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32.1 Introduction

Classrooms are institutional social spaces where there is microlevel interaction that is embedded in wider sociocultural and sociopolitical institutional contexts in a society. In mainstream schools, they are intended for socialization, curriculum learning, and assessment. As such, they are spaces where students' full range of linguistic and semiotic expression may be leveraged (Cummins 2007) in their interaction with individuals that are often outside students' normal communities (Anderson 2018). Being part of a layered structure of institutions in a nation, the classroom is considered "an immensely rich site for the investigation of the processes of social and cultural (re)production and the relationship between micro classroom and macro institutional processes" (Tsui 2017: 194).

Classroom interaction research dates back some seventy years, with early work leading to insights that classroom processes are extremely complex (Tsui 2017: 188). Multilingual classroom research emerged in the 1980s out of a concern for the education of language-minoritized children (Martin-Jones 2015; Aline and Hosoda 2021). Since then, increased mobility across the world has led to today's multilingual classrooms housing individuals with highly diverse translocal linguistic repertoires. This is mirrored by the recent immense increase in scholarly interest in multilingual language use in education, notably in studies of translanguaging pedagogy (García 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010; García and Li Wei 2014; Cenoz and Gorter 2015; García and Kleyn 2016; García et al. 2017; Paulsrud et al. 2017, 2021; Lau and Van Viegen 2020; Tian et al. 2020; Juvonen and Källkvist 2021; Ortactepe and Okkali 2021), focusing on the role of language for social and epistemic justice.

As intercultural pragmatics (IP) focuses on language use in intercultural social encounters, multilingual classrooms naturally lend themselves to IP

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research. Kecskes (2014: 3), the founder of IP, characterizes intercultural communication as "enhanced with a conscious, often monitored, endeavor of interlocutors to be cooperative and make deliberate efforts to comprehend others and produce language that is processable by others." This kind of communication is indeed characteristic of interaction in additional-language (L2) multilingual classrooms, where the educational target is for students to learn a language other than their first language(s) (L1s), and where teachers need to adjust to students' varying L2 proficiency levels and students' cognitive maturity as reflected in their age.

In this chapter, we review and bring together research on interaction in multilingual classrooms and the field of intercultural pragmatics (IP). As studies of multilingual classroom interaction from an IP perspective per se are few and far between, our review brings to the fore studies carried out from other perspectives, notably ethnography, translanguaging, and Conversation Analysis (CA), which share an interest in social interaction in specific local contexts. For reasons of space, we cover multilingual classroom contexts in which there is face-to-face interaction, where interlocutors have different L1s and communicate in a shared language, beginning with IP studies.

32.2 Intercultural Pragmatics Studies of Multilingual Classroom Interaction

IP developed as a field over the course of the past twenty years and focuses on oral, written, and computer-mediated language use, using mainly four types of data: Conversation Analysis, corpus data, discourse analysis (discourse segments), and computer-mediated communication (Kecskes 2014). Our searches identified two studies that examine classroom interaction using IP as their analytical framework: Maguire and Romero-Trillo (2013) and Hart and Okkali (2021). Maguire and Romero-Trillo (2013) use corpus data of classroom interaction among primary school teachers and pupils aged five and above attending bilingual Spanish–English schools in Madrid. Most of the pupils were L1 speakers of Spanish, whereas their teacher was an English-L1 speaker. The study provides data of pupils interacting using English as a Foreign Language (EFL) with their teacher. The study focuses on *common ground*, which is essential to successful communication, hypothesizing that three factors impact on the extent to which there is common ground: interlocutors' language proficiency (linguistic context), interlocutors' maturity (here age, a private context), and the classroom context (the situational context). The study shows examples of successful and unsuccessful teacher–pupil interaction in English when the teacher and pupils share common ground. Communication succeeds when the common ground includes pupils and their teacher sharing private and situational contexts. Communication

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failures occur due to the pupils' age, thus not sharing core common ground due to limited prior life experience, and limited proficiency in English, which is referred to as "formal sense," a part of common ground (Kecskes and Zhang 2009). Maguire and Romero-Trill conclude that common-ground building work is necessary with young and low-proficiency L2 learners.

Hart and Okkali's study (2021) focuses on the intersection of common ground and positioning. It is a CA study of Turkish-L1 university students' socialization and interaction patterns in an intensive EFL course co-taught by an L1 Turkish-speaking and an L1 English-speaking teacher. Three groups of 12–17 students aged 18–21 were studied. Discursive acts relevant to the establishment of common ground and positioning were extracted from audio-recorded lessons observed. Findings show that L1 English-speaking instructors spent more time establishing common ground with the students, resulting in a focus on fluency and meaning. In the classes taught by the L1 Turkish-speaking instructors (for whom Turkish was common ground with the students), there was a greater focus on the teaching of language features such as vocabulary. The Turkish-L1 instructors tended to position themselves as insiders and sources of information about English (the L2), whereas the native-English-speaking instructors tended to build common ground by positioning themselves as outsiders wanting to become insiders, underlining the differences between their culture and Turkish culture.

In our review of multilingual classroom interaction research, we now turn to the major approaches to doing interaction research: ethnography (including discourse analysis and translanguaging) and CA. What they have in common is an understanding that social interaction is context-specific. We elucidate the main findings, drawing on key concepts in each approach, bringing attention to areas where IP key concepts can usefully be drawn on.

32.3 Ethnography and Translanguaging

Emerging in the 1970s and 1980s, the first generation of ethnographic and discourse-analytic studies came about amid concern about the educational needs among minoritized students (Saxena and Jones 2013). A second generation of studies, developing in the 1990s, further developed interpretive and critical approaches to the study of interaction in multilingual classrooms with a widening of contexts such as postcolonial nations and European and North American indigenous minority-language contexts. This research developed a focus on language-in-education policy, revealing and criticizing deficit discourses associated with multilingualism and language-minoritized students. Wider social and ideological processes were also addressed. The recent third generation of multilingual classroom

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interaction research keeps the focus on situated practices, i.e. language use in specific classroom contexts, by studying teacher and student agency that shapes policy in real time (e.g. Menken and García 2010). This is achieved through researcher presence over an extended period of time, observing, listening, and asking questions in order to gain an emic perspective focusing on "slices of classroom life" (Tsui 2017: 192), for example, language use patterns. This recent research has drawn attention to the fact that classroom events are affected by discourses and policy on different sociolinguistic scales (Hult 2015) as well as social agents' agency, for example, school administrators, teachers, and students (Baker and Wright 2021). Classroom ethnographers share an interest in locally managed interaction in a specific social context. Like IP scholars, ethnographers of multilingual classrooms seek explanations for language use in the directly unobservable: interlocutors' life experiences and beliefs. Unlike IP, present-day ethnography often includes a range of semiotic means that is wider than language use, making multimodality in classroom interaction visible. For reasons of space, below we focus on third-generation ethnographic studies.

32.3.1 Studies of Multilingual Classroom Interaction and Agency

Most of the recent ethnographic work focuses on teacher and/or student agency, often in relation to language-in-education policies through ethnographic observation, conversations, and interviews. A development over time can be traced from bilingual to multilingual contexts. Examples of bilingual contexts studied include English–Spanish classroom contexts in the United States (Levine 2011; García and Leiva 2014; García et al. 2015; Kleyn 2016; Collins and Cioé-Peña 2016; Espinosa and Yadira Herrera 2016), ethnic-based complementary schools in the UK (Wei 2011, 2015; Creese et al. 2015), bilingual schools (Fuller 2015; Luk and Lin 2015), French immersion education in Canada (McMillan and Turnbull 2009; Ballinger 2015), and English as an Additional Language (EAL) classrooms in Europe (Beers Fägersten 2012; Källkvist 2013; Sandlund and Sundqvist 2016; Üstünel 2016; Brevik and Rindal 2020).

With increased migration and mobility, research emerged in more language-diverse contexts. Early studies include Creese (2005), Ife (2008), and Hélot and Muiris Ó Laoire (2011), exploring language use in classrooms as appropriation of education policy through teacher and student agency. More recent ethnographies include Rosén and Bagga-Gupta (2015), Rosiers (2017, 2018), Toth (2017), and Toth and Paulsrud (2017). Some recent ethnographies focus on classrooms that were purposefully selected because teachers had an a priori professed resource orientation to students' multilingual repertoires: Rodrick Beiler (2020), van Viegen (2020), and Ollerhead (2019). These studies document how language practices are shaped, including language use, in classrooms characterized by

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considerable linguacultural heterogeneity following refugee migration. Early studies of translanguaging pedagogy (e.g. García 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010) developed in the ethnographic trajectory of studies among researchers and instructors who share a resource orientation to student multilingualism. Notably, research has emerged on the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy in the United States (García et al. 2015; Pacheco et al. 2015; García and Kleyn 2016; García et al. 2017; Pacheco 2018; Davila 2019; Menken and Sanchez 2019; Seltzer 2020) and other parts of the world (Paulsrud et al. 2017; Svensson 2017; St. John 2018; Choi and Ollerhead 2018; Gynne 2019; Ollerhead 2019; Carbonara and Scibetta 2020).

32.3.2 Findings Pertaining to Agency and Language Use in Multilingual Classrooms

Ethnographic multilingual classroom interaction studies reveal a range of findings: teachers exercise considerable agency in enacting different practiced language policies, i.e. in the use of different languages (Asker and Martin-Jones 2013; Rosén and Bagga-Gupta 2015; Toth 2017, 2018) and students' heritage languages (HLs) can be leveraged without their teacher knowing them (Pacheco et al. 2015; Ebe 2016; Woodley 2016; Pacheco 2018; Carbonara and Scibetta 2021). Often, however, a bilingual (rather than multilingual) policy of the use of two shared languages is enacted in whole-class interaction, whereas languages that are not shared are relegated to group or dyadic translanguaging spaces (Gynne 2019; Brevik and Rindal 2020; Rodrick Beiler 2020; Källkvist et al. 2022); teacher translanguaging patterns tend to be characterized by bilingual translation practices, whereas students translanguage more dynamically (Wei 2015; Rosiers 2018). Students sometimes use translanguaging space to help each other solve tasks and express themselves (Kleyn 2016; Matsumoto 2018b). A few studies include the use of ELF, suggesting that ELF in multilingual classrooms is purposeful, takes on real pragmatic functions, reduces stress, preserves face, and mediates comfortable intergroup relationships (see Ife 2008). As the use of lingua francas (LFs) is at the heart of IP research, we now turn to these studies in more detail.

32.3.3 Ethnographic Studies of LFs in Multilingual Classrooms

Of the studies reviewed above, Ife (2008), Rosén and Bagga-Gupta (2015), and Gynne (2019) are the only ones providing excerpts of interaction where the teacher and students have different L1s and use another language as a LF. For ease of reference, these are described in detail in Table 32.1.

All three studies involve students above the age of sixteen. Ife (2008) is a case study of two groups of international undergraduate students of

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Table 32.1 *Studies involving intercultural pragmatics data*

Study	Context and language repertoires	Aim and method	Results
Ife (2008)	UK university; international students learning Spanish as an L2 **Spanish** is the TL **English** is the majority society language **ELF** is used in the classroom **ELF** is used by students among themselves **Student L1s:** Arabic, Albanian, Czech, English, French, Greek, Italian, Polish, Slovenian, Turkish, Slovenian	**Research question:** To what extent is ELF used, by whom, and for what purpose? **Method:** Audio-recording of two two-hour sessions in two classes taught by two different teachers. Teacher–student and student–student ELF interaction is available in excerpts	ELF use – is purposeful and mutually supportive – allows more continuous discourse – takes on a real pragmatic function, allowing repartee, casual comments, whimsical or ironic comments, and expressions of regret – fulfills several of the functions envisaged for L1 – is more useful for learners whose prior language(s) is/are closely related to the TL – bridges the gap between current level of ability in TL and the level needed for successful communication – helps access TL lexical items and to understand text – reduces stress, mediates comfortable intergroup relationships
Rosén & Bagga-Gupta (2015)	Swedish for adult newly arrived immigrants (SFI) **Swedish** is the TL **Swedish** is the majority society language **ELF** is used on one occasion in the data **Student L1s:** Arabic, Kurdish, Serbian, Somali, Spanish, Thai	**Aim:** to study how language policy is made in real time in two SFI classrooms, taught by two different teachers **Method**: linguistic ethnography	A noun phrase in ELF, *a person who steals*, is used by one of the two teachers when an Arabic-L1 student asks what the Swedish word *tjuv* ('thief') means.

Table 32.1 *Continued*

Study	Context and language repertoires	Aim and method	Results
Gynne (2019)	The Language Introduction Programme for newly arrived students aged 16–19 **Swedish** is the TL in subjects taught through Swedish **English** is the TL EAL classes **Swedish** is the majority society language **Students' L1s:** Arabic, Bosnian, Dari, Somali, Tigrinya **Teacher 1's L1:** Unclear, but has proficiency in Swedish, Arabic, Assyrian, and Kurdish **Teacher 2's L1:** No information	**Aim**: to examine translanguaging as a pedagogical practice and the practiced language policy of three classrooms (mathematics, natural sciences, English)	ELF is used in the English lesson by one of the teachers to give task instructions and for class management. Swedish as an LF is used to check students' understanding of key vocabulary. Teachers stated that students expressed "excitement" when their "total linguistic repertoires were promoted to a higher degree and where peer interaction functioned as a scaffold for learning" (p. 360).

Spanish at a UK university, involving ten different L1s, the majority of which were not English. Two teachers participated, one an L1-Spanish speaker and the other an L1-English speaker. The results showed that ELF served specific functions and scaffolding that students found facilitative of their learning of Spanish. Both students and teachers initiated use of ELF, although students did so more often. Student-initiated ELF occurred when they needed to express something in a manner that is more sophisticated than their TL proficiency level allowed for, as translations of unknown vocabulary, when asking about features of Spanish grammar, and in the building of interpersonal relationships. Ife concludes that "ELF use in our observed data is always purposeful . . . and is clearly fundamental to the functioning of the FL classroom" (2008: 96). Drawing on the core concepts of IP, this is an example of students and teacher using their emerging competence in Spanish as well as their command of English (in ELF classroom interaction) as common ground. In the context of Ife's study, English and communication in ELF provides considerable common ground given the English-majority-language UK context.

Rosén and Bagga-Gupta (2015), an ethnography of practiced language policy of two adult Swedish-For-Immigrant (SFI) classrooms, revealed that the two teachers enacted different policies, i.e. used different languages during lessons. Whereas one teacher encouraged Swedish-only practices, the other teacher welcomed students' prior languages to be used in the classroom. In one of the excerpts, the latter teacher produces an explanation in ELF of the Arabic word for "thief": *a person who steals*. This use of ELF elicited a confirmation from an Arabic-speaking student that *a person who steals* was the correct translation. This is an example of ELF use, as common ground, used to facilitate student comprehension to advance their emergent common ground in Swedish.

Gynne (2019) is a study of the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy in Swedish language classes for recently arrived students in upper-secondary school (age 16–19). Students' HLs include Arabic, Bosnian, Dari, Farsi, Somali, and Tigrinya. In implementing translanguaging pedagogy, the teacher used Swedish as an LF and ELF, which also served as the medium of instruction and as the TL in the EAL lessons. English and Swedish are shared, used as both the media and targets of instruction. Students' HLs were used in group work but were not welcome in whole-class interaction. The IP concept of common ground can explain this practiced language policy: the use of English and Swedish is an example of common ground, whereas students' HLs are not common ground in these classrooms.

All three studies show that ELF is used in particular for the purpose of facilitating student comprehension of new TL vocabulary. This agrees with findings from studies of bi- and multilingual classrooms (Saxena 2009; Källkvist 2013; Ebe 2016; Turnbull 2018; Källkvist et al. 2019). ELF is used considerably more in the classrooms studied by Ife (2008), which can be

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explained by English being the majority society language in the UK and students are therefore used to using ELF in their communities outside the classroom. In turn, the use of Swedish as an LF in Gynne (2019) and Rosén and Bagga-Gupta (2015) can be explained by Swedish being the society majority language.

Having highlighted relevant findings of multilingual classroom ethnography and translanguaging, we now turn to CA. With its detailed attention to the social organization of talk-in-interaction in natural contexts, CA is well-equipped to address questions in IP research.

32.4 CA Studies of Multilingual Classroom Interaction

In this section, we review key findings from studies on interaction in multilingual classrooms using discourse and interaction data – mainly from the perspective of CA (Sacks et al. 1974; Markee 2000), but also from more broadly pragmatic, micro-ethnographic, and discourse-analytic approaches. Guiding principles in the selection of empirical studies represented are that they (1) base their analysis on recordings of classroom discourse, and (2) focus on classroom settings where participants may have different first L1s but communicate in an LF, whether the LF is the target language (TL) of learning or a shared medium for subject content teaching. We have excluded studies of multilingual interaction outside the classroom, such as preschool, recess time, one-on-one tutoring, and after-school programs, and only included university teaching when particularly relevant to the empirical themes examined. Furthermore, we exclude studies of online interactions (e.g. Bono and Melo-Pfeifer 2010) and studies that mainly draw on the application of models for categorizing, for example, different types of code-switching (e.g. Payant and Kim 2015), or quantitative studies of patterns of communication or self-report data (e.g. Muller and Baetens Beardsmore 2004).

With its focus on describing the structures and mechanisms governing human social interaction, CA is an approach that is particularly well-equipped for describing how participants with diverse language backgrounds collaboratively navigate social encounters, drawing on a wide variety of linguistic and embodied resources. While from its inception, CA work focused on L1 interactions (Sacks et al. 1974; Sacks 1992), empirical studies on second language (L2) and bilingual talk have made significant contributions to our understanding of L2 learner development and interactional competence (Hall et al. 2011; Kasper & Wagner 2011), and LF interactions in various institutional settings (e.g. Firth 1996) as well as to the broader field of second language studies as a whole (e.g. Firth and Wagner 1997; Markee and Kunitz 2015; Douglas Fir Group 2016). CA is also, to a varying extent, viewed as one methodological approach in IP because of its rigorous and systematic procedures for describing and

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understanding norms underpinning social interaction (e.g. Markee and Kasper 2004). However, the core assumptions of CA clash with IP on the role of the external context and participants' interactional histories in understanding, for example, the role of culture for a particular segment of LF interaction (see Kecskes 2014: 236). For a conversation analyst, "culture" only becomes available for analysis when discourse participants themselves demonstrably treat it as relevant by displaying their orientations to cultural aspects. As such, CA studies reject predetermined models of the role of culture as an explanatory model and instead treat, for example, members' displayed orientations to different linguistic, cultural, and proficiency identities as empirical matters, just as any other phenomenon such as learning, teaching, or testing is viewed as achieved in interaction by interactants.

However, this emic perspective does not mean that CA cannot contribute to our understanding of multilingual classrooms, as will be argued in this section. A CA analyst, by studying multilingual classroom interaction, can study how participants "construct, negotiate, or resist the reproduction of social, cultural, and political forces" (Malabarba and Nguyen 2019: 5). For example, CA can shed light on how language learners flexibly orient to and enact participant categories as "novice" and "expert" users of a particular language and design their turns accordingly (Mori 2007).

For the purpose of the present chapter, we focus on empirical work in multilingual classrooms in which at least three different named languages are used by participants in the classroom and/or in their everyday lives. Thus, we give interactional studies of bilingual classrooms in contexts where all participants share an L1 only a cursory review (see, e.g. Bonacina and Gafaranga 2011; Jakonen 2018; Martin-Beltrán et al. 2018). Three themes emerged as particularly rich in empirical findings; the first dealing more broadly with code-switching, which has principally been studied in bilingual interaction; the remaining two center on issues of participation, language policy, and identity in relation to language choice, and on particular interactional practices in multilingual classrooms.

32.4.1 Code-switching/Language Alternation in Bi/Multilingual Classrooms

Interactional research on code-switching (CS) has examined local, sequential contexts in which separate named language codes are oriented to by participants themselves. Perhaps unsurprisingly, a great number of studies have examined language alternation or CS in contexts where participants share more than one common language and thus can draw on more than one code and still maintain intersubjectivity. With Gumperz' (1982, 1991) propositions on contextualization cues on which speakers rely to index particular circumstances, identities, and roles as a backdrop, and Auer's (1998) work on CS in interaction, interactional research on CS in

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conversation has generally focused on bilingual contexts, such as bilingual families (e.g. Wei 2002; Fernandes 2019), dual language communities (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 2005; Musk 2010), international workplaces (Firth 1996), and the L2 classroom (Üstünel and Seedhouse 2005). An instance of code-switching only obtains meaning in interaction in its local sequential context (see Auer 1992: 30), and interaction-based approaches such as CA set out to uncover the local relevance of such shifts to participants themselves, and the communicative effects of the use of different language resources (see Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 2005; Nyroos et al. 2017). Gafaranga (2000) argued that concepts such as "language" and "code" in discussing CS within a stretch of social interaction can be problematic in uncovering participants' own orientations (i.e. the emic analytic approach of ethnomethodological CA) to language choice. Instead, he proposes the term *medium* of bilingual conversations: the "scheme of interpretation speakers themselves orient to while talking" (p. 329), which in turn may be bilingual, or perhaps even multilingual. In multilingual classrooms, learners will often "operate in the target language, the lingua franca and possibly their first languages" (Wagner 2019: 298), and as such, CA allows for a systematic analytic approach to when and how different language codes (as unfortunate as such a description may be) are momentarily treated as separate entities, or as practices for the accomplishment of particular actions.

Studies of conversational code-switching, in particular sequential slots, have shown that CS is "programmatically relevant" to the interaction at hand (Wei 2005:375). CS is also seen as systematically organized in relation to various social purposes, and Auer (1984, 1998) divides such social functions into two groups: *discourse-related* CS (for contributing to meaning of a particular turn at talk) and participant- (preference-) related CS (the interactional processes of displaying and accounting for participants' language preferences in a given moment). Ferguson's (2003) review of discourse-oriented work on CS in classrooms identifies three main categories of studies: those which show CS as part of making the subject matter or curriculum accessible to students, those which deal with classroom management, and those which center on CS in building and negotiating social relations and classroom climate. Studies centering on identifying the *sequential implicativeness* (Auer 1998), that is, the local relevance of a meaningful shift in language code, of conversational CS have shown, for example, that students in the language classroom can display alignment or disalignment with the teacher's pedagogical focus by switching languages at particular points in ongoing interaction (Üstünel and Seedhouse 2005). Lehti-Eklund (2013) demonstrated that students in L2 classrooms treated their language choice as relevant to the activity in which they were currently engaged and tended to "keep up a division of labour between FL [foreign language] used for institutional work and L1 as the language reserved for interaction" (p. 132). Likewise, Unamuno (2008)

shows how CS/language alternation between Spanish and Catalan in English and Catalan language classrooms served to address practical and procedural matters in completing tasks. In a study of CS to Swedish in EFL oral proficiency testing interaction, Nyroos et al. (2017) show how the deployment of a Swedish repair initiator, *eller* (or), in an otherwise all-English local context, accomplished interactional work of displaying awareness of a trouble source, and signaling to co-participants that self-initiated repair was in progress. As these studies show, participants in L2 classrooms can be said to treat language resources shared and present as variably *salient* to the activity at hand, and since more than one language is shared by participants, it takes less interactional work to establish *common ground* (Kecskes 2014) than in LF contexts where perhaps only the learning target is a shared resource.

Like the ethnography studies reviewed above, studies on CS in classroom interaction in primarily *bi*lingual contexts definitely outnumber studies in multilingual classroom contexts. Also, a number of studies deal with only two named classroom languages (usually a TL and a school language), regardless of whether classroom participants are multilingual beyond these two languages. As such, several studies we examined only mention in passing the linguistic repertoires of participants, or if mentioned, they are not in focus for the analysis, mainly because participants themselves do not make them relevant. Examples of studies in multilingual classrooms not specifically dealing with multilingual language resources are Sert and Walsh's (2013) study of claims of insufficient knowledge in multicultural and multilingual English classrooms in Luxembourg, and Matsumoto's (2019) analysis of how teachers and university students from diverse language backgrounds manage material resources (i.e. textbooks and worksheets) in an L2 English writing class. One reason for this skew is that interactional approaches target demonstrably visible and audible conduct, and in LF contexts, particularly in bilingual learning contexts and foreign language classrooms, it may not be relevant for participants to draw on languages that are not shared. Thus, multilingual practices are often de facto bilingual, as illustrated in Hart and Occali's (2021) IP study conducted in Turkey (reviewed above). Here, too, we can see an overlap with the research interests of IP and pragmatic approaches more generally, where discourse participants are assumed, and observed to strive for cooperation and "produce language that is processable by others" (Kecskes 2014: 3).

32.4.2 Participation, Roles, Policy, and Identities in Multilingual Classrooms

In multilingual classrooms, practiced language policy constitutes the outcome of participants' orientations and conduct, and institutional frameworks. In an induction classroom for newly arrived immigrant

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children in France, Bonacina-Pugh (2020) examined participants' practical treatment of different languages as legitimate, or appropriate, in a given sequential context. Classifying the talk in the data set according to *medium of classroom interaction* (see Bonacina and Gafaranga 2011), five mediums were oriented to by participants: English, French, and Spanish monolingual mediums, and French and English, and a French and Spanish bilingual medium, and treated all as appropriate, despite the fact that top-down policies supported only a French monolingual norm. Lexical items produced in other languages, such as Polish, Japanese, and Romanian, were invited by the teacher in translation sequences. The author concludes that other languages were treated as legitimate when licensed by the classroom teacher.

In an earlier study of the same data set, drawing on CA and membership categories, Bonacina-Pugh demonstrates how the classroom teacher, Miss Lo, despite not speaking any of her pupils' languages, frequently drew upon multilingual resources in her teaching. The analysis shows how pupils treat the category of "teacher" as relevant to language choice in the classroom, and that adopting a particular medium of instruction was bound to membership in the category of "teacher-hood" (2013a: 301). When performed by the classroom teacher, the medium was French, but teacher-hood could also be temporarily suspended and assigned to selected learners. While the teacher was the one to invite learners to act as teachers and, for example, teach co-participants something in another language, the role reversal made other language mediums acceptable. Bonacina-Pugh concludes that shifts in orientations to identity categories "produced different language choice patterns" (2013b: 311) in the multilingual classroom.

Another context in which CA work in multilingual classrooms has been conducted is English-medium instruction in content school subjects. In one such study (Mendoza 2020), set in Hawai'i and with ninth grade students of diverse language backgrounds, from newly arrived students to resident multilinguals, the analyst puts the spotlight on one particular student who is assigned expert (language broker) status by his peers in terms of his fluency in several languages. Through analysis of peer interactions, Mendoza demonstrates how the key learner, Kix, scaffolds others' understanding through translanguaging practices but also warns that pedagogies encouraging translanguaging "without explicit guidance on how to foster inclusion of peers whose language competencies do not have the same distributional asymmetries as your own" (2020: 16) can create tensions and dominance of the most multilingual, or of the linguistic majority. In support of the development of a *didactics of plurilingualism*, Llompart-Esbert and Nussbaum (2020) examine teachers' and students' multilingual practices at different stages of developing L2 expertise among multilingual learners of languages (Spanish, Catalan, English, and French) in Catalonia. They argue that the observed deployment of

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multilingual modes of communication supported learners' development of their linguistic resources toward more unilingual interaction modes.

Moore (2014) examined university students' teamwork in English-medium university classrooms and showed how the students' L1s were mobilized as resources for accessing and learning subject content. Based on analysis of students' multilingual, and finally, unilingual, participation in group work, the author argues that multilingual practices in L2 immersion settings help secure participation and emerging subject learning. In terms of how translanguaging practices can be exploited for purposes other than inclusion and understanding, Jakonen et al. (2018) show how a student in an English-medium history class in Finland uses translanguaging to challenge the monolingual L2 English norm in the classroom, albeit playfully. The focal student draws on Finnish, English, and Swedish in inviting laughter and displaying his non-investment in the activity at hand. The authors observe that research on translanguaging has tended to view multilingual practices solely in a positive light, but their examination shows how translanguaging, instead of constituting an attempt to draw on all linguistic repertoires for educational or inclusion purposes, is understood as "an instance of verbal play during a 'boring class'" (p. 45). Jakonen et al (2018) also suggest a way in which translanguaging and code-switching can be analytically separated by examining whether co-participants treat the use of more than one language in a monolingual L2 context as "mixing," or as a temporary CS to an L1.

In a different type of setting where Swedish was both the target L2 and the classroom LF for migrant students learning Swedish in a language introduction program for new arrivals or refugee/immigrant youth, Åhlund and Aronsson (2015a) show how three or more students collaboratively orient to language ideology in the classroom. In particular, they examine how learners stylize and verbally improvise exaggerated versions of colloquial Swedish in contrast to Standard Swedish and treat the stylizations as laughable. The stylizations are argued to be central in forming a classroom community of L2 practices but also for reflecting upon and experimenting with language phenomena, which in turn could support L2 learning.

Drawing on data from multilingual preschools as well as immersion classrooms for refugee children at the elementary school level in Sweden, Björk Willén and Cekaite (2012) examined how children co-constructed norms for language use in peer groups. In the second data set, which is of most relevance to the present review, Swedish was the LF and the language of instruction, and Swedish and Arabic were both LFs in peer interactions. Learners' language practices, including corrective exchanges and word searches, did the interactional work of "shaping of peer group relations, allowing the multilingual peer group to agentively play out their hierarchical positionings based on the differences in Swedish language knowledge" (p. 184). As such, multilingual practices

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are deeply connected to the construction of local language identities and hierarchical positions in the local social order. As such, the societal context in which the interaction is embedded is also visible; thereby analyzable, in the local interactional classroom context.

32.4.3 Studies of Particular Language Practices for Teaching and Learning in Multilingual Classrooms

In the present chapter, we selected empirical work representing a diversity of linguistic and educational contexts in order to show how studies of specific interactional practices, which do not explicitly aim to promote multilingual pedagogies and their effects on learning, can still shed light on the complex ecologies in multilingual classrooms. However, space does not permit us to do justice to the full scope of interactional studies of specific language practices in multilingual classrooms.

With an analytic approach rooted in IP, Dalton-Puffer (2005) examined directive speech acts in secondary school Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) content-subject classrooms in German-speaking Austria, where the medium of instruction was English, and participants' L1s were German, Turkish, Russian, and Serbo-Croatian. Analysis of classroom interaction showed a considerable degree of variation in the realization of directive speech acts, but that L1 culture was one explanatory factor for the patterns observed. The study, however, focuses only on teachers' linguistic backgrounds in explaining the differences, and not those of students.

A common practice in language classrooms is that the teacher names, or asks students to name, objects or phenomena as a method for teaching vocabulary, such as pointing to a pen and asking students to name the object. Such requests for naming are sometimes referred to as *label quests* (Heath 1986), and in a French induction classroom for newly arrived children in France, Bonacina-Pugh (2013a) examines how such sequences are accomplished in multilingual classrooms. She discusses differences between *symmetrical* (where two or more languages used for interaction are known to the teacher as well as the students) and *asymmetrical* multilingual classrooms (contexts where the teacher does not share the linguistic repertoires of the students). While the classroom under study belonged to the second category, the label quests were accomplished multilingually through inviting students to supply translations of a French word in series of "translation quests" (p. 163), which sequentially occurred as expansions of the "traditional" three-turn structure of label quests. Bonacina-Pugh argues that multilingual teaching increased pupils' confidence and made possible increased participation in activities where they did not know the

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French word. It can be argued that such activities also show participants' gradually emerging establishment of a common ground.

Cekaite (2009) examined how young children in Swedish immersion classrooms, with limited linguistic resources in Swedish, solicit the teacher's help through summonses. She shows how two pupils, HL users of Kurdish and Thai, respectively, supplemented their limited lexical repertoires in the L2 with affective displays and embodied demonstrations for summoning the teacher. As the author notes, these "seemingly simple discursive structures involve rather complex communicative abilities" (p. 44). These emotionally charged summonses of the teacher helped construct "locally relevant student identities interpretable as 'needy', 'irritated', 'demanding', 'frustrated', or 'resigned'" (p. 39). Cekaite argues that in these moments, novice learners must display stances and identities that are appropriate within the local sequential and the classroom context, thus simultaneously constituting a learning occasion. Also set in a Swedish immersion class, but with older learners (ages 16–18), Åhlund and Aronsson's (2015b) study of corrections in multiparty accomplishments does not specifically discuss the role of the students' diverse language background, but the study shows that the students were actively engaged in classroom correction work in relation to language issues, and as such, the authors caution researchers in only focusing on *teachers'* scaffolding practices.

Finally, Matsumoto (2018a) examined the role of laughter in ELF classroom interactions at a US university. The author demonstrates how laughter accomplishes different types of interactional work in "miscommunication" sequences, such as displaying non-understanding, signaling communication trouble, teasing, and for displaying affiliation and disaffiliation. It is argued that the examination of nonverbal/multimodal features of multilingual ELF interactions is scarce and could provide a richer understanding of practices in such contexts (see also Kimura 2020).

Drawing on the studies from the perspectives of IP, ethnography, translanguaging, and CA, we have shown the range of topics and the findings yielded by this research. Below, we provide an illustration of our own research in language-diverse junior high school EAL classrooms in Sweden, in which there is LF communication in both Swedish and English – both being core, mandatory school subjects, therefore constituting common ground. We rely primarily on CA for analysis, but – where possible – we bring in core IP concepts.

32.5 Interaction in the Multilingual Classroom: An Illustration

32.5.1 The MultiLingual Spaces Project

The MultiLingual Spaces project, funded by the Swedish Research Council, contributes research on interaction, teaching, and learning in

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multilingual EAL classrooms, specifically targeting today's Western European (Swedish) classrooms. The overarching aim of MultiLingual Spaces is to contribute to the development of evidence-informed (Baker and Wright 2021) language practices in EAL classrooms in junior high schools. We began by conducting a linguistic ethnography by engaging EAL teachers with experience from teaching EAL in multilingual classrooms. Building on these ethnographic observation and interview data, we then designed multilingual teaching and learning materials focusing on English vocabulary, which was inclusive of all prior languages represented in six intact focal classrooms.

Below, we focus on the ethnographic and interaction data collected in seventh-grade (age 12–13) multilingual classroom, including a number of students who had migrated to Sweden and were emergent trilinguals of their HL/L1, Swedish, and English. The excerpt illustrates student negotiation of a vocabulary issue, a common challenge in L2 learning (Schmitt 2008) and identified as such in IP analysis of ELF usage (Kecskes 2019). Through this empirical illustration, we demonstrate how a source of interactional trouble occasioned by participants' different understandings of an English word is collaboratively negotiated and resolved, and how participants assign blame for the temporary lack of shared understanding on two separate language codes involved. While the three students in this case share at least two languages (English and Swedish), two of them are HL users of at least one more language, but only English (the target language) and Swedish (the majority/school language) are treated as salient to the interaction at hand. In light of detailed analysis of the students' displayed understandings of the lexical issue at play, we argue that a priori assumptions about language and culture may not be what participants themselves treat as contextually relevant, regardless of their different language backgrounds.

32.5.2 Vocabulary Trouble Sources and Peer Negotiation and Learning

Our review above has illustrated how group work in the language classroom is one type of interaction where the enforcement of target language ideologies may be temporarily suspended in pursuit of social or task accomplishment goals. A CA approach to such sequences can reveal the fine-detailed structural organization of peer classroom work and uncover how participants draw on their linguistic repertoires in accomplishing communication success. In illustrating the classroom as a multilingual space where participants' displayed orientations to named languages are available for analysis, we analyze video-recordings from MultiLingual Spaces where three students draw on two named languages, both shared, in accomplishing a vocabulary game task, and in which language transfer is accomplished as a participants' concern. We demonstrate how diverging

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understandings of an English word, the verb *ring* (meaning "making a phone call"), accomplishes a moment of peer teaching and teasing, which could be viewed as opportunity for the development of metalinguistic awareness. This also shows how participants orient to two named languages in a classroom with a prescribed monolingual English norm.

The excerpts illustrate Nils (L1 Swedish; additional language: English), Mohammad (L1 Dari; additional languages: Swedish and English) and Malia (L1 Somali; additional languages: Swedish and English) playing a vocabulary game using flash cards with English words and Swedish translations on the back. Students were instructed to take turns drawing a new card and explaining the word in English to the others, who are tasked with guessing the word. The first to make a correct guess receives the card in question, and when all cards are done, the winner of the game is the student with the highest number of cards. The seating configuration1 is illustrated in Figure 32.1.

As we enter the students' interaction, Malia is drawing a new card (which, unknown to her co-participants, has the word *ring* written on it). In line 1 of Excerpt 1a (Figure 32.2), she uses the demonstrative "this one" in service of reorienting her peers to the game and the initiation of a new task sequence, and then embarks on her word explanation. Her first word explanation, with the format of a designedly incomplete turn (see Koshik 2002), hinges on the description of a hypothetical scenario, "when you miss someone you::::". The drawn-out pronoun indicates to co-participants that she is expecting them to fill in the blank in her sentence with

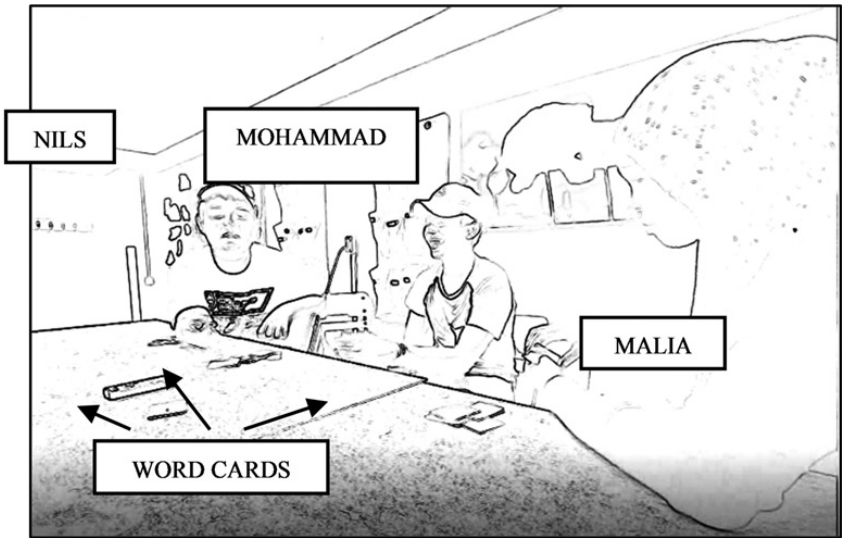

Figure 32.1 Seating configuration in the word-card game

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1	MAL	this one e:h when you miss
2		someone +yo:::u,
3	MOH	+gaze at MAL, 'stern' face
4		(2.8)
5	MOH	*∘you-∘*
6	MAL	when you miss someone
7	MOH	you miss someone ↑yeah
8		((turns to NIL, palms out))
9	MOH	Wh- heh he [heh heh heh
10	MAL	[YE:S +what do you do
11		+palms out
12		when you miss someone
13	MOH	£you ↑miss£
14	MAL	((makes face and puts hand on head))
15	NIL	cry: ((points finger toward MAL))
16		(1.0)
17	NIL	I cry
18	MAL	assåː (.) when you miss someone (.)
19		You do something
20		(1.2)

Figure 32.2 Excerpt 1a

a suitable word. The formatting of her turn indicates that her card contains a verb.

Mohammad shifts his gaze to Malia and displays non-understanding through a very visible change in his facial expression (line 3) – his facial expression appears designed to display to Malia his non-understanding of the searched-for word. There is an almost three-second-long silence, after which Mohammad repeats Malia's key indicator of the missing word: the subject preceding the missing verb. This partial repetition orients to the insufficient evidence in Malia's explanation and attempts to solicit more clues. Malia, however, repeats her own prior formulation, but without the subject "you" (line 6). Mohammad's confirming response, "you miss someone yeah" (line 7), can be heard as treating Malia's word explanation as inadequate: his turn is produced with a falling intonation on *someone*, and an intonation rise on *yeah* casts his turn as a display of 'bewilderment' with Malia's explanation.

Mohammad shifts his gaze to Nils, holding out his hands, emphasizing his display of non-understanding, and laughs. Together, these actions make public the un-guessability of Malia's attempts to solicit the card word. Malia, however, continues on the explanation path she has initiated and confirms Mohammad's description, not seemingly treating it as a negative assessment of her explanation, but rather as an indicator that Mohammad and Nils do not know the word yet, and in a reformulation,

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she asks them, "what do you do when you miss someone?" (lines 10–12). As we can see, possible fitting verb responses here could include anything related to actions done when missing another individual, and Malia has not specified it further.

Mohammad, in line 13, responds with a partial repeat – this time omitting "someone." His response indicates the inadequacy of the explanation again, in only supplying "miss" as a word – that is – Mohammad can be heard to offer a non-serious candidate response to the guess game as the rules of the game stipulate that the word searched for cannot be mentioned in the explanation. Instead, he offers "miss" as a response, which is hearable as a dismissal of Malia's explanation. As such, Mohammad displays his stance on the matter: that there are simply no other words to express what you do when you miss someone, except for the action of missing them.

Malia displays some embodied frustration at their displayed lack of understanding (line 14), after which Nils offers a different verb: *cry*, which is an entirely possible candidate (line 15). There is no uptake from Malia, and Nils adds *I cry* with an emphasis on the first-person pronoun. By assuming a subjective perspective, Nils legitimizes his response – while "cry" was not treated as a correct response, Nils casts it as unchallengeable given the subjective take presented. Malia, however, continues to insist on maintaining her first explanation format as she repeats "when you miss someone" and supplements it with "you do something"(lines 18–19), despite Nils and Mohammad having shown that they understand that she has in mind a verb connected to actions when missing someone. There is a moment of silence following her renewed attempt (line 20).

The exchange proceeds with embodied orientations, laughter, and smiles between Nils and Mohammad in Excerpt 1b (lines 21–24) (Figure 32.3).

Mohammad, in line 25, also insists on his version of an answer, but this time he switches to Swedish in producing the same type of gist: when you miss someone, miss them is exactly what you do, and nothing else. The code-switch allows him to repeat his challenge of Malia's explanation but using a different shared linguistic repertoire.

In line 28, Malia seems to concede to the lack of understanding, and – she begins producing the correct answer "you rin-," which is halted as Nils produces another candidate answer in line 29 ("you think about'em"). Malia's turn is initiated in English ("you ring") and continued, then restarted in Swedish in line 30. Her self-initiated repair in lines 28 and 30 is interesting, and we have no way of knowing for certain why she switches to Swedish. Perhaps her own verbalization of the subject with the verb in line 28 sounded strange when she heard herself producing it, so she abandons the English turn and rephrases it in Swedish in line 30 (which translates as "you ring him"). She repeats the card word in line 36 after

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```
21  MOH   ((turns toward NIL))
22        .hh hhhehehehheh HEH
23  NIL   ((smiles))
24  MOH   >£yeah yeah£<
25  MOH   ££ja saknar nån ja saknar nån££
          I miss someone I miss someone
26  MAL   .pFFFFFFFF
27        (0.8)
28  MAL   (you) rin-
29  NIL    you +THINK about 'em
                +points to MAL
30  MAL    du ↑↑ringer h↑a:n ((puts down card))
           you call him
31  MAL    ring
32  NIL    °jaha: °
33  MOH    jaha you call (PT) ((rolls head))
34  MAL    ((picks up new card))
35  NIL    no: that's- +that's
                       +points, gaze at MAL
36  MAL    ↑↑↑NE:::J IT'S RING↑↑↑ ((locates card))
```

Figure 32.3 Excerpt 1b

having archived the card in the pile, showing that she treats the game sequence as a card with no winner.

Nils shows uptake and understanding (an *aha* type response in Swedish, i.e. a so-called change-of-state token; see Heritage 1984) in line 32, but here is when the sequence takes a new turn: Mohammad also displays a new understanding in his "jaha: you call," which uses a different verb from *ring* for phoning someone. Malia begins picking up a new card and thus treats the sequence as brought to a close. At this point, Nils, who has spotted the card in the pile, produces a disagreeing "no" (line 35) and begins accounting for his disagreement. Malia, however, is not having the answer questioned and produces a loud response cry turn in line 36: "Nej it's RING!" locating the card and offering evidence of her position. Nils, however, continues to challenge Malia's interpretation in line 37 in Excerpt 1c (Figure 32.4).

Nils uses embodied resources to demonstrate to Malia that the word on the card is actually a ring on a finger – a noun – and not the verb *to ring someone*. Perhaps Nils comes to this conclusion in his visual orientation to the card Malia is putting down – and together with Mohammad's paraphrase supplement with the verb *call*, Nils displays a new understanding: that it could not have been the verb *ring* in the meaning of "phoning" that was searched for. Malia's realization and acceptance of Nils' claim is made public in line 39 with a change-of-state token in Swedish, and the incomplete turn unit "ja trodde de" (I thought it). At this point, Mohammad

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37	NIL	NO it's not- it's RIng
38		ise::h+
		+points to ring finger
39	MAL	ah ha::::h assså (ja trodde de)
		Ah ha::::h assså (I thought it)
40	MOH	CALL de heter CALL hun=
		CALL it's called CALL +she=
41		+points to MAL
42		+shifts gaze to NIL
43	MOH	=trodde de e svenska r(hh)ing hheh heh
		=thought it is Swedish r(hh)ing hheh heh
44	MAL	((hand over mouth, smiling))
45	MOH	Huh huh huh

Figure 32.4 Excerpt 1c

aligns with Nils' interpretation (i.e. that Malia misread the homonym for the noun *ring* as a verb) and supplies a correction in line 40, which is produced in a "triumphant," teasing manner, and addresses Nils ("hon trodde de e svenska r(hh)ing hheh heh"/"she thought it is Swedish r(hh)ing hheh heh"). With the exception of the lexical item *call*, his turn is produced entirely in Swedish, which is a common way of showing a temporary suspension of a task-at-hand and an orientation to some other aspect of the local context (e.g. Reichert 2009; Nyroos et al. 2017). Mohammad, thus, displays an orientation to the two LFs in the classroom – English as the TL and Swedish as the school and society majority language – and places the blame for their failure to guess the word on Malia's alleged misreading of the target word. The teasing tone is only met with laughter and a playful embodied enactment of embarrassment (see Sandlund 2004) from Malia, and participants soon pick up a next card.

What the occasioned misunderstanding in this sequence reveals is not that Malia or Mohammad, as L2 users of Swedish and English, come to different conclusions about the card word "ring" *because of* them having different prior languages. Such claims would have to be based on scientific approaches that target cognitive processing, and with our CA approach here, any L1 transfer would be impossible to determine to be an explanatory factor. However, what we do have access to is the gradual unfolding of shared social cognition as participants negotiate the meaning of the word in pursuit of a cause for the two others' failure to guess the word. As readers familiar with Swedish and English may observe, it is actually not incorrect to use *ring* as a verb for calling or phoning a beloved one, so the diverging interpretations of participants are a matter of joint interactional accomplishment. While Nils proposes what in his mind is a correct interpretation of the card item, Mohammad supplies a different verb and puts it forth as the only option if "phoning" is what Malia was after.

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What is also important to note is that Malia and Mohammad, at least demonstrably visibly, draw on the two classroom LFs (English and Swedish), and not on their HLs. Mohammad's teasing of Malia is based on Malia's language transfer between Swedish and English, and thus, they treat those two separate named languages as relevant to the local classroom context. As such, Mohammad mainly orients to Malia as an emergent bilingual user of English and Swedish where language transfer becomes a trouble source, rather than as an L2 user of Swedish. Mohammad, on the other hand, positions himself as more proficient in English in his displayed understanding of the semantic relationship between the Swedish verb *att ringa* (to phone/call/ring) and the English verb *call*. Participants thus make relevant language expertise and language awareness, but their different HL backgrounds were not being foregrounded at this moment. Instead, what we can say is that through their actions, they use English and Swedish as common-ground resources and as salient to the task-at-hand, and as unmarked resources in task accomplishment. Swedish has collective salience (shared language) as well as situational salience (Kecskes 2014) through being the school language and LF. Also, the English word *ring* has cognates in Swedish both in its meaning as a concrete noun and as the verb *ring*. As revealed by previous research, students treat each other as *bi*lingual, rather than multilingual and multicultural speakers in this instance. This shows students' cooperativeness (Kecskes 2019) in the social space of a classroom, orienting toward common ground in the shape of languages shared rather than those non-shared, in this case Dari and Somali. The excerpt also shows how students bring in relevant, salient language resources only when failing to resolve the trouble by adhering to English only.

Finally, we argue that peer classroom interactions such as the one examined here offer a window into a myriad of aspects of interaction in multilingual classrooms, such as peer learning and teaching in group work, the local relevance of language identities, and the interactional work of language alternation in EAL classroom work.

32.6 Conclusions and Future Directions

With growing mobility across the world and a quest for social and epistemic justice in education, the amount of research addressing multilingualism in education has grown enormously, as revealed by the number of studies reviewed in this chapter. We have brought together multilingual classroom interaction research and IP as both share a concern for understanding highly context-specific use of different language codes, and we have shown that key IP concepts put forth as crucial factors in understanding intercultural communication, i.e. context, common ground, and salience, can usefully be applied in multilingual classroom interaction research. The

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concept of common ground can partly explain the frequent pattern of the use of *bi*lingual rather than *multi*lingual language codes in classrooms housing language diversity among students that goes beyond two languages: teachers and students in additional-language classrooms frequently share, to a lesser or greater extent, two languages, but no more.

Also, the theoretical foundation of IP, the socio-cognitive approach (SCA, Kecskes and Zhang 2009) with its attention to the individual (egocentric) as well as the cooperative (social) holds key relevance to understanding classrooms as students have to communicate and perform both individually, in dyads, groups, and in whole-class interaction. Ultimately, awarding individual grades necessitates individual communication and performance, requiring individual cognitive work, but our review has provided examples of students being adept at using language(s) collaboratively. Because classrooms are intended for socialization and learning, the concepts of *core* common ground and *emergent* common ground (Kecskes 2014) are immediately useful for understanding how prior knowledge is used to gradually build new knowledge (Cenoz and Gorter 2020).

Multilingual classroom research – and perhaps also IP – would gain from problematizing the concepts "L1," "L2," and "HL," etc. They are useful labels for practical purposes (Baker and Wright 2021), and we have made use of them as such, but the field would gain from a more nuanced characterization of research participants' language repertoires. For example, research has shown that with schooling, an additional language that is the language of schooling, i.e. one acquired after the L1, can develop into a student's "academic L1" (Davy and French 2018). Classroom studies that make it their mission to provide a detailed, longitudinal focus on teachers', students', and other possible classroom social actors' language repertoires, coupled with audiovisual data and analytical frameworks that can reveal the intricacies of human interaction and learning, will be valuable in paving the way to advancing our understanding of today's and tomorrow's multilingual classrooms.

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