both in person and on Facebook). However, I only did so if/when I was directly addressed during the meetings or the Facebook conversations, and then tried to keep my contributions as minimal and as factually-oriented as possible (cf. Hynninen 2013: 71–72). In general, the teams seemed to accept and understand the role of the non-participant observer and, despite being very friendly at the beginning and end of the meetings, rarely addressed me directly during the interaction, even when explicitly discussing issues concerning language.³⁵ Again, despite some qualms, I deemed that the value of understanding the processes of the simulation and observing the students’ interaction first-hand could not be sacrificed.

Of course, this takes the epistemological assumption of qualitative research as a co-construction between researcher and participants as the starting point and understands validation in terms of “the social construction of knowledge” (Mishler 1990: 417; quoted by Flick 2009: 389). This is supported when the researcher is a practitioner-researcher and “if the researcher is able to stay in the field long enough to observe or experience the full range of routines and behaviours that typify the case” (Gray 2014: 430; cf. Dörnyei 2007: 61), both of which conditions were met in the present study. The combination of emic and etic perspectives as well as the identification of trends between and across the two teams made it possible to discover the differences, contradictions and tensions that Lather (1993) constructs as “paralogic validity” (p. 679; cf. Flick 2009: 389). Further measures taken to maximise procedural validity (Flick 2009: 390) are explained in detail in the relevant sections.

As already mentioned, the participants were informed about the project beforehand and had the opportunity to ask any questions or voice any ethical concerns before as well as during the data collection process. Participation was thus on the basis of informed consent (Dörnyei 2007: 69; Flick

³⁵ On one occasion in each team I was asked if they were permitted to swear on camera, and I was only once asked directly if I knew the meaning of a term they were discussing (which I actually did not, and was therefore able to slip out of the interaction without causing much disturbance).

2009: 37-38; Gray 2014: 432) and participants were invited to sign a form expressing that consent based on criteria discussed in Dörnyei (2007: 69-71) and the Trinity College Dublin Research Ethics Committee template for the linguistic, speech, and communication sciences³⁶ (see Appendix 1). The key items of this consent were the overall aims of the project, details of the data collection process, the assurance of anonymity, the option to raise concerns or withdraw at any point, and the guarantee that the data would solely be used in the context of linguistic research. Specific implications resulting from these ethical concerns which affect the presentation of the analysis and the study findings are addressed as they arise.

3.3. Research questions and data sets for analysis

Having established the site and processes for the data collection as well as theoretical, methodological and ethical considerations for the study, it was imperative to convert the vast array of “messy” data into something that could be used for a systematic and meaningful (linguistic) analysis to answer the overall research question:

How do students on an English-medium master’s programme at WU use English as a (business) lingua franca in multicultural teamwork?

This overall question had a basis in three broad theoretical areas, namely:

- the internationalisation of higher education and the role of English-medium instruction/EMI, especially in business education
- English as a (business) lingua franca/(B)ELF
- (multicultural) teamwork

An effort has been made in Chapter 2 to highlight the key issues in each area which are relevant to this thesis, although it is obvious that the scope of this type of project limits the discussion more than might be desirable. Given the breadth of the overall research question, it was necessary to break it down into more specific research questions.

These research questions were largely inspired by the extant literature and were deliberately left relatively general to “emphasise the exploratory nature of the study” (Dörnyei 2007: 74). The first set of questions aims to gain an insight into the primary stakeholders on an EMP – the students themselves – and their attitudes, beliefs and perceptions regarding language and learning on the programme; in other words, *who* the participants are and how they *view* English as part of a marketing EMP. This obviously required an emic perspective and therefore the interview data lent itself to answering these questions. The second set comprises much “bigger” questions and

³⁶ https://www.tcd.ie/slscs/assets/documents/research/ethics/SLSCS_REC_template-informed-consent-form-january-2016.docx (last accessed 11 August 2017).

synthesises two crucial aspects found in both effective BELF communication and successful teamwork. On the one hand, Kankaanranta et al. (2015) argue that “BELF competence calls for clarity and accuracy in the presentation of business content, knowledge of business-specific vocabulary and genre conventions, and the ability to connect on the relational level” (p. 129), or, as Ehrenreich so succinctly puts it, “communicating *facts* as well as communicating *with people*” (p. 419; original emphasis). On the other hand, research into teamwork (in both mono- and multilingual workplace settings) conceptualise team effectiveness not only in terms of productive output (performance/task goals) but also positive social processes, relationships and learning (satisfaction/team goals) (Hackman & Wageman 2005: 272; Levi & Slem 1995: 31; Stahl et al. 2010a: 442). It therefore seemed imperative that any attempt to understand how the participants used language (effectively) in their teamwork on the EMP had to embrace both the demands of the task and the team dynamics. Since much of the work on teams in organisational studies contexts is quantitative and based on questionnaire surveys or even meta-analyses (e.g. Hackman & Wageman 2005; Levi & Slem 1995; Stahl et al. 2010a), there is an urgent need for research that observes team and task interaction on the basis of observational data in order to gain a rich understanding of how these processes actually work in practice. Figure 3.4 therefore illustrates how the specific research questions correspond to each data set and the methods used to analyse them.

Figure 3.4 Research questions, data sets, and methods of data analysis

General research questions	Operationalised research questions	Data set/ focus	Methods of data analysis
RQ1. <i>How do the participants view English as a (business) lingua franca & effective multicultural teamwork?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • RQ1a: <i>Who are the participants?</i> • RQ1b: <i>How do the participants perceive language on the marketing EMP?</i> • RQ1c: <i>How do the participants conceptualise successful teamwork?</i> 	Retrospective interviews / emic perspectives	Qualitative content analysis
RQ2. <i>How do the participants “do” English as a (business) lingua franca & effective multicultural teamwork?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • RQ2a: <i>How do the participants use language to optimise team performance?</i> 	Meetings/ “communicating facts”	Sociocultural discourse-pramatic analysis + simple quantification
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • RQ2b: <i>How do the participants use language to optimise team satisfaction?</i> 	Meetings/ “communicating with people”	Sociocultural discourse-pramatic analysis + simple quantification

Practical restrictions of what was “doable” for the researcher as well as the quantitative limits of a doctoral thesis led to the decision to focus on the emic perspectives offered in the retrospective interviews and a more or less discrete and delineable extract from the interactional (meeting) data. While the Facebook conversations were a very rich source of data, the implications of investigating a third type of data which was both longitudinal and multimodal meant that a detailed analysis

regrettably went too far beyond the scope of this project. However, the Facebook data still proved useful for cross-checking and was also discussed in the retrospective interviews. An overview of the full data set can be found in Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5. Overview of complete data set

Data set	MktgA	MktgB
Meetings	audio & video total approx. 27 hours	audio & video total approx. 34 hours
Presentations in class	2 (video + PowerPoint)	2 (video + PowerPoint)
Written case studies	2	2
Retrospective interviews	4 x interviews total approx. 5 hours	4 x interviews total approx. 3.5 hours
Facebook chat	8,317 words	7,061 words
	Lecturer	
Wrap-up in class	audio & video 36 minutes	
Retrospective interview	24 minutes	

Since the retrospective interviews were conducted at the end of the project, these were used to identify key issues in the interaction that would highlight an aspect which merited particularly close attention. In particular, the lecturer's perspective was invaluable in this respect, as they³⁷ brought the initial market analysis to the forefront:

Extract 3.1 Understanding the market mechanics

the important thing [...] is very much understanding the market mechanics so it pays off if and when you are looking into the game in the initial rounds very very carefully. And do your homework et cetera so which country will you enter and why are important decisions the overall demand intensity of competition the channel issues trade regulation and lastly the overall cost.

(lecturer, wrap-up in class)

Extract 3.2 The basis for the grading

number one I have to emphasise that this is not the only basis for the grading but for example the analytical work before they actually started the simulation which is essentially a piece of marketing research they do a piece of analysis and then based on that research they based on that analysis the compilation of a strategy report [...] like where they score the countries they weigh the markets essentially they compare the markets.

(lecturer, retrospective interview)

³⁷ Gender-neutral pronouns will be used for the lecturer, and where relevant also for the participants, to protect their identity.

The importance of the market analysis element of the task, combined with the fact that it was the most demanding part of the simulation in terms of developing and discussing content knowledge, made it an ideal focus for the linguistic analysis. Additionally, it came towards the beginning of the project, when negotiation of the social relationships and team processes could also be expected to play a relatively strong role. Thus, a set of meetings from each team which covered the development of the market analysis were selected and transcribed in detail according to the VOICE conventions³⁸. This resulted in a data set comprising approximately 9.5 hours of spoken interaction and just over 70,000 words. An overview can be found in Figure 3.6 and further details, including a discussion of the limitations of this data, in Section 5.2.

Figure 3.6 Overview of the market analysis data set (“meetings”)

team	day	recording	team members present	time (hr:min:sec)	words*
MktgA	1	MktgA_1	Benone, Carina, Christian, Qingling	02:17:36	21,217
		MktgA_2	Benone, Carina, Christian, Qingling	01:49:40	13,568
	total MktgA			04:07:16	34,785
MktgB	1	MktgB_1	Fabian, Maria, Rafael	02:20:20	14,598
		MktgB_2	Fabian, Maria, Rafael	01:47:38	11,596
	2	MktgB_3	Igor, Maria, Rafael	01:21:07	9,475
	total MktgB			05:29:05	35,669
total both groups				09:36:21	70,454

*words refers to spoken text only, excl. names & timestamps

3.4. Summary

The overall aim and research question for this study was to find out how students use English as a (business) lingua franca in multicultural teamwork on the EMP. The study was positioned at the nexus of research into internationalisation in HE, (B)ELF and multicultural teamwork and was designed to gain a rich and multi-perspectival understanding of who the stakeholders in this multicultural and multilingual learning space were and what their perceptions of language and teamwork in the EMP were; how they used language to achieve their task goals; and how they used language to develop relationships within the teams. This required an in-depth, qualitative study that combined the emic perspectives provided in retrospective interviews with a close analysis of interactional meeting data in which the students did the work of achieving their task and team goals. Criterion sampling was used to select two teams comprising a mix of nationalities and L1s on a course that was reasonably representative of EMPs at WU, had an explicit international orientation, and a task that simulated “real” business practice. The lecturer’s assessment of the initial market analysis as a key element of the overall task was the basis for focusing the linguistic

³⁸ https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/transcription_general_information; see Appendix 2. More detail about the rationale for using these conventions can be found in Section 5.2.

analysis on these meetings. Further explanations of the methods and analytic approaches used for each data set, including limitations, can be found in the relevant chapter.

4. Emic perspectives

4.1 Introduction

A crucial aspect of any ethnographic project is to gain the emic perspectives of the participants themselves. In this study, these perspectives are gained by conducting reflective, semi-structured interviews with all the participants after completion of the team project. This allows the researcher to obtain insights into and attempt to “understand the lived experiences of [the students], and the meaning they make of that experience” (Gray 2014: 383, drawing on Kvale 1996: 70). In other words, the reflective or “retrospective” interviews (Dörnyei 2007: 147) shed light on a range of “experiences, opinions, attitudes, values and processes” (Gray 2014: 383) held or made by the students in the context of their team projects. This reflects current methodological approaches in sociolinguistics for studying linguistic repertoire that argue for the importance of considering metalinguistic commentary and the subject perspective as an integral element of observing and analysing (multilingual) practices (Busch 2012, 2015; Li Wei 2011).

Given this study’s understanding of knowledge and language as socially constructed, it is important to acknowledge the “social situatedness” of this research data (Cohen et al. 2011: 409). It is also necessary to recognise the fact that an interview is intersubjective and a joint construction of knowledge (Cohen et al. 2011: 409-410; Kvale 1996: 42, 66). Consequently, the study’s overall objectives for this dataset aim to capture the students’ “experiences and lived meanings” as negotiated through the reflective interviews to answer the following research question:

***RQ1.** How do the participants view English as a (business) lingua franca & effective multicultural teamwork?*

This overall research question is further broken down into 3 operationalised sub-questions:

***RQ1a:** Who are the participants?*

***RQ1b:** How do the participants perceive language on the business EMP?*

***RQ1c:** How do the participants conceptualise successful teamwork?*

The responses to these research questions should in turn direct the researcher’s attention to key aspects of the teams’ processes for analysing the interaction data. In order to reduce the data and highlight these salient aspects of the students’ “experiences and lived meanings”, the interviews were examined using content analysis.

4.2 Qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis is “a strict and systematic set of procedures for the rigorous analysis, examination and verification of the context of written data” (Cohen et al. 2011: 563) and “a

research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use” (Krippendorff 2004: 18; quoted by Cohen et al. 2011: 563). It is “one of the most common approaches to analysing qualitative data” (Gray 2014: 607) and can be used for many purposes, though it is relevant here as it may “reflect cultural patterns of groups, institutions, or societies”, “reveal the focus of individual, group, institutional, or societal attention”, or be used “to study small groups as microcosms of society” (Weber 1990: 9, 11; see also Cohen et al. 2011: 563-4; Krippendorff 2004: 46).

As Cohen et al. (2011) state,

put simply, content analysis involves coding, categorizing (creating meaningful categories into which the units of analysis – words, phrases, sentences, etc. – can be placed), comparing (categories and making links between them) , and concluding – drawing theoretical conclusions from the text. (Cohen et al. 2011: 564)

Coding and categorising thus lie at the heart of content analysis, although it goes beyond purely breaking down a text into and/or describing units of analysis, but rather examines the “interconnectedness” of these units and how themes emerge from this (ibid.). Krippendorff (2004) argues that content analyses “are most likely to succeed when analysts address linguistically constituted social realities” found in the texts being analysed (p. 77) and when these can be broken down into four classes of attributions (including concepts, attitudes, emotions and cognitive processes), social relationships, public behaviours, and institutional realities (pp. 75-77).

The process of qualitative content analysis is relatively well-established and explained in numerous handbooks and textbooks on the topic (e.g. Cohen et al. 2011; Flick 2009; Krippendorff 2004; Kuckartz 2014; Mayring 2003; Schreier 2014, to name but a few). The main steps can be summarised in four main stages, namely:

1. designing and preparing the study
2. developing and testing a coding framework
3. coding and categorising
4. conducting and presenting the analysis

Each of these stages will be elaborated upon in the context of this study in the following sections.

4.2.1 Designing and preparing the study

Having developed out of quantitative methods, qualitative content analysis still places a strong emphasis on the need to design the study based on research questions, which in turn are linked to previous research (Cohen et al. 2011: 564; Flick 2009 324; Gray 2014: 609). As stated above, the three operationalised research questions for this data set were:

RQ1a: *Who are the participants?*

RQ1b: *How do the participants perceive language as part of a business EMP?*

RQ1c: *How do the participants conceptualise successful teamwork?*

Not surprisingly, the questions in the interview guide pertaining to the first RQ are primarily intended to fill in any blanks as to the participants' linguacultural background and ease them into the interview with a question that should be relatively simple for them to answer (Gray 2014: 393). At the same time, though, these questions allow the students the chance to claim their own identities rather than being squeezed into rigid pigeonholes according to nationality. This is particularly important for students on an English-medium programme, who, due to the international nature of the course, may have unusually complex cultural identities (cf. Smit 2010: 115). This also proved to be the case in the pilot study. The second and third questions, in contrast, reflect the theoretical framework of the overall study and aim to identify consistencies with or differences from conceptualisations of successful teamwork in the literature on the one hand, and the role of language in teamwork and their own use of language in a multilingual and multicultural learning space, on the other. An excerpt of the recorded video data (approx. 2 minutes long) was included "to help the respondents to retrieve their relevant thoughts" in a "stimulated recall" (Dörnyei 2007: 149).

As well as the development of the research questions, the sample also had to be considered. Of course, it is necessary to bear in mind that the extent to which findings from a highly qualitative study can be generalised may be restricted (Gray 2014: 388). Nevertheless, a sample of eight is frequently reported as being "sufficient" for "intensive interviews designed to explore a topic" (Arksey & Knight 1999: 58; see also Gray 2014: 388-389). Furthermore, being able to interview all eight students as well as the lecturer also meets Arksey's (1999) criteria for maximising external validity by viewing the subject of analysis – i.e. the teamwork – "from all relevant perspectives" (p. 58, original italics; see also Gray 2014: 388-389). Other efforts to enhance the quality of the interviews included balancing consistency with naturalness through using an interview guide with flexibility in the order and phrasing of questions to fit the flow of the interview; by seeking rich, specific and relevant answers; by following up, probing, and clarifying answers to ensure maximum accuracy; and drawing on the rapport built in the thirty-plus hours of time together during the team project as well as structuring the interview to encourage the interviewees to express themselves comfortably and in detail (Arksey & Knight 1999: 39; Cohen et al. 2011: 421-424; Gray 2014: 388-390; Kvale 1996: 145). The interviews were conducted face-to-face, seated at a slight angle across a table to encourage the interviewee to feel at ease and enable the interviewer to take notes (Gray 2014: 393), and recorded using an Olympus LS-3 linear PCM (digital) recorder.

The interviews with the students ranged in length from approximately three-quarters of an hour to almost an hour and three quarters, as can be seen in Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

Figure 4.1 Overview of interview data (MktgA)

Interview code	Name	Length
Int_MktgA_1	Benone	01:08:48
Int_MktgA_2	Carina	01:40:06
Int_MktgA_3	Christian	00:55:59
Int_MktgA_4	Qingling	01:22:34
	total	05:07:27

Figure 4.2 Overview of interview data (MktgB)

Interview code	Name	Length
Int_MktgB_1	Fabian	01:12:00
Int_MktgB_2	Igor	00:44:59
Int_MktgB_3	Maria	00:48:12
Int_MktgB_4	Rafael	00:48:57
	total	03:26:23

Additionally, the lecturer's wrap-up comments in the class after the final rounds of the simulation were recorded (audio/video, lasting 36 mins 40 secs) and a further reflective interview with the lecturer to discuss the teams' performance from his perspective (audio only, lasting 24 mins 6 secs) was conducted to offer some triangulation for the comments relating to the teamwork processes and success criteria.

4.2.2 Developing and testing a coding framework

The development of a stable coding framework is a time-consuming and complex process. On the one hand, the coding frame needs to be systematic, comprehensive and unidimensional, i.e. any unit of analysis can be "coded only once under one main category" (Schreier 2014: 175, original emphasis). On the other hand, in order to achieve these aims, the categories are usually developed through a combination of "concept-driven" and "data-driven" approaches (Schreier 2014: 176), i.e. deductively and inductively, respectively (cf. Cohen et al. 2011: 560; Kuckartz 2014: 59). In other words, "categories are brought to the empirical data", but also "repeatedly evaluated against the data and modified if necessary" (Gray 2014: 608) in an iterative process (Dörnyei 2007: 251; Schreier 2014: 171).

The five main areas of the interview and thus the inductively derived or concept-driven areas of the coding framework can be summarised as follows (see the interview guide in Appendix 3 for examples of the corresponding questions):

Figure 4.3 Objectives and initial coding framework

Topic	Objective	Initial categories
Linguacultural background	to elicit more detail about the participants' linguacultural backgrounds (including academic and disciplinary cultures)	[1_NATIONALITY] [2_HOME LANGUAGE] [3_ENGLISH] [4_PREVIOUS STUDIES] [5_ENGLISH AT UNIVERSITY] [6_MOTIVATION EMI/WU]
Teamwork in general	to identify previous knowledge and experience of (multicultural) teamwork	[7_TEAMWORK IMPRESSIONS] [8_TEAMWORK EXPERIENCE] [9_TEAMWORK DIFFERENCES CONTEXT OR LANGUAGE]
Teamwork project	to explore attitudes to and their specific experiences of this team project	[10_PROJECT IMPRESSIONS GENERAL] [11_PROJECT IMPRESSIONS RECALL] [12_SUCCESS CRITERIA] [13_LEADERSHIP] [14_CHANGES]
Language use in teamwork	to examine their perceptions of how they use language(s) on a daily basis and in the specific context of team project work.	[15_LANGUAGE CHOICES] [16_SHARED REPERTOIRE] [17_FACEBOOK]
Future expectations & closing	to ascertain the students' career ambitions and the role of language in these as well as to finish on a positive note	[18_FUTURE PLANS] [19_WORK ABROAD] [20_OTHER COMMENTS]

Additionally, the interviews were transcribed verbatim, and reviewed thoroughly to allow the researcher to gain a high level of familiarity with the texts and gain some early reflections on the data (Dörnyei 2007: 250) before embarking on the coding process. After transcription and review, an initial coding framework was drawn up with the aim of developing the subcategories in a data-driven way, following Schreier (2014: 176). For this process, the qualitative data analysis software NVivo³⁹ proved invaluable, as it allows the researcher to code and re-code easily as well to revise coding frameworks with minimal difficulties. Beginning with the two longest interviews (Int_MktgA_2/Carina; Int_MktgB_1/ Fabian) in each group, the texts were examined line by line, or rather in semantic and thematically coherent units, and a code assigned to or added for each unit. Even at this early stage, it became evident that certain categories needed to be revised. Since both of the interviewees in this round of coding were Austrian students with a marketing specialisation, the two international students with a non-marketing background from each team (Int_MktgA_1/Benone; Int_MktgB_2/ Igor) were also added to the initial round of developing the coding framework in order to make it as holistic as possible and to ensure saturation, i.e. the point at which “no additional new concepts can be found” (Schreier 2014: 176). The initial code list based on this first round comprised some 158 codes.

³⁹ <http://www.qsrinternational.com/> (last accessed 1 August 2017)

This extensive deductively-derived list of codes was then revised, collapsing similar codes and replacing “the initial, usually descriptive and low-inference codes” with “higher order ‘pattern codes’” (Dörnyei 2007: 251). The codes were also restructured along class and category lines to reflect the interests of the research questions and facilitate the analysis. In accordance with Kuckartz (2014: 49) and Schreier (2014: 178-179), this coding frame was then piloted in a round of trial coding on the remaining four interviews (Int_MktgA_3/Christian; Int_MktgA_4/Qingling; Int_MktgB_3/ Maria; Int_MktgB_4/Rafael). Once the trial coding was finished, some minor modifications to the coding scheme were made to collapse any remaining codes that were still very similar or only comprised single instances in the data, clarify codes that were overlapping and adjust (sub-)categories and category headings. Categorisation is “an essential feature in reducing large quantities of data” (Cohen et al. 2011: 563). Kuckartz (2014) states: “Für die Bildung von Subkategorien gilt generell das Kriterium der Sparsamkeit und Überschaubarkeit: So einfach wie möglich, so differenziert wie nötig⁴⁰” (Kuckartz 2014: 84; cf. Cohen et al. 2011: 560; Schreier 2014: 175). In the final part of the pilot phase, the coding frame was formalised as a codebook with clear definitions and examples (see Appendix 4). In examining the data assigned to each code to find a suitable example for the codebook, I was also able to test the consistency of the coding. Since there was no possibility to engage a second coder, this increased the reliability of the coding frame, which is indicated by the level of agreement between separate coding processes (Kuckartz 2014: 61; Schreier 2014: 179).

4.2.3 Coding and categorising: conducting the main analysis

Finally, the entire data set of the eight participants’ reflective interviews and the lecturer’s interview and wrap-up comments were (re)coded using the revised coding frame (Kuckartz 2014: 49; Schreier 2014: 179). This second-level coding process allowed the researcher to move “beyond a mere descriptive labelling of the relevant data segments” and to identify patterns and commonalities (Dörnyei 2007: 252), or, in other words, “patterns, regularities and relationships” (Cohen et al. 2011: 568). While it can be argued that the interpretation of data begins as early as reflecting on and making decisions regarding transcription, it is still useful to recognise the importance of and distinguish the final stages of the interpretative process from such early reflections (Dörnyei 2007: 257). Given the complexity and richness of the data, it is essential to find the balance “between trying to say something of overarching significance while at the same time preserving the intricacy of situated multiple meanings” (Dörnyei 2007: 257). At this stage, qualitative results may also be quantified and analysed further using statistical approaches, which may support making generalisations. However, since the aim of this analysis was to obtain the

⁴⁰ “When creating sub-categories, one should generally follow the principles of economy and comprehensibility: as simple as possible, and as sophisticated as necessary.” (my translation)

participants’ perspectives and to obtain an insight into their “lived experiences and the meaning they make of that experience” (Gray 2014: 383), an extensive quantitative analysis was deemed inappropriate, except for some very minimal description to support the overall findings. The results of the analysis will be presented in the next section. Where possible, the findings are aggregated, in part to protect the participants’ identities as well as to reduce the amount of data. The contributions are also anonymised where it is felt that revealing the speaker’s name may also compromise their identity or where a comment might be construed as negative and have repercussions.

4.3 Findings

4.3.1 Participants

The first sub-question, *Who are the participants?*, aims to discover the linguacultural and academic backgrounds of the students, their language-learning histories, and their ambitions for the future. The first aspect, the linguacultural background, can be answered in relatively straightforward terms, and the answers are summarised in Figure 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4 Participants’ linguacultural backgrounds

Team	Name	Nationality	Home language
MktgA	Benone	Romanian	Romanian
	Carina	Austrian	Austrian German (regional dialect)
	Christian	Austrian	Austrian German (regional dialect)
	Qingling	Chinese	Mandarin Chinese
MktgB	Fabian	Austrian	Austrian German (regional dialect)
	Igor	Russian	Russian
	Maria	Austrian	Austrian German (regional dialect)
	Rafael	Brazilian	Brazilian Portuguese

While all the participants responded to the questions “Where did you grow up?” with a fairly specific answer (e.g. “in a small city in the north of [country]”; “a small town called [name of town]”), it was interesting to note that the Austrians also emphasised regional identities in terms of the language they spoke at home (e.g. “I speak German with my parents Upper Austrian”; “I just talk German (.) actually not just real German German but my strong dialect”). It could be argued that this is not particularly surprising since the participants knew I had lived in Austria for several years and thus could be expected to recognise local identities; however, when probed, the international students’ answers ranged from “there are many dialects but we speak standard” or “kind of a neutral” variety to claims that the local language “is all the same. There is no difference across the whole country”. Thus most of the participants (except the latter) had some awareness of language variation, but the Austrian students generally had stronger regional identities in terms of linguistic affiliation. Though a systematic analysis of the correlation between this dialectal identity

and language awareness or linguistic flexibility goes beyond the scope of the present study, it would certainly be an interesting area for further research in relation to intercultural communicative competence. Two of the participants also had grandparents who spoke another language (Japanese and Slovenian) at home, but neither spoke those languages to a high level themselves (“she taught me like a little some words but nothing really I can’t understand or anything”; “I had this culture a bit but I never spoke Slovenian myself”).

None of the students use English as a first language, and all began to learn English at school. Five had started in kindergarten or early primary school (aged 5-7), and the remaining three when they were about 10-12 years old. There were no consistencies between the Austrian students, with two starting earlier and two starting later. While two of the participants who said they had started in early primary school claimed it was “really basic” or they only had “real English classes” or learnt English “in a professional form” from the age of about 11, all the students had had some exposure to English at school. Furthermore, four mentioned English language classes on their bachelor programmes while three of the international students and one of the Austrians had also had content (e.g. marketing or finance) classes in English during their previous studies. Three students stated that they had used English-language textbooks or literature even when studying in their first language. Two of the Austrians had spent an exchange semester in the US, while two of the international students had attended English-speaking summer camps and two mentioned using English in romantic relationships. Four participants explicitly stated that they had used English in their work experience and three discussed watching films, TV series or playing video games in English in their free time. All of the students had some experience of using English outside an EFL classroom. This supports Kankaanranta and Planken’s (2010: 399-400) findings that younger generations of employees and business graduates have been regularly exposed to English from an early age and thus have a different relationship to English from the generation of 40+ (cf. Ehrenreich 2010: 428). This reflects studies into adolescents’ exposure to English through the media, e.g. music, TV and the internet, which indicate that English plays a major role in the everyday lives of European adolescents (Berns et al. 2007; Sundqvist & Sylvén 2016) and that “young” people under the age of 45 – and especially those younger than 25 – perceive English to be more important than their older counterparts (Leppänen et al. 2011: 91). Since many of the studies into the use of English in business contexts has focused on the perspectives of senior management and employees over the age of 30 (e.g. Ehrenreich 2010; Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Pullin 2013), there is an urgent need to conduct more research into the experiences and attitudes of recent graduates embarking on their careers. Given the rapid expanse of English-medium programmes – particularly in the business education fields – since 2010, it can be argued that there has been a major shift in the profile of business graduates in the early stages of their careers which merits further attention.

Additionally, all the participants had learnt, or were learning, at least one other foreign language (ranging from Latin at school to Spanish for the purposes of studying). All the international students were taking advantage of WU's free German-language classes. Two students (one Austrian and one international) had spent an exchange semester in Spain and attending university classes in Spanish. This might suggest that, in general, the participants had a relatively high level of language awareness – conceptualised as “the development in learners of an enhanced consciousness of and sensitivity to the forms and functions of language” (Carter 2003: 64) – even if some professed that they were “not that good in languages at all” or that “it's really hard for me to learn languages really”.

Many of the students also expressed awareness of a need to adapt language and language practices to specific contexts. All four of the Austrians discussed switching between their local dialect and Standard German; Fabian claimed “I use different words and different tones and different words depending on who I speak to as well in spoken as in written form”, clarifying:

[I use dialect] with my colleagues but when I talk to clients of course I use the Standard German [...] all my colleagues speak in this let's say when we speak together in like in an informal way but when we're in some kind of an official meeting within the company we speak some standardised how is it called standardised German language.

Furthermore, many of the students noted that it was important to use “a language that is common ground” or “understandable for every [team] member”, with five stating that it would be “impolite”, “not really friendly”, “kind of weird” or they would “feel uncomfortable” to do otherwise. Carina observed:

let's say there are two Austrians and then there's someone else a non-German speaker and the two Austrians would say something in German or talk to each other then they always apologise and say oh sorry let's change to English now because we feel I think as well that it's kind of unpolite [*sic*] to speak in German if someone else is not understanding what you are saying even though you're not talking to the person right now but it's just because it's kind of like you're having a secret or so yeah.

However, it could be argued that the participants in this study were particularly sensitive in this respect, as one of the international students described their experience in another group thus:

not so often but sometimes [the other group members] would just switch and when we were meeting they would talk in German (.) even if they were talking about the groupwork it's @@ sometimes not so pleasant because even if they're not talking to me they're talking about something about the groupwork so I would like to know but then they just switch to German [...] if there's only one [non-German-speaker] then maybe sometimes they neglect the fact that the other person doesn't understand and go on with German (4) for me even if they just did it they didn't do it on purpose I would still feel like somehow excluded?

Another international student had a similar experience, reporting a situation in a different group where they felt partially excluded because their level of German was high enough to participate passively but not actively:

the last time there were mostly German speakers and when we had coaching with the professor the professor decided to talk German and I could understand but again I couldn't speak too much [...] they were like do you understand German? aah I understand oh okay in German okay. Okay talk German @@ (.) I will listen @@

Similar comments were also reported in Smit's (2010: 126-127) research into a Viennese hotel management programme. It could therefore be argued that the two teams under investigation in this study were in fact highly successful communicators with a relatively high level of language awareness and sensitivity to the challenges of intercultural communication and multicultural teamwork.

It should also be noted that it is not enough to merely apologise for using a language that is not understood or to assume that (passive) understanding alone is sufficient to justify using a particular language. With regard to the first point, where the language being used is not understood at all, the team member's exclusion and highlighting the perception of difference could lead to the "difficulties in communication, increased miscommunication, decreased commitment, heightened levels of conflict, and decreased cohesion" which in turn result in lower team performance (Garrison et al. 2010: 30). In the second, the extent to which the team member is excluded is lesser, but the results may be the same. In both cases, the team is unable to profit from the potential contribution of that member. The implications of this will be discussed later in this chapter.

In terms of academic background, all four of the Austrian students had completed their bachelor degree at WU with at least one (of two) specialisations in a marketing-related discipline, e.g. advertising and brand management. The international students had studied in similar institutions (prestigious state universities with a business and economics focus) and all held a bachelor in business administration or a bachelor in management, although Benone and Igor had specialised in non-marketing-related disciplines, and Benone also held a second degree in a humanities subject. As already mentioned, three of the Austrians and one of the international students had done an exchange semester, and one of the other international students had studied through the medium of German in their home country.

Additionally, all students had some work experience, at least as an intern, although it was not all marketing-related. Three of the students had worked or were working full-time for at least two years, and five had worked for a large multinational corporation⁴¹. All but one were considering working or continuing their studies in a country other than their home country and two had fixed

⁴¹ Some of this information was confirmed or completed using their publicly-available profiles on www.linkedin.com (last accessed 2 August 2017).

plans to complete their studies in another country (as the second half of a double degree or doing an exchange semester). Of the international students, all were considering staying in Vienna, although one expressed concern that “in Austria and even in Germany like ninety-five per cent of the jobs require German good German not beginners’ German so it’s quite hard”. The eighth was already working and was very satisfied with their job, and had no intention of leaving Austria. On the other hand, most also said that they anticipated returning to their home country eventually, some due to family constraints.

All in all, despite the surface heterogeneity of the participants’ linguacultural backgrounds, it must be acknowledged that the team members were in fact very similar, especially when seen against the diversity of the globalised workplace. Of course, it is important not to lose sight of the individual characteristics of each team member, which play a role in answering RQ1c. Nevertheless, the general findings of this subsection can be summarised in a profile which answers RQ1a:

Who are the participants?

The participants are/have...

- from a (mostly) monolingual home environment;
- a proficient English speaker, having learnt English from the age of 12 or younger (and meeting the relatively high admission requirements of the English-medium master programme⁴²);
- multilingual, having their first language, English and at least some classes (e.g. at school) in a second foreign language;
- well-educated, with a degree in a business-oriented discipline from a prestigious state university in a major city of the country they finished school in, some including an exchange semester;
- some work experience, at least one internship, in a large local or multinational company, possibly but not necessarily marketing-related;
- interested in and to some extent experienced in working with other cultures, in most cases willing or desirous of working abroad for a period of time;
- a relatively high level of language awareness in terms of exposure to other languages and a sensitivity to the need to adapt language practices to the demands of the specific context, i.e. the importance of appropriate language use.

⁴² for details, see <https://www.wu.ac.at/studium/master/marketing/application-admission/> (last accessed 2 August 2017).

4.3.2 Perceptions of English and the English-medium programme

The answer to the second research question, *How do the participants perceive language as part of a business EMP?*, can be divided into two broad aspects. Firstly, this section will discuss the participants' comments on the role(s) of English as the language of business and in the university in general. Secondly, it examines their reasons for applying to this specific EMP and their observations about their experiences of the first semester.

To begin with, although the participants were not explicitly asked about their opinion on the role of English as the language of international business, the topic still arose directly or indirectly. Carina stated explicitly "English is the business language" and "if you wanna work in an international environment it's really important to learn the content in English". Speaking from considerable industry experience as well as his academic position, the lecturer would agree:

researcher: how important do you think English is for that?

lecturer: for an international career? well it's utterly essential.

The participants' comments on their own work experience also indicated that English was, unsurprisingly, frequently used as a lingua franca in international business contexts (e.g. between French management and Chinese employees, liaising with business partners in Austria, Romania and Bulgaria, working with international colleagues in the Austrian office of a MNC). However, it was interesting to note that even from a brief discussion of the topic, the role of English in such business contexts emerged as being more complex. On the one hand, one student reported that "I interacted with Austrians during my job [with an Austrian company in my home country] but even then I tried to speak English and they didn't like it", suggesting that even though English could or should be the lingua franca, some companies/employees prefer to use their home language. While it was not clear whether there was an official language policy in this particular company, it can be inferred that (at least some of) its employees were either not able or not willing to use English as a lingua franca. The use of the phrase "they didn't like it" rather than "they couldn't" or "it didn't work" would suggest that it was a question of willingness rather than ability, and evokes questions of power. On the other hand, another student working in the Austrian subsidiary of a MNC described the following situation:

it's a multicultural multinational company and that's why you never know if you are you supposed to speak German are you supposed to speak English in most of the cases during the internship it was a mixture a combination of both because many people are internationals at [name of company] but they also speak German now so you switch from German to English and but the funny thing is about people who are used to speak English and who tries to learn German? that the emails are written in English by them but they try to speak German that's because I think the grammar and so on is more difficult in German than in English I just suppose that therefore they write emails in English because they are supposed to make minor mistakes

in comparison with German but they try to speak German yah (.) but I think some French guy told me that it's much easier to speak in German than to write in German but yeah.

In this context, while English is ostensibly the lingua franca of the corporation (with the parent company based in an Anglophone country), many of the international employees in the Austrian office are making the effort to learn and use German, creating a bilingual working environment; curiously, but perhaps not surprisingly, it is also somewhat diglossic, with English being used for written communication such as emails while spoken communication takes place in German. Furthermore, the same student noted that “if you wanna be a sales person it's not a disadvantage if you speak another language besides of German and English”. From this it can be inferred that a working level of English is expected of graduates but also that – as in the example of the “French guy” working at this company – international employees are expected or encouraged to speak the local language, which has been shown to increase integration and trust within a company (Angouri 2013: 572; Angouri & Miglbauer 2014: 157; Lønsmann 2014: 110-112; Selmer & Lauring 2011). Thus the participants’ work experience – even at the level of internships – shows that while English is widely used as a lingua franca in business, it is certainly not the only one, even in originally Anglophone companies. It can therefore be argued that graduates are not only expected to have a solid command of English that will enable them to work in multilingual and multicultural environments, but may also require a third language to hold a competitive advantage in the international labour market.

At the same time, three students reported using English terms when talking about what they were working on in the marketing course in their own language. Additionally, one stated that this resulted in a knowledge gap because

I use all the German terms at work or most of the terms in German and when we're talking about say marketing research we're talking about all these analyses and so on it's sometimes a little bit strange because I don't know the words in German and then I get the English words and I don't know what that what the English words mean but if it was in German I would have known it. But it's like just because I know variation I mean variance and *varianz* is not that a problem but like skewness I don't even know what skewness is in [German] @@ [...] I need it in the German work but uh when I hear them in English I don't immediately translate it because I don't know it.

This is rather concerning from both an educational and employability perspective. On the one hand, the student is unable to show their knowledge in the English-medium classroom because they know the content in German but not the vocabulary to describe it in English; on the other, they cannot apply the knowledge they learn on the EMP to a German-language work context. This indicates that the Swedish National Agency’s worries about “domain loss and competence attrition (*kapacitetsförlust* (Swedish), i.e. a diminished capacity to express oneself with nuance and precision)” as a result of introducing EMI (Kuteeva & Airey 2014: 536) are not unfounded.

Consequently, it can be argued that universities are falling short in their aim to prepare graduates for the local job market (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 54; cf. Välimaa et al. 2013: 41–42), regardless of whether they are local or international students.

Secondly, although English is the lingua franca of the multilingual and multicultural learning space on the EMP – as Carina recognised (“because there are a lot of international students it’s just like is it called a lingua franca or something?”) – this does not mean that it is the only language used in such contexts. Reporting on a semester abroad in Spain, one of the participants stated that “I spoke Spanish to all my friends there also to non-Spanish people” since “I lived with Italians and their English is so bad @@ it was easier to speak Spanish to them”. Thus while English is frequently the lingua franca in international student communities (e.g. Kalocsai 2013), it would be dangerous to assume this is always the case. As Kalocsai (2013) also shows, though, even in an ELF setting, other languages have a role, particularly though not exclusively in social contexts. Maria reported, for example:

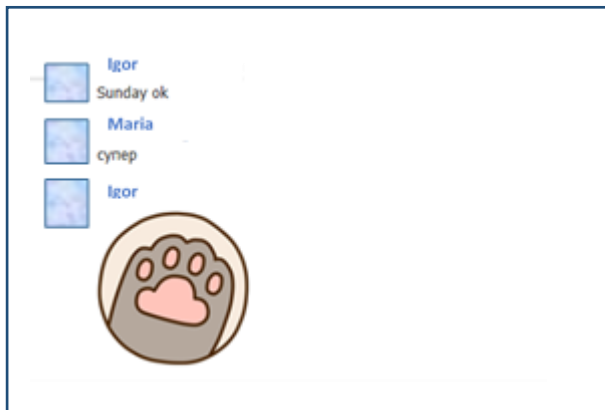
when the topic allows it somehow also I think we did that [use languages other English]. when we read out the numbers? I think Rafael and I spoke Spanish at some point because it was boring? and yeah. I think when it’s about not so important stuff. And also the internationals I think the internationals use German more often than Fabian and me for example.

If there were other speakers of their language in the group, the international students also reported speaking to them in that language, even if they were not native speakers (“there is this girl in the other group that she speaks perfectly Portuguese as well but she’s Austrian most of the time I speak English with her every once in a while Portuguese”; Rafael). Additionally, all the students would periodically use minimal instances of words or phrases in another’s language, which reflects findings from research into the use of language in international business that “making the effort to speak a foreign language, even if fluency is lacking, invariably strikes a positive chord with new colleagues” (Kassis-Henderson 2005: 79; cf. Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011: 27; and Smit 2010: 129 in the academic context):

some Germans sometimes they say some Russian words when they’re in a conversation with some Russians or once for example someone gets a call or some Russian gets a call from another Russian speaker so German speaker will say some Russian words [...] yeah that’s typical situation for example when we were with Romanian guys I asked them how do they say something like when we drink always ask people how they say like cheers in their language so it’s like we’re in common sync like small words exchange that’s the thing.

Having the Facebook conversation was useful for this, since the asynchronic written format allowed for a quick Google translate to throw in the odd word in the other’s language in response to a comment:

Figure 4.5 Other languages in Facebook conversation



[transcript]

Igor: Sunday ok

Maria: cyrer

Igor: [cat's-paw emoji]

(MktgB, Facebook conversation)

...

researcher: how did you know I mean *cyrer* is a real Russian word right

Maria: I think I used Google translator

(**Maria**, retrospective interview)

This brief exchange illustrates the positive effect of dropping a brief word in the other's language: Maria's response to Igor's suggestion in his own language – which she found through Google translate – is in turn met with a particularly positive response that also underlined Igor's identity in the team, as he was the only one that used the cat range of emoticons ("Igor was using a lot of cats @@ at some point @@@"). The cat's paw, representing a high-five, thus represented a positive response at three levels: firstly, a "fun" way of expressing approval, strengthening the positive atmosphere and acknowledging Maria's flirting with Russian; secondly, responding in kind to Maria's token of Russian addressed to Igor with his "signature" multimodal language of the cats emoticons; and thirdly, echoing the team's shared repertoire or mental model of high-fiving as a symbol of their joint success. Playing with each other's language in the context of the teams' interaction was thus offered and received as a gesture of goodwill and reciprocity.

On the other hand, one of the international students expressed some frustration about the prevalence of German in the programme: "I live in a student dorm so there are some international people but yeah we speak English and I think most international students here speak German (.) which I didn't know." Although this student was learning German, they were still very much a beginner and seem to have found their lack of proficiency in the local language excluded them somewhat from the dorm activities (cf. Cogo & Westerholm n.d.: 3–4). As well as the social aspect,

they also reported that “sometimes I receive emails from the school and everything it’s always only in German”, which could result in them missing key information about the course. This also highlights the need for the university to continue “strengthening WU’s bilingual communications in English and German”⁴³ as part of its internationalisation strategy in line with the recommendations from the IntlUni project on the challenges of the multilingual and multicultural learning space (Lauridsen & Lillemose 2015: 12).

Other aspects of the university’s internationalisation strategy have been more successful, as the findings concerning the participants’ motivations for selecting WU show. The university management’s focus on profiling the WU’s reputation and increasing its standing in international rankings (Unterberger 2014: 141-142, 152-156) appears to be paying off, as three of the four international students explicitly mentioned the Financial Times ranking as a factor in their considerations. For the Austrian students, too, as alumni of WU’s bachelor programme, there seemed to be little consideration of alternative institutions (e.g. for Carina: “[WU] was actually the only option. I don’t know whether what I would have done if I wouldn’t be chosen [*sic*]”). Two of the Austrians stated that studying in English was not one of the main attractions of the programme, with one confessing they were “a little bit afraid about it” and the other saying “if it would have been in German that would also be good I would have also have gone for the German programme”. In contrast, one of the others claimed “the international aspect and the English language of course was really important for me [...] I really prefer to study in English.” For almost all the participants, the location in Vienna (including, for Igor, the new campus) and/or the low costs of studying at WU were key factors in their decision. This supports the belief expressed in Unterberger’s (2014) study by the director of one of WU’s other EMPs: “Our most effective marketing tool is definitely the Financial Times List, next to the fact that we have not got any tuition fees in Austria”⁴⁴ (p. 155, Quote 23, her translation). Last but by no means least, the possibility to learn German or previous experience with Austrian companies and culture were also mentioned by all of the international students as attractive factors for WU. This supports the notion that, while English may be seen as a given in terms of its role as a lingua franca in international business and education, this may enhance the status of other languages (at least economically significant ones such as German) as added value and a competitive advantage.

Looking back at their experience in the retrospective interviews at the end of their first term, two broad themes emerge. On the one hand, the participants had many positive comments about the master in contrast to their experiences on their respective bachelor programmes (including those at WU). On the other, many mentioned that they struggled somewhat at the beginning with

⁴³ <https://www.wu.ac.at/en/the-university/about-wu/strategy/international-affairs/> (last accessed 2 August 2017)

⁴⁴ Tuition at the time of writing is free for EU citizens during the prescribed duration of four semesters plus two “tolerance” semesters, and €726.72 per semester for non-EU students (see <https://www.wu.ac.at/en/students/my-degree-program/administrative-information/tuition-fees-students-union-geh-dues/> for details; last accessed 2 August 2017).

getting used to talking in English all the time. Both aspects are linked to some extent. Comments about the differences between a (mostly) non-English-medium bachelor programme and the fully-English-medium master programme focused on the much higher level of interaction and participation both in the classroom and in groupwork (cf. Unterberger 2012: 94, 2014: 177), and claimed that all the students on the master were very motivated and engaged (again in contrast to their counterparts on the bachelor programmes). While two participants said “it was pretty easy” or “no I don’t think [it was a big jump]” to make the transition, two reported that it was “a bit” or “quite tough” to get used to talking and working in English all the time (cf. Smit 2010: 134). Two used the word “barrier” in relation to the language/English, though one of these then continued with “after the first three or four weeks five yeah two three four weeks then it was okay.” While this student did get a good grade at the end of the course, allegedly because they then compensated for these first weeks by being “pretty intense in participation” in the second half of the course, it is somewhat concerning from a pedagogical point of view that it took around a month for them to overcome the language barrier they felt at the beginning. On the other hand, it can be argued that these master’s students were able to adapt much more quickly than the participants in Smit’s (2010: 129) study, where students and teachers noticed an increase in participation only after the summer break at the end of their first year. The focus on anxiety about language rather than culture could be attributed to the fact that the participants in the present study had all completed a bachelor’s degree and had extensive experience of studying, albeit in different contexts, whereas Smit’s participants were just starting their programme but had much greater diversity in terms of professional background.

The high level of participation expected from the students on the master’s in marketing was also thematised as something of a challenge by two of the students, although they claimed it was a personality/cultural issue rather than a language one:

researcher: was it difficult for you to start answering questions? or becoming more active in class?

participant: I would say yes yeah because I’m not really used to it? so most of the time I would even if I had some thoughts in my mind I wouldn’t necessarily say them. but yeah mm as I am how to say as I continue the programme I try to speak in class a little more and (.) I guess it’s also because in [my country] we really care about what other people would say if you say something stupid or if you do something useless then other people say oh she’s stupid but I guess it’s not like that if you have something to say if you have an idea even if you’re not sure about it you should yeah maybe you should just say it out and maybe the professor will tell you what’s (.) yeah.

...

participant: I'm not that kind of person that is really into class participation and that is so
(Mktg B) spontaneous because I always want to think about things before I say that and that's sometimes hard for me even in German and so in English it's a bit even more harder but actually it's not that big issue as I thought that it would be.

Finally, one participant also suggested that the English proficiency entry requirements⁴⁵ were not sufficient, or, rather, did not correspond to the demands of the course:

researcher: so how do you try to get over the language barrier? (.) I mean I can see that you're trying to do a lot of courses [...] when you're in the group what do you try to do?

participant: hm. I just act normal I mean (.) I try to get over it and to say what I have to say sometimes I don't have the words I need and if they are nice they help me. As you do now @@ yeah. It's crazy because they should have an admission process that recognise problems like this and they don't have

researcher: but you had to show some kind of language proficiency didn't you to get in?

participant: yeah I have the IELTS seven

researcher: okay (.) but you felt it wasn't enough?

participant: no. It wasn't enough at all. Really. In IELTS exam we have reading writing listening and speaking right? And I had eight or eight point five for each of them excepting speaking and they just compensated. That's it.

In other words, this participant had achieved high bands– 8 or 8.5 – on the first three skills (reading, writing and listening) and a much lower band for speaking, which averaged out at the minimum requirement of 7.0. Since two other students also explicitly acknowledged that for them speaking and listening on the programme were more difficult than reading and writing, this suggests that a simple IELTS score may not be the most useful evidence of adequate language skills (cf. Björkman 2013; Cogo & Westerholm n.d.; Shohamy 2013). One with a stipulated minimum in each of the four competences (e.g. an average of 7.0 with at least 6.5 in each) might be more sensible. Furthermore, one of the international students mentioned the Austrian or German accent as being an issue to some extent, which international language testing exams such as the IELTS generally do not take into consideration (cf. Jenkins & Leung 2014).

On the whole, however, the participants were generally positive about the programme and dismissed their early concerns or difficulties. Six of the eight participants discussed the diversity of the students on the programme as a positive aspect (cf. Smit 2010: 125, though there seemed to be less clustering along national lines in the present study). The advantages of diversity not only refer to nationality but also other academic backgrounds (e.g. specialisations in finance) and the possibility to experience and learn from different points of view; a benefit which was also mentioned by the lecturer:

⁴⁵ there are various options for evidencing proficiency in English, including holding a valid IELTS 7.0; for further details, see <https://www.wu.ac.at/studium/master/marketing/application-admission/> (last accessed 3 August 2017)

[the students] can draw from different experiences which they made at very different education systems in countries so I think that's a big advantage and to this end they learn more from each other so I think from my point of view it's always a big plus to have a class that is as heterogeneous as possible usually not only with regards to the country background and language background but also industry background.

While it is not surprising that the diversity at a national cultural level arises from the introduction of EMI, it can also be argued that diversity at the level of academic or disciplinary culture also was indirectly an effect of the introduction of EMI and an active effort to recruit international students, as one of the participants observed:

I think they're trying to take as many internationals as possible and that's also why there are people from finance because I think a student from WU whose specialisation is in finance would not be accepted.

In contrast, one of the local students claimed that they and their colleague, who had also done a bachelor at WU, were "brainwashed":

I've been in a group with [the other student] and another Austrian girl and it was very different. Cause we met for one hour and we it was really well structured and we were so fast [...] I think that was really interesting to see the difference there because we were just meeting for one hour and finishing everything and because we also we really had a clear structure and timetables on how and that was nice. [...] our presentation with the German-speaking group was really clear structured clear everything and I think that's easier when you have somehow the same background and the same ideas of how things should be done [...] I guess it's a WU thing and it's even a specialisation thing because I did the same SBWL as [the other student] and we really we are so brainwashed @@@@

Thus by implementing EMI and thereby attracting a range of international students, the programme also benefits the home students and expands their experiences. For one of the Austrian students, who would have done the programme in German if it had been offered, the international aspect turned out to be an unexpected bonus:

I've never done an exchange semester and it's some kind of international atmosphere but with the nice feeling of being at home. That's a nice combination.

The notion of "Internationalisation at Home" (IaH) (Beelen 2011; Crowther et al. 2000; Knight 2013; Leask 2015; Nilsson 1999) places emphasis on preparing domestic students for entering a globalised labour market and engaging in international and multicultural contexts, especially since the vast majority are unable (or unwilling) to take advantage of mobility schemes (Nilsson 2000: 22). Without being asked whether they had observed any differences among students from other cultures or countries, five of the participants (including 3 of the Austrians) and the lecturer discussed "the culture aspect", gave examples of situations where they were able to draw on

individuals' cultural or geographical knowledge, or topicalised differences (as being both positive and negative). Combined with the international orientation of the syllabus in this specific course, the introduction of EMI and the resulting opportunity for international students to attend the course – which one of the Austrians said was “really one of the best things of this programme” – evidently do support an IaH policy, which WU claims to be actively pursuing as indicated explicitly on its website⁴⁶. Efforts in this direction seem to be taking effect, although one of the international students also pointed out that “the international part could be more diverse 'cause right now it's most of them I think are from Eastern Europe”. While the university appears to have recognised some of the areas that have room for improvement in this respect, as mentioned above, there is still a need to continue extending its reach.

In conclusion, and to answer the research question *How do the participants perceive language as part of a business EMP?*, the participants are generally positive about the programme and on the whole claimed that the transition from a non-EMI bachelor to the English-medium master was manageable if not entirely smooth. All the participants – but particularly the Austrians – value the diversity the international students bring to the programme both in terms of their national and academic background, even if some felt there could still be a better balance and more students from a wider geographical reach. Additionally, the high levels of motivation and engagement among their fellow students are greatly appreciated. The participants see English largely as an obvious language for working in and studying international business, although many also feel that having a third language would also give them a competitive advantage. The possibility to learn German is a major factor in the selection of WU for the international students, as is the university's location in Vienna and its position in international rankings, especially when compared with the costs incurred. Some more critical, or perhaps more surprising, points are:

- even in their (somewhat limited) experience of work and study in international contexts, English is by no means the only or even preferred lingua franca;
- while learning content through English on the EMP is generally seen as useful, it can result in a linguistic gap when trying to apply or talk about knowledge acquired on the programme in another context, and vice versa;
- many of the students found the switch to speaking English “all day long” something of a challenge, and took as much as a month to find their voice;
- while some welcome the expectation of and opportunity to participate more in class discussions, this can also present a challenge that has to be overcome (even in their own language);

⁴⁶ <https://www.wu.ac.at/en/the-university/about-wu/strategy/international-affairs/> (last accessed 3 August 2017)

- there is some criticism of the language entry requirements as being too weak or inappropriate on the one hand, while there is also some criticism of the prevalence of German and the skewed balance towards Central and Eastern Europeans, on the other.

4.3.3 Conceptualising successful teamwork

The discussion on teamwork referred both to the participants' experiences of teamwork in general and their reflections on the specific teamwork project under investigation. Their responses to the research question *How do the participants conceptualise successful teamwork?* are thus rather multifaceted. They claimed they did "a lot" of work in groups on the master programme in general – some saying "I think everything is a groupwork" or "the first thing that comes to mind is groupwork" – and thus can be said to be fairly authoritative on groupwork in this context. Of course, this comes with certain caveats, which have already been indicated above; namely, the students they were working with were not dissimilar to themselves and largely highly motivated and reliable (a difference some had already noticed when comparing this group work to experiences in previous studies or their professional experience, e.g. in voluntary organisations, jobs or internships). Most (six out of eight) participants said they had had no specific teamwork training, and had learnt what worked "by accident" or "trial and error". In terms of the specific task project and their rank in their respective classes, both teams were highly successful: MktgA were first in their class, with the highest profits at the end of the ten rounds. MktgB was first until the very last round, when they were marginally overtaken by two other groups; nevertheless, their final profits were in fact slightly higher than MktgA, and would have been ahead of them had they been in the same class. Despite being ranked third in their class, therefore, MktgB can also be considered a highly successful team. Broadly speaking, their conceptualisations of successful teamwork can be described along three interlinked areas: a positive team climate, task-oriented processes, and developing shared mental models.

It was notable that in response to the introductory, deliberately general and open-ended "tell me about that team project" almost all the students began with a person- rather than process-oriented comment. Even the two that made a more general or task-oriented comment such as "I think we did a great job" or "we almost won" swiftly followed it up with a comment about the "friendly" atmosphere, while the others responded instantly with "it was a great group", "the best group", "it was a lot of fun" and a positive comment on their relationship with the other team members. When asked specifically about what they believed made a/their team successful, five made explicit reference to their "good/nice team spirit" and the "good atmosphere". The lecturer also stated "it does help if they have [...] a good chemistry", although he also pointed out with the example of another (unsuccessful) team that "fun is not everything". When probed about what was meant by a good "atmosphere" or "team spirit", these were described as a "relaxed" or "really

really friendly” environment where people “enjoyed working together”, “having fun” or “joking around”; a context where it was possible “to speak in an open way to each other”, “to speak out anything or discuss anything in fact discuss everything which is important” and to be able to “talk about the things at the beginning at least and get an idea of everything”; for people to be “open-minded” and “to accept the others”; and to show “a lot of respect to each other” and be “really thankful” if someone did a lot of work. In Benone’s words, it meant “if you feel good then you appreciate the others and you are appreciated by the others (.) you offer and you receive back”. Having “fun” kept the teams’ motivation levels up but it is important to note that the participants also valued teams which were open, respectful and created an environment where they were both able and willing to contribute.

Successful teamwork thus also means constructing a team where differences in opinion can be discussed without conflict. Having diversity in the programme is essentially useless unless value can be channelled from it. From the lecturer’s perspective:

[groups that do better] are open in the way that they discuss issues and don’t shy away from putting in proposals just because possibly the majority of the group may reject them so it’s a very open atmosphere they can propose something discuss this and nobody is cross if his or her proposal is not selected and I think that’s important.

The participants, too, seemed to perceive the value of being able to make and discuss proposals without descending into conflict, although some framed it rather differently. At one end of the spectrum, one participant from MktgA stated:

I think we were arguing a lot but always in a bit unserious way. And that I think that made us probably the best group because we were really arguing a lot on everything and taking a lot of time for everything but it was it was not that someone was annoyed by anyone else it was more that we all knew that it’s good that we do it like this.

At the other end, someone in the same team described the interaction as “very harmonious” and “we didn’t have any dispute” – although in the same turn they also described a situation where “we also talked discussed together about for example [other participant] said I should change something and in the end I would tell him that okay this is good or I think mine is better”, suggesting there was at least discussion and disagreement, if not actual dispute. This reflects Angouri’s (2012) findings that “the participants in interview/observation data avoid terms such as confrontation/argument/conflict and draw a clear line around disagreement as a *‘normal part of the work’* typically referred to *‘different views/ideas’*” and her conclusion that this forms “an *inherent* part of any [...] task oriented event” (p. 1576, original emphasis). Two participants also proposed that being able to find compromises were a key skill for successful teamwork.

Another aspect of creating a “good team spirit” and smooth communication was the use of off-topic talk, which served the dual function of breaking up the monotony of the long meetings and developing the team’s coherence, as Christian pointed out:

it's just sometimes you're getting bored I don't know you don't wanna discuss any more about group-related or project-related topics and then you just get bored and you don't know you just wanna be funny or dunno know or just they are talking about something @@@ [...] sometimes it's really important you know because of course it's really essential to talk about the project but sometimes it's also good to build up a good team spirit when you also talk sometimes about stories about topics which are completely out of the topic actually but I think it's important to build up a strong a powerful team and it can facilitate work on the project as well.

Qingling also agreed that off-topic talk facilitated the task, saying: “this kind of casual talk makes our interaction really natural and so when we go into the working mode we kind of maintain that smooth communication”.

At the same time, the teams stood or fell according to their fulfilment of the project’s goals. Managing the team’s processes were crucial and criticism of their own or other teams focused mainly on task distribution, freeriding and making the wrong decisions. Language came up once but the criticism was linked to freeriding, rather than the problem of language itself:

participant: it was a project in German so it was just three of us being able to start with the project because it was also about interviews so we were the only ones doing or being able to do the interviews

researcher: so the three of you that were working were all German speakers?

participant: yeah and the other two were non- I mean they were they are able to speak German but not in a really fluent way so yah. that was the bad thing from the beginning on but the thing is they didn’t even show if I would be in this position of I would just show my (.) motivation to help now because I couldn’t help in the beginning because I’m not a German speaker so now I will do everything else and that was not happening so that made us angry.

In the teams under study, MktgB’s failure to introduce all their SKUs⁴⁷ cost them their top rank, which was commented on by three out of four team members. The lecturer also pointed out in the wrap-up discussion that:

it is important that [...] you build up volume very quickly because in fast moving consumer goods and this game is no exception there you tend to have very strong economies of scale so you need to have the volume in order to achieve the economies of scale effect. [...] the better strategy [would] tend to be trying to fill in the distribution channels and also make sure you have a wide variety of products on the shelf.

⁴⁷ Stock Keeping Units, i.e. distinct items for sale in the company’s product range.

There seemed to be something of a divide between Igor and the other three team members, particularly when it came to the decision-making processes: “we really were on one level when we made a huge profit we were like woo high fiving and stuff but when it came to really working on it it was a bit separated.” The two participants who topicalised the issue acknowledged his sizeable contributions and the fact that Igor’s proposal to expand the product range and introduce as many SKUs as possible was indeed the right decision. However, they noted that they would have been more willing to listen to his (good) ideas if he had been “more into the whole discussions more in the whole process”.

In order to optimise team (specifically task) processes, therefore, it is essential to ensure that the team is integrated at a deeper level where discussion and debate is welcomed and individual strengths not only acknowledged and respected but actively drawn upon, and the team shares “mental models” of communication and practice. Mental models are seen a “shared understanding or representation of team goals, individual team member tasks, and the coordination of the team to achieve common goals” which help to “facilitate the team’s progression toward goal attainment by creating a framework that promotes common understanding and action” (Salas et al. 2005: 565; see also Bonebright 2010: 114; Mathieu et al. 2000: 274; Salas et al. 2008: 542). Communication is of course central to manifesting these models in practice.

Having a shared mental model for the team means, as Carina put it, “understanding how [the team members] process things how they make decisions how they cope with things how they would argue” and to make “the best out of it”. She continued:

it’s like you say that there is a difference between a group and a team [...] and I think we were a team (.) it’s kind of like *eingespielt* {attuned to each other} [...] like a team where everyone had his position and had his task but we all did we did everything together [...] it just works out if they are all together because one player is not doing anything or winning anything I think that made a difference.

Benone agreed, highlighting the notion that the distribution of labour does not need to be equal, but rather effective:

I think this is the main thing everyone to have a role and the others to everyone to understand others’ roles (2) because maybe someone has ideas and is very innovative inventive but is not a hard worker someone is a good decision maker and is very important because sometimes you are unefficient @@@ inefficient sorry and yeah some people really like to work @@ which I don’t so @@ [...] sometimes we tend to share the labour equally and not to think about what in which area can someone be successful and this is not the main thing just to have a cake and to share it maybe I don’t like the chocolate part.

Understanding each other’s strengths and “how people work or how WE work” in order to achieve their team goals led to MktgA being a much more cohesive team, with each member describing the

other in terms of their strengths and the contribution they made. Two of the three other team members noted Benone's preference for the game-style task and his motivation when he was permitted to be "crazy":

Benone was our little brain @@@ [...] he came up with sophisticated calculation what he did in Excel [...] he did it in his leisure time actually we are not supposed to work on the project but he just enjoyed it you could see Benone really loved this style of group work because for example he doesn't really love to present or [...] to participate in class that much.

In contrast, while MktgB seemed to recognise the strengths of each member and, as mentioned above, the other students did acknowledge Igor's efforts, the team itself seemed less cohesive and they appear not to have managed to tap his knowledge as effectively; one participant conceded that "although it was a good idea and we should have done it we were a bit yeah I wouldn't say pissed but we didn't want to do it just because he told us to [...] it was somehow our egos".

It should be noted that the incident under discussion took place in the final round of the simulation, where the team was under considerable time pressure and also, being in a noisy classroom with five other groups, playing under significantly more stressful physical conditions than they had had for the earlier rounds when they had been on their own in a quiet project room. The discussion of the decision to implement the SKUs (or not) passed as relatively insignificant in the researcher's observations and only lasted a few brief turns; it did not stand out as a major source of conflict during the interaction itself. Igor, too, stated that he "should have been more convincing" but "we had such a nice relationship within the group so I didn't want to ruin it". He did, however, seem to regret not having pushed his proposal through as he commented on it in the class wrap-up session, which in turn was reported by one of the other participants in the retrospective interview, suggesting it was still a source of conflict within the team even after the project was concluded. Furthermore, while the incident itself may have been rather minimal, it was symptomatic of other issues relating to time management and task distribution which could also have been addressed earlier and might have contributed to better mental models and more fertile ground for his suggestions to fall upon.

In terms of team cohesion and satisfaction, therefore, MktgA was a notably more successful team. This was reflected in their highly "dynamic" Facebook chat, where "we use a lot of stickers and we sometimes go off topic [...] for my other two groups we are more to the business". They also used numerous insider jokes, especially nicknames; some based on the letters of their real names, some with origins that would be highly obscure to an outsider, such as "Dr Hulk" and "Mr/Dr Bretele". The latter was used for and by Benone, and had its roots in a discussion of local culture, as Christian explained:

it was during our first meeting for our first case study [...] we were making jokes talking nonsense I dunno and there was I was telling the guys that I was in Munich on the you probably

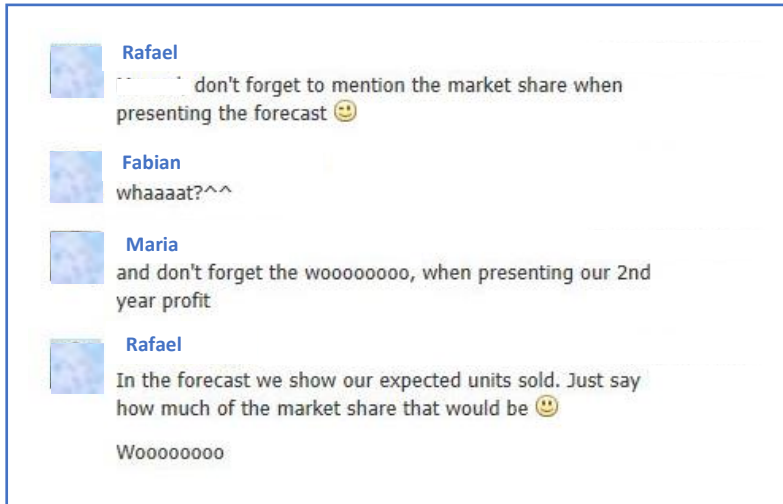
know Oktoberfest in Munich and I was talking to the guys and actually I also had my *Lederhose* the complete Austrian traditional outfit with me because I wanted to go to a party on this day which the topic was I dunno traditional come join us dress you up with traditional Austrian clothes thing you know and then we were making jokes about it and I said okay I can put it on can take it on now if you want me to do so something like that and then yeah similar situation I wanted to I said to Benone what is I wanted to explain it a little bit and I said yah *Hosenträger* {braces (UK)/suspenders (US)} and I was looking for the and I was thinking about the English word for *Hosenträger* um what is this @@ English word again? [...] braces damn (.) and then Benone was and then I asked Benone or Carina or someone or maybe Qingling I dunno what is *Hosenträger* braces in Romanian and he said *Bretele* and we were it was great fun actually and we were laughing about this word because *Brettele* means um in German a bar or a wooden a bar made of wood but a sweet form *Brett Brett* it's a bar made of wood and *Brettele* is like a sweet form maybe a little bit of this you know and then we were making jokes about it and then we had class afterwards after our meeting and I designed a name sign for Benone cause you are supposed to you know the name signs what we have in class? and I designed a name sign Mr Bretele for him and then this was the running gag actually @@@ that's the story behind it yeah.

As noted above, the off-topic (or “casual”) talk thus has multiple functions, not merely to prevent the task and the meetings from being “boring” but also to explain local phenomena to the international students, develop their multilingual repertoire, and construct a shared repertoire exclusive to the team, which in turn strengthens their in-group identity. Carina pointed out:

I think it makes it more a team when you have nicknames or insiders especially insiders I think because then it's something that is just in your group and it's like a [sic] own language or something. It's a group language (.) which probably binds you together.

The process of developing a “group language” thus simultaneously reflects and constructs the team's cohesion. This need not be verbal. One of the team members in MktgB mentioned an inside joke which they had with one of the other team members. However, the group/team language in MktgB was largely paraverbal. One example of their shared mental model was their communicative practice of celebrating a high profit with the “woo high fiving and stuff” mentioned earlier. Whenever the team was about to submit their decisions to the computer programme, they often claimed to be “nervous” or excited and would give each other a mini-pep talk. They also developed a “drum roll” (rapid knocking on the desk) preceding revealing their results in each round of the simulation, both internally during the teamwork and externally as part of their presentations. Whooping and cheering – the “woo high fiving” and a generally hyperbolic response to a positive result – was a further joint practice, and “woo” (sometimes with an *h*, and with a varying number of *o*'s, e.g. “whooooo”) appeared as an expression of approval for and satisfaction with the team's success in both their spoken interaction and in the written Facebook conversations. These practices became increasingly noticeable over the course of the teamwork project, reflecting the increasingly shared communicative practices of the team.

Figure 4.6 “Woooooo”



[transcript]

Rafael: don't forget to mention the market share when presenting the forecast [winky-face emoji]

Fabian: whaaaat?^^

Maria: and don't forget the woooooooo, when presenting our 2nd year profit

Rafael: In the forecast we should our expected units sold. Just say how much of the market share that would be [smiley-face emoji]

Woooooooo

(MktgB, Facebook conversation)

Both teams stated that they shared the authority over or responsibility for the textual products they had to produce as part of the team project (two case studies and two presentations). Though Christian and Fabian had been designated the team leaders (arbitrarily) by the computer simulation programme, at least half of the members in each team (including themselves) reported that this was purely nominal, “official” or “fictional”, and two more suggested that the leadership roles came from their contribution to the teamwork rather than a decision-making or authoritative capacity. In terms of producing the case studies, the policies of both teams ranged from “everyone read everything and we were even doing it kind of together” to not checking it at all via a pragmatic decision based on who had the time or inclination to do it. Christian recalled:

after I was done with my conclusion I went through everything and made some corrections and then I asked the other guy- I wanted to show the other guys um the corrections what I did because I thought maybe it's not friendly if I just correct it without any notice to the other guys but @@ actually when we did so I think the story about the Oktoberfest in Munich coming up and the Mr Bretele story so I had a feeling that the other guys somehow trust me and it they don't really care about that we are going through the corrections and they also they didn't go through the case again so I just thought okay apparently they trust me and yes that's it.

Trust in the other's competence thus emerges as an important element of a team's shared mental model, which again was in somewhat shorter supply in parts of the MktgB team:

we just explained to [one of the team members] I tried to really explain him that articles don't count towards the word repetition thing and that you need articles with every word almost every word and yah. But I think he didn't really believe it @@

It should, however, be noted that the MktgB team were under considerably more time pressure than the MktgA team since the lecturer was away one week, a class was cancelled and they ended up holding nearly 15 hours of meetings within the first seven days (amounting to almost half of the total project meetings recorded), whereas MktgA held approximately 12 hours of meetings in the same period. Additionally, MktgB had to write the first case study as well as run the first rounds of the simulation within this period, whereas MktgA had already submitted the first case study before the simulation began. Four participants mentioned the time factor, two in the MktgA team saying they were "super unefficient [sic]" and one in the MktgB group confessing "we had our first task this case study of the Li Ning case and the first [name of simulation] for year one and two there was some kind of a little bit of desperation". It is therefore perhaps unfair to expect that the MktgB develop as strong a shared mental model as MktgA as they were forced to a certain extent to use their time more efficiently, and had fewer opportunities to explore and develop common ground and common practices.

All in all, both teams can be said to have been highly successful, and the team members to have considerable experience of teamwork on the EMP to compare this project with. It must be acknowledged that this experience of teamwork is still very different from what they can expect to meet once they enter the workplace, since workplace teams tend to be more heterogeneous in terms of hierarchical position, functional background, and potentially also language proficiency. Nevertheless, the teams here are excellent examples of highly functioning multicultural student teams with a relatively diverse composition and a flat, peer-to-peer hierarchy. Their conceptualisation of successful teamwork can be summarised as the interplay of a positive team climate, task-oriented processes, and developing shared mental models, as follows:

How do the participants conceptualise successful teamwork?

- a successful team has a friendly, supportive and fun atmosphere based on mutual respect and trust;
- this supports and offers space for disagreement without conflict, which draws on and takes advantage of diversity in experience and opinion to reach optimal results;
- it also encourages off-topic or "casual" talk to keep motivation high, identify and construct common ground, and establish communicative patterns that facilitate and/or support task work;

- team members know, trust in and can draw on each other's competences and knowledge to achieve their task goals based on an efficient, though not necessarily equal, distribution of labour and sound decision-making;
- teams develop shared "mental models" for communication and practice that recognise and utilise these strengths appropriately, minimising failure due to poor decision-making, task distribution or freeriding;
- these shared mental models are reflected in the language practices of the team, such as the construction and repeated use of in-jokes or a multilingual repertoire, as well as their shared authority over and authorship of textual products such as presentations or case studies.

4.4 Discussion and summary

In the words of the lecturer, talking about MktgA:

they performed very well I think they worked together very efficiently and effectively so it's a strong group (2) I don't think there's anything unusual about the group as compared to the other groups I don't think while they won the game and were good I don't think they are tremendously better than anybody else and also I think they just happened to execute what they wanted to do somewhat better I think they are quite representative for the rest of the class.

On the whole, both teams could be considered strong and effective, as MktgA was ranked first in their class in terms of the net contribution (end profit) earned and MktgB, although they ultimately finished third in their class, actually generated higher net contributions than MktgA. At the same time, although they performed well in their class, they can also be considered "representative" of the type of teamwork that was demanded on the course. This would suggest that, as well as gaining their emic perspectives on the teamwork project under study, the findings from the interview data are relevant for analysing teamwork practices in the context of this EMP (and perhaps other, similar programmes). Furthermore, by interviewing all the participants in each team as well as the lecturer, it was possible to gain a holistic and comprehensive overview of the teamwork and thereby to triangulate and compare the perspectives proffered.

The overall research question for this data set was:

***RQ1.** How do the participants view English as a (business) lingua franca & effective multicultural teamwork?*

This was further broken down into three operationalised sub-questions for the interview study:

***RQ1a:** Who are the participants?*

***RQ1b:** How do the participants perceive language on the business EMP?*

***RQ1c:** How do the participants conceptualise successful teamwork?*

The participants' answers to questions about their personal, professional and academic background as well as their hopes or plans for the future resulted in a profile which could be summarised as having grown up in mostly monolingual settings, with considerable exposure to English both in and outside academic contexts, and well-educated with a bachelor degree in business and some work experience. Many of the participants had some study experience in other countries or had worked for multinational corporations and most were at least considering, if not already planning, to work or continue studying in a foreign country once they graduated. As well as a general openness to learning about other countries and cultures, it could be inferred that they had a relatively high level of linguistic awareness and sensitivity to the demands of communication in an ELF context. Consequently, although the range of nationalities and first languages stretched from regional Austrian to Brazilian, Chinese, Romanian and Russian, diversity at other levels was fairly limited. While this may not be unusual in educational contexts, it is likely to be atypical of workplace interaction (see, for example, the range of age, position, and nationality even in the small sample in Pullin 2013).

Comments about language on and as part of the business EMP reflected the notion that English is "essential" and everyday practice in international business (e.g. Angouri & Miglbauer 2014; Ehrenreich 2016; Gerritsen & Nickerson 2009; Kankaanranta et al. 2015; Tietze 2004) and suggested that using English as the medium of instruction was helping prepare the participants for entering the globalised workplace. The possibility to study in English at WU does function as a means to attract (excellent) international students, i.e. "brain gain" (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 53). From the local students' perspective, the international dimension gained through EMI was generally welcomed, although it was not necessarily a major factor in all the participants' motivation to apply for this particular programme. WU's local reputation as well as its position in international rankings, the location in Vienna and the relatively low costs of studying there were more salient, while the possibility to study German was also mentioned by all the international students. The latter reflects Phillipson's (2015) call for locally appropriate solutions that ensure the implementation of EMI is "additive rather than subtractive" (Phillipson 2015: 29), and may have implications for the university to strengthen the role of German even within EMPs. Furthermore, while preparing students for the international labour market is undoubtedly important, (state) universities must not forget their responsibility to their local labour market. The comments from the one student who had extensive marketing-related work experience in an Austrian firm suggested that there is a need to improve the transfer and application of knowledge between the

English-medium marketing master and professional experience in a German-speaking context. This could be as simple as offering or encouraging the use of glossaries to support learning in both directions (German to English and vice versa). Given that many of the international students would welcome the opportunity to stay in Vienna but felt hindered by their lack of proficiency in German, learning the content in German would support them as well as the domestic students (cf. Välimaa et al. 2013: 41–42). On the other hand, some criticism was voiced in relation to the dominance of German-speaking students on the programme and a lack of empathy for students who only understood, or spoke, little German. While the “lop-sidedness of the internationalism towards the country of the school” (Smit 2010: 115–116) is understandable, it does need to be addressed when it prevents access to information or hinders participation.

Likewise, as many of the participants said that it took them some time to become comfortable with using English in class or “all day” and participating in class discussions (regardless of language ability), this may need to be taken into consideration, particularly given the increased emphasis on participation in comparison to bachelor programmes and when participation comprises an element of assessment. Speaking ability may also need to be tested more strictly as part of entrance requirements (e.g. stipulating a minimum score for the speaking element of IELTS or TOEFL). Since there does not seem to be any training in teamwork as part of the master programme, these aspects could be combined and addressed in a bridging course or introductory module.

The participants’ conceptualisation of successful teamwork in the context of the EMP focused strongly on creating a positive team climate which facilitated task processes by keeping each other motivated, drawing on the respective strengths of their team members, sharing authorship of and authority over the task processes and products, and encouraging constructive disagreement. In other words, the teams must be able to construct shared “mental models” of communication and practice in order to coordinate their behaviour and “to function effectively under levels of high stress” (Salas et al. 2008: 542). Trust in the other’s competence and commitment to the team goals emerged as an important factor. Not surprisingly, this reflected findings in literature on team cohesiveness and performance in organisational settings (e.g. Bonebright 2010; Garrison et al. 2010; Guzzo & Dickson 1996; Martins et al. 2013; Mathieu et al. 2000; Salas et al. 2008). Nevertheless, while one team (MktgA) appeared to have a much higher level of team cohesion and satisfaction, the other team (MktgB) still finished with a higher net profit (i.e. a better result) despite only being ranked third in their class. There are therefore some questions as to how important it really is to have a high level of cohesion and satisfaction in order to gain good performance results; though in terms of network effects and repeated interaction, this is clearly essential. While communication may be mentioned in relation to constructing these shared mental models (e.g. Salas et al. 2005; Salas et al. 2008), it remains a relatively under-researched area, particularly when using a qualitative rather than quantitative approach. Yet the interviews clearly

showed that language played an important role in contributing to the development of team cohesion.

In short, the retrospective interviews gave an insight into the participants' emic perspectives of themselves and their experiences of multicultural teamwork on the EMP, which were supplemented and to an extent triangulated with the perspective of the lecturer. These presented the participants as internationally-minded business students with a relatively high level of language awareness for whom having fun and getting to know each other played an important part of keeping themselves motivated and achieving their task goals. Further probing of how they and the lecturer conceptualised successful teamwork highlighted the dual aspects of understanding the business content and developing good relationships with their colleagues in order to take advantage of the strengths of the team as individuals and a collective entity. While the level of diversity in the teams was relatively limited in comparison to what they might expect in a workplace context, the amount of time they spent on the tasks and their critical retrospective comments of their work suggests that the challenges presented were sufficient to result in learning and to give them a taste – or simulation – of what they might be confronted with in their future careers.

5. Interactional perspectives

5.1 Introduction

This chapter zooms in on the teamwork itself with the aim of gaining an insight into the students' actual practices and how they use language to achieve their joint objectives. In this context, such goals are twofold. The primary objective is obviously a task-based one: the students in each team must read, understand and discuss input given to them about potential markets for a product line (toothpaste); decide on key criteria and analyse the markets according to these criteria; and present a summary of their decisions to their respective classes afterwards. At the same time, as Mathieu and Rapp (2009) argue,

effective teams require more than just taskwork [...] they require *the ability to coordinate and cooperatively interact* with each other to facilitate task objectives *through a shared understanding of the team's resources* (e.g., members' knowledge, skills, and experiences), the *team's goals and objectives*, and the *constraints* under which the team works. (Mathieu & Rapp 2009: 91, my emphasis)

In other words, as well as concrete performance outcomes (i.e. the production of a market analysis scoreboard), the team objectives also include other, more intangible, outcomes such as member satisfaction and group "cohesiveness" (Hackman & Morris 1975: 51; cf. also Hackman & Wageman 2005; Maznevski et al. 2005). These correspond broadly with "transactional" (i.e. task- or outcome-oriented) and "relational" (i.e. interpersonal) goals in literature on workplace discourse (e.g. Koester 2006: 26; Spencer-Oatey 2005: 107).

This dual focus reflects the findings of BELF research, which can be broadly summarised into two areas, namely: (1) having a solid knowledge of, and the ability to express, business content, terminology and genres clearly and accurately; and (2) being able to relate to people and build positive and sustainable relationships (e.g. Kankaanranta & Planken 2010, Kankaanranta et al. 2015) or, as Ehrenreich (2010) puts it, "communicating *facts* as well as communicating *with people*" (p. 419, original emphasis). Though not working within an explicit BELF frame, Angouri (2013) likewise found that "Language practices are related to managing not only work talk but also 'rapport' between the different teams" (p. 578). The students' own comments in their reflective interviews about the circumstances for effective teamwork also indicated a similarly twofold basis that encompasses both "work talk" and "casual talk", and suggested that the key to their successful teamwork was "discussing", "arguing" (constructively) and "talk[ing] things through" on the one hand, and having a "good team spirit" on the other (see Chapter 4).

The following chapters (Chapters 5-7) therefore address the following overarching research question:

***RQ2.** How do the participants “do” English as a (business) lingua franca & effective multicultural teamwork?*

This is further operationalised as two sub-questions, namely:

***RQ2a:** How do the participants use language to optimise team performance?*

***RQ2b:** How do the participants use language to optimise team satisfaction?*

In these chapters, I examine how the participants achieve their team objective, which should be understood as both task- and team-oriented, i.e. in terms of the concrete as well as the less tangible outcomes outlined above. However, as such they remain rather vague concepts, and somewhat difficult to identify and measure, let alone form the basis of a serious academic study. One part of the meeting data which has a clear and concrete performance outcome has therefore been selected as the object of study, and linguistic aspects of each type of goal are examined as a proxy for each dimension. For the task objective, i.e. their concrete performance which represents a tangible outcome that would be assessed by the lecturer, the participants’ interaction is analysed to see how they negotiate and construct the meaning of task-related concepts in the development of a market analysis scoreboard (Chapter 6). Since team satisfaction is less tangible and harder to identify and measure from a linguistic and etic perspective, the use of humour and establishing common ground through off-topic talk is investigated as a means of analysing rapport and team cohesion (Chapter 7).

Constructing a market analysis scoreboard was selected as the object of analysis for various reasons. Above all, this task was one of the first concrete outcomes of the teamwork, and also one of the most crucial stages of the simulation both in terms of learning and in terms of interaction, as it underpinned the rest of their teamwork. The overall task was based on a computer simulation programme⁴⁸. In this simulation, the students took on the role of the marketing department of a US-based multinational fast-moving consumer goods company, and had the task of analysing various countries with the aim of introducing their toothpaste products into the Asian market. To do this, they were given a large amount of demographic and economic data about six potential markets (China, India, Japan, the Philippines, South Korea and Thailand) which they had to analyse, sort, and weight in order to make an informed decision as to which market(s) to enter first and where to build their manufacturing plant. The results of this market analysis were presented in a table as a “scoreboard” or “scorecard” ranking the potential markets against each other. Based on this market analysis, the students then fed their “decisions” (i.e. which markets to enter and when,

⁴⁸ As this is a commercially available programme and the lecturer uses it in more than one of their classes, they requested that it remain anonymous.

where to build their factory, how much capacity their factory should have, what products to introduce into which markets and in what quantities, what prices should be set for each product and each market, whether, what type and how much advertising should be used, how and where to distribute their products, etc.) into the programme. The programme then calculated their results according to its internal algorithms, and presented them with their “profits” and other data such as sales volume, market share, etc. Each team was able to play a certain number of practice rounds and then had ten actual rounds (or “years”) of play, and the results of these were used to rank the team against the other groups in their class according to their “profits”.

While the students got very involved in playing the rounds of the simulation and these represented the vast majority of the actual contact time, the market analysis and the development of the “scoreboard” provided the basis for the entire project. The importance of this aspect was highlighted by the Marketing lecturer in their wrap-up and reflection at the end of the course:

Extract 5.1 Understanding the market mechanics

the important thing [...] is very much understanding the uh the market mechanics so it pays off if and when you are looking into the game in the initial rounds very very carefully and do your homework and et cetera so **which country will you enter and why are important decisions the overall demand intensity of competition the channel issues trade regulation and uh lastly the overall cost [...]**

what also is interesting is **where to put the factory** um those of you who did their calculations correctly will have found out that the **best situation here is chi- is uh thailand because in thailand the uh costs are in fact the lowest** but anyhow you can obviously win by having the factory in other countries as well but overall just looking at the costs thailand is the most optimum. [...]

there is more than one route to happiness you know **you can do different things and still win the game or still be successful** um you can also do different things and be unsuccessful but uh the point is **there is not a single unique solution which brings you always the best result**

(lecturer, reflection on simulation, my emphasis)

As well as being confronted with key terms and concepts (e.g. *overall demand, intensity of competition, channels, trade regulations, cost*), this was the stage at which the students were expected to understand and analyse the “market mechanics” in order to be able to make informed decisions later on. As in the ‘real’ world, there was no “single unique solution” but the game rather depended on a range of factors, including how well the other teams performed. Though clearly limited by being a computer simulation with no actual money at stake, the professor also stated firmly in the reflective interview at the end of the project that the situation was “very very realistic” both in terms of the content and in terms of working in an international team. This initial stage of the market analysis and the design of the scoreboard therefore represents a crucial and clearly

defined segment of the data which should offer valuable insights not only into how the students negotiated and constructed their understanding of the “market mechanics” (i.e. the content element and learning outcome) but also into the foundations for the mechanics of the teamwork itself.

As such, it offers the analyst – and the educationalist – a glimpse into how the students simulate the business practices many of them hope to become a part of once they graduate. On the one hand, the mixed groups of Austrian and international students reflect the globalised workplace of the twenty-first century. On the other, the task itself presents many of the issues and concerns that they may face in international business, specifically international market entry. Consequently, the data collected from this teamwork represents an opportunity to examine the extent to which students are learning and using the skills they will need to participate effectively in international business contexts.

At the same time, while it is essential to have a solid knowledge of, and the ability to express, business content, terminology and genres clearly and accurately, it is equally vital to be able to relate to people and build positive and sustainable relationships (e.g. Ehrenreich 2010; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Kankaanranta et al. 2015). In more linguistically-oriented research, the field of pragmatics has also seen a “relational turn” since the beginning of the twenty-first century, although scholars are not necessarily aligned in terms of what is meant by this (Spencer-Oatey 2011). The workplace has emerged as an important site for examining relational work from a pragmatic perspective, with small talk and humour being identified as key aspects of relational talk and as integral to the development of smooth working relations (e.g. Coupland 2000b; Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Koester 2006; Spencer-Oatey 2000a; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009). Relationship-building is especially important in the management of international teams (Canney Davison & Ward 1999; Spencer-Oatey 2011).

The emic perspectives of the participants in the present study also brought this to light, with both students and the lecturer recognising the value of a positive and constructive team environment in facilitating taskwork. In other words, as one of the participants put it:

Extract 5.2 Casual talk & working mode

this kind of casual talk it [...] makes our interaction really natural so when we go into the working mode we [...] maintain that smooth communication.

(**Qingling**, MktgA, reflective interview)

While the importance of “casual talk” should not be underestimated, “smooth communication” in the “working mode” is essential for actually carrying out the task itself. This part of the dissertation (i.e. Chapters 5-7) therefore presents an analysis of both aspects of the students’ interaction while

constructing the market analysis scoreboard with the aim of answering the following research sub-questions:

RQ2a: How do the participants use language to optimise team performance?

RQ2b: How do the participants use language to optimise team satisfaction?

5.2 Data set

In order to answer these research questions, this part of the thesis zooms in on the “initial rounds” of the teamwork where the students develop their market analysis scoreboard. This data set comprises the meetings in which the students begin (indicated discursively by drawing attention to the task instructions) and conduct their analysis of the six countries and the construction of the market analysis “scorecard” or “scoreboard”. Limiting the data set to this specific aspect of the task resulted in two fairly similar corpora each consisting of around 35,000 words of spoken text. Due to the ethnographic nature of the data collection and the minimal participation of the researcher⁴⁹ as discussed previously in Chapter 3, it was impossible to obtain two identical data sets that would hold up as robust and valid for a stringent comparison between the groups. However, the close similarity of the data sets in quantitative terms as well as the shared thematic focus does allow for general observations to be made. A detailed overview of the data set can be found in Figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1 Overview of the data set

group	day	recording	team members present	time (hr:min:sec)	words*
MktgA	1	MktgA_1	Benone, Carina, Christian, Qingling	02:17:36	21,217
		MktgA_2	Benone, Carina, Christian, Qingling	01:49:40	13,568
	total MktgA			04:07:16	34,785
MktgB	1	MktgB_1	Fabian, Maria, Rafael	02:20:20	14,598
		MktgB_2	Fabian, Maria, Rafael	01:47:38	11,596
	2	MktgB_3	Igor, Maria, Rafael	01:21:07	9,475
	total MktgB			05:29:05	35,669
total both groups				09:36:21	70,454

*words refers to spoken text only, excl. names & timestamps

Admittedly, there are some obvious discrepancies. Firstly, the MktgA group held two meetings on one day (back-to-back with a small break in between), whereas the MktgB group’s meetings were spread over two days, with a considerable break in between, when they were also concurrently working on other tasks for the project. Secondly, in the MktgA group, all team members were present for all of the meetings, while in the MktgB group, one member was missing at each meeting (Igor from the first two, and Fabian from the last). Finally, while the number of

⁴⁹ While I took a non-participant role in the discussions pertaining to the task and the business content, I did participate in discussions relating to setting the time and place of the meetings.

words spoken was fairly similar, the actual time taken for the meetings was considerably longer in MktgB. However, when calculated against the set of recordings for the entire project (26:55:25 and 34:25:02 for MktgA and MktgB, respectively), they again represent a similar proportion of 15-16% each. As already mentioned, these discrepancies mean that any comparisons can only be taken as general observations, and not as a rigorous academic study. Nevertheless, in view of the thematic similarities, i.e. the clear limits of the task itself, and the similar size of the two corpora, it does not seem unreasonable to consider them part of a single data subset for a close analysis, or to draw such general observations from the study's findings as an impulse for the in-depth qualitative analysis.

Once the relevant meetings had been selected, the discussions were transcribed verbatim using the VOICE transcription conventions⁵⁰. These were chosen not only to reflect the study's ELF context but also because they offered the level of detail deemed necessary for examining a highly interactive context, including descriptors for a range of linguistic practices such as variation, translanguaging (including coinages and code-switching), onomatopoeia and laughter. These transcripts provided the basis for both analyses (i.e. to answer both RQ2a and 2b), which were conducted separately but drew on the same methodological approach. This approach will be outlined in the next section (5.3), and the theoretical and analytical frameworks that were derived through this approach will be elaborated in the relevant sections which follow (Sections 6.2-6.4, 7.2, 7.3.1-2, and 7.4.1-2).

The synthesis of key ideas from previous research into (B)ELF and comments made in the reflective interviews led to the development of the basic analytical focus of "work talk" and "casual talk" centring on the role(s) of language in constructing (subject-specific) meaning and building rapport, respectively. This combination of emic and etic perspectives is considered a strength of the study as it highlights concerns that affect the students both in their immediate educational context and in the wider professional context they plan to enter once they graduate.

5.3 Sociocultural discourse pragmatics

The methodology adopted for analysing the interactional data synthesises a discourse-pragmatic (Blum-Kulka 1997; Nikula 2005; Smit 2010) approach with sociocultural discourse analysis (Mercer 2004). Both of these examine discourse processes and the functionality of language, seeing language "as a social and cultural phenomenon" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 38) which cannot be separated from the utterances being investigated and the "inherently contextualised nature of

⁵⁰ https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/transcription_general_information; see Appendix 2. My thanks go to Christina Gefäll and Stefan Fnord, who provided me with a detailed transcript of parts of the recordings; these were added to my own first transcripts and then the full transcript of each recording revised thoroughly, first using the audio recordings as a reference and then the videos as a cross-reference.

communication" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 58). While "the bulk of research on institutional communication has been conducted within a CA framework" (Lesznyák 2004), it can be argued that "work practices are more than talk and so discourse and conversational analysis need to be embedded within an ethnographic project" (Sarangi & Roberts 1999: 13) that examines interaction as part of a wider yet specific context. In other words, the CA approach is "focused only on those elements of context that the participants themselves orient towards explicitly during the interaction", yet there is a "convincing case for an eclectic approach which is attentive to both macro discourses and the micro mechanics of talk" (Mautner 2016: 73). The discourse-pragmatic and sociocultural discourse analysis approaches aim to take this into account.

While they share a basic understanding of language as being inseparable from its context and of meaning as jointly constructed by the participants in the interaction, some differences can be seen in the positioning of their analytical lens. Discourse pragmatics (Blum-Kulka 1997; Nikula 2005; Smit 2010) develops the study of pragmatics to look beyond isolated utterances and to base its analyses on "extended sequences of text and talk" with the aim of developing "a comprehensive theory of the relations between language use and sociocultural contexts" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 38). Its focus is therefore on "explaining how interlocutors bridge the gap between sentence meanings and speaker meanings" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 39) and emphasises "language use as a joint process where meanings and contexts are co-constructed by participants" (Nikula 2005: 30). As Mautner (2016) points out, pure conversation analysis can fall into the fallacy of perceiving the collaborative nature of talk and the joint achievement of interactional outcomes as "overly positive and unrealistically egalitarian" (p. 73). Taking a broader view of the context and discourses that such talk is embedded in allows the analyst to hedge against this risk. Van den Bossche et al. (2006) argue that "sociocognitive processes contribute to the development of mutually shared cognition" which take place "through discursive practices [that] do not occur in a vacuum but are influenced by the social context in which they take place" (p. 494).

Following the approach of traditional pragmatics and speech act theory (see Blum-Kulka 1997: 42-47 for an overview), discourse pragmatics retains a strong focus on *utterances* as the unit of analysis and the identification of their illocutionary force as its objective. Understanding the culture(s) and context of an interaction, and what constitutes appropriate discourse in these cultures and contexts, is essential. A discourse-pragmatic approach therefore includes the examination of *politeness* as the "intentional, strategic behavior of an individual meant to satisfy self and other face wants in case of threat, enacted via positive and negative styles of redress" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 50; linguistic theories of politeness will be discussed in depth in Section 7.2).

In discourse-pragmatic studies conducted in educational settings in particular (e.g. Nikula 2005; Smit 2010), the boundaries between the two approaches become increasingly blurred. Sociocultural discourse analysis (Mercer 2004) is primarily used "to study how people pursue joint

educational activities” (p. 138) and on the functions of language “for the pursuit of joint intellectual activity” (p. 141). Where pragmatics examines how “linguistic expressions have the capacity to perform certain kinds of communicative acts” (Blum-Kulka 1997: 41), sociocultural discourse analysis “incorporates a concern with the lexical content and the cohesive structure of talk” and is “concerned not only with the processes of joint cognitive engagement, but also with their developmental and learning outcomes” (Mercer 2004: 141). It examines how interlocutors “use language to introduce new information, orientate to each other’s perspectives and understandings and pursue joint plans of action” (Mercer 2004: 166). This explicitly educational perspective – including the learning outcomes – complements the more general communicative focus of discourse pragmatics, while the latter’s examination of the interplay of speech acts, face concerns and illocutionary force allows for a deeper and more context-specific understanding of how interlocutors orientate to each other (or not, as the case may be). With its dual focus on “communicating facts” (i.e. how the participants negotiate and construct the business concepts for their market analysis, in Chapter 6) and “communicating with people” (how they use humour and “casual” talk to build their team relationships and identities, discussed in Chapter 7), this thesis combines the two approaches in a sociocultural discourse-pragmatic analysis. This uses the basic tenets of discourse pragmatics – speech acts and politeness and how these are manifested in extended talk – to examine how the participants pursue their joint intellectual activity with its clear learning outcomes.

As is usual in qualitative research approaches such as discourse analysis, ethnography and conversation analysis, the categories used have been generated through the analysis (Mercer 2004) by means of an iterative process. Findings from previous research were used as a starting point for the development of a coding framework (cf. Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 211). While the value of “theoretical triangulation” has been hotly debated and criticised for “eclecticism and theoretical vagueness” (Titscher et al. 2000: 94), in this instance identifying common findings across the literature based in academic and workplace contexts, as well as from multi-perspectival research approaches such as an ELF or educational focus, helped to determine a basic framework for the start of the analysis. However, the coding framework for the main analysis was developed substantially from using this basis to go through the data several times and then refining and defining the categories of analysis by identifying similarities to and differences from other examples or units coded in the same category (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 213; Titscher et al. 2000: 95). With the reworking of each category or code, the entire data set had to be recoded in accordance with the revised coding framework. This process was repeated until the categories were stable and a systematic coding process could be carried out using the finalised framework. This (re)iterative process can be regarded as ensuring a level of intra-rater reliability (Smit 2010: 188; Wood & Kroger 2000: 97).

Once coded, some simple descriptive statistics were collected to identify general trends and patterns such as frequency of use. Again, it is important to note that, given the slight differences in the data set, these are used only to indicate overall tendencies and serve to highlight which phenomena were most frequently seen in these meetings. As such, these quantitative data indicate areas that merit further in-depth qualitative analysis and this mixed methods approach can therefore be said to have a “development” as well as a “complementarity function” (Dörnyei 2007: 164–165). At the same time, the multi-perspectival approach of the theoretical basis and the data-driven analytical framework answer Blum-Kulka’s (1997) call for enriching discourse-pragmatic studies “by incorporating ethnographic viewpoints and procedures” (p. 58) into the study of social interaction.

6. “Communicating facts”

6.1 Introduction

At the intersection of business and education, being able to understand and express business content is crucial. The importance of knowing and being able to use business terminology accurately arises as a common theme in interviews with managers and other business professionals. Ehrenreich (2010) reports that, although English has become “virtually indispensable” in the company where she conducted her research, professional, managerial and technical skills still come first (p. 417; see also Cogo 2012: 297-298). It has even been claimed that knowledge of business jargon can compensate for a lack of general English proficiency (Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 391). However, these occupational language skills are often lacking (Hellekjær & Hellekjær 2015a).

From the academic perspective, terminology is often perceived by content teachers to be the only language-learning aim in their classroom (e.g. Unterberger 2014: 163). Though this is far from the truth (Unterberger 2014: 162-175; cf. Airey 2012), it nevertheless highlights the key role played by technical terms and concepts in the business education context. This concern with terminology as a central aspect of language learning could also be found in a pilot study for this project (Komori 2012, 2013), which comprised a survey asking students on EMPs at WU to rate their competences across 32 language microskills. The results indicated that the students found understanding specialist vocabulary the most difficult skill in both English and in their L1. While this was a very small-scale study, its findings reflected the results of the much larger survey it was based on in this respect (Evans & Morrison 2011a, 2011b). Of course, business content and the language skills needed to work with it go far beyond terminology alone. Nevertheless, as the students in the present study were working with demographic and economic information, much of their “work talk” concentrated on processing the business terms and concepts they had been given, with a secondary focus on decoding tables of figures. Furthermore, even with this focus on business terms and concepts, the linguistic demands on the participants represented more than “simply” translating terminology (a highly complex task in itself), since they not only needed to understand the input but also be able to apply their knowledge and make sensible decisions in the market analysis. As such, the findings from examining their interaction strongly supports the idea that “disciplinary learning critically depends on the ability to interpret and control the specialized language in which the knowledge is construed” (Airey 2012: 64, drawing on Lemke 1990). Managing this specialist language, whether it be terminology per se or more general disciplinary discourse relating to different concepts and genres, is therefore a crucial means of “making sense of the world” (Mercer 2000) and gaining access to a particular discourse community (in this case, the global marketing community). As Tietze (2004) puts it, “the ability to use language and to use a

particular discourse (as disseminated in and through institutions of management education) is core to management and managing in work and organisational contexts” (p. 182).

While language is gaining ground as a research topic in the management field and there have been calls for more language-aware management teaching (e.g. Brannen et al. 2014a, Kankaanranta et al. 2015, Tietze 2004), there are still few investigations into how language and content are intertwined in business and management higher education (though see Dafouz et al. 2014; Gotti 2014), especially at the level of interaction. One major exception is Smit’s (2010) research into a hotel management programme at a HEI in Vienna. Drawing on a conceptual basis of monolingual classroom research, her study offers a valuable insight into how the teachers on this programme guide their students through the language and practices of their discipline while also negotiating the challenges of an ELF context, and argues convincingly that “explaining is a prime linguistic means to make knowledge structures visible and thus social (sub)practices accessible” (Smit 2010: 309). But how do students unveil and untangle the knowledge structures of their discipline if the teacher is not present?

A partial answer can be found in more general ELF research into non- and misunderstandings, which examines the construction of meaning as a response to, or an attempt to avoid, communication breakdowns or disturbances (Björkman 2013; Cogo & Pitzl 2016; House 1999; Kalocsai 2013; Kaur 2009; Mauranen 2006b; Pitzl 2005, 2010; Pietikäinen 2016; cf. also Bremer and Simonot’s 1996 project on understanding in intercultural encounters). However, it should be noted that these, too assume that there is an existing knowledge base or intended meaning and the (potential) communication breakdown is brought about by a deviation from this referent (Linell 1995; Weigand 1999; cf. Pitzl 2005; Pietikäinen 2016). In contrast, the present data lacks the epistemic authority found in classroom data (e.g. the teacher) and sometimes even the “interpretive authority” or intended meaning (Linell 1995: 180) found in data forming the basis of research into (mis)understanding in more casual conversation; in other words, sometimes none of the participants knew the concept, or they only had a partial understanding of what they were trying to explain. The next sections will propose a theoretical framework that reveals how the students compensate for this lack and develop a knowledge base for their market analysis.

In short, this section aims to address a research gap that can be found at the intersection of business, education and ELF by examining how students working in multilingual and multicultural teams topicalise, negotiate and construct the meaning of business content while working on a formal task outside the classroom (i.e. without a teacher present). On the one hand, the absence of an epistemic or interpretive authority presents a new perspective on the construction of meaning at both the discursive and the logical levels, since they may not have a referent to act as an orientation point (or they try to explain a concept with only a partial or even false understanding of

it). On the other, the study meets an urgent need to see how – and if – business students are making sense of their field and learning the language of their discipline.

6.2 Theoretical background

Given the context in which the data was collected, the theoretical foundations for the conceptual framework used in this chapter draw strongly on the synthesis of “educationally-oriented research agendas” with “linguistically-oriented ones” used by Smit (2010: 310), while also adding a business focus. This framework takes a social constructivist approach in which “explanations function as analytical windows on discursive (re)constructions of our surroundings” (Smit 2010: 308). While reflecting the notion that understanding a discipline means understanding its discourse, the social constructivist perspective lends itself to interdisciplinary work as it is shared by researchers across international business and linguistics. These scholars see language as being “performative” (Piekkari & Tietze 2012: 550), and argue that the users’ language practices, the development of a context-specific repertoire and “group formational processes” (Smit 2010: 8) are interlinked and shape each other (cf. also Angouri & Miglbauer 2014; Brannen et al. 2014a; Cogo 2012; Kalocsai 2013). In other words, the discourse of the group reflects and constructs its socio-cultural identity both as a specific group and as individuals anchored in a wider (in this case academic or professional) community.

This understanding of the interplay of language and community structures is supported by research into the nature of technical vocabulary, which argues that “technicality is built up in a text through the defining of the phenomenon in question, in which the technical term acquires a precise, field specific meaning” (Woodward-Kron 2008: 238; cf. Chung & Nation 2004; Maher 2016; Nation 2001), and that technical language comprises “[lexical] items highly specific to the discipline and/or *not transparent for an outsider*” (Hüttner 2007: 155, my emphasis; cf. Kankaanranta & Planken 2010). Knowing and being able to use discipline-specific language allows you to enter and participate in the community, while the community’s use of language “reifies” the meanings specific to it (Evnitskaya & Morton 2011: 116–117). This can be seen very clearly, for example, in the development of the *Common Language Marketing Dictionary*, an ongoing collaboration of marketing’s top industry associations in the US. This online resource combines “the insights of leading academics and subject matter experts with input from the global business community” to create “a singular authority for marketing terms and definitions” which aims to overcome the “significant hurdle in the drive toward marketing accountability” resulting from “the lack of agreed-upon marketing definitions”.⁵¹ As marketing academics and practitioners participate in negotiating and establishing the shared meanings (or “agreed-upon definitions”) for the language of their

⁵¹ <http://www.marketing-dictionary.org/home#top> (accessed 8.8.2016)

discipline in the process of compiling this dictionary, these meanings become “reified” as the accepted definition for these terms. Of course, this is also true for more than just vocabulary; Kankaanranta and Planken (2010) found that, alongside the “general business-related vocabulary” and the “specific technical jargon”, “mastery of the relevant genres” was reported as being an aid to communication with other business professionals who shared this subject knowledge (p. 394).

To find research on how technical meaning is negotiated and constructed through language, however, it is necessary to go beyond the field of business. As already mentioned, explaining is one of the main ways in which an object, fact, term or concept – referred to as the “explanandum” (Barbieri & Landolfi 1994: 196; Klein 2009: 28; Smit 2010: 308) – is ‘unpacked’, its core components revealed, and its knowledge structures made visible. Much of the research on explanations in general can be found in the field of (both first and second) language acquisition (e.g. Adair-Hauck & Donato 1994; Barbieri & Landolfi 1994; Ehlich 2009; Hohenstein 2009; Josefy 2009; Klein 2009; Spreckels 2009), while in-depth studies into classroom talk have largely been conducted in school science classrooms (e.g. Lemke 1990; Mohan & Slater 2005; Mohan & Slater 2006; Ogborn et al. 1996). Both groups of researchers are largely in agreement that explaining should be regarded as an interactive process arising from the perception of a knowledge gap. In response to this gap, an explanation is offered, which, if successful, should fill this gap, resulting in an “*Aha-Erlebnis*” (a “eureka” moment – Klein 2009: 30, my translation) where the relationships between the explanandum and the explanation(s) become clear, and all interlocutors are satisfied that they share an understanding of the concept in question. Of course, the explanation itself may go through several stages or cycles before it is deemed satisfactory.

Additionally, both perspectives on explaining approach the phenomenon through the lens of discourse. Indeed, Smit (2010) argues that “explanations come in diverse forms and shapes” and “the only way to identify them is via their discursive functionality” (p. 312). This “discursive functionality” can be broadly categorised into three stages, or aspects:

- the perception or identification of a knowledge gap (establishing the explanandum)
- the attempt to fill that knowledge gap (offering explanations)
- the confirmation of knowledge transfer (accepting explanation and establishing shared meaning)

(Barbieri & Landolfi 1994: 195; Ehlich 2009: 14-15; Hohenstein 2009: 51-52; Klein 2009: 27-30; Smit 2010: 308; Vogt 2009: 204)

However, while these three aspects can generally be found across researchers’ theoretical taxonomies, they may not be as easy to identify in practice. Additionally, the explanation process is considerably more complex when it is located in interaction rather than a monological or one-sided

context such as a lecture or written treatise, not least because it can result in failure to arrive at a satisfactory outcome (Hohenstein 2009: 50; Smit 2010: 312).

Smit (2010) therefore argues that “integrating (discourse) topic management and the turn-taking sequences typical of classroom talk” (p. 313) enriches the analysis of explanations and their development in interaction. Her conceptualisation of “INTEX”, or “interactive explaining”, places the focus firmly on the discursive complexity of classroom talk and the (shifting) participants’ roles, while also emphasising its dynamic and often circular nature:

INTEX describes any sequence in classroom talk in which one or more of the participants first *topicalise an aspect of the preceding interaction* with the aim of integrating it more satisfactorily into their understanding of the social (sub)practice in question. This topic is then *developed in the ongoing interaction as long as the teacher/students keep indicating their interest* in more information on it. Once *such indications cease and/or shared understanding is linguistically realised* the instance of INTEX can be considered closed. (Smit 2010: 316, my emphasis)

This explicit focus on the joint construction of meaning is important in conceptual terms while the integration of topic management and turn-taking analysis offer a concrete approach for operationalising the analysis of explanations in a tertiary-level classroom. This reflects research conducted within the ELF and intercultural communications paradigm, where understanding is seen as an active and collaborative process (e.g. Blum-Kulka 1997; Bremer 1996: 17; Pitzl 2005: 52). Additionally, the multilingual and multicultural learning space at the heart of Smit’s study makes it a seminal context for examining explanations in an ELF setting. With its ultimately pedagogical goals, the HEI is a high-stakes environment, where understanding matters and the consequences of not succeeding in transferring knowledge adequately can be serious (Björkman 2013: 64). At the same time, the ELF context adds another dimension to previous research on explanations which have generally been conducted in mono- or at most bilingual contexts.

Yet, like the research on misunderstandings in ELF talk across a range of settings, INTEX assumes a basis of knowledge as a starting point. To date there is still little research that examines purely student-student interaction in educational ELF contexts (with the exception of Batziakas 2016; Björkman 2013, Hynninen 2013, though these have a primarily morphosyntactically-oriented focus). In contrast to teacher-student interactions, peer-to-peer exchanges cannot rely on the other’s epistemic authority: it is possible that none of the students in fact have the knowledge to fill the gap, or if they do, they may not be able to express it adequately. Consequently, if they propose an explanation, it is likely that this will be “tested” by their peers in order to ensure that this knowledge is robust in a way that would not happen in interaction with a teacher. As seen in the interview data, the authority – and responsibility – for language production is shared, and this in turn means that proposals for verbalising content (i.e. constructing meaning) also need to be approved, at least implicitly, by the team as a whole.

It is therefore necessary to expand Smit's notion of INTEX in order to cover the greater complexity and "messiness" of explanations in the student-student context. To do so, this thesis returns to the concept of "exploratory talk" first proposed by Barnes (1976) in the context of primary- and secondary-level school science classrooms. While this is relatively old research, and clearly some of the criticisms he makes of the contemporary education system are – thankfully – no longer relevant, the concept of exploratory talk itself is still useful and, indeed, as Yarker (2016) argues, Barnes' "fundamental thesis" that "the learner should take more part in the formulation of knowledge" (Barnes 1976: 191) is still "as necessary as ever" (Yarker 2016: 109).

In contrast to presentational talk, which "offers a 'final draft' for display and evaluation" (Barnes 2008: 5) and is therefore frequently the mode used when interacting with a teacher, exploratory talk is "hesitant and incomplete because it enables the speaker to try out ideas, to hear how they sound, to see what others make of them, to arrange information and ideas into different patterns" (Barnes 2008: 4). In exploratory talk, language is disjointed, the direction of the conversation changes, students correct themselves and disagree with each other in the attempt to construct meaning (ibid.). Drawing on Barnes, Mercer (2000) develops the concept of exploratory talk further:

[in exploratory talk] partners engage *critically but constructively* with each other's ideas. Relevant information is offered for *joint consideration*. Proposals may be *challenged and counter-challenged* but, if so, *reasons are given and alternatives are offered*. Agreement is sought as a basis for joint progress. *Knowledge is made publicly accountable and reasoning is visible* in the talk. (Mercer 2000: 153, my emphasis)

Unlike Smit's (2010) setting, where the teacher's authority – particularly with regard to content – was largely undisputed, challenging plays an important role in negotiating and constructing content knowledge in the student team context, as this helps to "test" explanations for robustness. This thesis therefore proposes an expanded conceptualisation of INTEX (*interactive explaining*) to include aspects of exploratory talk when examining student-student interaction in multicultural teamwork, which will be referred to as EXINTEX (*exploratory interactive explaining*). This additional aspect should reflect the "messier", more complex nature of these interactional sequences and highlight the fact that the unit of analysis not only comprises explaining but also negotiating and constructing the meaning of a (or several) business concept(s). In some cases it even includes the creation of a new concept specific to the interaction and the team context.

The value of (constructive) disagreement has been discussed in both educational and workplace settings. Early literature on politeness (e.g. Brown & Levinson 1987) and even some later work from early theorists such as Leech (2014) suggest that disagreements are generally a "dispreferred response" marked by hesitation or mitigation (Leech 2014: 202) and thus generally face- and rapport-threatening acts (see Sifianou 2012 for an overview). Muntigl and Turnbull (1998) even

claim that “disagreements [*sic*] are inherently face-threatening because they express disapproval of the other person” (Muntigl & Turnbull 1998: 242). However, more recent and nuanced conceptualisations, which distinguish the notion of disagreement from negatively marked “conflict” (Angouri 2012: 1567) point to the value of disagreement for creative problem solving (Angouri 2012) and learning (e.g. Fujimoto 2010; Hüttner 2014; Sharma 2012). Disagreement may be an expected, rather than exceptional, speech act in certain contexts and thus “a *sine qua non* in decision making and problem solving talk” (Angouri & Locher 2012: 1551, original emphasis), as well as “a means of expressing sociability, especially [...] among family members and friends” (Sifianou 2012: 1556; see also Muntigl & Turnbull 1998: 242). In her study of assessed oral L2 interactions, Hüttner (2014) also observed that “unmitigated disagreements appear to be evidence of easy and trusting relationships” (p. 196; see also Fujimoto 2010: 316).

As well as negotiating a solution to a practical problem, disagreement can support learners in the negotiation of meaning and thus the “development of more sophisticated arguments than they might have achieved otherwise” (Hüttner 2014: 198). Sharma’s (2012: 8–9) study of small group interaction revealed a “stepwise” process of conceding, negotiating and integrating multiple positions to arrive at a shared understanding of the concept being discussed. To some extent, this reflects aspects of Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) typology of disagreements, which identified a variety of act types to express opposition including challenges, contradictions and counter-claims, which can in turn lead to more extensive cycles of negotiation. There is some difference, however, as the context of the latter’s study is highly personal, with families arguing about long-standing unresolved issues. In contrast, many (though not all) of the disagreements in learning contexts oppose “the other speaker’s conversational contribution” rather than an attack on their “social identity” and “therefore are less face-damaging” (Muntigl & Turnbull 1998: 245). The main contribution of work on disagreement in educational contexts is the focus on the exit from disagreement (Sharma 2012) and resolution (Hüttner 2014). Additionally, as Hüttner (2014) points out, “disaffiliation can co-exist happily with linguistic alignment” in language learning contexts; perhaps because “linguistic alignment can express an interpersonal affiliation despite content-related disaffiliation”, which seems to be “counter to observations in L1 discourse” (p. 211). Rather, “students should become involved in a process of knowledge construction through discussion, debate, or argumentation, which will result in deep learning, deep understanding, and ultimately conceptual change” (Fransen et al. 2011: 1103). This also reflects recent developments in marketing education which seek to encourage deeper learning through adopting a “co-creation” approach (e.g. Conduit et al. 2017).

In team – rather than language – learning contexts, “the creation of a dialogical space in which ‘ambidexterity’ or the coexistence of both discordant (constructive conflict) and constructive (co-construction) team learning processes is possible” (Decuyper et al. 2010: 117) has also been found

to play an important role. This “dialogical space” is a positive effect of psychological safety in a team characterised by high levels of trust and “a shared belief that the team is a safe environment for interpersonal risk taking” (Schaubroeck et al. 2011: 864). Psychological safety is thus distinguished from trust in terms of being conceptualised as “a group-level construct, meaning that the construct characterizes the team as a unit rather than individual team members” (Edmondson 2004: 242). Rather, psychological safety “describes a climate in which the focus can be on productive discussion that enables early prevention of problems and accomplishment of shared goals” (ibid.). It has been found “to promote team learning behavior and team performance in qualitative studies of highly interdependent teams” (Schaubroeck et al. 2011: 864). In short, developing a high level of psychological safety in the team and a shared mental model encourages interpersonal risk-taking in terms of disaffiliating oneself through potentially face- and rapport-threatening disagreement. This disagreement in turn can contribute to a “stepwise” process of conceding and negotiating that enables the development of more sophisticated – or robust – arguments and meaning, and, by extension, stronger learning processes.

In short, the theoretical background for this chapter draws strongly on theories of explanations from a pedagogical perspective and Smit’s (2010) concept of INTEX, but argues that these fall short when examining interaction in peer-to-peer contexts due to the lack of a clear epistemic authority (i.e. a teacher). It proposes an expanded concept of INTEX, called EXINTEX (*exploratory interactive explaining*), which integrates Barnes’ (1976) and Mercer’s (2000) conceptualisations of exploratory talk in student-student interaction as well as discussions of constructive disagreement in workplace and learner interaction. While the notion of exploratory talk is well-established and stretches back a number of decades, it is largely based in L1 primary and secondary level contexts, and consequently also needs to be expanded (and updated) to integrate a multicultural and multilingual dimension and to meet the needs of tertiary level education.

6.3 Conceptualising EXINTEX

EXINTEX synthesises the concepts of INTEX (Smit 2010) and exploratory talk (Barnes 1976; Mercer 2000), and is defined as follows:

EXINTEX describes any sequence in peer-to-peer, content-oriented talk in which the participants in an interaction jointly negotiate and construct meaning. It is initiated by one or more of the participants topicalising an explanandum by discursively indicating a knowledge gap or the perception of a knowledge gap. This topic is then developed in the ongoing interaction as long the students continue to engage critically but constructively with each other’s ideas and until there is a linguistic realisation that the knowledge gap has been filled and shared understanding has been achieved; or the topic is explicitly abandoned.

There are several key parts to this conceptualisation of EXINTEX and they will be expounded upon in more detail below.

To begin with, it should be noted that, since the focus of this analysis was on business content, it was decided to examine only those instances which corresponded to the notion of “*erklären-was*” (“to explain the what” – Klein 2009, my translation), i.e. the acknowledgement of a knowledge gap, and to exclude the negotiation of the team processes (“*erklären-wie*”; “to explain the how”). In other words, it analysed interactional sequences that answered, or attempted to answer, overarching questions of “*what is...?*” and “*why is...?*” rather than “*what should we do?*” or “*how should we do it?*”. Thus the analytical focus of EXINTEX here is content-oriented talk dealing specifically with aspects of the input the students were given (i.e. the demographic and economic data on the markets in question, and information provided in the simulation programme itself). Unlike demands for explanations in classroom contexts, however, instances of EXINTEX not only occurred in response to the articulation or perception of a knowledge gap (e.g. to test students’ knowledge), but often also as an attempt to pre-empt a potential knowledge gap. In this sense, it reflects the practice often observed in ELF interaction of speakers making efforts to pre-empt misunderstandings (e.g. Björkman 2013; Kaur 2009; Mauranen 2006b; Penz 2011; Pietikäinen 2016; Pitzl 2005, 2010).

The unit of analysis is therefore a sequence of EXINTEX which is bounded and identifiable through the discursive patterns found in the team’s interaction. As in Smit’s (2010: 330) taxonomy of the main linguistic realisations of INTEX, the unit of analysis in the present thesis is clearly framed by discursive patterns of opening and closing. Opening (*topicalisation*) patterns indicate or attempt to determine whether there is a knowledge gap and thus establish the explanandum; while *closing* patterns indicate either agreement with and acknowledgement of the explanation(s) offered, or explicitly change the topic. These are referred to as *topical actions* and will be discussed further below.

Once the explanandum has been topicalised discursively, it can be developed through *logical relations* which serve to construct meaning and locate the explanandum in relation to other, similar concepts. This may consist of several phases and steps, each of which may in turn be marked by discursive openings or closing patterns. Eventually, agreement should be reached, indicating that a shared meaning has been established and the EXINTEX sequence can be considered successful. In some cases, however, there may be an explicit indication that shared understanding has not been achieved and the topic is abandoned. Alternatively, even if the group reaches a shared understanding, this may not reflect standard business practice and can therefore also be considered unsuccessful in terms of content learning, even if the linguistic practices can be viewed as reaching a satisfactory outcome in terms of constructing mutually acceptable meaning. The

overall framework for analysing EXINTEX is outlined in more detail below before presenting the results of the analysis itself.

6.3.1 Topical actions

As already mentioned, the topical actions frame the instance of EXINTEX, identifying or creating an explanandum and indicating that shared understanding has been reached (Bublitz 1988: 40; Smit 2010: 315-316). The explanandum corresponds largely to Bublitz' conceptualisation of a "discourse topic" as "an independent, usually continuous category which focusses the participants' attention on the conversation, links their contributions and establishes a connection between them (and with them)" (Bublitz 1988: 16–17); however, here it refers solely to a discourse topic in the context of the negotiation and/or construction of meaning.

An explanandum can be established in several ways. Many of these have also already been identified in previous research on misunderstanding in ELF (Björkman 2013; Cogo & Pitzl 2016; Klimpfinger 2009; Mauranen 2006b; Pietikäinen 2016; Pitzl 2005, 2010) and intercultural communication (Linell 1995; Varonis & Gass 1985; Vasseur et al. 1996). The *topicalisation* phase of EXINTEX corresponds to the phase of explanations referred to as *Aufmerksamkeitsaufrichtung* (i.e. drawing attention [to the topic]; Vogt 2009: 204), and serves to determine that/if there is a need for an explanation and to articulate this discursively (Hohenstein 2009: 51).

The most obvious way to establish an explanandum is for the speaker to ask explicitly for an explanation (*clarification request*; cf. Mauranen 2006b; Pietikäinen 2016). In this student-to-student data, such requests correspond to the function found in the literature on misunderstandings rather than that of the educational context. In contrast to the latter, where asking for an explanation is usually used by the teacher to ascertain (or even test) the other's (i.e. the student's) knowledge (e.g. Smit 2010: 330), the use of a clarification request here generally indicates a knowledge gap on the speaker's part. Similarly, a *minimal comprehension signal* such as *huh? what? hmm?* or repeating the word(s) that is/are causing trouble also indicates a knowledge gap or lack of understanding (cf. Cogo & Pitzl 2016; Pietikäinen 2016).

An explanandum can also be established pre-emptively through checking whether there is a need to explain (*clarification check*) or whether one's own interpretation is correct (*confirmation check*). This is conceptually close to what is referred to as "discourse reflexivity" in Mauranen (2010) and Vasseur et al. (1996); it also reflects Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta's ((2011) notion of "hypercommunication", i.e. "asking clarifying questions and checking, double-checking, confirming,

and reconfirming” (p.256; cf. also Kassis-Henderson 2005: 74⁵²). Additionally, while all of these are direct forms of topicalisation, there are more indirect forms which mark the topic discursively as being something worth consideration, and thereby invite an explanatory follow-up⁵³. The first of these forms is the use of *metalinguistic comments*⁵⁴ to highlight the topic in question or to suggest a need for an explanation (cf. Björkman 2013; Klimpfnger 2010; Mauranen 2006; Penz 2011; Pietikäinen 2016; Pitzl 2005), and the second is giving *justification* for raising a topic, i.e. rather than indicating a knowledge gap per se, the speaker gives a reason for topicalising the term or concept in question by indicating why it is, or could be, problematic.

In contrast, *closing* patterns ideally indicate that shared understanding has been achieved, i.e., as Mercer (2000) puts it, “agreement” has been reached “as a basis for joint progress” (p. 153). This can be seen in an explicit *acceptance or a round of agreement* following an explanation (cf. Kordon 2006; also referred to as “emphatic backchannelling” in Pietikäinen 2016). Additionally, an interlocutor may offer a *summary* of various or previous explanations (Lesznyák 2004: 119), or conclude an explanation with the *proposal of a new concept or term* to represent the meaning that has been jointly constructed. This also helps to “anchor” the concept in the team’s repertoire (cf. Hohenstein 2009: 51). Of course, these patterns may also be combined, or only indicate the end of a phase of EXINTEX rather than the end of the full sequence. More final signals are an explicit *expression of acknowledgement or gratitude* for an explanation proffered, and *a long pause and/or topic change* to an unrelated topic (Bublitz 1988: 67; Lesznyák 2004: 115-116). The latter may also indicate that, rather than achieving shared understanding, the topic has simply been “exhausted, i.e. no one has an interest in keeping it up” (Lesznyák 2004: 116; cf. Smit’s definition of INTEX as developing the topic “as long as the teacher/students keep indicating their interest in more information on it”; Smit 2010: 313). It should be noted that the use of (long) pauses in the present context as a facilitator of topic change reflects meeting talk, rather than casual conversation where “topics are introduced to avoid longer pauses [...] and ensure a smooth and continuous flow of conversation” (Lesznyák 2004: 122).

On the other hand, not all instances of EXINTEX were closed with a clear switch to another topic: in several cases, the topic remained the same but the students moved into a procedural phase of interaction (e.g. awarding points to the countries without any further discussion),

⁵² cf. also Harzing et al.’s (2011) notion of “building in redundancy”, i.e. “asking your partner to repeat information several times, checking on understanding by asking your partner to repeat the information you have just given providing illustrative examples, and building in frequent summaries” (p. 282).

⁵³ NB: these notions of directness and indirectness, and the strategies assigned to them, differ somewhat from those presented by Vasseur et al. (1996: 85–90) and used by Pitzl (2010: 38).

⁵⁴ Following Pitzl (2010: 85) and Vasseur et al. (1996: 88–89), “metalinguistic comments” is used here in the sense of being “loosely described as explicitly ‘relating to what has been said’ (i.e. to language) and **not** necessarily ‘about language’” (Pitzl 2010: 85, original emphasis). However, in contrast to this model, the present conceptualisation distinguishes ‘minimal queries’ (here ‘minimal incomprehension signals’) as being a separate, rather than sub-category of topicalisation since they are seen as being a more direct way of highlighting a (potential) knowledge gap.

indicating that the EXINTEX itself had been closed. An overview of the topical actions and examples from the data are presented in Figure 6.1 on the next two pages. The results of the analysis will follow after the discussion of the taxonomy of logical relations.

Figure 6.1 Taxonomy of the linguistic realisations of EXINTEX: topical actions

Topicalisation (establishing topic & need for explanation) (top)	clarification request	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • direct requests for an explanation • straightforward questions eliciting an explanation • one of the wh- questions (who, what, why, where, etc.) • questions on language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>can you explain me the table</i> • <i>the (.) migrants? (.) emigrants um level of (1) how do you call that</i> • <i>what's the: difference between local and regionals</i> • <i>what does that have to do with</i> • <i>what is decision analysis</i> • <i>but do you mean the agreements or do you mean the borders</i>
	minimal incomprehension signal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • indication of lack of understanding • repetition of word needing explanation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>huh?</i> • <i>what?</i> • <i>incoterms?</i>
	clarification check	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • asks (directly or indirectly) whether an explanation is needed • oriented to the hearer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>i'm thinking of that city bangalore? (.) you know bangalore?</i> • <i>you'll need a big budget (1) you know what i mean?</i> • <i>do you know (.) basically do you know those toothpastes that is like see through</i> • <i>do you get it</i>
	confirmation check	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • presents the speaker's interpretation for approval • often identifiable by a discourse marker eliciting support, such as tag questions, "right?" or "or?" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>yeah but it i th- yeah it doesn't work to come up with american advertisements right?=-</i> • <i>do you mean it's safer (.) foreign (.) foreign brand is safer?</i> • <i>do we do like um a scale like is that what you mean</i> • <i>you have to pay the tariffs for the whole value no not only for the shipping costs (1) don't you</i> • <i>the sales per capita is just for the current year isn't it</i> • <i>but the more imports the better that's not (.) true or</i> • <i>you're saying that china's not good</i>
	metalinguistic comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • opens the topic to be picked up (or ignored) by others • indirect appeals for an explanation by indicating a knowledge gap or lack of understanding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>and i think it's (1) it's interesting because (1) pe- i: think countries like thailand and philippines they're getting more of this hyper-? mark- supermarkets?</i> • <i>i just wanted to mention like this for an independent shop (.) it's cheaper (2) to: um to get the: hh: products from the wholesaler instead of the (.) manufacturers</i> • <i>but also we need to: (.) consider market size</i> • <i>i don't know if it's good or bad to have a high unemployment rate</i> • <i>i don't really get the percentages though</i> • <i>this is completely weird i can't believe this</i>
	reasoning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • explanandum and immediate explanation articulated by the same speaker • 'justifies' topicalisation of the term or concept in question 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>but also we need to: (.) consider market size (.) cos like philippines thailand they're really small</i> • <i>what's the perception (1) of: (.) chinese people for example (.) regarding drugs and (.) toothpaste and (.) international brands (1) cause it's not the same like (.) li ning [an apparel company they had studied previously]</i> • <i>but actually in <spel>c i f</spel> is not the tariff (.) the tariffs and (duties) are not included in <spel>c i f</spel> or? (.) because here it is only (.) cogs [cost of goods sold]</i> • <i>i have no idea what this means (2) because the table is only for medium sized units so we also have small and large so shipping costs will differ</i> • <i>it doesn't make sense from japan to china plant because you don't want to export <51>from japan to china</51></i>

Topic closing (indicating shared understanding has been reached) (clo)	acceptance or round of agreement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> repetition of key elements of a previous utterance indicating shared understanding chorus of yes, yeah and other agreement markers; “emphatic backchannelling” (Pietikäinen 2016) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <39>that's true</39> <39>mhm <un>xxx</un> </39> they are small yeah. = =yeah
	summary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> one team member attempts to summarise main line of argument from team discussion often followed by round of agreement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> urban population is also important in terms of distribution channels so it's important for market potential if urban population is high then market potential is high then access to safe water is high
	proposal of new concept/name	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> team member proposes a term to summarise/represent concept that has been constructed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> so that's that's like the potential market size so they have a lot of trade with the outside [...] so that's good[...] and make the category called <spel>n x</spel> mhm we could just call it like [...] international trade?
	acknowledgement of or gratitude for an explanation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> explicit commentary on explanation indicates that shared understanding has been achieved and it is possible to move on 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> oh thank you (.) yeah (.) ah sorry (.) yeah (.) my bad mhm (1) good to know cool (1) my doubt is (.) erased (.) thanks @@ yep perfect (.) fabian's just genius we were just confused
	long pause or introduction to a new topic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> pause lasts at least 5 seconds indicates that shared understanding has been achieved and it is possible to move on OR topic has been exhausted and no one has an interest in continuing the discussion new topic is completely unrelated, i.e. not an extension or development of the first topic often includes topicalisation strategies and opens another round of EXINTEX on a different topic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> [after discussing cost reduction] then there are the shipping costs

6.3.2 Logical relations

Once the need for an explanation has been articulated directly or indirectly and the explanandum established, the interaction turns to the process of explaining itself. This process comprises the construction of meaning by breaking the explanandum down into its constituent parts (Hohenstein 2009: 51) and making explicit the ideas which are key or central to this concept (a process verbalised very plainly in the German term *erklären*, to make clear; cf. Ehlich 2009:11; Klein 2009: 27; Josefy 2009: 88). Smit (2010: 320) draws on Lemke (1990), Mohan (2005) and Dalton-Puffer (2007) in her analysis, which found elaboration and taxonomic types or tokens to be the main linguistic realisations of INTEX. Dalton-Puffer (2007), too, found that, regardless of which subject was being taught in English (as CLIL), logical relations of elaboration and variation were particularly central.

While elaboration and variation are a highly important aspect of explaining, there is a crucial difference between the research listed above that takes place in a classroom context and the present study. In the classroom, most explanatory exchanges are “achieved by collaboration between teacher and students” (Smit 2010: 321), with the teachers integrating (sometimes minimal) student contributions into a coherent and correct explanation. In contrast, exploratory peer-to-peer talk needs to go further in order to establish the robustness of the explanation. Consequently, the EXINTEX framework expands Smit’s realisations of INTEX to reflect this distinction. It draws on Mohan and Slater’s (2005, 2006) argument that “learning science involves two types of patterning: constructing new taxonomies of concepts through description and definition; and constructing logical sequences of reasoning” (Mohan & Slater 2005: 153). In other words, explanations can be divided into two categories: *first-order* and *second-order* explanations. *First-order* explanations (*elaboration* strategies, following Smit 2010) refer to identifying the core components of the concept, i.e. “constructing new taxonomies of concepts through description and definition” (Mohan & Slater 2005: 153), and thus making it more explicit (cf. Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 396—397; Smit 2010: 75; Mauranen 2012: 167—200). This may involve *clarification* (repeating, describing, paraphrasing, offering formal or informal definitions, and expanding abbreviations; cf. Björkman 2013: 123; Bremer & Simonot 1996; Cogo & Pitzl 2016: 341-342; Harzing et al. 2011: 282; Kalocsai 2013: 40—43; Mauranen 2006; Mauranen 2012: 204—231.); suggesting *examples* (Harzing et al. 2011: 282) or *contrasts* to draw on existing knowledge and thereby more clearly delineate the concept; or resorting to other linguistic strategies such as *glossing with subject-specific language (SSL)*, *translating* in or out of English (Pietikäinen 2016), or drawing on *extralinguistic resources* such as onomatopoeia, gestures or images (Pietikäinen 2016). Many of these strategies reflect those found as repair for non- or misunderstanding in research conducted in ELF contexts (e.g. Kalocsai 2013). Where Smit (2010: 330) separates *elaboration* and *taxonomic types/tokens* (i.e. linguistic strategies), this study combines them in one category of

constructing taxonomies in order to highlight the difference between these and the second-order explanations.

Second-order explanations (*disciplinary reasoning* strategies) correspond to Mohan and Slater's second type of patterning, namely, constructing logical sequences of reasoning. The main strategies observed were *challenges or counter-challenges*; *topic expansion* and *references to external sources*. *Challenges and counter-challenges* represent a key aspect of exploratory talk and "test" the explanation to ensure its robustness. These include what Muntigl and Turnbull (1998) call *Contradictions (CT)*, i.e. "a speaker contradicts by uttering the negated proposition expressed by the previous claim" (p. 233), usually with a "bald-on-record directness" (p. 245), and *Challenges (CH)*, which are defined as "a type of disagreement by which a speaker questions an addressee's prior claim and demands that addressee provide evidence for his/her claim" (p. 230) and "typically have the syntactic form of an interrogative, appearing with question particles such as *when, what, who, why, where* and *how*" (p. 229, original emphasis). An important distinction, however, between the learning context and the family context at the heart of Muntigl and Turnbull's study is the purpose of the disagreement. While they observe that challenges suggest that the addressee cannot substantiate the claim, implying that it is not valid, the challenges in the present study – discursively marked in a similar way – seem to be genuine requests for further explanation with an inherent expectation that the addressee *will* be able to support their claim. In contrast to Muntigl and Turnbull's findings, challenges and counter-challenges in the present study do not have the inherent property of "closing down" a topic of discussion, even if their structural characteristics are very similar. Consequently, they generally do not seem to be perceived as highly face-threatening but rather the expected speech act and "*sine qua non* in decision making and problem solving" (Angouri & Locher 2012: 1551, original emphasis). *Topic expansion* can take many forms – though it is usually discursively identifiable through a topicalisation strategy – but its primary function is to lift the discussion from simply describing or defining the key concepts to embedding them in logical relations which are not, however, antagonistic. In this respect, they bear similarity to Muntigl and Turnbull's (1998) concept of *Counterclaims (CC)* which propose "an alternative claim that does not directly contradict nor challenge the other's claim" (p.231) but rather "foster the negotiation of both self's and other's claims", "opening up the topic of discussion" (p. 244). It should be noted, though, that in the present study, *topic expansion* opens up a further topic of discussion that develops the previous topic, and may follow an already extensive negotiation of meaning. Last but not least, in the absence of a teacher, students might draw on an epistemic authority by making *references to external sources*. These sources may be the teacher in absentia through reference to their comments or PowerPoint slides from a previous lesson, but may also be separate from the teacher, such as the *Skriptum* (coursebook), other literature, or the internet.

This additional level of the explanation process is what distinguishes EXINTEX from Smit's (2010) taxonomy of INTEX. It demands rather more cognitive effort on the part of all interlocutors, as both speakers and hearers have to engage critically with the explanations being offered in order to make the (jointly) constructed knowledge "publicly accountable" and reasoning visible (Mercer 2000: 153). On the one hand, this requires an environment with a strong basis in trust and an atmosphere of positive rapport. Not only do "students who feel more at ease with each other seem to talk in ways which are more educationally fruitful" (Yarker 2016: 111), but particularly using strategies such as *challenges and counter-challenges* are potentially highly face-threatening unless a baseline of trust has been established. On the other hand, the intense engagement with each other and with the topic, when successful, can contribute greatly to the development of team cohesion. Long before Wenger (1998) proposed the notion of a community of practice, Barnes (1976) noted that "mutual trust and equal status encourage thinking aloud", making students working together "collaborators in a *joint enterprise*" of developing and constructing understanding (p. 109, my emphasis). This vision of students working together to construct meaning as a joint enterprise was also explicitly related to the creation of a classroom community of practice by Smit (2010). Of course, it is important to bear in mind Mautner's (2016) warning that the collaborative nature of talk and the joint achievement of interaction can be "overly positive and unrealistically egalitarian" (p. 73). Yet in a broadly egalitarian – i.e. peer-to-peer – context, the successful joint achievement of constructing meaning can be a positive experience which does strengthen willingness to collaborate further. At the same time, it cannot be forgotten that even collaborative talk does not always lead to achieving interactional goals, and, as will be discussed shortly, this was indeed the case at times in this sample.

An overview of these disciplinary reasoning strategies and examples from the data are presented in Figure 6.2 on the next two pages.

Figure 6.2 Taxonomy of the linguistic realisations of EXINTEX: logical relations

<p>elaboration (explanations that refer explicitly and exclusively to identifying the core components of the concept) (<i>ela</i>)</p>	<p>clarification</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> descriptions and definitions of topic explainer gives more detail and/or adds related information to break down the topic into its component parts formal or informal definition paraphrasing full name of abbreviated term 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>[an incoterm] defines at what point the risk goes over from the manufacturer to the carrier</i> <i>bipa is a drugstore</i> <i>official, internationally used terms for deliveries</i> <i>should we go for <spel>f d i</spel> (.) or not (.) foreign direct investment (.) or not</i> <i>yeah <spel>n x</spel> i have it here as well net exports</i> <i>it means that they have a good relationship with the outside and we want that</i> <i>it's the same as the balance of trade</i>
	<p>examples</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> aim to delineate a concept by drawing on something the explainees might already know and therefore be able to use as a frame of reference typically similar concepts or hyponyms help to visualise and make sense of processes or figures/tables/data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>because there you (will) see if we for example open a plant in china? (1) then it's (2) <un>xxx</un> it's (very) cheap to: (.) ship to all the other countries</i> <i>for example (.) for example (.) if a cargo (.) u:hm (.) leave from a factory with <spel>f c a</spel> free carrier (.) the:n (1) the: pro- the manufacturer should (.) leave the cargo: o:n I don't know in front of the factory</i> <i>table eleven at page sixteen it says <reading> tariffs duties and fees as a percentage of <spel>c i f</spel></reading> so you see for example that from china to japan there's zero percent</i>
	<p>contrasts</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> aim to delineate a concept by drawing on something the explainees might already know and therefore be able to use as a frame of reference highlight how (similar) terms and concepts differed, or indicate how information was grouped together 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>market potential is about money and access to safe water is about civilization they are different things</i> <i>I think japa:n I dunno maybe I'm totally wrong but this is a country or this is the only example where they have a growing economy or like a like a growth in spending [...] but still have deflation. it's like that happens nowhere (1) like normally if you have economic growth you have inflation</i> <i>the hypermarket or seventy seven percent of all hypermarkets in china (.) uh:m get the goods through the manufacturer [...] and the twenty three percent or something like that [...] through a wholesaler</i>
	<p>glossing (SSL)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> re-/paraphrasing or summarising content in subject-specific language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>depends where people live and how many people live there and all that stuff → the demographics the lifestyle</i> <i>that's also a factor for our distribution channel (1) [...] a <spel>k p i</spel></i> <i>that's actually what you have to pay to the: to the retailer [...] to make him list your products → the shelf price</i>
	<p>translation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> both directions, i.e. translating into and out of English NOT incidental uses of another language but specific instances of strategic code-switching often accompanied by a discourse marker indicating a direct translation such as it means or it's like 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i><L1chi> 宝马 {bǎo mǎ} </L1chi> it means like um (.) um: (.) like a (1) precious horse</i> <i>thigh it's part of the leg or something like that it's <L1de>oberschenkel</L1de></i> <i><L1de>liebe braucht ferien</L1de> [...] it's like lo:ve needs holidays or something</i> <i>what they want the retailers to charge (.) the: i dunno <L1de>preisempfehlung</L1de> what the word is</i>
	<p>extra-linguistic resources</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> gestures, onomatopoeia, and other paralinguistic tools usually accompanied by an appeal for help in finding the word or a confirmation check 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>it is chinese or something like (.) he was like (1) {miming speaking} and it's chinese sound (1) you know what i mean</i> <i>no i think about the english word what if you do {imitates sneezing} hachoo what's the st-</i>

disciplinary reasoning (attempt to develop the topic further and establish not just an explanation, but the robustness of the explanation) (<i>dir</i>)	challenge or counter-challenge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> usually direct but not aggressive/personal constructive disagreement alternative suggestion or viewpoint frequently marked with “but” 	<i>S1) but (.) we shouldn't (.) shouldn't we think about that [production costs]?</i> <i>S2) these costs are not about production</i> <i>S1) I know (.) but we are also talking about the production costs</i>
	topic expansion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>develops</i> a topic by drawing on related ideas goes beyond the definition or description of the constituent components of a concept to show its relations with and impact on other concepts often indicated with connectors such as <i>and, also, then, etc.</i> 	<i>S1) should we go for <spel>fd i</spel>? (.) or not. (.) foreign direct investment (.) or not.</i> <i>S2) you mean building up a plant?</i> <i>S1) exactly</i> <i>S3) and (.) yeah because that's cheaper right for distribution</i>
	reference to external source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to use or appeal to a third party, an external resource, to back up their claims e.g. tables in <i>Skriptum</i>, class coursebook, teacher/assistant, slides (PowerPoint presentations), general references to marketing class, independent external sources of information, e.g. the internet. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>i read a case study about india and t- the: oral care? and I told you it's not he- in here but there are different (.) ways of cleaning the tooth</i> <i>another important criteria is this production criteria. (.)in terms of [...] the facility (.) because the i think it was mentioned in the text that (1) it depends on if you think [...] in short term or long term goals</i> <i>w- where was forbidden (1) the professor told us i think</i> <i>this is from the slides of um professor [name]</i> <i>let's google it [...] let's ask doctor google</i>

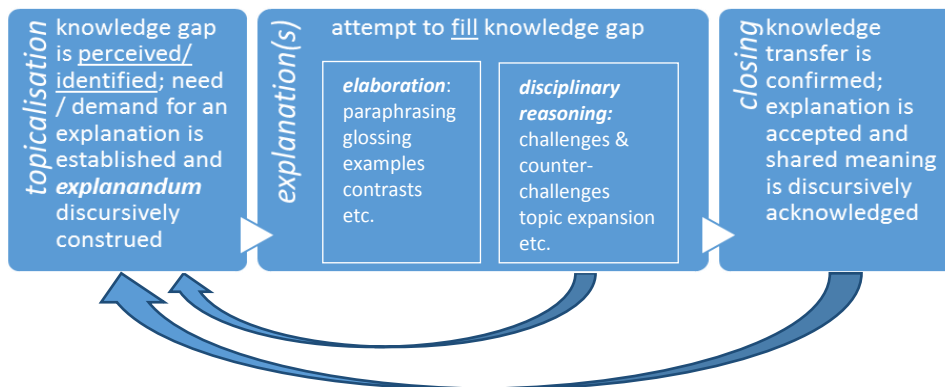
6.4 Analysing EXINTEX

6.4.1 Identifying successful sequences of EXINTEX

As already indicated above, instances of EXINTEX were identified primarily through the discursive practices of topicalisation and closing. It is interesting to note that Björkman (2013) found “very few cases of pragmatic signaling with regard to *explaining terms and concepts*” (p. 125, her emphasis), despite examining a similar context; in contrast, there is a strong focus on terms and concepts in the present study. This can be explained by the very specific focus of the task to design and conduct a market analysis “scoreboard”, and, to an extent, the language used in the simulation programme. Given that they had to understand and use this language in order to carry out the analysis and the simulation, the teams had to be very aware of the terms and concepts that arose as well as the implications these had for the broader context of the task. Consequently, the EXINTEX sequences identified largely began with the topicalisation of an unknown or unclear term or concept.

However, it is important to note that, while the start and end of an EXINTEX sequence could be identified discursively through use of a topicalisation or closing strategy, respectively, the mere use of these did not necessarily indicate the start or end of an EXINTEX sequence. Rather, the “messy” nature of the students’ interaction meant that an EXINTEX sequence often saw several instances of topicalisation and closing within a single sequence. This is visualised in Figure 6.3 below.

Figure 6.3. Possible realisations of an EXINTEX sequence (cf. Smit 2010: 314)



Of course, there were some examples of relatively straightforward EXINTEX sequences consisting of as little as a single question-and-answer pattern followed by an implicit closing such as a long pause or topic change.

Extract 6.1 Decision analysis (MktgB1)

1	Maria	[...] what is decision analysis	(top) clarification request
2	Rafael	budget distribution (9)	(ela) glossing SSL, (clo) long pause

More typically, such minimal examples of EXINTEX comprised a three-part sequence of a *topicalisation – explanation – closing* pattern akin to a classic I:R:F or “triadic dialogue” (Lemke 1990; cf. Smit 2010: 316-7; Dalton-Puffer 2007: 74). It is, however, notable that this often took up several turns as team members frequently joined in in the feedback, indicating Mercer’s (2000: 153) “agreement [...] as a basis for joint progress”. These can be understood as following a similar pattern to the Varonis (1985) model of trigger-indicator-response-reaction used by Pitzl (2010: 74) in her work on miscommunication in ELF business contexts. She, too, found that the interactions in her data also involved reactions from more than one speaker, leading to extended stretches of discourse (pp. 80-81). An example of such a sequence in the present data can be found in Extract 6.2 below.

Extract 6.2 Tariffs/table eleven (MktgA1)

1	Benone	so other (.) includes emerging channels	<i>(top) confirmation check</i>
2		such as home delivery and internet sales	
3	Carina	<66>mhm</66>	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
4	Qingling	<66>mm</66>	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
5	Benone	okay	<i>(clo) acknowledgement</i>
6	Christian	yep	<i>(clo) agreement</i>

Nevertheless, these minimal examples represented a minority of EXINTEX sequences in both groups (n=7/81 or 8.64% in MktgA, and n=19/104 or 18.27% in MktgB).

In contrast, the vast majority of explanations in both groups were considerably longer and did consist of several cycles of topicalisation, explanation and closing. These reflect the “complex sequences” identified by (Pitzl 2010: 92-108), though she does not explore the complexity of the multiple responses in terms of function (i.e. differentiating, for example, between elaboration or disciplinary reasoning and their sub-functions). Extract 6.3 shows an illustrative sample of EXINTEX from MktgB.

Extract 6.3 Cost reduction (MktgB1)

1	Rafael	number of competitors the sales the sales table six	
2		(1) um decreasing manufacturing costs it’s table	
3		nine (1) cost reduction (1) what does it mean (4)	<i>(top) clarification request</i>
4	Maria	it’s cheap<25>e:r</25>	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
5	Rafael	<25>ah</25>	
6	Maria	it’s twenty five percent cheaper to produce in	<i>(ela) clarification,</i>
7		china than to produce in <26>wherever</26>	<i>example, contrast</i>
8	Rafael	<26>is that it</26>	<i>(dir) challenge</i>
9	Maria	we are based=	
10	Fabian	=yep	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
11	Maria	are we an american company?	<i>(top) confirmation check</i>
12	Fabian	we are an american company i think. (.)	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
13	Rafael	is that it	<i>(dir) challenge</i>
14	Maria	yep <reading><un>xxxx</un> manufacturing	<i>(dir) ref to external source</i>
15		costs based on initial one hundred	
16		<27>million</27></reading>	
17	Rafael	<27>ah no it’s</27> like after <28>you</28>	<i>(dir) challenge</i>
18	Maria	<28>a:h</28>	

19	Rafael	reach a certain volume you can decrease your costs by twenty five percent <29>that's how</29>	(dir) challenge (cont.)
20			
21	Maria	<29>but why</29> is it relative to home market (3)	(dir) counter-challenge,
22			(top) clarification request
23	Rafael	no i dunno (.) but i remember that they were talking about this here building plants blah blah	(dir) ref to external source
24			(ela) clarification
25		blah (2)	
26	Maria	well i think that this is just additional information	(dir) challenge
27		and this is if we produce in china it is (1) twenty	(ela) example, contrast
28		five percent cheaper than to produce in the	
29		<spel>u s</spel> .	
30	Rafael	might be (.) okay (.) ah wait <reading>table nine	(dir) ref to external source
31		shows the percentage in costs of goods sold that	
32		can be expected when products are manufactured	
33		in (original land) </reading> yah	
34	Maria	perfect	(clo) acceptance
35	Rafael	so exactly what you said so i think the table's	(clo) acknowledgement
36		important	
37	Maria	yah so it would be the cheapest to go to (.)	(clo) summary
38		<30>thailand</30>	
39	Fabian	<30>thailand</30>	(clo) round of agreement
40	Rafael	<30>thailand</30> (.) the:n <31>for the</31>	
41	Fabian	<31>but just for</31> the manufacturing	(top) confirmation check
42	Maria	yeah=	(ela) clarification
43	Rafael	=yeah	(clo) round of agreement
44	Maria	of course	(clo) round of agreement
45	Rafael	then there are the shipping costs	(clo) topic change

Here we see the team play with several definitions, offering up various clarifications (lines 4, 6-7, 10, 12, 24, 42), examples using a contrast (lines 6-7, 27-28), challenges (lines 8, 13, 17, 19-22, 26) and referring to external sources as epistemic authorities to support their claims (the *Skriptum* or class coursebook in lines 14-15, 30-33; and a vaguer “they”, presumably the teacher and his assistant, in line 23), before confirming that Maria’s interpretation (*if we produce in China it is twenty five percent cheaper than to produce in the US*, lines 27-29) is indeed the correct one. Having established how to interpret the data, Maria then begins to summarise the conclusion they can draw from that data (*so it would be cheapest to go to*, line 37), with the other two leaping in to join her with the final answer (*Thailand*, lines 38-40) and general confirmation of Fabian’s understanding that this only refers to *manufacturing* costs (line 41). This acceptance of the explanation enables the team to move onto the next topic (*shipping costs*, line 45) and can therefore be seen as a highly successful instance of negotiating and constructing meaning for a specific concept in a specific context. Indeed, if we return to the lecturer’s recommendations in the wrap-up after the simulation was finished, we see that the meaning constructed by the team (both the first step of interpreting the table and the conclusion they draw from this interpretation that Thailand is the cheapest country to build their plant in) is absolutely correct:

Extract 6.4 The best situation

those of you who did their calculations correctly will have found out that **the best situation here is chi- is uh thailand** because in thailand the uh **costs are in fact the lowest**

(lecturer, simulation wrap-up, my emphasis)

This example (i.e. Extract 6.3) therefore shows various characteristics of EXINTEX in practice, in particular its “messy”, complex, and highly interactive, nature. It starts with a clear topicalisation of *cost reduction* as the explanandum through a direct clarification request and ends with a clear topic change to the next criterion of *shipping costs*. This is the full EXINTEX sequence. However, within this sequence, there are numerous (partial) cycles of EXINTEX embedded into the interaction. There is a brief departure from the main topic after the first explanation, where Maria wants to check her understanding of the team’s role as a US-based company (lines 9-11). Rafael twice asks *is that it?* (lines 8 and 13); this could be interpreted by the analyst as simply being a confirmation check that he has understood it correctly, but the repeated questioning suggests it is stronger (i.e. a challenge), and certainly it is interpreted as such by the other team members, as Maria then defends her explanation by developing it with a confirmation check of her own (lines 9-11) and then referring to an external source as backup (lines 14-15). When Rafael offers an alternative explanation (lines 17, 19-20), this is counter-challenged by Maria, who opens a further sub-topic by asking why the figures in the table are given relative to the home market (line 21). This pushes Rafael to reconsider his explanation, and for the team to look for further, or more reliable, sources of epistemic authority, which Rafael finds in lines 30-33. However, even once this explanation is universally accepted and an external observer might expect the sequence to have ended, Fabian opens up a final cycle with a confirmation check (line 41). In fact, given that he starts his question with a “but”, it could even be interpreted as a further challenge; however, as his interpretation is confirmed as being correct, it does not serve the function of initiating a second-level explanation, but simply represents an issue of clarification. The final indication that the topic is closed and the EXINTEX sequence finished is a combination of the round of agreement in lines 42-45 with a clear shift in topic to the next criterion in their input.

An instance of successful EXINTEX therefore follows the definition given at the beginning of the previous section (6.3), which states: “[an EXINTEX topic is developed] until there is a linguistic realisation that the knowledge gap has been filled and shared understanding has been achieved”. That realisation is usually discursively marked by a closing strategy that indicates acceptance or explicit acknowledgement of the explanation and a clear shift to a new topic. It is important to distinguish between a topic change and a topic expansion or challenge, which may appear to introduce a new topic, yet actually continues the existing one at another level. However, regardless of how many expansions, challenges and other disciplinary reasoning or elaboration strategies are used in the cycles of EXINTEX making up a full and successful sequence, the discursive boundaries

of this are an indication of joint agreement that the team has constructed meaning for the concept topicalised at the beginning of the sequence, and its willingness to move on to another topic.

6.4.2 Unsuccessful EXINTEX

A full and successful EXINTEX sequence can be identified, as in the illustrative example given above, through clear topicalisation, explanations and closings signalling the linguistic realisation of shared meaning followed by a shift to a clearly distinct topic, even if there are several (partial) cycles of this pattern within a single sequence. However, not all instances of EXINTEX include all of these elements. For the purposes of this analysis, any instance of topicalisation was considered an instance of EXINTEX, even if it was not followed up with an explanation. However, these and other EXINTEX sequences that either did not manage to achieve a shared understanding of the concept in question (i.e. the explanandum), or were not fully developed, were considered unsuccessful instances of EXINTEX. Additionally, one of the obvious problems with the peer-to-peer setting and the lack of an epistemic authority such as a teacher was that even when an understanding was constructed, tested and shared, it was not necessarily correct. As a consequence, the data also revealed three types of unsuccessful explanations which, though they did not seem to impede the affective aspect of the team processes, were somewhat concerning as regards the cognitive and task-related aspect.

The first is very simple, and comprises ignored explananda which, for whatever reason, are topicalised but not explained. In other words, although the speaker indicated a knowledge gap, there was no attempt either by themselves or by their colleagues to address it.

Extract 6.5. The regional thing

like the market is divided between the regional thing **whatever this is** this this this this and allstar [another company] right so allstar do- has nothing and then in china they're we're gonna have one two three four five six

(Rafael, Mktg B1, meeting data)

In contrast, in the second type, an EXINTEX sequence was initiated through one of the aforementioned topicalisation strategies, but the team failed to come up with a satisfactory explanation and the discussion resulted in *topic abandonment*⁵⁵. This was generally indicated by one of the students suggesting they ignore or remove the topic from their analysis, and followed by a round of agreement and/or other typical closing patterns from their colleagues.

⁵⁵ Björkman (2013: 134-137) also found examples of topic abandonment in her analysis of student groupwork in an ELF context, but claims that her participants “generally did not abandon the topic in high-stakes spoken exchange on content” (p. 136). While it was infrequent in the present study, there were 16 instances across both groups (around 8% of the total number of EXINTEX sequences).

Extract 6.6 CPI (MktgB1)

1	Fabian	about the <spel>c p i</spel> what is it what	(top) clarification request
2		was this	
3	Maria	co:n=	(ela) clarification
4	Rafael	=sumer	(ela) clarification
5	Maria	<94>price</94>	(ela) clarification
6	Rafael	<94>power</94> (.) price index	(ela) clarification
7	Maria	price index	(clo) agreement
8	Rafael	price index	(clo) agreement
9	Maria	commut- consumer is it consumer price	(top) confirmation check
10		index	
11	Rafael	okay japan four	(clo) acceptance, summary
12	Fabian	yeah but is (.) a high consumer price index	(top) clarification request,
13		good o:r=	(dir) challenge
14	Rafael	=no	(ela) clarification
15	Maria	it's <95>bad</95>	(ela) clarification
16	Rafael	<95>it's</95 bad (.) yeah true	(clo) agreement
17	Maria	japan four	(clo) summary
18	Rafael	japan zero	(dir) challenge
19	Maria	no <96>four</96>	(exp) counter-challenge
20	Fabian	<96>no four</96> because a lower is goo- a	(clo) agreement,
21		<97>lower</97>	(ela) clarification,
22	Maria	<97>it's getting</97>	(ela) clarification
23	Rafael	ah	
24	Maria	cheaper	(ela) clarification cont.
25	Rafael	i'm seeing eleven point seven it's=	(dir) reference to ext source,
			(dir) challenge
26	Maria	=india <98>india is zero</98>	(ela) clarification
27	Rafael	<98>india</98> i thought it was japan sorry	(clo) acknowledgement
28	Maria	<99>zero points</99>	(clo) summary
29	Fabian	<99>zero yeah</99> zero points	(clo) agreement
30		<100>okay</100>	
31	Rafael	<100>u:h</100> (1)	(top) min. comprehension sig.
32	Fabian	okay (.) china. three points	
33	Maria	@	
34	Fabian	or it's=	
35	Rafael	=<101>two points</101>	
36	Maria	=<101>two points</101>	
37	Rafael	china (.) two points	
38	Maria	and one and one	
39	Rafael	this is confusing	(top) metalinguistic comment
40	Fabian	but wait wait wait <102>it was the	(top) metalinguistic comment
41		wrong</102>	
42	Rafael	<102>nah nah</102>	(dir) challenge
43	Fabian	thing again because three is good so this	(top) metalinguistic comment
44		should be three three three (2)	(ela) clarification
45	Maria	HUH? don't get it (1) ah yahyahyah	(top) metalinguistic comment
46		<103>yup</103>	(clo) agreement
47	Rafael	<103>are</103> index are kind of (.) i don't	(ela) clarification
48		think we're using the same parameters is that	(top) metalinguistic comment
49		how you say it	
50	Fabian	i think it really depends to	
51	Maria	@@@@	
52	Fabian	because @@@ u:m <@> no shit this is also	(top) metalinguistic comment
53		this is wrong <104>it's confusing</104></@>	
54	Maria	<104> because we</104> don't know what to	(top) metalinguistic comment
55		do with it	
56	Rafael	the last one <105>the</105>	
57	Fabian	<105>yeah</105> the- (.) we remove	topic abandonment
58		<106>it</106>	
59	Maria	<106> we</106> remove it that's the easiest	(clo) agreement
60		decision	
61	Rafael	yeah=	(clo) agreement
62	Fabian	=yeah	(clo) agreement

While there are various rounds of EXINTEX in this sequence, the salient points here are the following. The first part of the sequence (lines 1-30) can be considered a successful example of EXINTEX. Fabian topicalises the explanandum directly in line 1-2 with a discursive comment (*about the CPI*) as well as a clarification request (*what is it what was this*). In lines 3-10, Rafael and Maria together attempt to construct an explanation, resulting in a definition which, by virtue of repetition, appears to have been accepted by line 10 (*consumer price index*). Fabian then makes a clarification request which could also be interpreted as a challenge in line 12-13 (*yeah but is a high consumer price index good or*⁵⁶). This challenge is accepted by both Maria and Rafael (*it's bad/it's bad yeah true*, lines 15-16). Having established that, Maria continues with a summary (this means that *Japan* should be awarded a good score of *four*, line 17) which is immediately challenged by Rafael (*Japan zero*, line 18) and counter-challenged by Maria and Fabian repeating her earlier statement (*no four*, line 19) and offering further clarifications (*lower is good/it's getting cheaper*, lines 20-24). Rafael's second challenge (*I'm seeing eleven point seven*, line 25) leads to him acknowledging that he has confused the figures for Japan and India (*India I thought it was Japan sorry*, line 27) and a round of agreement that India, with its shockingly high rate of inflation at 11.7%, should be awarded *zero points* (lines 28-29).

However, despite the successful negotiation and construction of meaning up to this point, the rest of the sequence creates several problems. Rafael's minimal incomprehension signal and pause in line 31 (*uh*) suggests that, despite having resolved the previous issues deriving from misreading the information in the book, he has again been left behind. Rather than reacting to that request for an explanation, however, Maria and Fabian continue, which leaves Rafael somewhat flummoxed. Though he contributes to the discussion, suggesting *two points* for China in lines 35, he again appeals for an explanation with a metalinguistic comment in line 39 (*this is confusing*). This time, his call is heard, but neither Maria nor Fabian are able to offer a satisfactory explanation (*but wait wait wait it was the wrong thing again because three is good so this should be three three three / HUH? don't get it*, lines 40-45; *no shit this is also this is wrong it's confusing / because we don't know what to do with it*, lines 52-55). Unable to reach a shared and acceptable explanation of what a high CPI entails and how it should be graded for each country, the team (jointly) decides and agrees to abandon the topic in lines 57-62 (*we remove it/we remove it that's the easiest decision*).

The last type of failed explanation is more complex, as it can be argued that the team negotiated and constructed shared meaning successfully and the explanation itself therefore should not be regarded as a failure. However, if the explanation reached by the team does not correspond to the explanation expected by the discourse community of the discipline, in other

⁵⁶ The CPI, or *consumer price index*, is essentially a measure of inflation. A high CPI means that there is high inflation and prices are rising quickly, and should therefore be considered 'bad' in this context. On their scoring mechanism with its scale from 0 (*very unfavourable conditions*) to 4 (*very favourable conditions*), a high CPI should receive a low score.

words, they construct an incorrect explanation, the EXINTEX process can be said to be unsuccessful since the challenges and other mechanisms of joint accountability clearly have not been sufficiently effective.

Extract 6.7 Deflation (MktgA1)

1	Christian	but deflation is also bad	(top) confirmation check
2	Carina	yeah	(exp) clarification
3	Benone	deflation is also bad but <80>you you should</80>	(exp) clarification
4			
5	Carina	<80>(it's saving like)</80>	
6	Benone	you can stay between minus two and two you know something like this or minus three and three <81><un>xxxx</un> stability</81>	(exp) examples
7			
8			
9	Christian	<81>but i would say probably</81> more	(exp) challenge
10	Benone	you cannot be zero or <82>something</82>	(exp) clarification
11	Qingling	<82>no:</82>	(clo) agreement
12	Christian	yeah but most recommended would be a inflation rate <83>between<783>	(exp) challenge
13			
14	Carina	<83>yeah</83>	(clo) agreement)
15	Christian	two and thr- no what is what is the best case	(exp) example,
16		<un>xx</un> (.)	(top) clarification request
17	Carina	yeah let's just=	
18	Christian	=it's around three?	(top) confirmation check
19	Carina	<84>natural</84>	(exp) glossing SSL
20	Christian	<84>three percent</84>	(exp) clarification
21	Carina	three percent or two percent is just	(exp) clarification
22		<85>normal</85>	
23	Qingling	<85>yeah</85>	(clo) agreement
24	Benone	<85>yeah</85> maximum two	(clo) agreement
25	Carina	i think that's <86>healthy</86>	(exp) glossing SSL
26	Christian	<86>maximum</86> two	(clo) agreement
27	Benone	from minus two to two no? you know (.) what i mean=	(clo) summary, (top) clarification check
28			
29	Christian	=yeah <87>yeah</87>	(clo) agreement
30	Qingling	<87>mhm</87>	(clo) agreement
31	Christian	i know what you mean	(clo) agreement
32	Benone	something like this	
33	Christian	so minus one to (.) two?	(clo) summary
34	Benone	okay	(clo) agreement
35	Christian	is the best case	(clo) summary cont.
36	Carina	<88>yeah</88>	(clo) agreement

This is a very interesting example of EXINTEX as the team is critical as well as engaged and the knowledge outcome (that an inflation rate of *minus one to two [percent] is the best case*, lines 33, 35) is both jointly constructed and agreed upon, and should therefore be considered robust. However, it is thoroughly incorrect (the optimal rate should be 2%, with an acceptable range of 1-3%, and higher in emerging countries⁵⁷). Christian's original statement in line 1 (*deflation is also bad*) is in fact one of the few technically correct points in this discussion, i.e. an inflation rate below 0% is generally considered undesirable, as it indicates an economy in recession. This would be highly unfavourable for a company aiming to enter a new market, particularly in Asia, where

⁵⁷ for a brief overview and a list of current inflation targets, see <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetarypolicy/Pages/framework/framework.aspx>, <http://www.centralbanknews.info/p/inflation-targets.html> accessed 11.08.2016)

emerging economies are expected to keep expanding. The other acceptable point (mentioned in lines 12-15, 18-26) is that an inflation rate of 2-3% is normal, and 2% is ideal (at least for a stable economy; this is the target for the EU, US and most other Western countries, while emerging economies expect higher rates). Though *maximum* (lines 24, 26) is not entirely correct, *natural* (line 19), *normal* (line 22) and above all *healthy* (line 25) are all perfectly reasonable – even technically appropriate collocations – for an inflation rate of 2%. However, Benone’s insistence on including negative inflation in the range is certainly not; and though Christian’s mild challenge in line 33, raising the lower number from -2 to -1 is an improvement, it still results in a final result that is, unfortunately, wrong.

Consequently, though EXINTEX enables students to draw on each other as a resource and, when effective, should result in the construction of robust explanations and interpretations of the phenomena and concepts they are confronted with, there are instances when it fails. On the one hand, sometimes the team simply cannot, or does not, construct an explanation or interpretation and the team members either do not pick up on topicalised explananda at all (*ignored explananda*) or, if there is an attempt to negotiate a shared understanding, agree to give up, leading to *topic abandonment*. However, even when shared understanding is reached, EXINTEX can still be said to have failed if it has resulted in an *incorrect explanation*, since this means the students have not acquired the knowledge they need to be fully-fledged members of their discipline, and may lead to a negative outcome in their taskwork deriving from a faulty starting point. In contrast, successful EXINTEX sequences begin with topicalisation that is followed up by (several cycles of) explanations which lead to a clear meaning construct that is realised discursively, is shared by the whole team, and correctly reflects the accepted equivalent in actual business practice.

6.5 Findings

6.5.1 Quantitative overview

When examining the overall frequency and intensity of EXINTEX by group, a simple quantitative analysis of the distribution of EXINTEX across the recordings offers some surprising results, which can be seen in Figure 6.4 below. A single unit of EXINTEX (#EXINTEX) represents a complete sequence as described in Section 6.4.1., i.e. a sequence initialised by topicalisation (including ignored explananda and unsuccessful EXINTEX), developing a single topic, and closed by a long pause or moving onto another topic.

Figure 6.4 Frequency and density of EXINTEX per group

Recording/ meeting	% coverage EXINTEX*	ave % coverage EXINTEX	#EXINTEX*	#words	#EXINTEX/ 1000 words	mean #EXINTEX/ 1000 words	overall #EXINTEX/ 1000 words
MktgA (1)	43.85	42.53	49	21,217	2.309	(2.309+2.358) /2 = 2.33	81/34.785 = 2.33
MktgA (2)	41.21		32	13,568	2.358		
MktgB (1)	40.52	31.47	45	14,598	3.083	(3.083+3.019+2.53) /3 = 2.88	104/35.669 = 2.92
MktgB (2)	23.99		35	11,596	3.019		
MktgB (3)	29.87		24	9,475	2.533		

*figures provided by NVivo.

Of course, these figures should be understood only as indications, as there were numerous variables that skew the data somewhat. One of the most problematic is the fact that all four members of MktgA were present in each meeting, whereas one person (albeit a different one) was missing from each of the MktgB recordings. This not only affected the proportion of the overall number of words spoken by each person, but may also have had implications for the level of EXINTEX required as it could be expected that the person missing on the second day (MktgB_3) may have needed (extra) explanations to make up for what he missed on the first. Perhaps surprisingly, this does not seem to have been the case on the basis of a purely quantitative measure (although the results of the qualitative analysis suggest a slightly different picture, which will be discussed later). In order to compensate for this discrepancy, the mean percentages of EXINTEX have been calculated and the number of instances of EXINTEX have been normalised per 1000 words.

The first striking result is that, when taken as an average (i.e. the percentage coverage of EXINTEX per meeting for each group was added together and then divided by the number of meetings held by that group), MktgA showed a considerably higher percentage of EXINTEX overall (42.53% coverage vs. 31.47%). The percentage coverage per individual meeting was also consistently higher than in MktgB's meetings. However, when measured in terms of frequency, MktgB had a higher number of instances of EXINTEX per thousand words both in terms of an overall average (approx. 2.9 vs. 2.3) and across the individual meetings, as well as in absolute numbers (104 instances vs. 81, in meetings of around 35,000 words each). Consequently, we can conclude that, though the members of MktgB initiated more sequences of EXINTEX overall, MktgA spent proportionally more time on EXINTEX or the EXINTEX sequences in MktgA's meetings were longer.

Secondly, it is noteworthy that in both groups, there is a higher frequency and a higher density of EXINTEX in the first meeting of each day according to all three measurements (*percentage coverage of EXINTEX, absolute number of instances of EXINTEX, and number of instances of EXINTEX per 1000 words*). In MktgB, which had three meetings spread over two days, the *absolute*

number of instances of EXINTEX and *number of instances of EXINTEX per 1000 words* continued to drop in the third meeting, but the *percentage coverage of EXINTEX* as a proportion of the whole meeting rallied slightly from 23.99% to 29.87%. Nevertheless, it still represents a considerable drop from 40.55% in the first meeting. Any conclusions drawn from these figures can only be speculation, but it does not seem unreasonable to assume that, as the students develop their market analysis scoreboard, many of the concepts they discussed in the first part of the meeting are revisited, and require less (or no) explanation. It is also possible that, as they get used to each other's discourse and start to build a shared team discourse, the explanations themselves require less detail and/or a lesser degree of explicitness.

If we turn our attention to the frequency and density of EXINTEX by individual, we also have some quite surprising results, though, as always, these figures should be treated with caution as they may not represent a full picture of each individual's speaking patterns and contributions to the group's interaction. The numbers presented in Figures 6 and 7 below refer to turns (manually) coded as being EXINTEX (#EXINTEX) and the total number of turns in the meeting (auto)coded to that individual (#turns). However, it was not possible to calculate the number of words or percentage coverage of EXINTEX per team member. Consequently, the data does not give us an accurate picture of the complexity of EXINTEX as part of natural interaction. For example, an explanation could be interrupted either by another team member challenging or supplementing the explanation, or simply by backchannelling from the other team members. In such a case, these interruptions would distort the figures slightly as instead of being counted as a single instance of EXINTEX (i.e. a single explanation), it would be calculated as several depending on how many times the speaker was interrupted. In contrast, for the overall frequencies, an entire sequence was coded and counted as a single item. Additionally, the proportions of general speech (and, by extension, EXINTEX if it were possible to measure it by the percentage of individual contributions) could be misleading when compared between the two groups as MktgA consists of four people in each meeting, while MktgB only has three. Nevertheless, even when taking all these factors into consideration, the data throws up some interesting findings.

Figure 6.5 Frequency & density of EXINTEX by individual, MktgA

Name (MktgA)	#EXINTEX MktgA (1)	#turns MktgA (1)	%EXINTEX/turns MktgA (1)
Benone	396	1040	38.1
Carina	417	1117	37.3
Christian	466	1055	44.2
Qingling	312	749	41.7
	#EXINTEX MktgA (2)	#turns MktgA (2)	%EXINTEX/turns MktgA (2)
Benone	253	697	36.3
Carina	268	745	36.1
Christian	216	617	35.1
Qingling	171	473	36.1

Figure 6.6 Frequency & density of EXINTEX by individual, MktgB

Name (MktgB)	#EXINTEX MktgB (1)	#turns MktgB (1)	EXINTEX/turns MktgB (1)
Fabian	212	529	40.1
Maria	271	754	36.3
Rafael	246	748	32.9
Igor	-	-	-
	#EXINTEX MktgB (2)	#turns MktgB (2)	%EXINTEX/turns MktgB (2)
Fabian	99	469	21.1
Maria	148	643	23.0
Rafael	113	496	22.8
Igor	-	-	-
	#EXINTEX MktgB (3)	#turns MktgB (3)	%EXINTEX/turns MktgB (3)
Fabian	-	-	-
Maria	114	538	21.2
Rafael	111	489	22.7
Igor	81	257	31.5

Firstly, we can observe that at the individual level there is also a drop – in MktgB’s case, a substantial one – in the percentage of EXINTEX per turns between the first and the second recording of day 1, and that this continues to fall slightly for the two group members in MktgB who were present on both days (i.e. for all three recordings). It is notable that Igor, who joins MktgB in the third session, devotes a proportionately higher number of turns to EXINTEX than Maria and Rafael, who have been present throughout all three sessions. This could be attributed to him trying to catch up with the others, although it could also result from him offering more or longer explanations for issues which they could not resolve in the previous constellation. Alternatively, given that his overall number of turns is much lower than Maria and Rafael’s, it could be speculated that his talk was generally more focussed on task-oriented talk and, by extension, explanations. However, determining the reasons for the proportionately higher amount of EXINTEX in his talk requires in-depth qualitative analysis and potentially goes beyond the scope of the meeting itself.

A second observation is that not only does the range of EXINTEX/turn vary considerably from individual to individual even within a single group, but also that the absolute number of instances of EXINTEX per person is not necessarily an indicator for the proportion of EXINTEX as a percentage of their total number of turns. Indeed, while Qingling has the lowest number of turns (n=312/171) and the lowest number of instances of EXINTEX (n=749/473) in both MktgA recordings, she also has the second highest proportion of EXINTEX per turn (41.7% after Christian in MktgA_1; and 36.1%, joint with Carina and after Benone, in MktgA_2). In contrast, in MktgB the number of instances and proportion of EXINTEX varies tremendously across the meetings. In the first recording, Fabian has the lowest number of instances of EXINTEX (n=212) but the highest proportion of EXINTEX to total number of turns (40.1%), while in the second, Maria has both the highest number (n=148) and the highest proportion (23.0%). As already mentioned, in the last recording, Igor has by far the lowest number of instances of EXINTEX (n=81) but the highest proportion of EXINTEX to total number of turns (31.5%). With such mixed results it is difficult to even speculate about why this is the case; the only conclusion that can be drawn is that no conclusions can be drawn, and we should be very careful about claiming who is engaged in how much EXINTEX, especially in terms of comparing individuals' behaviour.

Thirdly, it is interesting to note that, for whatever reason, the members of the MktgA team engaged in a predominantly higher rate of EXINTEX as a percentage of their total number of turns than the students in MktgB. Since the normalised results for the overall frequency of EXINTEX per group (Figure 5) indicate that MktgB initiated more EXINTEX sequences per 1000 words but MktgA had a higher level of overall coverage, this suggests that both MktgA's teamwork and their EXINTEX sequences are more interactive than their counterparts in MktgB.

A closer look at the data using both quantitative and qualitative methods supports these suggestions. An overview of the topical actions used in the interactions compared to the overall number of EXINTEX sequences reveals how complex these interactions can be, and how the two groups compare in terms of the level of interaction.

Figure 6.7 Topical actions strategies by team (absolute number and percentage within team)

	MktgA		MktgB	
Overall #EXINTEX	81		104	
Topicalisation (top)	#	type/top tot	#	type/top tot
<i>101 Clarification request</i>	64	18%	74	32%
<i>102 Clarification check</i>	22	6.2%	1	0.43%
<i>103 Confirmation check</i>	112	31.6%	65	28.1%
<i>104 Metalinguistic comment</i>	106	29.9%	58	25.1%
<i>105 Minimum comprehension signal</i>	50	14.1%	33	14.3%
Topicalisation total (top tot)	354	99.8%*	231	99.93%*
top tot/overall #EXINTEX	4.37		2.22	

Closing (clo)	#	type/cl tot	#	type/cl tot
<i>201 Long pause or topic change</i>	58	20.1%	78	37.5%
<i>202 Acceptance or round of agreement</i>	174	60.2%	100	48.1%
<i>203 Summary</i>	33	11.4%	20	9.6%
<i>204 Acknowledgement or gratitude</i>	13	4.5%	5	2.4%
<i>205 Proposal of new comment or name</i>	11	3.8%	5	2.4%
Closing total (cl tot)	289	100%*	207	100%*
cl tot/overall #EXINTEX	3.56		1.99	

*percentages may not add up precisely to 100% due to rounding.

As we can see in Figure 6.7, the total number of topicalisation (n=354 for MktgA and 231 for MktgB) and closing (n=283 and 198) strategies massively outnumber the total instances of EXINTEX (n=81 and 104) in both groups. This indicates the complexity of an EXINTEX sequence, as a single sequence can comprise numerous cycles, or partial cycles, of topicalisation, explanation and closing. These figures also support the suggestion made above that, although MktgA have fewer sequences of EXINTEX, these are generally more interactive than the ones found in MktgB. This should not be read as evaluating the quality of the explanations offered, or argues that this makes either group better at EXINTEX; it is simply an observation. In fact, it could be argued that MktgB simply asks more directly for explanations, some of which require a relatively minimal answer. This can also be seen in the types of topicalisation strategy favoured by each group. Proportionately, MktgB favours clarification requests (32%) and confirmation checks (28.1%), while MktgA also uses a large number of confirmation checks (31.6%) and metalinguistic comments (29.9%). In contrast to MktgB, MktgA uses considerably fewer clarification requests as a percentage of all their topicalisation strategies (18.6%). Thus it could be presumed that MktgB's tendency to make direct clarification requests and confirmation checks means that there is less need for high levels of interaction as these can (often, if not always) be answered and explained in a relatively straightforward fashion. MktgB's more indirect approach, however, invites a more discussion-oriented response. This can also be seen in the fact that MktgA has almost twice as much use of both topicalisation and closing strategies in relation to the overall number of EXINTEX sequences. This confirms the assumption made earlier that, though MktgB had more EXINTEX sequences in absolute numbers and a higher frequency of EXINTEX per 1000 words, these sequences were generally shorter and less interactive than in the MktgA team. As indicated above, this does not mean either team was generally better at EXINTEX; it is simply an observation.

If we look at the overall distribution of logical relations per team (Figure 6.8), we see similar patterns to those revealed by the analysis of topical actions.

Figure 6.8 Logical relations strategies by team (absolute number and percentage within team)

	MktgA		MktgB	
Overall #EXINTEX	81		104	
Elaboration (ela)	#	type/ela tot	#	type/ela tot
<i>301 Clarification</i>	219	64.2%	156	70.0%
<i>302 Glossing SSL</i>	16	4.7%	10	4.5%
<i>303 Translation</i>	2	0.6%	3	1.3%
<i>304 Extralinguistic</i>	5	2.1%	0	0
<i>305 Examples</i>	62	18.2%	45	20.1%
<i>306 Contrasts</i>	37	10.1%	9	4.0%
Elaboration total (ela tot)	341	99.9%	223	99.9%
ela tot/overall #EXINTEX	4.2		2.14	
Disciplinary reasoning (dir)	#	type/dir tot	#	type/dir tot
<i>401 Challenge or counter-challenge</i>	95	55.2%	60	60%
<i>402 Topic expansion</i>	32	18.6%	13	13%
<i>403 References to external sources</i>	45	26.1%	27	27%
Disciplinary reasoning total (dir tot)	172	99.9%	100	100%
dir tot/overall #EXINTEX	2.12		0.96	

*percentages may not add up precisely to 100% due to rounding.

These results also show that, while MktgB has more instances of EXINTEX overall and thus a higher absolute number of EXINTEX sequences ($n=104$, vs. $n=81$ in MktgA), MktgA uses approximately twice as many elaboration and disciplinary reasoning strategies in relation to the total number of EXINTEX sequences than MktgB does, implying that MktgA therefore also has higher level of interaction and engagement in terms of drawing on both first- and second-level explanation strategies. It is interesting to note that the distribution of each strategy as a percentage of the total number of strategies of its kind (e.g. clarification strategies as a percentage of the total number of elaboration strategies, and so on) is roughly similar between the two groups. Both MktgA and MktgB use clarification as the most common elaboration strategy (64.2% and 70%, respectively) and challenges and counter-challenges as the most common disciplinary reasoning strategy (55.2% and 60%, respectively). These findings are not particularly surprising as it could also be argued that clarification is in itself the largest category, covering a range of speech acts such as paraphrasing, describing, defining, and so on. Likewise, challenges are a fairly straightforward way of testing the robustness of a proposition. Nevertheless, when comparing these percentages, we also see that MktgB tends to depend slightly more on these strategies than MktgA does. Other notable differences are that MktgA tends to use contrasts and topic expansion strategies noticeably more than MktgB does (10.1% vs. 4% and 18.6% vs. 13%, respectively), and MktgB uses no extralinguistic practices such as onomatopoeia or hand gestures at all.

As always, this should not be understood as an evaluative comment, as simply using more or a wider variety of explanatory strategies does not necessarily make an explanation better or clearer. On the other hand, there is at least one instance in which further probing would certainly have

helped improve understanding, and where the assumption of having achieved shared understanding is wrong.

Extract 6.8 Water (MktgB3)

1	Igor	okay and water what is the water	<i>(top) clarification request</i>
2	Maria	access to water	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
3	Igor	that's strange okay	<i>(clo) acceptance</i>

Although Igor comments that he finds Maria's explanation *strange* (line 3) neither follows up on this and the exchange continues with Maria listing the other headings in the table they drew up the previous day as the basis for their scorecard. Maria's clarification of *water* as *access to water* (line 2) refers to the discussion held the day before as to whether to include access to safe drinking water as an important criterion in their market analysis. However, Igor understands *access to water* not as access to potable water supplies but in terms of the distribution channel, as becomes clear when they return to the criterion later in the meeting:

Extract 6.9 Water revisited (MktgB3)

1	Maria	where do you have water
2	Rafael	one
3	Maria	@@
4	Igor	<31>I have also one<31>
5	Maria	<31>you also have</31> well then okay let's put one
6	Igor	because it doesn't matter you can just you know like bring it by trucks
7		or by railway

Although they agree to award the category of *water* with a *one* (i.e. least important), they still clearly do not share an understanding of what that category represents. In this sense, it can be considered an example of Linell's (1995) "covert miscommunication", which can be identified through "traces or indirect reflections" rather than "clear reflections" (p. 187). While Fabian, Maria and Rafael discussed the issue of access to safe water several times – Maria even having "downloaded the international safe water report" (MktgB_1) – this is not clear to Igor, who was absent during the previous meetings. Instead, he assumes – based on Maria's clarification of *access to water* (Extract 6.8, line 2) – that it concerns modes of transporting their goods, namely *it doesn't matter* if a country doesn't have access to water (i.e. sea freight) because *you can just [...] bring it by trucks or by railway* (Extract 6.9, lines 6-7). Further follow-up on Igor's comment in the first extract that the explanation seemed *strange* would therefore have been helpful in ascertaining what Maria meant by *access to water*. In this context the misunderstanding did not matter as the logic behind the different concepts (i.e. both were seen as important enough to include in the scorecard, but ranked low in relative importance to the other criteria) was shared and the outcome was the same; but in other situations, a difference between access to drinkable water and access to water for product distribution could have very serious implications. It is therefore important to

sensitise students (and teachers) to indirect topicalisation, and to encourage students to follow up with either first- or second-level explanation strategies. For example, Igor’s comment *that’s strange* is not only feedback on the explanation, but could also be interpreted as topicalising *access to water* through a metalinguistic comment, and thus turning it into an explanandum. Had one of the team members paraphrased or extended this topic, it would quickly have become clear that there was a knowledge gap.

Thus the overall findings can be summarised as follows:

- MktgB had a higher absolute number of instances of EXINTEX.
- MktgB also a higher frequency of EXINTEX when normalised as the number of EXINTEX sequences per 1000 words of interaction.
- MktgA had a higher level of EXINTEX coverage as a percentage of their total interaction.
- Both teams had a high level of interaction as measured by the number of discursive and logical relation strategies in relation to the total number of EXINTEX sequences.
- When taking this as a measure of interaction, MktgA’s level of interaction was approximately twice that of MktgB.
- The distribution of topical actions strategies varied slightly across the two teams, with MktgA favouring confirmation checks (31.6%) and metalinguistic comments (29.9%), while MktgB mostly used clarification requests (32%) and confirmation checks (28.1%).
- The distribution of logical relations strategies was roughly similar across the teams, with both favouring clarification as the most common elaboration strategy (64.2% and 70%, respectively) and challenges and counter-challenges as the most common disciplinary reasoning strategy (55.2% and 60%, respectively).

6.5.2 Participant roles

In terms of participant roles, the quantitative data supports the students’ claims in the interviews that authority for the language was shared to a large extent (cf. Cogo 2012; Hynninen 2012, 2013; Smit 2010). This is illustrated in Figures 6.9 and 6.10 below.

Figure 6.9 Overview of individuals’ use of strategies relative to strategy use across team

Name	#top total*	#team top	%top/ team	#clo total	#team clo*	%clo/ team	#ela total	#team ela*	%ela/ team	#dir total	#team dir*	%dir/ team
Benone	111	456	24.3	158	743	21.2	164	584	28.1	79	280	28.2
Carina	120		26.3	224		30.1	169		28.9	68		24.2
Christian	144		31.6	208		28.0	166		28.4	76		27.1
Qingling	81		17.8	153		20.6	85		14.6	57		20.4

Name	#top total	#team top*	%top/team	#clo total	#team clo*	%clo/team	#ela total	#team ela*	%ela/team	#dir total	#team dir*	%dir/team
Fabian	62	212	29.2	89	340	26.2	66	227	29.1	33	115	28.7
Igor	18	63	28.6	27	98	27.6	24	98	24.5	9	39	23.1
Maria	95	275	34.5	165	438	37.7	132	325	40.6	54	154	35.1
Rafael	100	275	36.4	157	438	35.8	103	325	31.7	58	154	37.7

*#top, #clo total etc. means the number of turns by that person marked as topicalisation/closing etc. #team top, clo etc. is calculated as the total number of instances of topicalisation/closing in the meetings in which the person was present. %top, clo/team is the first figure divided by the second figure.

Figure 6.10 Overview of individuals' use of strategies per 1000 words of interaction

Name	total words (1000w)	#top total*	#top/1000w*	#clo total	#clo/1000w*	#ela total	#ela/1000w*	#dir total	#dir/1000w*
Benone	34.785	111	3.19	158	4.54	164	4.71	79	2.27
Carina		120	3.45	224	6.44	169	4.85	68	1.95
Christian		144	4.14	208	5.98	166	4.77	76	2.18
Qingling		81	2.33	153	4.40	85	2.44	57	1.64
Name	total words (1000w)	#top total	#top/1000w*	#clo total	#clo/1000w*	#ela total	#ela/1000w*	#dir total	#dir/1000w*
Fabian (MktgB1,2)	26.194	62	2.37	89	3.40	66	2.52	33	1.26
Igor (MktgB3)	9.475	18	1.90	27	2.85	24	2.53	9	0.95
Maria (MktgB1-3)	35.669	95	2.66	165	4.63	132	3.7	54	1.5
Rafael (MktgB1-3)		100	2.80	157	4.40	103	2.89	58	1.62

*total words refers to the total number of words of interaction in the meetings the participant was present in (see Figure 5.1), divided by 1000. #top, #clo total etc. means the number of turns by that person marked as topicalisation/closing etc. #top, clo/1000w is the second figure divided by the first figure.

Figure 6.9 shows the individuals' use of the various types of strategy calculated as a percentage of the total number of instances of that strategy in the meetings they were present in (e.g. how many times Fabian used a topicalisation strategy compared to the total number of topicalisation strategies used in the two meetings he was present for). Figure 6.10 shows the same but calculated per 1000 words of interaction. It should be mentioned that the data for MktgB in this figure are somewhat skewed as each team members' contribution had to be calculated relative to the meetings they participated in and therefore they should be viewed with a little more caution than the data for MktgA where all members were present for all of the meetings. For example, although Rafael's mean percentage of elaboration strategy use (i.e. the mean of the percentages from all three meetings) is relatively high (31.7%), this conceals the fact that in the second meeting the same factor only stood at 22.4% (see Appendix 5Ai for details). Nevertheless, they offer some interesting insights into the team's interaction and a general overview of participation patterns within each team. Perhaps surprisingly, neither gender nor nationality (at least in terms of

local/international) seemed to be an obvious factor in determining roles or participatory behaviour in either group.

Firstly, it is notable that while there is some range in how much each individual uses each strategy compared to their fellow team members, we can see that every member participated in EXINTEX and in each aspect. In MktgA, for example, though Christian initiates explanations most often (31.6%/4.14) and Qingling the least (17.8%/2.33), the whole team participates in developing the explanation at both the first- and second-level. This is particularly clear with regard to elaboration, where three out of four team members contribute approximately 28.5%/>4.7 each. In MktgB, the the figures cannot represent the individuals' contributions in comparison to each other accurately, but we see that each person participates to a high degree (in almost all cases at least 25%), although the frequency of each strategy is generally lower relative to the total number of words in the interaction than in MktgA. When examining the breakdown of strategies per meeting more closely (see Appendix 5Ai), the results reflect the overall balance summarised in Figure 6.9, with a somewhat higher level of participation across the strategies by Maria and Rafael, and less by Fabian and Igor. This could in part be explained by the fact that Maria and Rafael are present in all three meetings, while Fabian and Igor both miss some of the meetings. In terms of the statistics, this should be compensated for by calculating their contributions relative to the figures for the meetings they were present at; however, it is impossible to say how this affected their motivation, ability and interest in participation at a psychological level, and how this in turn affected their participatory patterns. The lower frequencies in this team as a whole (i.e. per 1000 words) might suggest that having the whole team present in a meeting does promote more EXINTEX. Still, the differences in the teams' working patterns rather than the level of attendance might account for this as MktgB tended to work more independently, with less talk, even when they were together in the meetings (see Section 5.2 for details). The comparatively high level of participation (indicated here by a high percentage of usage) by Maria and Rafael could also derive from a higher level of interaction on their part, whereas Fabian and Igor tended to sit back and listen, then join in once the construct had begun to take shape. It should be noted that a high percentage of usage and participation need not correspond to accuracy in the construction of meaning but rather indicates engagement in more exploratory talk, although this might support the idea that if a participant is present at all the meetings, they are more likely to engage in EXINTEX. At the same time, though the range varies quite considerably in some cases, the figures indicate that all the team members initiated or demanded, offered, challenged, and concluded explanations and thus variously took on a range of roles from novice to expert.

On the other hand, the figures also indicate that some of the students tended to take on certain roles more than others. To some extent, this reflected Kalocsai's (2013) description of "mutual engagement" in developing a Community of Practice as "who is who, who is good at what, and who

knows what” (p. 13). In MktgA, as already mentioned above, Christian initiates explanations most often (31.6%/4.14) and Qingling the least (17.8%/2.33); though Qingling has a comparatively low rate of elaboration (14.6%/2.44), the discrepancies among the team members are much lower with regard to disciplinary reasoning. Benone has the highest rate of disciplinary reasoning overall (28.2%/2.27), followed by Christian (27.1%/2.18). In his reflective interview, Benone claimed that “Christian didn’t trust our decision if they were like an impulse like a decision feeling”; this might explain Christian’s relatively frequent use of disciplinary reasoning, as it could indicate an attempt to anchor the others’ “impulse” explanations in a more robust knowledge base. Similarly, Benone also commented that “Carina [...] admitted [...] she used [...] to say I agree or say yes without negotiating without she tends to agree every time”, which might explain why she has the highest rate of closing (30.1%/6.44). On the other hand, when looking at the sub-categories of closing (Appendix 5B), it is notable that in fact Carina also uses the most topic changes (n=25), summaries (n=26), and proposals of new concepts or names (n=10), suggesting that she actually took on more of a chairing role in terms of summarising the meaning that had been agreed upon by the group and nudging the teamwork forward. Since these were not formal meetings and did not have an official chair or agenda, however, the team’s claim that the team leadership was shared is supported by the quantitative evidence all the team members took on chairing functions at different times. For example, although Carina tends to be the one doing the summarising, Christian has the most instances of topicalisation, introducing new topics, which is also “a privilege of the Chair” (Lesznyák 2004: 123). In terms of disciplinary reasoning (Appendix 5C), Benone is clearly the “challenger” of the group (n=44 compared to n=35/36), while Christian tends to be the one who takes the explanations to the next level with topic expansion (n=18). Extract 6.10 below represents a sequence of EXINTEX where these roles can be seen very clearly.

Extract 6.10 Urban population & distribution (MktgA1)

1	Benone	yeah we <19> should think about </19>	<i>(top) metalinguistic comment</i>
2	Christian	<19>yeah but </19>	
3	Benone	(.) about how many people live in: in the	
4		cities? (.) because (1) th:ey usually buy (1)	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
5		the <un> xxx </un> about <20> i don't</20>	
6	Qingling	<20>ah- ahm</20>	
7	Benone	know (.) if if they live in the countryside	<i>(ela) contrast</i>
8		<21>(then)</21>	
9	Christian	<21>mhm</21>	
10	Benone	they: (2) i don't know.	
11	Christian	<22> but in terms of </22>	<i>(dir) challenge</i>
12	Qingling	<22>well if</22>	
13	Christian	sorry=	
14	Benone	think about india (.) for example.	<i>(ela) example</i>
15	Qingling	well uh also like if people ah the population	<i>(dir) topic expansion</i>
16		is more centralised in the: big cities it's	
17		easier for distribution. =	
18	Christian	=i wanted to men<23>tion this point </23>	<i>(top) metalinguistic comment</i>
19	Qingling	<23>yeah yeah yeah </23>	<i>(clo) agreement</i>

20	Christian	actually. <24>yeah yeah</24>	(clo) agreement
21	Carina	<24>mhm</24>	(clo) agreement
22	Christian	that's really? (.) <25> that's really important	(clo) agreement
23		yeah</25>	
24	Carina	<25>and i think it's </25> (1) it's interesting	(dir) topic expansion
25		because (1) pe- i: think countries like	(ela) examples
26		thailand and philippines they're getting	
27		more of this hyper-? mark- supermarkets?	
28		(.) <26>where: where: </26>	
29	Qingling	<26><un>xxx</un></26>	
30	Carina	they have they don't need a wholesaler?	(ela) clarification
31	Christian	mhm? =	
32	Carina	= where they can (.) just ship it directly?	(ela) glossing SSL
33	Christian	yep.<27> and so act-</27>	
34	Carina	<27> and I think</27> they are getting more	(ela) clarification
35		and more there	
36	Christian	yeah yeah (and it's) better for us actually	(dir) topic expansion
37		because when you (.) uh: distribute directly	
38		to them?	
39	Carina	ye:ah	(clo) agreement
40	Christian	we don't have to (.) give so much discount	(ela) clarification
41		<28>(we can give)</28>	
42	Qingling	<28>yeah yeah</28>	(clo) agreement
43	Christian	<29> less discount so it's </29>	(ela) clarification
44	Carina	<29> yeah the margin is (.) the margin is	(clo) agreement
45		higher.</29>	(ela) glossing SSL
46	Christian	the (gross) margin is <30>higher	(clo) agreement
47		exactly.</30>	
48	Qingling	<30> yeah yeah </30>	(clo) agreement
49	Carina	so we need more (.) hypermarkets.	(clo) summary
50	Qingling	<31>yes</31>	(clo) agreement
51	Benone	<31>mhm. </31>	(clo) agreement
52	Christian	<31> more direct</31> channels. (.) yeah.	(ela) glossing SSL
53		exactly.	(clo) agreement
54	Qingling	yeah in<32> stead of: </32>	(clo) agreement
55	Carina	<32> <un>xxx</un> </32>	
56	Qingling	the wholesalers	(ela) contrast
57	Carina	yeah: <33> or it is? </33>	(dir) challenge
58	Qingling	<33>because discount</33> for wholesalers	(ela) clarification
59		<34>is just (.) <un> xxx </un> because</34>	
60	Carina	<34> (just) small: shops: </34> where (it is).	(ela) clarification
61	Christian	mm independent shops yeah	(clo) agreement
62	Benone	yeah but you will sell less.	(dir) challenge
63	Carina	<35>hm?</35>	(top) minimal incomp. signal
64	Christian	<35>huh?</35>	(top) minimal incomp. signal
65	Benone	you'll sell less. (2) you know?	(ela) clarification
66			(top) clarification check
67	Carina	why:?	(top) clarification request
68	Benone	directly you'll sell less that (.) than (.) if you	(ela) clarification
69		sell to: (1) <36>to: a wholesaler</36>	
70	Carina	<36>wholesaler<36>	
71	Qingling	<37><un> xxx </un> </37>	
72	Carina	<37> <un> xxx </un> </37>	
73	Christian	<37> i mean it it depends on the size </37>=	(ela) clarification
74	Benone	=yes.=	(clo) agreement
75	Christian	=it depends on the size (.) of the=	(ela) clarification
76	Benone	=yeah=	(clo) agreement
77	Christian	= of the shop	
78	Qingling	what it's	(top) clarification request
79	Carina	ye:ah. (1) mhm	(clo) agreement
80	Qingling	twenty-eight?	(top) clarification request

81	Christian	i just wanted to mention like this for an	(top) metalinguistic comment
82		independent shop (.) it's cheaper (2) to: um	(ela) clarification
83		to get the: hh: products from the wholesaler	
84		instead of the (.) manufacturers because of	
85		the: hh: of the discount levels <38> or	
86		something </38>	
87	Carina	<38>ye:ah:.</38>	(clo) agreement
88	Christian	like that	
89	Carina	yep.	(clo) agreement

This extract begins with Benone topicalising the idea of examining the urban population (*we should think about how many people live in the cities*, lines 1, 3-4). Although not actually a challenge, drawing a contrast with the rural population has slightly antagonistic overtones which reflect his critical approach with its high level of challenges. In this extract, although Christian and Carina also make rather half-hearted, or at least only half-realised challenges (lines 11 and 57, respectively), the main challenge is indeed proposed by Benone in line 62 (*but you will sell less*). The impact of this challenge can be seen in the topicalisation that follows and the negotiation of the relationship between using a direct channel of distribution (i.e. without an intermediary) and sales in terms of profit and volume. We see here, too, that Christian takes the lead in responding to Benone's challenge (*it depends on the size of the shop [...] for an independent shop it's cheaper to get the products from the wholesaler*; lines 73, 75, 77, 81-83), although in fact all the team members contribute to expanding the topic at some point (Qingling in lines 15-17; Carina, lines 24-28, 30; Christian, lines 36-38, 40). Likewise, all four team members show a high level of support for each other in terms of agreeing with and strengthening each other's statements (lines 19-23, 42-56, 74-79, 87-89). While Carina in particular shows a lot of agreement towards the end of the sequence, she also supports her colleagues in the first part with a high level of glossing, summarising and expanding. For instance, she follows up on Qingling's comment about urban areas being better for distribution (lines 15-17) with a related comment that countries like Thailand and the Philippines are increasing the number of hypermarkets and thereby raising the number of direct (i.e. simpler) channels of distribution in those markets (lines 24-28, 30, 32); then paraphrases Christian's suggestion (lines 40-41, 43, 46) that this is advantageous for the company as it allows them to have higher margins (lines 44-45); and summarises the logical conclusion of this exploratory talk (*so we need more hypermarkets*; line 49). On the other hand, though these examples suggest that Carina takes on both a topic development and an "expert" function in this sequence, she also topicalises Benone's comment about *you'll sell less* (line 65) with a direct clarification request (*why?*; line 67), which obviously puts her in a very different role. Finally, while it may be tempting to interpret the comparatively low frequency of Qingling's contributions as meaning that she is less involved or engaged in the teamwork, this example shows that this is not the case. On the contrary, she makes valuable contributions both at the transactional level, offering the first topic expansion which opens up the discussion (*if people ah the population is more*

centralised in the: *big cities it's easier for distribution*, lines 15-17) and glossing Christian's references to direct channels (line 52) as *instead of the wholesalers* (lines 54, 56), and at the relational level, joining in the rounds of agreement (lines 19, 42, 48).

In MktgB, the distortion of the figures through the different constellations of the team across the three meetings makes it relatively difficult to draw robust conclusions. However, examining the detailed breakdown of strategy use by individual across each meeting (Appendix 5A) reveals a similar trend with Maria and Rafael generally using a notably higher percentage of each type of strategy than Fabian and Igor (mid- to upper 30s vs. mid- to upper 20s, respectively). The most striking outlier is Maria's use of elaboration strategies at 40.6% (and hitting a peak of 49.3% in MktgB_2), substantially higher than both use of that strategy by the other team members and Maria's own use of any other type of strategy (in proportional terms). At the other extreme, Igor uses the least disciplinary reasoning at 23.1%, though this is not as striking a difference to the other data and should also be regarded cautiously as it is only based on a single meeting. As a comparison, Rafael only used 22.4% elaboration in MktgB_2, but this was balanced out by having a much higher rate in MktgB_1 and MktgB_3 (see Appendix 5Ai).

Overall, it is striking that it is very difficult to assign individuals a particular role in this team even more than in MktgA. Use of the various strategies is relatively evenly distributed across the team. Examination of the detailed breakdown of the closing strategies which might indicate a chairing or "challenger" roles, as seen in MktgA above, gives little indication that any of the team members assumed either of these consistently more than the others (see Appendices 5B and 5C). In fact, the only clear role that is salient in a closer qualitative analysis of the data is Rafael's role as the (self-confessed) "procrastinator". The quantitative data overview reveals that he makes the highest number of topic changes (n=41); what this does not show is that a number of these introduce a topic unrelated to the task, whereas all the other team members use topic changes to change to another aspect of the market analysis. Though there are not many instances of these off-topic changes (n=6), they are quite dramatic, and divert the team away from the task for several turns:

Extract 6.11 Topic change – shaving (MktgB1)

1	Fabian	[...] we only have to pay one cent	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
2	Rafael	<53>it's always</53>	
3	Fabian	<53>with south korea</53>	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
4	Rafael	one cent	<i>(clo) agreement</i>
5	Fabian	one cent yeah	<i>(clo) agreement</i>
6	Rafael	cool (1) my doubt is (.) erased (.) thanks <54>@@</54>	<i>(clo) gratitude</i>
7	Maria	<54>@@</54>@ (3)	
8	Rafael	do you shave every day? during the week	<i>(clo) topic change</i>
9	Maria	@@@	
10	Fabian	uh every two days (2)	
11	Rafael	cause it's funny i've never seen you with a little a little	
12		<55>bit some some beard</55>	
13	Fabian	<55>i only need to do</55> it every two days (2)	
14	Maria	and what about you=	
15	Fabian	=you know in the weekend i don't care about it	

16	Rafael	@@ i shave like once a week (1) i only have patience	
17		yeah i don't never really shave with a razor blade so (.)	
18	Fabian	ah okay	
19	Rafael	just with the machine like pffffff {imitating electric shaver}	
20		shaver}	
21	Maria	it's better because otherwise you would cut yourself	
22		again	
23	Rafael	yeah	
24	Fabian	@@@ it hurts	
25	Maria	<56>@@@</56>	
26	Rafael	<56>@@@</56>	
27	Fabian	@@	
28	Maria	so: what else (.) do we have	<i>(clo) topic change</i>
29	Rafael	i thought about the other things that we said (.) like	<i>(top) metalinguistic comment</i>
30		import exports [...]	

This extract presents the end of one sequence of EXINTEX (*cool my doubt is erased thanks*, line 6) and the beginning of the next in line 28 (*so what else do we have*). However, between the two sequences, there are 22 lines of off-topic conversation about shaving habits initiated by a topic change from Rafael. The importance and role of these off-topic sequences were/will be discussed in the chapter on casual talk (Section 7.3). However, it is curious to note at this point that in MktgB they are all initiated by Rafael and cover a range of topics from the discussion of shaving given here to a documentary on fishing ducks, the course grading system, and how to pronounce the professor's name. In contrast, all of the team members (including Rafael himself) take the lead in bringing the discussion back on-task, and therefore it is difficult to argue that any of them takes more of a chairing or leading role than the others, as was also the case in MktgA. In this respect, the quantitative and qualitative analyses support the students' claims in the interviews that Christian and Fabian were leaders in name only, and that authority for the task and for language was shared among all the team members.

In conclusion, analysing the interaction in order to determine if and what roles the individual team members assumed resulted in the following findings:

- Authority for the task and for language was largely shared in both teams, and all team members engaged in EXINTEX to a broadly equal extent.
- It cannot be argued that any of the team members were perceived as experts any more than their colleagues, but rather that individuals took on the role of expert or novice as and when it corresponded to their level of knowledge on the topic in question.
- These roles were therefore very fluid, and could also change within the course of a single EXINTEX sequence.
- However, some roles were salient within a team; in MktgA, Christian was the one who most frequently expanded or opened up the topic for deeper discussion, while Carina tended to act as chair in terms of summarising the constructed meaning and nudging the

discussion forward. Benone could be said to be the “challenger” and thus contributed strongly to establishing the robustness of an explanation by testing it.

- In MktgB, it was very difficult to identify any clear task-related roles. Rafael put himself in the role of “procrastinator” by switching from EXINTEX to off-task topics once agreement on meaning had been reached. Nevertheless, he also took on the role of bringing the team back on track after such episodes, as did each of his colleagues at various points in the interaction.

6.5.3 Language and culture in EXINTEX

An interesting role which was assigned to and taken on by Qingling was that of the “local expert” or cultural “insider” for topics relating to China. As the only student with personal experience in any of the six countries, her expertise was occasionally addressed and requested explicitly in EXINTEX sequences:

Extract 6.12 Perception of foreign brands in China (MktgA1)

1	Benone	(you) know (4) what's the perception (1) of: (.) chinese	<i>(top) clarification</i>
2		people for example (.) regarding drugs and (.)	<i>request</i>
3		toothpaste and (.) international brands (1) cause it's	
4		not the same like (.) <443>li ning*</443>	<i>(top) justification</i>
5	Qingling	<443>(do)</443>(you) mean it's safer (.) foreign (.)	<i>(top) confirmation</i>
6		foreign brand is safer?	<i>check</i>
7	Carina	mhm	
8	Benone	safer? <444>or higher</444>	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
9	Qingling	<444> i i </444>	
10	Benone	quality?	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
11	Qingling	yeah	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
12	Benone	okay? <445>(.) yeah</445>	
13	Qingling	<445>it's ah</445> (2) the general perception	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
14	Benone	mhm	<i>(clo) acceptance</i>
15	Qingling	so i mean it's not completely a bad thing if it come	<i>(clo) summary</i>
16		comes off as an an american brand	
17	Carina	mhm	<i>(clo) acceptance</i>
18	Qingling	it's not (.) <446>it's not</446>	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
19	Benone	<446> (yeah)</446>	
20	Qingling	necessarily a bad thing but (.) i mean (.) it also depends	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
21		on the: (.) on the advertisement	

* Li Ning refers to the Chinese sports clothing company which was the students' first case study.

In this extract, Benone appeals to Qingling's expertise as an “insider” to gain an insight into cultural norms and values in order to make one of the decisions presented by the simulation, namely, whether or not the team can adapt their (US/Western) advertisements or need to create new (Chinese) advertisements to attract customers in their new market. Qingling appears to confirm that foreign brands are generally perceived as being safer and/or of higher quality than local ones (line 13) and also summarises the implications of this for their specific context (*it's not completely a bad thing if it comes off as an American brand*, lines 15-16).

On the other hand, the students also drew on their own cultural knowledge and expertise to aid or support their explanations, even when it was not directly related to the countries in question. For example, in the following extract, Benone draws on his knowledge of hygiene habits (or rather the lack thereof) in rural areas in his own country, Romania, to underline the importance of including urban population as an important factor in determining the level of dental hygiene in their target markets and a decision criterion in the market analysis.

Extract 6.13 Dental hygiene in Romania (MktgA1)

1	Benone	= i'm thinking about my country mm: this is a	<i>(top) metalinguistic</i>
2		problem there you know w- we: are civilised	<i>comment</i>
3		<114>but</114>	
4	Carina	<114>mhm</114>	
5	Benone	if you look on the statistics (.) mm more than half	<i>(ela) example</i>
6		of the country? do not (.) wash their	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
7		<115>teeths</115>	
8	Christian	<115>mhm</115>	<i>(clo) acceptance</i>
9	Benone	so (1) it's a problem (.) <116>a:nd</116>	<i>(clo) summary</i>
10	Carina	<116>okay</116>	<i>(clo) acceptance</i>
11	Benone	we are in the <spel>e u</spel> (.) and india is	<i>(dir) topic expansion</i>
12		not (.) it's <117>far</117>	
13	Christian	<117>yeah</117>	<i>(clo) acceptance</i>
14	Benone	away	
15	Qingling	okay	<i>(clo) acceptance</i>
16	Christian	okay	<i>(clo) acceptance</i>

Similarly, in the episode that began with Extract 6.7 discussed earlier in the chapter, Christian later refers to the Austrian inflation rate as a benchmark for what should be considered a “normal” or “healthy” CPI. He also uses Austria as an example to argue that although the population of South Korea is low in comparison to that of the other target markets, “actually it’s six times of Austria so it’s [...] not that bad”. In the MktgB team, both Maria and Rafael draw on their own work experience in Austria and Portugal, respectively, as a benchmark for the decisions they need to make about how many sales people they need and how high their wages are.

In terms of drawing on linguistic resources in their explanations, instances of other languages tended to occur in slightly (or very) off-topic conversations even when they were part of a longer and generally more complex and “messy” EXINTEX sequence based around the exposition or exploration of local cultural knowledge. These “messier” sequences bear some similarity to what Pitzl (2010: 82) refers to as “waffling” (cf. Maher 2016; House 1999), i.e. “the use of too many words as a compensatory strategy, e.g. explanation where there is no need or request for an explanation” (Pitzl 2010: 82). While earlier research defines “waffling” primarily as the use of supportive linguistic moves (such as minimising or modification, e.g. Maher 2016 or in compensation for lacking standardised routines, e.g. House 1999), Pitzl seems to use it a little more generally to refer to explanations that are “superfluous to task goals” (Pitzl 2010: 84). Even this is arguably too loose a definition, since the parts of the EXINTEX sequences that include translation in the present data are not absolutely necessary for constructing the meaning of the business concept

in question, but do have an important role in achieving the task goals. The present study thus conceptualises “task-oriented waffle” as (rather extreme and extensive) topic extensions. Task-oriented waffle is superfluous as it is not directly relevant to the topic but is offered with the aim of giving sense and shape to the examples the team members provide as part of an elaboration strategy by drawing on their own cultural knowledge. As such, task-oriented waffle offers a valuable insight into the mechanisms of the market while moving away from the topic itself. It is thus not exactly an instance of “digression” from the topic as described by Bublitz (1988: 68, 94-98) and Lesznyák (2004: 117-118), who see digressions as a (short and urgent) break from or suspension of the topic rather than an extreme topic extension. Rather, task-oriented waffle can be seen as a supportive move that helps to make the participants’ explanations more robust by presenting their personal experiences as the foundation for epistemic authority.

At the same time, valuing the other team members as local knowledge experts and the knowledge gained can serve to strengthen the team’s relationships (cf. Pitzl 2010: 85) and help make their understanding of the issue more profound. This also reflects the results of DiStefano and Maznevski’s (2000) research into successful multicultural teamwork in business contexts, which found that one of the key elements of the effective “creator” teams’ behaviour is that “differences are explicitly recognized and accepted, even nurtured, and their implications are incorporated into every facet of the group’s processes” (p. 48). The teams’ “mental models” thus need to be extended to comprise “a shared understanding of the team’s resources (e.g., members’ knowledge, skills, and experiences)” as well as their (task) goals and objectives (Salas et al. 2005: 562).

In MktgB, the example of translation as part of an explanation arises in a discussion about distribution, drugstores and, specifically, an Austrian drugstore chain called BIPA; in MktgA, the overall topic is advertising in China and is a continuation of the EXINTEX sequence presented in Extract 6.12, which opened with the clarification request *what's the perception of Chinese people for example regarding drugs and toothpaste and international brands?*. The rather long and complex discussion in Extract 6.14 below represents several cycles of EXINTEX embedded within each other, illustrating how this kind of “waffling” is integral to developing the topic of “the perception of Chinese people regarding international brands” without offering a direct explanation.

Extract 6.14 Advertising in China (MktgA1)

(NB: numbers in superscript match an explanandum to its explanation.)

1	Qingling	[...] so i mean it's not: completely a bad thing if it	<i>(clo) summary</i>
2		come comes off as an an american brand	
3	Carina	mhm	<i>(clo) agreement</i>
4	Qingling	it's not (.) <446>it's not</446>	<i>(ela) clarification</i>
5	Benone	<446> (yeah)</446>	<i>(clo) agreement</i>
6	Qingling	necessarily a bad thing) but (.) i mean (.) it also	<i>(ela) clarification¹</i>
7		depends on the: (.) on the advertisement (.) like if	
8		it's just showing some people's face it's one thing	<i>(ela) contrast¹</i>
9		but if they actually TALK (1) and then: you: dub	
10	Benone	<447>what</447>	<i>(top) clarification request²</i>
11	Carina	<447>mhm</447>	
12	Benone	if <448>what if you have kobe bryant </448>	<i>(top) clarification request²</i>
13	Qingling	<448>then it's kind of weird</448>	<i>(ela) clarification¹ (cont.)</i>
14	Benone	in an ad (.) talking chinese (.) speaking chinese	
15	Qingling	sorry?	<i>(top) min. incomp. signal³</i>
16	Christian	@<449>@</449>	
17	Benone	<449>you don't</449> know kobe bryant	<i>(top) clarification check³</i>
18	Qingling	huh?	<i>(top) min. incomp. signal³</i>
19	Benone	(let's take) michael jordan (.) let's take <450>someone	<i>(top) metal. comment³</i>
20		else from america</450>	<i>(ela) example³</i>
21	Carina	<450>@@ yeah </450>	
22	Qingling	yeah	
23	Benone	if you'll have him in an <451>ad</451>	<i>(ela) clarification³</i>
24	Qingling	<451>mhm</451>	
25	Benone	talking chinese (.) speaking chinese	<i>(ela) clarification³</i>
26	Qingling	yeah they (.) there actually is this kind of thing	<i>(clo) acceptance³</i>
27			<i>(ela) clarification²</i>
28	Benone	<452>yes?</452>	
29	Qingling	<452>(i think)</452> it was messi	<i>(ela) example²</i>
30	Christian	messi yeah	<i>(clo) acceptance²</i>
31	Qingling	yeah=	
32	Carina	=REALLY=	<i>(dir) challenge⁴</i>
33	Qingling	=yeah he talked just (.) one sentence	<i>(ela) clarification⁴</i>
34	Carina	@@	
35	Qingling	but it's kind of yeah (.) interesting	
36	Benone	i- it is chinese or something like (.) he was like (1)	<i>(top) clarification check⁵</i>
37		{miming speaking} and it's chinese sound (1) you	<i>(ela) extraling. resources⁶</i>
38		know what i mean	<i>(top) clarification request⁶</i>
39	Qingling	@<453>@@ (.) <un> xxx </un></453>	
40	Christian	<453>you're talking about (.) (like you're talking)	<i>(top) clarification check⁶</i>
41		</453><454>about <pvc>synchroisation</pvc>	
42		</454>	
43	Carina	<454>yeah yeah yeah </454>	<i>(clo) agreement⁶</i>
44	Benone	yes yes <pvc>synchroisation</pvc>=	<i>(clo) agreement⁶</i>
45	Christian	=aha=	
46	Benone	like you: speak chinese and i'm like {miming speaking}	<i>(ela) clarification⁶</i>
47		what	
48	Qingling	<455>@@</455>	
49	Carina	<455>@@</455>	
50	Qingling	<un>xx</un><456>@@</456>	
51	Benone	<456><un> xxx </un></456>	
52	Carina	<456>@@</456>	
53	Benone	@@ okay	
54	Carina	but (.) so we can (.) keep the name also (1) we don't	<i>(top) clarification check⁷</i>
55		have to: use (.) <457>a chinese</457>	
56	Benone	<457>a name of what</457>	<i>(top) clarification request⁸</i>
57	Carina	name or so (.) for exam- or:=	<i>(ela) clarification⁷</i>
58	Benone	=for michael jordan	<i>(top) clarification check⁸</i>
59	Carina	<458>NO:</458>	<i>(ela) clarification⁸</i>
60	Benone	<458>@@</458>	
61	Christian	<458>for the brand</458>	<i>(ela) clarification⁸</i>

62	Carina	for the @@@ <459><un>xxx</un> the tooth </459>	<i>(ela) clarification⁸</i>
63	Qingling	<459>@@@@</459> no <460> no <un> xxx	
64		</un></460>	
65	Benone	<460><un> xxx </un></460>	
66	Carina	<460>the toothpaste</460>	<i>(ela) clarification⁸</i>
67	Qingling	<460>we DO need a Chinese name</460> we need to	<i>(ela) clarification⁷</i>
68		have a chinese name	
69	Christian	you need to have a chinese name?	<i>(top) clarification check⁹</i>
70	Qingling	yeah	<i>(ela) clarification⁹</i>
71	Christian	okay	<i>(clo) acceptance⁹</i>
72	Benone	really?	<i>(dir) challenge¹⁰</i>
73	Qingling	yes=	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁰</i>
74	Christian	=okay (.) that's <461>good</461>	<i>(clo) acceptance¹⁰</i>
75	Qingling	<461>i think</461> some<462>times</462>	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁰</i>
76	Christian	<462>(i didn't know)</462>	<i>(clo) acknowledgement¹⁰</i>
77	Qingling	<463>like</463>	
78	Benone	<463>okay</463>	
79	Qingling	in a central central: (1) <spel>t v</spel> station they	<i>(ela) example¹⁰</i>
80		are no:t allowed to (like) even (.) you want to say	
81		michael jordan (.) you have to say the chinese version	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁰</i>
82		(.) <464>you can't just</464>	<i>(ela) contrast¹⁰</i>
83	Carina	<464>mm?</464>	
84	Qingling	say english	
85	Christian	okay	<i>(clo) acceptance¹⁰</i>
86	Benone	and how do michael (1) chinese version of	<i>(top) clarification request¹¹</i>
87		<@>michael jordan</@>	
88	Qingling	<L1chi>迈克尔·乔丹 {màikè'ěr-qiáodān}</L1chi> (1) it's	<i>(ela) translation¹¹</i>
89		a sound alike (.) but you have to	<i>(ela) clarification¹¹</i>
90	Christian	okay	<i>(clo) acceptance¹¹</i>
91	Benone	and allbrand	<i>(top) clarification request¹²</i>
92	Qingling	huh?	<i>(top) min. incomp. signal¹³</i>
93	Benone	say allbrand pharmaceuticals	<i>(ela) clarification¹³</i>
94	Christian	in chinese=	<i>(ela) clarification¹³</i>
95	Benone	=in chinese	<i>(clo) agreement¹³</i>
96	Qingling	i don't know <465>@@@ (i'm not sure) @@@ (i	<i>(ela) (clarification)¹²</i>
97		don't know it)</465>	
98	Benone	<465>adapt it (.) adapt it @@@</465>	
99	Qingling	no but like the: the advertising agency or the	<i>(ela) clarification¹²</i>
100		company they have to come up with a chinese name	
101		for example like (1) like <spel>b m w</spel> like	<i>(ela) example¹²</i>
102		<466>benz</466>	
103	Christian	<466>mhm</466>	
104	Qingling	like every: every brand has a chinese name	<i>(ela) clarification¹²</i>
105	Carina	okay so they don't say (.) <spel>b m w</spel> or:	<i>(top) clarification check¹⁴</i>
106	Qingling	they say it but there ah: there is also a chinese	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁴</i>
107	Christian	a chinese name	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁴</i>
108	Qingling	huh?	<i>(top) min. incomp. signal¹⁵</i>
109	Benone	<spel>b m w</spel> is?	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁶</i>
110	Qingling	<L1chi> 宝马 {bǎo mǎ} </L1chi> it means like um (.)	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁶</i>
111		um: (.) like a (1) precious horse	<i>(ela) translation¹⁶</i>
112	Carina	mhm	<i>(clo) acceptance¹⁶</i>
113	Benone	precious horse	<i>(clo) acceptance¹⁶</i>
114	Christian	but in the end <467>they have</467>	<i>(dir) challenge¹⁷</i>
115	Benone	<467>sounds cool</467>	<i>(clo) acceptance¹⁶</i>
116	Christian	<spel>b m w</spel>	
117	Qingling	the the the	<i>(top) min. incomp. signal¹⁸</i>
118	Christian	the logo?	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁸</i>
119	Qingling	yes=	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁸</i>
120	Christian	=on the car=	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁸</i>
121	Qingling	=yes=	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁷</i>
122	Christian	=on the car so	<i>(clo) acceptance¹⁷</i>
123	Carina	okay	<i>(clo) acceptance¹⁷</i>
124	Qingling	@@@	
125	Benone	hmhm (1) good to know (2)	<i>(clo) acknowledgement^{7--17?}</i>

126	Christian	but in our case (1) should we come up do we have	<i>(dir) challenge¹⁸</i>
127		um (.) the name (1) what is it (.) allstar?	<i>(top) clarification request¹⁹</i>
128	Qingling	allstar	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁹</i>
129	Christian	on the toothpaste or: the chinese name (.) when we:	<i>(top) clarification request¹⁸</i>
130		would like to: (.) import to china	
131	Qingling	and also (.) i i think (.) like if you want to sell this	<i>(dir) topic expansion¹⁸</i>
132		product in chinese you have to repackage it	
133	Carina	mhm	<i>(clo) acceptance¹⁸</i>
134	Qingling	you have to have chinese on it	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁸</i>
135	Christian	<468>okay</468>	<i>(clo) acceptance¹⁸</i>
136	Qingling	<468>and i:</468> think that's the same for every	<i>(ela) clarification¹⁸</i>
137		place	
138	Christian	(right)	<i>(clo) acceptance¹⁸</i>
139	Benone	i think we are (.) thinking too far because	<i>(dir) challenge¹⁹</i>
140	Carina	<469>yeah:</469>	<i>(clo) agreement¹⁹</i>
141	Qingling	<469>yeah</469>	<i>(clo) agreement¹⁹</i>
142	Christian	yeah	<i>(clo) agreement¹⁹</i>
143	Carina	YEAH	<i>(clo) agreement¹⁹</i>
144	Qingling	<470>yeah </470>	<i>(clo) agreement¹⁹</i>
145	Benone	<470>this is</470> a game ye:s (1) and we should (.)	<i>(clo) summary¹⁹</i>
146		take into consideration only these (.) these things	
147	Carina	the thing that <471>we </471>	<i>(clo) agreement¹⁹</i>
148	Benone	<471>yeah </471>	<i>(clo) agreement¹⁹</i>
149	Carina	have to present then yeah =	<i>(clo) summary¹⁹</i>
150	Benone	=yeah (.) <472>it's like</472>	<i>(clo) agreement¹⁹</i>
151	Carina	<472>right</472>	<i>(clo) agreement¹⁹</i>
152	Benone	in the computer the game (1)	<i>(clo) agreement¹⁹</i>
153	Carina	but good that we thought about it	<i>(top) metaling. comment²⁰</i>
154	Benone	ye:s	<i>(clo) agreement²⁰</i>
155	Carina	for the computer game	<i>(ela) clarification²⁰</i>
156	Benone	@@	
157	Christian	mhm	<i>(clo) agreement²⁰</i>
158	Qingling	mhm	<i>(clo) agreement²⁰</i>
159	Carina	@@@ (.) okay	<i>(clo) agreement²⁰</i>
160	Christian	anyway (.) okay=	<i>(clo) agreement²⁰</i>
161	Carina	=anyway yeah	<i>(clo) agreement²⁰</i>
162	Qingling	can we somehow combine urban population and	<i>(clo) topic change</i>
163		market potential? (2) uh potential segment	

The first and most striking thing about this extract is its length – just over four minutes’ constant interaction. Secondly, it is highly complex and multi-layered; topicalisation is itself topicalised (e.g. a clarification strategy or confirmation check is followed by a minimal incomprehension signal) and has to be clarified before the question can be answered; these relationships are indicated by the numbers in superscript. For example, Qingling begins by clarifying that the perception of Westerners in Chinese advertising *depends on the advertisement like if it's just showing some people's face it's one thing but if they actually TALK if you dub [...] then it's kind of weird* (lines 6-9, 13). This is interrupted by Benone’s *what?* in line 10, suggesting he doesn’t know the word *dub*, although he answers his own clarification request with an example: *what if you have Kobe Bryant [an American basketball player] in an ad talking Chinese* (line 12). Qingling, however, does not understand Benone’s (cultural) reference to Kobe Bryant, and a third cycle of negotiating meaning opens before the previous ones are completed: *sorry?/ you don't know Kobe Bryant/huh?* (lines 15, 17-18).

As well as being very complex in terms of the interaction, with a high level of interruptions, latching and overlaps, the overall topic (advertising in China) spans the perception of foreigners in advertisements, Western sports celebrities, dubbing practices, the need to have a Chinese name even for a Western product, the need to adapt packaging, and finally a suggestion that this is going into too much detail for the simulation. The sequence ends with *anyway* (lines 160 and 161), which Bublitz (1988: 116-120) identifies as marking the end of a digression. Yet it all relates to a single overarching topic that is relevant for the task (even if they ultimately decide that the issues go beyond the scope of the task) and therefore should be considered part of the overall EXINTEX sequence. On the one hand, it is unnecessary and, in that sense, clearly “waffle”, but on the other, it is not purely relational talk, either. Rather, the students are drawing on Qingling’s insider knowledge to gain an insight into the cultural environment of the target market in order to inform their decisions with regard to advertising their products. The high level of acceptance and relatively low level of challenges offered in response to Qingling’s explanations supports the idea that her team colleagues defer to her as an authority in this respect; in fact, the *really?* challenges that are made by Carina and Benone in lines 32 and 72, respectively, could be interpreted as expressions of surprise and interest rather than a genuine challenge or test. The fact that they realise they do not need to make such detailed decisions for the simulation programme does not detract from the transactional value of these discussions.

This “task-oriented waffle” offers some interesting insights into the use of other languages, translation, and translanguaging that are not present in the other sequences of more strongly task-oriented talk. The first is the use of straightforward translation that was considered an elaboration strategy in the analysis. Examples of this do not refer to incidental uses of another language but to specific instances of strategic code-switching often accompanied by a discourse marker with a metalinguistic comment (though not as used in topicalisation) such as *it means* or *it’s like*. In this extract, we see Qingling translating both from Chinese into English (<L1chi> 宝马 {bǎo mǎ; “BMW”} </L1chi> *it means like [...] a precious horse*; lines 110-111) and from English into Chinese (<L1chi> 迈克尔·乔丹 {màikè'ěr·qiáodān; “Michael Jordan”} </L1chi> *it's a sound alike*; lines 88-89). The second noteworthy point is the discussion of dubbing practices which represents a sub-sequence of EXINTEX (lines 36-48) initiated by Benone as he tries to find the word for dubbing, trying to bridge his own knowledge gap by using extralinguistic resources to mime a voiceover (lines 37-38). Christian comes to his rescue with a coinage synchronisation, presumably based on the German word *Synchronisierung* (lines 40-42). The other team members accept this without marking it; in Firth’s (1996) terms, “make it normal” – Carina even agreeing enthusiastically with *yeah yeah yeah* in line 43 – and Benone agrees, repeating *synchronisation* in line 44. It is not clear if he is using the same (non-standard) word in English deliberately to align himself with Christian, or if the influence of his own L1 (Romanian) is coming through. A similar example of a coinage can be found in the

MktgB team, where Rafael uses the word *punctuation* for the distribution of points (as in *shall we do the punctuation now?*). However, this is marked by a longer and more challenging discussion that is not entirely resolved, whereas in this case the MktgA accept the coinage and move on. However, most instances where language was topicalised were not even in these slightly off-topic sequences (i.e. “task-oriented waffle”), but in sequences that were primarily examples of relational rather than task-oriented talk; this will be discussed in the next chapter.

While there were other instances of translanguaging, it seemed that these were generally not being employed as EXINTEX strategies, but simply as part of the individual’s repertoire as they were rarely marked with a direct comment or request for further explanation (cf. Kalocsai 2013: 49). One of the few examples of translanguaging that was directly relevant to the task but passed completely without comment was Benone’s use of *filipine*, the Romanian name and pronunciation for the Philippines, which he used regularly (though not always).

Extract 6.15 *filipine*

yeah and you'll (gain) <269> resources</269> [...] from (.) chinese market [...] in order to invest then in philippine (.) or thailand i don't know (2) which is not uh which is not valid vice versa (.) you'll not get the resources from (.) thailand or <L1ro>filipine</L1ro> in order to invest (.) in china (2)

(Benone, MktgA2, meeting data)

Curiously, in the Mktg B team, Fabian occasionally switched into German when he was frustrated with his computer (and specifically Excel); though these were rare asides, there was one longer sequence which involved Maria – Rafael having left briefly to get some coffee – and began with a clear call for an explanation, although the sequence itself was not, strictly speaking, an instance of EXINTEX:

Extract 6.16 Excel (MktgB1)

1	Fabian	<L1de>des versteh i ned</L1de>
2	Maria	mhm?
3	Fabian	<L1de><un>xxx</un> geben (2) dividiert durch drei (2) und</L1de> (1)
4	Maria	<L1de>gibt's ja ned</L1de>
5	Fabian	<L1de>tut nix</L1de>
6	Maria	<L1de> vielleicht hast auf (1) na des dürft auch nix mach'n (7) a:h (.) boah
7		das excel immer so viel mitdenken muss. ich hasse es.</L1de> (20)
8	Fabian	<L1de>DAS war's</L1de>
9	Maria	<L1de>was war's</L1de>
10	Fabian	comma instead of points.

[English translation]

1	Fabian	i don't get it
2	Maria	mhm?
3	Fabian	<un>xxx</un> gives (2) divided by three (2) and (1)

4	Maria	can't be
5	Fabian	it's not doing anything
6	Maria	maybe you (1) nah that shouldn't do anything either (7) a:h (.) boah
7		you've always got to do the thinking yourself with excel. i hate it (20)
8	Fabian	THAT'S what it was
9	Maria	what?
10	Fabian	<in English> comma instead of points.

Surprisingly, although their joint attempts to construct sense (if not meaning) out of the programme glitches were conducted in German, Fabian's final explanation for the problem in line 10 is in English (*comma instead of points*), even though Rafael (the non-German speaker) was not even present in the room at this point in the interaction. Yet Fabian's explanandum (*DAS war's*, line 8) and Maria's request for an explanation in line 9 (*was war's*) were both still in German. However, in the context of normal task-related interaction, translation and translanguaging were only very rarely used as part of EXINTEX.

Consequently, the students' interaction in terms of references to culture and their use of other languages and languaging practices can be summarised as follows:

- English was used the vast majority of the time, and there was very little use of other languages in general and in EXINTEX in particular.
- When Fabian used German with Maria, it was usually to resolve technical issues with Excel.
- Other instances of translation, systematic code-switching and translanguaging in EXINTEX sequences mostly occurred in task-oriented "waffle", or parts of EXINTEX sequences that were not immediately relevant to completing the task although they were relevant and related to it.
- These were also often characterised by drawing on the team members' local cultural knowledge and students with a connection to the country in question was regarded as an "expert" in this respect. However, that did not prevent the others from questioning and challenging any answers that they provided
- The students also drew on their own personal and professional experience in countries not directly related to the task to use as benchmarks for determining the impact and implications of the data they were given about the target markets.

6.6 Summary

All in all, the analysis of the teams' "work talk" revealed that both teams did spend a considerable amount of time (approximately 30-40% of their overall interaction) on EXINTEX and that they did, to a large degree, manage to construct meaning for subject-specific concepts which was both mutually acceptable and jointly agreed upon by the whole team (at least implicitly). The lack of an

epistemic authority meant that the students' discussions went beyond Smit's (2010) framework of INTEX (*interactive explaining*) and this was therefore expanded by integrating aspects of exploratory talk (Barnes 1976; Mercer 2000) and findings from research into (mis)understanding in ELF contexts (e.g. Björkman 2013; Cogo & Pitzl 2016; House 1999; Kalocsai 2013; Kaur 2009; Mauranen 2006b; Pitzl 2005, 2010; Pietikäinen 2016). This expanded framework of INTEX is referred to, not surprisingly, as EXINTEX (*exploratory interactive explaining*).

The development of the EXINTEX framework resulted in two taxonomies, one at the level of topical actions and one at the level of logical relations. The former examined how the team members topicalised explananda and expressed agreement with or acceptance of explanations given, closing the EXINTEX sequence and indicating a readiness to "move on". The latter analysed the explanations themselves at the level of elaboration, i.e. defining and describing the topic in question, and disciplinary reasoning, where they constructed logical sequences of reasoning through challenges or counter-challenges, topic expansion and references to external sources. It also resulted in the identification of a small number of instances in which topicalisation was not followed up or the EXINTEX sequence either failed to construct mutually satisfactory and shared meaning or the jointly constructed meaning did not correspond to the concept as it is used in actual business practice.

Despite the caveats attached to the quantitative analysis, which derive primarily from the differences in the composition of the team's meetings and are a direct and unavoidable result of the ethnographic approach, using this method offered some valuable insights into the general patterns of interaction within each team. Firstly, it confirmed that all the team members did participate in EXINTEX even if individual contributions varied in length and frequency. It also showed that both teams' use of EXINTEX was complex and highly interactive, when interaction was measured by the number of discursive and logical relation strategies in relation to the total number of EXINTEX sequences. Using this measurement, though, MktgA was approximately twice as interactive as MktgB. The teams also differed slightly in their preference of topical actions strategies, though they both shared a tendency to use clarification and challenges/ counter-challenges as their preferred logical relations strategies.

In terms of participant roles, as indicated above, all team members engaged in EXINTEX to a broadly equal extent and authority for the task and for language was largely shared in both teams. In general, none of the individual team members were clearly in or given an expert or novice role but rather took these on as and when it corresponded to their level of knowledge on the topic in question. In turn, this meant that these roles were very fluid and an individual might move between them within the course of a single interaction. At the same time, a couple of the team members did seem to have more salient pragmatic roles (e.g. the chair, the challenger, the procrastinator), particularly in MktgA.

A final role that was also identified was the local expert, i.e. a team member who had personal knowledge or experience of the topic/target market, and this was also reflected in the use of references to the students' own culture, local knowledge and (professional) experience as a means of supporting their explanations. These references were often part of longer "waffle" sequences, where the students digressed from the topic while still attempting to explain it or related issues. These were also the contexts in which other languages generally appeared as part of EXINTEX either in the form of translating (strategic code-switching) or translanguaging (coinages or the unmarked use of other codes).

To sum up and return to the research question of

RQ2a: *How do the participants use language to optimise team performance?*

this chapter examines how the students do "work talk" to construct the categories for their market analysis scoreboard, developing the EXINTEX framework to identify and analyse the communicative practices used by the participants in doing so. The data reveals that they discuss the input in terms of topicalising (business) concepts, deconstructing them into their essential components and then reconstructing meaning which is (in most cases) accepted and shared by all the members of the team. This not only ensures that all the team members have a shared understanding of the topics in question but forces them to engage with each other and with the issues in depth. Constructing meaning for the concepts at hand necessarily goes beyond simply "performing" a formal definition as might be offered to a teacher (cf. Barnes 1976, 2008) and requires fully understanding the concept and its relation to other relevant concepts. Furthermore, the team context and the lack of an epistemic authority means that the students not only have to be able to grasp the concept for themselves but also to express it clearly to and defend it against challenges from other team members. The analysis reveals that this process (called EXINTEX, or exploratory interactive explaining) is highly interactive in each group (though more so in MktgA), both in terms of turn-taking, with high levels of overlapping and latching, and in terms of its complex discourse structure. Authority for language and for this task is shared amongst the group members, even if some students tend to take on certain roles more than others. While the students draw strongly on their and each other's cultural knowledge to support their explanations, there are relatively few instances of translanguaging or drawing on other codes for the purposes of EXINTEX or constructing the categories for the market analysis.

Although a good understanding of and ability to express content knowledge clearly and accurately is essential in business education and business practice, there is still very little research that examines how students do this, particularly amongst themselves and in the absence of a teacher. This chapter thus presents a framework for analysing EXINTEX and examines how the students do "work talk" in constructing categories for their marketing analysis scoreboard in their

multicultural teams. In conceptual terms, the development of the EXINTEX framework brings the still massively under-researched field of learning-oriented peer-to-peer interaction in EMI contexts to the fore and draws attention to the complexity of negotiating and constructing the meaning of discipline-specific language in the absence of an epistemic authority. It thus extends and complements existing research on (mis)understanding in ELF and EMI contexts while updating research into exploratory talk for the multicultural HE learning space. In particular, the role of challenging and constructive disagreement in peer-to-peer negotiation of meaning is much stronger than in the largely scaffolding-oriented construction of meaning in a more formal classroom context and teacher-student interaction.

In turn, this implies that relational work is an integral part of achieving task objectives as the team members must be able to accept and engage in constructive disagreement without damaging the positive atmosphere of the team. It might be helpful for language or content teachers to actively increase their students' awareness in this respect and perhaps even offer linguistic and/or pragmatic training for constructive disagreement, as well as encourage them to take time to get to know their team members or – if the size of the cohort allows – include social or structured activities to encourage engagement with each other. In practical terms, this also shows that time is a premium resource since there needs to be room for both extensive cycles of meaning negotiation as well as for social interaction, waffle and relational work. Additionally, the high proportion of the interaction spent on EXINTEX – not to mention the unsuccessful instances of it – reveal that even at master's level students are continuously revising and learning their content knowledge. Lecturers cannot assume a solid base of knowledge despite a bachelor's degree in business. While it may be unrealistic – and indeed undesirable – for lecturers on a master's course to revise basic business and economics concepts, it would be helpful for them, or the programme designers, to support the students' development of skills for critical fact-finding that extends beyond a default consultation with “doctor google”.

7. “Communicating with people”

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has shown that the students spent large amounts of their time (approx. 30-40%, depending on the group) engaging in EXINTEX; and the vast majority of the remaining time was devoted to discussing the mechanics of the task and their decisions on what to enter into the simulation. The importance of managing business content, and the fact that the students recognised this, therefore cannot be denied. At the same time, however, both groups’ insistence in the interviews that the project was “fun” and that having a “good team spirit” contributed to their success reflects results from studies in management contexts that emphasise the significance of developing a good relationship with your business partner in conducting business effectively (Ehrenreich 2010: 419; Ehrenreich 2016: 138; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 402; Kankaanranta et al. 2015: 129), and that “social competence” is a key skill like business and technical knowledge (Lagerström & Andersson 2003: 91). Relationship-building is identified as a “very important component of managing diverse teams” (Spencer-Oatey 2011: 3566; Canney Davison & Ward 1999), while research from an educational psychology perspective likewise highlights the importance of the relational space as well as the content space in into group learning processes (Barron 2003; van den Bossche et al. 2006). In other words, the students’ comments in the interviews supports the notion that a crucial aspect of effective BELF communication and successful teamwork is “communicating with people”, aside from but also as a part of “communicating facts”.

Extract 7.1

if you feel good then you appreciate the others and you are appreciated by the others (.) you offer and you receive back

(**Benone**, MktgA, retrospective interview)

Extract 7.2

it was such a good atmosphere I think we were having fun and all things that make fun you will do them better than things that are not much fun so that was kind of a consequence yah

(**Carina**, MktgA, retrospective interview)

Extract 7.3

researcher: what made it so successful why did you do so well

Igor: I think a good atmosphere like when everyone enjoyed working together cause it’s really important that people are happy within the group

(**Igor**, MktgB, retrospective interview)

Extract 7.4

I really liked the groupwork actually that was a great group [...] I think that was the group that worked the best even

(**Rafael**, MktgB, retrospective interview)

While it cannot be denied that having a positive working atmosphere or environment is conducive, or even essential, to effective business, it is also important to examine how such a positive business relationship can (be) develop(ed). In Angouri's (2013) study of a consortium of three multinational companies, the managers she interviewed reported that "accomplishing the work in hand [...] has a task-oriented function and a social function", and that all these elements are related to language use (p. 569). The overarching research question for this chapter is therefore:

RQ2b: *How do the participants use language to optimise team satisfaction?*

Building on the examination of task-oriented language in the previous section, this chapter aims to examine how the participants do "communicating with people" and create a positive team climate while developing their market analysis scoreboard. In other words, it examines how language contributes to creating rapport and building trust, and to what extent the students can be observed to do so in their multicultural teamwork. By doing so, the study bridges a gap that has otherwise not been addressed. On the one hand, there is still relatively little work focusing on rapport building in international business (primarily Spencer-Oatey 2000b, 2002; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009), and that which does exist has drawn on well-established managers who have substantial experience in the multicultural workplace and who have, to some extent, learned what "works" (or not, as the case may be); additionally, it also tends to focus on encounters between two (or more) specific national cultures, e.g. Japanese and American (Miller 2000), Chinese and British (Spencer-Oatey & Xing 2000) etc., rather than where people with a variety of nationalities, and a range of cultural experiences, come together. Similarly, research on BELF encounters, which do emphasise the fluid, hybrid nature of more modern multicultural interactions, share a focus on managers rather than students or recent graduates and acknowledge that the latter's experiences as part of a more globalised generation of digital natives may indeed mean that they approach multicultural and (B)ELF interactions quite differently to their older or more experienced counterparts (e.g. Ehrenreich 2010: 428; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 399). Indeed, in contrast to some previous language-oriented research in business contexts which have found that managers reported it harder to do "small talk" than business or work-related talk in a foreign language (Ehrenreich 2010: 421; Kankaanranta and Planken 2010: 402; Kassis-Henderson 2005: 73), Qingling suggested that "this kind of casual talk [...] makes our interaction really natural so *when we go into the working mode we [...] maintain that smooth communication*" (my emphasis). There is therefore an urgent need to gain an insight into how the managers of the future operate.

On the other hand, recent studies on rapport and relational work in multicultural and ELF student interaction tends to concentrate solely on the relational aspect of these encounters, and do not address the role of relational work in completing a work task (e.g. Batziakas 2016; Kalocsai 2013; Matsumoto 2014). This chapter therefore presents and analyses how the students in the present study do "communicating with people" – i.e. how they build and maintain rapport and

trust – in order to support and facilitate “communicating facts”, i.e. their “work talk”. As a proxy for this rather intangible concept, it focuses specifically on two aspects of their interpersonal language use which were highlighted as key communicational events with primarily relational goals in both the literature review and the empirical findings (e.g. Ehrenreich 2011: 21; Pullin 2010: 463). First, it examines what Qingling calls “casual talk”, which has been previously researched under terms such as small talk, relational talk, interpersonal talk, informal conversation, and casual conversation, to see how the students get to know each other and develop a relationship through collaborating on the task. Second, it investigates how the students use humour in both work talk and casual talk to identify how they achieve both their interactional (team) and transactional (task) goals.

7.2 Theoretical background

In their investigation of internationally operating business professionals working in international Finnish-based companies across various industries, Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta (2011) found that their respondents repeatedly emphasised that “one of the greatest challenges for global communicators is to *create rapport* and *establish credibility and trust* with their communication partners” (p. 260; cf. Kassis-Henderson 2005: 73; my emphasis). A crucial element of analysing “communicating with people” therefore needs to examine these concepts and how they are developed and supported in teamwork.

Trust (which includes credibility) and rapport are conceptually closely related, yet rarely overlap in the literature. Conceptualisations of trust in business and organisational studies generally frame it as the “confident positive expectations of another’s conduct” (Lewicki et al. 1998: 439; cf. Jonsen et al. 2012: 369; Lewis & Weigert 1985: 971; Maznevski et al. 2005: 96; Pinjani & Palvia 2013: 145; Rousseau et al. 1998: 394). The “*perception of a positive orientation*” (Mayer et al. 1995: 719; my emphasis) is particularly important in the multicultural team context, where agreeing “not to interpret the other’s actions as trying to undermine the team or other team members” is “critical to their ability to work together” (DiStefano & Maznevski 2000: 54). This relates to the fact that certain customs or practices, such as levels of directness and engagement or concepts of time and time management, may be otherwise perceived as (intentional) rudeness when they are in fact merely the manifestation of differing cultural expectations.

Mayer et al. (1995) propose a model of trust comprising three “factors of trustworthiness” (p. 717) which, when taken together, can be perceived as the basis for credibility of action or intention. These factors are *ability*, *benevolence*, and *integrity* (pp. 717-720). *Ability* is “that group of skills, competencies, and characteristics that enable a party to have influence within some specific domain” (p. 717), and is closely related to notions of competence, skills and expertise in a task- and situation-specific domain (pp. 717-718). *Benevolence* is “the extent to which a trustee is

believed to want to do good to the trustor, aside from an egocentric profit motive” (p. 718, original emphasis). The last factor, *integrity*, “involves the trustor’s perception that the trustee adheres to a set of principles that the trustor finds acceptable” (Mayer et al. 1995: 719). These principles can be demonstrated through

the consistency of the party’s past actions, credible communications about the trustee from other parties, belief that the trustee has a strong sense of justice, and the extent to which the party’s actions are congruent with his or her words (ibid.)

In short, the early Mayer et al. (1995) paper conceptualises trust primarily deriving from the trustor’s perception of the trustee as able and willing to do what he or she promises.

In their paper revisiting the Mayer et al. (1995) model, Schoorman et al. (2007) acknowledge the importance of “affect, emotion and the impact on trust” (p. 349) which their framework lacks and was proposed by McAllister in his article of the same year (McAllister 1995). Drawing on the work of sociologists Lewis and Weigert (1985), McAllister proposes a conceptualisation of trust which is twofold, with cognition-based trust on the one hand and affect-based trust on the other. Mayer et al.’s (1995) model primarily comprises cognition-based trust, which is grounded in competence, reliability and dependability, or what Lewis and Weigert (1985) call “evidence of trustworthiness” (p. 970); in other words, credibility of action and intention.

This implies a certain level of familiarity with the other party, where positive experiences in the past lead to confidence in expectations of the other’s behaviour. In the conceptualisation of trust as a multidisciplinary construct proposed in the introduction to their Special Issue in the *Academy of Management Review*, Rousseau et al. (1998) suggest that “reliability and dependability in previous interactions with the trustor give rise to positive expectations about the trustee’s intentions”, and stress the importance of repeated interaction and involvement to the development of trust within a (professional) relationship (p. 399). Other scholars examine the role of “swift trust” (Meyerson et al. 1996; Jarvenpaa & Leidner 1998; Kanawattanachai & Yoo 2002: 192; Robert et al. 2009: 244; Garrison et al. 2010; Daim et al. 2012: 206; Jonsen et al. 2012: 370), which “import[s] expectations of trust from other settings with which they are familiar” (Jarvenpaa & Leidner 1998). Sharing large amounts of information (both task-based and personal) helps to raise initial levels of trust (Kanawattanachai & Yoo 2002: 191; Jarvenpaa & Leidner 1998), as does “communicat[ing] frequently”, “be[ing] explicit about what you are thinking and doing”, and even simple relational work such as “saying ‘hi’ at the beginning of an email”, discussing hobbies “by way of introduction” and using emoticons (Greenberg et al. 2007: 330, drawing on Walther & Bunz 2005: 833-835), or exchanging contextual information that helps to overcome stereotyping and conflict (Jonsen et al. 2012: 368). Additionally, trustworthiness can be assumed based on specific attributes such as profession or organisational affiliation (Kanawattanachai & Yoo 2002: 190; McAllister 1995: 28). However, this initial trust is relatively fragile and can be broken easily

(Meyerson et al. 1996: 185). It is therefore crucial to convert the swift trust based on “imported” assumptions and expectations into “stronger and ‘thicker’” trust based on cognition and experience (Robert et al. 2009: 266; cf. Jonsen et al. 2012: 371).

The role of language (proficiency) can be decisive here, as “otherwise highly capable employees may appear unintelligent in communication across language barriers, because their professional competence is hidden behind the language barrier” (Tenzer et al. 2014: 519-520), hindering or damaging the establishment of swift trust from the earliest stages of the team processes. Moreover, once a task has been negotiated, difficulties in understanding or comprehending language can impede cognition-based trust by resulting in a failure to carry out the task despite having the full intention of doing so (Tenzer et al. 2014: 521), while anxiety stemming from relatively lower proficiency in the working language may make managers “less willing to make themselves vulnerable” as they fear being “taken advantage of owing to their limited grasp of many situations” (Tenzer et al. 2014: 527, 526). An important factor in the development of “thick” or solid trust is therefore the development of a “shared context” (Jonsen et al. 2012: 368) through repeated interaction that can create expanded resources, including shared information, status and concern” (Rousseau et al. 1998: 400) on the one hand, and a shared linguistic repertoire, on the other. By exploring and becoming aware of the team members’ similarities and differences, they can “nurse along that engagement in learning and adaptive processes” (Jonsen et al. 2012: 368) which ultimately should develop into identification with and as a team (Jonsen et al. 2012: 368; Rousseau et al. 1998: 400). The development of such a “shared mental model” of team practices, along with mutual trust and closed-loop communication⁵⁸, are the coordinating mechanisms for Salas et al.’s (2005: 570) “big five” components of teamwork (i.e. team leadership, mutual performance monitoring, backup behaviour, adaptability, and team orientation).

In the literature on teamwork, shared mental models are seen as a “shared understanding or representation of team goals, individual team member tasks, and the coordination of the team to achieve common goals” which help to “facilitate the team’s progression toward goal attainment by creating a framework that promotes common understanding and action” (Salas et al. 2005: 565; see also Bonebright 2010: 114; Mathieu et al. 2000: 274). Though the teamwork context is rather different from the organisational level at the heart of Wenger’s (1998) Communities of Practice (CofP) framework, this description of mental models reflects the three core dimensions of a CofP. Wenger et al. (2002) do in fact differentiate between a team and a community of practice, which they see as being more organic and dynamic, but it can be argued that an effective team becomes, or develops, a miniature CofP within its formal and temporal boundaries. At the very least, the

⁵⁸ As with many scholars in non-linguistic fields, Salas et al. (2005) have a relatively simplistic understanding of “closed-loop communication” as “(a) the sender initiating a message, (b) the receiver receiving the message, interpreting it, and acknowledging its receipt, and (c) the sender following up to insure the intended message was received” (p. 568).

CofP's three dimensions can make a useful contribution to investigating the practices and, above all, the processes of a successful team. To be precise, the negotiation of *mutual engagement* (individual tasks and coordination of teamwork) and achievement of the *joint enterprise* (team goals) require the development of a *shared repertoire* at both a linguistic and a practical level (Tuckman's *norming* stage). Additionally, as Smit (2010: 384) points out, the negotiation of a shared repertoire can itself constitute a form of joint enterprise. While to some extent the development of a shared "mental model" refers primarily to the team's communicative practices and how they manage team processes towards achieving their task goals, the importance of relational work should not be ignored as this contributes to both increasing team cohesion and mitigating the force of requests or directives to action.

Discussions of relational work in team practices generally draw on McAllister's (1995) understanding of affect-based trust which draws on the "emotional bonds between individuals" (p. 26; Lewis & Weigert 1985: 971). McAllister (1995) suggests that previous research into working relationships viewed "affective factors as being somehow less important [than task achievement and instrumentality]" and therefore "remained unaddressed" (p. 53). Yet, he claims, "informal relations [...] are central to the real work of organizations" and affect-based trust is not only an "essential counterpart to other foundations for interpersonal trust" but also has an important role "in facilitating effective coordinated action in organizations" (p. 55). In recent literature on teamwork, particularly in the field of globally distributed or virtual teams, analyses of the emotional bonds creating affect-based trust often include references to in- and outgroup theory (e.g. Jarvenpaa & Leidner 1998; Garrison et al. 2010: 32; Robert et al. 2009: 247), while many studies have found that high-performing teams also show a high degree of non-job-related communication (Hertel et al. 2005: 83-84; Jarvenpaa & Leidner 1998), a number of which are directly linked to building and maintaining trust or strengthening team identity (Garrison et al. 2010: 40; Pinjani & Palvia 2013: 145).

This focus on the emotional bonds developed in interaction reflects work on rapport, which takes a generally relational and interactional perspective and is firmly rooted in the field of applied linguistics, even if the data for it may be collected in business settings. The key works on rapport have been written by Spencer-Oatey (Spencer-Oatey 2000b, 2005; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009), who defines rapport management in terms of "the management of social relations" as "an aspect of language use" (Spencer-Oatey 2000b: 12). It draws strongly on politeness theory and the notion of face although it is semantically broader, including "the management of sociality rights as well as of face" (ibid.). While much of Spencer-Oatey's work has its basis in intercultural communication, it tends to focus on bicultural rather than multicultural encounters and thus can fall short in terms of addressing the complexity of today's diverse interactions. In ELF research, scholars have drawn attention to the tensions between a preference for directness in the interest of being explicit and

“interactional appropriateness” (Smit 2010: 211) which might demand indirectness in the interest of mitigating face threat. In business settings, balancing clarity with the relational work needed to achieve your transactional goals and building a positive relationship with – not to mention in some cases an advantage over – your business partner adds a further level of pragmatic complexity.

Politeness theory is a field of pragmatics which has developed substantially from Lakoff (1973) and Brown and Levinson’s (1987) seminal works. While it is still “struggling with a fundamental difficulty [...] namely, how to analyse and describe the phenomena in question without falling into the trap of overgeneralising” (Kádár & Haugh 2013: 1–2), it can be broadly described as “a key means by which humans work out and maintain interpersonal relationships” (Kádár & Haugh 2013: 1). The conceptualisation of politeness as an area of research has gone through numerous developments, and scholars are still debating its relationship with, and the usefulness of, similar concepts and related terms such as rapport management, face, appropriateness, politic behaviour, involvement and independence, relational work, and even impoliteness, as well as the distinction between “first-order” and “second-order” politeness, i.e. politeness as a term used by lay people or study participants to refer to their own and others’ behaviour and politeness as a theoretical model (e.g. Culpeper 2012; Leech 2014; Locher & Watts 2005; Scollon & Scollon 1995; Schneider 2012; Spencer-Oatey 2000b; Watts 2003). Despite claims that the “Brown and Levinson theory has towered above most others and has served as a guiding beacon for scholars interested in teasing out politeness phenomena from examples of human interaction” (Locher & Watts 2005: 9), it and other early work has also met with considerable criticism (even from the same authors) on the basis of being – or attempting to be – too universalist and ethnocentric (e.g. Gu 1990; Ide 1989; Matsumoto 1988; Watts 2003); neglecting to consider the importance of how participants or hearers evaluate an utterance or action (e.g. Eelen 2001; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009; Watts 2003); focusing only on maintaining and promoting social harmony, and not considering impoliteness or non-politeness (e.g. Bousfield 2008; Culpeper 2011; Haugh & Schneider 2012; Locher & Watts 2005; van der Bom & Mills 2015; for an overview see Kádár & Haugh 2013). Van der Bom and Mills (2015) also suggest that the “discursive turn” in politeness theory has placed “both data and social theory [...] at the heart of an approach to understanding politeness, focusing on how politeness is meaningful at a more fine-grained, local and micro-level” that examines “how people construct meaning individually and dynamically in interaction” (p. 186).

A detailed examination of politeness theory is far beyond the scope of this thesis and is covered comprehensively and fairly critically by textbooks such as Kádár and Haugh (2013) or Leech (2014). Nevertheless, it is important to draw attention to certain aspects of politeness research that have a bearing on analyses of rapport and trust, particularly in the context of multicultural teamwork. For the purposes of this project, Ide’s (1989) conceptualisation of politeness is especially useful as a starting point:

politeness [is] the language usage associated with smooth communication, realized 1) through the speaker's use of intentional strategies to allow his or her message to be received favourably by the addressee, and 2) through the speaker's choice of expressions to conform to the expected and/or prescribed norms of speech appropriate to the contextual situation in individual speech communities. (Ide 1989: 225)

Of course, there are some problems with this definition, as it still assumes a basis in relatively static speech communities rather than evolving or dynamic discourse communities and, though Ide does state that she refers to "a continuum stretching from polite to non-polite" (ibid.), the focus remains on the desire for favourable reception and positive interaction. However, there are three main aspects of this understanding of politeness which provide a valuable springboard for the consideration of relational work in this thesis, namely: the focus on "smooth communication"; the emphasis on "intentional strategies" and "choice of expressions"; and the need to be "appropriate to the contextual situation in individual [...] communities".

Firstly, despite a chronological distance of over twenty years, Qingling also refers to "smooth communication" as an interactional goal in her reflective interview, as mentioned earlier: "this kind of casual talk [...] makes our interaction really natural so when we go into the working mode we [...] maintain that *smooth communication*" (my emphasis). It could be argued that this is a particularly important objective in an ELF context, where the speakers' multilingual backgrounds, for all their other virtues, may not be expected to build the best foundation for smooth communication. "Smooth" in this context does not necessarily mean communication without uncertainties or grammatical and even morphological variation from Standard English norms, but rather cooperative communication which can resolve and overcome misunderstandings or potential communication breakdowns in a collaborative and collegial way (cf. Kirkpatrick 2016: 293; Mauranen 2012: 199; Seidlhofer & Jenkins 2003: 148).

While Ide's work was primarily conducted in a monolingual (Japanese) setting, and at most contrasted with another monolingual (US English) setting, the notion of intentionality is particularly salient in multilingual and multicultural contexts, where, as noted above, awareness of similarity and difference can be key to developing and maintaining positive relationships. Much of the literature on intercultural communication offers anecdotes of how misunderstandings and poor relationships arise as a result of misinterpreting behaviour as being intentionally detrimental to the social relationship rather than simply a result of unfamiliar cultural or linguistic norms (e.g. Adler 2002: 29, 60, 84; Salas et al. 2005: 569; Spencer-Oatey & Xing 2000). Recognising phrases for commitment and dis/agreement, levels of directness and modality, and false cognates are reported as being particularly problematic (e.g. Butler & Zander 2008: 202; DiStefano & Maznevski 2000: 52; Lee-Kelley & Sankey 2008: 60; Tenzer et al. 2014: 521). Findings from the business context support the idea that effective BELF speakers intentionally adapt their communication styles to facilitate

working with international colleagues (e.g. Ehrenreich 2011: 24; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 390, 394, 396; Lagerström & Andersson 2003: 91), although it may be difficult to determine to what extent being “received favourably” refers to comprehension or politeness, or whether it is possible to separate these concepts clearly.

In the present study, at least some of the students seemed to have shown some intentionality in both their own utterances and – as discussed in more recent conceptualisations of politeness (e.g. Eelen 2001; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009; Watts 2003) – their evaluation and reception of others’ utterances. Despite the conflict that the MktgB group had in the final rounds, there seems to have been some effort to orient themselves to each other’s cultural norms when they were under less pressure:

Extract 7.5

participant: I had kind of a problem but not really a problem with the way Igor was working

researcher: mhm

participant: because he was far more direct than the others than us and not so polite and not so I don’t want to hurt anyone and I think we or I or we found that out pretty soon and then we just talked differently to him

researcher: mhm. so were you offended by what he said or you felt it was more direct than you would have normally

participant: yeah I think so. well I wasn’t really offended because also I thought that maybe that’s just how Russians do it or I don’t know and I know that we Austrians are very indirect and so yeah

researcher: and so when you said

participant: interesting to find that out

researcher: yeah @@ and when you said you adapted to that did you adapt your way of understanding what he said or did you adapt the way that you actually talked to him

participant: I think both. well I didn’t feel too offended when he said something very direct but also I think I changed a little bit because I think I tried to be a little bit more direct.

(Austrian participant, MktgB, reflective interview, my emphasis)

Aside from the somewhat controversial claim that Austrians are “very indirect”⁵⁹, what is striking in this extract is the conscious effort to recognise a difference in communication styles and adapt their own manner of communication accordingly in terms of both receptive and productive skills. In

⁵⁹ In guides to doing business with Austrians (particularly from an Anglo-American perspective), the Austrian communication style is generally described as “direct”; e.g. the *Culture Smart!* guide to Austria written by the Secretary General of the British-based and government-supported Anglo-Austrian Society Gieler (2007), EC-funded *Passport to Trade 2.0* project led by Salford Business School (UK) (<http://businessculture.org/western-europe/business-culture-in-austria/business-communication-in-austria/>); or the Canadian government’s Centre for Intercultural Learning (https://www.international.gc.ca/cil-cai/country_insights-apercus_pays/ci-ic_at.aspx?lang=eng, both accessed 27 February 2017). However, Austrians may be perceived as having a relatively indirect communication style when compared to Germans (Thomas & Lackner 2013: 55).

other words, not only did they try to formulate their own utterances more directly when addressing Igor but they also refused to be offended by him being “not so polite” since they realised it was a matter of cultural and linguistic norms rather than a deliberate affront. It could thus be argued that, while the multicultural context has more potential pitfalls in terms of politeness, experienced (B)ELF speakers’ heightened awareness of language and the challenges of intercultural communication means that they may also take a more active approach to managing it through their language in such contexts; Kankaanranta and Planken (2010) found that their Dutch and Finnish interviewees “increasingly adopted features from their communication partners that were evaluated as generally having a positive influence on communication” and quote a Finnish manager who claimed “You should just behave in a non-natural way and realize that it works!” (Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 394, 395).

This links to the third aspect of Ide’s conceptualisation of politeness, namely language usage that is “appropriate to the contextual situation in individual speech communities”. The notion of “appropriate”, rather than “polite”, language and behaviour is developed by Locher (2004, 2005; drawing on Fraser & Nolen 1981; Meier 1995) and expands the model of politeness to span impolite/inappropriate, non-polite/appropriate, polite/appropriate, and over-polite/inappropriate behaviour (Locher & Watts 2005: 12) that is constructed through “discursive struggle” and highly contextualised in the specific interaction. Kádár and Haugh (2013), too, emphasise that “politeness is always situated” (p. 57) and a “social practice” which “involves evaluations occasioned by social actions and meanings that are recognisable to participants” (p. 66) and which are “co-constructed over the course of an interaction” (p. 111). It could therefore be argued that Ide’s conceptualisation falls short due to its explicit mention of a speech community, but the emphasis on appropriateness is highly valuable when the focus is re-applied to examine a specific discourse community or, as Locher and Watts (2005: 29) suggest, a community of practice. Seidlhofer (2007: 315-317), too, drawing on Hymes (1972), argues for the adoption – and adaption – of “appropriate language use” as an “operative word” for examining the linguistic practices of communities using English as their lingua franca (Seidlhofer 2007: 315).

Taking a Community of Practice lens makes it possible to pull together some of the still rather disparate concepts that come under the general heading of relational work or rapport management. Face and its relation to these concepts is one such issue. Locher and Watts (2005) return to Goffman’s (1967) understanding of face as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for [her/himself] by the line others assume [s/he] has taken during a particular contact” (Goffman 1967: 5, quoted in Locher & Watts 2005: 12) and which is “constructed discursively with other members of the group in accordance with the line that each individual has chosen” (Locher & Watts 2005: 12). This emphasis on face and politeness as social and discursive constructs sidesteps some of the criticism levelled at Brown and Levinson’s (1987) aims of universality and rationality

while leaving space for their notions of positive and negative face/politeness which are still pervasive in current discussions of relational work.

The basic dichotomy of Brown and Levinson's (1987) conceptualisation of face is "the desire to be approved of" (positive face) contrasted with "the desire to be unimpeded in actions" (negative face), while "politeness arises through strategies that minimise threat to face and thereby avoid conflict" (Kádár & Haugh 2013: 18). Face is sometimes also seen in terms of the "socially situated identities" constructed in an interaction (Tracy 1990: 210). Politeness can therefore be referred to as part of facework, i.e. "the communicative strategies that are the enactment, support or challenge of those situated identities" that "people claim or attribute to others" (ibid.). To some extent later (re-)conceptualisations of face and politeness strategies are simply "alternative labels" even if they reject certain aspects of Brown and Levinson's original theory such as its universality and Anglo-American ethnocentrism (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009). Positive face can be described as "personal or social value" (Spencer-Oatey 2000b: 14), while the communicative strategies supporting it show "involvement" (Scollon & Scollon 1995: 37) through "linguistic strategies of expressiveness" (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009: 120) such as claiming common ground, in-group membership and solidarity, emphasising reciprocity and optimism, using in-group nicknames and the hearer's language or dialect (Blum-Kulka 1997: 51; Kádár & Haugh 2013: 18; Scollon & Scollon 1995: 37, 40-41; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009: 120). In contrast, negative face represents "the desire for freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (Watts 2003: 86), i.e. the right to "independence" and autonomy (Scollon & Scollon 1995: 37) and an "association [or dissociation] with others in keeping with their relationship" (Spencer-Oatey 2000b: 14). Negative facework thus employs linguistic strategies of "restraint" (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009: 120) that "make minimal assumptions about the hearer's wants"; offers options for the hearer not to act through hedging or minimising the imposition on the hearer; invokes general rules and markers of deference such as formal terms of address; are apologetic, pessimistic and taciturn (Blum-Kulka 1997: 51; Scollon & Scollon 1995: 40; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009: 120); and avoids "presuming, coercing and personalising" (Kádár & Haugh 2013: 18). Face-threatening acts or behaviour, in contrast, impinge upon or challenge the values and identities claimed or the right to independence and freedom of action.

As well as forming the basis of Spencer-Oatey's (2000b) conceptualisation of rapport management as "the management of social relations" as "an aspect of language use" (p. 12), it can be argued that the notion of positive face as a socially situated identity in the form of in-group solidarity links to the development of trust through discursive and behavioural practice. As such, this thesis operationalises *rapport management as the active management of social relations (through language) to create conditions which allow trust (i.e. positive, confident expectations of another's behaviour) to be built and maintained*. In analytical terms, this implies looking for both

the discursive construction of positive rapport on the one hand, and evidence of expectations of competence/reliability and the “emotional bonds” of perceived similarity that form the basis for cognition- and affect-based trust, on the other (McAllister 1995: 26; see also Decuyper et al. 2010: 116; Lewis & Weigert 1985; Schaubroeck et al. 2011: 864; Schoorman et al. 2007).

Last but not least, a high level of trust is not only important for team performance but has also been shown to support team engagement and learning behaviour (Edmondson 2004: 241). This is particularly important in the educational context, where learning is, after all, the ultimate goal. High trust levels have been found to characterise “psychologically safe” teams (Schaubroeck et al. 2011: 864) through “the creation of a dialogical space in which ‘ambidexterity’ or the coexistence of both discordant (constructive conflict) and constructive (co-construction) team learning processes is possible” (Decuyper et al. 2010: 117; cf. Angouri 2012; Hüttner 2014: 196). The previous chapter examined the student teams’ learning processes with regard to the co-construction of meaning, in part through the constructive disagreement that distinguished peer-to-peer EXINTEX from Smit’s (2010) teacher-student INTEX. This chapter examines how the students develop a shared mental model in terms of situated linguistic practices supporting smooth communication and harmonious social relations (i.e. positive rapport) to create a high level of affect-based trust and thus a psychologically safe environment. In turn, this facilitates EXINTEX and the challenges of negotiating and constructing meaning in multicultural teamwork. The development of these mental models is examined first through the students’ use of “casual talk”, and then through their use of humour in both “casual talk” and “work talk”.

7.3 “Casual talk”

7.3.1 Conceptualising casual talk in MCST

In their investigation of internationally operating business professionals working in Finnish-based MNCs across various industries, Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta (2011) found that their respondents repeatedly emphasised that “one of the greatest challenges for global communicators is to *create rapport and establish credibility and trust* with their communication partners” (p. 260; cf. Kassis-Henderson 2005: 73). While having and displaying business competence contributes greatly to *cognitive*-based trust, it does not necessarily help the development of rapport and *affect*-based trust. In his seminal paper on trust in organisations, McAllister (1995) suggests that previous research into working relationships viewed “affective factors as being somehow less important [than task achievement and instrumentality]” and therefore “remained unaddressed” (p. 53). Yet, he claims, “informal relations [...] are central to the real work of organizations” and affect-based trust is not only an “essential counterpart to other foundations for interpersonal trust” but also have an important role “in facilitating effective coordinated action in organizations” (p. 55). More

recent studies support this, reporting that finding common ground and interests, establishing a sense of solidarity and developing a social relationship with your business partner(s) has been shown to encourage collaboration, handle challenges, support learning and strengthen team processes (Angouri 2013: 569; Kassis-Henderson 2005: 73; Mittelmeier et al. 2017; Pullin 2010: 462; Spencer-Oatey & Dauber 2016: 13).

Language has been shown to “contribute to relationship-building in significant ways”, since “it is mainly *through talk* that relationships are built” (Koester 2006: 53, original emphasis). However, this usually does not happen primarily in task-oriented talk, but rather in off-task or off-topic talk, typically described as small talk (Coupland 2000b; Holmes & Stubbe 2003), social talk (Holmes 2000a; Holmes & Stubbe 2003), relational talk (Coupland 2000b; Koester 2006), informal conversation (Dalton-Puffer 2007), or casual conversation (Eggins & Slade 2006 [1997]). In multicultural interaction the role of such off-topic talk in relationship-building can be extremely important as it lays the basis for successful work talk. Though – as pointed out earlier – many experienced managers find small talk in another language difficult, others acknowledge the importance of making time and space for such interaction:

‘even if we all speak pretty good English, we all speak our own kind of English, which means that we need to *socialize and spend time together to learn each other’s way of speaking*. Therefore, you must also be interested in meeting and learning to know new people.’ (Global team member from a Swedish-based MNC, quoted by Lagerström & Andersson 2003: 91, my emphasis)

Pullin (2010), too, notes that “informal discussions have been cited by newly employed graduates as the most frequent type of communication and of importance for team work and building and fostering relations” (p. 456), and, though this is not a particularly new observation as she herself points out, there is still relatively little research that investigates this notion in detail.

In the present study, the students also highlighted the interplay of off-topic talk, rapport and team performance and effectiveness in their retrospective interviews.

Extract 7.6

I think **outside the course we also had a lot of communication** so we also like we’re familiar with each other so **we don’t really feel awkward to talk about different things** with each other [...] **this kind of uh casual talk it kind of just makes our interaction really natural** so when we go into the working mode **we kind of maintain that smooth uh yeah communication**. I think it’s important

(Qingling, MktgA, reflective interview, my emphasis)

Extract 7.7

of course it’s really essential to talk about the project but sometimes **it’s also good to to build up a good team spirit when you also talk sometimes [...] about topics which are completely**

out of the topic actually but it's I think **it's important to build up a strong a powerful team and it can facilitate work on the proje- on the project** as well I think yeah
(Christian, MktgA, reflective interview, my emphasis)

Extract 7.8

we had a **very relaxed environment** you know and we were working and then it **we were always laughing** and of course at some times we had some disagreement or something **but we would have it very lightly** and always **normally before or after we would have lunch or dinner or something like that** I dunno I thought it was cool
(Rafael, MktgB, reflective interview, my emphasis)

Extract 7.9

we just um there's **some kind of have the same vibes @@ the same wave** and it's like um yeah [...] I don't know how to say it in a rational way but I think it just works don't know how to explain it but **there's this feeling that the one understands the other** and so it's like a **nice and fluent way**
[...]
if you have a nice relationship you have a nice atmosphere within the group or within the company I think **everything works better** [...] if you're motivated and **if you have some kind of positive motivation I think you're better in analysing and you're better in working**
(Fabian, MktgB, reflective interview, my emphasis)

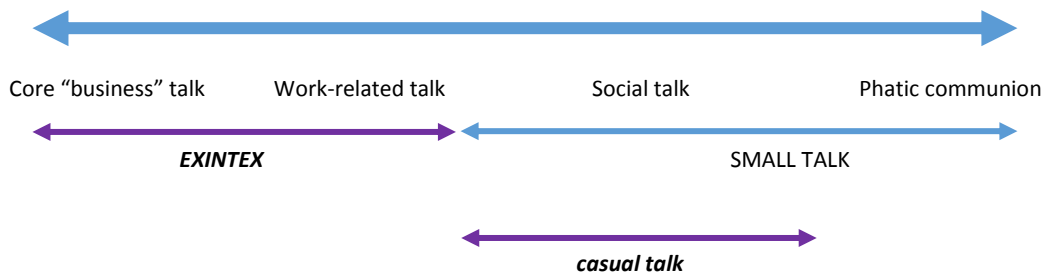
Defining “small” talk is notoriously difficult and is frequently constructed in terms of what it is not, rather than what it is, and contrasted with transactional talk; namely, “transactional talk focuses exclusively on task goals” (Koester 2006: 55) and is highly relevant to the core business or task at hand, strongly context-bound and focussed, and “crucially informative” (Holmes 2000a: 36–37), while relational or social talk is off-topic, usually personal and not necessarily informative (Holmes 2000a: 37-43; Koester 2006: 54-60). As such, the latter reflects or draws upon Brown and Levinson’s (1983) description of the role of interactional speech to “establish and maintain social relationships” (p.3), while the purpose of transactional speech is to convey “factual or propositional information” (p.2). At its extreme, relational talk goes back to Malinowski’s (1946 [1923]) notion of phatic communion which highlights “the ‘bonding’ function of language” (Senft 2014: 107). Phatic communion is talk which is “independent of any specific workplace context, which is ‘atopical’ and irrelevant in terms of workplace business, and which has relatively little referential content or information load” (Holmes 2000a: 37). It is typically “ritualised” (Coupland 2000a: 2) and “a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words” which “serves to establish bonds of personal union between people brought together by the mere need of companionship and does not serve any purpose of communicating ideas” (Malinowski 1946 [1923]: 315, 316).

Scholars have criticised Malinowski's lack of recognition for the importance of phatic communion in terms of its socio-cultural significance and for establishing and maintaining social relationships (beginning with Laver 1975: 233, quoted in Coupland 2000a: 5; Koester 2006: 58). Additionally, they highlight the complexity of natural talk, arguing that it is "inherently multifunctional" and that it is "not generally possible to parcel out meaning into neat packages of referential or transactional meaning on the one hand and social or affective meaning on the other" (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 88). Last but not least, they point out that various degrees of relational talk can be densely interwoven with more obviously transactional or referential communication, and minimise the notion that it is "merely peripheral" in either a literal or a metaphorical sense (Coupland 2000a: 13-15; Holmes 2000a: 43-47; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 93-96; Koester 2006: 58-60). Rather, although relational talk is frequently found as a boundary marker in the opening and closing phases of interaction (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 90-92), it can also be found embedded within transactional sequences (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 93-96); and, far from being Malinowski's "mere exchange of words", performs crucial functions such as signalling affiliation and solidarity, demonstrating the importance of a task or an individual's contribution, defusing awkward situations, mitigating criticism (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 97-100; Koester 2006: 154) and even subtly exerting or asserting power relations (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 100-106).

7.3.2 Analysing casual talk in MCST

Holmes (2000) suggests it is "useful to conceptualise types of talk in terms of a continuum with 'core business talk' at one end and phatic communion at the other" (Holmes 2000a: 38; cf. Mautner 2016: 65; Mullany 2006: 61-62; see Figure 7.1 below). This is certainly helpful in making explicit the idea that it is virtually impossible to separate transactional and relational talk categorically, although a linear representation still falls short of representing the complex reality of workplace interaction. Nevertheless, while bearing in mind that the continuum is a somewhat simplified representation of the spectrum of workplace talk, it does help conceptualise the basic differences between the EXINTEX studied in the previous chapter and the focus on "casual talk" which will follow in this one, and where to position casual talk as conceptualised for the purposes of this thesis in relation to earlier studies on relational talk in workplace discourse.

Figure 7.1 The work-talk/casual-talk continuum (based on Holmes 2000: 38)



Rather than trying to distinguish transactional and relational talk in terms of function or distribution, Holmes' primary criterion for determining where to place an interactional sequence on the continuum is topic, or relevance to the "core business", i.e. "the agreed meeting agenda for that particular meeting in that particular workplace and [which] directly serves the organisation's goals" (Holmes 2000a: 37). In the present study, this equates to talk which relates directly to developing the market analysis "scoreboard" and making decisions about what numbers to enter into the scoreboard and/or the simulation programme, and relates to an educational agenda as well as a "workplace" one. While Holmes sees work-related talk as being more or less irrelevant to the task at hand but linked in some way to the organisation (e.g. discussing an absent manager's personality), work-related talk in the students' meetings would include the topic extensions (or "task-related waffle"; see Section 6.5.3) comprising explanations based on their local cultural knowledge and experiences but which are still clearly related to the task, such as the example of discussing Chinese names for Western brands and celebrities in Extract 6.14 in the previous chapter.

In contrast, casual talk is a sequence of talk that happens at any point during the meeting that has no direct relevance to the task (i.e. creating the scoreboard and making/entering decisions for the simulation, or organising subsequent meetings). Topics could (and frequently did) relate to the marketing class and their studies, but were not directly related to the specific team project. Purely phatic communion, particularly around the boundaries of the interaction, was not included and the focus was placed on talk that had a clear topic (i.e. was not merely ritualised or "meaningless" greetings), was bound to the context of the team's interaction and discursively linked to the work talk. On the one hand, this was partially determined by the data collection itself as the students often came to the meeting together from a previous class or had greeted each other before entering the meeting room, and therefore any analysis of genuinely peripheral phatic talk could only be partial and incomplete. Consequently, the limits of the data under investigation were also marked discursively: a call to start the work talk marked the beginning of the data under investigation, while the end of the material under analysis was signalled by agreement to take a break or an interruption by a third party that ended the work discussions.

In line with Holmes (2000: 36-38) and Koester (2006: 56), casual talk is identified as being *any instance of meaningful interaction whose topic is not directly linked to the immediate project task or team processes*. In terms of discourse, it is marked by a clear departure from the previous (task-related) topic, and often includes a question or comment that directly addresses the other team members and invites a response. This can be considered a *conversation-opening gambit* in the sense that it is clearly intended to initiate a positive response that follows the speaker's lead away from task-oriented topics and therefore also poses a certain amount of risk. Firstly, by drawing attention away from the task, the speaker is breaking the team's (unspoken) commitment to achieving the team's main objective, namely, completing the task efficiently and effectively. Secondly, although small talk is generally considered rapport-enhancing, this direct appeal to the other students may include a speech act that could potentially threaten the others' "quality face" of "competence, abilities, appearance, etc." or "equity rights" of "autonomy-imposition" (Spencer-Oatey 2000b: 14) or possibly even a criticism of their linguistic competence and thus their identity as an expert speaker of English. This paradox will be discussed later in more detail as part of the results. Extract 7.10 illustrates a conversation-opening gambit which is relatively indirect and thus less face-threatening, although it still leads the team off-course, while Extract 7.11 is an example of a gambit that is threatening to the other student's autonomy by asking something quite personal, and Extract 7.12 questions their competence as a user of English.

Extract 7.10 Getting dark (MktgA2)

1	Christian	two eighty five for philippines
2	Benone	how much
3	Christian	two ninety
4	Benone	haha two ninety eight (.) for <81>china</81>
5	Qingling	<81>@@</81>
6	Christian	<81>really</81>
7	Benone	yes
8	Christian	that's great
9	Benone	<82>@@@@</82>
10	Qingling	<82>@@@@</82>
11	Benone	i'm so enthusiastic <83>@@</83>
12	Carina	<83>@@</83> (2)
13	Christian	<84>@@</84>
14	Carina	<84>it's already</84> getting dark outside
15	Christian	yeah
16	Qingling	mhm
17	Carina	days are so short now

Extract 7.11 Shaving (MktgB1)

1	Fabian	we only have to pay one cent
2	Rafael	<53>it's always</53>
3	Fabian	<53>with south korea</53>
4	Rafael	one cent
5	Fabian	one cent yeah
6	Rafael	cool (1) my doubt is (.) erased (.) thanks <54>@@</54>
7	Maria	<54>@@</54>@ (3)

8	Rafael	do you shave every day? during the week
9	Maria	@@@
10	Fabian	uh every two days (2)

Extract 7.12 *Beamer* (MktgB3)

1	Igor	do you will we make the same thing for india in the first period
2	Rafael	<4>no but first period we're not in india</4>
3	Maria	<4>we're not in india the first period</4>
4	Igor	ah yah forgot maybe just put a tick
5	Maria	<5>i i put a but you can't see</5>
6	Rafael	<5>yeah there is that's a small</5> <6>when you</6>
7	Igor	<6>o::h</6>
8	Rafael	maybe try to make <7>it like a:</7>
9	Maria	<7>no i think you</7> will see it in the: on the
10		<L1de> beamer </L1de>
11	Igor	yeah make it make it bigger
12	Maria	<L1de>fett</L1de>
13	Rafael	<LNde>fett</LNde> you know what i think is funny? like you
14		<8>always say <LNde>beamer</LNde> and</8>
15	Igor	<8>now now i see it o:h</8>
16	Rafael	it sounds like an english word but it's <9>not really</9>
17	Igor	<9>nonono</9>

These extracts show the clear transition from a focus on the task and their decisions for the simulation to a seemingly random topic. Only in Extract 7.12 is there an obvious connection to the topic of the casual talk, i.e. Maria's passing mention of the (German) word *Beamer* to refer to the digital projector (line 10). Nevertheless, Rafael's diversion is clearly marked as such by prefacing his observation with a metadiscursive comment: *you know what i think is funny?* (line 13). In Extract 7.11, too, his foray into casual talk begins with a question: *do you shave every day?* (line 8). Several of the other casual talk episodes – in both groups – are also marked by a conversation-opening gambit in the form of similar questions of both types (metadiscursive and propositional) such as *you know?* (Christian, MktgA); *have you ever read* (Carina, MktgA); *do you know* (Fabian, MktgB); *did you see* (Maria, MktgB); *you know what's cool* (Rafael, MktgB). Additionally, as can be seen in Extracts 7.10 and 7.11, a gambit was also often marked by the fact that it followed a pause, the implications of which will be discussed later in the findings about the functions of casual talk sequences.

The end of an episode of casual talk was identified by a return to topics pertaining to the task at hand. In the vast majority of cases, this was marked by a "call to arms", i.e. a strongly stated proposal to return to work. In other cases, one of the students simply stated the original topic as a signal to continue where they had left off. These closing patterns are illustrated in Extracts 7.13-7.15.

Extract 7.13 Third period (MktgB3)

1	Igor	<18>it's a projector</18>
2	Rafael	<18>how would you call that</18> in portuguese i don't know @@
3	Maria	@@@
4	Igor	okay for third period i think we should still stick to the same=
5	Rafael	=yah

Extract 7.14 Let's start (MktgB1)

1	Rafael	did you like harry potter
2	Maria	yeah
3	Rafael	did you like (.) you'll like it @<60>@@</60>
4	Fabian	<60>@@</60>
5	Maria	<60>@@</60> @
6	Fabian	ahhh okay so let's start with the grading
7	Maria	ye:s

Extract 7.15 India (MktgA1)

1	Qingling	yes
2	Carina	professor [name]
3	Benone	oh my god we're so bad
4	Qingling	mm
5	Benone	okay
6	Qingling	india
7	Benone	let's <101>do it</101>
8	Qingling	<101>popu</101>la:tion

As shown in these examples, the force of these proposals to return to work ranged from a suggestion to a command to simply re-starting with the previous topic. Where the work talk was reintroduced with a prefacing comment, though, it almost always included “let’s” or “we”; the question of who was responsible for bringing the group back on track and the implications of how they did this will also be examined in the next section.

7.3.3 Findings

7.3.3.1 Quantitative overview

Overall it was striking to note that the number of episodes of casual talk (even when normalised per 1000 words of interaction) was substantially lower than the number of distinct episodes of EXINTEX, and comprised a much lower proportion of the interaction (see Figure 6.4 on p. 149 for the comparable figures of EXINTEX).

Figure 7.2 Density and frequency of casual talk (CT) per team

Recording	%coverage CT	mean % coverage CT	#CT	#words total	#CT/1000w	mean #CT/1000w
MktgA1	5.29	7.38%	6	20,957	0.29	0.58
MktgA2	9.47		12	13,905	0.86	
MktgB1	8.82	6.19%	13	14,500	0.90	0.68
MktgB2	1.89		3	11,294	0.27	
MktgB3	7.87		8	9,449	0.85	

Whereas the percentage coverage of EXINTEX ranged from 23.99% to 43.85% and the frequency from 2.30 to 3.08 per 1000 words of interaction, the percentage coverage of casual talk, though it ranges widely, is consistently less than 10% and the number of episodes per 1000 words of interaction is also <1 in both groups and across all the recordings. Also somewhat in contrast to the EXINTEX findings, where the aggregate results for each group were more consistent (i.e. MktgA generally had a higher percentage coverage of EXINTEX, but MktgB had a higher frequency in all its recordings), the results for casual talk are highly inconclusive. Although the number of episodes of casual talk is clustered in two groups (<0.3 and >0.85), this cannot be ascribed to the order of the meeting (e.g. the first meeting had a higher/lower frequency), the length of the meeting (there is no correlation between episodes of casual talk and total number of words), nor the group constellations (both groups had meetings with higher and lower frequencies). When averaged out, the results do reflect the EXINTEX findings in that MktgA had a higher mean percentage coverage but a lower mean frequency, i.e. they had fewer instances of casual talk but spent longer on them. However, this needs to be viewed very critically, as the individual results showed that in fact MktgB had one meeting where they only had 3 instances of casual talk, and these were also relatively short, as this meeting had by far the lowest percentage coverage out of all the meetings across both teams (1.89% vs. 5.29% or more, respectively).

Taking a closer look at the duration and distribution of these episodes of casual talk gives us some more insights, but still leaves us with generally inconclusive results.

Figure 7.3 Duration and distribution of casual talk episodes, MktgA

meeting	episode	time	length ('min ''sec)	mean (''secs)
MktgA1	1	1:00:54.3-1:01:29.3	35.0''	74.9''
	2	1:39:51.1-1:41:46.8	1' 55.7''	
	3	1:42:41.6-1:43:68.2	1' 16.6''	
	4	1:52:09.7-1:55:00.8	2' 51.1''	
	5	1:56:12.4-1:56:53.4	41.0''	
	6	2:06:04.7-2:06:14.8	10.1''	

meeting	episode	time	length ('min "sec)	mean
MktgA2	1	0:01:04.3-0:01:56.2	51.9"	38.3"
	2	0:02:05.0-0:03:58.5	1' 53.5"	
	3	0:04:46.3-0:04:55.5	9.2"	
	4	0:34:40.7-0:35:00.1	19.4"	
	5	0:43:51.9-0:44:30.3	38.6"	
	6	0:52:25.9-0:53:02.0	36.1"	
	7	1:29:29.9-1:29:39.8	9.9"	
	8	1:35:51.8-1:36:08.4	16.6"	
	9	1:36:45.6-1:36:54.2	9.4"	
	10	1:38:35.5-1:40:24.3	1' 38.8"	
	11	1:42:50.0-1:43:15.1	25.1"	
	12	1:46:45.0-1:47:20.7	30.7"	

Figure 7.4 Duration and distribution of casual talk episodes, MktgB

meeting	episode	time	length ('min "sec)	mean
MktgB1	1	0:07:06.3-0:07:56.4	50.1"	47.0"
	2	0:08:22.7-0:08:31.3	8.6"	
	3	0:13:47.5-0:14:11.7	24.2"	
	4	0:26:22.1-0:27:07.5	45.4"	
	5	0:32:03.6-0:33:00.9	58.3"	
	6	1:19:12.4-1:19:53.8	41.4"	
	7	1:23:42.5-1:24:17.7	25.2"	
	8	1:24:35.2-1:25:22.4	47.2"	
	9	1:25:44.1-1:26:08.5	24.4"	
	10	1:27:03.0-1:29:15.2	2' 12.2"	
	11	1:31:11.3-1:32:19.8	1' 08.5"	
	12	1:40:20.7-1:40:23.8	3.1"	
	13	2:16:47.1-2:18:09.7	1' 22.6"	
Mktg B2	1	1:29:22.8-1:29:31.5	8.7"	31.0"
	2	1:31:33.7-1:32:01.2	27.5"	
	3	1:36:38.8-1:37:35.6	56.8"	
MktgB3 [begins at 1:06:01]	1	1:06:35.4-1:07:09.0	34.0"	38.3"
	2	1:08:35.3-1:08:56.4	21.1"	
	3	1:10:42.5-1:11:54.4	1' 11.9"	
	4	1:30:12.9-1:30:22.0	9.1"	
	5	1:40:51.5-1:41:40.0	48.5"	
	6	2:06:55.1-2:07:44.9	49.8"	
	7	2:07:55.3-2:08:55.6	1' 00.3"	
	8	2:09:05.4-2:09:17.1	11.7"	

Again, distribution patterns varied across the recordings, though in both groups casual talk episodes were on average longer in the first than in the subsequent meetings. Additionally, the detailed analysis does support the suggestion in the previous paragraph that although MktgA had fewer instances of casual talk than MktgB, these tended to be longer. Specifically, all of MktgA's episodes lasted at least nine seconds, and the longest episode almost three minutes, while MktgB's shortest episode lasted only 3 seconds, and the longest a little over two minutes.

It is also notable that both groups tended to cluster their casual talk episodes to a greater or lesser extent. Each meeting again had a somewhat distinct character, with the students diving straight into work at the beginning of MktgA1 and their longer episodes taking place from the middle to the end of the second hour. In their second meeting, the casual talk episodes were again clustered together but the clusters themselves were somewhat more spread out, and generally shorter overall, with a clear opening phase in the first five minutes of the meeting, a couple of mid-length episodes towards the end of the first hour, and then the remaining half of the episodes all taking place in the final twenty minutes. In MktgB1, a long opening phase in the first half hour saw several episodes of varying lengths, then nothing for a little under an hour, followed by a spell of relatively regular distractions within a twenty-minute period from 1h19m to 1h40m, and then half an hour of solid work talk before finishing up with a lengthy episode just before they drew to a close a couple of minutes later. Their second meeting began after the short break following MktgB1 and with the students getting down to work promptly and efficiently, presumably as they would have had time to chat together during the break before returning to the meeting room. They then managed to keep their focus on the work talk until the last half hour of the meeting, when the few instances of casual talk in this recording occurred. In contrast, and perhaps because of the change in the team's composition, the shorter MktgB recording was punctuated relatively regularly by episodes of casual talk, although they were also more frequent in the first ten minutes of each hour; perhaps surprisingly, there was no casual talk in the final half hour of this recording, although that could be explained by the fact that the students thought they had booked the room for another hour and were therefore still deep in "work mode" when they were interrupted and had to leave.

When examining the frequency of casual talk as a proportion of an individual's contribution (i.e. the number of the individual's turns marked as casual talk divided by the total number of that individual's turns), clearer patterns begin to emerge.

Figure 7.5 Frequency of casual talk (CT) per individual, MktgA

Name (MktgA)	#CT MktgA (1)	#turns MktgA (1)	%CT/turn MktgA (1)
Benone	70	1028	0.07
Carina	66	1105	0.06
Christian	61	1046	0.06
Qingling	35	743	0.05
	#CT MktgA (2)	#turns MktgA (2)	%CT/turn MktgA (2)
Benone	87	719	0.12
Carina	77	762	0.10
Christian	57	627	0.09
Qingling	19	481	0.04

Figure 7.6 Frequency of casual talk (CT) per individual, MktgB

Name (MktgB)	#CT MktgB (1)	#turns MktgB (1)	CT /turn MktgB (1)
Fabian	34	525	0.06
Maria	71	749	0.09
Rafael	88	743	0.12
Igor	-	-	-
	#CT MktgB (2)	#turns MktgB (2)	%CT /turn MktgB (2)
Fabian	11	461	0.02
Maria	9	632	0.01
Rafael	12	484	0.02
Igor	-	-	-
	#CT MktgB (3)	#turns MktgB (3)	%CT /turn MktgB (3)
Fabian	-	-	-
Maria	42	535	0.08
Rafael	38	487	0.08
Igor	32	257	0.12

As always, these figures should be treated cautiously, as they do not indicate who initiates a casual talk episode, who closes it, or to what extent the individual is actively contributing to or developing the topic vs. simply showing interest and engagement by backchannelling or laughing. Nevertheless, they do present some interesting results. Firstly, it can be said that each meeting – for whatever reason – had a fairly distinct character. For example, in MktgA1, all the students participated more or less equally in casual talk in terms of their overall contribution (i.e. although Qingling had fewer turns in general and also fewer turns in casual talk, the ratio of her engagement in casual talk to her overall contributions was roughly the same as for the other team members). In MktgA2, this held true for Benone, Carina and Christian – though with a slightly wider range – but Qingling participated less in general and considerably less in the casual talk. In the MktgB team we see a more varied result, perhaps due to the fact that they had more meetings and different groupings. In MktgB1, there was quite a range, with Rafael contributing more casual talk turns in absolute numbers and also a much higher proportion of casual talk turns in terms of his overall contributions – something he recognised himself in the course of the interaction (Extract 7.16, line 8):

Extract 7.16 Procrastinating (MktgB1)

1	Rafael	yeah PUNCT-uation
2	Maria	<59>ah punctuation</59>
3	Fabian	<59>punctuation</59>
4	Rafael	it's like the scores the grades the punctuation
5	Maria	i dunno
6	Rafael	yeah i <60>dunno</60>
7	Maria	<60>whatever</60> let's insert that
8	Rafael	sorry <61>(i keep procrastinating)</61>
9	Fabian	<61>let's say japan</61> is zero (.) isn't it?

Unsurprisingly, due to the low number of episodes of casual talk in general, in MktgB2 all the students had a similarly low level of casual talk turns as a proportion of their overall contributions. What is more noteworthy is that Igor, although he makes fewer contributions to the casual talk and in general in terms of absolute numbers, has a relatively high ratio of casual talk to overall contributions. This could be explained by, or support, the notion expressed in the interviews that Igor tended to work on his own, only joining the team to “supply” his decisions and to get involved in the “fun” bits such as submitting and waiting for the results of each round. Thus, although he was not as actively involved in the general discussions, he was quite engaged in the more socially-oriented talk. This also reflects the data from the Facebook discussions, which were on the whole a more social platform, and where he was also very active (second only to Maria; see Figure 7.7 below).

Figure 7.7 Contributions to Facebook conversation (MktgB)

name	# entries	% total entries	# words	% total words	words/entry
Fabian	82	16.3	1037	14.7	12,65
Igor	140	27.8	1768	25.0	12,63
Maria	176	40.0	2976	42.1	16,91
Rafael	105	20.8	1280	18.1	12,19
total	503	-	7061	-	14,04

Similar patterns could be found in MktgA, where Benone dominated, with the other three team members having a fairly even share of the remaining interaction. Like Igor in MktgB, as the team member with noticeably fewer spoken contributions, Qingling has a much more equal share of the written interaction.

Figure 7.8 Contributions to Facebook conversation (MktgB)

name	# entries	% total entries	# words	% total words	words/entry
Benone	228	37.0	2875	34.6	12,61
Carina	127	20.6	1671	20.1	13,16
Christian	132	21.4	2174	26.1	16,47
Qingling	130	21.1	1597	19.2	12,28
total	617	-	8317	-	13,48

While an analysis of the Facebook interaction goes beyond the scope of this thesis, this appears to have some implications for encouraging participation. Given the emphasis on participation in the assessment criteria, this is certainly an area for future research.

But back to the present study. In terms of participants’ roles, some patterns can be identified.

Figure 7.9 Number of times an individual opens or closes a casual talk sequence

recording	name	# opens	# closes
MktgA1	Benone	2	1
	Carina	2	1
	Christian	2	3
	Qingling	0	1
MktgA2	Benone	5	2
	Carina	4	3
	Christian	2	4
	Qingling	1	2*
MktgB1	Fabian	0	7
	Maria	2	3
	Rafael	11	2
MktgB2	Fabian	0	0
	Maria	1	3
	Rafael	2	0
MktgB3	Igor	1	4
	Maria	3	3
	Rafael	4	1

*in this recording the researcher also closed 1 episode.

While Benone was on balance the most likely and Qingling least likely to initiate a casual talk episode, roles in the MktgA team were nevertheless fairly evenly distributed. Benone’s admission in the interviews that he is easily bored could explain the fact that by the second meeting he was looking for excuses to divert talk away from the work discussions, with Carina following suit; his high level of engagement in the Facebook chat would support this. In both meetings Christian was the one who typically brought the group back to their work talk, although this was not always the case.

In contrast, Rafael’s self-proclaimed role as the “procrastinator” is clearly supported by the statistical evidence. Out of an overall total of 24 episodes of casual talk, he initiated 17; and in each individual meeting he also led the table with the most number of casual talk openings, with an astonishing 11 out of 13 in the first meeting. In contrast, Fabian did not initiate a single episode, but was much more prone to trying to bring the team back on track in MktgB1, a role that Maria took over in MktgB2. In MktgB3 the different roles among the individuals were not so marked.

All in all, it can be said that the amount of casual talk and the roles of the students in these episodes vary considerably from group to group and even from meeting to meeting. However, a few observations can be made, and the specific findings summarised as follows:

- Every meeting had some casual talk, even if it was very little as a proportion of the whole interaction.
- It can be argued that the students were generally quite focused on their task, with casual talk only accounting for about 5-10% of their interaction and between 3-13 episodes in each meeting.

- The longest episodes of casual talk were found in the first of each team's meetings, and across the meetings the episodes were frequently clustered together, particularly in extended opening and closing phases, and sometimes towards the middle.
- In terms of participants' contributions and roles, Qingling had the lowest level of engagement in casual talk both in terms of numbers of turns and as a proportion of her overall contribution. In contrast, Rafael had a very high level of engagement and was also the self-confessed "procrastinator" in MktgB, i.e. the team member who initiated the most – indeed almost all – of their episodes of casual talk.
- The other members of each group had either relatively similar levels of engagement to each other, or their level of engagement varied across the meetings, making it difficult to draw any clear conclusions. Although Igor was only present in one of MktgB's three meetings and it is therefore impossible to say whether this was "typical" behaviour for him, his relatively high level of casual talk as a percentage of his overall contributions supported the impression gained in the reflective interviews that he preferred to do the work on his own, but did join in when the interaction was more oriented towards team cohesion.

7.3.3.2 Topics in casual talk

Given that casual talk is defined as being talk whose topic is unrelated to the task at hand, it is essential to examine what topics are discussed and to what extent these test or evidence the level of trust and rapport in the teams. Figure 7.10 below provides an overview of the topics discussed in casual talk and the frequency of each topic per team/meeting. A casual talk episode could be assigned more than one code; for example, a discussion of how movie titles are translated in different countries would be categorised as both *film & media* and *language*. Additionally, an episode of casual talk might begin on one topic and then shift to another, e.g. starting off as a comment on how tired they were and late it was (*activities, feelings, surroundings*) and then moving to a song about time running out (*film & media*).

Figure 7.10 Topics of casual talk and distribution by meeting

code & topic	details	example	Mktg A1	Mktg A2	Mktg B1	Mktg B2	Mktg B3	total
CT_T1 personal topics	significant others, habits, things they own, things they do, anecdotes, parties	<i>that was my girlfriend from romania</i>	1	2	4	0	1	8
CT_T2 studies	marketing course, WU in general, previous studies, exams & general grading (not specific weighting for the task), teachers, marketing discipline in general	<i>come on like class participation thirty percent that's a LOT</i>	1	4	5	1	1	12
CT_T3 activities, states, surroundings	weather, physical objects in vicinity, items on computer screen, current physical state, plans for near future (e.g. weekend)	<i>it's already getting dark outside</i>	2	4	4	2	3	15
CT_T4 language	language items that arise in discussion or local environment/ linguistic landscape; off-task translations; explanations of cultural phenomena; metalinguistic comments	<i>usually in in in school you lear- you always learn eins drei drei polizei</i>	8	4	2	0	4	18
CT_T5 film & media	films, TV series, documentaries, music, social media, mobile phones	<i>like in the movie uh hangover two?</i>	2	0	3	1	2	8

One of the most striking findings is that the most popular topic is **language**: not only is it the means to achieve their team and task goals, but language is also the object of these processes in casual talk as well as in work talk. The students seemed to have a relatively high level of awareness of language and picked up on words and phrases in the immediate linguistic landscape as well as the teamwork discussions. This could go both ways (from native speaker to non-native speaker or vice versa) and also was found to draw on various languages:

Extract 7.17 Juice bottle

{examining a German-language label on a juice bottle} have you ever read it what it what it says
(Carina, MktgA, meeting data)

Extract 7.18 Toilettenbürstenbenutzungsanweisung

{looking at a picture on qingling's mobile phone} oh my god this is a (.) single word [...] <reading aloud> <LNde>toilettenbürstenbenützungsanWEisung {instructions for using the toilet brush}.</LNde></reading aloud>
(Benone, MktgA, meeting data)

Extract 7.19 *Página web*

{looking over rafael's shoulder at his laptop} <LNpo>esta página da web não está disponível {this website is not available}</LNpo>
(**Maria**, MktgB, meeting data)

The discussions that followed usually developed the theme of language, sometimes addressing issues of pronunciation, false cognates, translation, explaining or developing the impulse from the linguistic landscape, or displaying their prowess in a foreign language (other than English). On at least two occasions (once instigated by Benone and once by Rafael), the casual talk episode was triggered by an instance of not “letting it pass” (Firth 1996: 243), i.e. an explicit comment on language variation, even though it could have been expected that the other team members would understand the reference, and a subsequently collaborative attempt to correct it. While the students from a particular country or culture might be called upon to explain local phenomena (both implicitly and explicitly) as discussed in the previous chapter on EXINTEX, the roles of language expert in casual talk were not necessarily bound to nationality or first language (cf. Hynninen 2012). For instance, Benone corrected Carina’s pronunciation of their (Chinese) teacher’s name⁶⁰. Thus although there was a Chinese student in the group, who confirmed and refined the correction, it was actually the Romanian student who picked up on and corrected his Austrian colleague’s mispronunciation. In the following example from the other team, Rafael, the Brazilian, comments on the Austrian students’ use of the false cognate “Beamer” for a (digital) projector, while the Russian student, Igor, helps him try to find the more Standard English term.

Extract 7.20 *Beamer (MktgB3)*

1	Rafael	<LNde>fett</LNde> you know what i think is funny? like you
2		<8>always say <LNde>beamer</LNde> and it</8>
3	Igor	<8>now now i see it o:h</8>
4	Rafael	sounds like an english word but it's <9>not really</9>
5	Igor	<9>nonono</9>
6	Rafael	it's like <10>uhuh</10>
7	Maria	<10>it's like</10> <L1de>handy</L1de> we say <L1de>handy</L1de>
8		to a mobile phone
9	Rafael	nono but like the <LNde>beamer</LNde> it's not really called
10		<LNde>beamer</LNde> right?
11	Igor	it's u::h=
12	Rafael	=it's like the projector or something
13	Igor	<LNde>beamer</LNde> yeah you call them <LNde>beamers</LNde>
14	Maria	what do you call a <L1de>beamer</L1de>
15	Rafael	no <LNde>beamer</LNde> is a <11>german word</11>
16	Igor	<11>projector</11>
17	Maria	what what how do you call it <12>projector</12>
18	Rafael	<12>i dunno</12> <13>overhead</13>
19	Igor	<13>projector</13>
20	Rafael	projector or <14>something like that</14>
21	Igor	<14>yeahyeahyeah</14>

⁶⁰ Though this was an extremely interesting episode, it obviously cannot be reproduced for ethical reasons.

The students thus assumed some shared responsibility for language authority and contributed jointly to developing textual products, even when developing their shared multilingual repertoire. Linguistic authority was not automatically linked to being a native speaker. This seems to be regardless of whether the context was a formal written case study or the verbal expression of meaning in both work and informal settings.

At the same time, while the majority of the students' casual talk was supportive and/or collaborative, this is an interesting – though not unique – instance of casual talk that could actually be considered substantially face-threatening. Rafael not only does not let the “mistake” pass but calls attention to it very clearly with a metadiscursive comment (*you know what I think is funny?*, line 1). He even insists on it in lines 9-10 (*but like the beamer it's not really called beamer right?*) despite Maria acknowledging her variation on Standard English in the previous lines with a reference to another lexical variation common in German-speaking countries (*it's like handy we say handy to a mobile phone*, lines 7-8). Nevertheless, the lack of indication that Maria has been offended – on the contrary, she actively joins in the discussion in line 14 (*what do you call a beamer*) – suggests that this negotiation of meaning in their casual talk both reflects and supports the negotiation of meaning in their work talk. This can also be seen in MktgA's long episodes of casual talk, which are made more complex through extensive cycles of negotiating meaning and by drawing on various repertoires including non-verbal ones such as onomatopoeia. An example of this will be discussed in the next paragraph (Extract 7.21) and another one in more detail in the following section on the functions of casual talk. Even at the descriptive level, however, the high amount of challenging in both types of talk without any obvious indication of offence being taken can be interpreted as evidence of a high level of trust within each team.

The two other most frequent topics, **activities**, **states**, **surroundings** and **studies**, also draw on the students' immediate environment. Both are relatively impersonal although they have a generally high level of mutual interest. The first category, **activities**, **states**, **surroundings**, is frequently triggered by a visual or sensory prompt such as a message, image or information on the computer screen, an observation relating to the weather or how late it was getting, or German text on physical objects in the vicinity (i.e. the linguistic landscape). A prompt in a language other than English often resulted in a discussion that was also about language and might include a comparatively high incidence of translation and other aspects of translanguaging.

Extract 7.21 Herbs with good manners (MktgA1)

1	Carina	{examining juice bottle} have you ever read it what it what it says guy
2		{/gɪ/}
3	Benone	it's gi {/ʒɪ/} (1)
4	Qingling	um
5	Benone	what (.) says
6	Carina	wha- what is <L1de>niesen</L1de>
7	Christian	u:m
8	Carina	err

9	Benone	so hard in german you know @
10	Carina	@@@
11	Christian	try <un>xxx</un> <60>@@@</60>
12	Carina	<60>@@@</60>
13	Christian	isn't it like
14	Benone	you are from <61>nigeria or something</61>
15	Christian	<61>oh geez geez</61>
16	Benone	so you don't know german
17	Christian	wait wait i <62>knew it</62>
18	Carina	<62>no i</62> think about the english word what if you do {imitates sneezing} hachoo <63>what's the st-</63>
19		
20	Benone	<63>yeah</63>
21	Carina	english name (.) word
22	Christian	ugh
23	Qingling	sneeze?= =SNEEZE=
24	Carina	=SNEEZE=
25	Benone	=sneeze
26	Carina	thanks
27	Qingling	what does that have to do with=
28	Carina	=because it's always it's two two=
29	Benone	prevent (.) sneezing
30	Carina	no there's always two: fruits or so in the in the juice and then they
31		always tell a love story about them
32	Benone	really?
33	Carina	and here it's strawberry and pepper and the strawberry is sneezing
34		and the pepper says bless you and the strawberry says thank you (.) i
35		like herbs with good manners (1)
36	Benone	@ <64>@@@</64>
37	Carina	<64>@@@</64>

In this excerpt, Carina's explanation of the story on the label of her flavoured-water bottle not only represents her direct translation from German to English (*here it's strawberry and pepper and the strawberry is sneezing and the pepper says bless you and the strawberry says thank you (.) i like herbs with good manners*⁶¹; lines 33-35), but also a negotiation of the word for *niesen* in English ("sneeze"), which draws on onomatopoeia (*I think about the English word what if you do hachoo*, lines 18-19) and even an attempt to construct the story jointly (from Benone, who suggests – wrongly – that the punchline is to *prevent sneezing*, line 29). As Carina noted in the reflective interview, Qingling is the one who "knows the words" and came up with *sneeze* (line 23) after Carina's explanation, although she had given no indication of knowing the German term earlier. We therefore again see the stepwise build-up to the translation that we are also familiar with from EXINTEX. Additionally, it is interesting to note that while there is relatively little challenging in terms of meaning, Benone's jokes in line 9, 14-16 (*so hard in German you know @; you are from Nigeria or something so you don't know German*) overturning Carina's authority/identity as a native-speaker of German, could be seen as highly face-threatening, yet she barely seems to register it apart from a brief *no* before going into her explanation in line 18; this suggests that trust was also high and authority for language shared in this team, and that casual talk was generally not used (even indirectly) as a means to assert power or superiority, in contrast to Holmes' (2000a;

⁶¹ in German: "Erdbeere und Pfeffer - wie alles begann. Erdbeere: niest. Pfeffer: 'Gesundheit.' Sagt die Erdbeere: 'Danke. Ich mag Gewürze mit Manieren'."

Holmes & Stubbe 2003) findings in which small talk can play an important role in “doing power” and “keeping control”.

In the category of *studies*, too, the focus was primarily on their shared interest and experiences in the marketing master’s programme and at WU, although a couple of episodes addressed their grades on previous courses, which could be seen as a sensitive topic and therefore potentially face-threatening.

Extract 7.22 IELTS/TOEFL (MktgB1)

1	Rafael	did you make the gmat as well (.) fabian
2	Fabian	uh no (.) <51>i was<51>
3	Rafael	<51>and you</51>
4	Fabian	so lazy
5	Rafael	and you didn’t make the toefl or did you anything=
6	Maria	=no (2)
7	Fabian	just did the toefl
8	Maria	luckily i didn’t have to do it
9	Rafael	i didn’t do the toefl i took the other one (.) ielts
10	Maria	you didn’t do it the toefl
11	Rafael	i did the ielts
12	Maria	ah so
13	Rafael	i didn’t have toefl dates for when i needed it (.) so
14	Maria	but is it the same basically
15	Rafael	it’s the same bu:t it’s british (2)
16	Maria	okay
17	Rafael	cause toefl’s american the other’s british (1)

Again, we see here how Maria and Rafael construct the meaning of IELTS through confirmation checks (*you didn’t do it the TOEFL*, line 10), clarification checks (*but is it the same basically*, line 14) and clarification (*it’s the same but it’s British [...] cause TOEFL’s American the other’s British*, lines 15, 17). Another sub-topic in the studies category that overlapped with language as the object as well as the means of discussion was linked to the pronunciation of the teachers’ names and also, to an extent, how the courses were graded and the role of language and speaking as part of grading criteria.

The remaining two topic areas, *film & media* and *personal topics*, represent distinct ends of the topic spectrum. The former can be perceived as a “safe” subject for small talk as many people have opinions on film, television series and use a smartphone; Pullin Stark (2009) observes that “music transcends national borders and is an uncontroversial subject to discuss” (Pullin Stark 2009: 157). While some of their discussions were triggered by impulses that arose in the immediate environment (e.g. spotting a downloaded series saved on a laptop, talking about apps being used on their phones), others seemed to be fairly arbitrary and just the result of a wandering mind:

Extract 7.23 Ducks (MktgB1)

1	Rafael	you know what's cool i just remember it i don't know why but i was once
2		watching a documentary about the (insides) of china and there are some
3		people like very old style that they fish like they are fishermen but the way
4		they fish like they take ducks and they put like a give like a: little rope
5		<74>and they tie it</74>
6	Maria	<74> yeah i saw it as well </74>
7	Rafael	like they tie their (throat) like from the outside and when the duck takes the
8		fish he can't really eat it because his (throat) is closed and then the
9		fisherman takes the duck and <75>take the fish</75>
10	Fabian	<75>@@@</75>

This extract follows a discussion about types of toothpaste (gel vs. paste) and a brand of toothpaste commonly found in Austria which uses a crocodile on its packaging. The discussion about a documentary on “fishing” ducks is therefore remarkably off-topic and does not seem to be related to any earlier comments, as Rafael himself points out in the introduction to his story (*I just remember it I don't know why*). The purpose of such apparently arbitrary comments will be discussed more fully in the next section, but, at least in this particular case, it can be argued that the topic's arbitrariness equates to neutrality. Rafael's recounting of the documentary can thus be interpreted as a gambit to find a “safe” topic of conversation, which is rewarded with Maria's comment *yeah I saw it as well* (line 6).

In contrast, **personal topics** could be seen as having relatively high potential for damaging equity face (i.e. being an invasion of privacy):

Extract 7.24 Shaving (MktgB1)

1	Rafael	do you shave every day? during the week
2	Maria	@@@
3	Fabian	uh every two days (2)
4	Rafael	cause it's funny i've never seen you with a little a little <55>bit some some
5		beard</55>
6	Fabian	<55>i only need to do</55> it every two days (2)
7	Maria	and what about you=
8	Fabian	=you know in the weekend i don't care about it
9	Rafael	@@ i shave like once a week (1) i only have patience yeah i don't never
10		really shave with a razor blade so (.)
11	Fabian	ah okay

On the other hand, many of the discussions relating to personal topics offered, rather than sought, personal preferences or information, suggesting that the students felt comfortable enough (i.e. had a high enough level of trust) in the group to reveal privileged information:

Extract 7.25 Girlfriends (MktgA1)

1	Benone	<29>that</29> was my girlfriend from romania <30>this</30>
2	Christian	<30>your</30> GIRLfriend=
3	Benone	=yeah <31<from romania</31>
4	Christian	<31> <i>i didn't know that</31> you have a girlfriend</i>
5	Benone	<i>ye:ah yeah yeah yeah big secret @@@@</i>

In short, the casual talk episodes in both groups could be categorised under five main themes:

- **Language** was the most popular, with the students discussing linguistic items that arose in either their physical environment or in the course of their discussions. This was a relatively complex topic as it was not only metalinguistic by definition but also frequently drew on various linguistic processes such as translation and translanguaging, which happened only rarely in discussions of the other topics.
- The next two most popular topics (**activities, states, surroundings** and **studies**) also related to their immediate environment and were often, though not always, linked to language topics.
 - **Activities, states, surroundings** relates to the students' short-term plans, how they were feeling, and items or objects in the physical environment or that arose in their discussions but were unrelated to the task.
 - **Studies** refers to their wider academic environment or their academic background and covered topics such as grades, the teachers, WU, and the discipline of marketing in general.
- Perhaps surprisingly, the least common topics were **film & media** and **personal topics**.
 - **Film & media** can be seen as a relatively "neutral" or "safe" topic for casual conversation, and includes music, TV series, smartphones and apps as well as films.
 - **Personal topics** have the potential to damage rapport by intruding on the other team member's equity rights. However, this generally did not seem to be the case, and in fact the personal information discussed was frequently offered rather than elicited, suggesting a high level of trust within the teams and a desire to demonstrate that affect.

7.3.3.3 Functions of casual talk & developing team cohesion through language

In Malinowski's (1923) original study of phatic communion, he argued that it "serves to establish bonds of personal union between people brought together by the mere need of companionship and does not serve any purpose of communicating ideas" (p. 316). More recent scholars claim, however, that talk is "inherently multifunctional" (Holmes 2000a: 33; cf. Holmes & Stubbe 2003:

88; Kordon 2006: 64), with small talk an “intrinsic part of talk at work” (Coupland 2000a: 6), and propose that relational talk “can serve a particular purpose in the performance of a transactional genre, and cannot be considered irrelevant for the workplace task” (Koester 2006: 143). Thus, while it is basically possible to distinguish casual talk from work talk on the basis of topic, it is more difficult to see the “interactional and transactional functions of speech as mutually exclusive” (Kordon 2006: 64). Rather, taking a constructionist view, talk needs to be seen as “fundamentally social” (van den Bossche et al. 2006: 497) and team cohesion as a multidimensional construct (ibid., p. 499) that is shaped by convergence in both on- and off-topic talk. In other words, despite its “sometimes aimless appearance and apparently trivial content, casual conversation is in fact a highly structured, functionally motivated, semantic activity” that contributes to the “joint construction of social reality” (Egins & Slade 2006 [1997]: 6).

This is supported by the findings of this study, which identified five main functions of the casual talk in the students’ teamwork, all of which are linked to a greater or lesser extent to increasing cohesion or “doing solidarity” in the team and contribute to constructing the social reality of their community of practice. As described in detail in Section 5.3, the function categories were developed through an iterative coding process that used extant research on small talk in workplace contexts (primarily Coupland 2000a; Holmes 2000a; Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Koester 2006; Pullin 2010, 2013) as a basis. These were then expanded and collapsed through various rounds of coding the data until a stable set of categories was established.

Figure 7.11 Functions of casual talk & distribution across teams/recordings

Function	Mktg A1	Mktg A2	Mktg B1	Mktg B2	Mktg B3	total
filling time or initiating dialogue	0	3	6	0	4	13
establishing common ground	5	6	8	2	3	24
exploring language & culture	4	3	2	0	3	12
deepening personal knowledge	2	3	3	1	1	10
mitigating EXINTEX and/or re-establishing cohesion	0	1	3	0	0	4

Unsurprisingly, a substantial amount of the casual talk did seem to be used as for *filling time* (Holmes 2000a: 47) while waiting for a computer programme to open or a website or flash (USB) drive to load, or if one of the students had gone out briefly. As such, it could be seen as a boundary marker (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 90), even if it did not only take place in ‘proper’ opening and closing phases of interaction. The clustering of casual talk sequences discussed in the previous section could also be said to support this idea, with much of the casual talk occurring towards the end of the meeting, but also, in MktgB, while the students were trying to save work about halfway

through the meeting and were waiting for the computer to react. In some cases, especially in MktgB where there were a number of long pauses (i.e. greater than 5 seconds), it could be argued that the initiator of the casual talk episode – generally Rafael – was not merely trying to fill time but, as Malinowski (1923: 314) suggested, to break silence, *initiate dialogue*, and “defus[e] the threat of taciturnity” (Coupland 2000a: 2). These correspond largely to Laver’s (1975) *initiatory* and *propitiatory* functions, respectively (Holmes 2000a: 47). It must be said that in most cases this was successful, and, as Qingling noted for the other group, a brief episode of casual talk could lubricate the way for a work-oriented discussion.

Extract 7.26 Lunch (MktgB3)

1	Maria	international trade four=
2	Rafael	=four three two
3	Maria	mhm
4	Rafael	three oh one (3) a:nd ac-access to safe water
5	Maria	oops (6) two four <53>three</53>
6	Rafael	<53>three</53>
7	Maria	zero=
8	Rafael	=two oh three (12) did you forget to have lunch
9	Igor	yeah yeah i did (i don't care though) i ate too many cookies
10	Rafael	@@
11	Maria	is it okay like that (2)
12	Rafael	yeah we know what it is and we say didn't have so much space but {coughs}
13		so from here chi- china has actually five. out of nine (.) so it would be
14	Igor	obvious
15	Rafael	no but
16	Maria	but we have to:
17	Igor	weight
18	Maria	<54>weight it</54>
19	Rafael	<54>let me just</54> do something (7) yeah china would have anyways the:
20		the biggest the highest score
21	Maria	cool (1)
22	Igor	in terms of <spel>g d p</spel>?
23	Maria	in terms of everything
24	Igor	okay

In this example, Rafael’s question in line 8 about whether Igor had eaten lunch serves multiple purposes. Firstly, it follows a 12-second silence as Maria does some work on the computer (typing up and/or formatting their scoreboard in the presentation slides). Rafael’s question thus breaks the long silence and also fills the time while Maria is working. At the same time, choosing a personal question to Igor about whether he had had any lunch, rather than a work-related comment, underlines the relational aspect of this instance of casual talk. Igor’s expanded response that he missed lunch but *ate too many cookies* instead (line 9), and Rafael’s laughter acknowledging this (line 10), create an “emotional bond” that not only breaks the silence and fills time while they are waiting for Maria but also draws Igor into the discussion once she has finished. In the seven lines (=7 turns) preceding Rafael’s question, Igor is working on his own, and says nothing; from line 11 to line 24 (= 12 turns), Igor has four turns, which represents a substantial increase in his contributions to the team’s discussions. Additionally, after a long silence, all the team members present engage more actively with each other to develop the scorechart. It is striking that this function was more

common in team MktgB than MktgA, though there were also much more and much longer silences in MktgB's meetings, and therefore it could also be argued that it was more necessary, or more useful, for this team.

Explicitly **establishing common ground** was, not surprisingly, the main function found in the examples of casual talk under investigation. This function reflects “the need to ‘hit it off’” as described by Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta (2011: 256) and the development of (emotional) “solidarity” (Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2011: 260; Kassis-Henderson 2005: 78; Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011: 19; Mullany 2006: 66-72; Pullin 2010: 456; Koester 2006: 110) that is essential for facilitating a positive working relationship in general and building the shared “mental models” that form the basis of successful teamwork in particular (Decuyper et al. 2010; Marks et al. 2001; Mathieu et al. 2000; Salas et al. 2005). While the latter tend to refer to team processes in the literature, which does not always have a multicultural focus, it can be argued that it is equally important – especially in a multilingual and/or multicultural team – to develop a shared “mental model” in terms of language and communicative practices (i.e. again extending the notion beyond the team’s shared task goals to include a shared repertoire of technical, national and team-specific language). This is particularly important since “a characteristic of trust is that it is more easily built in close-knit communities where common ground and a common language are already established”, making it “a challenge for individuals in the multilingual workplace” (Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011: 16). An explicit attempt to find common ground – e.g. shared interests, experiences or attitudes – can furthermore be interpreted as an attempt to enact the team’s identity as a cohesive unit as well as to establish a shared basis from which to operate (cf. Koester 2006: 141; Tracy & Naughton 2000: 77). In contrast to Tracy and Naughton’s (2000) and Koester’s (2006) findings, however, the enactment of identity found in these teams is not simply the presentation of their selves or the team, but also contributes to its formation. In other words, seeking and commenting on the team members’ common ground represents the joint construction of their social reality (Eggins & Slade 2006 [1997]) as a cohesive and highly-functioning (multicultural) team.

Extract 7.27 Grades (MktgB1)

1	Maria	did you see we already got the grade for
2	Rafael	<42>yeah</42>
3	Fabian	<42>yeah</42> an <spel> a </spel>
4	Maria	whooo so good (3)
5	Rafael	i’m proud of it
6	Maria	@@@ (5)
7	Rafael	it’s to boost our morale
8	Maria	hm?= make us feel good
9	Rafael	=@@ you know that everyone got an <spel> a </spel>= =i know
10	Maria	=@@ you know that everyone got an <spel> a </spel>= =i know
11	Rafael	=i know
12	Maria	@@@ (3)

13	Rafael	still we can say that the first grade that we had in the course was an
14		<spel> a </spel> (.) so it's cool (1) it's a make pretend grade let's=
15	Fabian	=no-one has to know

In this extract, Maria begins by drawing attention to the group's grade for the first case study, highlighting both their joint activities as well as their early successes. Not only do they jointly construct the statement, aligning and overlapping as they clarify the claim (*we got the grade for/yeah/an A*, lines 1-3) but they also establish a joint stance that positions it as a positive achievement (*an A/whooo so good/i'm proud of it*, lines 3-5), even though they then negotiate a joint understanding of it from a rather cynical perspective (*it's to boost our morale/everyone got an A*, lines 7, 10) and thus perhaps benefitting from what Malinowski (1946 [1923]) calls the "bonds of antipathy" (p. 314), before finally aligning their stance again as positive (*still we can say that the first grade that we had in the course was an A*, lines 13-14) and creating a sense of other-exclusion by suggesting the grade is phony and implying they are the only parties to that secret (*it's a make pretend grade/no-one has to know*, lines 14-15). Thus in this extract we not only see classical rapport-building speech acts and "solidarity strategies" such as approval, agreement, gratitude and complimenting (including expressions of delight and appreciation such as *whooo* and *i'm proud of it*) and the "'we-ness' of activities, perspectives and responses" (Coupland 2000a: 11; cf. Ädel 2011: 2942; Koester 2006: 100; Spencer-Oatey 2000b: 20-24), but also an active effort to construct an identity as a successful team through self-congratulation and self-presentation as well as explicitly excluding a hypothetical out-group (*no-one has to know*). Furthermore, in this early extract from the meeting data, we already see the foundations of their shared repertoire in the *whooo* (line 4) that would later become a fixed part of MktgB's team language.⁶²

The remaining functions also have a clear underlying approach of developing in-group cohesion, although the linguistic operationalisation of them were less explicit and they also had a slightly different focus. *Exploring language and culture* takes the topic of language deeper to develop the/a shared linguistic repertoire within the team beyond the context and demands of the task. "Making the effort to speak a foreign language, even if fluency is lacking, invariably strikes a positive chord with new colleagues" (Kassis-Henderson 2005: 79; cf. Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011: 18, 27). As already mentioned, all the international students were taking German classes and generally took an active interest in trying to learn it. On the one hand, this indicates their desire to enhance rapport through efforts to integrate into the local culture and society. Attempts to use another language, especially as a beginner, can display trust by indicating a willingness to make themselves vulnerable to making mistakes, or "a receptive attitude and mutual

⁶² As discussed briefly in Section 4.3.3, while the remaining recordings have not been analysed in detail, the field notes indicate that MktgB made considerable use of this strategy by explicitly pitting themselves against one of their rival groups and also developing variations on "whooo" (sometimes accompanied by a drum roll on the table) as their team "chant" to encourage and congratulate themselves at key moments such as submitting their decisions to be analysed by the simulation and even in their presentations to the rest of the class.

adaptation” interpreted as “benevolence” (Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011: 27), one of Mayer et al.’s (1995) characteristics of trust. On the other, displaying one’s own trust in others has been found to help strengthen reciprocal trust and encourage cooperative behaviour from colleagues (Jonsen et al. 2012: 370) and thus can initiate, or support, the development of “virtuous”, rather than vicious, cycles (Stahl et al. 2010a: 444). Additionally, all the students would occasionally throw in a word or phrase they had learnt in a foreign language other than English (and sometimes other than German) in an expression of interest in the other person and to create a connection with them (see also Section 4.3.3).

Extract 7.28 *Che bella donna* (MktgA2)

1	Carina	wow you’re so good in italian?
2	Qingling	no <23>@@</23>
3	Benone	<23><LNit>che bella</23> donna {what a beautiful woman}</LNit>
4	Qingling	trying (1)
5	Benone	i can say <LNit>che bella donna</LNit> (1)

In this extract, even though Benone admits that is all he can say in Italian, he still attempts to find common ground with Qingling through a mutual third language (Italian, after Romanian/Mandarin Chinese and English). In other instances, the international students threw in a word or phrase in German, and sometimes even in Austrian/Viennese dialect, to show off their increasing knowledge and strengthen their emotional bond to their new home and their team. Research into multilingualism in the workplace has shown that having poor or no skills in the local language can lead to social exclusion (Lønsmann 2014: 107; Piekkari & Tietze 2012: 554), while language asymmetries can be a cause for anxiety and asking for clarification a sign of weakness (Ehrenreich 2010: 422; Hinds et al. 2013: 555; Tenzer et al. 2014: 526–527). Asking questions about language therefore represents a display of trust, and negotiating and constructing meaning in casual talk is practice for doing so in work talk while arguably being a “safer” arena in which to do it. Furthermore, the construction of meaning in casual talk can also contribute to the development of a shared repertoire if the word or phrase becomes integrated into the team’s discourse.

This shared repertoire included some items in the local dialect as well as words and phrases relating to life in the city. Consequently, it could be argued that as well as simply developing a shared repertoire, these discussions of language supported the evolution of a mental model of the team as international, multicultural, multilingual, at home in Vienna, and “fun”. The German speakers (usually the Austrians/native speakers) therefore frequently took on a “bridging” function or acted as a linguistic “node” to explain local phenomena or items in the linguistic landscape and thereby help the international students to integrate or overcome a sense of exclusion that might arise from not understanding the local language. The following example begins with an impulse from the linguistic landscape of the university (a humorous poster in the bathroom entitled *Toilettenbürstenbenutzungsanweisung*) which Qingling shares on her return from a brief break.

Figure 7.12 Toilettenbürstenbenutzungsanweisung (original photo by Qingling, Facebook)



While this in itself does not require much explanation⁶³, it leads into a discussion of long German words and then an attempt to find a translation for one of the words that arises in the discussion (*Dampf/steam*). In this relatively long episode of casual talk, we see numerous examples of explaining, bridging and demonstrating language knowledge as well as references to previously negotiated words that had become an established part of the team's repertoire.

Extract 7.29 *Dampf* (MktgA2)

1	Benone	<reading aloud> <LNde>toilett?- {toilet} </LNde> (.) oh my god this is a
2		(.) single word. </reading aloud>
3	Carina	hm:?
4	Benone	<reading aloud> <LNde>toilettenbürstenbenützungsanweisung.
5		{instructions for using the toilet brush}</LNde> </reading aloud> (6)
6		that's cool?
7	Qingling	<1>@@@</1>
8	Benone	<1>and this is a</1> single word?
9	Carina	<reading aloud> <L1de>toilettenbürstenbenützungsanweisung. </L1de>
10		</reading aloud>
11	Benone	come o:n.
12	Christian	it's not a single word.
13	Benone	i like that joke <2>with the</2>
14	Carina	<2>there is</2> another long one.=
15	Benone	= i like that joke with the. (.) with the. speed limit you know?
16	Carina	ye:ah.
17	Benone	in every <3>language</ 3>=
18	Carina	<3>speed</3> speed limit=
19	Benone	=<LNde> geschwindigkeits- {speed}</LNde>
20	Carina	<L1de> -begrenzung. {limit}</L1de>
21	Benone	<LNde> -begrenzung</LNde> . alright.
22	Carina	but i think there is another (.) really long word. or th- (.) one of the
23		longest. <L1de> -dampfschiffahrtsanlegestelle? {dock for a
24		steamship}</L1de>
25	Christian	er <L1de> dampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft?={steamship company}
26		</L1de>

⁶³ The German words read: *Toilettenbürstenbenützungsanweisung* (instructions for using the toilet brush); *ganz falsch* (completely wrong); *falsch* (wrong); *fast richtig* (almost correct); *richtig* (correct).

27	Carina	=(alright) <4> alright. yeah.</4>
28	Christian	<4>er and<L1de> es geht</4> (.) um dampf<5>schiffe.{it's something to
29		do with steamships}</L1de> </5>
30	Carina	<5>with</5> three fs.(.) <L1de>schiff(.).fahrts-. (.)
31		dampf:schiff:fahrtsgesell<6>schaft.</6></L1de>
32	Benone	<LNde> <6>dampf </6> was ist? dampf. {steam what is steam}</LNde>
33	Carina	<L1de>dampf {steam}?</L1de> is like.
34	Christian	smoke?(.) no. not really <7>smoke.</7>
35	Carina	<7>no.</7> it's like (.) do you know the trains? that are not electric?
36		but they are that. <imitating steam train> tu:tu:? <8> pfpfpfpf :</8>
37	Benone	<8>oh so (.) those (.) </8> big ones. with?
38	Carina	yeah <imitating steam train> tshtsh<9>tsh: </9>
39	Benone	<9>yeah yeah <9>yeah
40	Christian	<9>it's NOT smoke? </9>
41	Carina	yeah like (.) they
42	Benone	i know what you mean.
43	Carina	they are <10>not? (o-) </10>
44	Christian	<10>er.=</10>
45	Benone	<10>no.</10> it's not smoke. <11>it's not smoke. i i know </11>
46	Christian	<11>it's not really: </11> but
47	Benone	no. I know
48	Christian	a kind of (1) anyway.
49	Benone	causes hot er::? (1) air. or something. <un> xx</un>
50	Christian	yeah.
51	Benone	<9>er::m</9>
52	Carina	<9>er::m</9>
53	Christian	i will check it out. {looks word up on laptop} (3) <L1de>dampf. </L1de>
54	Benone	mister bretele doesn't know.
55	Christian	steam.
56	Benone	<12>STEAM.</12>
57	Carina	<12>STEAM.</12>
58	Benone	steam. steam.
59	Carina	yeah: (there) you say that one (.) cooking also right? alright?
60	Christian	yeah I think <13>so. (.) </13>.
61	Carina	<13>for cooking?</13> =
62	Christian	=YEAH=
63	Benone	=yeah. yeah.
64	Carina	steam.
65	Christian	hhh
66	Benone	mm:
67	Christian	so let's continue? (1) <14><un>xxx</un></14>
68	Carina	<14>with the criteria?</14>
69	Benone	ok (4) so. (.) section one? (.) which invo:lves=
70	Christian	=marketsh- competitors. market<15>share. </15>
71	Benone	<15>mhm.</15> (.) yeah.
72	Carina	ok. competitive shares.

At the start of the episode, Qingling first shows the picture to Benone, enjoying the emotional solidarity of non-native speaker interaction (Kassis-Henderson 2005: 78; Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011: 18) – albeit as non-native speakers of German. However, as the topic of discussion shifts from the poster in the bathroom to the English meaning of the word *Dampf* (from line 32), the focus of this emotional solidarity also shifts from non-native speakers of German (Qingling and Benone) back to non-native speakers of English (all four team members), and the team becomes cohesive again.

On the other hand, the German native speakers take an active interest in supporting their international colleagues. Carina begins to respond to the picture with a long word of her own

(*Dampfschifffahrtsanlegestelle*, which she eventually gets out in line 23), but joins in to co-construct Benone's story about a popular internet video making fun of how different German words sound from the same word in other languages⁶⁴ (*I like that joke with the speed limit you know?/in every language/speed limit/Geschwindigkeitsbegrenzung*, lines 13-21). The high level of overlap, latching and repetition indicates a strong orientation towards alignment.

Furthermore, the frequent instances and various forms of translanguaging in this extract indicate both a conscious effort to contribute to mutual understanding and an arguably more spontaneous use of their shared multilingual repertoire. Translanguaging is understood here as "the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features of various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximise communicative potential" (García 2009: 140). One aspect of this is code-switching and translation, where, drawing on a perspective of "linear bilingualism" (García & Sylan 2011: 387), the two codes are seen as autonomous. This perspective seemed to be the general approach in work talk, where the students generally did seem to observe an unwritten rule to stick to English as far as possible. In their casual talk, however, this "rule" seemed to be a little more flexible. On the one hand, the topics that arose in casual talk often related to their immediate environment which simply was multilingual; the telephone rang with an incoming call from another international student; the teachers on the programme had German or Chinese names; they talked about going to their (foreign) language classes; they came across words in the linguistic landscape of the university or the city, both of which are still predominantly German-speaking. On the other hand, as already mentioned, being on the English-medium programme meant that many had an active interest in language and an international environment, and if they had not had it when they joined the course – as in the case of Fabian, for example – they did develop it, at least to some extent.

While all the native German speakers reported in their reflective interviews that they were careful not to correct or comment on language unless asked, we do see a slight divergence from that in this extract, where Carina offers a clearly didactically intended explanation of *Schiffahrt*. with three F's. *Schiff-Fahrts Dampf-Schiff-Fahrtsgesellschaft* (lines 30-31). Benone, too, quotes the video with its clear switches between *speed limit* and *Geschwindigkeitsbegrenzung* (lines 18-21), and Christian provides a "dictionary" translation of *dampf/steam* after looking it up online (lines 53, 55). In contrast to these examples of "linear" bilingualism, however, we also see numerous examples of a more dynamic plurilingualism where the students "engage in complex discursive practices in order to 'make sense' of, and communicate in, multilingual classrooms" (García & Sylan 2011: 389) – or indeed any other multicultural and multilingual learning space. For instance, we see Christian thinking aloud in his native language of German (*es geht um Dampfschiffe*, line 28) while

⁶⁴ *How German Sounds Compared To Other Languages (Part 3)*, CopyCatChannel
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hDWw_OdeJ3c (31 March 2017)

Benone asks the question about what the word means in German in the foreign language itself (*Dampf? was ist Dampf?*, line 32). In her efforts to explain the idea of steam, Carina even draws on a non-verbal repertoire, using a range of onomatopoeia to create an image of an old-fashioned train (*do you know the trains? that are not electric? but they are that. tu:tu:? pfpfpfpfpf :/ yeah tshtshtsh.*, lines 35-36, 38). As well as illustrations (examples), the students use challenges (*it's NOT smoke/no it's not smoke*, lines 40, 45), clarification (*causes hot air*, line 49) and confirmation checks (*you say that one cooking also right?*, line 59) to negotiate and construct the meaning of the word *Dampf/steam*, and a round of agreement at the two points in the discussion when they establish it (lines 56-58, 60-64). In this respect the process again reflects and supports the stepwise progression of EXINTEX.

A final example worth mentioning is Benone's reference to himself using the team's nickname for him, saying *Mr Bretele doesn't know* (line 54). This explicit admission of ignorance is a clear expression of making himself vulnerable to his team members (i.e. an expression of trust). Moreover, not only is this an instance of unmarked translanguaging into Romanian but also a conscious (or perhaps unconscious) use of a word which has taken on a very specific meaning in the team's shared repertoire, i.e. it has a double semantic load since it no longer only means "braces/suspenders" but has a new and unique primary reference of "Benone" and thus highlights their in-group membership through the use of a nickname (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009: 120; see Section 4.3.3 for the origins of this nickname and how it emerged from their interaction). It can therefore be argued that by invoking this very team-specific term, Benone is simultaneously underlining the "we-ness" of their shared repertoire, highlighting his emotional solidarity with the group as non-native speakers of English and thereby aiming to increase the team cohesion, particularly after a "failure" to find the translation on their own.

Using casual talk episodes to mitigate stress or potential damage to team cohesion after a long or difficult episode of EXINTEX was also found in both teams and this will be discussed in more detail later. In this extract, any damage to the team cohesion occurs within the casual talk episode, and is rapidly repaired by Benone's use of their team nickname and Christian finding a solution by referring to an authoritative third source, i.e. an online dictionary, which they then incorporate into their own repertoire by using EXINTEX strategies such as confirmation checks. As such, this discussion of language not only serves team cohesion by bridging the language gap between the international students and the local German-speaking environment, but also constructs a positive and cohesive team environment through several references to shared interests and by drawing on their shared repertoire. Finally, it can be argued that the stepwise negotiation and construction of meaning in relatively low-stakes casual talk gives the students room to practise the strategies used in EXINTEX as well as build a psychologically safe environment.

The fourth function, *deepening personal knowledge*, reflects the notions expressed in the literature that the longer and better you know your business partner, the easier it is to develop a relationship with them on the one hand, and to communicate with them, on the other; and that sharing background and personal information helps to build solidarity and trust (e.g. Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 93, 98; Kanawattanachai & Yoo 2002: 192; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 392; Robert et al. 2009: 247). Of course, it is important to be careful not to intrude too far into private territory, i.e. to offend against negative face (Brown & Levinson 1987: 86) or association rights (Spencer-Oatey 2000b: 14–15). However, drawing on Laver (1975), Coupland (2000: 5) argues that sharing personal information can be socially diagnostic and indexical of social identities. This can be particularly important in multicultural and ELF contexts where assumptions based on one's own cultural expectations – e.g. in terms of proficiency level or behaviour such as dress, formality, and so on – can be misleading; it is essential not to assume that one's own social index can be applied across the board. Some discussion of personal information can thus afford opportunities to reveal shared attitudes, experiences and mental models that might not be apparent at first glance. At the same time, the discussion and construction of this information itself represents practice in negotiating and constructing meaning.

Extract 7.30 Really bad grades (MktgB1)

1	Rafael	i still have my grades here (2) they're very <52> bad </52>
2	Fabian	<52>so</52> (2)
3	Maria	yah @@@ that's yours?
4	Rafael	there is like a thing of like it's so bad
5	Maria	is it is it six the best and
6	Rafael	no this is like how many subjects i s- enrolled and how many i passed
7	Maria	but that's okay
8	Rafael	in the end it was fine
9	Maria	it was the same when you look at my grades it's like really bad grades
10		and at the end it like just got <53>better</53>
11	Rafael	<53>yeah</53> (1) in the end it's good like seventeen eighteen fifteen (.)
12		it's out of twenty but in the beginning i think my worse grade is one
13		exam like okay here it is my worse grade (2)
14	Maria	@@
15	Rafael	@@@ ugh it was so bad @@ (10)

This extract, prompted by Rafael finding his transcript on his laptop, shows both a strong orientation towards alignment as well as an impressive display of trust. Given that cognition-based trust depends largely on (perceived) competence and ability (Mayer et al. 1995: 717-718; McAllister 1995: 26-29), revealing that his grades are *very bad* (line 1) is a risky move for Rafael. However, his willingness to make himself vulnerable and thus display his own trust in his colleagues pays off, leading to reciprocal trust and cooperative behaviour (cf. Jonsen et al. 2012: 370) from Maria, who reassures him *but that's okay* (line 7) and then lowers the stakes by making herself equally vulnerable and confessing that *it was the same when you look at my grades it's like really bad grades* (line 9). As well as finding common ground in the fact that both had poor grades at the beginning but these improved at the end of their studies, we can also see alignment at a discursive

level. Firstly, they negotiate the meaning of the numbers in Rafael's transcript (*is it six the best/no this is like how many subjects I enrolled and how many I passed/in the end it's good like seventeen eighteen fifteen it's out of twenty*; lines 5-6, 11-12), using the EXINTEX strategies of clarification checks, clarification, and examples. Additionally, the repetition of *in the end it was fine/at the end it just got better/in the end it's good* (lines 8, 10, 11) shows convergence and solidarity not only in what they say but also how they say it (cf. Koester 2006: 140).

A much less frequent, but nevertheless extremely striking, function of casual talk was to use the whole episode as a means of **mitigating EXINTEX and/or re-establishing cohesion**, rather than just doing so within the episode itself. This was particularly noticeable in MktgB1, where Rafael instigated three episodes of casual talk that were completely unrelated to the task or the previous discussions but which all followed a relatively lengthy or intense episode of EXINTEX or a potentially rapport-damaging exchange, reflecting findings from previous studies conducted in workplace settings (Holmes 2000a: 47-48; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 91, 93, 99; Koester 2006: 154; Pullin 2010: 462-464). The first came after a fairly intense negotiation of how to interpret the tables showing the shipping costs, which had several challenges and counter-challenges and was concluded by Rafael saying *cool my doubt is erased thanks @@* before asking Fabian about his shaving habits (see Extract 6.11/7.11). This was also the case in MktgA2, where Benone teased Christian about highlighting his textbook after a lengthy and quite intense episode of EXINTEX centring on distributors, thus releasing any tension and re-introducing a more relaxed atmosphere to the team (cf. Pullin 2010: 463-464). The second episode in MktgB1 follows a less intense, but quite lengthy episode discussing the differences between gel and paste (different types of toothpaste). It is interesting to note that although Rafael initiates the casual talk episode after each of these EXINTEX episodes, it does not seem to be related to his knowledge position; in the first, he was the one requesting the explanation (with a very unambiguous stance of *I don't understand here*), while in the second, he is the one providing the explanation (*I think I know that do you know basically do you know those toothpastes that is like see through I dunno in Brazil we had some toothpaste that was gel. and it was different*).

Extract 7.31 Ducks/Danube (MktgB1)

1	Rafael	you know what's cool i just remember it i don't know why but i was
2		once watching a documentary about the (insides) of china and there are
3		some people like very old style that they fish like they are fishermen but
4		the way they fish like they take ducks and they put like a give like a: little
5		rope <74>and they tie it</74>
6	Maria	<74>yeah i saw it as well</74>
7	Rafael	like they tie their (throat) like from the outside and when the duck takes
8		the fish he can't really eat it because his (throat) is closed and then the
9		fisherman takes the duck and <75>take the fish</75>
10	Fabian	<75>@@@</75>
11	Rafael	so he's like there with the duck come on <76>take the fish</76>
12	Fabian	<76>@@@</76>@

13	Rafael	and then he can eat some (.) that's smart but <77>@@@</77>
14	Fabian	<77>@@@</77>@@
15	Maria	we should try that at the danube <78>@@@</78>
16	Fabian	<78>@@@</78>
17	Rafael	@@ (3)
18	Maria	yes
19	Fabian	yeah i think it would be good if we would u:m text in all the data
20		<79>for example</79>
21	Maria	<79>mhm</79>

As already pointed out earlier (see Extract 7.23), this seems to be a very arbitrary choice of topic purely introduced as a gambit to share something interesting and “cool” with his team colleagues (*you know what's cool I just remember it I don't know why*, line 1), and which is rewarded by Maria confirming common ground (*yeah I saw it as well*, line 6) and with laughter from Fabian, who presumably had not seen it (lines 10, 12, 14). Maria also develops the topic to increase the active “we-ness” of the interaction, taking the discussion of the documentary which she and Rafael had seen (and which implicitly excluded Fabian, who had not) to a hands-on, if only humorous, proposal to do something together (*we should try that at the Danube*, line 15). This “we-ness” of action is then followed up by Fabian as he tries to bring the team back on track (*I think it would be good if we would text in all the data*, line 19).

In the third example in MktgB1, we again see an apparently random switch to casual talk instigated by Rafael after a language-oriented exchange based on an incident of trans-linguaging, which leaves him feeling excluded:

Extract 7.32 Do you watch series (MktgB1)

1	Fabian	shall we do the score <L1de>irgendwas {thingy}</L1de> first @@@
2	Rafael	what?
3	Maria	@@@ yes
4	Fabian	@ u:h the scoreboard @@@ <54>@@@</54>
5	Rafael	<54> what was the joke </54> i wanna laugh too
6	Fabian	<@> it was a mixture of german and english </@> @@@ oh my gosh uh okay
7	Rafael	@@@ (.) @@@
8	Fabian	so this is this is yours uh this is mine these yours (2) so (2)
9	Rafael	so do you watch series
10	Fabian	@@@
11	Maria	hm?
12	Rafael	which
13	Maria	big bang theory <55>how i met your mother</55>
14	Rafael	<55>ye:ah</55>
15	Maria	all of these (.) you?
16	Rafael	hm? (.) ah all of these
17	Maria	the sword
18	Rafael	the swords (.) yeah me too
19	Maria	not very: (.) intellectual but fun
20	Rafael	big bang theory <56>how i</56>
21	Maria	<56>and you</56>
22	Rafael	met your mother modern family
23	Maria	i really like big bang=
24	Rafael	=<56>new girl</56>
25	Maria	<56>big bang</56> <57>big @@@</57>
26	Rafael	<57>big bang</57> big @@@ yeah (1) do you know one that's suits (.) it's not
27		fu- it's not jokes it's not like comedy

28	Maria	nope is it good?
29	Rafael	yeah
30	Maria	i've heard of it (.) actually i want to <58>sta:rt</58>
31	Rafael	<58>game of</58> thrones
32	Maria	yeah everybody says it's so good but <59>i don't know</59>
33	Rafael	<59>it's so nice</59>
34	Maria	and i'm not so into this history::
35	Rafael	no: do you did you like lord of the rings
36	Maria	no::
37	Rafael	did you like harry potter
38	Maria	yeah
39	Rafael	did you like (.) you'll like it @<60>@@</60>
40	Fabian	<60>@@</60>
41	Maria	<60>@@</60> @
42	Fabian	ahhh okay so let's start with the grading
43	Maria	ye:s
44	Rafael	okay (.) so now should we all go to the (.) gather around the computer

It is true that Fabian and Maria's laughter mark the code-switch as anomalous and Fabian immediately realises he has used a German word (*the score irgendwas*, line 1) without meaning to and self-repairs as Rafael indicates confusion (*what/uh the scoreboard*, lines 2, 4), yet Rafael clearly still feels excluded from the interaction (*what was the joke I wanna laugh too*, line 5). Even after Fabian explains why they are laughing (*it was a mixture of German and English @@ oh my gosh*, line 6) and Rafael joins in the laughter in line 7, it seems that he still feels slightly excluded; the slight hesitation in his laughter might indicate that he is laughing for solidarity's sake without quite understanding what is so funny. When a momentary lull in the conversation arises in the next turn, he takes advantage of it to try and re-align the group by seeking common ground through a "safe" topic – film & media (*so do you watch series*, line 9). Again, Fabian's laughter and Maria's minimum comprehension signal that immediately follow (lines 10-11) mark the question as being out of context, but Maria responds gamely to the gambit, naming several popular series and also inviting Rafael to reciprocate (*all of these (.) you?*, line 15). Once again, both language and content become increasingly aligned over the next turns with a high level of repetition and overlaps (lines 17-26). In lines 30-36 this gives way to the "bonds of antipathy" (Coupland 2000a: 2) as they squabble amicably over *Game of Thrones* and the fantasy genre (*yeah everybody says it's so good but I don't know/it's so nice/and I'm not so into this history/no do you did you like Lord of the Rings/no*). As *Harry Potter* affords a return to harmonious relations Rafael seizes the opportunity to "force" cohesion (*did you like (.) you'll like it @@*, line 39), which is again marked by laughter from both Maria and Fabian (lines 40-41). Following this indication that the team has re-aligned, Fabian – who has been listening but not contributing and appears to be waiting for a chance to bring the team back to the task – makes a suggestion that they start with the next step (*so let's start with the grading*, line 42). Apparently satisfied that cohesion has indeed been restored, Rafael joins in with Maria's agreement but also raises his own proposal, echoing and intensifying Fabian's focus on the "we-ness" of the group (*let's start/so now we should all go to gather round the computer*, lines 42, 44).

The functions of casual talk therefore can all be said to lead back to increasing team cohesion in one way or another, which might explain the absence of more polemic topics such as politics. The participants enact this orientation towards team cohesion in various ways, which are summarised below:

- **Filling time or initiating dialogue**, which not only acts as a boundary marker to ease the transitions in and out of work talk towards the opening and closing of the meeting but also serves to “defus[e] the threat of taciturnity” (Coupland 2000a: 2) and facilitate task-oriented discussion.
- Explicitly **establishing common ground** (the most frequently found function) to highlight shared interests, attitudes and experiences that contribute to constructing the team’s shared repertoire and “mental model” of communicative practices and team processes. This in turn encourages trust among its members based on emotional bonds of perceived similarity and, to an extent, also “bonds of antipathy” (Coupland 2000a: 2) in low-stakes contexts.
- **Exploring language & culture**, which helped the international students to understand local (linguistic) phenomena and thus to integrate into Austrian society, but also represented efforts to find mutual interests through shared third languages and the development of a shared repertoire.
- **Deepening personal knowledge** by balancing threats to equity face and negative politeness with a desire to get to know each other better and find mutual interests , thereby strengthening the construction of a shared mental model.
- **Mitigating EXINTEX and/or re-establishing cohesion**, which was the least common but perhaps most important function, as it aimed to repair (potential) damage incurred by lengthy or intense episodes of EXINTEX or when the cohesion of the team appeared to be threatened.

Additionally, the casual talk itself and the team’s interaction within episodes of casual talk not only promote cohesion through linguistic strategies of repetition and alignment as well as rapport-enhancing speech acts such as agreement, complimenting, expressions of gratitude and a focus on the “we-ness’ of activities, perspectives and responses” (Coupland 2000a: 11). The negotiation and construction of meaning within episodes of casual talk also reflect and support the same processes in the teams’ EXINTEX.

7.3.4 Summary

While the amount of casual talk in the meetings is considerably lower than the proportion of EXINTEX and the remaining discussions which are also task-related, both the students’ reflective

interviews and the detailed analysis of the casual talk episodes show that it plays an essential role in the teams' success. This reflects findings in the literature that highlight the importance of relational talk (and similar concepts such as small talk, informal conversation or casual conversation) in developing a positive working relationship and particularly in supporting the evolution of "virtuous", rather than vicious, team processes, and the creation of a psychologically safe place that enabled constructive disagreement and learning. The longest episodes of casual talk are found in the first of each team's meetings, and across the meetings the episodes are frequently clustered together, particularly in extended opening and closing phases, and sometimes towards the middle. This reflects the main functions of casual talk as *filling time and initiating dialogue* as well as *establishing common ground* as a basis for (future) cooperation and collaboration.

Although it is difficult to identify patterns of participation and engagement by individual or across the teams/meetings, the roles of the students at each end of the range do stand out. Qingling has the lowest level of engagement in casual talk both in terms of numbers of turns and as a proportion of her overall contribution, whereas Rafael has a very high level of engagement and is also the self-confessed "procrastinator" in MktgB, i.e. the team member who initiated the most – indeed almost all – of their episodes of casual talk. In the meeting where Igor was present, his contributions to the casual talk represented a comparatively high proportion of his overall contributions, which supported the observations in the reflective interviews that he prefers to work on his own although he appreciates the collegiality of the team at a social level.

In terms of topic, the casual talk discussions range from potentially personal topics to "safe" topics such as film & media, and also cover the students' studies as well as their activities, states, surroundings. *Language* is by far the most popular topic, and also serves as the basis for one of the main functions of casual talk, namely *Exploring language & culture*. In other words, not only do the students enjoy talking about language, but they also often use these discussions to either display their own knowledge of a foreign language or culture. By doing so, they indicate a mutual interest with someone else who has a connection with that language/culture or to help bridge a language gap and thus include or integrate a member of the team who lacks that knowledge. Alongside *exploring language & culture*, *filling time and initiating dialogue* and *establishing common ground*, the two remaining functions were *deepening personal knowledge* and *mitigating EXINTEX and/or re-establishing cohesion*. While all the other functions can be seen as unambiguously positive or constructive functions, the latter had a repair function and was used to restore harmonious relations after a potentially rapport-damaging sequence. Of course, this in itself is equally, if not more, important in terms of constructing positive relations.

This section therefore offers a partial answer to the research question posed at the start of this chapter, namely:

RQ2b: *How do the participants use language to optimise team satisfaction?*

This question asks how the participants do “communicating with people” to create the positive team atmosphere that was highlighted as a key criterion for successful teamwork (both as process and product). Firstly, they do – always – use some casual talk in their meetings and this casual talk does seem to have the primary goal of “doing collegiality” (Holmes 2000a; Holmes & Stubbe 2003), i.e. to find common ground and actively promote team cohesion by drawing on and developing a shared “mental model” of each other’s resources and ways of working as well as a shared repertoire. Although the casual talk episodes always ended with a return to the task, they were granted enough space to develop and reach some kind of resolution. In contrast to Holmes’ (2000a; Holmes & Stubbe 2003) findings that small talk could also be used to “do power” and reinforce hierarchies, these data gave little indication that this was the case in the context being investigated. Although Fabian – nominally the team leader in MktgB – did bring the team back on track after many of the episodes in MktgB1, Maria took on this role in MktgB2 and even Rafael, who tended to pull the team off-topic, would occasionally close a casual talk episode himself. In MktgA it was even more difficult to discern any power structures. Of course, this can be explained by the fact that both teams have an intrinsically flat structure and that the team members are classmates and therefore can be expected to perceive each other as equals. Since all the team members are also non-native speakers of English, discussions of language served primarily to reinforce emotional solidarity as non-native speakers rather than to exert or abuse authority on the basis of language proficiency. One concern might be that the “surface co-operativeness masks disequilibrium of power” (Fairclough, quoted in Candlin 2000: xix) that made itself felt in the final round where Igor’s (good) suggestion of introducing as many SKUs as possible was more or less ignored. However, it is impossible to identify it at this stage in the team’s discourse.

This chapter therefore offers a unique insight into a still highly under-researched yet fundamental area of English as a business lingua franca, namely, how students use casual talk as part of their team and task processes. By doing so, it draws attention to an area of BELF that is frequently commented on (Ehrenreich 2010; Ehrenreich 2016; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Kankaanranta et al. 2015) but still lacks in-depth investigation. Moreover, it bridges a gap between (ELF) studies of student teamwork with a focus on language regulation (Hynninen 2013), morpho-syntax (Batziakas 2016) or student-student interaction in a social context (Kalocsai 2013) on the one hand and the studies of rapport and intercultural communication (Spencer-Oatey 2000b; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009), small talk (Coupland 2000b) and relational talk in workplace interaction (Koester 2006) on the other.

7.4 Humour

7.4.1 Conceptualising humour in MCST

Humor can be dissected as a frog can, but the thing dies in the process and the innards are discouraging to any but the pure scientific mind. (E.B. White, quoted by Lynn 2012: 1).

Discussing and analysing humour is notoriously difficult, as noted by researchers in the field (e.g. Holmes 2000b, Matsumoto 2014). Humour has been theorised for centuries, and there are over a hundred documented theories of the topic (Graham et al. 1992: 161; see also Holmes 2000b; Norrick 2003 for an overview). Nevertheless, until the 1970s there was little research into the functions of humour in interaction (Graham et al. 1992: 164). Even since then, there has still been relatively little work on spontaneous spoken humour (Hay 2000: 710), and particularly in workplace settings and drawing on authentic interaction data (Holmes 2000b: 161; with the notable exception of Holmes and her colleagues, e.g. Holmes 2000b, 2006; Holmes & Marra 2002; Holmes & Stubbe 2003).

The latter is rather surprising, as there is a considerable body of research based on other forms of qualitative studies that suggest humour and playfulness at work are linked to social and psychological benefits leading to a more satisfied and productive workforce (for an overview see Holmes 2000b: 160, 169; Holmes 2006: 29; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 169; Martin 2007: 360; Pullin Stark 2009: 153-154; Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 6). In (B)ELF studies, Kalocsai (2013) and Matsumoto (2014) offer an insight into humour in the social environment of international student communities, while Pullin Stark (2009), Rogerson-Revell (2007a) and Vuorela (2005) examine humour in the business context. From the educational perspective, too, (appropriate) humour is seen as a tool to stimulate and capture students' interest in the topic as well as a useful mnemonic device to help them retain knowledge (Martin 2007: 350–360). Yet there is still a lack of research that looks at humour in student-student interaction, particularly in terms of the multicultural and multilingual learning space (though see Hann 2016), and how this can support the development of positive working practices in this context.

Recent studies have conceptualised humour as a flexible, multifunctional resource in social interaction (e.g. Bell & Pomerantz 2016: 28-31; Hann 2016: 221; Hay 2000: 717-726; Holmes 2000b: 166; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 109, 134; Holmes 2006: 27; Martin 2007: 15-20; Pullin Stark 2009: 154, 156; Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 5). Particularly in workplace settings, the main or most basic function of humour is to create and maintain solidarity and social cohesion, i.e. to indicate affiliation, and thereby develop and uphold positive rapport (Coates 2007: 29, 31-32; Hay 2000: 718-720; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 109, 111-114; Koester 2006: 122; Martin 2007: 16; Norrick 2003: 1348; Pullin Stark 2009: 153; Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 22). However, humour may also be used to construct and affirm identities (Bell & Pomerantz 2016: 29, 41; Holmes 2006: 27-28; Kalocsai 2013:

167; Koester 2006: 157; Martin 2007: 364; Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 5); to enforce or subvert authority (Bell & Pomerantz 2016: 30; Hay 2000: 721; Holmes 2000b: 177-178; Holmes 2006: 29; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 119-122; Pullin Stark 2009: 163-165); to mitigate or disguise criticism and protests (Hay 2000: 724; Holmes 2000b: 179; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 114-119; Martin 2007: 17, 363; Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 16); or to elicit or disclose personal information and thereby increase or indicate trust (Bell & Pomerantz 2016: 30; Hay 2000: 738; Holmes 2000b: 170; Kalocsai 2013: 141).

In examining and explaining these functions, several of the studies on humour draw on theories of politeness as outlined in Section 7.2. Humour relating to the solidarity function and the mitigation of criticism can be linked to the notion of positive face(work). On the one hand, humour can actively express and construct solidarity by acknowledging or asserting another's "personal or social value" (Spencer-Oatey 2000b: 14) through linguistic strategies showing "involvement" (Scollon & Scollon 1995: 37) and "expressiveness" (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009: 120), e.g. making use of common ground and highlighting in-group membership (Kádár & Haugh 2013: 18; Scollon & Scollon 1995: 37, 40; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009: 120; cf. Holmes 2000b: 164, 167-169; Kotthoff 1996: 299; Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 8). It can also be used to support solidarity indirectly by mitigating face-threatening acts like criticism (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 118; Kotthoff 1996: 299; Pullin Stark 2009: 156). On the other hand, softening directives with humour could be interpreted as a means of maintaining – or at least acknowledging – negative face (Bell & Pomerantz 2016: 29; Holmes 2000b: 171), i.e. "the desire for freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (Watts 2003: 86) and the right to "independence" and autonomy (Scollon & Scollon 1995: 37).

As mentioned earlier, the "discursive turn" (van der Bom & Mills 2015: 186) in politeness theories emphasises the situatedness of politeness in a specific social context and the role of evaluation and the co-construction of social actions and meanings in determining appropriate behaviour in a given interaction (Kádár & Haugh 2013: 57, 111). These notions are also relevant for analysing humour, as the evaluation of an utterance as humorous by the listener is crucial to distinguish it from being perceived as impolite (Kotthoff 1996: 299, 306). Consequently, many researchers draw attention to the idea of conversation in general, and the success of a humorous remark or joke in particular, as an interactional achievement (Holmes 2000b: 160; Holmes 2006: 27; Norrick 2003: 1342; Pullin Stark 2009: 160; all drawing on Sacks 1989). In other words, humour – and especially spontaneous, conversational humour, rather than scripted or "canned" jokes (Norrick 2003: 1345) – is a collaborative activity co-constructed by the participants in an interaction (Coates 2007: 32, 35; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 111; Holmes 2006: 27; Kotthoff 1996: 306; Pullin Stark 2009: 154). The importance of the evaluation and co-construction of humour on the part of multiple participants in the interaction is reflected in Holmes' oft-quoted definition of humour as:

utterances which are identified by the analyst, on the basis of paralinguistic, prosodic and discursual clues, as intended by the speaker(s) to be amusing and perceived to be amusing by at least some participants. (Holmes 2000b: 163; cf. Coates 2007: 32; Kalocsai 2013: 50-51; Matsumoto 2014: 87; Pullin Stark 2009: 154; Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 12)

In other words, as comedian Carl Reiner says, “if they don’t laugh, it’s not funny” (quoted in Lynn 2012: 10). Though laughter is not exclusively a signal of humour, since it can also indicate embarrassment, surprise, nervousness or scorn, to create ambiguity, or to stall or close a conversation (Bell & Pomerantz 2016: 32; Matsumoto 2014: 88; Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 7), it is frequently used as the most reliable means of detecting participants’ evaluation of an utterance as being humorous (e.g. Holmes 2000b; Matsumoto 2014; Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 12). And it is the evaluation of an utterance as being humorous that makes it humour; they may laugh for other reasons too, but they won’t laugh if it’s not funny.

In order to perceive and evaluate an utterance intended to be amusing as such, participants must share a frame⁶⁵ or script⁶⁶, i.e. they must have (developed) a basis of shared knowledge, in-group norms and institutionalised meanings (Coates 2007: 31; Kotthoff 1996: 301) which can be played with or flouted. Rogerson-Revell (2007a) argues that the “use of politeness or interactive strategies is conventionalised and habitual” (p. 8) and emerges from the stylistic preferences jointly and dynamically constructed in a community of practice. As the members of this community become more familiar with each other and their specific context, it becomes easier to make the move between scripts that triggers surprise and laughter through “the juxtaposition of two odd, unexpected, or inappropriate elements” (Bell & Pomerantz 2016; 23; cf. Norrick 2003: 1333, both drawing on Attardo and Raskins’ [1991] *General Theory of Verbal Humour*). In order to find something funny, the participants must be able to appreciate the incongruity⁶⁷. In order to appreciate the incongruity, they must share an understanding of what would otherwise be expected or “appropriate” (Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 22).

This reflects the notion of developing shared mental models within a team discussed in the introduction and the previous chapter on casual talk. These mental models can refer to communicative practices and task processes as well as semantic concepts and more “general”

⁶⁵ The notion of a “(play) frame” was originally conceived by Bateson (1987 [1972]) and developed by Goffman (1986 [1974]; see Hann 2016: 221-222 for a concise overview). Bateson (1987 [1972]) suggests that “the first step in defining a psychological frame might be to say that it is (or delimits) a class or set of messages (or meaningful actions)” (p. 192). The play frame allows for real activity within an unreal context (e.g. animals play-fighting). Play frames are created and shaped jointly in interaction by those who participate and evoked through contextualization cues (Hann 2016: 221, drawing on Gumperz 1982).

⁶⁶ A script is “a large chunk of semantic information surrounding the word or evoked by it” (Raskin 1985: 81, cf. Bell & Pomerantz 2016: 25). Raskin further explains the script as being “a cognitive structure internalized by the native speaker” although he also goes on to argue that native speakers have “individual scripts determined by his/her individual background and subjective experiences and restricted scripts which the speaker shares with a certain group, e.g. family, neighbours, colleagues, etc.” (Raskin 1985: 81). “Script” is used here to refer to the cognitive frame and culture of a particular discourse community and/or community of practice, regardless of whether or not it comprises native speakers of English, i.e. meanings conventionalised within a community.

⁶⁷ See Graham (1992); Hann (2016); Norrick (2003) for a brief overview of incongruity theories in humour studies.

knowledge relating to their context or organisation. While it can be precarious to transport humour across national boundaries (Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 4) or to try to capture, describe or define the characteristics of humour according to “large”, national cultures, the notion of “small” cultures (Holliday 1999) and emergent behaviour in discourse communities or communities of practice is useful here (cf. Pullin Stark 2009: 153). Perceiving the intended humour of a remark reflects the “shared knowledge and viewpoints” (Pullin Stark 2009: 161) which allow the listener to “fill in unstated meaning” (Tannen 2007 [1989]: 37, also quoted in Pullin Stark 2009: 162). While explicitness is generally prized in (B)ELF communication, particularly in transactional talk, it cannot be denied that “being understood without saying what one means” contributes to being able to hold positive expectations of the other’s (communicative) behaviour and thus trust (Tannen 2007 [1989]: 37). Furthermore, as Coates (2007) points out, “humour often lies in the gap between what is *said* and what is *meant*” (p. 32, my emphasis). Understanding both, and appreciating the incongruity between them, requires considerable familiarity with the interlocutor’s frame of reference and their way of speaking.

On the other hand, when this is successful, it highlights in-group knowledge and promotes solidarity. In contrast to Alexander’s (1996) claim that it is “difficult nay, [...] impossible for the learner of a foreign language to grasp those elements of verbal humour which depend on particular ways of activating the linguistic processes internal to a language” (p.66), it can be argued that as long as the user of the language in question knows and understands the linguistic processes internal to the specific discourse community or community of practice, they can also grasp the humour constructed by activating or subverting those processes. In other words, as Kankaanranta and Planken (2010) conclude, “the better you know the other party, the better you know what kind of communication to expect from him or her and how to communicate” (p. 392). Conversely, the better you know how your counterpart communicates, the better you can judge whether a disruptive comment is intended to be humorous. Pullin Stark (2009) proposes that the success of (her) ELF speakers’ use of humour in strategic and collaborative ways “would seem to imply that the effective use of humour may be just as, if not more, reliant on social and interpersonal skills as on linguistic competence” (p. 162). It can be argued that, in an effective community of practice, these social and interpersonal skills lead to linguistic competence in the discourse of that community and that the effective use of humour in such contexts relies on all three aspects.

Collaborative, co-constructed or (con)joint humour (Coates 2007: 32; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 111, 124; Holmes 2006: 33-39; Kalocsai 2013: 158), from hereon referred to as conjoint humour, is a type of humour commonly found in conversational interaction which reflects and promotes this in-group cohesion, not only at the level of meaning but also at the level of the discourse itself. Participants build on each other’s humorous utterances, “constructing the text as a joint endeavour” (Coates 2007: 32), often through overlapping and repetition at the lexical, syntactic,

semantic, prosodic or pragmatic levels (Coates 2007: 42; Davies 2003: 1368; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 85), akin to jazz musicians “riffing” on a theme (Coates 2007: 32; Davies 2003: 1368)⁶⁸. Conjoint humour can therefore result in cohesion at the text level as well as expressions that emerge from the discourse and are “charged with humorous meaning” for the group (Coates 2007: 42) yet “often appear obscure and opaque to outsiders” (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 109), and need not reflect Standard English norms. Collaborative humour is thus “generative and circular” (Holmes 2006: 33). Consequently, it not only reflects a basis of solidarity and shared mental models, but also further develops these. In other words, “in shared mirth the group reacts as a group and thereby reproduces itself” (Kotthoff 1996: 320-321; cf. Holmes 2000b: 179).

To summarise, humour is a multifaceted and multifunctional resource in social interaction that, despite centuries-old attempts to theorise it, still offers considerable scope for further research, particularly in the area of spontaneous conversational humour. While increasing or emphasising social cohesion and solidarity remains the most obvious function, humour also has various other functions such as constructing and affirming identities, asserting or challenging power, or mitigating criticism and directives. These other functions are particularly present in workplace interaction given the context’s task as well as relational goals. Much of the research mentioned above links humour to concepts of politeness and face(work) and emphasises the contextual nature of the phenomenon, as well as the importance of the audience’s evaluation of an utterance as being humorous. It is argued that this emphasis on the interactive nature of humour means that it is essential for interlocutors to develop shared mental models, including shared scripts, which allow the participants to recognise and thus be amused by an incongruity diverging from these models. At the same time, the local meanings and behaviour that emerge from collaborative humour result in heightened solidarity that both reflect and construct increased levels of positive rapport and trust.

7.4.2 Analysing humour in MCST

As with the previous examinations of the meeting data, the analysis for this section followed a sociocultural discourse-pragmatic analysis approach (see Section 5.3). Consequently, the analysis began by identifying the unit of analysis and a rough coding framework on the basis of previous research in workplace and ELF contexts. This was then applied to the data and refined through an iterative process which allowed categories to emerge and to be tested against each other. Once a stable coding frame had been determined, the entire data set was coded again a final time.

⁶⁸ This focus on an improvisational form of humour supports the idea that since effective ELF speakers are highly aware of the need for flexibility and accommodation in their interaction, as well as pro-active in establishing a basis of rapport, they may also be particularly attentive to such shifts (Hüttner 2009: 282, for example, also uses the jazz metaphor to describe effective users of ELF).

Following the subsequent major studies on humour in (B)ELF contexts, namely Kalocsai (2013), Matsumoto (2014), Pullin Stark (2009) and Rogerson-Revell (2007), Holmes' (2000) definition was used as the basis for identifying the unit of analysis. This uses a twofold approach to discerning what constituted a (successful) humorous utterance, with the analyst's evaluation "on the basis of paralinguistic, prosodic and discoursal clues" on the one hand, and the speaker's intention as well as a positive evaluation of humour "by at least some participants" on the other (Holmes 2000b: 163). In practice, this itself involved various rounds of simultaneously coding and preparing the data. First, potential instances of humour were identified on a purely subjective evaluation by the analyst largely based on discoursal clues. Next, again following the example of the earlier studies mentioned above, potential instances of humour were identified separately using laughter as the most obvious paralinguistic clue. Both rounds of coding were then examined closely and the sequences in question transcribed in more detail to include a higher level of paralinguistic and prosodic clues such as "smile voice" (Holmes 2000b: 163) or gestures. For this reason, it was decided to use the slightly shortened transcripts used for the casual talk analysis since the video recordings tended to start a little later and finish earlier than the audio and it was therefore impossible to confirm any potential instances of humour that lay before or beyond the video data.

Once the potential instances of humour had been identified and transcribed in more detail, they were checked once again to ensure that each unit met all criteria of:

- the ***analyst's evaluation of humour*** on the basis of my own response to paralinguistic, prosodic and/or discoursal clues, especially the latter;
- an indication of the ***speaker's intention to be humorous*** as evidenced by paralinguistic, prosodic and/or discoursal clues, e.g. using a funny voice, smiling, or saying something that was clearly incongruous with the previous utterances;
- an indication of the ***hearer's evaluation of humour*** as evidenced by paralinguistic, prosodic and/or discoursal clues, e.g. smiling, laughter or responding to the utterance with an utterance of their own that was aligned to the previous one through paralinguistic, prosodic and/or discoursal clues.

Utterances that fulfilled all three criteria were identified and coded as instances of humour.

Having identified the unit of analysis, a coding framework for categorising these instances could be developed through a similarly iterative process based on a combination of findings from previous studies and categories that emerged from the data, collapsing and expanding the codes until the categories were stable and a systematic coding process could be carried out using the finalised framework. These (re)iterative processes can be regarded as ensuring a level of intra-rater reliability (Smit 2010: 188; Wood & Kroger 2000: 97). Once coded on the basis of the finalised framework, some simple descriptive statistics were collected to identify general trends and

patterns such as frequency of use. These were then used to indicate overall tendencies and highlight which phenomena were of the most interest for a more in-depth qualitative analysis.

7.4.3 Findings

7.4.3.1 Quantitative overview

Unsurprisingly, humour represents a much lower proportion of each team’s interaction than EXINTEX, but a fractionally higher percentage coverage than casual talk (see Figure 6.4 on p. 149 and Figure 7.2 on p. 194, respectively, for details and comparable figures). This suggests that instances of humour can be found in both casual talk and work talk (which includes EXINTEX but also any talk that was not classified as casual talk, e.g. talking about task processes or arranging subsequent meetings). A more striking finding is the number of instances of humour in each meeting, which, when normalised per 1000 words of interaction (across the board), is higher than the corresponding values for both casual talk and EXINTEX (with one exception of MktgA2). Additionally, the range for the absolute number of episodes of humour is also (somewhat) higher than that of both casual talk and EXINTEX.

Figure 7.13 Frequency and density of humour per team meeting

Recording	%coverage humour (hum)	mean % coverage hum	#hum	#hum total	#words total	#hum/1000w	mean #hum/1000w
MktgA1	10.52	8.91	70	108	20,957	3.34	2.68
MktgA2	7.30		28		13,905	2.01	
MktgB1	11.51	9.48	62	129	14,500	4.23	3.56
MktgB2	7.87		37		11,294	3.27	
MktgB3	9.06		30		9,449	3.17	

While the percentage coverage of EXINTEX lay between approximately 30-45% in each group, like casual talk (at around 6-7.5%), humour accounts for roughly 7-12% of the team’s interaction. In terms of absolute numbers, humour ranges from n=28 in MktgA2 to n=70 in MktgA1, with the MktgB meetings falling between, while the equivalent EXINTEX range is n=24-49 and for casual talk n=3-13. Overall, MktgB had more instances of humour and these also represented a greater percentage coverage of their interaction than in the MktgA team. At 2.68 and 3.56, respectively, the mean values for the number of instances of humour found in MktgA and MktgB’s interaction, normalised per 1000 words, are slightly higher than for EXINTEX (MktgA = 2.33/MktgB = 2.88) as well as casual talk (MktgA = 0.58/MktgB = 0.68). The very varied figures across the three areas under study and the small differences between humour and casual talk make it difficult to make any bold claims. It can, however, be suggested that the instances of humour were brief but arose frequently, while the EXINTEX sequences were longer and required more response. MktgB had a marginally higher frequency of humour episodes, even after normalising.

An analysis of the distribution of humour sequences between work talk (including but also going beyond EXINTEX) and casual talk appears to confirm this assumption.

Figure 7.14 Distribution of humour in work talk (WT) and casual talk (CT)

Recording	#humour total	#humour in WT	% WT/humour	#humour in CT	%CT/humour	#CT
MktgA1	70	57	81.4%	13	18.6%	6
MktgA2	28	21	75.0%	7	25%	12
MktgB1	62	43	69.4%	19	30.6%	13
MktgB2	37	35	94.6%	2	5.4%	3
MktgB3	30	23	76.7%	7	23.3%	8

The finding that the vast majority of humour sequences are found in work talk can be explained by the simple fact that this was what the students spent most of their time on (casual talk accounted for less than 10% of their interaction and, in one meeting, as little as 2%; see p.x for the detailed figures). Nevertheless, comparing the number of instances of humour found in casual talk (#humour in CT) and the total number of instances of casual talk (#CT) presents two interesting findings. First, the results where #humour in CT is lower than #CT (MktgA2, MktgB2, MktgB3) reveal that, even when the number of instances of casual talk is very low, over half include some humour. Second, the examples where #humour in CT is higher than #CT (MktgA1, MktgB1) show that within a single casual talk episode there may be more than one humour sequence. Given the low proportion of the interaction spent on casual talk, we can assume that these sequences must therefore be very brief. The number of instances of work talk is not given, as work talk is by definition “any talk that is not casual talk” and it would thus be difficult to measure this number in a way that makes sense. For example, if there are only three instances of casual talk in MktgB2, there can only be a maximum of four stretches of work talk around them. Using such figures would paint a highly skewed picture of the data. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to assume that the instances of humour in work talk are not dissimilar to those in casual talk in that they are also relatively brief and there may be more than one sequence in a longer topic episode (e.g. a complete episode of EXINTEX).

Returning to the general overview in Figure 7.13, it is notable that both teams used more humour in their first than in subsequent meetings regardless of which variable is measured, i.e. percentage coverage, absolute number of instances of humour or normalised frequency of humour per thousand words. While this was not the very first meeting for each team, both MktgA1 and MktgB1 were the first team meetings on the respective day. It can therefore be speculated that either the teams used humour to break the ice and establish a baseline of cohesion after having been apart for some time, or, conversely, that by the second meeting they were tired or feeling under time pressure and therefore did not make as much effort to be humorous. Both hypotheses

would be supported by the fact that the proportion of humour rises again in MktgB3, which took place on a different day and with a different constellation of team members.

It is also interesting to note that MktgB recorded more humour than MktgA both in terms of the proportion of their interaction devoted to humour and in terms of frequency. In other words, they tended to initiate humour more frequently than MktgA did, and these instances of humour on average lasted longer than the ones in MktgA. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that MktgB is intrinsically funnier than MktgA, nor does it tell us what type of humour was used or for what purpose. It simply means that the team members of MktgB attempted and responded to humorous utterances more frequently than MktgA did, and that these sequences were on the whole longer than their counterparts in the MktgA team’s interaction.⁶⁹

When examining the frequency of humour as a proportion of an individual’s contribution (i.e. the number of the individual’s turns coded as humour divided by the total number of that individual’s turns), we see that although there was some variation in the absolute number of turns coded as part of a humorous sequence, all the students devoted roughly the same proportion of their overall contributions to humour (around 10-15%, with a very slight outlier from Carina in MktgA2 at 7.5%).

Figure 7.15 Frequency of humour per individual, MktgA

Name (MktgA)	#humour MktgA (1)	#turns MktgA (1)	% humour/turns MktgA (1)	#humour/1000w MktgA (1)
Benone	155	1028	15.1	7.31
Carina	144	1105	13.0	6.79
Christian	102	1046	9.8	4.81
Qingling	90	743	12.1	4.24
Name (MktgA)	#humour MktgA (2)	#turns MktgA (2)	% humour/turns MktgA (2)	#humour/1000w MktgA (2)
Benone	65	719	9.0	4.79
Carina	57	762	7.5	4.20
Christian	58	627	9.2	4.27
Qingling	39	481	8.1	2.9

⁶⁹ A closer analysis revealed that MktgB’s episodes of humour were longer in terms of number of words, whereas MktgA had longer sequences in terms of the number of turns, many of which were rounds of laughter from all four participants. Though MktgB had more humour as a proportion of their total interaction (with a mean of 9.48% compared to MktgA’s 8.91%), MktgB also had a substantially higher number of episodes lasting less than five turns (92/129=**71.3%** compared to MktgA with 40/108=**37.0%**).

Figure 7.16 Frequency of humour per individual, MktgB

Name (MktgB)	#humour MktgB (1)	#turns MktgB (1)	% humour/turns MktgB (1)	#humour/1000w MktgB (1)
Fabian	82	525	15.6	5.62
Maria	90	749	12.0	6.17
Rafael	100	743	13.5	6.85
Igor	-	-	-	-
Name (MktgB)	#humour MktgB (2)	#turns MktgB (2)	% humour/turns MktgB (2)	#humour/1000w MktgB (2)
Fabian	45	461	9.8	3.88
Maria	61	632	9.7	5.26
Rafael	51	484	10.5	4.40
Igor	-	-	-	-
Name (MktgB)	#humour MktgB (3)	#turns MktgB (3)	% humour/turns MktgB (3)	#humour/1000w MktgB (3)
Fabian	-	-	-	-
Maria	55	535	10.3	5.80
Rafael	54	487	11.1	5.70
Igor	27	257	10.5	2.85

Again, it is noticeable that all the students used a lower proportion of humour in their contributions, and in general fewer instances of humour per 1000 words of total interaction, in the second of two consecutive meetings. As suggested above, this could indicate that they no longer feel the need to devote as much energy to establishing solidarity and a good working atmosphere, and/or that they are spending more time on trying to make progress with the task. Nonetheless, humour obviously still plays an important role in work talk and advancing the task, since the equivalent figures for the percentage of casual talk per turn are substantially lower (below 1% in all cases).

In terms of individual roles, Benone does live up to his own description of himself as the “crazy” one in the first meeting with a high absolute number of turns coded as humour (n=155) and the highest proportion of humour-coded turns compared to his total number of turns (=15.1%) or per 1000 words of total interaction (7.31). Of course, these may not all be humorous utterances per se but also simply a response to humour such as laughing. In contrast, it could be argued that Christian’s comparatively low engagement in the humorous episodes in terms of both absolute numbers and as a proportion of his overall contribution might reflect his tendency to act as a chair by closing casual talk episodes and trying to bring the team back on track. Somewhat surprisingly, though, he reverses this position in MktgA2 and in fact uses more humour as a proportion of his overall contributions, and a similar absolute number of turns marked as humour to Benone and Carina. In this meeting, it is Carina who uses the least humour as a proportion of her overall contribution, although this could be explained by the high number of her total turns. While Qingling again has a comparatively low number of humour turns, the percentage of her own contributions that are coded as humour are not noticeably lower than the others’, although the frequency is again low, reflecting the fact that she had fewer turns than her colleagues overall.

Likewise, in the MktgB team, Igor also has a relatively low number of turns marked as humour and thus also a low frequency in terms of the total interaction, but a similar proportion of humour turns compared to his own contributions as his colleagues in MktgB3. It is more difficult to discern patterns among the other students (Maria and Rafael in MktgB3, and Fabian as well in MktgB1 and MktgB2), since both the absolute number of turns and the proportion of turns coded as humour varied across the meetings, though within a relatively small range.

Again, having a high number or proportion of turns does not mean that an individual is intrinsically more humorous than the others. It merely shows the level of measurable engagement in a humorous interaction and the amount of such engagement compared to a student's overall contributions (i.e. a low number of turns marked as humorous need not be interpreted as a reluctance to participate in humorous exchanges if the individual in question is less forthcoming in general). What is important to note here is that all the students did engage in the humorous exchanges to a large degree, especially when measured as a percentage of their total number of turns. With even fewer clearer patterns or roles than in the casual talk, this might suggest that the main function of humour in the group was to strengthen solidarity and increase team cohesion. However, such a claim can only be substantiated by in-depth qualitative analysis.

The findings of the quantitative analysis of humour in the students' teamwork can therefore be summarised as follows:

- Every meeting had some humour, with the absolute number of sequences coded as humour ranging between 28-70 and the mean percentage coverage around 9%.
- The quantitative overview comparing humour with EXINTEX and casual talk was generally inconclusive, with relatively small or somewhat unclear differences. It is important not to read too much into these.
- While the number of humour sequences ($n=28-70$) was generally higher than the number of EXINTEX ($n=24-49$) and considerably more than the equivalent for casual talk sequences ($n=3-13$), the percentage coverage of humour ($\approx 7-12\%$) was substantially less than for EXINTEX ($\approx 30-45\%$) but slightly more than casual talk ($\approx 6-7.5\%$).
- In terms of normalised frequency per 1000 words of interaction, humour (MktgA = 2.68/MktgB = 3.56) was marginally higher than EXINTEX (2.33/2.88) and markedly higher than casual talk (0.58/0.68).
- This suggests that while there was much less time devoted to humour than to EXINTEX as a whole, the students used frequent brief sequences of humour.
- These sequences were found in both work talk (including but not exclusively EXINTEX) and casual talk, particularly the former due to its dominance in the interaction.
- When the students had two consecutive meetings, both teams used more humour in the first of the two meetings in terms of both absolute numbers and percentage coverage.

- The analysis of individuals' contributions to the interaction indicated that all engaged in humour across the meetings, and was inconclusive with regard to consistent patterns or roles, suggesting that the style of humour might be primarily collaborative.

7.4.3.2 Developing & drawing on a shared repertoire

The multifunctionality of humour and the use of it in both work and casual talk mean that categorising humour sequences in the teams' interaction is a rather difficult process. It can be argued, as Kalocsai (2013) does, that students' general "orientation to fun" (p. 167), particularly in a high-intensity international community, seeks the "interpersonal dimensions of ELF talk" and goes "beyond the 'general' ELF goals" of achieving mutual understanding and constructing linguacultural identities (pp. 167-168). The emic perspectives of successful teamwork reported in Section 4.3.3 certainly highlighted fun as a vital factor in the student team setting. Additionally, it could be claimed that the specific demands of the simulated business setting, as well as its ultimately educational objectives, means that there is still space for humour to contribute to achieving mutual understanding and constructing (professional) identities, albeit in a primarily business context that also extends "beyond" the needs of more general or social interaction. Admittedly, Wenger et al. (2002: 42-45) claim that teams are not the same as communities of practice due to their differing (or the presence/lack of) concrete objectives, as well as temporal and membership boundaries. However, it can be argued that a successful team develops a miniature community of practice within the context of the team based on the three dimensions of "shared repertoire", "mutual engagement" and "joint enterprise" (Wenger 1998: 49; 72-84; see also Seidlhofer 2007: 314; Smit 2010: 10; Kalocsai 2013: 13). The examples of humour identified in the qualitative analysis of the students' multicultural teamwork can be described in these terms and can be said to both reflect and contribute to the development of the CofP. In other words, we can see instances of humour at the linguistic level of what they say and how they say it (**shared repertoire**); humour linked to the negotiation of roles and identities, i.e. who they are and who does what (**mutual engagement**); and, finally, humour relating to the task goals, namely, what they're doing and what they're trying to achieve (**joint enterprise**).

The humour in the teamwork being investigated here is largely exemplary of conjoint humour (Coates 2007: 32; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 111, 124; Holmes 2006: 33-39; Kalocsai 2013:158). It generally takes the form of **linguistic variation** and **word play** which in turn might lead to the construction of "insiders" or inside jokes and words or terms that become part of the team's repertoire, at least within the meeting if not throughout the project. At its most simple level, **linguistic variation** comprises "riffing" on previous utterances as suggested by the jazz metaphor used by Coates (2007: 32) and Davies (2003: 1368) in the context of humour, and by Hüttner (2009:

282) to describe ELF interaction. In another, the MktgA team played on a classic homophonic mix-up as a humorous response, which then triggered a series of further humorous turns:

Extract 7.33 Nine thirteen (MktgA2)

1	Carina	nah but we could say half past nine
2	Benone	<29>half past nine</29>
3	Christian	<29>yeah let's say </29> half <30> past nine </30>
4	Carina	<30> because </30> nine is then you have to get up at seven
5		<31> thirty </31>
6	Christian	<31>yeah</31>
7	Carina	or so
8	Benone	seven thirty according to: <32>to:</32>
9	Qingling	<32>for</32> bedtime it's a bit too late
10	Benone	to <33>british</33>
11	Christian	<33>yeah</33>
12	Benone	to british researchers seven thirty is the best
13	Carina	<34>really</34>
14	Christian	<34>or let's say</34>
15	Benone	yes
16	Carina	to get up
17	Benone	yes (.)
18	Christian	let's say nine twenty (.) @ <35>@@@</35>
19	Benone	<35>@@@</35>
20	Carina	<35>@@@</35>
21	Qingling	<35>@@@</35>
22	Benone	let's say
23	Carina	nine THIRTY
24	Benone	nine (.) nine thirTEEN
25	Carina	nine thirteen
26	Qingling	nine thirteen <36>yeah</36>
27	Benone	<36>nine</36>
28	Christian	<36>@@@</36>
29	Benone	nine fourteen and a half
30	Carina	<smiling>yah let's say nine fourteen and a half okay </smiling>
31	Qingling	i don't have a watch i don't have a (.) <@>half</@>@@@
32	Carina	<37>@@@</37>
33	Christian	<37>@@@</37>
34	Qingling	<38>@@@</38>
35	Carina	<38><@>i don't have a half<@></38>
36	Benone	you should estimate you know you look at your your <39>your watch
37		and you </39>
38	Qingling	<39>oh it changes</39>
39	Benone	nine thirteen nine fourteen and then (.) {holds up hand as watch} one
40	Carina	<40>@@@</40>
41	Qingling	<40>@@@</40>
42	Benone	two three
43	Carina	four <L1de>einundzwanzig zweiundzwanzig {twenty-one twenty-
44		two}</L1de>

In this extract we see how the discussion weaves in and out of work talk (trying to set the time for the next meeting) and casual talk (lines 8-17). We also see echoes of the EXINTEX strategies for reaching consensus in lines 1-5, with a round of agreement (*half past nine, let's say half past nine*) and even an explanation for a challenge (*because nine is then you have to get up at seven thirty*, line 4) that leads into the digression about optimal times for waking up. This in turn refers to an external source for authority (*according to British researchers seven thirty is the best*, lines 8-12) and a confirmation check (*to get up/yes*, lines 16-17). As often happened after challenges and the

subsequent negotiation of meaning in EXINTEX, one of the team members then offers a compromise (*nine twenty*, line 18). In contrast to compromises proposed in EXINTEX sequences, however, this is neither intended nor taken seriously, as indicated by the brief pause before he and then the others break into laughter (lines 19-21). When Carina again insists on *nine thirty* (line 23), Benone counter-proposes *nine thirteen*, perhaps using the humour of the phonetic similarity (cf. Norrick 2003: 1338) to mitigate his criticism of Carina’s desire to start later as well as to amuse (see Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 110-122 for a discussion of humour being used to mitigate or disguise opposition). When this utterance is met with a positive evaluation of humour marked by laughter and repetition, Benone then ups his stake with an even more ridiculous suggestion (*nine fourteen and a half*, line 30) which does in fact elicit an explicit concession from Carina (*yah let’s say nine fourteen and a half okay*, line 31) and a further humorous comment from Qingling, who “protests” that *I don’t have a watch I don’t have a half* (i.e. a way of counting seconds, line 32). The humour in this protest is acknowledged by Benone pretending to take it seriously by offering a solution (*you should estimate you know you look at your your your watch and you... nine thirteen nine fourteen and then (.) one ... two three*; lines 37-38, 40, 43), which itself is indicative of the basically collaborative and supportive environment the students have constructed, even in play. In line 43, this collaboration is extended at both a textual and content level when Carina jumps in and continues counting the seconds first in English (*four*) and then switching to German, where the long words of *einundzwanzig zweiundzwanzig* are used to count seconds (as in English “one Mississippi two Mississippi” etc. might be used).

While the MktgB team also had instances of conjoint humour, it had noticeably fewer very long sequences (i.e. over 10 turns, with MktgA having 15 out of 108 episodes or 13.89% of the sequences lasting over 10 turns, compared to MktgB with 6/129 or 4.65%). While this could be the result of having one extra person participating in the MktgA meetings, a closer analysis confirms the impression that the extra length of these sequences was not necessarily due to extra rounds of laughter. As a proportion of all their instances of humour, MktgB had slightly fewer instances of conjoint humour consisting of at least one contribution that built directly on and developed a previous utterance and was both intended and evaluated as humorous (MktgA had 14/108 = 12.9%, while MktgB had 15/129=11.6%). Nevertheless, while the sequences may have been relatively short, they frequently drew on and developed the team’s shared experiences and repertoire. In such examples the discourse built not only on how they talked but what they said – i.e. not only variation at a textual level but also at the level of content.

Extract 7.34 Customer-centric management (MktgB3)

1	Igor	yeah i think it’s okay cause if you’re like if you’re like just spread your force on
2		like so many different categories you just lose a lot (.) because as i have with
3		the kids i tried introducing <96> small package</96>
4	Rafael	<96>too many</96>

5	Igor	for kids and now they like nobody <97>nobody bought it</97>
6	Rafael	<97><smiling voice><slow> what did we lea::rn </97> in customer centric
7		<98> management </98></smiling voice></slow>
8	Maria	<98><smiling> too much choice </98> is <99> always bad </99></smiling>
9	Igor	<99>is bad yeah</99> cut choices yeah
10	Rafael	<100>@@</100>
11	Igor	<100>cause people are like</100> mo:re <1>it's like</1>
12	Rafael	<101>they get</101> too much choice and they are <102>overwhelmed
13		yeah</102>
14	Igor	<102>they are confused yeah</102> (when they have big choices) they like
15		making decisi-they are more happy

In this extract, Rafael calls up a shared experience of what they have learnt in another class to support Igor's suggestion that they should not offer too wide a product range (*what did we learn in customer-centric management*; lines 6-7). By doing so, he evokes a "play frame" (Coates 2007: 31–33) or "theater frame" (Kotthoff 1996: 310), adopting the teacher's voice. Recognising this frame switch and being able to enter into the performance is a clear indication of both a shared repertoire and the process of what Holmes and Stubbe (2003) call "doing collegiality" since it "emphasises common ground and shared norms" (p. 111). Coupland (2000a), too, argues that collaborative storytelling and playful voicings construct and confirm intimacy "by speakers orienting to the 'we-ness' of shared activities, [...] perspectives, or [...] shared responses" (p. 11). Maria and Igor immediately recognise this shift to the customer-centric management discourse and assume their own positions as students, repeating verbatim and in chorus the shared repertoire developed in that class (*too much choice is always bad*; lines 8-9). Igor then supplements his interpretation of the action they need to take (*cut choices yeah*; line 9), triggering a brief but serious episode of EXINTEX in lines 11-15.

Language, languages and languaging all played an important part in both teams' humour, and the participants seemed to enjoy *word play* drawing on their shared repertoires and (fictitious) mental models of communicative practices. Swearing on camera was perceived as funny, reflecting Kalocsai's (2013) observation that "naughty conversations" and swearing had "a high rapport value" (p. 150) as they "support[ed] the claim that they were a community of practice sharing particular views and perspectives" (p. 151). While the swearing itself was usually not intended to be funny, it provoked a response or a metadiscursive comment that was:

Extract 7.35 Sorry can I swear (MktgB1)

1	Rafael	shi- yeah sorry oh can i swear
2	researcher	of course you can
3	Rafael	@@@@@
4	Fabian	it's mandatory
5	Rafael	@@@ (2)

In this excerpt, Fabian's humorous comment that swearing is *mandatory* (line 4) expresses solidarity not only in the contrast of being permitted and being obligated to swear (which in itself is

inherently funny due to the usual taboo against swearing being socially appropriate), but by setting a “rule” that it is compulsory to swear in this context. In doing so, Fabian both protects Rafael from having broken the principle of appropriateness and aligns himself with him (and, by implication, against the ostensibly non-participant researcher, who is not part of the in-group of the team itself).

The potential for “emotional solidarity” that Kassis-Henderson and Louhiala-Salminen (2011: 18) note emerging in BELF contexts among non-native speakers of English in the business context is heightened by the lack of explicit power structures and a comparatively low-stakes setting⁷⁰. As noted in the previous chapters, the students frequently topicalised language and used their shared interest in language as a point of common ground while also exploring differences between their own languages or cultures and as a means to construct a shared repertoire specific to the team. As they got to know each other better, they knew which linguistic features were particularly problematic and these even entered the students’ shared repertoire as “insider” jokes, with the team deliberately using variation on Standard English that was established within the group or teasing each other with words or sounds they knew were troublesome:

Extract 7.36 Internationalisation (MktgA1)

1	Qingling	so um just write (.) competiti- compet- <183>compet- </183>
2	Carina	<183>co:m- </183>
3	Christian	compe<184>titive? </184>
4	Qingling	<184>compe<184>ti-
5	Christian	competi-
6	Carina	<185>compe: </185>
7	Qingling	<185>com- </185> <186> competitors </186>
8	Benone	<186><@> internationali </186> sation <@>@@@
9	Carina	in(.)ter(.)na(.)tion(.)al(.)isation
10	Benone	@@@
11	Qingling	@@@
12	Christian	<smiling>competitive market<187>shares</187></smiling>
13	Benone	<187><smiling>com</187>pe::<188>titive</188>
14	Qingling	<188>@@@ </188> @@@
15	Carina	<smiling> i have a specialisation in internationalisation </smiling>
16	Qingling	@ <189>@ </189>=
17	Benone	<189>@ </189>=

The high level of overlap, repetition and laughter shows the easy and engaged nature of this exchange, the students’ support of each other and solidarity in trying to arrive at the correct form and pronunciation of *competitors* (lines 2-7), but also the high level of trust and comfort that allows Benone to throw in an unrelated word that he knows they also have trouble with (*internationalisation*; line 8) and Carina to raise the stakes by adding a second word that WU

⁷⁰ Though academic settings can be described as high-stakes contexts due to the fact that students are being assessed and graded for their work, they are relatively low stakes when compared to negotiating or executing multi-million-dollar contracts. Additionally, the gamified nature of the simulation meant that, although it was high stakes in theory (i.e. it gave them financial “results” and they were ranked against their colleagues in other teams on the basis of imaginary multi-million-dollar profits), the students also perceived it as a game to a certain extent. While the results of the task were graded, the interaction was not being assessed.

students need and frequently struggle with (*specialisation*; line 15), turning it into a WU/global-marketing-specific tongue-twister (*I have a specialisation in internationalisation*).

7.4.3.3 Mutual engagement

Wenger (1998) conceptualises mutual engagement as “*developing mutual relationships*” and “*defining identities*” (p. 95). In other words, this dimension places the development of positive rapport at the forefront and highlights the team members’ roles and identities. While most (though not all) humour can be seen as rapport-enhancing, there were some instances in the teamwork in which humour appeared to have a function that was primarily oriented towards “*developing mutual relationships*”, including the repair of team cohesion after a potentially face-threatening discussion. There were also some instances of banter or more contestive humour which on the surface may seem to be a face threat but in fact “depends on close and trusting relationships between all group members” (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 129) and thus, when evaluated as humorous and rapport-enhancing rather than face-threatening, are indicative of high levels of trust within the team. Occasionally an utterance could even be both, as in the example below:

Extract 7.37 So supportive (MktgA2)

1	Qingling	where’s your class (.) where’s your CLASS
2	Carina	<41>@@@</41>
3	Christian	<41>@@@</41>
4	Benone	<41>@@@</41> i understood from the first time
5	Qingling	<LNde> wo ist {where is}</LNde>
6	Benone	<LNde>wo ist</LNde>
7	Qingling	<LNde> dein(.)e {your}</LNde> class @<42>@@@</42>
8	Christian	< 42>really good</42>
9	Carina	<43>yea:h</43>
10	Benone	<43>yeah</43>
11	Christian	<43> perfect </43>
12	Qingling	@@ <@> you’re so sup- supportive </@>

Despite the laughter in lines 2-4, it seems unlikely that Qingling intended her first utterance to be humorous. It is also not entirely clear whether Benone is just joining in the laughter for solidarity or whether he really thinks Qingling’s apparent belief that he hasn’t understood her is genuinely funny. However, once the “theater” frame is set up with the (incongruous) premise that Benone has not understood the question, Qingling translates (most of) it into German (*wo ist deine class*; lines 5,7). This is perceived as funny at various levels. Firstly, the frame itself is based on the inherent incongruity that it is easier for the two non-native German speakers who are attending (and talking about) German classes to understand a question in German rather than in the English they have been using very competently up to this point. Secondly, Qingling’s failure to maintain the German script and switching to English mid-sentence in line 7 (*deine class*) provokes a round of laughter from herself and smiles from the others. While her colleagues’ concern with maintaining Qingling’s face as a learner means that they are simply encouraging and not intended as humorous,

Qingling then acknowledges their support with a comment that sounds somewhat sarcastic and thus also humorous if slightly contestive (*you're so supportive*; line 12). Yet by doing so, she explicitly draws attention to the rapport-enhancing function of their response to her attempts at speaking the local language (in itself a rapport-enhancing strategy; see Kassis-Henderson 2005: 79; Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011: 27), and, by presenting this sequence as banter, gives it an implicit rapport-enhancing function as well as an explicit one. Last but not least, the exaggeration of Christian's *perfect* in line 11 and Qingling's hyperbole of *you're so supportive* represent a classic humour strategy (cf. Bell & Pomerantz 2016: 27; Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 118; Kotthoff 1996: 300; Norrick 2003: 1346; Rogerson-Revell 2007a: 16).

Humour topicalising language could also be used to reassert team cohesion if the use of a second language potentially excluded one of the team members, as in the example below.

Extract 7.38 Marshmallow return (MktgB1)

1	Fabian	okay let's say that <spel>d b</spel> what is <L1de>deckungsbeitrag
2		{contribution margin}</L1de> in english (2)
3	Maria	{sigh} i knew that wait a moment
4	Fabian	{looks at rafael} do you know what <L1de>deckungsbeitrag</L1de>
5		<@>is</@>@@
6	Rafael	<LNde>deckungs(.)beitrag</LNde>?
7	Fabian	<L1de>deckungsbeitrag</L1de> it's
8	Maria	god it's embarrassing
9	Fabian	yeah (2)
10	Maria	marginal return?
11	Fabian	marginal return
12	Maria	profit margin.
13	Fabian	profit margin
14	Rafael	ah (5) <@>i guess like the first time i understood the marshmallow return <@>
15	Maria	@@ <24>@@@</24>
16	Fabian	<24><@> the marshmallow </24> return </@> @@@ YEAH YEAH YEAH
17		<25> the marshmallow return </25>
18	Maria	<25>@@@@</25>
19	Fabian	@@
20	Rafael	@@

Here, Fabian draws on his business knowledge and multilingual resources to move the task forward, suggesting the German term *Deckungsbeitrag* (line 1). His token effort to include Rafael, who has only been learning German for a few weeks, in lines 4-5 could be construed as a genuine attempt to avoid excluding him or as a humorous turn due to the incongruity of someone who has just started to learn German knowing a highly technical accounting term. Either way, however, the remark is not evaluated as humorous and does not earn a response other than a clarification request from Rafael which triggers a brief EXINTEX sequence with Maria looking the term up in an online dictionary. This offers *marginal return* (line 10) which she does not seem too satisfied with, as marked by her rising intonation, indicating a clarification (or perhaps confirmation) check, and

then the two Austrians settle on the more familiar term *profit margin*⁷¹ (lines 12-13). Rafael indicates acceptance of the explanation briefly in line 5 (*ah*) but the long pause that follows before picking up on the topic again suggests some discomfort; while long silences were not uncommon in this team they were rarely broken by resuming the previous topic. When he does re-open the topic, he does so with a joke that plays strongly with the discrepancies between scripts (*the first time I understood the marshmallow return*; line 14). Not only does the reference to understanding reflect the knowledge gap between English and German that lay at the heart of the earlier exchange, but the claimed homophony of *marginal* and *marshmallow*, as well as the incongruity of the highly technical term and the intrinsically silly foodstuff, result in a linguistic quip that meets with a very positive response in lines 16-19. Fabian's explicit approval of the new term (*the marshmallow return YEAH YEAH YEAH*; line 16) as well as repeating the term twice (lines 16-17) underlines the restoration of team cohesion at both a linguistic and relational level.

Humour related to **defining identities**, i.e. topicalising or articulating the students' roles and/or aspects of their individual or collective identities, was central to furthering their mutual engagement and was often based on the specific team context. While the concept of identity is a "contested concept" (Mautner 2016: 98) and could itself form the basis of an entire thesis, it is conceptualised here, as Mautner recommends, as a "semiotic process of representation" which situates the individual

in relation to several layers of (real, sociological) 'groupness' and (socially constructed) 'categories' (age category, sex, professional [sic] category, but also national, cultural and ethnolinguistic categories), situating this complex in turn in relation to other such complexes (young versus old, male versus female, highly educated versus less educated, and so on), and situating this identification in relation to the situation at hand, making selections that result in 'relevant' identity. (Blommaert 2005: 203–204, quoted in Mautner 2016: 99)

Interestingly, although they did refer to themselves and each other at different points using intra-group identities (e.g. Benone's nickname of "Mr/Dr Bretele", calling Igor "the finance guy" due to his specialisation in finance rather than marketing in his bachelor degree, nationalities representing country experts, etc.), most of these instances went unmarked as humour in the meetings being analysed. This suggests that, although some might have been the result of humorous episodes

⁷¹The correct translation for *Deckungsbeitrag* is actually *contribution margin* (Beer et al. 2013), which refers to the profit generated on a single unit, whereas *profit margin* is usually used to refer to a more global concept, i.e. the profit generated by a company on the basis of all its products. *Marginal return* is usually used in the plural to refer to the amount of profit calculated to the production of an individual employee, and most frequently collocated with "diminishing", as in *the law of diminishing marginal returns*, which affirms that "the addition of a larger amount of one factor of production, while all others remain constant [...] inevitably yields decreased per-unit incremental returns" <http://www.investopedia.com/terms/l/lawofdiminishingmarginalreturn.asp#ixzz4x4bZ8YWF> (last accessed 31 October 2017). While Maria rightly questions *marginal return* as an appropriate translation in this context in line 10, this is an instance where an extended EXINTEX sequence with further (counter-)challenges would have been beneficial and led to a more accurate result.

occurring earlier in the teamwork, these identities had established themselves as part of the shared repertoire and shared teamwork model and thus were no longer considered intrinsically humorous.

One role or identity which was marked as humorous was a reference to Fabian as the *team leader*. This role had been assigned randomly by the computer programme and in the interviews all four team members concurred that this was in name only and there was no actual team leader in practice. Any explicit mention of the *team leader* or deference to Fabian's position as the team leader was therefore perceived as a departure from the team's mental model or script and, by implication, humorous:

Extract 7.39 That's why you're the leader (MktgB1)

1	Maria	yep perfect (.) fabian's just genius we were just confused
2	Rafael	yeah okay @@ YOU're ahead of time (.) two steps in front that's why
3		you're the leader
4	Fabian	praise me <55>@@@@@</55>
5	Rafael	<55>@@@@@</55>
6	Maria	<55>@@@@@</55>

This excerpt follows a sequence of EXINTEX which ends with Maria acknowledging that Fabian's explanation was indeed the correct one (*Fabian's just genius we were just confused*; line 1). Her hyperbole suggests she is setting up a "play frame" even if her praise is genuine. Rafael picks up on this nuance and develops the idea of Fabian's superior knowledge being the reason he was appointed the team leader (*two steps in front that's why you're the leader*; lines 2-3), which is a clear break with both the accepted mental model of their very egalitarian team context and the reality that the computer allocated this role on a purely arbitrary basis of who registered with the programme first. Fabian recognises that this is a play/theatre frame and takes on the voice of the superior team leader to give an exaggerated response (*praise me*; line 4). On paper, this demand could be interpreted as being highly inappropriate (praise is given rather than demanded and thus represents an attack on the other's negative face as well as social convention). However, the round of laughter from all sides indicates that the demand has been evaluated in the spirit it was made, i.e. as extremely humorous.

While this example illustrates an identity that was used almost exclusively in jest, there were other instances where the interplay of humour and identity was more complex. Both groups occasionally set up a theatre frame and assumed the voice of the global marketing department which was their role in the simulation for a humorous purpose (an example of this can be found in Extract 8.x in the next section). The team members of MktgB also went beyond the immediate context and roles of the simulation and explicitly positioned themselves as marketing experts, albeit still within a play frame:

Extract 7.40 Seven ninety-nine (MktgB2)

1	Maria	so let's say (.) seven what did we say sssseven point seventy five (1) it's o:ne
2	Rafael	i dunno that's too cheap because this is the regional brand and seven
3		thirteen and then the others <52>are all</52>
4	Maria	<52>okay</52> or let's say eight
5	Rafael	let's put <53>like</53>
6	Maria	<53>eight</53>
7	Rafael	eight
8	Maria	eight for the medium (.)
9	Rafael	<smiling> seven ninety nine </smiling>
10	Maria	<smiling>yep</smiling>
11	Fabian	no i'm for <smiling> eight nineteen </smiling> @@
12	Rafael	hm?
13	Fabian	okay let's say seven ninety nine @@
14	Maria	@@ we are so marketing (.)

Extract 7.41 Asian experts (MktgB2)

1	Maria	but the problem is that we have not well no maybe it's a plus that we have
2		european looking people
3	Rafael	or maybe it's a plus but maybe <72>it's</72>
4	Maria	<72>maybe</72> it isn't
5	Fabian	but the chinese people like the western lifestyle so we adapt
6	Rafael	and we know that because we were the previous managers of li ning's =
7	Maria	=@@@
8	Rafael	<@>you know</@>
9	Maria	<73>@@@</73>
10	Fabian	<73>@@@</73> <74>@@</74>
11	Rafael	<74>so we</74> just know it
12	Maria	<@> we're asian experts </@>
13	Rafael	my last company was li ning so

In the first extract, we see how the students adopt the marketing strategy of pricing a product just below a round number (i.e. \$7.99 instead of \$8). While Rafael marks his suggestion of *seven ninety nine* (line 9) as humorous with a smile, drawing on their shared understanding of basic marketing principles, his colleagues respond positively to his suggestion and they do in fact adopt it as their pricing decision. Fabian's bid for *eight nineteen* (line 11) attempts to build on that humour with an even more random-sounding number but fails to meet with a positive response and he quickly returns to *seven ninety nine* in line 13, aligning himself with his colleagues again. This move is acknowledged with a laugh from Maria and in line 14 she explicitly highlights the team's cohesion (*we are*) as well as the interplay of their theatre frame in the simulation and the professional identity they are striving towards (*so marketing*). The conversion of a noun into an adjective highlights the adoption of this professional identity as a personal characteristic, while simultaneously mocking their own obedience to a marketing gimmick.

This idea is further developed in Extract 7.41, where Rafael uses a fictional identity to justify a decision made in the simulation. As the team negotiates whether having Europeans in the company's advertising is an advantage or a disadvantage for their marketing campaign in China, Rafael draws on their previous team task – writing the case study about a Chinese company, Li

Ning, trying to enter the Western market – as an explanatory strategy, using their own “expertise” as an external source to justify their decision (*we know that because we were the previous managers of Li Ning’s*, line 6). This prompts a round of laughter which acknowledges the humour of this remark at various levels. First, there is a break from purely task-oriented talk (discussing what to do with the advertisements) to a primarily relationally-oriented remark. This contrast is itself based on the intrinsic contradiction of the words (which at the surface level would be a perfectly reasonable justification for making that decision) and the shared knowledge behind it (i.e. they were not managers at Li Ning but simply wrote a case study on it). Moreover, the inherent discrepancy between the real world and the world imagined in the joke (Norrick 2003: 1334), or “cognitive dissonance” (Holmes 2000b: 162), draws explicitly on their shared experience and their insider knowledge, highlighting the mutuality of their enterprise while simultaneously mocking it. The incongruity and thus the humour of this remark is not only rewarded with a round of laughter, which itself further strengthens the team’s bond, but with Maria developing the idea while echoing Rafael’s use of the cohesive *we* in a hyperbolic jump from being (imaginary) experts on a single Chinese company to *we’re Asian experts* (line 12).

Examples of conjoint humour that highlighted the bridge between ***developing mutual relationships*** and ***defining identities*** might include the development of a “***fantasy***” ***sequence*** (cf. Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 111; Holmes 2006: 28) where the students jointly constructed an imaginary situation drawing on their shared identities as classmates on the marketing master’s as well as future marketing experts.

Extract 7.42 Guest speaker (MktgA2)

1	Carina	but is there anything for [name of class]
2	Christian	no i <44> don’t think so</44>
3	Benone	<44>no no no</44> but i have to remind him about the e:m the guest speaker
4		on wednesday
5	Christian	<45>what’s oh yeah yeah</45>
6	Carina	<45>yeah yeah it’s wednesday</45>
7	Benone	he told me to <46>remind him</46>
8	Carina	<46>who is coming</46>
9	Benone	i don’t know that’s why i have to remind him
10	Carina	@@@
11	Benone	to inform us=
12	Carina	=oh i have to organize a guest speaker for tomorrow <46>thank you for
13		remembering @@</46>
14	Qingling	<46>@@@@ calls tonight</46> <47>i have to make some calls</47>
15	Christian	<47>didi didi didi mateschitz</47> do you have time <48>tomorrow</48>
16	Carina	<48>@@</48>
17	Benone	<49>@@@@</49>
18	Christian	<49>@@@@</49>
19	Qingling	<49>@@@@</49>
20	Carina	didi <50>mateschitz</50>
21	Benone	<50>after lunch</50> you know
22	Christian	@<51>@@</51>
23	Qingling	<51>@@</51>
24	Carina	<51>@@</51> some twenty new students {benone’s phone rings}

25	Benone	<L1ro>alo</L1ro> {continues conversation in russian(?) while others talk}
26	Christian	@@ yeah [teacher's first name] don't worry no problem i just booked a
27		helicopter i'll be there
28	Carina	in fifteen minutes
29	Christian	yeah @@@@
30	Carina	in fifteen and a half minutes

Again, this episode emerges from the work talk and a seemingly innocuous discussion about their next class (lines 1-8). Benone's answer to the question itself (*I don't know [who the guest speaker is] that's why I have to remind him*; line 9) provokes a laugh from Carina (line 10) who then proposes that Benone needs to remind the teacher to organise a speaker for the next day rather than to inform the students as to who that speaker will be. By doing so she changes the frame of a "good" teacher who is well-organised and supports his students by informing them beforehand of their guest (and thus allowing them time to prepare for this visit) to that of a "bad" teacher who organises his guest speaker at the last minute. With this shift, like Rafael in the previous example, Carina invokes a "play" or "theater" frame by assuming the teacher's voice (*oh I have to organise a speaker for tomorrow*; line 12). However, in this example, the students are not recalling a shared repertoire established in a previous class but are collaboratively telling a (made-up) story, with each of the team members contributing to developing the fantasy and laughing at the others' contributions, creating a cycle of positive rapport.

When Qingling sustains the disorganised teacher's voice (*I have to make some calls*; line 14), Christian immediately suggests Austria's best-known marketer *Didi* [Dietrich] *Mateschitz*⁷², the co-founder of Red Bull, in his development of the imaginary telephone call (*Didi Didi Didi Didi Mateschitz do you have time tomorrow?* line 15). On the one hand, choosing Mateschitz, an alumnus of WU and a very popular example in the university's courses, emphasises the students' shared knowledge of the discipline and WU academic culture. On the other hand, given Mateschitz' billionaire status and reputation for being elusive, proposing that he would have the time and interest to come and give a talk in the class – especially with less than 24 hours' notice – draws strongly on the incongruity between the (simulated) expectations and reality. Benone and Carina's additions of describing the classroom setting (*after lunch/some twenty new students*; lines 21, 24) highlight the absurdity of the expectations and their distance from reality. Christian's positive answer from Mateschitz (*don't worry no problem I just booked a helicopter I'll be there*; lines 26-27) continues and develops the theatre frame from a simulated monologue to a simulated dialogue, sustaining both its basis in shared knowledge of Mateschitz the billionaire and the ludicrous scenario of him being able and willing to drop everything and come to talk to twenty WU marketing students. Finally, Carina's contributions in lines 28 and 30 (*in fifteen minutes/in fifteen and a half minutes*), which conclude the sequence, not only show her engagement in furthering the "theater" frame and the simulated dialogue developed by her colleagues in this episode, but also refer back

⁷² see, e.g. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2011-05-19/red-bulls-billionaire-maniac> (accessed 26 June 2017)

to the earlier episode (Extract 7.33) by repeating the trope of overly precise timing constructed in their previous interaction.

To summarise, while most humour can be said to be rapport-enhancing, the mutual engagement dimension highlights instances of humour where developing or affirming the team's *mutual relationships* was at the forefront, even during task talk. In particular, the examples relating to this dimension often included explicit references to positive rapport or indications of mutual trust; conjoint humour building on each other's utterances that go beyond mere word play; and allusions to shared identities, particularly as marketing "experts". Further examples of humour based on an orientation towards the team's shared mental models will be given in the next section.

7.4.3.4 Joint enterprise

Humour about what the teams were doing and what they were trying to achieve took two main forms. The first was more task-oriented and comprised *absurd explanations or suggestions* for action, drawing strongly on the notion of incongruity. The second was more team-oriented in that it was based on the alignment of *jointly constructed "goals" and/or recurring themes* in and through the discourse.

While both types of humour depend greatly on the shared "frame" or "script" as discussed by Coates (2007: 31) and Kotthoff (1996: 301), the first is particularly closely connected to this notion. The frame or script in question, however, goes beyond the linguistic level of being "a large chunk of semantic information surrounding the word or evoked by it" (Raskin 1985: 81, cf. Bell & Pomerantz 2016: 25) and encompasses the knowledge of business concepts and genres that allows the hearer to judge whether the utterance is appropriate or not. In this sense, Kankaanranta et al.'s (2015) emphasis on having profound knowledge of business content and genres and being able to express or use these accurately as a core pillar of effective BELF communication is key. Recognising the appropriateness or lack thereof is essential to understanding and appreciating the humour in an absurd or incongruous suggestion or explanation. In the following example, the humour lies in a nonsensical explanation for a massive discrepancy in labour costs which proposes that, in contrast to workers in the Thai factories, workers in China do not receive any training. While a lack of (extensive) training itself may or may not be problematic for a job like manufacturing toothpaste, training a workforce to do the same job in one country but not the other certainly is a nonsensical proposition.

Extract 7.43 Training (MktgA1)

1	Benone	=regarding these costs of salesperson <348>china</348>
2	Christian	<348>hmm</348>
3	Benone	is the best
4	Qingling	yeah (1)
5	Benone	china

6	Christian	yeah (2) twenty-nine thousand
7	Benone	i have (.) i have a favourite already
8	Christian	@@@ (2) hm: (3)
9	Carina	but this is a hu:ge difference
10	Benone	yes
11	Carina	hiring training one thousand and in thai<349>land it's six thousand?</349>
12	Qingling	<349>they don't really</349> train people ha @@
13	Carina	huh? @<350>@@ yeah</350>
14	Qingling	<350> @@@</350>
15	Carina	apparently <351>they don't</351>
16	Christian	<351>yeah</351>
17	Carina	average expenses (2)
18	Christian	@@@
19	Carina	hm:
20	Christian	you would like to work for us (.) yeah okay
21	Qingling	@@<352>@@@</352>
22	Carina	<352>@@@</352>
23	Qingling	<353>@@@</353>
24	Christian	<353>go for it @@@</353>=
25	Carina	=@@=
26	Christian	=here is your goal for next year=
27	Carina	=<354>@@@</354>
28	Qingling	=<354>@@@ just do it</354>
29	Christian	<355>just do it</355> <356>@@@</356>
30	Carina	<356>ju:st do it</356>
31	Qingling	<357>@@@</357>
32	Carina	<357>pff</357>
33	Christian	<357>@@</357>
34	Carina	don't talk to someone (.) in japan
35	Christian	yeah
36	Carina	@@@ <358>@@@</358>
37	Qingling	<358>@@@</358>

Carina's clarification request in lines 9-11 (*but this is a huge difference/hiring training one thousand and in thailand it's six thousand?*) prompts Qingling's (absurd) proposition, perhaps playing on her implicit role as the expert on China, that *they don't really train people* (line 12). While it takes a while for Carina to grasp the joke, she eventually responds somewhat ambiguously in line 15 (*apparently they don't*), and it is Christian who then begins to co-construct a fantasy scenario, simulating a dialogue where a worker is simply employed and set to work without any training or preparation whatsoever (*you would like to work for us yeah okay/go for it/here is your goal for next year*; lines 20, 24, 26). Amidst the rounds of laughter Qingling "riffs" on *go for it*, changing it to *just do it* (line 28), presumably playing on the well-known Nike slogan. Christian and Carina's repetition of *just do it* in lines 29 and 30 affirm the stylistic humour of this utterance and Carina then makes her contribution to the co-constructed fantasy dialogue with an even more absurd remark (*don't talk to someone in Japan*; line 34). As well as the shared theatre frame and the co-construction of a fantasy situation where a factory worker in China might talk to their Japanese counterparts and an employer would warn them against it, this utterance draws further on their shared knowledge and interpretation of the economic and demographic input about comparative labour force costs. Thus the humour in this exchange not only shows alignment at a textual level with the students riffing on each other's utterances to co-construct a fantasy dialogue. It also highlights their shared

repertoire and their shared understanding of the input they have been given as well as their general disciplinary knowledge. In doing so, it both reflects and pushes forward their joint progress towards their task goals.

Benone's comment *I have a favourite already* in line 7 refers to a recurring theme that contributed to a considerable amount of humour and represented a tangible aspect of team cohesion in both groups. Despite the fact that the students were supposed to conduct an objective market analysis and by doing this arrive at the optimal location for first entering the market as well as build their factory (which should, on the basis of cost, have resulted in them choosing Thailand for the latter), both teams were predisposed to build their plants in China. Consequently, this resulted in numerous humorous comments expressing disappointment that China had scored poorly on certain criteria, giving (absurd) justifications for choosing China, or suggesting that they manipulate the results in China's favour. Extract 7.44 develops this idea further.

Extract 7.44 We have to choose China (MktgA2)

1	Carina	so:: distribution channels
2	Benone	my favourite is losing
3	Qingling	@<21>@@</21>
4	Carina	<21>@@</21>
5	Christian	what is your favourite china (.) no
6	Benone	china is my favourite i can go to thailand only as a tourist (3)
7	Qingling	thailand is the <22>cheapest</22>
8	Benone	<22>thailand</22> yes
9	Qingling	it's true
10	Carina	yeah
11	Qingling	why is japan
12	Carina	japan is
13	Qingling	so is it (.) so cheap i mean is it really
14	Christian	okay we have two point five <23>so two</23>
15	Benone	<23>okay</23>
16	Christian	point five
17	Benone	fo:::r
18	Carina	<un>xxx<un> (what)
19	Christian	probably the end <24>when we rank china's<24>
20	Benone	<24>distribution</24>
21	Christian	i don't know still fifth=
22	Carina	=the worst @@@
23	Christian	STILL we would like to invest in china=
24	Qingling	=<25>@@</25>
25	Carina	=<25>@@</25>
26	Benone	yes
27	Qingling	<@>we can <26>do that</@></26>
28	Christian	<26>@@</26>
29	Carina	so our outcome is china is really not a good choice but still we go
30	Christian	<27>yeah</27>
31	Qingling	<27>{shaking head}@@</27>
32	Carina	for china WHY <28>we don't know</28>
33	Christian	<28>we don't know</28> why
34	Benone	why we <29>have</29>
35	Carina	<29>benone</29> said
36	Benone	we have qingling
37	Christian	yeah we have <30>qingling</30>
38	Qingling	<30>@@</30>

39	Christian	we have to go to china
49	Carina	@@@

Benone’s comment that *my favourite is losing* (line 2) provokes laughter from Qingling and Carina, perhaps due to its departure from the “official” script that creating the scoreboard should be a serious market analysis rather than a game to be “won” or “lost” as well as the break with the task focus. After a recap of the actual results of the analysis in lines 7-22, Christian makes the absurd suggestion that despite China’s score being the worst, they should still make their investment there (line 23), with Benone and Qingling backing him up (*yes/we can do that*; lines 26-27). As she frequently did in the EXINTEX episodes, Carina sums up the argument in lines 29-30 (*so our outcome is china is really not a good choice but still we go for China WHY we don’t know*), leading to a brief “riff” of repetition from Christian and Benone (*we don’t know why/why*; lines 33-34). This stylistic alignment is immediately followed by a flurry of reasons that are perfectly logical at a textual level but utterly unreasonable at a practical or business level, first from Carina (*Benone said*; line 35), then Benone supported by Christian (*we have Qingling/yeah we have Qingling*; lines 36-37). This parody of EXINTEX results in a summary of the only “feasible” option from Christian (*we have to go to China*; line 39) which Carina acknowledges as humorous with more laughter. Similar discourse could also be found in MktgB, though, lacking a “local”, they had to resort to other justifications, such as “they have awesome food there” (Maria, MktgB1).

Each team also had task-related themes which were specific to each team or even each meeting and recurred several times in the discourse of that meeting. In MktgB1, a comment from Maria that awarding the points to the various countries was “like the europe- european vision song contest” was repeated later by Fabian (“it’s really like the eurovision”) and then by both mimicking the falling pitch of the Eurovision country representatives as they list their points distribution (“china. three points.”). Over the course of the task, the MktgB team also built up a ritual surrounding the submission of their decisions which involved them articulating being “nervous” before hitting the submit button and whooping, high-fiving and congratulating each other and the team’s achievements, the foundations of which can already be seen in these meetings. While this seemed to be self-parodying at times, it nevertheless became a firmly established part of the team’s shared repertoire.

Extract 7.45 whooo (MktgB1)

1	Maria	did you see we already got the grade for
2	Rafael	<42>yeah</42>
3	Fabian	<42>yeah</42> an <spel> a </spel>
4	Maria	whooo so good (3)
5	Rafael	<smiling silly voice>i’m proud of it</smiling silly voice>
6	Maria	@@@ (5)
7	Rafael	it’s to boost our morale
8	Maria	hm?=-

9	Rafael	make us feel good=
10	Maria	=@@ you know that everyone got an <spel> a </spel>=
11	Rafael	=i know i know
12	Maria	@@@ (3)
13	Rafael	still we can say that the first grade that we had in the course was an <spel>
14		a </spel> (.) so it's cool (1) it's a make pretend grade let's=
15	Fabian	=<smiling>no one has to know</smiling>
16	Maria	@@@ (7)

While the first third of this extract (lines 1-6) shows the students having fun with their supportive comments (*whooo so good/I'm proud of it*; lines 4-5), the rest of the sequence suggests that they are indeed mocking themselves to a certain extent. Although they did get a top grade, their achievement is tempered somewhat by Maria's question in line 10 (*you know that everyone got an A*) which checks that the others are aware of the irony of the situation. Building on this discrepancy between the real situation (that everybody got an A) and the imagined situation (that this is an achievement to be proud of), the group co-constructs a fantasy scenario which first positions the grade as an achievement (*still we can say that the first grade that we had in the course was an A so it's cool*; lines 13-14) and then portrays this positioning as a secret (*it's a make pretend grade/no one has to know*; lines 14-15). By turning themselves into collaborators, the humour not only builds on the co-constructed fantasy but also invokes in-group membership and insider knowledge that strengthens team cohesion.

MktgA also invoked in-group membership and competitiveness in their recurrent humour, although their competitors were not the other teams in their class (as in the case above) but an imaginary competitor in the simulation. While the idea of pitting themselves against an imaginary competitor was in itself not necessarily humorous since the simulation in fact listed several competitors who were already present in the markets, their choice of competitor was.

Extract 7.46 Competitor brands (MktgA1)

1	Qingling	also there is something about the presence of: (.) competitor brands
2	Benone	<144>yeah</144>
3	Carina	<144> mm</144> (.) <145>yeah</145>
4	Christian	<145>yeah</145>
5	Carina	<smiling>herbs</smiling>
6	Qingling	<146>@@@</146>
7	Benone	<146> @@@</146>

The first mention of herbs arose earlier in the interaction in a serious discussion about the availability of safe drinking water and how some cultures have alternative forms of oral care such as eating particular plants ("herbs"). Carina's suggestion of herbs as a competitor brand (line 5), which harks back to this discussion, meets with a round of laughter based on the shared understanding of this context and the incongruity of herbs representing serious competition to a global toothpaste manufacturer or multinational corporation. References to herbs came up again

whenever there was reference to competition, and the incongruity even extended to Benone arguing that “herbs are too expensive” as an alternative form of oral care.

Even the general idea of humorous alternatives to oral care was a recurrent theme, as seen in the excerpt below, which illustrates both this and the recurring theme of China as the preferred location for the factory.

Extract 7.47 Do you have a preference (MktgA1)

1	Benone	do you have a preference already? a personal one (2)
2	Carina	i won't tell {smirking}
3	Benone	<@> you won't tell it's a secret <@> @@
4	Carina	{smirking, nodding}
5	Benone	<@> it's your secret </@>=
6	Carina	=<61>@@@</61>=
7	Qingling	=<61>@@@</61>=
8	Benone	= it's a dirty one @@@
9	Qingling	<@> austria </@> @@
10	Carina	<62><@>AUSTRIA</@> @@</62>
11	Benone	<62><@>AUSTRIA</@> @@</62>
12	Qingling	<63>@@@</63>
13	Benone	<63>@@@</63>@@ okay @@ yeah (.) or andorra or something like
14		this <64>@@</64>
15	Carina	<64>@@</64> andorra =
16	Benone	= liechtenstein
17	Carina	liechtenstein @@ no luxembourg
18	Benone	luxembourg? yeah
19	Qingling	they're too rich @<65>@@</65>
20	Carina	<65>@@@</65>
21	Qingling	for <@> for tooth <66> paste </@></66>
22	Benone	<66><@>yeah</@></66> @ <67>@@</67>
23	Carina	<67>@@</67> they brush their teeth <68> with money </68>
24	Benone	<68>they brush their {gesturing}</68>
25	Carina	they have <@> the do:llar the bills and bru-</@>
26	Christian	<smiling>yeah</smiling>
27	Qingling	@@@@
28	Benone	because they don't have dirty money
29	Carina	yeah they don't yeah exactly they don't have dirty money just clean
30		money
31	Qingling	@@@
32	Benone	{shaking head} no discussion
33	Carina	<69>@@@</69>
34	Qingling	<69>@@@</69> so=
35	Carina	=<70>so:</70>
36	Benone	=<70>so</70>
37	Qingling	so what's your preference
38	Benone	no: it's i won't tell it @@
39	Christian	it's china.
40	Qingling	we all put it @<71>@@ as</71>
41	Carina	<71>@@@</71>
42	Qingling	our favourite right?
43	Benone	@@
44	Qingling	<smiling> {gesturing to carina} we have already told you our
45		prefer<72>ences</smiling></72>
46	Benone	<72>no:</72>
47	Carina	yeah
48	Qingling	<73>YES</73>
49	Christian	<73>what</73> is your preference (.) china
50	Carina	<@>austria</@>@@<74>@@</74>
51	Benone	<74>a:rg</74>

52	Carina	nah i think it's really <75>china</75>
53	Christian	<75>yeah</75>
54	Benone	<75>for me</75> it's china also
55	Christian	for me it's china
56	Benone	<@> we decided {grand gesture}</@>
57	Qingling	@<76>@@</76>
58	Carina	<76>@@</76>
59	Benone	<76>@@</76>
60	Christian	<76>@@</76>

This excerpt concludes with the team uniting around the joint preference for China that would become a recurring theme in their discourse (lines 52-60), with Benone using physical hyperbole to underline the absurdity of the idea that they could decide on the location purely by consensus rather than analysis (*we decided* and a grand gesture; line 56). Even within the sequence there was a subsidiary recurring theme of keeping one's preference secret (*I won't tell/you won't tell it's a secret/it's your secret/no it's I won't tell it*; lines 2-5, 38), which obviously runs counter to the need to collaborate in order to achieve the team's task. In this example, the refusal to display trust is evaluated as humorous, and should therefore – paradoxically – be interpreted as an indication of trust. When Carina refuses to reveal her “secret” in line 4, Benone plays on the implication of “naughty” humour much beloved by Kalocsai's (2013) Erasmus students (*it's a dirty one*; line 8). Again, this banter indicates a high level of trust and positive rapport that will ensure Carina interprets the remark as humorous and not an actual attack on her personal relationships. When Qingling offers the suggestion that Carina's preference would be *Austria* (line 9), this is not only an example of an absurd suggestion (given that they have to choose between the six Asian markets) but also echoes a previous instance of humour where Christian suggested that they should read all the information on Asia and then go choose a Latin American country. The team then “riffs”, repeating and adding other absurdly small, wealthy European countries that represent the complete opposite of the markets they are trying to enter (*or Andorra or something like this/ Andorra/Liechtenstein/Liechtenstein no Luxembourg/Luxembourg? yeah*; line 13-18). The improvisation then leads into a riff of explanations for why these countries do not need toothpaste, co-constructing a fantasy where the inhabitants clean their teeth with money, then playing on the words clean and dirty to develop an ironic business metaphor, given that these countries have the reputation of being tax havens and the destination for illicit money movement (*they're too rich for toothpaste/they brush their teeth with money/they have the dollar the bills and/because they don't have dirty money/exactly they don't have dirty money just clean money*; lines 19-34). This excerpt thus illustrates not only the repetition of (humorous) themes embedded in the team's repertoire, but also the complex interplay of stylistic alignment and variation, the use of verbal and non-verbal communication to underline the humour of an utterance, the use of humour to indicate and construct trust, and the team's general and specific business knowledge and understanding of what would be an appropriate decision.

In short, the teams used humour a great deal both to promote but also to parody their shared goals. On the one hand, humour reflected and constructed the high levels of trust and positive rapport that enabled the students to challenge each other safely in their work talk and highlight potential weaknesses in their decision-making processes. On the other hand, the co-construction of (absurd) goals, in particular both teams' collective desire to locate their plants in China, gave them cohesion in their decision-making processes and the solidarity of shared responses, whether positive or disappointed. Additionally, these recurring themes provided thematic coherence to their discourse and a means to articulate their shared repertoire.

7.4.4 Summary

With numerous examples found across both work talk and casual talk, humour was an essential part of the teams' interaction and contributed greatly to both their task goals (completing the market analysis and selecting the location for their production plant) and their team goals (attaining a high level of satisfaction and having "fun"). While the overall percentage coverage of humour ($\approx 7\text{-}12\%$) in the interaction was, unsurprisingly, lower than those of EXINTEX ($\approx 30\text{-}45\%$) and similar to casual talk ($\approx 6\text{-}7.5\%$) in both teams, both the absolute number of humour sequences ($n=28\text{-}70$) was generally higher than the number of EXINTEX ($n=24\text{-}49$) and considerably more than the equivalent for casual talk sequences ($n=3\text{-}13$). Likewise, the frequency of humour normalised per 1000 words of interaction (MktgA = 2.68/MktgB = 3.56) was somewhat higher than EXINTEX (2.33/2.88) and substantially higher than casual talk (0.58/0.68). Consequently, while there was much less time devoted to humour than to EXINTEX as a whole, humour was found very frequently across work talk and casual talk as well as in all the meetings and in both teams. Though the number and percentage of humour used waned slightly in the second of two consecutive meetings, the lack of clearly identifiable roles suggested that the teams' humour was generally highly collaborative and primarily used to strengthen team cohesion and highlight solidarity.

The qualitative analysis confirmed this impression. The humour found in both teams was, on the whole, multifunctional and multidimensional. The findings could be presented using the dimensions of a community of practice, i.e. in terms of the team's *shared repertoire*, *mutual engagement*, and *joint enterprise*. Of course, distinctions between the three dimensions were a matter of degree rather than difference and an episode of humour could have aspects of all three dimensions. Nevertheless, the dimensions help to highlight the various aspects and the complexity of the teams' humour. The main findings can be summarised as follows:

- Across all three dimensions, the students' use of humour both *reflected and constructed* the high levels of trust and positive rapport that was necessary to achieve the task and team goals.

- The students' use of humour was also **multifunctional and multi-dimensional**, with distinctions between the dimensions a matter of degree rather than difference.
- Reflecting the highly interactive nature of the teamwork, much of the humour was **conjoint or collaborative**, with team members "riffing" or improvising on each other's utterances, based on or contributing to the team's **shared repertoire**.
- At its simplest level, this improvisation could be **linguistic variation**, repeating and extending the textual patterns of the previous utterance(s), showing alignment at a linguistic level.
- More complex sequences of conjoint humour were positioned in a **"play" or "theater" frame**, drawing strongly on shared academic, disciplinary or local cultural knowledge and experiences as well as playful voicing and simulated mono-/ dialogues.
- These could include the improvisation and "performance" of **fantasy sequences** co-constructing an imaginary scenario that showed alignment at the level of both language and content.
- While most humour can be said to be rapport-enhancing, some sequences seemed to have a primary function of **restoring team cohesion and highlighting their mutual engagement** in the task.
- These could be oriented to **developing mutual relationships** and emphasising or demonstrating **emotional solidarity** either explicitly or through banter or light sarcasm that illustrated high levels of trust by pretending to subvert them.
- Alternatively, they might play a role in **defining identities**, particularly the teams' collective identities as marketers and experts, and as a cohesive, egalitarian team.
- The **joint enterprise** dimension related to humour about what the teams were doing and what they were trying to achieve in terms of their task and team goals.
- Task-oriented humour comprised **absurd explanations or suggestions** for action, drawing strongly on the notion of incongruity, while team-oriented humour was based on the alignment of **jointly constructed "goals" and/or recurring themes** in and through the discourse.

Reflecting findings from communities of practice in both workplace and social settings, much of the teams' humour was conjoint or collaborative, and based on or contributing to the team's shared repertoire. This could take the form of linguistic variation, with team members "riffing" or improvising on each other's utterances to show alignment at a textual or primarily stylistic level. More complex sequences of conjoint humour were positioned in a "play" or "theater" frame, which extended the shared repertoire to include shared knowledge and experiences as well as language. Frequently, these comprised fantasy sequences co-constructing an imaginary scenario and using playful voicing or simulated mono-/dialogues.

This section therefore complements and expands the partial answer given in the section on casual talk to the research question posed at the start of this chapter, namely:

RQ2b: *How do the participants use language to optimise team satisfaction?*

Team satisfaction is understood as the positive team atmosphere that the participants highlighted as a key criterion for successful teamwork in their retrospective interviews. In particular, this section addressed their emphasis on having “fun” as a key aspect of “communicating with people”. As well as engaging in casual talk, the students used a great deal of humour across both their casual talk and their work talk to enhance their efforts at “doing collegiality” (Holmes 2000; Holmes & Stubbe 2003). With around ten percent of their total interaction devoted to humour in some form and a high frequency of humour sequences, humour played a very important role in both reflecting and developing their shared repertoire, high levels of trust and the psychologically safe environment of the team. While stylistic variation and references to “insider” jokes highlighted their alignment at a linguistic level, drawing on their shared repertoire of language, knowledge and experience(s) allowed them to articulate the shared mental models of the team’s (communicative) practices. At the same time, acknowledgement of existing team cohesion and the possibility to test the boundaries of appropriate behaviour both underscored and promoted the development of trust and positive rapport. It could be argued that some instances of humour seemed to be intended to mitigate criticism and disagreement, or to highlight potential discrepancies or problems, while others reflected or put into practice the communicative strategies used in EXINTEX. However, the primary function of humour in this data did indeed appear to be creating a positive and cohesive team climate. Additionally, it not only served to establish and support a safe learning space in which to complete the task, but also allowed students to play with professional identities and negotiate what constituted an appropriate response to the demands of the task.

In this respect, the findings complement and expand on the research on humour in social ELF student contexts such as that of Kalocsai (2013) and Matsumoto (2014) to provide an insight into the multicultural and multilingual learning space. Furthermore, they illustrate that, in the multicultural team context, the students do use humour as a means of “doing collegiality” which facilitates the accomplishment of the teams’ task goals as well as the development of team cohesion. This reflects findings from seminal research on humour in monolingual workplace settings (e.g. Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Holmes 2006), though the collaborative and egalitarian teamwork context meant there were few examples of humour that had the primary function of asserting, mitigating or subverting power which can be found in this research and BELF research on humour in contexts where management is involved (e.g. Pullin Stark 2009; Rogerson-Revell 2007a). While a team is clearly not the same as a community of practice, the findings in this study reveal that, at least in terms of their use of humour, the students do develop a miniature community of practice within their teamwork, even over the short but intense period of time under investigation.

The findings also show very clearly that humour – used effectively – can be a cornerstone of the communicative practices that lead to virtuous circles in multicultural teamwork.

7.5 Communicating with people: summary

While attention to and acknowledgement of the importance of relational work in workplace contexts has increased over the last couple of decades (e.g. with the publication of volumes such as Coupland 2000b; Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Koester 2006), it remains a relatively under-researched research field. Yet, as McAllister (1995) suggests, “informal relations [...] are central to the real work of organizations” and affect-based trust is not only an “essential counterpart to other foundations for interpersonal trust” but also has an important role “in facilitating effective coordinated action in organizations” (p. 55). These comments reflect the findings of BELF researchers such as Kankaanranta and Planken (2010) and Ehrenreich (2010), who report that relational work is a central pillar of effective BELF communication. The second research question for the analysis of the teams’ meeting data was therefore:

RQ2b: How do the participants use language to optimise team satisfaction?

In order to answer this question, this chapter explored two key aspects of relational work in the students’ teamwork that were highlighted in both earlier research and the reflective interviews conducted in this study, namely, the use of *casual talk* and *humour*.

The quantitative analysis of each aspect showed that there was evidence of both in every meeting, although the amount of casual talk ($\approx 6\text{--}7.5\%$) and humour ($\approx 7\text{--}12\%$) were both relatively low compared to EXINTEX ($\approx 30\text{--}45\%$). Humour was found in both work talk and in casual talk, and can thus be said to play an important role in contributing to the teams’ progress towards their concrete as well as their less tangible goals. Perhaps surprisingly, the absolute number of humour sequences ($n=28\text{--}70$) was generally higher than the number of EXINTEX ($n=24\text{--}49$) and considerably more than the equivalent for casual talk sequences ($n=3\text{--}13$). Likewise, the frequency of humour normalised per 1000 words of interaction (MktgA = 2.68/MktgB = 3.56) was somewhat higher than EXINTEX (2.33/2.88) and substantially higher than casual talk (0.58/0.68).

While the quantitative data can only indicate general trends, it was striking that, though there was much less time devoted to humour than to EXINTEX as a whole, humour was found very frequently across the teams’ interaction, whereas casual talk tended to be found in extended opening and closing phases, and sometimes towards the middle of a meeting. Additionally, more instances of casual talk and humour were found in the first of two consecutive meetings, regardless of which team was being examined. This suggests that they were primarily used to strengthen team cohesion and initiate “virtuous circles” as the basis for carrying out their task and achieving their

shared task goals. This was confirmed in the qualitative analysis, which revealed that both aspects of “communicating with people” were strongly oriented towards positive facework and building positive rapport, i.e. establishing common ground and reflecting, emphasising or developing (emotional) solidarity. While a range of topics arose in both casual talk and humour, language had a key function both as a topic for reflecting or constructing cohesion and as the means of doing so at the level of linguistic alignment, variation and “riffing” on each other’s utterances to demonstrate engagement and mutual interest. The students’ roles and identities – within the team, at specific points in the interaction, and as marketing students – were an important element of their discourse in terms of managing the interaction, appreciating and acknowledging various identities, or looking for and highlighting shared identities.

Establishing “who is who, who is good at what, who knows what” (Wenger 1998: 95) is an essential aspect of developing competence-based as well as affect-based trust. Casual talk is crucial for strengthening this dimension of a community of practice. At the same time, humour can test the limits of such trust and, if these limits withstand such a test, reinforce the sense of team cohesion. As indicated above, the highly interactive and engaged nature of both the casual talk and humour episodes thus not only reflected the teams’ cohesion but also generated further cohesion. Indeed, the analysis revealed that casual talk could be used to draw team members into the interaction, and both casual talk and humour had a repair function used to restore harmonious relations after a potentially rapport-damaging sequence. It could be argued that surface cooperativeness may mask a disequilibrium of power (Candlin 2000: xix) but it was impossible to identify any indication of this at this stage in the team’s discourse. Rather, the teams’ use and management of casual talk reflected a fluid and dynamic approach to power, while their humour actively subverted the notion that any individual – least of all the one the computer programme had arbitrarily nominated as the team leader – had intrinsic authority over the others.

In short, both teams’ use of casual talk and humour was, as found in previous studies, multifaceted, multifunctional, and sometimes even multilingual. It could be argued that the students’ heightened awareness of potential challenges of “smooth” communication in their lingua franca setting made them highly attuned to opportunities for language play, while the length and intensity of their interaction pushed them to seek ways of making the task more “fun”. As they developed a shared repertoire, they were also able to construct a shared mental model of the team’s (communicative) practices and a shared understanding of what constituted “appropriate” and congruent language and behaviour for their team context. In turn, this allowed them to exploit this shared understanding of what was “appropriate” in their specific context to generate humour and further strengthen their emotional bonds. By doing so, they were not only able to practise the communicative strategies they needed for EXINTEX and carrying out their team tasks in relatively low-stakes contexts, but also constructed a psychologically safe place that would allow them to

implement the challenges they needed to achieve their goals in their higher-risk work talk. As such, this chapter offers insights into the intersection of BELF, student teamwork and relational talk in a multilingual and multicultural learning space that, until now, has been massively under-researched even though it is becoming an increasingly important aspect of the international university.

8. Synthesis

Anything worthwhile in life requires teamwork, and you cannot manage what you don't understand.

Martine Rothblatt, CEO and entrepreneur, *Forbes'* quote of the day (9 October 2017)⁷³

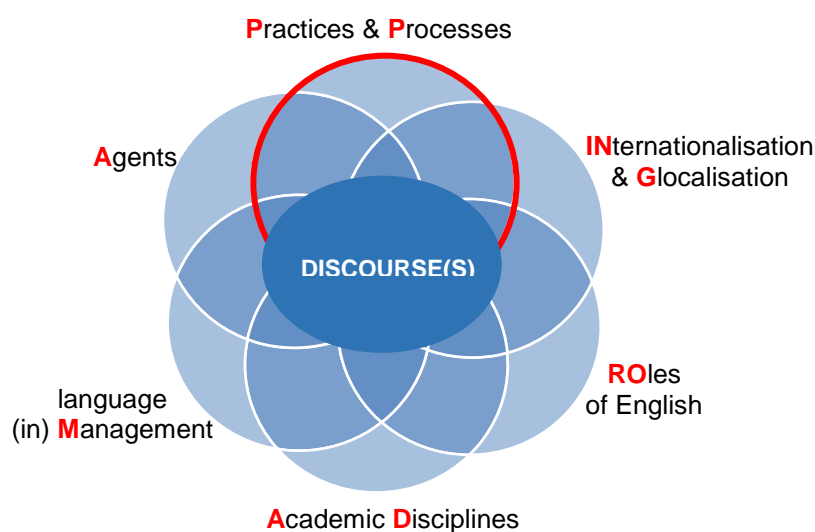
8.1. Introduction & overview

The main objectives of this thesis were to find out how masters' students who had chosen to study marketing at WU perceived multicultural teamwork in the context of their English-medium programme and how they used language to achieve their team and task goals – in other words, how they “view” and how they “do” English as a (business) lingua franca in their teamwork. The analysis also aimed to examine the extent to which practices reported in multicultural and multilingual workplace interaction could also be found in the multicultural and multilingual learning space.

To do so, the study adopted an interdisciplinary approach, arguing that it is essential to take a holistic and dynamic research perspective in order to understand the complex demands of English-medium business education in today's globalised world. It understands “human communication and the language varieties it draws on as a resource that members of a society use in situated dynamic ways” within a range of cultural structures (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 401). This ecologically informed approach at the heart of Dafouz and Smit's (2016) conceptualisation of ROAD-MAPPING makes it possible to “zoom in” on a particular social phenomenon without losing sight of the context in which it can be found. ROAD-MAPPING uses discourse as the access point to highlight various dimensions of English-medium education in multilingual university settings while also allowing the researcher to concentrate on one in detail. The main focus of the present study was the *Practices & Processes* dimension, analysing student interaction to examine how the participants construct meaning in work talk, as well as how they build intra-team relationships and a cohesive team mental model in both work talk and casual talk. Nevertheless, it is impossible to understand how these practices and processes develop without taking into account the interplay of the remaining five dimensions. Figure 8.1 thus illustrates the ROAD-MAPPING framework repositioned to reflect the focus of the study, taking the discourse(s) of student interaction in multicultural teamwork as the point of access.

⁷³ <https://www.forbes.com/100-greatest-business-minds/person/martine-rothblatt> (last accessed 23.10.2017)

Figure 8.1 The ROAD-MAPPING framework for EMEMUS, with a focus on *Practices & Processes*



(based on Dafouz & Smit 2016: 404)

8.2 *Practices & Processes*: multicultural teamwork and communities of practice

Beginning by zooming in on *Practices & Processes*, this dimension asks: *How is language used in multicultural student teamwork on a marketing EMP?* On the one hand, it looks at language practices in detail, analysing closely the sociolinguistic choices that the students make and how these reflect or contribute to developing the “conventional unmarked pattern[s]” (Spolsky 2004: 9) of the team’s shared repertoire. In other words, the study examines what linguistic resources are used and what is considered appropriate in the teams’ contexts. On the other hand, these practices “reveal the localized process of developing a shared repertoire” (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 407) and how the participants draw on their linguistic resources, existing content knowledge and professional or personal experience to co-construct meaning as well as social relations within their team contexts.

The analysis of the meeting data was divided into two main chapters reflecting Ehrenreich’s (2010) summary of BELF as “communicating *facts*” and “communicating *with people*” (p. 419, original emphasis; Chapters 6 and 7 of the thesis, respectively). The quantitative overview in each chapter highlighted the participants’ contributions and the frequency of communicative strategies, providing an insight into areas that merited closer analysis. Detailed results can be found in Sections 6.5.1, 7.3.3.1 and 7.4.3.1. The overall findings indicated that the teams were highly interactive, with all team members participating to a large extent in each of the three aspects being studied: EXINTEX, casual talk and humour. Roles – e.g. chairing or content expert roles – were passed around the team members and authority over language was shared. In these respects the analysis of the interactional data supported the claims made in the retrospective interviews (see

Chapter 6). In contrast, the results of the quantitative findings were more ambiguous in terms of supporting the statement in the interview that “casual talk makes our interaction really natural so when we go into the working mode we maintain that smooth communication”. While EXINTEX comprised around a third of their interaction, casual talk represented less than 10%. The other element of “communicating with people”, humour, could be found in both casual talk and work talk and accounted for approximately another 10%. However, the qualitative analysis of the participants’ discourse revealed the importance of this type of talk in fulfilling their task goals and facilitating team processes.

Chapter 6, “Communicating facts”, examined how the participants used language to learn language in their “work talk” – in other words, how they negotiated meaning to co-construct an understanding of the business concepts they encountered and needed in the course of developing their market analysis. This chapter proposed an expansion of Smit’s (2010) INTEX (*interactive explaining*) framework to account for the more complex, “messy” nature of peer-to-peer interaction where there is no obvious epistemic authority such as a teacher. This expanded framework integrated aspects of Barnes’ (1976, 2008) and Mercer’s (2000) concept of exploratory talk in school science classrooms and is called EXINTEX (*exploratory interactive explaining*). The data revealed that they discussed the input in terms of topicalising (business) concepts, deconstructing them into their essential components and then reconstructing meaning which was (in most cases) accepted and shared by all the members of the team. This not only ensured that all the team members had a shared understanding of the topics in question but forced them to engage with each other and with the issues in depth.

The theoretical framework for EXINTEX draws strongly on previous research into the co-construction of meaning, combining findings from pragmatic studies into (mis)understanding in a range of ELF contexts (e.g. Björkman 2013; Kaur 2009; Mauranen 2006b; Penz 2011; Pietikäinen 2016; Pitzl 2005, 2010; Smit 2010) with work on explanations from the fields of (both first and second) language acquisition (e.g. Adair-Hauck & Donato 1994; Barbieri & Landolfi 1994; Ehlich 2009; Hohenstein 2009; Josefy 2009; Klein 2009; Spreckels 2009) and classroom talk in (mostly monolingual) school science lessons (e.g. Lemke 1990; Mohan & Slater 2005, 2006; Ogborn et al. 1996). By combining these perspectives, the study fills a gap of examining how students negotiate and construct the meaning of discipline-specific language and concepts using ELF in peer-to-peer interaction in the multilingual and multicultural learning space. The major contribution of this study’s findings is the importance of challenges/counter-challenges as a strategy for negotiating and constructing meaning when an epistemic authority is lacking, since this was not included in Smit’s (2010) original INTEX framework and also contradicts the common misconception that the “let it pass” strategy observed by Firth (1996) is central to ELF communication.

It also highlights the importance of creating a “psychologically safe” space (Schaubroeck et al. 2011: 864) by opening up “a dialogical space in which ‘ambidexterity’ or the coexistence of both discordant (constructive conflict) and constructive (co-construction) team learning processes is possible” (Decuyper et al. 2010: 117; cf. Angouri 2012; Hüttner 2014: 196). This is especially important in diverse contexts since the “ultimate effects [of diversity] on team outcomes may be dependent on whether consequent internal processes develop into virtuous or vicious circles” (Stahl et al. 2010a: 444). This thesis argues that high levels of positive rapport support the development of synergies and deeper learning from diversity and disagreement, rather than a descent into discord. The construction of social relationships, positive rapport and a collective team identity contribute greatly to creating a “psychologically safe” environment within this MMLS characterised by high levels of trust and positive rapport. The processes of developing the foundations for the teamwork are discussed under the heading of “communicating with people”. This section is divided into two parts, the first examining “casual” or off-topic talk and the second analysing their use of humour in both “casual” and “work” talk. Both casual talk and humour were primarily used to “do collegiality” (Holmes 2000a; Holmes & Stubbe 2003), i.e. to find common ground and actively promote team cohesion by drawing on and developing a “mental model” of shared team goals, communicative practices and multilingual repertoires. This was reflected in the fact that the longest episodes of casual talk were found in the first of each team’s meetings, and across the meetings the episodes were frequently clustered together, particularly in extended opening and closing phases, and sometimes towards the middle. As a result, the main functions of casual talk were filling time and initiating dialogue as well as establishing common ground as a basis for (future) cooperation and collaboration. The major contributions of this study are thus the observation that language is not only the means to achieve their team and task goals, but also the object of these processes in casual talk as well as in work talk. Furthermore, despite the relatively small amount of casual talk as a proportion of the interaction, the close analysis of the participants’ team discourses does support the emic perspective that “this kind of casual talk [...] makes our interaction really natural so when we go into the working mode we [...] maintain that smooth communication” (Qingling, MktgA, retrospective interview). This is notable since many earlier studies conducted in professional settings have found that managers reported it harder to do “small talk” than technical or work-related talk in a foreign language (e.g. Ehrenreich 2010: 421; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 402; Kassis-Henderson 2005: 73). Research into academic settings has had similar results (Dafouz Milne 2011: 203). This suggests that the generation of graduates entering the workforce, who have only known a “wired, connected world” (Sepannen & Gualtieri 2014: 3) have been exposed to – and in all probability used – English in a way that the previous generation now in senior management positions have not. A study of 2200 participants aged 12-18 in Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands (Berns et al. 2007) found that, though levels and media of exposure vary, English is omnipresent in the lives of European adolescents. A study

conducted in Finland had similar results, stating “to young respondents English was clearly more important than it was to older respondents”, with almost 80% of people in the 15-24 and 25-44 age groups regarding English as “at least moderately important” (Leppänen et al. 2011: 65). Consequently, their attitudes towards, and ways of engaging with, English in the workplace are also likely to differ from those of previous generations. There is thus an urgent need to do more research into how entry-level employees cope with the demands of the (global) workplace, and how language and communication teaching at business universities can prepare them for these.

The urgency of this need is supported by the findings of the analysis examining humour in the teamwork. The findings of this study and their focus on humour as a means of “doing collegiality” reflect seminal research on humour in monolingual workplace settings (e.g. Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Holmes 2006). In particular, the findings highlight the role of adopting a “play” or “theatre” frame, especially in collaboratively constructed conjoint humour, to exemplify linguistic alignment as well as a shared understanding of business content and the development of expert or team identities. However, the present thesis differs from previous studies into workplace interaction and BELF research on humour in management contexts, where humour often has the function of asserting, mitigating or subverting power (e.g. Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Holmes 2006; Pullin Stark 2009; Rogerson-Revell 2007a). At the same time, the present study also complements and expands on findings from previous ELF research conducted in the broader university contexts which have highlighted the primarily social effect of humour (e.g. Kalocsai 2013; Matsumoto 2014) to show the importance of the cohesive function of humour in a multicultural and multilingual *learning* space. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to find out whether the shift to a more hierarchically organised working environment brings with it more use of humour as a means of managing power relations, or if a younger and more diverse workforce retains the primarily social and cohesive function of humour to “smooth” the way for their work practices.

Analysing communicative practices in the workplace therefore requires a research frame that embraces both task-oriented and social-oriented interaction. While this study acknowledges the differences between teams and Communities of Practice (as conceptualised by Wenger 1998) in terms of their temporal boundaries, members and overall objectives (Wenger et al. 2002), it argues that successful teams – such as the ones under study in this dissertation – do develop a miniature community of practice within their spatial and temporal boundaries. The thesis further proposes that Salas et al.’s (2005) notion of a “mental model” as a “supporting and co-ordinating mechanism” in teamwork (p. 559) can be conceptualised in terms of the construction of shared team goals, communicative practices and multilingual repertoires, which can in turn be linked to the three dimensions of Wenger’s (1998) Community of Practice, i.e. *joint enterprise*, *mutual engagement*, and a *shared repertoire*, respectively. Using a synthesised mental model/CofP approach to examining multicultural student teamwork has the benefit of being able to “go beyond

the controversial *learner-user* distinction” (Ehrenreich 2010: 427, original emphasis) and focuses instead on who does what, how the community defines itself in terms of what it does, and how it develops a shared way of speaking, doing, and acting. Specifically, in the teams analysed here, the *joint enterprise* primarily comprises the task goals – understanding the input, designing and conducting the analysis, obtaining results to make a decision of where to build their production plant, making further decisions on price, packaging, advertising, distribution etc., analysing their results from each round and adapting accordingly, as well as writing the case studies and preparing and holding the class presentations. This reflects business goals such as the “drive for efficient use of such resources as time and money” (Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 381). Identifying the team’s task goals is a crucial factor in creating, “forming” and “norming” (to use terms coined by Tuckman 1965; Tuckman & Jensen 1977) a shared mental model of task processes. Additionally, the teams had less explicit goals which were, however, highlighted in the interview data and represented a desire to have “fun” and foster a “good team spirit” which eased the substantial time burden and facilitated constructive disagreement and thus the transfer of knowledge. This shared mental model therefore also includes “pretend” objectives which bridged the team-oriented and task-related goals by forming the basis of an inside joke, such as wanting to enter China at all costs and suggesting rigging the results so that they would get the result they wanted. Last but not least, it can be argued, as Smit (2010: 10) does, that achieving mutual understanding itself may also constitute a joint enterprise or interactional goal.

Mutual engagement, on the other hand, refers to the construction of relationships and individual and joint identities (Wenger 1998: 95). Casual talk plays an important role in establishing common ground and deepening personal knowledge – in other words, ascertaining “what we know and what we don’t know”, and developing an “ability to connect meaningfully to what we don’t do and what we don’t know”, i.e. the resources brought by the other members of the community (Wenger 1998: 76). Since casual talk – along with task-oriented waffle, which falls between work talk and casual talk – is also the context in which most examples of words from languages other than English were found, this is an important way to find out about the linguistic and cultural resources of the individual team members, as well as providing a “safe” arena for them to practise negotiating and constructing meaning for low stakes, and to ease into work talk with “smooth communication”. Humour is often used to assign identities to themselves or others, ranging from team roles such as “I’m always procrastinating” or “team leader” to professional identities such as the marketers they were simulating or their marketing teachers.

Many of these identities are established through (sometimes quite elaborate) jointly constructed fantasy scenarios, drawing on and building on each other’s words or appropriating the voice of a teacher or marketing expert in a “play” or “theatre” frame. The participants’ humour is frequently collaborative, with team members “riffing” or improvising on each other’s utterances,

based on or contributing to the team's shared repertoire. While there is less obvious linguistic overlap in casual talk, the latter frequently contributed to the teams' development of a repertoire of symbols and "insider" jokes, such as Benone's nickname of "Mr/Dr Bretele" and to identify common ground such as shared taste in films and TV series. Carina pointed out the importance of this shared repertoire in her retrospective interview:

Extract 8.1

I think it makes it more a team when you have nicknames or insiders especially insiders I think because then it's something that is just in your group and it's like a [*sic*] own language or something. It's a group language (.) which probably binds you together.

(**Carina**, MktgA, retrospective interview)

Aside from explicit discussion of their task goals, the teams' work talk also reveals their mental models for ways of doing things and their shared repertoires of language and symbols. For instance, the MktgB team always articulate nervousness before submitting decisions and drum on the table as they press the submit button. The mental model can, however, also simply be the way they interact with each other. In MktgA, for example, the meetings were highly interactive with few silences, while in MktgB the team members were happy to sit together and work independently at times. This can be seen in the quantitative overview of the recordings, with MktgA having 34,785 words of interaction in just over four hours (approx. 8500 words/hour) and MktgB 35,669 in a little under five and a half hours (approx. 6500w/hr). In the retrospective interviews, Rafael explicitly drew attention to this practice as an element of successful teamwork:

Extract 8.2

I think just this being together even if it's just for many times for example in this work we were just sitting there not talking it must be kind of boring to watch @@@ but you know if you have something that you're thinking you can just go ahead and ask and you get a feedback I think that's the important part

(**Rafael**, MktgB, retrospective interview)

Not surprisingly, the most obvious element of constructing a shared repertoire in the present context is negotiating the meaning of the business concepts they encounter in the input. It is important to note that this not only means explaining the standard disciplinary meaning of a term or concept as one might find in a classroom context, but also constructing their own team-specific concepts as categories for the market analysis. However, as indicated above, the participants also constructed local repertoires within their teams that developed from their casual talk, emerged as insider jokes, or drew on their shared experiences as marketing and WU students.

The short answer to the question *How is language used in multicultural student teamwork on a marketing EMP?* is therefore “[to communicate] facts” and explain business concepts on the one hand and “[to communicate] with people” or build relationships on the other (Ehrenreich 2010: 419); in other words, language use “related to accomplishing the work in hand [...] has a task-oriented function and a social function” (Angouri 2013: 569; see also Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Koester 2006). Kankaanranta et al. (2015) even report that “the two primary criteria for success are getting the job done and maintaining rapport with their communication/business partners” (Kankaanranta et al. 2015: 141). Casual talk and humour have been identified as key aspects of “communicating with people” in the workplace literature (e.g. Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Koester 2006) and clearly play an important role in the student teams’ interaction. The topics of casual talk highlight shared ground but also allow the participants to explore cultural differences and differences in taste in low-stakes interaction that paves the way for constructive disagreement in work talk. The position of casual talk largely at the beginning, middle and end of the interaction reveals its main functions of smoothing the transition from casual settings to a work context, initiating dialogue and drawing more reticent team members into the interaction as well as ensuring that the meetings end with a positive atmosphere.

Humour can be found in both casual talk and work talk and has a strongly cohesive function. It is used to highlight and construct the teams’ shared repertoires and experiences as well as to restore the positive atmosphere after potentially rapport-threatening EXINTEX sequences. As a major element of their work talk, EXINTEX not only checks the students’ own knowledge but the more important question of whether they can transmit it to others. **Challenging & counter-challenging** was thus found to be both one of the most frequently used strategies and the main difference from previous studies into teacher-student interaction. With almost a third of each team’s interaction being devoted to EXINTEX in these meetings, it is crucial that students both appreciate the value of constructive disagreement and learn how to use it effectively and appropriately. The “communicating with people” element, which focuses on the management of (positive) social relations – rapport – and building solidarity is thus integral to the “communicating facts” part of the teams’ discourse. Wenger’s (1998) Community of Practice framework offers a useful analytical window into how these practices and processes develop within a community. In (B)ELF contexts and the MMLS, the linguacultural diversity of the participants is an initial condition that must be taken into account. It is therefore essential for teams to use their communicative practices and team processes to construct a shared mental model in order for them to take advantage of synergies and of the diverse resources the individuals bring to the teamwork. This is essential to convert this initial condition into “virtuous” rather than “vicious” cycles (cf. Stahl 2010: 444). While there is still relatively little work that offers a detailed examination of the interplay of relational and task work in workplace discourse (except Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Koester 2006), there is even less that examines it in academic settings.

8.3 *Agents*: stakeholders and forces of change

Moving from left to right around the ROAD-MAPPING diagram in Figure 8.1, the *Agents* dimension examines stakeholders in the marketing EMP, and how they drive or meet the demands of a globalised professional environment on the one hand and the need to offer high-quality and comprehensive education using limited resources on the other (Komori-Glatz & Unterberger forthcoming). It also aims to reveal relationships between the various stakeholders, and the potential tensions resulting from conflicting interests (Dafouz & Smit 2016: 407). In other words, it asks: *Who decides language policy, why do they make the choices they do, and (how) is this policy implemented?* While much of the research on language policy in EMI contexts has understandably centred on policy makers such as the university management or curriculum designers (e.g. Unterberger 2014), this study shifts the focus onto the students as actors responding to the implementation of language policy and as enactors of language policy in practice. The latter will be discussed in more detail in the next section on *language (in) Management* and later in the *Roles Of English*. This section will examine the first aspect of who makes policy and what the implications of such policies are.

In the teamwork itself, a basically English-only language policy seems to have been tacitly agreed upon and the close analysis of the interactional data revealed that the rare breach is used deliberately for humorous or explanatory effect, or in most cases marked and repaired by the speakers themselves. This reflects the participants' beliefs expressed in the retrospective interviews that it is "unfriendly" or "unpolite" (*sic*) to talk in a language that is not understood by all participants, particularly in the context of work talk. It was also dictated to some extent by necessity, as all but one of the international students had just started learning German and there were few other substantial overlaps (in MktgB two out of four had done some of their previous studies in Spanish but none were native speakers and this was barely used). It should of course be noted that this is greatly facilitated by WU's relatively demanding entry requirements and limited number of places which ensure, to a large extent, a certain level of homogeneity in terms of educational background and English language proficiency (see Section 4.3.1 for details). In other contexts where the actors have more divergent abilities, such a close adherence to an English-only policy may be undesirable or even impossible. At the same time, the interview data revealed that German played a larger and sometimes excluding role in other groups on the WU marketing master, implying that even demanding admission requirements and an international classroom environment do not automatically result in sensitive language practices. On the contrary, two participants reported that in other groups, their Austrian colleagues seized a home advantage of power in numbers, the ability to converse in their L1 and assumptions of competence or irrelevance that led to the international students feeling somewhat excluded, at least indirectly. It

is therefore essential to raise awareness of language policy in the classroom, not only for teachers but also among the students.

Zooming out from the interactional data to the broader social reality of the international university, it should come as no surprise that aiming to attract international students and staff by implementing EMI may support an institution's efforts to gain accreditations or improve its position in international rankings, but also brings with it a range of linguistic, pedagogical and administrative challenges. However, when an international element – whether in terms of the student body and/or the curriculum – is introduced purposefully and effectively, this can contribute to the development of key skills such as:

developing a broad perspective, working effectively in cross-cultural contexts, balancing contradictions, operating comfortably in ambiguous situations, working effectively as part of a group with cross-cultural teams, and being open-minded, autonomous and perceptually aware.

(Kedia et al. 2001: 11; see also Zettinig & Vincze 2008)

Employability is a key concern for policy makers and has important implications for language policy decisions and their implementation in HE, particularly in the field of business. The participants' responses to the role of language in relation to their choice of the master's programme or the institution were mixed, with some explicitly mentioning the possibility of studying in English as a factor in their decision and others placing emphasis on the programme and the institution itself, with studying in English merely the default option for choosing the marketing master at WU. Nevertheless, even for those who had not actively sought out an internationally oriented course, introducing English as the medium of instruction and opening up the programme to more international students brought them the "international atmosphere but with the nice feeling of being at home" (comment from the retrospective interviews). This reflects – almost verbatim – the concept of Internationalisation at Home (Beelen 2011; Crowther et al. 2000; Knight 2013; Leask 2015; Nilsson 1999) which many institutions, including WU, strive to offer, in part to improve their students' chances on the international labour market. In turn, these concerns with employability contribute to the institution's own position on the increasingly global HE market.

For many students, the opportunity to be mobile is an important element of WU's attractiveness and should thus be regarded as an aspect of its ability to be competitive. The pilot study revealed that the obligation to do an internship as well as a semester abroad – especially at higher-ranked or more expensive partner universities – was considered a very attractive element of the CEMS programme. Even in the small sample of the students in the main study, who were on the marketing programme which had no requirements to spend time abroad, one (non-native German-speaking) participant was planning to do a semester in Berlin and another was doing the double degree programme and would spend their second year at the Università Bocconi in Milan. Possibilities for mobility and cooperation with other renowned institutions thus comprise an

important element of WU's competitiveness and represent an important aspect of the university's "profiling" as an attractive international institution (Unterberger 2014: 143-146, 149-157).

Striving for (quantifiable) excellence and profiling the institution on the increasingly competitive global HE market goes hand-in-hand with gaining accreditations with globally recognised management education agencies such as EQUIS, AACSB and AMBA and improving the institution's position in rankings like those offered by the Financial Times (FT). While league tables always attract critical voices, the programme managers' faith in the FT rankings reported in Unterberger's (2014) study is affirmed by the results of this study, in which three of the four international students explicitly mentioned it as a factor in their considerations when choosing an institution. Of course, other factors also played a role, particularly the low cost of studying in Austria (even as a third-country national), the university's location in Vienna and even WU's new campus. However, the perceived cost-benefit ratio – i.e. the value for money in terms of getting a high-quality education with low tuition and living costs – as a whole seemed to be the decisive factor, with quality generally being measured as the programme or university's position in the ranking. Turning to stakeholders beyond the immediate university environment⁷⁴, the state benefits from investment into the local infrastructure by attracting international students and their fees, consumption, (indirect) taxes and potentially as part of a future labour force. This investment not only includes maintaining the general standard of living but also funding public universities and internationalisation strategies such as EMI. Likewise, locally-based corporations have an interest in the university's students as a resource for current and future employees. Indeed, one of the participants in the present study went on to work for the company they had done an internship with during the course of their studies. In return, HEIs need to consider how they can make their graduates employable on the local as well as the international market – with the two becoming increasingly intertwined. This necessarily involves supporting them with the soft (including teamwork and linguistic) skills that employers are looking for as well as a sound grasp of business content. Too often, it is hoped that many of these skills will be acquired passively.

Although there is still some discussion as to the extent that the implementation of EMI correlates to an improvement in the university's position in educational rankings (Hultgren 2014), it cannot be denied that English can have a gatekeeping function. This is especially the case at WU, where the need to evidence language proficiency as an entry requirement allows the university to conduct an admissions process that it is not permitted to use for their German-medium counterparts. In contrast to the German-language master's programmes which require a completed and relevant bachelor's degree and passing the assessment phase lectures (and thus can be virtually open-ended in terms of numbers), the language requirement is used as a means to

⁷⁴ For a more detailed examination of the demand and supply flows and wider stakeholder interests in the international university, see Komori-Glatz & Unterberger (forthcoming).

implement a gatekeeping mechanism in the EMPs and keep class sizes comparatively low. Of course, this can have many benefits such as the possibility for greater interaction in class as well as the chance to develop stronger personal relationships with lecturers and the other students and thus begin to build professional networks – both assets mentioned by the participants in the study as differences to their bachelor programmes. One participant also mentioned that the security of knowing they had been accepted onto the EMP by March rather than gambling on passing the introduction/assessment phase in September was a positive factor in deciding to do the EMP.

However, it also raises the question of who is being impacted adversely by this gatekeeping mechanism. In parallel or bilingual courses i.e. when the same curriculum is taught in both the local language and English, with students having the possibility to choose which strand they wish to attend, self-selection can mean that English-medium programmes tend to attract stronger (or at least more motivated or ambitious) students, while programmes in the local language cater for “the rest” – or vice versa. This may result in a discrepancy that means students studying in a particular language are disadvantaged by finding themselves in a “weaker” cohort (potentially with or without quotation marks). Furthermore, in the case of English-medium only programmes, universities run the risk of losing (or arguably failing) students who are excellent in their discipline but for whatever reason do not have the language skills to participate in – or even apply for – the EMP. Although the main focus of the present study was not on proficiency or adherence to Standard English norms, the general impression gleaned from the analyses of the meeting data was that the participants were highly competent users of English, even if some claimed otherwise. The demanding entry requirements and competitive nature of the admissions process also suggest that in effect the demands on the prospective students’ proficiency levels are likely to be even higher. While this goes beyond the scope of this thesis, it raises important questions for programme designers and university management. It can even be argued that, as a state university, there is not only a need but also a responsibility to prepare local students – including those whose levels of proficiency in English may be relatively low – for the local labour market, where German still plays a predominant role⁷⁵.

The *Agents* dimension thus examines how stakeholders invested in the EMP perceive and strive towards key concepts of excellence and employability, with the aim of answering the question: *Who decides language policy, why do they make the choices they do, and (how) is this policy implemented?* Accreditations and the institution’s position in university rankings are seen as key indicators of quality by programme designers and prospective students alike. While top-down language policy has the most obvious direct influence on the implementation of EMI, bottom-up pressures such as the increasingly competitive nature of the HE market and demands from

⁷⁵ This concern was also expressed to me by a member of the university’s senior administration in an unrelated context (i.e. personal communication).

prospective students to offer options for international and professional experience as an integral part of the course cannot be ignored. Adapting the curriculum and making the institution more attractive and accessible to foreign students and staff (e.g. by introducing EMI) can make an important contribution to enhancing such quantifiable measures of quality, since these are usually included in assessment standards. However, this also brings numerous challenges that stakeholders at all levels need to be aware of, and it is essential for EMI and internationalisation strategies to be implemented thoughtfully and purposefully. Actual language practice in the multilingual and multicultural learning space may differ substantially from official or tacit policy, and it is important to ensure that language/languageing practice optimise affordances for learning. This need not imply English-only, but should be intentional and inclusive. Furthermore, the introduction of English proficiency as a gatekeeping mechanism is also a topic that requires scrutiny from a critical strategic perspective. The interest of the state being invested in both the university (and the city) and the local labour market remains an area that is still woefully under-discussed.

8.4 language (in) Management: language policy in the international university and the multinational corporation

Following the focus on *Agents* and questions of who decides language policy and what the implications of these decisions are, this dimension aims to answer the question: *(How) does language policy relate to language use?* As indicated in the previous section, the findings from the analysis of the interactional data reveal that the participants in both teams generally do observe an unspoken English-only policy within their teamwork as long as participants from more than one language background are present. A closer look at the interactional data confirms this with some caveats, while the participants' comments about their previous work experience in the retrospective interview suggest that the situation in the workplace may be quite different.

The relatively strict adherence to a tacit policy of English-only in the interactional data could be explained by the fact that these meetings took place at an early stage in the course when the teams' mental models were still very much in the process of being established and they also had somewhat less time pressure than they would in later meetings or when they were playing the rounds in class (especially MktgA). While the broader data set (e.g. the Facebook conversations and later meetings) has occasional instances where this policy is relaxed somewhat, extended sequences (i.e. over more than one turn) in a language other than English were very rare. On the one occasion in the data when the two Austrians in MktgB were working on their own without an international student present, they reverted briefly to German to discuss problems with Excel, but quickly returned to English once the problem had been solved even before the international student returned from his short absence. At the same time, the participants' implicit agreement to

adhere to English-only in “pure” work talk did not apply as strictly in more relationship-oriented talk where the team members’ diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds were perceived both as a resource for understanding local phenomena and as a means for developing knowledge of each other’s competences and reliability (essential to the development of trust).

This tacit understanding that the official medium of instruction should be carried over into their independent project work as the only viable option reflects the frequently pragmatic approach to language policy that is found in the workplace. Research in companies has revealed that many multinationals have no explicit language policy, deliberately or not, or at least not one that their employees are aware of (Fredriksson et al. 2006; Harzing et al. 2011; Harzing & Pudelko 2013; Maclean 2006); or employees may believe there is an official language, which may or may not be accurate – e.g. in Siemens, Fredriksson et al. (2006) found that although the CEO stated that English was the corporate language, employees in Germany but also as far afield as Eastern Europe, Latin America and China believed that German was the preferred language (Fredriksson et al. 2006: 416). Other researchers have found that despite the introduction of English as the corporate language, other languages are used at an operational level (Angouri 2013). Additionally, the complex multilingual reality of the workplace may mean that even if workers are ostensibly speaking English, they may well also be using translanguaging practices such as systematic codeswitching as well as more hybrid and creative forms that fuse various languages (Cogo 2012; Ehrenreich 2011). The use of languages other than English (or the official corporate language) is frequently found in analyses of enacted practice, particularly in small talk and socialisation processes (Angouri 2013; Kassis-Henderson 2005; Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011; Lønsmann 2014).

The participants’ experience in employment – largely in marketing-related fields – reflects this wide range of approaches to language management and the reality of operational language practice. In the retrospective interviews, they reported the following scenarios: The subsidiary of a French parent company based in China uses English as a *lingua franca* between the French management and Chinese workers but the latter, including white-collar workers, generally use Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese) for their day-to-day work. In the Austrian subsidiary of an Anglophone multinational, English is the main language, while in another corporation headquartered in a different Anglophone country, employees from various countries speak a mix of English and German, with English often preferred for emails but German generally being spoken. An employee works in the logistics office for an Austrian company in Eastern Europe and tries to use English as a *lingua franca* with their Austrian colleagues, but meets with resistance, as they want/need to speak German. In an Austrian company based in Vienna which offers services across Europe and has been contracted by Bulgarians, Hungarians and Romanians, German (and often regional dialect) is the usual working language in the office, and focus groups conducted in the contracting country take place in the local language using translators to report data back to the

Viennese HQ. Occasionally a phone call or email with colleagues or business partners based in these countries will be conducted or written in English. Working a summer job in a shop frequented by tourists, the sales assistant speaks English and Spanish as well as their first language. In an assessment day exercise for a US-headquartered company in an Eastern European country, the applicants – who have not met before – work together on a team project in the local language, but have to explain their ideas to the HR manager from the European head office in English. Thus even in their relatively limited work experience, the participants have been operating in international environments and have often had to deal with dynamic (and not always predictable) linguistic situations: as an intern in a local subsidiary, employees are required to be at least partially bilingual with English and the local language, regardless of whether it is their L1 or not; as part of the recruitment process, prospective applicants are put into multilingual settings where language strategies and policies need to be worked out on an ad hoc basis. Multicultural teamwork can help accustom students to adapt to emergent (and often implicit) language policy, but it also needs effective guidance at first, and greater awareness on the part of both students and teachers.

Likewise, researchers in the higher education context have found some discrepancies between official policy and enacted practice in EMEMUS. The IntlUni project's findings revealed the broad "spectrum of modalities" of (official) language policy in the 38 institutions across 27 European countries ranging from L1- or English-only to actively multilingual approaches (Millar & van Mulken n.d.). Yet even in ostensibly English-only programmes other languages and (trans)linguaging practices are not uncommon (e.g. Smit 2010). Some researchers report that there may be problems with information flows if other students, teachers, expert guests or project partners, and administrative staff are unable or unwilling to use English all the time (cf. Dafouz 2018: 178; Doiz et al. 2011: 352; Gundermann 2014: 131). The participants in this study also confirmed this. One student stated that, despite WU's efforts to become a bilingual university and although German language requirements are not part of admission or graduation, some of the emails sent to the master's students were still sent in German only. The same student also noted that many of the international students did speak German, which suggested that there was some exclusion of those who did not. Smit (2010: 126-129) notes that attitudes towards (and ability to engage in) speaking German on the HMP in her study changed over time, with opposition to the amount or frequency of German used in class largely falling away by the third semester. However, since the students who do not speak German are likely to be the ones who come from farthest away and (thus/ also) have fewer compatriots on the programme, it is all the more important to ensure that they are not being or feeling even more isolated due to an unexpected language barrier at the start of the course.

However, the issue of third-language proficiency in a majority or local language is more complex than it might appear. Another student pointed out that even though they understood German

relatively well, their weak productive skills made it difficult to contribute when the lecturer came to check on the team's progress. This issue was linked to the criteria for evidencing English proficiency in the admissions process. At the time of data collection, the WU marketing master required IELTS 7.0 (among various other options), but did not stipulate a minimum level for any of the individual skills. Thus it was possible for this student to join the master's with highly-graded levels of receptive skills which compensated for what they felt were inadequate productive skills (especially speaking) – i.e. a weak grade in speaking, e.g. a level 6, was balanced out by strong grades (level 7.5 or even 8) in the other skills, resulting in an average of 7.0. It should be noted that in the data observed, this student's contributions comprised a high proportion of the interaction and therefore their own self-assessment can be taken with some scepticism. Nevertheless, the small, peer-to-peer context and the gamified nature of the task might be a reason for this discrepancy, since the participant might have felt much more comfortable in this setting and was accordingly more willing to speak and participate than in the more formal and exposed classroom context. Additionally, other students who apply with a similarly imbalanced IELTS result may be reluctant or unable to speak in any setting, or if the teams they are working in do not make an effort to foster participation. Free-riding (or "social loafing", i.e. not doing your share of the work in a group) is "one of the most important challenges associated with group work" (Popov et al. 2012: 312). In this study, both teams made considerable efforts to develop rapport, a "psychologically safe" space and (particularly in MktgA) to tap into the team members' individual working style. This encouraged maximum participation from the team members, even those who were self-professed "free-riders", or who felt their productive language skills were weak.

This is important in terms of curriculum design and language management in the classroom as it has implications for classroom practice as well as assessment. If, as in this course, participation amounts to almost a third of the grade, it is essential to ensure that students have the ability and language skills to participate. Similarly, the peer evaluation⁷⁶ which was taken into account in the grading helped guard against (or at least identify) free-riding in a team but could be highly subjective and did not distinguish between a lack of participation due to lack of interest and a low level of contributions resulting from a language barrier. Lecturers may therefore need to become more aware of the jump between the generally more passive, traditional lecture-based bachelor programmes of many European universities and the demand for participation and interaction in the English-speaking master. This could imply developing simple didactic or pedagogy skills such as giving students materials to prepare ahead of time, allowing more time for answers, or asking for two or three answers, scaffolding, and actively co-constructing knowledge. Potentially, including

⁷⁶ Students were asked to give a mark out of 100 evaluating the contribution of each member of their team, which contributed 10% to the final grade. This allowed the lecturer to give a lower grade to one member of the team than the others if the evaluations consistently indicated that the student in question had not contributed as much to the team's final products. However, in both teams in the present study the participants claimed they had given each other full marks.

answers in the local language would both allow local students struggling with a language barrier to participate more actively while also supporting the development of technical language for international students as discussed in the previous section. Clearly, this needs to be carefully managed and to be part of a deliberate policy of (partial) bi/multilingualism which is supported by inclusive language practices. Additionally, while WU's provision of free German language classes for international students on the master's programmes is admirable and all of the participants interviewed were taking advantage of that opportunity, it might be even better to include compulsory local-language classes into the curriculum to give international students more incentive (and time) to acquire skills in the local language as rapidly as possible to support their integration. Of course, all of this does demand considerable time (and financial) resources. Ideally, though, it also supports the international university's goals of preparing its graduates for an international labour market as well as international students for the domestic one.

Thinking about *(How) does language policy relate to language use?*, the teams in the study adopted an implicit English-only policy when participants with different L1s were present which they also observed fairly rigorously within each team and particularly during their work talk. Language management was inclusive even when it was multilingual and largely successful in fostering the positive team atmosphere and team mental model that encouraged participation from all its members. However, more than one of the participants reported that in other groups the use of English as the medium of instruction was not always carried over into teamwork contexts even when a non-German speaker, or a weak German speaker, was present.

In the participants' work experience to date, many had already experienced the complex reality of a multilingual workplace where an explicit language policy either did not exist or was simply ignored. Adopting – or adapting – language policy is often seen as a way to meet the demands that arise through the rapid changes faced by corporate as well as academic contexts. In many cases, the introduction of English as a lingua franca is perceived as a useful solution, whether it happens through top-down language policy or emerges out of bottom-up language practice. The point at which the two meet, however, is often rather unclear. As in the present study, “English” may be used fairly consistently and even in its lingua franca role seem virtually indistinguishable from the accepted norms of Standard English. In other contexts, the “English” of a business or academic lingua franca is revealed to be a chimera: an illusion or an imaginary creature composed of incongruous parts. In other words, practice simply ignores policy, or is a hybrid of technical and/or general language and culturally specific concepts in a combination of national languages and neologisms (i.e. translanguaging).

What emerges from this study is thus the necessity to be aware of language resources and needs and the interplay of these in the classroom (and by extension in the multilingual and multicultural learning space). Secondly, the participants' albeit limited work experience showed

that language policy and practice in business today, even in pre-professional contexts such as assessment centres and internships, are often ad-hoc and unpredictable, and certainly not limited to either purely monolingual L1 or English. This represents a momentous shift from the early experiences of those in senior management. Consequently, there is an urgent need to do more research into the linguistic demands that the twenty-first-century workplace puts on trainees and new graduates and to examine how they are coping with these. There is also a need for the management of business schools, curriculum designers, and individual lecturers to determine how best to combine a supportive and inclusive language policy that gives their students optimal opportunities to learn with the linguistic and psychological resources to deal with an increasingly competitive and multilingual, multicultural labour market.

8.5 *Academic Disciplines*: business studies literacy, internationalisation at home, and preparing students for the (globalised) labour market

The fifth dimension, *Academic Disciplines*, examines what is special about the role of English in the marketing EMP. With its focus on marketing strategy, the course falls more at the “soft applied” end of the field where students are expected to “exercise problem-solving abilities” and “need a facility in oral and written expression” as well as “to appreciate, through field and case studies, how actions shape events” (Neumann 2001: 413). The project tasks in fact included two written case studies, two presentations and participation in class discussions as well as problem-solving in terms of determining which country was most favourable for entering first and locating their plant and what decisions to make regarding pricing, product range, distribution, advertising, etc. At the same time, the simulation activity reflected professional practice, while its “10-year period” allowed for reiteration and adaption supporting the co-construction of knowledge, another characteristic of soft-applied disciplines in general and recent marketing pedagogy in particular (Carrie et al. 2017; Conduit et al. 2017; Neumann 2001).

The participants’ comments in the interviews revealed that almost all had used English in their (albeit relatively limited) work experience, most of which was related to marketing in some way (e.g. market research or sales). One drew attention to a gap between learning marketing theory in English and applying it in a German-speaking Austrian workplace. On the one hand, the student was learning terms in the English-medium classroom without realising they already knew the concept in German from their work; on the other, they needed to use terms in their work which they had first learnt in English, and didn’t know the German equivalent. In other words, the issue here was not so much domain loss as a lack of domain transferability between the two languages, resulting in the student appearing to know less than they actually did (cf. Tenzer et al. 2014) or not

being able to apply the theory in practice. Both aspects have considerable implications for the educational outcomes of the programme, not least with respect to assessment and employability.

The international perspective brought by teaching through EMI therefore need to be balanced by ensuring that graduates are prepared for the local as well as the global labour market. This not only applies to domestic students but also to the international students who come to Austrian/European universities in the hope that it will give them access to strong local economies. All the international students were learning German and all expressed a wish to remain in the German-speaking countries if the opportunity to do so arose⁷⁷. The importance of being able to speak a relatively high level of German in order to find a job in Austria was noted by one of the participants:

Extract 8.3

[I'm looking for an] internship mostly in Europe [...] in Austria and even in Germany I think ninety-five per cent of the jobs require German good German not beginners' German so it's quite hard

(**Qingling**, MktgA, retrospective interview)

This observation was also supported by one of the other participants' comments that their Austrian colleagues "didn't want" to speak in English, and yet another reporting that they used German almost exclusively in their marketing research job in a small Austrian firm. There were also instances in the EXINTEX data where the students drew on their content knowledge in the L1, but were only partially successful at transferring this knowledge into English. While some studies have suggested that learning terminology only in an L2 may be easier as there is less confusion with non-technical use of the terms (Dafouz & Camacho-Miñano 2016: 63), these findings highlight the importance of integrating the local language(s) into the EMI classroom. This would both support the learning of domestic students who may know the concepts in the local language already and provide the international students with some basic tools to enter the domestic labour market. Of course, the benefits of promoting disciplinary literacy in English as well as the domestic language must be weighed up against the extra time that this will require for both teachers and students, and questions of how and whether to test disciplinary literacy in more than one language.

The move to smaller, English-medium classes also seemed to go hand-in-hand with an increase in expectations that students would participate in class discussions. As already indicated in the previous section, class participation was an assessment criterion worth a substantial 30% of their final grade in this particular course, and comments in the interactional data indicated this was fairly standard. While the observations of the teamwork and the quantitative overviews of the

⁷⁷ In fact, according to their public LinkedIn profiles, three out of the four international students are now working for Austrian-based organisations (accessed 11 September 2017).

participants' contributions indicated that all the team members were willing and able to participate in the teams' discussions, albeit to a slightly varying degree, the retrospective interviews revealed that several of the students initially found the need to take part in class discussions somewhat challenging. Reasons for this were both linguistic – i.e. they found it “quite tough” to be talking in English all the time, or the language represented “some kind of a barrier” – and personal/cultural regardless of the language being used, i.e. “I’m not that kind of person that is really into class participation and that is so spontaneous” or “it’s more interactive in class whenever you have an idea you would just say it to the professor and at any time but in [my country] it’s more like one-way lecture that students are used to listening”. Differences between the academic culture of their bachelor programmes and the more personal, engaged atmosphere of the masters were also commented on.

On the other hand, the findings suggested that the implementation of internationalisation policies through introducing EMI seemed to be done purposefully and thus was very successful, at least in the context being investigated. Though not part of the detailed analysis, the minimal classroom observation and the students' discussion in their meetings and on Facebook showed that the lecturer did discuss the generic conventions of the case study the students had to write. This contradicts previous findings and claims by researchers that suggest content teachers are unable or unwilling to teach the linguistic aspects of their discipline, or are even oblivious to these (e.g. Airey 2011a, 2012; Unterberger 2014). It also draws attention to the importance of broadening conceptualisations of language in business studies (or other disciplines) as going beyond terminology alone. While this is not new for researchers focusing on (language) education and ESP, “mastery of the relevant genres” has also been explicitly mentioned alongside “general business-related vocabulary” and “specific technical jargon” as a crucial element of effective BELF communication (Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 394).

Likewise, the fact that almost all the teams on the programme were assigned as multicultural groups suggests that there was an active effort on the lecturers' part to encourage local and international students to work together and to minimise “tribal” groupings along ethnic or linguistic lines (cf. Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011: 25). All the students and the lecturer claimed to value the diversity of the students on the programme and the various perspectives and knowledge they brought, even if they acknowledged having difficulties with certain individuals or the advantages of working with people who had a more similar background to themselves. Some – like the lecturer – saw marketing as a discipline that is internationally oriented and a couple hoped to join a fast-moving consumer goods company when they graduated. The lecturer's claim that the simulation was “very very realistic” both in terms of the task and the multicultural composition of the group suggests that the course was designed not only with an

international dimension in mind but also a high level of relevance for employment in the marketing department of the large multinationals to which many WU graduates aspire.

In the interactional data, their emerging identities as marketers served as common ground (and to some extent arguably a joint goal) which, along with their experiences and what they had learnt on the relatively close-knit marketing programme, contributed to a shared repertoire. This provided fertile ground for humour, especially humour drawing on a “play” or “theatre” frame largely comprising simulated (absurd or fantasy) dialogues which relied on the adoption of a marketing manager’s or marketing teacher’s voice. Acquiring the disciplinary literacy was thus essential for them to enjoy the subversion of it. If, as Holden (2002) says, working in a multicultural team is “a permanent state of cultural recreation” (Holden 2002: 46), i.e. constantly constructing and re-constructing meaning, it can also be in a state of recreation – and “fun”. Indeed, that recreation or fun, particularly when it draws on the shared repertoire of the task or discipline, can contribute to the development of Stahl et al.’s (2010: 444) “virtuous circles” and the creation and re-creation of the “mental model” of positive communicative and team practices.

The *Academic Disciplines* dimension asks *What is special about the role of English in the marketing EMP?* Its focus is on “the different teaching and learning genres, curricular design, and assessment methods used in the academic setting” (Dafouz 2018: 175). In many ways, the setting under investigation can be seen as models of best practice. In the classroom, acquiring disciplinary literacy was supported through explicit discussion of the case study genre, while the simulation that comprised the vast majority of the students’ teamwork included an international/global dimension and emulated professional practice. Both the topic and the teamwork thus represented a valuable learning experience for the students. Working on their own without an epistemic authority pushed them to co-construct disciplinary knowledge as well as to develop a shared mental model of communicative practices within the team. This was reflected in their humour that took the form of a “play” or “theatre” frame where they drew on their shared experiences on the course and tried out their emerging identities as global marketers. Nevertheless, a gap was identified with regard to the “integral connection between subject knowledge and expertise and the language and communication skills needed to express expertise” (Räsänen 2008: 258). On the one hand, students who knew the content in German were unable to express their expertise in English. On the other, they had difficulties applying knowledge they had acquired in English in German-speaking work contexts. This brings up questions for programme design and the widely-stated desire to prepare graduates for the workplace as well as for assessment on the course itself. Additionally, many of the students mentioned that they had struggled with class participation at the beginning of the programme. This was partly due to language but also due to personality and the academic cultures they were coming from on their bachelor programmes (including at WU). As a consequence, there may be a negative impact on assessment that has little to do with disciplinary

competence, especially when oral contributions in class represent such a large proportion of the overall grade.

8.6 *Roles Of English*: English as a medium of instruction and English as a (business) lingua franca

The *Roles Of English* dimension asks: *When do the participants use English and/or other languages? What for?* English is unquestionably the medium of instruction in the classroom and, as discussed in the sections on *Agents* and *language (in) Management*, also consistently the lingua franca of both groups in their meetings and on Facebook. Consequently, as the language of the learning space, it cannot be denied that the participants are clearly still learning the language and genres of their discipline. This is supported by the fact that they spend almost a third of their interaction on negotiating and constructing the meaning of certain business concepts – if not acquiring disciplinary literacy from scratch, then deepening and strengthening their learning.

Nevertheless, it can be argued that they were highly competent users of the language as well, since the vast majority of their EXINTEX talk was conducted in English and the remaining two-thirds of their interaction was devoted to negotiating task processes or casual talk, very little of which had an even indirect language learning goal. While some of the participants asserted that they were “not that good in languages at all”, their comfortable use of English as the lingua franca of the team and the teamwork reflects a shift from seeing it as a foreign language to be learnt to a practice that they simply did on a daily basis, even if it was tiring or difficult at first. Taking a Community of Practice perspective for the study of (B)ELF thus does help to “go beyond the controversial *learner-user* distinction” (Ehrenreich 2010: 427, original emphasis) in terms of analysing language use while still keeping a focus on learning.

On the other hand, this did not mean that their interaction was purely monolingual, or that the dominance of English went entirely unchallenged. As the medium of the local environment, German was the most visible other language. All the international students were learning German (voluntarily) and would occasionally say something in German to show off their newly-acquired knowledge or to enquire about an item they had come across in the linguistic landscape of the university or the city. While most of the participants claimed it was important to use a shared language only and the local students seemed to make an effort not to talk in German to each other in the presence of the international students, they would respond positively to and encourage the latter’s attempts to engage with the language:

Extract 8.4

I think the internationals use German more often than Fabian and me for example [...] in the group but also in the Facebook conversations for example because I would never start writing something in German but when Rafael starts writing something in German of course I can answer in German because he will get it.

(**Maria**, MktgB, retrospective interview)

The use of languages other than English (mostly German but also including isolated words or brief phrases from Chinese, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian and Spanish) very occasionally played a role in EXINTEX but primarily had a social function, reflecting numerous findings across the literature that efforts to speak your interlocutors' native tongue(s) are indexical of a friendly, open attitude, involvement and being "in common sync", as Igor put it (cf. Lønsmann 2014: 111–112; Kassis-Henderson 2005; Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011; Scollon & Scollon 1995: 41; Smit 2010: 129; Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009: 120). The integration of a Romanian word into MktgA's shared repertoire as a nickname for Benone ("Mr/Dr Bretele") is a particularly good example of the latter, although several instances of approval/appreciative words such as "thank you" and "super" in various languages could be found in the virtual and interactional discourse of both teams. Additionally, the analysis of the meetings revealed that language was not only the means to achieve their team and task goals, but also the object of these processes in both EXINTEX and casual talk, particularly the latter. The role of language itself (as opposed to the role of various languages) thus also varied according to the dynamics of the interaction. Since most of the sequences with language as the object of discussion centred around or were prompted by cultural artefacts, it can be assumed that this is a phenomenon that is characteristic of the ELF setting and the multilingual and multicultural learning space. The "emotional solidarity" of being non-native speakers (Kassis-Henderson 2005: 78; Kassis-Henderson & Louhiala-Salminen 2011: 18) and their mutual interest in dabbling in each other's language and culture meant that their very diversity in fact was an important aspect of shared experience and common ground.

On the other hand, as reported in Smit (2010: 126-127), the international students sometimes found the privileged position of German an issue since other teams were not as sensitive as the ones under study, and would use German even in the presence of a non-German speaker. One of the participants also drew attention to discrepancies between (passive) "understanding" and being able to actively contribute in another language. Although the participant was referring to an L3 in a teamwork project rather than English, this could also apply to participation in an English-medium classroom if students' proficiency in spontaneous production is weak. In contrast to the more traditional lecture contexts often studied in EMI research where listening comprehension skills may suffice for most of the course (e.g. Airey 2015; Hellekjær 2010b; Sánchez García 2016; Thøgersen & Airey 2011), discrepancies between receptive and productive skills have the potential to be highly

problematic in more collaborative and participative settings such as teamwork. On the one hand, if a team member cannot participate because their speaking skills are weak, the team cannot benefit from their ideas; on the other hand, low language proficiency may be perceived as a lack of ability or a lack of willingness to act as well as a reluctance to trust on both sides, which is damaging to both the team's performance and cohesion/satisfaction (Tenzer et al. 2014: 518-519, 526-527). Calls for more interaction as a means of supporting learning in EMI (e.g. Airey 2011a: 38) must therefore be balanced with ways of ensuring that students have the productive language skills to contribute to that interaction.

With regard to the role of English as the academic or business lingua franca, even their somewhat limited experiences suggested that English certainly is a/an academic and business lingua franca, but by no means the only one. While the two students who had spent a semester in the US unsurprisingly used English in both social and academic contexts – though one, having been in Miami, also highlighted the importance of Spanish even in an Anglophone setting – the students who had gone to Spain had spoken mostly Spanish both in the university and at home. The role of English in work contexts varied depending on the level of contact with international employees and customers, though most had used at least some English in their internships and student jobs and more than one commented on the importance of English for their career development. Proficiency in English often seemed to be taken for granted, and differences between communication in the university teams and teamwork as an intern focused on communicative behaviour rather linguistic skills; one participant stated:

Extract 8.5

you have to even think a bit more about what you're saying because you're working with professionals [...] you're more careful about bringing in your own ideas because still you're only a student [...] you're just not on the same level as the others somehow.

(**Maria**, MktgB, retrospective interview)

Nonetheless, the role of English as a “default” lingua franca in workplace contexts was not a given. One participant reported that some colleagues had resisted using English as a lingua franca, while another stated that their international colleagues were learning and would use German, resulting in a mix of languaging practices. On the same note, several of the students acknowledged or emphasised the benefit of having a third language beyond English and their mother tongue.

To return to the questions asked at the beginning of this section – *When do the participants use English and/or other languages and what for?* – it can be said that the students do use English, and, it should be noted, fairly proficient Standard English, very consistently as the lingua franca of their teamwork, the classroom, and to a large extent in social contexts when a mix of local and international students are present. For most of the students, except two who had done an

exchange semester in the US, this was the first time that this was the case. None had done a full bachelor programme in English and the two who had done a semester abroad in Spain reported using Spanish consistently during this. In the present setting, the participants perceived using a language that was not a lingua franca – i.e. a shared medium of communication – as being “unpolite” (*sic*) or “unfriendly”, and two of the international students commented on other contexts on the EMP where they had been or felt excluded because their proficiency in German was too low to contribute. Conversely, however, languages other than English also had a role in developing social relationships, humour, and thus team cohesiveness, provided that they were used in a way that was inclusive rather than exclusive. German was seen as a very desirable third language for the international students and some of the local students also expressed the belief that having a third language was an asset, particularly if they wanted to stand out in the global rather than domestic labour market. At the interactional level, explaining words in their L1s or discussing cultural concepts and artefacts played an important role in both casual talk and in EXINTEX, since in both cases this contributed to the development of a shared repertoire. English as a lingua franca in this context is thus multilingual and only neutral to the extent that none of the students had an obvious or consistent power advantage on the basis of their own first language. They did, however, “bring their own culture-bound views” (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005: 404) of the world and ways of interaction with them into the teamwork, and drew on these as resources for meaning-making in both social and work contexts. At this point, however, it should again be emphasised that despite their diversity in terms of nationality and first language, the team members shared a relatively homogenous level of education and professional experience, language proficiency, and socio-economic privilege as well as being peers in a team context without an explicit hierarchy or even authority roles such as a named chair. It is unlikely – though of course not impossible – that this fully reflects the reality of the workplace, where management roles, corporate hierarchies and a wide range of demographic variables may have a much stronger impact on the role(s) of English in their interaction.

8.7 Internationalisation & Glocalisation: language ecologies, culture(s) & spanning the local and the global

For this study, the dimension of *Internationalisation & Glocalisation* is used to zoom back out and examine “the big picture”, returning to the question initially posed in *Practices & Processes* and highlighting how this interacts with the remaining five dimensions: *How does analysing language use reveal how macro-level forces affect and intersect with meso- and micro-level phenomena?* Taking the participants’ discourse(s) in and about their multicultural teamwork as the point of access, it examines how the construction of the teams’ mental models are shaped by the multiple cultures the participants bring to the team. It also analyses how the team members’ emergent

shared communicative practices, repertoires and identities contribute to the fulfilment of the teams' goals.

This thesis develops the "layered" understanding of social realities found in the multiple cultures perspective from cross-cultural management (Sackmann & Phillips 2004; Schuler et al. 2004) by taking a discourse-oriented approach to analysing the "sensemaking process" (Sackmann & Phillips 2004: 380). This reflects discussions and conceptualisations of the interplay of culture(s) and discourse(s) in applied and sociolinguistics which see culture as dynamic, complex and plural (e.g. Holliday 2010; Kotthoff & Spencer-Oatey 2007b; Kramsch 1998; Scollon & Scollon 1995) and discourse as "socially constituted and socially constitutive" semiotic practices (Reisigl et al. 2009: 89) which give the analyst an insight into a community and its culture. This approach also strengthens the few voices in the management domain which take a critical approach to understanding culture by looking at meanings rather than values and how these are constructed within a community (e.g. Brannen 2009; S oderberg & Holden 2002).

Using discourse as the point of access allows the researcher to examine how culture(s) are constructed as well as how they interact with each other in specific contexts. Culture is seen as "the embodiment of its own system of signification, involving distinct work-related assumptions, behaviors, and practices" (Brannen 2009: 86), and can therefore encompass functional, corporate and organisational cultures in business settings as well as disciplinary and academic cultures in the higher education context. In the context of this study, analysing the teams' discourse in and about their teamwork on the EMP revealed the interplay of "global" phenomena – such as national cultures, disciplinary language and the influence of macro-level policies – and how they were adopted and adapted to create a "local" community of practice with a culture and a discourse specific to each team. It could be argued that this is akin to the notions of a "third space" or "third place" (Bhabha 1994; Kramsch 2011b; Lo Bianco et al. 1999; Witte 2011), conceptualised "as a symbolic PROCESS of meaning-making that sees beyond the dualities of national languages (L1-L2) and national cultures (C1-C2)" (Kramsch 2011b: 355, original emphasis). There is also some similarity to Holliday's (1999) "small culture paradigm", which "attaches 'culture' to small social groupings or activities where there is cohesive behaviour" (p. 237, original emphasis).

Against this theoretical backdrop, the present thesis adopts a Community of Practice perspective that focuses on a "third space" or "small culture" within a multicultural and multilingual group but highlights organisational culture and an orientation towards learning processes (Wenger 1998). It analyses the teams' discourse(s) to identify how they view and how they "do" their *joint enterprise*, *mutual engagement* and *shared repertoire*. The combination of emic perspectives in retrospective interviews and the etic perspective of a (mostly) non-participant researcher observing and analysing recordings of their interaction in the meetings provide a comprehensive insight into the development of highly local communities of practice with

communicative practices and team processes within the teams' boundaries. It also illuminates how the resources the team members brought to the interaction and the demands of the context were manifested in their interaction and how the teams attempted to create synergies from these.

Specifically, the retrospective interviews highlight the importance of less tangible team goals (team satisfaction and team cohesion) in terms of having a "good team spirit" and "a lot of fun" as well as more obvious task goals of "[getting] the job done", both of which relate to the *joint enterprise*. The analysis of the interactional data reveals how the teams tackle their task through extensive EXINTEX discussions as well as their use of humour and casual talk to construct and maintain positive rapport and high levels of affective and cognitive trust throughout the meetings under examination. Furthermore, both the successful EXINTEX sequences and the examples of conjoint humour are interactive achievements which, to some extent, can be seen as accomplishing the joint enterprise of mutual understanding (cf. Smit 2010). In contrast to the teacher-student discussions in Smit's (2010) study, however, where the negotiation and construction of meaning in the classroom was indeed an end in itself, the primary joint enterprise in the present study is the fulfillment of the task goals (i.e. completing the simulation and producing the presentations and case studies) and even to some extent the less tangible goals of team satisfaction and cohesion (which were measured by the peer evaluation), since these comprised the elements that would ultimately be assessed. The impact of the programme's academic and disciplinary culture therefore cannot be ignored.

Academic and disciplinary cultures also play an important role in the participants' *mutual engagement*, which relates to developing mutual relationships and defining identities. The participants' emerging professional identities can be seen moving across the scales of the micro-, meso- and macro-levels. In the interaction, individual and collective team identities as marketing experts are often adopted ironically for humorous effect (see Section 7.4.3.3), while the environment of the WU marketing EMP provides a wealth of shared experiences for the participants to draw on in their EXINTEX, casual talk and humour. At the same time, the experiences they bring from their bachelor degrees and work experience – including the two participants who specialised in finance and logistics rather than marketing – are drawn on as a resource that can be integrated into and used for the present context. Indeed, the marketing lecturer points out in the interview that having a finance expert can be an advantage in this type of task, as it also relies on budgeting skills. Obviously, the task itself – simulating the entry of a US-based fast-moving consumer goods producer into Asian markets – is strongly influenced by the broader reality of a globalised business world and the decisions marketers have to make.

Likewise, the composition of the teams and the resources available to them in the individual team members are largely determined by the impact of university policy makers responding to the changes in an increasingly international(ised) HE market. By implementing EMI in the WU

marketing master, it is possible to attract non-German-speaking students to the university and thereby encourage local students to take a more active interest in the global dimension and potential of their course. An important aspect that emerges from the interaction are the roles, identities and resources attributed to various team members both by themselves and by each other. Some of these roles are humorous – *Mr Bretele*, *Dr Hulk*, *Asian experts*, references to Christian and Fabian as the leader – while others have a more serious function and serve to support explanations in EXINTEX (e.g. Igor’s role as “the finance guy”, Benone and Fabian’s roles in developing the teams’ Excel sheets, or assuming the role of a local expert to draw on relevant knowledge in an example).

While WU’s internationalisation policy has brought international students into the local classroom, some of the participants were planning to take advantage of the opportunity to study at partner universities and most hoped to have the chance to work in a country other than their home country. For the international students, a desire to stay in Austria (or finding work in Germany or Switzerland) seemed to be tempered by the need to speak “good German”. Though they are all learning German and do not hesitate to use it if an occasion arises, many express a concern that their language skills (however proficient in other languages) are inadequate to find work in the German-speaking countries.

In terms of the participants’ *shared repertoire*, the demanding admissions criteria for English combined with no requirements to be able to speak German mean that English (and fairly proficient Standard English) is the main – to a great extent the only – shared language for teamwork especially, as already mentioned, in the teams’ work talk. In casual talk and humour, words or phrases in languages other than English arise somewhat more frequently, and language is the object of discussion as well as the means to develop a shared repertoire. However, the teams’ shared repertoires consist of more than words or terms in each other’s language; the development of a strong base of technical language, business concepts and disciplinary literacy through EXINTEX also reflect and constitute a shared repertoire, as does the construction of team-specific categories for the market analysis. Likewise, even their *non-verbal* interaction represents a shared repertoire of communicative behaviour. This is particularly obvious in MktgB, where they develop the habit of meeting up to work relatively independently in the same physical space and rituals of articulating nervousness, drum-rolling on the desk before revealing their results and being highly jubilant when this was positive (i.e. “the wooo and high-five and stuff”). Of course, it is equally important to be able to deal with failure and conflict, which was only found indirectly in the present study, and represents an area for further research. At the same time, the shared knowledge and experiences gained from their master’s programme – much of this in turn shaped by the academic culture of WU as well as the wider discipline of marketing and the conventions of professional practice – provides a basis upon which they could develop their team-local repertoires.

In short, this study conceptualises the dimension of *Internationalisation & Globalisation* by *analysing language use to reveal how macro-level forces affect and intersect with meso- and micro-level phenomena*. In other words, it aims to identify where the local discourse of the team is shaped by the “large” (or “medium”?) national, academic and disciplinary cultures that the participants can draw on as a resource, but also how the unfolding of EXINTEX, casual talk and humour are constitutive of a team-specific discourse and the associated roles, identities, assumptions, behaviours, and aspirations. In the multicultural team context, this “small” culture is manifested in a “mental model” of shared goals, practices and repertoires that not only overcome the potential challenges arising from the initial condition of diversity but result in synergies which utilise the diverse resources available in the team. In order to achieve such synergies through recognising and respecting the resources the individual members bring to the team, effective communication is essential; as Donnellon (1996) claims, “teams do their work through language” (p. 6). In the present context, effective communication relies not only on being able to express and explain business concepts clearly and accurately, but also on the ability to develop relationships based on positive rapport and trust – in other words, the pillars of BELF (Kankaanranta et al. 2015; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Ehrenreich 2010, 2016, etc.; see Section 2.3.1).

Zooming back out from the highly local, temporally- and geographically bounded context of the two teams being studied, it can be argued that the possibility for the participants to do this project and to gain some first experiences of multicultural teamwork in a simulated global business environment is largely due to the forces of globalisation in general and internationalisation in the HE market in particular. Competitiveness is a key issue; both for universities who want to attract top students from across the globe and for the students themselves who will be up against other graduates on a fiercely competitive and increasingly international labour market. At the same time, it can be argued that local universities also have a responsibility towards the local labour market and to international students who choose their institution in the hope of entering that market. The experiences of the participants in the workplace in Austria and beyond, but also in the classroom and other parts of the MMLS, revealed that the local enactment of English as a lingua franca and multilingual practices may not reflect language policy. It is therefore essential to ensure that actual language practice facilitates knowledge flows rather than blocking them.

9. Conclusions

9.1 Summary

This study is positioned at the intersection of the fields of higher education and English as a lingua franca from applied linguistics on the one hand, and management studies examining (multicultural) teamwork and language in international business on the other. It first examines how students on an English-medium marketing programme at WU Vienna view the role(s) and enactment of English in their academic context as well as in their experience and expectations of the professional world. It then “zooms in” to take a closer look at how they “do” language to explain and construct the meaning of disciplinary language as well as to build social relationships, their identities as budding marketers, and the team as a miniature community of practice. The thesis argues that these two aspects – “communicating facts” and “communicating with people”, in the words of Ehrenreich (2010: 419) – are inseparable aspects of teamwork in the marketing-oriented MMLS.

The data set for the empirical analysis was taken from a course with an explicitly international focus. Two teams, each consisting of two Austrians and two international students – from Brazil, China, Romania and Russia – were observed and recorded as they prepared and played a computer simulation which required them to assume the role of the marketing strategy team for a toothpaste manufacturer wanting to enter the Asian market. As part of this simulation, the teams had to analyse a large amount of demographic and economic data and make numerous decisions (e.g. about product range, pricing, advertising, distribution, etc.) which they fed into the computer and were then given their “results” (net profit, market share, etc.). Each team was then ranked against the other teams in its class according to their net profits, adding a competitive element. In the course of the project the teams also had to prepare two presentations outlining their decisions and two case studies (written reports) on a similar but unrelated topic. The teams met numerous times outside class to discuss the tasks and play the simulation in meetings which were observed and recorded but also communicated with each other using the group chat on Facebook. This thesis focuses on data from the meetings at the beginning of the project where they developed and conducted a market analysis. This part of the task demanded considerable negotiation and construction of content knowledge and formed the basis of both the overall task and the foundation of the team relationship. The data set for linguistic analysis comprised five meetings (2 from MktgA and 3 from MktgB) amounting to approximately 9.5 hours and 70,500 words. This was supplemented by retrospective interviews with each of the participants to gain an emic perspective on the teamwork as well as an interview with the lecturer and their wrap-up session in class which discussed the learning outcomes of the project.

The interdisciplinary nature of the study requires a dynamic and holistic approach to the analysis. Dafouz and Smit’s (2016) EMEMUS framework is used as the theoretical basis for the

study as its socio- and ecolinguistic anchoring views language practices in a specific context as constitutive of and constituted by the broader social realities. Thus the interests and choices of stakeholders at the macro-, meso- and micro-levels are seen to interact with and on each other and their mutual influence cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, it would be impossible to analyse all these actors and factors in detail and it is therefore necessary to be able to “zoom in” on a particular aspect. ROAD-MAPPING allows the researcher to foreground one such aspect while still considering the others. Since there is still very little work on peer-to-peer interaction in ELF and ICLHE research despite this playing an increasingly important role in the MMLS, this dissertation focuses on the *Practices & Processes* dimension with a close linguistic study of the teams’ meetings where they construct their market analysis.

The conceptual framework is presented in Chapter 2, drawing on previous research into English-medium instruction, ELF in academic and business settings, (multicultural) teamwork, and language in international business to highlight how different factors and stakeholders impact each dimension as well as how the different disciplinary perspectives reflect or complement each other. While it would be impossible to claim that the framework is fully comprehensive, ROAD-MAPPING facilitates the development of a dynamic, interdisciplinary understanding of the phenomenon within a coherent structure. Chapter 3 introduces the empirical study and gives an overview of the research design, aims and methodology. The findings of the first data set are presented in Chapter 4. This data set comprises a qualitative content analysis of the retrospective interviews, which offer the participants’ emic perspectives of the EMP in general and the teamwork in particular. As well as discussing the students’ views on English as the language of the EMP and their chosen discipline, the interview comments highlighted the importance of the social angle, which in turn shaped the focus for the analysis of the meeting data.

The synthesis of the conceptual framework and the emic perspectives showed that it was absolutely essential to consider both the construction of business knowledge and the construction of social relationships when examining how the participants “do” multicultural teamwork. These are explored through the analysis of the teams’ interaction which can be found in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Using a mixed-methods approach reflects an interactional ethnographic frame that makes it possible to look beyond purely “in-the-moment” analysis and aims to understand the interplay of “knowledge construction in-situ” with “system-level unit” of analysis, i.e. examining “whole-part-whole relationships” that reflect the complexities of learning (Bridges 2016: 00:11:03-00:13:20). By doing so, the thesis is able to examine the local construction of knowledge and relationships within the teams while asking whether this meets the demands of the educational setting the teams are currently operating in and the needs of the business setting the participants are preparing to enter.

Chapter 5 provides more details of the simulation and the market analysis focus as well as an overview of the second data set and the methodological approach. This approach combined a

quantitative overview with a sociocultural discourse-pragmatic analysis to reveal patterns not only within each team but also across both teams. This again helped to draw attention to key findings and indicate areas that merited in-depth qualitative analysis. The first aspect to be considered was the construction of business knowledge, dubbed “communicating facts” after Ehrenreich (2010), and is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Keeping the focus strongly on the multicultural and multilingual learning space, the analytical framework drew on Smit’s (2010) in-depth study of the co-construction of knowledge in an English-medium hotel management programme and her interactive explaining (INTEX) framework. However, it rapidly became clear that INTEX was not sufficient for the peer-to-peer context and the framework was expanded to reflect the lack of an epistemic authority by integrating elements of exploratory talk (Barnes 1976; Mercer 2000), resulting in the development of the exploratory interactive explaining (EXINTEX) framework. The major contribution of this expanded framework was to draw attention to the role of constructive disagreement in negotiating the meaning of and learning business concepts.

Giving constructive disagreement a central role also confirmed the importance of developing a positive working climate, which had been a recurring theme in the reflective interviews as well as in the literature on workplace interaction and BELF. These foregrounded humour and off-topic, informal “casual” talk as key aspects of relational work such as building trust and positive rapport. Chapter 7 thus discusses concepts of trust, rapport and “appropriate” communicative behaviour as essential elements of “communicating with people” (Ehrenreich 2010: 419) before presenting the analysis of first casual talk and then humour, which was found in both the participants’ casual talk and their work talk. While the students clearly devoted less time to “communicating with people” activities than “communicating facts”, the analysis revealed that the former was immensely important in terms of constructing solidarity and a shared “mental model” of the teams’ communicative practices. This in turn contributed greatly to the creation of a psychologically safe space which supported both their learning and the achievement of their team and task goals. Consequently, it is argued that – although Wenger et al. (2002) claim that a team is not the same as a community of practice – the teams did develop a miniature community of practice based on joint enterprise, mutual engagement and a shared repertoire.

Finally, Chapter 8 synthesises the findings of the whole study, using the students’ discourse(s) in and about their multicultural teamwork as the point of access. Beginning with the study’s main focus, the *Practices & Processes* dimension, it then examines the remaining five ROAD-MAPPING dimensions through the lens of the students’ discourse as communicative practice and their development of team processes.

The rest of this chapter (Chapter 9) highlights ten key findings that aim to answer the overall research question:

How do students on an English-medium master's in marketing at WU use English as a (business) lingua franca in multicultural teamwork?

In order to answer this question, it was necessary to first understand who the participants were and how they conceptualised English (as a lingua franca) and successful teamwork. Thus the first research question was:

RQ1. How do the participants view English as a (business) lingua franca & effective multicultural teamwork?

Once the actors had been established, it was possible to “zoom in” on the interaction and examine not just what they said or thought they did, but what they actually did. The second research question was therefore:

RQ2. How do the participants do English as a (business) lingua franca & effective multicultural teamwork?

These research questions were then further operationalised into sub-questions which were answered using the two main data sets. The findings to each sub-question can be found in the relevant chapters. An overview of the research questions, the corresponding data sets, and where to find a detailed discussion of the findings, is presented in Figure 8.2 below.

Figure 8.2 Overview of the research questions, data sets and discussion

Main research question	Data set / method of data analysis	Operationalised research questions	Discussion (section)
<i>RQ1. How do the participants view English as a (business) lingua franca & effective multicultural teamwork?</i>	retrospective interviews / content analysis	<i>RQ1a. Who are the participants?</i>	4.3.1
		<i>RQ1b. How do the participants perceive language on the marketing EMP?</i>	4.3.2
		<i>RQ1c. How do the participants conceptualise successful teamwork?</i>	4.3.3
<i>RQ2. How do the participants do English as a (business) lingua franca & effective multicultural teamwork?</i>	meetings/ sociocultural discourse analysis + simple quantification	<i>RQ2a. How do the participants use language to optimise team performance?</i>	6.5
		<i>RQ2b. How do the participants use language to optimise team satisfaction?</i>	7.3.3 (casual talk) 7.4.3 (humour)

9.2 Key findings

The ten key findings are summarised in the statements that follow. The corresponding ROAD-MAPPING dimensions are given in brackets immediately afterwards.

1.

The participants are all well-educated, highly proficient in English, mostly have some professional experience and are generally positive about their experiences on the EMP, especially with regard to the presence of international students and the possibility to develop their personal and professional skills. National, linguistic and academic cultural diversity was largely perceived as a resource. (Agents, Practices & Processes, Internationalisation & Globalisation)

While there was a wide range of nationalities represented among the small group of international students participating in the study (Brazil, China, Romania, Russia), it can be argued that in many other respects the teams were relatively homogenous. They had all attended locally prestigious universities for their bachelor degrees, were highly proficient English speakers, had at least some work experience – often in marketing fields and/or multinational corporations – and were generally positive about their experiences on the EMP. While some local (Austrian) students had wanted the challenge and opportunities of studying in English, others had chosen it because it was perceived as the only option for studying a high-quality marketing master’s in Vienna and would have preferred a programme in German had it been available. Nevertheless, all the domestic students generally appreciated the presence of the international students and the fact that implementing EMI made this possible, with one even stating “it’s some kind of international atmosphere but with the nice feeling of being at home”, echoing the Internationalisation at Home strategies of university management. The efforts of the university to attract international students also led to increased diversity in the students’ academic or disciplinary backgrounds, since some of the international students had previously studied finance or logistics while most WU alumni had done marketing specialisations in their bachelor degrees. This, too, brought wider resources and new perspectives to the student body, which were drawn on repeatedly and explicitly in the teamwork, both in casual talk and in work talk. While one of the international students stated they had hoped or expected it to be more international, explaining that their cohort was rather Euro-centric and even strongly Central European, the international students were also generally satisfied with the opportunity to study at a well-ranked university in a German-speaking country at relatively low cost.

2.

WU’s competitive advantage lies in its perceived value for money, the students’ possibilities for mobility, and the university’s location in Vienna. Proficiency in (technical) German is perceived as an important skill for those who want to work in Austria. (Roles of English, Agents, Internationalisation & Globalisation)

As mentioned above, one of the major attractions of WU for the international students was its solid position in international higher education rankings – especially the Financial Times ranking – combined with the low tuition fees and the reasonable costs of living in Vienna. The high standard of living in the city, its cultural and social activities, and the opportunity to learn German were also factors that played a role in the participants’ decision to come to WU. Even the new campus was mentioned as the final deciding factor for one participant. The university’s internationalisation strategies and the focus on competitiveness as measured by its positions in international HE rankings thus appear to be paying off, as is the state’s investment in infrastructure and in the city’s reputation for a high quality of life. Even for WU alumni, who might well be expected to want to continue their studies at their alma mater, the university’s attractiveness as an institutional partner for joint degrees with other prestigious business schools such as Bocconi represents added value. The importance of German as an economically strong language and the potential for finding employment in the German-speaking countries after graduation was mentioned by all the international students as a motivation for choosing WU. A participant working in an Austrian-based marketing research firm stated that they used German as the working language and thus needed to know the technical language in German as well as English.

3.

Perceptions of English as the lingua franca in both business and academic contexts ranged from “essential” to “barely necessary”. Ostensibly ELF contexts frequently include multilingual practices, or sometimes even no English at all. Use of English or German in different contexts can lead to a knowledge gap. English terminology from the task or course may be used even in L1 talk. (Roles Of English, language Management, Practices & Processes)

The participants’ experience(s) of using English and other languages in professional and university contexts varied greatly. Some viewed it as “essential” or took the use of English in an MNC for granted, highlighting the added value of a third language. Others had studied through the medium of German or Spanish (as a foreign language) with very little recourse to English at all. Participants with work experience in Austrian-headquartered companies reported that they did not need, or indeed met with active resistance to, English as a working language, while language use in the international subsidiaries of Anglo-based MNCs tended to be more hybrid or parallel, with English being used in certain contexts or with certain groups of people and the local language in others. There was some criticism from the international students that their lack of proficiency in German was not always acknowledged, leading to information gaps or an inability to contribute. As mentioned in the previous point, one participant reported that there was a discrepancy between the disciplinary language they learnt in English on the EMP and the German terminology they

needed for their work in a market research firm. Instances were observed in the meeting data where participants knew a term in their L1 but were unable to find an (accurate) equivalent in English. In the interactional data, words in other languages were used both marked as cultural phenomena but also in the form of unmarked translanguaging. On the whole, though the participants seemed to be careful to use (fairly standard) English consistently whenever speakers of different L1s were present. While some of the international students reported that this was not always the case in other groups, these teams did generally observe a (tacit) policy of using English unless they were exclusively in the presence of other L1 speakers (e.g. the two Austrians working on their own). Even then discipline- or task-specific terms would usually be used in English.

4.

While it was not always described as a problem, many participants commented on the jump from a primarily lecture-based L1 bachelor programme to the more participative English-medium master programme. (Roles of English, Academic Disciplines)

Almost all the participants noted a difference in the academic cultures of their bachelor programmes and the English-medium master, regardless of where they had completed their previous degrees. Some – especially those who had not done an exchange semester in an English-speaking country – said that the change to using English constantly was a “struggle” or “something of a barrier”, although they claimed that they overcame these difficulties after a period of time. Others stated that they had to push themselves to adapt to the high level of participation, but that this was a personality rather than linguistic issue. Since participation in class discussions accounted for almost a third of their overall grade in this course, this is a topic that may require further attention.

5.

Both teams can be considered very successful and thus models of best practice. Their assessment of what made the teams successful was a combination of understanding the task with a fun and supportive team atmosphere based on mutual respect and trust. English as a business lingua franca in effective multicultural student teamwork thus can be said to comprise communicating facts (negotiating and constructing knowledge) and communicating with people (building positive relationships). (Practices & Processes)

While the original intention of this study was not to collect examples of best practice, both teams performed very well in the simulation. MktgA ranked highest out of their group; MktgB was closely overtaken by two other groups in the final round, but still had a higher net contribution (the

lecturer's measurement of success) than any of the teams in the other class, including MktgA. They can therefore both be considered highly successful. When asked to describe the teamwork, all mentioned the "friendly" and "fun" atmosphere as one of the first characteristics of the project. Many repeated this again when asked more specifically about what made the team successful, or added that they could discuss things without conflict and were respectful and appreciative of as well as open to each other's suggestions. It thus became abundantly clear that the participants viewed relational work – having "fun" and constructing a safe and supportive environment – as an integral part of their teams' success. At the same time, as the lecturer pointed out, fun alone was not enough to be successful; the students had to understand the mechanics of the task and the simulation. A close linguistic analysis of the interactional data supported this perception to a large extent. On average, 30-40% of their total interaction was devoted to EXINTEX and the joint construction of knowledge. Up to 10% was spent on casual talk and approximately another 10% on humour. The remainder mainly discussed task processes (i.e. what to do and confirming their final decisions) which were not examined as part of this analysis. While relational work is a relatively small part of the data in quantitative terms, the participants' foregrounding of it in the retrospective interviews suggests that it was nevertheless a highly important part in qualitative terms. This reveals the value of the mixed-methods approach.

6.

Developing a shared mental model of team processes, including understanding and utilising each other's strengths and ways of working, are essential for successful teamwork, especially in a multilingual and multicultural context. Authority and authorship were shared across the teams. (Agents, Practices & Processes)

While MktgA had very high levels of team satisfaction, there was some dissatisfaction in MktgB with regard to the decision they took in the final round not to introduce all the SKUs, against Igor's advice. The main difference between the two teams, based on the participants' comments, seemed to be that MktgA had developed a stronger mental model of the team processes and the individual members' particular strengths or ways of working. It can therefore be argued that they managed to harness the synergies of the members' various competences and working modes somewhat more effectively than MktgB did. Nevertheless, as indicated above, both teams still completed the task very successfully. Despite Christian and Fabian (arbitrarily) being nominated the team leader by the computer programme, both teams claimed that leadership was joint or shared among the team members. This could be seen in the data by examining who took the lead in summarising the concept they had been discussing or proposing they move onto a new topic; this role was largely passed around the team members, even if one tended to assume it more than the others.

Authorship of the textual products was similarly shared and the final documents jointly constructed. Authority over language was in part negotiated and in part taken by the person with the time and inclination to do the final checks.

7.

The peer-to-peer context and the absence of an epistemic authority meant that challenging & counter-challenging was a crucial strategy for testing how robust the participants' constructions of technical meaning were. This was integrated into an expanded conceptual framework for explanations referred to as EXINTEX (exploratory interactive explaining). (Roles Of English, Academic Disciplines, Practices & Processes)

Since the team's task was to construct a market analysis on the basis of a large amount of demographic and economic data, it was crucial that they had a good knowledge of the business concepts they encountered in the data. Moreover, it was not just enough to know the terminology but also necessary to understand the implications of the information they were given with regard to analysing the suitability and potential of the markets. Consequently, much of their time in the meetings under investigation (see above) was devoted to negotiating and constructing the meaning of these concepts. A framework was developed that expanded Smit's (2010) INTEX (*interactive explaining*) to take into consideration the more complex nature of the peer-to-peer interaction. This integrated aspects of exploratory talk (Barnes 1976, 2008; Mercer 2000) in peer-to-peer classroom interaction as well as work on (mis)understanding in ELF contexts and is referred to as EXINTEX (*exploratory interactive explaining*). The lack of an epistemic authority meant that some EXINTEX sequences did fail and the participants agreed to abandon their efforts to construct meaning, while others resulted in a (partially) incorrect understanding of the concept, even when a supposedly authoritative external resource (such as "Dr Google") was consulted. Again, the gap between knowledge in the L1 and English was identified as an issue in this context.

8.

"Casual talk" and "fun" were reported as being essential for keeping up motivation levels, identifying and constructing common ground, and establishing communicative patterns that facilitated and/or supported task work. Other languages were said to play an important role in these phenomena since they often included discussions of culturally bound topics or personal stories which the students hadn't told in English before. (Roles Of English, Practices & Processes)

Given the vast amounts of time that the teams spent working on the project – not just in the meetings but also discussing it on Facebook and preparing work at home for the next meetings – it

was essential to find ways of keeping their motivation levels high as well as maintaining the supportive and communicative atmosphere mentioned above. Having “fun” was attributed as being a vital element of the team’s success, while one participant suggested that their “casual talk” paved the way for work talk by creating a basis of “smooth communication”. Words or phrases in other languages would often arise in the course of “fun” discussions and casual talk since they frequently discussed local or cultural concepts, drew on insider jokes or told stories the students were used to relating in their own language. Exploring language(s) and culture was by far the most popular topic of casual talk and reflected efforts reported by the students in the retrospective interviews to reach out to each other by using minimal social utterances in the other’s language (e.g. saying “cheers”). Language was thus not only a means of indicating alignment, but also an object of discussion which allowed the participants to construct shared ground. Through creating an environment shaped by mutual trust, common interests and shared experiences, the participants developed a psychologically safe space that supported and facilitated their discussions relating to work talk.

9.

Humour was also a major aspect of relational work and could be found throughout both the team’s work talk and their casual talk. “Riffing” on each other’s utterances or making jokes about an out-group allowed the participants to indicate linguistic alignment and team cohesion as well as construct absurd fantasy scenarios and/or adopt expert identities. (Academic Disciplines, Practices & Processes)

The main function of humour in the interaction was to build solidarity and repair team cohesion if it were threatened. The high frequency of humorous sequences revealed that using humour was a key strategy to keep tabs on the team’s level of cohesion and to make efforts to repair it if necessary. At the same time, some humorous utterances might test the boundaries of the team’s cohesion in the form of face-threatening (e.g. sarcastic) comments which, paradoxically, emphasised how robust this cohesion was when these tests were not evaluated as face attacks. Much of the humour identified in the analysis drew on the team’s shared experiences in the interaction or in the broader context of the marketing EMP. This kind of humour generally took the form of conjoint or collaborative humour which (unconsciously) parodied the joint construction of meaning in EXINTEX. It often used a “play” or “theatre” frame that constructed an absurd scenario based on ridiculous business decisions or the adoption of a marketer or marketing teacher’s voice. By doing so, the students were able to “try on” the role of a disciplinary expert or, alternatively, display their disciplinary knowledge. Understanding what was “appropriate” in terms of language within the team context but also in terms of how to use their business knowledge and/or following

the team's practices and adhering to its mental model was crucial to the participants' evaluation of humour.

10.

Both teams developed a miniature community of practice within their teams based on their joint enterprise, mutual engagement and a shared repertoire. This mental model of (communicative) practices contributed greatly towards the development of "virtuous" rather than vicious cycles from a foundation of cultural diversity and ultimately to a successful team outcome. (Roles of English, Academic Disciplines, language Management, Agents, Practices & Processes, Internationalisation & Globalisation)

The implementation of internationalisation strategies, including EMI, makes it possible for students who do not speak German to attend the marketing master at WU. Additionally, the desire to attract international students also increases the academic and disciplinary diversity of the student body, as many of the international students – including two of those in the present study – come with a non-marketing background. While the participants are relatively homogenous in terms of being fairly affluent, well-educated proficient English speakers, there is also considerable diversity in their national/ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, their previous academic and professional experience, and of course their individual personalities. From this starting point of (cultural) diversity, it is essential for them to construct a cohesive and effective mental model with shared team goals, practices and repertoires in order to develop "virtuous" rather than vicious cycles and a successful team outcome. This outcome not only comprises measurable task goals (e.g. the completion of the simulation and textual products or their net contribution as calculated by the computer programme) but also team goals such as satisfaction and an outlook for future collaboration. Beside the task and team goals, the interactional achievement of co-constructing meaning in EXINTEX and in humour can also constitute the team's joint enterprise. By tacit agreement, (fairly standard) English is generally the language of both teams, especially their work talk; even when alone and speaking German to each other, the Austrians tend to use the English terms from the task. Nevertheless, all participants draw on their multilingual resources when necessary to contribute to the construction of technical language as well as to discuss or explain local (cultural) phenomena in casual talk. Mutual engagement helps the team members to identify each other's strengths, knowledge and modes of working, ideally leading to synergies and constructing a mental model of communicative practices. Casual talk and humour not only contribute to "doing solidarity" but offer a low-stakes arena to practise and consolidate the negotiation of meaning, preparing the way for work talk. This mental model is both reflected in and constituted by the development of the teams' shared repertoires of marketing terminology,

“insider” jokes, and even non-verbal practices such as MktgB’s table drum roll. As the community of practice is formed, the participants learn both the language of the discipline and the emerging communicative and behavioural patterns of the community. Understanding what is deemed “appropriate” in these contexts is thus essential. Of course, it does not work all the time; failed explanations and MktgB’s incorrect decision not to introduce all the SKUs as Igor suggested are indicative of the messy reality of social interaction. Nevertheless, the participants in this study are certainly good examples of highly functioning and successful multicultural student teams. They are aware of and largely able to take advantage of their diversity as well as making strong inroads into learning the language and practices of their discipline.

9.3 Significance & implications for EMEMUS

The strengths of this study lie in its close analysis of how students on an EMP actually use language in peer-to-peer interaction, the explicit focus on how they deal with the business concepts they encounter in their teamwork, and the in-depth examination of relational work as an integral part of that work rather than as purely social interaction. It is also the first large-scale empirical study to use Dafouz and Smit’s (2016) ROAD-MAPPING framework for analysis and thus tests its robustness as a means to “zoom in” on one aspect of EMEMUS – multicultural student teamwork on a marketing EMP – while respecting the fact that this aspect is embedded in a complex and dynamic social environment with many forces and actors at work.

The conceptual framework of ROAD-MAPPING thus illuminates the multi-layered and multifaceted nature of the international university and reveals the tensions and synergies between various stakeholders and the resources and demands they bring to the MMLS. Reflecting that complexity, this study draws on an interdisciplinary theoretical basis at the intersection of research into the internationalisation of higher education and English-medium instruction, studies of English as a (business) lingua franca, language in international business, and teamwork. This interdisciplinary approach highlights areas of overlap that have generally been overlooked and strengthens the burgeoning understanding of language(s) as a social construct which has been recognised for decades in linguistics but has only begun to gain ground in management studies recently. The discussion in the theoretical section clarifies conceptualisations of “English” as an abstract concept in corporate or university language policy and “English as a lingua franca” as hybrid, emergent and highly context-dependent language practices. It also draws attention to an emerging gap in research that follows the graduates of EMPs into the workplace.

The empirical study offers an insight into an increasingly important area of EMEMUS which is still extremely under-researched, particularly from the perspective of acquiring disciplinary literacy rather than through a (purely) pragmatic or morpho-syntactic lens. Student teamwork is a highly

popular pedagogical method, especially in the MMLS, where it may be seen as a way of purposefully implementing internationalisation at home policies by encouraging students from diverse backgrounds to work together, often intensively, on a project with a clear final product that can be assessed. Yet there is to date very little research that focuses on the content learning aspect of student teamwork in the MMLS.

One of the main contributions of this thesis is thus the data collection setting itself, which answers Dimova et al.'s (2015b) call for “the field [of EMI research] to move towards more in-depth ethnographic and observational studies to improve our knowledge about the complexity of teaching and learning practices” (p. 317–318). In-depth ethnographic research in EMEMUS to date has focused on content learning in the classroom and teacher-student interaction (e.g. Gundermann 2014; Smit 2010); pragmatic and/or morpho-syntactic strategies used with a focus on how language is used in work discussions but not considering content per se (e.g. Björkman 2013; Hynninen 2013); and the construction of meaning and translanguaging practices in primarily relational talk (Batziakas 2016). Likewise, there is still a scarcity of studies that reveal “how knowledge is constructed and of how learning may be studied [...] in the complex context of multilingual, ‘internationalised’ university classrooms” (Moore 2014: 605). This is still true despite teamwork long being seen as a strategy to encourage local and international students to work together (Volet & Ang 1998), and recently gaining prominence as a pedagogical strategy in marketing education. The reasons for this are that primarily it supports a “value co-creation approach to education” (Conduit et al. 2017: 114), as well as being an important skill in terms of employability (Anderson & Lees 2017; Carrie et al. 2017; Conduit et al. 2017). The independent project work context is also an under-researched area, as much of the work on knowledge (co-)construction in ELF or EMI settings focuses on the classroom context where the teacher is an epistemic authority and the construction of content knowledge is largely scaffolding rather than true negotiation (e.g. Sánchez García 2016; Smit 2010). Last but not least, there is very little research into student activities in EMI or ELF settings that simulate workplace interaction and examine the role of humour and rapport as key aspects of knowledge construction rather than having a purely social function.

In theoretical and analytical terms, the major contribution of the empirical study is twofold. First, it develops Smit's (2010) INTEX (*interactive explaining*) framework to take into consideration the peer-to-peer context and the construction of disciplinary knowledge in the absence of an epistemic authority. In doing so, it highlights the importance of constructive disagreement as a key strategy for testing the robustness of meaning and increasing precision and accuracy. The expanded framework integrates INTEX and other ELF studies into (mis)understanding with the concept of “exploratory talk” (Barnes 1976; Mercer 2000), updating the latter for the tertiary MMLS. This is referred to as EXINTEX (*exploratory interactive explaining*). Second, the thesis draws

on research into relational work in (monolingual) workplace interaction (e.g. Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Koester 2006) and transposes this to the multilingual and multicultural learning space. In doing so, it draws attention to the “work” aspect of relational work in EMEMUS, and to the role of language in creating a psychologically safe space for EXINTEX and supporting the participants’ learning processes. Furthermore, the role of “casual talk” as a means to facilitate smooth communication in work talk is highlighted as a paradigm shift from previous generations of managers who generally report that they find talking about technical subjects easier than small talk or social talk.

Last but not least, the focus on the students’ perspective of EMEMUS in the specific context of WU can be complemented with Unterberger’s (2014) study of policy and programme design at the same institution, offering a unique and comprehensive overview of a single site. This provides an innovative insight into the interplay of stakeholders in a renowned business school at the heart of Europe.⁷⁸

Given the holistic perspective of this study, it is not surprising that the implications of the findings also address stakeholders across the micro-, meso- and macro- levels. At the level of interaction, the teams in the present study can be seen as models of best practice as evaluated emically in the interviews, “objectively” in terms of the measurement used in the task assessment, and from the perspective of the analyst. This suggests that it is important for students to learn how to use their diversity as a resource rather than a challenge. Specifically, this echoes Gundermann’s (2014) call to “acknowledge the significance of rapport in an EMI community of practice” and for EMI programme coordinators and lecturers “to do their best to facilitate and exploit occasions for socializing especially in the starting phase of an EMI programme” (p. 275). It also extends this call to encourage students to exploit opportunities for socialising and getting to know each other both at the beginning of a programme and throughout the teamwork itself (e.g. by doing social activities together, integrating time for eating together into scheduled meeting times, and by using Facebook or other social media). At the same time, it is important for lecturers and curriculum designers to recognise the increasingly blurred lines between work and play for the social media generation of students and to calculate extra time for relational work into projects which are done outside the temporal and physical boundaries of the classroom.

As well as acknowledging the need to recognise relational work as work, lecturers still need to recognise the additional burden of learning through a foreign language, and the need to introduce students into the disciplinary literacy. It should be noted that this lecturer can be considered a best practice example in this respect, as they did explicitly address the genre of the case study in class and in the course book (*Skriptum*) as preparation for the project. Though the case study itself was

⁷⁸ This is elaborated on in Komori-Glatz and Unterberger (forthcoming).

not the focus of the close analysis in the thesis, references to the lecturer's instructions could be found in both the Facebook conversations and the meeting data. This induction into the genres and language of the discipline was thus very necessary. It is therefore strongly recommended that all lecturers include such discussions of the language and genres of their discipline in their teaching, and for programme designers and university management to be aware of the need for this.

While Unterberger (2014) found that programme designers at WU – in contrast to many lecturers in studies conducted in other institutions – did not perceive the change to EMI as an additional time or stress burden, many of the participants in this study did struggle with some aspects of the transition from an L1 bachelor programme to an English-medium master. The increased levels – and expectations – of participation in open class discussions was explicitly mentioned as a factor, as well as the adjustment to the cognitive burden of speaking English “all day”. While increasing participation may be as much a personality issue as a proficiency one, the fact that it comprises such a high proportion of assessment (as much as 30% in this course) means that there may be a need to support students in overcoming a reluctance to participate. This is especially important in the first few weeks, when students are adjusting to the transition and establishing behavioural patterns that may impact the whole course. Even simple pedagogical strategies such as encouraging brief discussion in pairs or small groups, or giving students the opportunity to use email or make contributions in online forums before class – allowing them time to prepare and formulate comments with the help of dictionaries or other resources – may help students who are unwilling or unable to contribute to open class discussions. Some form of pedagogical, language-oriented quality assurance at an institutional level can be helpful in this respect (such as the EMI^{QM} certification at the University of Freiburg⁷⁹; see also the IntlUni recommendations in Lauridsen & Lillemose 2015: 11-12).

Another important aspect of language management in the classroom (and in group discussions) is the use of the local language (again, see Lauridsen & Lillemose 2015: 11-12). On the one hand, it is essential for students and teachers to recognise and respect international students' level of proficiency in the local language. Even throwaway comments, discussions that are not task-related, and culturally-bound concepts can be exclusive and result in a breakdown in rapport if there is no active effort to include the non-native speaker(s). This does not mean that a strict English-only language policy is the answer (on the contrary, using multilingual resources can be highly productive and, as seen in this study, discussion of language and local cultural concepts can contribute to positive social relations). However, it is crucial to ensure that speakers with lower levels of proficiency are included and are actively able to engage in the discussions. A key finding in this study was the discrepancy between active and passive proficiency, both in English and in other

⁷⁹ *Certification of English Medium Instruction Competencies in English Degree Programs*, <http://www.sli.uni-freiburg.de/englisch/emi/quality> (last accessed 21.09.2017).

languages. This may need to be considered in admissions policies (e.g. by stipulating a minimum IELTS score in each skill rather than an average) as well as in day-to-day classroom operations (i.e. a tutorial should not happen in German since the fact that a student can understand German passively does not necessarily mean they are able to contribute actively).

On the other hand, there does appear to be a demand for integrating more of the local language into the classroom in terms of promoting disciplinary literacy in the local language. The data also shows that there is a very specific need to teach students how to find reliable online resources for looking up terminology in their L1. While using the local language, especially disciplinary-specific language, in the classroom is obviously helpful to home students who may already have considerable knowledge or professional experience in their L1, it also helps international students to gain a foothold in the local labour market. Since WU offers free German language courses at a range of levels for international students, this does not need to be given as a concrete proposal for the present study. However, increasing opportunities for international students to enhance their language skills in the local language is generally recommended. If project or field work is likely to involve contexts where language is an issue, it is necessary for both the lecturers and the students to be aware that they need to allocate their team resources accordingly; e.g. if interviews with local managers can only be conducted in German, it is even more important for the team to create a mental model of who will do what work and when. Again, ensuring that there is enough time for international students to take advantage of voluntary language courses or including these as a compulsory part of the curriculum would be beneficial.

Likewise, the findings of the present study highlighted the value of having a third language both as a resource for knowledge transfer and in terms of social relations. The spread of English may have resulted in it being increasingly perceived as a “default” language in multicultural settings but this in turn has raised the perception of other languages – especially economically strong languages such as German – as having added value. Similarly, being able to speak the local language, regardless of which nationalities are present in the workforce or even where the firm is headquartered, continues to be an important element of integration and even for managing information flows. This is also true in the university setting, where some admin staff are still not receiving adequate support to send out all information in English.

The added value of a strong local language can contribute to the institution’s attractiveness on the international higher education market. The international students’ comments in this study confirmed Unterberger’s (2014) findings that WU’s good position in international rankings and the low cost of living in Vienna – as well as the generally high quality of life – were the university’s main competitive advantage. Whatever scepticism there may be about the validity of rankings, investing in the criteria that enhance an institution’s position in them does seem to be having the desired effect. At the macro-level, too, investing in the factors that make a city an attractive student

destination – low living costs, cultural and recreational opportunities, and the university infrastructure – results in students choosing WU over similarly (or even higher) ranked institutions.

9.4 Limitations & outlook for further research

As with all qualitative research, and particularly ethnographic and ethnographically informed research, this study has some limitations which mainly derive from the nature of collecting “real-life” spoken data and particularly in a context which was to a large extent beyond my control. Likewise, as in all detailed qualitative analyses and case-like studies, its findings must be viewed in the light of the very specific context of the English-medium marketing master’s at WU and even the constellation of the individual teams. Obviously, the selection and composition of the group has a direct influence on the findings. Some factors that could have had a notable effect on the results include: a group with a bigger disparity in terms of language proficiency or content knowledge; stronger divides along “tribal” lines, e.g. two native German speakers and two native Spanish speakers or three highly proficient German speakers and one beginner; and a wider range of or more extensive professional experience, as is found among MBA students. Nevertheless, the care taken to provide “thick descriptions” of the data collection and analysis processes, purposive sampling, triangulation between the data sets, and “audit trails” which reveal “the connection between the data and the researcher’s interpretations” (Gray 2014: 185) have endeavoured to show the transferability and credibility of the study’s findings.

Of course, it would have been possible to examine the students’ perspective on a much larger scale using survey instruments and/or interviews without the ethnographic/ interactional data, which would have given a much larger sample and to some extent more generalisable findings. However, the pre-pilot study (Komori 2012), which used a mixed-methods approach combining a questionnaire survey with follow-up interviews, highlighted the need for the possibility of gaining more detailed insights into the subtleties of language use on the EMPs as well as a lack of research that examined students’ actual rather than reported language use.

Initial technical issues in the pilot study with poor-quality recordings due to high levels of background noise and faulty or forgotten equipment were mitigated as much as possible by encouraging the participants to take advantage of the offer to work in a quiet room in our department rather than in the busy teaching centre. Furthermore, the recording equipment was positioned at each end of the table for maximum coverage as well as keeping extensive field notes, especially in the classroom settings where it was obvious that there would be high levels of background noise. While the recordings of the teams’ meetings are extensive, they are not entirely complete, since there were some occasions where I was teaching or could not be in Vienna, or the two teams’ meetings overlapped. Additionally, as I was only recording the teams’ meetings, I have

no record of any interaction they had – except for on Facebook and as recalled in the interviews – in more casual or spontaneous contexts. Another related limitation of the study is the comparatively small data set selected for the close analysis. An obvious alternative would have been to select a longer stretch of data, or to take several short episodes and conduct a more longitudinal study. Some of the considerations behind selecting the final data set were primarily practical and were related to quality concerns about maximising the reliability and validity of the data for the close analysis as explained in detail in Sections 3.2.3, 4.2 and 5.2. The main factor in the final decision was the epistemological interest in the interplay of content and language from the perspective of learning and knowledge construction. For that purpose, as explained in Section 3.3, the market analysis was beyond any doubt the most suitable part of the project. This choice was further supported by the lecturer’s focus on it in both the class wrap-up and the retrospective interview as well as the fact that it was a relatively clearly bounded task with high quality recordings across both teams. This interest in the interplay of content and language from the perspective of learning and knowledge construction was the reason for leaving out a detailed analysis of how the teams negotiated task processes, i.e. the distribution of labour and also formed the basis of the methodological choices.

Additionally, it would have been interesting to have included a close analysis of the Facebook data, as this stretches over the course of the full project and is still a rather under-researched medium in ELF interaction, particularly in a work context. Unfortunately, for practical reasons of time and space, it was decided that an analysis that did justice to richness of the Facebook data was beyond the scope of the present project. A future project is already planned to analyse this data through the Community of Practice lens, examining the three aspects of work talk (especially EXINTEX, if available), casual talk and humour as conceptualised in the present study, with an additional focus on the role of multimodality.

A corpus analysis would also offer a complementary perspective and has previously been integrated into sociocultural discourse analytical studies in classroom contexts (Mercer 2004). As with the Facebook data, limits of time and space made it difficult to include a further analytical approach in this study without sacrificing academic rigour and it was therefore decided to concentrate on the in-depth pragmatically-oriented analysis given the focus on peer-to-peer interaction. The advantage of this decision was the possibility to explore all three categories of EXINTEX, casual talk and humour in detail. Of course, a corpus analysis could offer a valuable extension to the study as part of a future project, particularly in connection with the Facebook data as this method has already been used very effectively to analyse large quantities of online text data with a focus on pragmatics (e.g. Lutzky & Kehoe 2016, 2017a, 2017b).

Throughout the present study it became increasingly clear that there is an urgent need not only for more ethnographic studies of classroom-related interaction and the interplay of content and

language learning in EMEMUS but also in the workplace and especially among recent graduates. Gaining access to research workplace interaction is notoriously difficult and there is good reason for the limited number of truly ethnographically informed BELF studies (e.g. Cogo 2012; Ehrenreich 2009, 2010; Pitzl 2009, 2010; Pullin Stark 2009; Pullin 2010; Rogerson-Revell 2007b; Virkkula-Raisanen 2010). This is certainly an area in which BELF research could – and should – expand. It is also increasingly necessary to coordinate more across the disciplines so that researchers in socio- and applied linguistics as well as language in IB as a field of management studies can draw synergies from each other.

In the multilingual and multicultural learning space, too, students need to develop the skills to manage the “bundle of different types of boundaries” that can be found in modern business (Carlile 2004: 566), which may be functional, geographical, temporal, cultural or linguistic (Barner-Rasmussen et al. 2014: 887). If as Rothblatt argues, you “cannot manage what you don't understand” (see introduction to Chapter 8), it is crucial to give students the tools to facilitate the development of shared understanding in specific contexts and thereby to turn boundaries into resources. Only then will they be able to meet the communicative demands placed on them as they enter the workplace. This thesis opened with Camacho-Miñano and del Campo's (2016) claim that:

Being ready for a professional career nowadays includes knowing how to use technology, working in teams, communicating in English as a lingua franca of business and mastering the required expertise for each profession [...] as well as being prepared to work in a continuously changing environment. (Camacho-Miñano & del Campo 2016: 706)

The business university must therefore ask itself: are we preparing our students adequately to meet these demands? The participants in the present study demonstrated that they were indeed able to meet all these challenges to a high level in the context of their teamwork on the EMP; researchers now need to see how business graduates manage when they leave the simulation and go out into the “real” world.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Informed consent form

	Consent Form	 universität wien
Exploring Intercultural Teamwork on English-Medium Master's Programmes at WU Vienna		
Miya Komori-Glatz (WU Vienna) Supervisor: Ute Smit (University of Vienna)		
<p>This project aims to explore how students coming from different countries and cultures and with different first languages work together in teams on English-taught master's programmes at WU Vienna. To do this, I would like to follow and observe a team of students working on a specific task during a seminar. This would involve audio and video-recording the group while it works on the specific project (resulting in data with both sound and image), making notes and copies of any written material (including the evaluative report), and ideally having access to task-related discussions outside class (e.g. using social media such as Facebook, Dropbox, etc.). I would also like to interview the students in the group to hear how you experienced this team work.</p>		
<p>The data collected will be used for linguistic research and the results of this research may be published or presented. In all cases the identities of the participants will be carefully anonymised, e.g. by using pseudonyms (false names) and not giving specific dates or names of the course. If images are shown publicly (e.g. in a presentation), faces and other identifying features will be blurred or hidden.</p>		
<p>If you have any questions about this project, you can ask me at any time in person or using the contact details given below. You may always indicate if there is something specific you don't want to have recorded or published.</p>		
<p>Thank you very much for your support! If you are willing to let me observe you and your group and use the data in the ways outlined above, please sign and print your name below.</p>		
		
Miya Komori-Glatz WU Vienna University of Economics and Business		T: +43 1 31 336 5785 E: miya.komori-glatz@wu.ac.at
<p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes, I feel that I have been well-informed about the project and I agree to taking part and the use of the data collected as described above.</p>		
Date:		Name:
Signature:		

Appendix 2: VOICE transcription conventions

Transcription conventions based on the VOICE project⁸⁰.

? rising intonation

. falling intonation

CAPS emphasis

(.) (1) pause; long pause; pause of x seconds

= latching

wo:rd lengthened vowel sound

@ laughter

(word) uncertain transcription

<1> word </1> overlap

<pvc> word </pvc> coinage /neologism

<ono> sound </ono> onomatopoeia

<LXxx> wort </LXxx> utterance in another language (L1de = German as first language; LNde = German as foreign language; it = Italian; pt = Portuguese; ro = Romanian; ch = Mandarin Chinese/Putonghua)

{word} translation

<spel> w o r d </spel> word spelled out as individual letters

<un> word </un> unintelligible speech

<mode> word </mode> speaking mode (e.g. fast, slow, yawning, singing, etc.)

<action> non-verbal action as communicative event (e.g. smiles, coughs, clears throat, yawns, etc.)

[name] name deleted for anonymity

{action} non-verbal action as contextual information (leaves room, pours water, etc.)

⁸⁰ VOICE project 2007.

General information: https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/transcription_general_information

Mark-up conventions: https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/documents/VOICE_mark-up_conventions_v2-1.pdf

Spelling conventions: https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/documents/VOICE_spelling_conventions_v2-1.pdf

(last accessed 18 November 2017)

Appendix 3: Interview guide

Questions are bundled together by theme, but were asked separately in the flow of the conversation so as not to overwhelm the interviewee. The corresponding main codes, which served as the basis for the initial coding framework, can be found in square brackets following the questions.

Linguacultural background

- (1) Can you tell me about your background – where did you grow up? [1_NATIONALITY]
- (2) What languages do you speak with your parents? Do you use dialects in your first language? [2_HOME LANGUAGE]
- (3) When did you start learning English? How did you learn English? [3_ENGLISH]
- (4) Where did you do your bachelor degree? What did you study? What language was that in? [4_PREVIOUS STUDIES]
- (5) Did you have any classes in English? How did you find the transition from the bachelor programme to the Master's programme? [5_ENGLISH AT UNIVERSITY]
- (6) Why did you choose to study this master's in English? [6_MOTIVATION EMI/WU]

Teamwork in general

- (7) Tell me a bit about teamwork in general on the Marketing course. [7_TEAMWORK IMPRESSIONS]
- (8) Have you ever learnt about working in teams? How do you know what works and what doesn't? Have you much experience of working in groups outside of the university? [8_TEAMWORK EXPERIENCE]
- (9) Is there anything you do differently when you're working in teams in a professional context rather than an academic context? Is there anything you do differently when you're working in English compared to when you're working in your own language? [9_TEAMWORK DIFFERENCES CONTEXT OR LANGUAGE]

Teamwork project

- (10) Can you tell me a bit about the teamwork project? How was the experience for you? [10_PROJECT IMPRESSIONS GENERAL]
- (11) I'd like to start by showing you a couple of minutes of one of the videos. (Mktg A 20131028_M2U00095 01:25-03:37/Mktg B 20131117_M2U00186 00:50-03:14). What strikes you about the clip? What does it make you remember? Is there anything you notice when you're watching the video that you didn't notice during the meeting itself? [11_PROJECT IMPRESSIONS RECALL]
- (12) Your team was generally very successful and you had very high revenues in the simulation. How would you define success in that type of context? What do you think made your group so successful? (MktgB only: Why were you overtaken in the final round?) [12_SUCCESS CRITERIA]
- (13) Who would you say was the group leader? How would you describe each member's contribution to the group? [13_LEADERSHIP]
- (14) Is there anything you would do differently if you were doing it again? Or anything that you have done differently in other groups? [14_CHANGES]

Language use in teamwork

- (15) When do you use languages other than English? What languages do you use if you are with people who speak your first language or if you are in a mixed group? Why? [15_LANGUAGE CHOICES]
- (16) (MktgA only) Why do you call Dan "Mr Bretele"? (MktgB only): what do you understand by this image [cat's paw emoji]? [16_SHARED REPERTOIRE]
- (17) How much do you use Facebook or similar social media for group work? How does the language you use on Facebook change with different groups? [17_FACEBOOK]

Future expectations & closing

- (18) What do you want to do after you graduate? [18_FUTURE PLANS]
- (19) Can you see yourself working for an international company? [19_WORK ABROAD]
- (20) Is there anything else you'd like to add? [20_OTHER COMMENTS]

Appendix 4: Final codebook (interviews)

	Name	Description	Notes	Example	
Participants (background & future plans)	01_Nationality and home environment	comments on legal nationality, ethnic background, where participant grew up		<i>I grew up in Upper Austria/Brazil in Sao Paolo/Russia</i>	
	02_Home language	comments on language used at home, with parents, friends, flatmates, significant others		<i>I speak German with my parents upper Austrian I spoke Romanian with my parents my native language is German</i>	
	03_Learning and using English				
	3a_in school	comments on age started learning English at school		<i>I had [English] at primary school/from kindergarten I started from the first grade</i>	
	3b_language classes on bachelor programme	comments on explicitly language-oriented classes during bachelor studies	e.g. EFL, Business English, etc.	<i>there was one class like Business English</i>	
	3c_content classes on bachelor programme	comments on use of English as medium of instruction in explicitly NON-language-oriented classes	e.g. marketing, finance etc.	<i>I remember I took in English finance and marketing(I had a full specialisation in English</i>	
	3d_exchange semester in US	participant did an exchange semester in Anglophone country	incl. content and/or language classes	<i>um I wanted to study somewhere in the north east part and I also applied for Vancouver but they didn't give me a slot so I got the Vermont (.) which was really cool</i>	
	3e_language classes on EMP	comments on explicitly language-oriented classes during master studies	e.g. EFL, Business English, etc.	<i>it was part of the master [...] we had to do it as language skills class and I did the negotiation</i>	
	3f_film and media	comments on whether student watches TV series, films at cinema etc. in English or L1		<i>I watch some series in English/I always watch series and movies things like that in English</i>	
	3g_social or extra-curricular activities	comments on whether student uses English outside work or university context	e.g. summer camps, in relationships, with non-L1-speaking friends; NOT include social contexts related to specific master programme	<i>at some point I also had a girlfriend who I was speaking English to so I got used to speaking English @@ it was an English summer camp</i>	
	3h_at work	comments on whether student uses English in work/professional contexts	incl. internships, voluntary work etc.	<i>it was in a shopping centre that a lot of people a lot of tourists would come in Lisbon so I had to speak English every once in a while in the first [company I spoke] mostly Chinese and in the second one mostly English</i>	
	04_Exposure to (learning) other languages & cultures				
	4a_heritage languages at home	student has a relative who speaks another language			<i>I have some a small Slovenian background because my father spoke Slovenian at home</i>
	4b_other languages as foreign languages	comments on languages other than English learnt as foreign language			<i>I studied Latin in school and ancient Greek and bits of modern Greek/so far I have learned German for six months I learned Italian at WU I did a beginners' class</i>
	4c_other languages as medium of instruction	comments on languages other than English used as medium of instruction	e.g. on exchange semester		<i>I had one class in English as well but most of the time Spanish [on my exchange semester in Barcelona]</i>
	4d_at work	comments on languages other than English used in work or professional contexts			<i>the management was mostly French but the employees were mostly Chinese</i>
	4e_independent travel	comments on extensive travels or periods of time spent in foreign country	incl. comments on exchange semester not relating to medium of instruction		<i>I saw toothpastes in India @@ and I even made a picture of it and posted it in the group @@@@ and it's just drugstores everywhere</i>
	05_Education and work experience				
	5a_bachelor degree				
	5ai_WU_marketing-related SBWL	student did BSc at WU; marketing-related specialisation			<i>I did my bachelor studies at WU I did advertising & brand management and change management & management development</i>
5aii_other	student did NOT do BSc at WU			<i>I moved to Bucharest for the bachelor I studied in our WU I moved to Beijing the capital of China for university yeah and I finished my bachelor's degree</i>	
5b_work experience					
5bi_marketing-related	student has/comments on marketing-related work experience	incl. internships, voluntary work etc.		<i>I worked in two different companies. First one was a start-up tech company it was also a social media a website app kind of thing and I was doing marketing.</i>	
5bij_non-marketing-related	student has/comments on NON-marketing-related work experience	incl. internships, voluntary work etc.		<i>[my job] was logistic coordinator or something like this they had some projects and they wanted something with experience and a little knowledge of German and I was good for them</i>	

	06_Future plans			
	6a_plan or consider living-studying-working abroad	student has fixed plans to live/work/study abroad OR would consider doing so		<i>yeah in general taking over a position of a product of a brand manager of a sales manager for a firm of a multinational company [...] I just wanna leave Austria I have to say @@ [I'm looking for] internships in Europe mainly</i>
	6b_plan or consider remaining in or returning to home country	student has fixed plans to live/work/study in home country OR would consider doing so		<i>if I think about my future in the ten or twenty years I still think that I will stay in Austria/eventually in the long term I will go back to China</i>
	07_Motivation for EMP-WU			
	7a_marketing programme itself	attractiveness of programme was important in student's motivation to study at WU	incl. comments on syllabus, programme and/or university reputation/ ranking, etc.	<i>I was looking just at the Financial Times really and different other rankings to look for good schools</i>
	7b_location in Vienna	attractiveness of city was important in student's motivation to study at WU	incl. comments on quality of life, location, local economy	<i>Vienna is supposed to be really nice and liveable [...] I like the city and the quality of life here is nice</i>
	7c_cost	cost of living/tuition was important in student's motivation to study at WU		<i>WU was free/[I compared] the city itself and also the cost. and also the general economy of the country</i>
	7d_possibility to study in English	explicit comments on whether student's choice was/was not influenced by the possibility of studying through English as medium of instruction		<i>the English language of course was really important for me [...] I really prefer to study in English</i>
	7e_general desire to study abroad	indication of general desire to study in foreign country	e.g. considered numerous universities in foreign countries	<i>I looked at Copenhagen Maastricht Mannheim and in Lisbon as well Rotterdam</i>
	7f_possibility to learn German	explicit mention of the opportunity to learn German or live in a German-speaking country as motivation to study at WU		<i>[I chose WU] because I always wanted to learn German</i>
English and the EMP	08_English and the EMP			
	8a_general comments on transition and differences from BSc	general comments on transition from non-EMI bachelor to EMP	incl. general and specific differences from BSc, e.g. regarding teamwork	<i>[the change] to the English master in the beginning it was a little bit tough yeah/it's completely different but (.) not only because of the language but also because of the the programme itself</i>
	8b_benefits of EMP			
	8bi_diversity	explicit mention of the diversity of student body as positive factor		<i>[we] have so many international students which is really one of the best things of this programme apart from the the academics</i>
	8bii_good for personal development	comments indicating EMP offers opportunities for personal growth		<i>you also get to know a lot of different point of views and that's very important I think not just for career but also for personality [...] you can learn a lot and broaden your horizon a lot</i>
	8biii_good for career development	comments indicating EMP offers opportunities/benefits for future career		<i>it really fits to my plans to my future plans [the experience] is helping now if</i>
	8biv_good for language development	comments indicating EMP offers opportunities for improving English language skills		<i>even if there are not so many native speakers in English [...] still I learn a lot in English</i>
	8c_non-language-related benefits	comments indicating EMP has benefits that are NOT directly related to the use of EMI	e.g. smaller classes, more participation (NB: may be INDIRECTLY linked to EMI)	<i>it's very different to the bachelor because there are just really hundred percent just students that are highly motivated and very interested in the topic</i>
	8d_challenges relating to language on EMP	comments indicating using EMI created problems/difficulties/challenges	incl. both problems caused by using English AND not using English	<i>sometimes I receive emails from the school and everything it's always only in German</i>
	8e_non-language-related criticisms	general criticism of course not directly related to use of EMI		<i>the international part could be more diverse</i>

English and the EMP	09_Cultural differences			
	9a_national culture	comments highlighting differences between nationalities		<i>the Russians were like whoa this is so unfair I wanna work with the big company Felix Austria and I'm not interested in upcycling and they they said something like yeah the Austrians are so interested in making the world a better place and we don't really care</i>
	9b_academic culture	comments highlighting specific aspects of academic culture	e.g. relating to WU, marketing, specialisations, etc.	<i>it's a WU thing. it's even a specialisation thing because I did the same SBWL as Fabian and we really we are so brainwashed</i>
	10_Roles of English			
	10a_English as language of international business	general comments relating to the use of English OR other languages in professional contexts	NOT specific experience of using EN/Lx in work contexts (see #3h; 4d)	<i>it's just English is the business language</i>
	10b_English as language of academia (general)	general comments relating to the use of English OR other languages in academic contexts	NOT specific experience(s) of using EN/Lx in academic contexts e.g. exchange semester (see #3, #4)	<i>I think most of the textbooks were English or English</i>
	10c_English as language of discipline or course	specific comments relating to the use of English OR other languages on marketing master OR in specific marketing contexts		<i>when I talk to my parents for example and I try to tell them something from classes it's really hard for me to tell it in German because I just know it in English and it's all English terms for me</i>
	10d_English as lingua franca for international student body	general comments relating to the function of English OR other languages as language for interaction with international students on master programme	incl. course admin	<i>I live in a student dorm so there are some international people but yeah we speak English/I lived with Italians and their English is so bad @@ it was easier to speak Spanish to them</i>
	11_Attitudes to language use			
	11a_self-assessment as language learner OR user	comments on own assessment of language proficiency levels		<i>I'm not that good in languages at all except for English in German I'm um much better at finding the right words than English it's really hard for me to learn languages really.</i>
	11b_importance of how you speak	general comments on perceived need for accuracy/proficiency		<i>they just listen what you're saying not how you're saying it</i>
	11c_language use in mixed groups	comments on language practices in mixed groups	e.g. whether it is appropriate to code-switch in international groups	<i>we had some internationals as well so whenever they joined the group of course we talked in English [...] because I always feel uncomfortable when non-German speakers are around and people talk German</i>
	11d_suitability of specific codes for specific contexts	general comments on register, language etc. in specific contexts		<i>every time we tell stories for example from childhood whatever or from funny stories whatever then there are so many German words that are hard to translate or experiences because probably you told stories already in German a lot of times and suddenly you have to tell them in English that's difficult</i>
	11e_English in Lx	comments on translanguaging into English while speaking an Lx		<i>it was German but we used some English words as well. because for example we'd talked about the plant we didn't say it in German fabrik or whatever so we used the words that we always used in when we spoke German as well.</i>
Teamwork	12_Teamwork at WU (general)			
	12a_amount	general comments on how much teamwork they have to do on programme		<i>we do a lot of groupwork</i>
	12b_assignment and nationality of team members	comments on how teams are assigned	e.g. by teacher/free choice; deliberate mix of nationalities	<i>I think the professors try to put one or two non-German speakers in every group</i>
	12c_general impressions or comments	general comments on whether student likes working in teams or not, general advantages and disadvantages	NOT advantages and disadvantages of multicultural teams specifically	<i>in general I like the group works on the master programme</i>
	13_Previous teamwork experience or training			
	13a_no training or courses	student had no explicit training for working in teams before starting course	e.g. in seminars or other courses	<i>I think we have we work in groups in every seminar in every course but we didn't talk about it in general</i>
	13b_in previous studies	student discusses training for OR experience of working in teams before starting course as part of an academic programme		<i>we had some tutorials seminars specifically on [teamwork] in my university/ did group work in my bachelor so it wasn't a surprise</i>
	13c_in professional contexts	student discusses training for OR experience of working in teams before starting course as part of job	incl. internships	<i>in my internship I worked in teams as well</i>
13d_in voluntary or social contexts	student discusses training for OR experience of working in teams before starting course as part of social or voluntary activities		<i>I was the leader several times at the [Landjugend]</i>	

Teamwork	14_Team project (general impressions): comments referring specifically to this team project			
	14a_good team spirit and working climate	comments on team and/or team environment using general positive terms		<i>it was great. a really great group/the team was just nice everyone was friendly/it was a really good experience I enjoyed it a lot</i>
	14b_team project was fun, crazy, emotional	comments on team and/or team environment using emotional terms		<i>it was really a fun group/it's cool so much emotion</i>
	14c_team was split	comments referring to a divide in team		<i>it was more the difference between Igor and the rest of us. really it was most of the time the three of us Fabian Rafael and me and. Igor.</i>
	14d_other general comments	other neutral comments		<i>[the fact we spent a lot of time on the project is] a neutral thing @@ we achieved good results so it was good</i>
	14e_other negative comments	other negative comments		<i>talking about efficiency we weren't successful at the end we got less points than groups that were worse than us so that's why we were all a little pissed</i>
	15_Teamwork success criteria	comments referring specifically to this team project OR to what makes a team successful generally		
	15a_team characteristics			
	15ai_leadership and roles (general)	general comments relating to leadership and the need to have roles	NOT roles of specific team members (see #15cii)	<i>I think it's good to have one person that's kind of in charge/maybe someone has ideas and is very innovative inventive but is not a hard worker someone is a good decision maker</i>
	15aia_team members' contribution	general comments relating to amount of work team members (should) contribute	NOT contribution of specific team members (see #15cii)	<i>I think every one of us contributed and every one of us had some good ideas</i>
	15b_team atmosphere			
	15bi_specific characteristics	detailed descriptions of how team members should interact with each other	e.g. be tolerant, patient, express gratitude, have open & honest communication, etc.	<i>if someone did extra work I think we were really thankful for that (Carina)</i>
	15bii_space for and ability to have fun	importance or role of "fun" in teamwork		<i>it was a very fun game and I think it's very interesting so that helps/all things that make fun you will do them better than things that are not much fun</i>
	15c_team mental models			
	15ci_processes	comments relating to the team's specific practices OR the need to have aligned practices generally		<i>I think we were a team (.) it's kind of like eingespield [...] it was like a yeah like a team where everyone had his position and had his task but we all did we did everything together</i>
	15cii_team members' strengths and roles	specific comments relating to team members' roles and contributions to team project		<i>Benone was our little brain [...] he came up with sophisticated calculation what he did in Excel</i>
	15ciii_disagreement and compromise	comments relating to need to be able to compromise AND/OR disagree without conflict		<i>I think sometimes you have to make compromises cause you can't be happy with everything/ I think we were arguing a lot but always in a bit unserious way</i>
	15civ_shared ground and social experiences	comments highlighting shared (social) experiences	e.g. eating together	<i>we were foreigners here and this I think this was the first topic that put us together [...] we shared some things because they have a relationship here a long[-distance] one (.) I have a long[-distance] relationship at home and we could share some ideas</i>
	15cv_shared linguistic repertoire			
	15cvA_emojis or on Facebook	comments relating to use of emojis and/or general communicative practices in FB chat		<i>I really like smileys because they some kind of deliver the connotations and the emotions</i>
	15cvB_insiders	comments relating to or explaining inside jokes specific to team	e.g. Mr/Dr Bretele	<i>I designed a name sign for Benone cause you are supposed to you know the name signs what we have in class? and I designed a name sign Mr Bretele for him and then this was the running gag</i>
	15cvC_communicative practices	comments describing how students make themselves understood amongst each other	incl. constructing meaning, alignment, accommodation	<i>sometimes you even understand what others wanna say without saying anything</i>
	15d_luck	comments suggesting team's success due to luck rather than skill		<i>I think there's also a little bit of luck @@</i>

Teamwork	16_Leadership and authority in teamwork project			
	16a_no leader	comments claiming there was no (real) leader in teamwork project		<i>no I think there wasn't a leader actually/they always called me the leader but in fact I wasn't the leader</i>
	16b_designated leader	comments referring to team leader assigned by computer programme		<i>Fabian somehow but because we always said he's the leader officially Christian @@unofficially @@ we didn't choose him I mean</i>
	16c_shared authority and pragmatic task distribution	comments relating to shared leadership and authority over texts or tasks		<i>we were checking like everyone read everything and we were even doing it kind of together</i>
	17_Facebook			
	17a_amount	comments indicating how much or how important Facebook is for teamwork		<i>I think for every group work I use Facebook I use Facebook a lot on a daily basis</i>
	17b_advantages	comments indicating advantages of FB in/for teamwork		<i>it's easy to share files with everyone you just put something there and everyone knows about it</i>
	17c_disadvantages	comments indicating disadvantages of FB in/for teamwork		<i>the interface is overloaded and there are advertisements everywhere</i>
	18_Teamwork failure criteria			
	18a_freeriding	comments relating to lack of contribution as a negative factor in teamwork		<i>it was just a problem that [...]they weren't motivated [...] they thought yeah the others would just do it</i>
	18b_personality clashes or poor team atmosphere	comments relating to poor team cohesion or conflict as a negative factor in teamwork		<i>I think that the most negative thing that may happen [...] is when he don't want to listen to other ideas</i>
	18c_language barriers	comments relating to problems with language as a negative factor in teamwork		<i>there were mostly German speakers and when we had coaching with the professor the professor decided to talk German and I could understand but again I couldn't speak too much</i>
	18d_task management	comments relating to task management as a negative factor in teamwork	incl. time factor, ineffective task distribution and wrong decisions	<i>one of the reasons why we lost the whole competition was that we didn't introduce more SKUs right from the beginning</i>
	19_Changes and differences from other teams			
	19a_other teams more serious	other groups were more serious		<i>the other groups were more serious/we didn't talk so much about other stuff</i>
	19b_changes to own behaviour	student would change own behaviour	e.g. make more contributions, be more assertive	<i>I could have done probably more came up with own ideas</i>
	19c_address other team members' behaviour	student would suggest changes to others' behaviour		<i>I would talk with him about to [...] more think together on it</i>
	19d_language-related issues	comments relating to changes or differences based on language		<i>I think we're more polite when we're working in English</i>
	19e_task and content-related issues	comments relating to changes or differences based on task content or processes		<i>if I do it again I would do it completely differently [...] I would go for every market right in the first year</i>
	19f_wouldn't do anything differently	student explicitly states would not change anything		<i>we got good results so I think I wouldn't do anything differently</i>
20_misc - other				

Appendix 5: Overview of individuals' use of EXINTEX strategies

Appendix 5A. MktgB, individual use of all EXINTEX strategies relative to strategy use across team

5Ai. Topicalisation

Name	#top1	%top1	#top2	%top2	#top3	%top3	mean% ¹	#top own tot	recs	#top group tot	%own/group tot ²
Fabian	39	27.9	23	31.9	-	-	29.9	62	1,2	212	29.2
Igor	-	-	-	-	18	28.6	28.6	18	3	63	28.6
Maria	48	34.2	24	33.3	23	36.5	34.6	95	1,2,3	275	34.5
Rafael	53	37.9	25	34.7	22	34.9	35.8	100	1,2,3	275	36.4
total	140	100	72	99.9	63	100	32.2	275		-	32.2

¹mean%: total of percentages per group divided by number of groups (%top1+%top2)/2; (%top1+%top2+%top3)/3

²%own/group tot = (total number of own top/total number of top in relevant groups) * 100

5Aii. Closing

Name	#clo1	%clo1	#clo2	%clo2	#clo3	%clo3	mean% ¹	#clo own tot	recs	#clo group tot	%own/group tot ²
Fabian	59	25.5	30	27.5	-	-	26.5	89	1,2	340	26.2
Igor	-	-	-	-	27	27.6	27.6	27	3	98	27.6
Maria	83	35.9	43	39.4	39	39.8	38.4	165	1,2,3	438	37.7
Rafael	89	38.5	36	33.0	32	32.7	34.7	157	1,2,3	438	35.8
total	231	99.9	109	99.9	98	100.1	31.8	438		-	31.8

5Aiii. Elaboration

Name	#ela1	%ela1	#ela2	%ela2	#ela3	%ela3	mean% ¹	#ela own tot	recs	#ela group tot	%own/group tot ²
Fabian	47	29.4	19	28.4	-	-	28.9	66	1,2	227	29.1
Igor	-	-	-	-	24	24.5	24.5	24	3	98	24.5
Maria	60	37.5	33	49.3	39	40.0	42.3	132	1,2,3	325	40.6
Rafael	53	33.1	15	22.4	35	35.7	30.4	103	1,2,3	325	31.7
total	160	100	67	100.1	98	100.2	31.5	325		-	31.5

5Aiv. Disciplinary reasoning

Name	#dir1	%dir1	#dir2	%dir2	#dir3	%dir3	mean% ¹	#dir own tot	recs	#dir group tot	%own/group tot ²
Fabian	22	30.1	11	26.2	-	-	28.2	33	1,2	115	28.7
Igor	-	-	-	-	9	23.1	23.1	9	3	39	23.1
Maria	25	34.2	17	40.5	12	30.8	35.2	54	1,2,3	154	35.1
Rafael	26	35.6	14	33.3	18	46.2	38.4	58	1,2,3	154	37.7
total	73	99.9	42	100	39	100.1	31.2	154		-	31.2

Appendix 5B. MktgA, individual use of closing strategies

Name	#clo_201 long pause/ topic switch	#clo_202 acceptance/ agreement	#clo_203 summary	#clo_204 acknowl./ gratitude	#clo_205 prop. new concept/ name
Benone	14	129	12	5	1
Carina	25	161	26	3	10
Christian	20	160	19	6	7
Qingling	18	122	7	1	7
total	77	572	64	15	25

Appendix 5C. MktgA, individual use of disciplinary reasoning strategies

Name	#dir_401 challenge/ counter-challenge	#dir_402 topic expansion	#dir_403 refs to external sources	total
Benone	44	8	29	81
Carina	36	11	23	70
Christian	35	18	26	79
Qingling	36	5	16	57
total	151	42	94	287

Appendix 5D. MktgB, individual use of closing strategies

Name	#clo_201 long pause/ topic switch			#clo_202 acceptance/ agreement			#clo_203 summary			#clo_204 acknowl./ gratitude			#clo_205 prop. new concept/ name		
Fabian	5	7	-	49	20	-	6	3	-	1	0	-	0	0	-
Igor	-	-	5	-	-	16	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	-	0
Maria	12	13	9	63	28	30	5	3	1	1	0	0	5	0	0
Rafael	22	11	8	53	26	23	5	0	1	3	0	0	6	0	0
total	39	31	22	165	74	69	16	6	7	5	0	1	11	0	0

**percentages are calculated as the number of times the individual uses a strategy as a percentage of all the uses of that strategy in the meetings the student attended*

Appendix 5E. MktgB, individual use of disciplinary reasoning strategies

Name	#dir_401 challenge/ counter-challenge			#dir_402 topic expansion			#dir_403 refs to external sources		
Fabian	8	5	-	1	1	-	13	5	-
Igor	-	-	6	-	-	3	-	-	0
Maria	12	10	5	0	0	3	13	7	4
Rafael	13	8	11	4	1	0	10	5	7
total	33	23	22	5	2	6	36	17	11

**percentages are calculated as the number of times the individual uses a strategy as a percentage of all the uses of that strategy in the meetings the student attended*

Zusammenfassung

In dieser Dissertation wurde erstmals das von Dafouz und Smit (2016) entwickelte theoretische Konzept „EMEMUS“ (*English-Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings*) in einer groß angelegten empirischen Studie angewandt. Die vorliegende Arbeit verfolgt einen interdisziplinären Ansatz, indem sie Englisch als Arbeitssprache basierend auf konzeptuellen und theoretischen Grundlagen aus den Forschungsbereichen „Englisch als *Lingua Franca*“, „Internationalisierung im Hochschulbereich“ und „Sprache im internationalen Wirtschaftskontext“ untersucht.

Der Hauptfokus der empirischen Studie liegt auf der Kommunikation Studierender in multikulturellen Gruppen im Rahmen eines englischsprachigen Marketing-Masterprogramms an der Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien. Zwei Gruppen, die jeweils aus zwei ÖsterreicherInnen und zwei internationalen StudentInnen bestehen, wurden während eines Teamprojekts auf Ton und Video aufgenommen. In nach dem Projekt stattfindenden Interviews wurden zudem die Einstellungen der TeilnehmerInnen in Bezug auf das englischsprachige Masterprogramm, sowie ihre Einschätzung zum Sprachgebrauch am Arbeitsplatz und zur erfolgreichen Teamarbeit, erhoben. Die Ergebnisse dieser Interviews sowie bisheriger Forschung in Arbeitskontexten identifizierten, neben der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Fachwissen, einen Schwerpunkt auf Smalltalk und Humor als wichtige Bestandteile der beziehungsorientierten Kommunikation. Die Diskursanalyse ihrer Interaktion gewährt Einblicke einerseits in die gemeinsame Konstruktion der Fachsprache, die zum Erstellen einer Marktanalyse notwendig ist, andererseits in die Rolle der Sprache in der Gruppenbildung.

Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse der Studie unterstreichen daher die Bedeutung positiver sozialer Beziehungen für die Entwicklung einer „*Community of Practice*“ innerhalb der Arbeitsgruppe, für das Lernen im Allgemeinen, sowie für erfolgreiche Gruppenarbeit. Des Weiteren wurde die Rolle des konstruktiven Widersprechens in der Abwesenheit einer Lehrperson als häufige Strategie in der Konstruktion von Fachwissen identifiziert. Als Schlussfolgerung weist die vorliegende Dissertation unter anderem auf eine Forschungslücke im Bereich des Sprachgebrauchs am Arbeitsplatz, vor allem unter jungen ArbeitnehmerInnen, hin. Solche Forschungsergebnisse erlauben wichtige Rückschlüsse für die universitäre Lehre, vor allem in Hinsicht auf die Arbeitsmarktfähigkeit der AbsolventInnen – ein Thema, das für die Zukunft internationaler und wirtschaftsbezogener Universitäten wohl immer wichtiger werden wird.