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The body and practiced language policies in EMI and CLIL classrooms

Abstract

Jakonen and Duran provide a multimodal account of how language choice is managed in bilingual classrooms. Drawing on EMI and CLIL classroom recordings in Turkey and Finland, respectively, their conversation analytic (CA) study explores how participants observably orient to the teacher's gestures, facial expressions and movement in the classroom space as they negotiate the medium of classroom interaction. Earlier research on practiced language policies has tended to focus the analysis on talk, but Jakonen and Duran demonstrate how the human body can also offer important resources for constructing, calibrating and making sense of a language policy interactively. Their findings contribute to a growing body of research on language choice practices in bilingual classrooms, in particular, and on conversation analytic research on classroom interaction in general.

Indexing

Bilingual classroom
Multimodality
Human body
Medium of classroom interaction
Conversation analysis
Lamination

Introduction

'Language alternation', 'code-switching' and 'translanguaging' are all concepts that researchers have used to describe how bi-/multilingual participants bring together resources from different languages as they interact. The contribution of the literature on practiced language policy (e.g. Bonacina-Pugh, 2012, 2020; Bonacina-Pugh, Barakos & Chen 2020; introduction to this volume) to the study of bilingualism has been to highlight the explicit and implicit normative, political, and moral (what should and should not be done) dimensions of language choice in a range of everyday and institutional settings. Taking a close look at bi-/multilingual interaction has shown that there is a policy "found within language practices" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012, p. 216), first and foremost by the participants, but also by the analyst of bi-/multilingual interaction.

A key site to previous research on practiced language policy has been classrooms where two or more "Languages-with-capital-L" (Jaspers & Madsen, 2016, pp. 236–237) are potentially available as resources for action. Prior classroom studies have shown that the official, institutionally-assigned, or curriculum-mandated medium of instruction is not necessarily the same as the actual medium of classroom interaction that participants themselves uphold (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011; Bonacina-Pugh, 2020). The negotiation of a practiced language policy in a classroom can also take place through interactional sequences of enforcing and resisting what language to use (e.g. Amir & Musk, 2013; Copp Jinkerson, 2011; Huq, 2018; Jakonen, 2016). Although classroom interaction research in general is directing increasing attention on multimodal and embodied aspects of teaching and learning (see e.g. Hall & Looney, 2019), more empirical research is needed on how resources other than talk shape classroom participants' orientations to language choice. In this chapter, we aim to extend the analytical focus of research on practiced classroom language policies from verbal aspects of situated policy negotiation to also consider the embodied and material ecology of language choice in classroom settings.

In the remainder of this chapter, we first review existing classroom studies and briefly outline what a multimodal conversation analytic (CA) conceptualisation of social action is. Our core argument is that 'languages' are used and 'language choices' are made in a multimodal ecology of action in which resources other than language/code/medium are routinely used to construct and make sense of social action. We then illustrate a multimodal approach to practiced language policy by analysing four brief data extracts in which suspensions to the institutionally-prescribed language norm are negotiated in either an English as medium of instruction (EMI) or a content and language integrated (CLIL) classroom. Although there are some differences between these approaches to bilingual education (see e.g. Airey, 2016), both represent a setting that includes a large number of classroom participants who share a first language (L1) and could in principle use it to interact with each other. Nevertheless, participants often orient to maintaining the institutionally-assigned second language (L2) as the medium of whole-class interaction, but the oriented-to medium of peer interaction is far rarely monolingual (e.g. Jakonen, 2016). In the extracts analysed in this chapter, the participants either deal with students' explicit 'medium requests' (Gafaranga, 2010) for using the L1 shared by the majority instead of the L2 or 'police' (Amir & Musk, 2013; Copp Jinkerson, 2011) the use of the L2. We zoom in our analysis on the role of the human body in the

management of language choice: how embodied conduct such as gestures, facial expressions and movement in the classroom space organise, and are treated as relevant aspects of, a practiced language policy. To conclude, we sketch some of the implications that a multimodal approach such as the one demonstrated in this chapter has for understanding the nature of practiced language policies in bilingual classrooms.

Language policy as classroom practice

A substantial part of previous research into language choice norms in bilingual education has investigated a phenomenon that might be termed as 'language policing' (e.g. Amir & Musk, 2013; Copp Jinkerson, 2011; Copp Mökkönen, 2012; Mökkönen, 2013). In contrast to the relatively broad scope of the term 'language policing' in much sociolinguistic and discourse analytic research to encompass things like grammaticality, accentedness, or nonstandardness of a language (see e.g. Cushing, 2019), studies of bilingual classroom interaction have mainly explored language policing regarding language choice, as "the mechanism by which the teacher and/or the pupils switch or attempt to switch the medium of talk to the policy-prescribed medium" (Amir & Musk, 2013, p. 156). In this context, the word 'policing' is not only a verb describing the practicing of some policy, but it also describes – in a more overtly normative and specific sense – interactional practices in which one party acts and is oriented to and sometimes categorised as a 'language police' (e.g. Copp Jinkerson, 2011).

Language policing has been found to be an orderly and recurring interactional practice in bilingual classrooms. As Amir and Musk (2013) suggest, it is typically carried out through a three-step sequence, which involves (1) a (perceived) breach of a norm of language choice, (2) an act of policing, and (3) an orientation to a local (target-language-only) rule, for example, through a medium switch from L1 to the classroom L2. Language policing acts can also be overtly or covertly resisted to, for example, by openly refusing a directive for medium change to the L2 or by continuing L1 use in a more concealed manner in peer interaction (Copp Jinkerson, 2011; Jakonen, 2016). All in all, language policing can be seen as a highly coercive and explicit way of practicing an L2-only language policy. More implicitly, an L2-only classroom language policy can also be practiced through avoiding translation to L1 and ratifying L2 use (Malabarba, 2019). As

these and other studies show, an L2-only language policy can emerge through diverse action sequences, some of which are more coercive towards language choice and others involve more implicit and subtle interactional displays of ideologies and normative preferences towards language choice.

A practiced language policy is not necessarily one of monolingualism, and, as for example Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011) show, the medium of classroom interaction can be bi-/multilingual. In some multilingual settings, teachers declare themselves and act as role models of someone with a bilingual and bicultural identity (Gynne, Bagga-Gupta & Lainio, 2016; Mård-Miettinen, Palviainen & Palojärvi, 2018). Similarly, recent pedagogical initiatives based on the notion of translanguaging encourage language awareness and the use of a broad range of linguistic resources in the classroom (see e.g. Wei & Lin, 2019). At a micro-interactional level, one way to sustain a bi-/multilingual medium of interaction, particularly in classrooms characterised by a diversity of students' linguistic repertoires, is through different kinds of label and translation quests (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013b) – that is, asking students to name items under discussion in their L1.

The ways in which language policies are practiced also index contextual orientations to pedagogical rationales, a kind of *in situ* language pedagogy. Thus, L1 use may have quite different local implications depending on the bi-/multilingual educational context because the stakes of language alternation can be quite different in, for example, foreign language, EMI or CLIL classrooms (e.g. Jakonen, Szabó & Laihonen, 2018). In contexts where the learning of academic subject content has a priority over language development (some EMI programmes) or is expected to take place alongside language learning (on CLIL, see e.g. Kontio & Sylvén, 2015), language choice may represent a less stringent matter than in contexts where L2 itself is the object in focus – but not always. Sometimes a teacher's orientation to the acceptability of L1 use can change over the course of single lessons, depending on the pedagogical focus (e.g. Gynne, 2019). The legitimacy of a student's L1 in the multilingual classroom might also depend on whether the language is understood by all speakers in the room (Bonacina-Pugh et al., 2020). This means that bi-/multilingual classrooms are places where language choice is contingent on a range of contextual aspects which may become relevant as participants negotiate the practiced classroom language policy or temporary suspensions to it.

The majority of classroom studies have investigated practiced language policy as primarily a verbal phenomenon by attending closely to the ways in which language choice is managed in and through turns-at-talk (but see Huq, 2018). In this chapter, we aim to broaden the analytical focus of existing research by considering practiced language policy as multimodal action that is constructed by co-ordinating situated resources offered by talk, the body and the surrounding material world. Using selected data fragments, we illustrate some ways in which these kinds of resources can become relevant and oriented-to elements of designing, framing, and making sense of a practiced language policy. Before proceeding to the analysis, we will briefly describe what we mean by multimodality of social interaction.

Multimodality and social interaction

The use of the concept multimodality has expanded significantly during the past years in different research fields such as social semiotics, systemic functional linguistics, and ethnomethodology/conversation analysis or EMCA (for introduction, see Jewitt, Bezemer & O'Halloran, 2016). What unites many approaches to multimodality is an understanding that meaning-making involves simultaneous use of multiple resources or modes in a way that these "modalities are constitutively intertwined" (Mondada, 2014b, p. 138). However, multimodality is also conceptualised and operationalised with considerable variation across disciplinary and epistemological traditions, and the term has been applied to study diverse topics including interactional practices, layout of images or text and video composition.

In the EMCA approach that we take here, multimodality refers above all to how various resources such as talk, gaze, gesture, posture, material objects, movement, and touch are routinely used by participants to construct and make sense of social action. As for example Wagner (2018, p. 101) points out, such integration of resources "…is a social fact and empirically observable in interaction". In the EMCA literature, this has been conceptualised in different ways. For example, Goodwin (2013) has introduced the metaphor of 'lamination' to describe human action as "a set of layers organized with reference to each other" (p. 12). The laminated nature of action also provides for a possibility to 'delaminate' actions, to pick up a resource used by a co-participant

and to employ it in the construction of some new action. Similarly, Mondada (2014b, p. 139) has described recurrent action packages as 'multimodal Gestalts', i.e. "a web of resources formatting an action".

What relevance does a multimodal conceptualisation of action have for research on practiced language policy? One immediate implication is that it can show how resources other than talk contribute to the interactional emergence and reconfiguration of a situated language policy. Let us take facial expressions as an example. They have been found to be a basic interactional resource for displaying emotional stance (Kaukomaa, Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2015) and for marking utterances as ironic (Clift, 1999). Therefore, an analytical sensitivity to phenomena such as smiles or frowns in action sequences where language policy is practiced can provide insights into the kinds of attitudes and stances that participants show towards language choice and/or other participants in the situation (as we will also demonstrate later in extract 3). Yet, a more fundamental implication may emerge through rethinking what 'language' and 'practice' mean in the context of practiced language policy research. As Wagner (2018, p. 101) observes, "language is part and parcel of many social practices, but the latter do not always need language". A multimodal lens might therefore lead to a reconceptualization of the range of methods of practicing a language policy.

Data, context, and method

Our data include video-recordings of university-level classes taught through English (EMI) from Turkey and secondary-level content and language learning (CLIL) lessons from Finland. Altogether, the EMI data contain 30 hours of classes on Counselling and the CLIL corpus includes 15 hours of History classes. Although the two bilingual education settings differ in a number of respects, from the perspective of practiced language policy, they remind each other in the sense that participants typically uphold English as the medium of whole-class interaction, but in student-student interaction, the L1 (Turkish or Finnish) is a routinely used resource. On the other hand, these two settings are distinctive in that while EMI classrooms tend to focus more clearly on teaching the subject content, CLIL classes have learning aims related to both subject knowledge and foreign language. Moreover, EMI students are adult learners participating voluntarily in a

higher education setting (in our case student teachers) while in CLIL, they are typically children or adolescents enrolled in compulsory education (secondary-level students). In drawing on data from two slightly different settings of bilingual education, our aim is not so much to compare the language policy found in the settings but instead to increase the range of empirical data for our exploratory study.

EMI can be defined as "the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English" (Dearden, 2015, p. 2). The implementation of EMI has been a disputable issue in Turkish higher education system (Arkın, 2013), but English has been adopted as the institutionally-assigned 'official language' in some universities, and the number of private universities offering EMI programmes has increased dramatically in Turkey in this millennium due to financial benefits (Macaro, Akıncıoğlu & Dearden, 2016). Some universities have introduced a preparatory one-year intensive English course to facilitate the transition from Turkish-medium secondary education to English-medium higher education.

The EMI data for this study come from an EMI programme in which all teaching took place through English. It includes 30 hours of video recordings from a compulsory course titled 'Guidance', taught in English to two cohorts of 4th year students in the Department of Educational Sciences at an EMI university in Turkey. Its aim was to train student teachers to become more aware of social, emotional and personal development, and thus help them acquire knowledge about interpersonal skills, growth of the whole person, life management, and so on. Students were majoring in different educational fields, including Computer Education and Instructional Technology, Elementary Education, Foreign Language Education, and Secondary Science and Mathematics Education. The observed classrooms were large in size, with 37 female and 2 male students in the first, and 30 females and 9 males in the second class, aged between 21-26. The second class included four foreign students for whom Turkish was an L2. Although their Turkish competence was high, they were occasionally oriented to as 'L2 speakers', for example, by assigning translators for out-of-class Turkish language activities (and also in extract 1 in the next section). Both classes were taught by the same teacher, a native speaker of Turkish, who worked

as an associate professor of Psychological Counselling and Guidance and had over 20 years of teaching experience at the Faculty of Education.

CLIL is an 'umbrella term' for a wide array of instructional programmes, typically in primary or secondary education, which combine the teaching of language and subject content goals (e.g. Dalton-Puffer, Llinares, Lorenzo & Nikula, 2014). The CLIL data we use here were video-recorded in an otherwise Finnish-language lower secondary school in which curricular content was taught in English in a relatively flexible and small-scale manner to those students who had previously attended English-medium immersion from kindergarten through the age of 12 when they left primary school. The scope of CLIL teaching depended on the availability and competence of staff members so that at the time of data collection, the experienced native Finnish teacher was the only subject teacher teaching CLIL in her History classes. English was the institutionally-assigned medium of instruction in those classes in the sense that – despite obvious differences – the school referred to the programme as "language immersion", and the teacher herself had a self-declared (and enforced) English-only policy in her classes. The students, altogether 19, were all native Finnish speakers. At the time of data collection, they were in Year 8 of the nine-year Finnish comprehensive education system, aged 14–15.

All participants (EMI data) or their parents (CLIL data) granted informed consent for research use of the video recordings. Names shown in the transcripts are pseudonyms in order to maintain the participants' anonymity. The data has been transcribed using Jefferson's (2004) conventions for talk and Mondada's (2014a) for embodied conduct (see Appendix). This means that the timing of embodied actions is shown relative to talk, under each line of talk. Annotations delimited by two similar symbols (e.g. *) denote the beginning and end of each embodied action.

Analysis

In this section, we exemplify our argument that multimodality matters for research on practiced language policy by considering how participants use routine embodied and material resources such as gestures (extracts 1-2), facial expressions (extract 3) and movement in the classroom space (extract 4) as resources for managing language choice in bilingual classrooms.

Gesture and practiced language policy

We begin the analysis by considering actions that Gafaranga (2010) has termed as 'medium requests', which in bilingual classroom settings are typically students' requests for permission to use L1 instead of L2, not the other way around. Medium requests can either be granted (extracts 2-3) or denied (extract 1) by the teacher. The first extract illustrates how a gesture can become treated as a relevant turn-design element of a teacher's response to a student's medium request to use the L1 (Turkish) instead of the L2 (English). The extract comes from the beginning of a post-task whole-class discussion in the EMI Guidance classroom when the teacher invites the students to reflect on their experiences from a just-completed role-play activity in which they have practiced counselling skills (lines 1-2). As the teacher denies the possibility to use L1 (line 8), she also provides a reason for her refusal by pointing towards foreign students in the classroom for whom Turkish is an L2.

Extract 1. Can I speak in Turkish?

01 TEA **what were the: (.) things ↑tha:t (1.2) could be: (0.3)**
02 **considered as a challenge for you:?**
03 ***(1.2)¤(0.7)*(0.3)**
tea *scans class*
evi ¤raises hand->
04 EVI ***([ )]**
05 TEA **[ye]#s,***
tea *points evi*
fig #fig 1

fig 1

06 **(0.7)¤**
evi ->¤
07 EVI **hocam (.) er: (.) türkçe (.) $k(h)onuşabilir* miyim$=#**
'my teacher err can I speak in Turkish'
tea *looks and points to other side with lh->
fig #fig 2
08 TEA **=ko*nuşma# <bence>**
'I think you shouldn't'
tea ->*looks and points to evi with rh->
fig #fig 3

```
09 EVI      *hu:h [>tamam<] $pe^ki$ hhh$#
                  'okay alright'
10 TEA            [huh    ]
   tea    ->*gaze to evi>>
   tea                      ^smiles->
   fig                              #fig 4
```



```
   fig 2                fig 3                fig 4
11 EVI    err::^ (.) ↑first (.) we talk about our- ((continues))
   tea       ->^
```

During the silence (line 3) that follows the teacher's question, the teacher scans through the class by moving her gaze from one side to the other, and Evi raises her hand to bid for a response turn. At line 4, Evi also says something to one of her group members, which, unfortunately, is inaudible to us (and likely to the teacher as well). The teacher nominates Evi both verbally ("yes", line 5) and by pointing towards her (figure 1).

Instead of responding to the teacher's question, after a brief silence Evi asks permission to use L1 (line 7). Interestingly, the medium request is conducted in Turkish, the language whose acceptability Evi treats as uncertain. In addition to being delayed, Evi's turn is marked with signs of possible interactional trouble in the form of pauses and hesitation, elements that indicate her orientation to L1 use as deviant from the current medium of classroom interaction (see Bonacina-Pugh, 2020). Furthermore, Evi produces parts of the turn with smile voice (*konuşabilir miyim*, "can I speak"). Laughter is one way to frame "linguistically marked choices" (Kurhila, 2006, pp. 151–152), and here its use can be seen to orient to Turkish and English being non-equivalent languages in the classroom.

The teacher begins to orient to the implications of Evi's request when Evi's action is recognisable but the turn has not yet reached completion. The teacher begins to look and point with her left hand (figure 2) to the other side of the class where there are students for whom Turkish is an L2. The pointing is an integral component of the teacher's response to the medium request, the verbal

elements of which arrive later at line 8. It is a way to remind Evi that there are participants whose competence in Turkish is uncertain. In this way, it constitutes an account for refusing permission to switch to L1 (line 8) in order to ensure mutual understandability of the medium of interaction (see also Bonacina-Pugh et al., 2020).

As a response to the denied permission, Evi claims agreement in L1 through laughter (*huh tamam peki*, "okay alright", line 9). This claim demonstrates that she can find a sense in the teacher's action, including the significance of the pointing gesture for the denied permission. In overlap, the teacher produces an emphatic continuer token ("huh", line 10) and smiles when looking at Evi (figure 4). It is as if these actions acknowledge that Evi has shown sufficient understanding and acceptance of the relevance of the pointing for the practiced language policy in the situation, conveying something that could be glossed as 'you see what I mean?'. Indeed, the sequence continues so that Evi switches to English as she begins her report (line 11). In sum, extract 1 illustrates that while an analysis of talk can suffice in telling us that the participants orient to a practiced language policy of maintaining English as the monolingual medium of plenary classroom talk, it is only by closely examining the teacher's gesture that we see that the particular policy is justified and made accountable by indicating the role of English as a *lingua franca* that all speakers in the room can understand.

Extract 2, taken also from the EMI data, shows another example of a teacher's gesture when responding to a student's medium request. Unlike in extract 1, here the teacher grants permission to use L1 in the upcoming conversational group activity through a co-ordinated set of turn increments and gestures. The gestures allow her to display pedagogical flexibility towards the L2 use norm and to affiliate with the affective burden that L2 use would place upon students. The medium request comes when the teacher has already instructed the upcoming activity and is just about to set it off (lines 1, 4).

Extract 2. Use your native language

```
01 TEA    the ↑two minutes,
02        (1.2)
03 SUN    ho[cam ]
          'my teacher'
04 TEA      [will] [sta#(rt) (oh) okay] before (.)
```

05 BEL **[( )]**
fig #fig 1

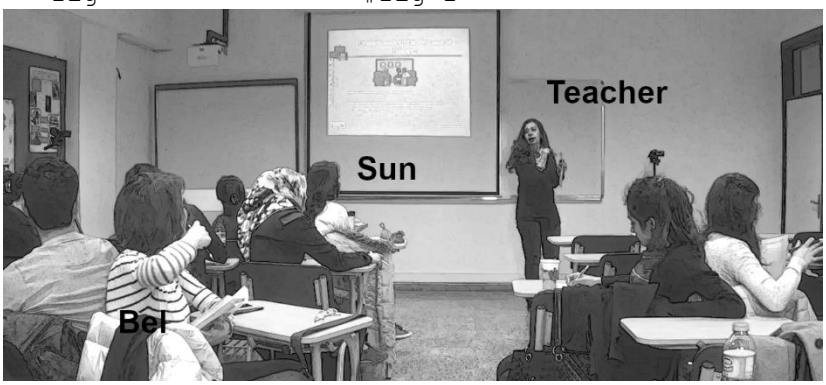


fig 1

06 TEA **>sorry sorry< (.) before?**
07 TEA **uh [huh?]**
08 SUN **[I] think it is important to, (0.7) be °English or Turkish?°**
09 TEA **so (.) *can #be in Turkish.**
tea *open-palm hand movements downward and twd students->
fig #fig 2
10 **(0.5)**
11 TEA **okay.***
tea ->*
12 ***#(0.7) ((audible student laughter until line 15))**
tea *moves open palm from her right to left->
fig #fig 3

fig 2 fig 3
13 TEA **use your* (0.4) ^native language**
tea ->*
tea ^smiles, nods->
14 ***%(1.5)#%**
tea *open-palm movements downward and twd students->
bil %claps--%
fig #fig 4a/b


fig 4a fig 4b (student smiles and clapping)

15 TEA okay*^
tea ->*
tea ->^
16 (1.3)
17 TEA *so if it's# okay for your <pair,>*# (0.3) no pro*blem for me.
tea *open-palm movements twd students-*right to left-*twd students->
fig #fig5 #fig6
18 TEA okay?*
tea ->*
19 (0.2)*(0.4)
tea *rotates hand->
20 TEA because it's about# (.) inter+personal ^communication. (0.3)*
tea ^smiles-->
tea -->*
ss +choral laughter>>
fig #fig 7



fig 5 fig 6 fig 7

21 TEA okay,^ ((T continues to instruct activity))
tea -->^

Sun raises her hand and asks for a turn (line 3) during an intra-turn silence in the teacher's task instruction (as the teacher is facing away towards the clock on the wall). When the teacher turns back to face the class (figure 1), she suspends her on-going turn and reserves the next turn to Sun both verbally ('sorry sorry before', line 6) and by way of positioning herself in front of Sun's desk.

Sun's medium request comes at line 8, and the teacher deals with the request throughout the rest of the extract.

The teacher grants the permission (line 9) and, by stepping towards the middle of the class and reorienting her body, she addresses the whole class. Simultaneously, she performs a hand gesture by raising her left hand so that her palm faces the students. She makes a series of brief movements downwards and towards the students (see figure 2). As the teacher adds an agreement-implicative increment to her turn ('okay', line 11), she performs a slightly different kind of gesture, which begins during the silence at line 12 and extends onto the reiteration of the permission (line 13). This time, the hand gesture is performed similarly in front of the body, but the open palm is decisively moved once across the body, from right to left (figure 3).

The teacher suspends the gesture for a brief moment to switch the hand with which she holds the paper stack, but quickly returns to doing the first kind of gesture with the right hand, again moving it gently towards and away from the students (lines 14-15, see figure 4a). Similar gesturing takes place at the same time as the teacher sets the parameters for L1 use ("if it is okay for your pair", line 17), but it is punctuated by the second 'sweeping' gesture, which co-occurs with, and creates emphasis for, her utterance "no problem" (see figures 5-6). The teacher concludes the permission with an account of why L1 use is allowed in the upcoming activity (line 19) and does a third kind of gesture by rolling her wrist (figure 7) to provide a rhythm to her explanation.

These different gestures perform different jobs in constructing and framing the permission for L1 use. Moving the open palm gently, minimally and repeatedly up and down, or towards and away from students, can be glossed as a 'calm down' gesture (Bolinger, 1983, p. 161). In the sequential context of responding to a medium request, it can be seen as a way for the teacher to attend to the affective implications of the institutional requirement to use L2 for the students: a way to alleviate tension stemming from the L2-only norm and to display a reassuring and benevolent stance towards students by treating L1 use as unproblematic. Notice that the teacher's permission-in-progress receives smiles and laughter from the class (visible in figure 4b) at line 12 and onwards. The teacher also smiles (during lines 13-15, 20) in a way that seems responsive to, and affiliative with, the emotional stance that the students' laughter and smiles display. It is as if the student

smiles and one student's hand-clapping, which follows the teacher's permission, orient to the permission as an emotional relief.

In contrast, the gesture of 'sweeping' the open palm across one's body either co-occurs with ("no problem for me", line 17) or immediately precedes ("use your native language", line 13) turn-design elements with which the teacher verbally refuses to position herself as a normative authority 'policing' L2 use. These gestures allow the teacher to underscore the situated appropriateness of the L1 for the upcoming task, despite it being at odds with the L2-only institutional language policy. In sum, the teacher's gestures thus allow her to align with Sun's medium request and to do pedagogical work by negotiating a practiced language policy that shows sensitivity to the affective implications of the institutional L2-only language policy.

Facial expressions and practiced language policy

In extract 2, the teacher's gesture provided an affective and affiliative 'lamination' (Goodwin, 2013) to the action of giving a permission to use L1, a lamination that was registered by the students and responded to with relieved smiles and laughter. Extract 3, drawn from the EMI data, shows an example of how other kinds of facial expressions can amount to stance displays while negotiating the classroom medium of interaction. The fragment follows a task activity and begins as the teacher invites students to share their experiences of the completed task (lines 1-3). One of the students, Ham, provides a single-word response (line 7), and when the teacher asks him to elaborate on it (line 12), Ham requests a medium change (line 14). Both the teacher's and Ham's facial expressions are an integral part of their negotiation of a practiced language policy in that they display a particular stance towards L1 and L2 use.

Extract 3. May I tell in Turkish?

```
01 TEA    so let's: (1.3) talk >a little bit< about your (0.6) activity
02        your exercise and your <own> experiences °okay?° (0.6)
03        how was that (0.4) how was it huh?
04 S1     °difficult°
05 S2     (err::)
06 ESI    °nice°
07 HAM    [exciting]
08 S3     [(      )]
09        (0.6)
```

10 TEA **exciting?#**
fig #fig 1
11 ***¤(4.1) ¤(0.4)**
tea *walks towards Ham->
tea ¤smiles¤
12 TEA **which (.) ^aspect was exci#¤ting?**
tea ¤grins, pokes head forward->
ham ^raises eyebrows, open-jaw->
fig #fig 2
13 **^(0.5)#(1.5) ^(1.1) ((some students chuckle))**
ham ->^'collapses', smiles^
fig #fig 3


fig 1 fig 2 fig 3

14 HAM **er may I (0.3) te- (.) >telled it,<* (0.5) ¤in (0.3) #err Turkish?**
tea ->*
tea ->¤nods, frowns>>
fig #fig 4
15 **(1.2)*(0.3)**
tea *steps closer to ham->
16 TEA **↑o↓kay,**
17 **(0.9)**
18 HAM **hocam (.) tanımadığınız* birine böyle ilk ((continues in L1))**
'my teacher saying hello to an unfamiliar person'
tea ->*

fig 4

Over lines 4-7, the teacher receives three one-word assessments of the completed task ("difficult", "nice", "exciting"). She picks the most audible one out of these by repeating it with a continuing intonation (line 10) and by beginning to smile and walk towards the back end of the class where Ham is seated (see figure 1). While walking, she asks a follow-up question ("which aspect was exciting?", line 12) that invites Ham to provide an extended turn, in English, to elaborate on his response. Walking closer also directs the attention of the class on Ham, putting a certain pressure on the projected turn. Ham visibly orients to this pressure when the teacher's follow-up question is still underway by producing a facial expression that can be described as tense and surprised: he opens his eyes wide open and raises his eyebrows (see figure 2). Such an embodied action treats the follow-up question, and the fact that the spotlight is now directed at him, as unexpected.

When the teacher's follow-up question is about to come to completion, her smile opens up into a broad grin, and she simultaneously thrusts her head forward (figure 3). This kind of an exaggerated smile orients to Ham's just-prior facial expression: it conveys a recognition of Ham's tenseness and the 'tight spot' that he is being put into, and frames the follow-up question as playful and mildly teasing. The playfulness seems to be recognised by Ham and the other students. During the following silence (line 13), some students laugh, and Ham suddenly 'collapses' by poking his head forward and smiles. It is as if he is producing an embodied enactment of doing 'giving up'.

Ham's subsequent medium request at line 14 is yet another signal of 'giving up' the practiced language policy of L2 use during plenary interaction. The request contains multiple instances of self-repair (i.e., hesitations, silences, cut-off, and repetition), which display difficulties in producing the turn in L2. The request also brings about a change in the teacher's displayed emotional stance: she sets out to receive the turn with the broad grin shown in figure 3, but as Ham's turn progresses, the smile changes into a more serious or concerned frown (see figure 4). As the frown begins during Ham's request, it can be a way to orient to the difficulties in his turn-construction. However, frowns can also foreshadow the emotional stance of an upcoming turn (Kaukomaa et al., 2015), and here it and the long delay (line 15) seem to frame the student's request to use L1 instead of the projected L2 as dispreferred (see Duran & Sert, 2019). Even though the teacher grants a permission for a temporary suspension of the L2-only practiced language policy (line 16), the transition in her facial expression conveys that the L1 is less than a satisfying choice

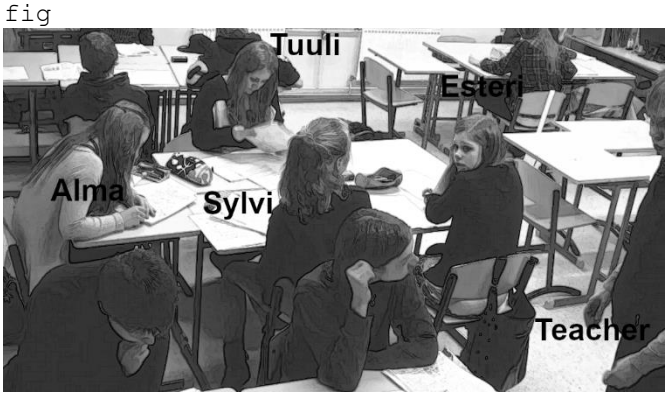
as the medium of classroom interaction in the current situation: a legitimate yet delicate option which one can resort to if necessary.

Spatiality and practiced language policy

Our final example comes from the CLIL History classroom in which the students are completing individual tasks seated in groups of three or four. Each student has their own History text and a task sheet in which they are supposed to answer questions while the teacher circulates in the classroom, monitoring and supporting task work. Although individual tasks are not specifically meant as interactive tasks, it is fairly common that students engage in talk as they share and compare answers. In many bi-/multilingual classrooms operating on an L2-only classroom language policy, task work without the presence of the teacher constitutes what Heller (2006, pp. 113–114) has termed as a 'backstage' arena where L1 is typically used. Extract 4 illustrates how such a 'backstage' is not only a metaphor for more covert interactional operations but also a spatial and interactional accomplishment. In the extract, a group of four students talk in L1 (Finnish) but switch to the L2 (English) when the teacher comes close to their group. They do this by orienting visually to the teacher's changing position in the room during the long silence at lines 1-2 and by monitoring the distance at which L1 use is no longer 'safe'.

Extract 4. Let's speak English now

```
01        (3.7)*(0.3)¤(0.7)¤(1.0)*(1.2)^*(0.3)¤(1.7) #^(0.6)*(0.5)
   tea    >>walks----¤     ¤walks-------------¤
   est         *glances at tea---*      *glances at tea-----*
   syl                                  ^glances at tea^
   fig                                              #figs 1a/b/c
```



```
   fig 1a                                    1b          1c
02        &(1.4)                        #&(0.6)
   alm    &stops writing, glances at tea&gaze to syl and est->
   fig                                   #fig 2
```

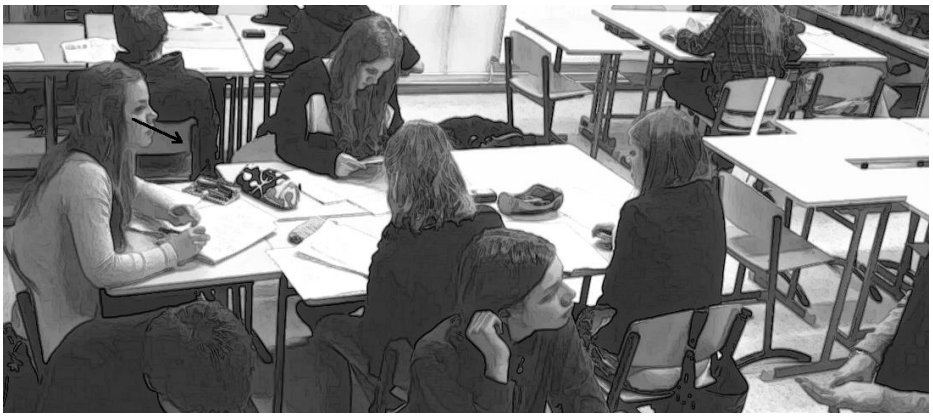


fig 2

03 ALM **°(hei)° (.) °nyt puhutaa englan*tia°**
'hey let's speak English now'
est *glance at tea->
04 **(0.8)*(0.5)&(1.5)*(0.2)&(0.5)**
est ->* *gaze to tea-->
alm ->&gaze to tea&
05 TUU **°mitä siihe tulee ka[sii°]**
'what do I put in number eight'
06 ALM **[°shh°]#**
fig #fig 3
07 **(0.3)¤(0.1)*(0.3)¤(0.2)**
tea ¤steps about¤
est -->*looks over the other shoulder->
08 TUU **°missä se [lukee°***
'where does it read'
09 ALM **[°(ei sitä luekaa siellä)°**
'it doesn't say it there'
est ->*
10 **%(1.4) %(0.5)#%**
tuu %gaze to text%glance at tea%gz to alm->
fig #fig 4

fig 3

fig 4

11 TUU **where does (it read)**
12 ALM **what,%**
tuu ->%looks at worksheet>>
13 **(0.8)**
14 TUU **err, (0.3) number eight.**
15 **(1.2)**
16 ALM **err:::m >twenty nine<.**

At line 1, the teacher first arrives to the adjacent group (visible in the right-hand bottom corner in figure 1), stops for a brief moment and then starts walking away, but stops again to talk with the students in that group (their exchange is not shown in the transcript). Esteri and Sylvi orient to these movements: Esteri glances towards the teacher twice over her shoulder and Sylvi looks at her from the corner of her eye (see figures 1a/b/c). During the same silence, a third student, Alma, also briefly first looks at the teacher and then towards Sylvi and Esteri (line 2, figure 2). Given that the teacher is going round the class, these students can anticipate to be next in line, even if they might not be able to tell when exactly the teacher will arrive at their desks. Moreover, the teacher is now observably within a hearing range from them.

Alma treats the teacher's presence as a cause for re-negotiating the group's current medium of interaction and reminds others of the English-only practiced language policy of the classroom with a whispered directive –paradoxically in the L1 (line 3). At the same time, she and Esteri continue to visually monitor the teacher (lines 3-4). When Tuuli, whose focus has been on the task texts, requests help in L1 (line 5), Alma turns towards her and sanctions her by shushing (line 6, figure 3). It is not that Tuuli's hushed turn would be loud enough to disturb anybody's task work, but the problem with the turn is that it violates the L2-only language policy enforced by the teacher and therefore risks being sanctioned by the nearby teacher. Thus, peer monitoring to enforce L2 use is taking place in a situation in which the teacher's participation status is still that of a possible overhearer, not a ratified participant in the exchange.

The shush does not initially change the medium of interaction to English, as Tuuli continues to seek help for the task from Alma in Finnish (lines 8-9). Only after Tuuli briefly glances towards the group at which the teacher is still standing (line 10, figure 4) does she switch to English, repeating her second question but no longer using Finnish (line 11). As Tuuli and Alma talk to each other in L2 over lines 11-16, they no longer whisper. Their talk is still not loud but neither is it hearably 'concealed'. Their exchange constitutes a kind of a performance, a demonstration of compliance with a teacher who enforces a 'blanket' L2-only classroom policy. However, in conducting their interaction this way, the students orient to two interactional language choice norms: 1) talk can be conducted in the L1 in small group work, but 2) all talk, even task-related, in the presence of the teacher needs to be conducted in the L2. By using gaze to monitor the

teacher's movement in the classroom space, they evaluate which norm to apply in the situation – and ensure their peers act accordingly.

Concluding discussion

In this chapter, we have explored the role of the human body in action sequences in which participants make language choice relevant in bilingual classrooms. Our analysis has focused on two kinds of interactional practices: so-called 'medium requests' from L2 to L1 (Gafaranga, 2010) and 'self-policing' (Amir, 2013) of L2 as the medium of interaction. In all discussed extracts, students orient to the teacher as a normative authority in the classroom, be that through asking permission for L1 use (extracts 1-3) or by monitoring language choice based on whether the teacher can hear them (extract 4). As we see it, the contribution of the study to the accumulating literature on practiced language policies relates to charting possibilities for future research on the ways in which, and the extent to which, teachers and students draw upon embodied resources to (re-)negotiate normative orientations towards medium of interaction in multilingual classrooms. Existing studies in this research area have focused main attention on the role of talk, and described practiced language policy as something that is negotiated through verbal turns with the result that multimodal resources have received less attention (but see e.g. Amir, 2013; Huq, 2018; Jakonen, 2016; Malabarba, 2019). In what follows, we briefly sketch some benefits of a multimodal research orientation, both for understanding language policy as a particular kind of practice and describing the embodied professional work that doing 'being a teacher' involves in bilingual pedagogical settings.

The analysed extracts illustrate how a local language policy emerges through interaction: how it is practiced, configured, and fitted to the contingencies and emerging circumstances of instructional realities. In our datasets, the institutional language policies do not explicitly legitimise the students' L1 (Turkish or Finnish) as a medium of classroom interaction in any situation. However, in both classrooms, there are certainly moments when participants use their L1, mostly in peer/group interaction, and engage in negotiations of its situated appropriateness (e.g. extracts 2 and 4). The teacher's job in a bilingual setting may sometimes involve lessening the normative requirement to use a specific language as part of a pedagogy of flexible bilingualism (extract 2), a way to ensure

that students can use their full linguistic repertoires. At other times it might involve attending to situational contingencies and insisting on the use of a specific language for pedagogical reasons (extract 1). We have shown that the human body can offer resources for managing such issues, as well as for displaying a stance towards the practiced language policy (extracts 2, 3). At the very least, then, a sensitivity to multimodal resources can help the analyst notice turn-design elements which participants treat as relevant as they negotiate language choice, and identify their interactional functions and consequences in the situation.

The ways in which teachers use their body in these extracts, and how their bodies are oriented to by students, illustrate that doing 'being a teacher' is an embodied endeavour and accomplishment. The body can be used as a purposeful and constitutive element of actions – for example when embodied resources such as gestures and facial expressions are used to laminate (Goodwin, 2013) responses to students' medium requests. However, our bodies can also be interactionally relevant in ways that we cannot fully control. This is illustrated by situations such as that described in extract 4, in which the students make sense of the mere proximity of the teacher by reference to the institutionally-assigned language policy that she is taken to represent. The teacher's body is thus a reminder of the institution and its category-bound activities. At a practical level, video data such as that used here can provide materials for practice-oriented reflection for teacher training, which may help raise awareness of one's own body as a professional tool and typical situations in which language choice norms and students' multilingual repertoires are made interactionally relevant in bilingual classrooms.

For research on practiced language policy, future multimodal studies could therefore enrich our understanding of the ways in which the body is a means to manage norms regarding language choice in educational settings. As we have attempted to demonstrate here, a conceptualisation of social interaction as inherently multimodal (e.g. Goodwin, 2013; Mondada, 2014b) can provide a useful tool for describing how language policy is established and continuously (re-)negotiated in a moment-by-moment manner, using all available resources, in pedagogical interactions.

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Appendix. Transcription conventions

Transcription of talk is based on Jefferson (2004), and the multimodal transcription follows the system developed by Mondada (2014).

wo::rd	prolonged sound
(.)	silence less than 0.2 seconds
(2.0)	duration of a silence
(word)	uncertain transcription
( )	inaudible
wo-	cut-off
[ ]	overlapping talk
<word>	slower pace than in surrounding talk
>word<	faster pace than in surrounding talk
word	emphasised talk
.hh	an audible inbreath
=	latched utterances
°word°	quieter than surrounding talk
,	continuing intonation
.	turn-final intonation
?	rising intonation at the end of a prosodic entity
↑↓	change in pitch height
italics	English translation of a Finnish or Turkish turn constructional unit
* *, % %, etc.	two identical symbols delimit descriptions of embodied actions
--->	embodied action continues across subsequent lines
-->*	shows the end of the embodied action
>>	an embodied action begins before the excerpt's beginning
-->>	an embodied action continues after the excerpt's end
tea	identifies the participant doing the embodied action
#fig	displays the moment at which a screenshot has been taken relative to talk

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