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Communities of practice and English as a lingua franca: A study of Erasmus students in Szeged

PhD dissertation

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ABSTRACT

The aim of my dissertation is to describe the complexities of English as a lingua franca (ELF) as it is used by a group of Erasmus exchange students engaged in social practice. My research was begun while I was working with the LINEE project, which made me realize that for a better understanding of the Erasmus exchange students' linguistic situation, the analytic focus had to be on language use in its social context. To that end, I adopted the community of practice model, which relies quite specifically on ethnographic techniques for collecting data, qualitative methods for analyzing social practices, and discourse analytic methods for analyzing linguistic practices. The participants were 142 Erasmus exchange students who studied temporarily at the University of Szeged, Hungary. The data collection spanned a whole academic year. The data sources included audio-taped and transcribed interviews, audio-taped and transcribed naturally occurring interactions, field notes, prompted e-mails, online posts by the students and circular e-mails by the students.

By focusing on shared practices and resources that the participants imbued with meaning, the analysis indicates that the Szeged Erasmus students indeed built a community of practice during their relatively short stay in Hungary. The shared practices emerged to achieve the goal of building a friendship and "family" based local social network with a focus on fun and self-confidence. The shared practices involved "spontaneous" as well as "ritualized" code-switching, yet, most of the practices were in English. In the Szeged Erasmus community English was a key shared practice: it helped the participants to build shared negotiable resources (1) for accomplishing everyday ritual tasks; (2) for making humor *in* the language and also *about* the language; and (3) for repairing the problematic moments of word search and non-understanding. Given that for the vast majority of the participants English was an additionally learnt language, the analyzed linguistic practices are necessarily interpreted as ELF practices.

The analysis indicates that for the Szeged Erasmus students English was a facilitator. In case of lacking other shared languages, it was the most important means of connecting both with the other Erasmus students and with the local peers. Further results of this study show that through developing their shared resources, the participants created through practice their own "version" of ELF. That is, they made the fleeting, changeable nature of ELF "fixed" to the extent that it helped them define themselves as a group. Furthermore, the participants of the present study were users of English, in the first place, and learners of English in the second place. That is, they exploited their non-nativeness and demonstrated their "language learner" roles by choice, as and when appropriate, as a way of exploiting their shared resources. Finally, the Szeged Erasmus students creatively exploited their plurilingual repertoires. However, their code-switching was more for the creation of humor, rapport, and a "family" than for achieving intelligibility or signaling linguacultural identities. The dissertation points to the conclusion that there is a need for a careful understanding of the social context in which ELF is used or is developing.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of my dissertation is to describe the complexities of English as a lingua franca (ELF)[1] as used by a group of Erasmus exchange students engaged in social practice. My goal is to give fresh insights into how ELF and languages in general can be conceived of by bringing the social into the linguistic. In the perspective I take, language is understood as a "living social practice" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 462). It is seen as rooted in the everyday social practices of local communities, and as such, it is considered inseparable from the other aspects of life salient to the individual or the group. Accordingly, in this endeavor, my focus is not primarily on language use, but on the social practices which are instantiated through linguistic means. I start my description of ELF from the social, that is, the activities, interests and views the Erasmus exchange students shared, and then consider language insofar as it was of relevance to the social actors involved. My goal is to illuminate the ways in which the Erasmus exchange students, as purposeful active agents, exploited the resources of ELF (in combination with other languages) to construct social meanings.

My research was begun while working with the Languages in a Network of European Excellence (LINEE) project.[2] In the first phase of the research, I had the opportunity to investigate the relation of English and multilingualism in the education sector at the European level. With the team I worked most closely,[3] we sought out two groups of participants: local secondary school students in Szeged and Prague, and Erasmus exchange students who studied temporarily at the University of Szeged or at the Charles University in Prague. Our aim was to find out how experiences with ELF in international contexts changed the students' perceptions of English and its speakers, the nature of communication in English, and the relationship of English and other languages. Our methods of data collection involved semi-structured interviews, and two casual observations of the Szeged Erasmus students at their weekly gatherings in the university pub.

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[1] Throughout the dissertation, I will use the acronym "ELF" interchangeably with the notion "English as a lingua franca" for there are cases where the acronym does not put across the message so clearly and neatly as the term does.

[2] LINEE (Languages in a Network of European Excellence) was a linguistic project funded by the European Commission's 6th Framework Programme (FP6 – contract number 028388). The project started in November 2006 with the participation of nine institutions across Europe. It was divided into three phases. The first two phases lasted for 18 months each, the third for six months.

[3] Other participants of the Szeged team were Don Peckham and Emőke Kovács.

During the fieldwork, the Erasmus students, both in Szeged and Prague, painted a highly varied and multiplex picture of their social situation. Their emic views allowed three major observations (for a more detailed analysis, see Kalocsai 2009). First, the students demonstrated a strong sense of belonging to the other Erasmus students in town. They saw themselves as forming one big group, which, as they described, was linguistically very diverse. Two, given the diversity of the group, they used a variety of languages for a variety of purposes, within which ELF was a key resource. They were struck by the differences between their local uses of English, and their earlier experiences with the English language. They talked about the specificities of their English with ease, and also with much pride. To mark its distinctiveness, they volunteered names such as "Erasmus English", "English as a code", "European English", "MTV English" or "world English". Finally, the Erasmus community was a shelter, or *the* safe place for many of the visiting students. They contrasted the good atmosphere within the Erasmus community with the negative experiences outside of it and thus, they occupied a "third-place" (Kramsch 1993) between the local (Hungarian or Czech) students' social networks, and the native English speaking Erasmus students' communities.

What I found particularly interesting about the above observations is that the Erasmus students were all very positive about their emerging ELF practice. They used ELF for negotiating meaning *and* relations. In their case, ELF emerged in social practice and was a way of life for the social players involved. It little mattered whether the English practices used were "right" or "wrong" by native speaker (NS) standards; much more important was that they negotiated meaning and successfully built a community through such practices. In achieving their goals, the students did not look outside for norms of speaking, but created their own norms. Hence, the specific names (see above) to describe the kind of English they spoke. As these observations were all interview-based, my attention turned to collecting linguistic data and observational data as a supplement to the interview data. In other words, I set the goal of examining the ways in which linguistic and interactional phenomena in an ELF context tied with the students' other social, non-linguistic activities.

As stated on the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) website by leading ELF researchers, ELF "serves as a common means of communication for speakers of different first languages" (www.univie.ac.at/voice). From another perspective, ELF is a "bridging language" by speakers who are bi- or multilingual in English, and whose diverse linguistic repertoires overlap in English (Smit 2010: 17). What makes ELF different from

interactions involving NSs (NS-NS), or native and non-native speakers (NS-NNS) is that it is by definition characterized by a greater degree of diversity and fluidity. The fact that ELF speakers are bi- or multilinguals with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and likely at different levels of proficiency, means that they cannot fall back on the same set of shared norms for achieving understanding. It therefore rests upon them to negotiate the norms of speaking "online", on a moment-to-moment basis in the unfolding interaction. In addition, as NSs are not normally involved in ELF talk, or if they are, they are not in a majority, their norms of speaking may be nothing more than a useful point of departure.

Some time after our interview-based study within the LINEE project,[4] I conducted a second study, this time for the purposes of this dissertation. In keeping with my goal to provide a more complete linguistic description of the Erasmus students' language in Szeged on the basis of a careful examination of the social, I conducted a new set of interviews, and further expanded my data sources. My goal was to gain a more thorough understanding of emic views, and to combine emic views with interactional data. In an extended process of engagement with the participants, I carried out participant observation, conducted three different types of interviews, sent prompt e-mails to the students, recorded naturally occurring conversations, and collected naturally occurring written materials such as Facebook posts and circular e-mails by the students. The present study draws exclusively on data collected in this second round of data collection.

My project can be defined as an ethnographic study inspired by what is sometimes referred to as grounded theory. That is, I engaged in an ethnographic study in which my interest and questions were outlined in advance, but the findings emerged iteratively over time through my participation in fieldwork. More specifically, first, in my work within the LINEE project, my goal was to gain an insight into the Erasmus students' perceptions of English and other languages, and into how these perceptions changed (or did not) as a result of their study abroad experience. Then, I became determined to gain a more complete understanding of the students' linguistic situation in their temporary community in Szeged. On the basis of my pre-dissertation work, I determined that the method I needed was ethnographic and that the analytic focus had to be on language use in its social context. It soon became evident that the current ELF perspective, which gives a special status to language use, does not in itself

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[4] For the sake of the participants' anonymity, I have decided not to reveal the year when the study was conducted. With the exact dates and the location, the group, and likely some individuals as well, could be identified.

provide an appropriate analytical framework and I thus looked for theoretical and methodological tools elsewhere. My careful reading of the community of practice literature in language and gender research, on the one hand, and language socialization research, on the other, drew my attention to the great theoretical and analytical value of the community of practice model (Wenger 1998). It seemed to be a useful framework with great analytical potential. Thus, from the start I applied the community of practice framework to design my study for data collection and analysis.

On the basis of Wenger (1998), at the theoretical level, a major asset of the community of practice framework is its practice component itself. Practices include linguistic and non-linguistic social activities, views, and interests, which the individual members adopt (or resist) as a way of coordinating (or not coordinating) their actions and aims with those they want (or do not want) to belong to a community with. This includes the assumption that shared practices are both a resource in creating a group, and an indicator of belonging to a group. The community of practice model implies a dynamic process: practices emerge to acheive a goal, then they are solidified through pratice, which in turn sustains the enterprise. Participation in shared practices requires learning and results in a set of shared resources, which are part of the indications that new identities and a new community of practice have been formed.

On the analytical level, as has been shown by language and gender and language socialization research, the community of practice relies quite specifically on ethnographic techniques for collecting data, qualitative methods for analyzing social practices, and discourse analytic techniques for analyzing linguistic practices. To this end, I strived at collecting interactional data as well as emic data. I started the data analysis with the participants' non-linguistic social practices and their emic views. They served as a basis for providing an ethnographic account of the community, and to analyze the participants' views on their own linguistic, social and interactional processes. Furthermore, the emic data played a major role in helping me identify the significant or representative social interactions, and to develop the analytical criteria for the interactional analysis of the naturally occurring spoken and written communications in the Szeged Erasmus group. Thus, in analyzing the corpus of spontaneous, everyday conversations, I focused on phenomena which were typical in the data, which seemed to have characterized the Szeged Erasmus community, and which were meaningful to the members of the group.

Before my fieldwork, and until very recently, we knew next to nothing about how the use of ELF intersects with the speakers' activities, views, and interests within locally based communities. Since 2006 when leading ELF researchers argued convincingly for more "qualitative studies with a strong ethnographic element" to be undertaken in ELF (Seidlhofer et al. 2006: 21), ELF researchers have increasingly turned to qualitative research envisaged along exploratory lines. Qualitatively oriented studies are now becoming the "ELF mainstream" but, quite regrettably, the focus (still) remains on language use defined in terms of linguistic data only. Besides this, as Smit (2010: 80) points out, due to the cross-sectional nature of current ELF research, researchers continue to concentrate on once-off encounters, and offer ELF "snapshots" only.

To build explanatory power into the discussions of ELF, Seidlhofer (2007a) encourages researchers to consider the notion of communities of practice as an alternative to that of speech communities. Following Seidlhofer's (2007a) advice, many ELF researchers now opt for the community of practice theory; however, very few of them consider the analytical value of the notion. The few exceptions are Ehrenreich (2009) and Smit (2009, 2010), who articulate a research goal, and follow a research design very different to that of the "ELF mainstream" of the last few years. They both view ELF as social practice, and place the ELF community, rather than the code center-stage. They work within the community of practice model, and follow a richly contextualized, long-term, ethnographic approach. Moreover, to better account for the dynamic and long-time development of discourse in context, Smit (2010) adopts a longitudinal approach. This points to at least two gaps in current ELF research and theorizing.

Firstly, there is a need for more research into ELF as social practice. More specifically, there is a need for more research into ELF as a community-based social practice, and into ELF interactions whose interlocutors are engaged with one another over a sustained period and on a long-term basis. Secondly, there is a need for more research which does not only "use" the notion of communities of practice as a theoretical background with no empirically-grounded evidence, but instead "applies" the concept as an analytical tool. My goal with doing an ethnography grounded in a community of practice framework is to fill these gaps. In the present dissertation, I engage in an emic, richly contextualized, long-term, qualitative investigation of ELF while focusing on the elements of practice that are salient to the members of the community. By examining students whose community of practice centers around

activities outside of school, the present dissertation is arguably the first linguistic ethnography of a non-institutionalized ELF community of practice.

1.1 Background

Erasmus is the European Commission's Education and Training Programme, which spans more than 4,000 higher education institutions in 31 European countries. According to the official website of the Programme,[5] it enables more than 180,000 students to study and work abroad each year, with a total of two million students since its start in 1987. In addition to mobility actions, the Programme supports "higher education institutions to work together through intensive programmes, networks, and multilateral projects". The rationale under the Programme is that "a period spent abroad not only enriches students' lives in the academic field but also in the acquisition of intercultural skills and self-reliance". Its actions target students studying abroad, students doing traineeships abroad and students doing linguistic preparation in the Erasmus Intensive Language Course (EILC). The students studying abroad, in particular, are given support to "benefit educationally, linguistically and culturally from the experience of learning in other European countries."[6] EILC is a step forward in this direction. It is a language preparatory course offered to the Erasmus exchange students whose aim is to study abroad in a country with a lesser used and taught language.

The participants of the present study were study abroad students in Szeged, which is a thriving university town in the southeastern part of Hungary. The University of Szeged has been participating in the Erasmus Programme since 1998. In the first year, the number of incoming students was 8, the number of outgoing students was 41, and the number of partner universities was 29. The number of incoming students, and that of partner institutions has been on the rise ever since then. In the past few years, the number of incoming students has been over 100, the number of outgoing students over 300, and the number of partner institutions around 300. In the particular academic year when the present research was conducted, the University of Szeged received roughly 124 students from 16 different countries.

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[5] See www.ec.europa.eu.
[6] A recent study called "2008 Study on the Impact of Erasmus on European Higher Education: Quality, Openness and Internationalisation" has shown that the Programme has positive impact on the students. It develops "stronger person skills" and "better articulated job aspirations", and increases their chances of employability. However, as Phillipson (2010) notes, language education and the language of instruction were not on the agenda of the research team.

1.2 Research questions

A general aim of my dissertation is to describe ELF in the context of the Szeged Erasmus community's social practices. More specifically, I seek to understand the specifics of how the Erasmus group achieves its goals through shared linguistic and non-linguistic practices. To that end, I approach ELF through a community of practice lens. That is, I combine current perspectives on ELF with the community of practice model. The former requires interactional data, the latter richly contextualized, ethnographically inspired data. The ethnographic method brings into view the social meanings with which the student participants invested their linguistic and other social practices. The research is guided by one major research question as set out in three sub-questions:

• *How do the Szeged Erasmus students define themselves as a group? In other words, from the community of practice perspective, what are their jointly negotiated enterprises, repertoires and resources?*

   a) *What tools and resources do they bring to bear to engage in their jointly negotiated practices reflecting a shared goal?*
   b) *What does a closer examination of linguistic practices in the community tell us about ELF? That is, what does it mean to be a competent ELF speaker within the community?*
   c) *What effects do the different linguistic resources that the students bring to the community have on the overall practices of the group? That is, how do the different linguistic resources intersect with identities demonstrating membership in the group?*

These questions emerged, on the one hand, on the basis of fieldwork and the examination of the data. On the other hand, they have been formed by the theory of community of practice combined with insights from the current ELF perspective.[7] The overall question aims at describing the practices – both linguistic and social – that identify the Szeged Erasmus community of practice. In other words, it aims at an inventory of the richly contextualized linguistic and non-linguistic social practices which the participants purposefully adopted as a way of obtaining and securing membership in the group of the Szeged Erasmus students. The

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[7] For a summary of the theory of community of practice, see section 1.3; for a summary of the relevant issues in the current ELF perspective, see Chapter 2 below.

question why the students, in the first place, wanted such membership is to be addressed as well.

The first sub-question through which the main question is to be answered seeks to describe the activities, interests and views which the students adopted to create a shared repertoire, in fact, a shared resource of evolving practices. Such a repertoire is worthy of examination as, in the context of a community of practice, it functions as an indicator of the Szeged Erasmus community of practice and of the members' dynamically developing membership in it (e.g. Eckert 2000).

In the second sub-question, the aim is to focus on the linguistic practices tied to group membership with an even more particular focus on ELF practices. In other words, this question sets the goal of describing, in detail, what counted as "ELF competence" within the group. In keeping with the community of practice theory, in the context of the present study gaining communicative competence is understood as gaining control of the linguistic practices which are appropriate to the shared goal.

Finally, the third sub-question aims at illuminating the link between the inherent variation underlying the Erasmus community and the different identities the students took on to demonstrate themselves as members. This question has in part been motivated by the perspective that participation in a community of practice involves changing participation and identity transformation (Wenger 1998: 4), identity in this case being defined in terms of central versus peripheral membership, or expert versus novice members. The participants of the present study were students from different countries, with different linguistic resources. Thus, the third sub-question is geared at examining what linguistic resources were brought to bear to express central versus peripheral membership.

1.3 The community of practice model

As this study is rooted in the communities of practice framework, I briefly discuss the context formed by similar studies in the field of linguistics, more specifically, in language and gender research and language socialization research. However, I first present the key components of the model. To that end, I turn to the field of education, where the concept of communities of practice emerged for the first time.

The concept communities of practice arose as a result of Lave'e ethnographic work among Vai tailors in Liberia (Lave and Wenger 1991). While studying apprenticeship as a learning theory, they noted that the learning of tailoring was more than the learning of a set of

isolated or abstracted tailoring skills. It was a lived experience in the group of apprentices and masters. More specifically, the learning of tailoring skills was tied to the interactional and other social contexts within which the apprentices engaged with each other and their masters. Lave and Wenger coined the term "community of practice" to better describe the kind of learning that underlies apprenticeship. However, it was not long before they realized that communities of practice are everywhere. In general, they described a community of practice as a group whose members are 1) mutually involved in the realization of some 2) jointly negotiated enterprise with the help of 3) a shared repertoire of negotiable resources (Lave and Wenger 1991, Wenger 1998).

The three core dimensions of communities of practice need some elaboration. "Mutual engagement" means regular interactions (Langman 2003: 188) and requires the discovering of how to engage in the community, the development of dense relationships (whether positive or negative), defining identities, establishing who is who, who is good at what, and who knows what (Wenger 1998: 95). The "joint enterprise" is the members' shared goal and the practice involved in achieving it (Langman 2003: 188). This emerges as the members' collectively negotiated response to what they understand to be their situation (Wenger 1998: 78) and involves the members struggling to define their enterprise, their aligning their engagement with the enterprise, and their learning to become accountable and to hold each other accountable to the enterprise (p. 95). Finally, the "shared repertoire of negotiable resources" includes linguistic routines, specialized terminology, ways of doing things, ways of talking, stories, jokes, concepts, physical artifacts, instruments, and costumes (p. 83). They require the participants to renegotiate the meaning of various elements, produce, adopt, adapt, and import new language, and create as well as break routines (p. 95). Within communities of practice, then, the shared goals, the shared repertoire of practices, and even the forms of mutual engagement, are under constant negotiation, meaning they are being "defined" and "redefined" in practice by the members. The process in which the members coordinate their actions and views with those of the other members necessarily involves learning.

The community of practice, as one component of a social theory of learning, offers a different view of learning than the traditional models of learning (Wenger 1998). Within communities of practice, learning has four key aspects. It occurs in *practice*, meaning it is a form of doing; it takes place in the context of *communities* to which one belongs, or wants to belong, meaning it is a form of belonging; furthermore, learning involves the construction of *identities* in relation to the group, meaning it is a form of becoming; and finally, learning involves the construction and internalization of *meaning*, which implies that it is a form of

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experiencing. Lave and Wenger (1991, Wenger 1998) describe learning within communities of practice in terms of "legitimate peripheral participation". The notion is meant to imply a gradual shift along the four key aspects of learning: from the "periphery" of the community to the "core" (community), from the status of a "novice" or newcomer to that of an "expert" member (identity), and from lack of appropriate competencies and expertise to high levels of competence and expertise (practice and meaning).[8] Learning in communities of practice may therefore be summarized as "changing participation and identity transformation" through a joint enterprise and mutual engagement by the participants (Wenger 1998: 11).

1.3.1 Previous approaches to the community of practice model

The first use of the community of practice concept in linguistic research came from Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992, 1995). They argued, very convincingly, for the need to examine the analytical potential of the community of practice for the field of language and gender research. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, several sociolinguists adopted and successfully applied the notion as an analytical tool (for an overview, see Meyerhoff 2002). Of particular relevance to this study is Holmes and Meyerhoff's (1999: 175) observation that the notion's great asset is in offering a "framework of definitions within which to examine the ways in which becoming a member of a CofP [community of practice] interacts with the processes of gaining control of the discourse appropriate to it". To Bucholtz (1999: 207-210), the community of practice has a greater value for sociolinguistic work than its alternative, that is, the speech community, for it allows greater flexibility in the type of (social) practices around which a community may be built; second, it allows the examination of difference, conflict, and individual variation within the community; third, it acknowledges the internal heterogeneity of community members; fourth, it opens up the way for examining individual variation and agency; fifth, it allows the active construction, or rejection, of identities and various other social meanings in the ongoing process of practice; and finally, it gives preference to local interpretations based on emic perspectives. Against this theoretical background, argues Bucholtz (1999: 204), sociolinguists may well reverse the direction of analyses. Instead of asking how social information accounts for linguistic phenomena, they may ask how linguistic data illuminate the social world. In other words, instead of asking how

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[8] Note that the three research questions above seek to examine these key aspects of the students' learning: the first research questions illuminates the participants' shift from the periphery of the community to the core, the second research question from lack of appropriate competencies and expertise to high levels of competencies and expertise, and the third question from the status of novice to the status of expert members.

identities are reflected in language, they may now ask how identities are created in and through language and other social practices. In my case, the community of practice opens up the way for examining how ELF identities are created in and through practices.

Gender and language research taking a community of practice approach culminated in Eckert's (2000) ethnographic work in a suburban high school in the Detroit area. As a result of her two year engagement in the field, she analyzed linguistic data that, as Milroy and Gordon (2003: 69) note, are difficult to match both in terms of quantity and quality. She spent her time outside of classroom, in public areas, in the library, and in the cafeteria, observing and casually interacting with the students. Once she had gained the trust of her participants, she engaged them in interviews. Her insider perspective gave her access to the students' speech as well as to the social meaning of their behavior. She observed a range of students, and later analytically defined two groups: "Jocks" representing middle class cultures, and "Burnouts" representing working class cultures. In identifying the two categories, she did not rely on a priori values, but rather considered the practices in which the students engaged, and which were meaningful to them. These practices involved styles of movement, dress, smoking, school orientations, gang orientations and family relations, to mention just a few. The study revealed that the categories of Jocks and Burnouts did not exist independently of the above practices, but rather the students created these categories and they filled them with meaning in and through their day-to-day activities. The above practices (e.g. hangout places) were thus resources on which the students drew to express their membership in one or the other group.

Eckert's (2000) study also illuminates the role of language in the mosaic of social practices. Language was part of the symbolic resource which the students strategically employed to situate themselves socially in relation to others in the high school. The Jocks were found to use more of the supra-local (standard) features, whereas the Burnouts more of the local features. The linguistic features the students adopted had further social meaning outside the school, of which the students were aware. They chose to use linguistic features whose social meanings they considered most useful for their own purposes. Thus, with the use of the standard features, the Jocks expressed, among other things, their career aspirations and motivations to enter a university; by contrast, the Burnouts, with their use of the local features, displayed their rebelliousness, toughness, and orientation towards the urban job market. The longstanding patterns, that is, the combination of features that each group used came to characterize that particular group. In other words, they became their group style. In this sense, then, the Jocks had their own speech style, and the Burnouts had their own. By

adopting one speech style or the other, the students were strategically expressing with which group they identified themselves, and from which group they distanced themselves.

Furthermore, Eckert's (2000) study points to difference and variation within communities of practice. Despite the inter-group distinctiveness that characterized the Jocks and the Burnouts, their practices were oriented towards the goal of being "cool". In this sense, then, the Jocks and Burnouts formed one community of practice, whose members were oriented to the same goal but not in the same way. In addition to the inter-group variation, in the group of Burnouts there was some intra-group variation as well. The so called "Burned-Out Burnout girls" participated in the Northern Cities Vowel Shift at a greater rate than did the rest of the group. They were more extreme than the others and defined for the entire community what it meant to be a "real" Burnout. They were in the role of innovators leading linguistic change. To sum up, then, Eckert's (2000) study is particularly useful in illustrating how the notion of communities of practice may be fruitfully applied to the examination of linguistic variation across speakers who are at the same time speakers *and* social players, and individuals *and* members of groups.

The community of practice approach has proved valuable for language socialization researchers as well, but for different reasons. Socialization is the process whereby a newcomer to a group develops the ability to participate as a competent member through repeated engagement in and experience with the practices of the target group (Hall 1993). Language socialization is the same process with the additional gain of learning language and developing linguistic competence (e.g Schieffelin and Ochs 1986; Ochs and Schieffelin 2008). In the process of language socialization, therefore, language is both the *means* and the *goal* of learning "culture". For language socialization researchers, and particularly for L2 socialization researchers, a fundamental question to ask is how novices to a particular "culture" acquire the types of knowledge that will make them communicatively as well as culturally competent (Duff 2008a,b). The communities of practice model, commonly used in education research (e.g. Duff 1995, 2004; Harklau 1999, 2000; Kobayashi 2004; Morita 2004; Talmy 2008a,b, 2009), has drawn the L2 socialization researchers' attention to the importance of studying access, negotiation and renegotiation, and roles in L2 learners' movement from beginner to advanced L2 speaker status. Duff (2007: 315) summarizes the most frequently raised research questions in studies employing a communities of practice framework as follows: "How do newcomers to an academic culture learn how to participate successfully in the oral and written discourse?" "What effect does socialization have on the learners' evolving identities?" "How does interaction with peers and teachers facilitate the process of

gaining full membership?" and finally "How do the practices and norms evolve over time?" As the above questions indicate, this line of research foregrounds themes such as the L2 learners' agency (e.g. Morita 2004), identity (e.g. Talmy 2008a,b, 2009; Toohey 2000), investment (e.g. McKay and Wong 1996), access (Duff 2007), and power relations (Willet 1995).

Of particular relevance to the present undertaking is Duff's (2006, 2007) study, which applies the notion of communities of practice to a group of exchange students. This interview-based study of the 45 Korean exchange students at a Canadian university reveals that their socialization is complicated by issues such as access, multidirectionality and hybrid identities. Upon arrival in Canada, the Korean students' biggest hope is that they will successfully integrate themselves into the local Anglo-Canadian peers' English-medium social networks. Over the course of time, however, they realize that such a goal is neither feasible, nor desirable. This is so because, first, they have no or limited meaningful access to the Anglo-Canadian students' groups; second, they have little in common with those students; and third, differences in linguistic backgrounds often bring about a feeling of anxiety or discomfort between them and the NSs of the language. This realization makes them redirect their energies from the Anglo-American student groups to the Korean exchange students' and the non-Korean-Asian students' social groups. By so doing, they establish themselves as members of two separate communities of practice, each with its own norms, values and stances. In sum, their language socialization is oriented toward multiple communities of practice, involves the construction of multiple identities, and takes place in a kind of "third space" created by and for the participants.

The community of practice notion has been particularly helpful for L2 socialization researchers in dismantling the "idyllic" picture that the cross-cultural studies of L1 socialization painted about the processes and outcomes of language socialization. Based on her insights into the Korean exchange students' language socialization at the Canadian university described above, Duff (2007) highlights several differences between L1 and L2 socialization. One of the major differences between the two types of socialization is, she notes, that the latter involves dealing with children or adults who have gone through, at least, one process of socialization already, and possess a repertoire of linguistic, discursive, and cultural traditions and community affiliations. Another difference is that L2 learners may not experience the same degrees of access, acceptance, or accommodation within the new communities as their L1 counterparts do. Besides, regardless of the target community's attitudes towards them, learners, that is, novices, may not be fully invested in becoming

socialized into the target community. This is especially true if their future trajectories do not require them to be (fully) committed to the target language and culture. L2 socialization thus leads to "other outcomes" (Duff 2007: 311), such as, (1) hybrid practices, identities and values; (2) behaviors, attitudes and identities contingent on others in the community; (3) multiple identities; (4) incomplete or partial approximation of the target community; (5) rejection of the target norms and practices; and (6) ambivalence about becoming (fuller) members (Duff 2007: 311).

Furthermore, the community of practice model has helped L2 socialization researchers reveal that L2 learners may not always readily accept the target community's behaviors, views and values. Quite the opposite, L2 learners (as novices) may attempt to change the target community's (that is, the expert members') practices so that they would better satisfy their own needs. An example is Ming, a Chinese immigrant woman, who in her new community of practice does not, as a passive recipient, "pick up" the L2 requesting behavior made available for her, but rather engages in a negotiation process with the more expert members (Li 2000). In addition, the community of practice approach has been useful in demonstrating that not all communities of practice have novices and experts as members, meaning not all (L2) learning is with the participation of members who are seen as experts and members who are considered as lacking in expertise. An example comes from Potts (2005: 155). The online community he analyzed emerged "out of the interactions of class members with each other and their personal investment in this mode of learning", rather than out of some experts guiding novices in the direction of some readily defined target competence. Finally, the community of practice approach has pointed to the need for a critical analysis to be undertaken in L2 socialization research. An example of a critical perspective is Morita (2004) who sheds light on the meanings of silence in classroom, or Willett (1995) who illuminates how gendered ideologies dominating the classroom practice may seriously disadvantage some learners.

In conclusion, the present study seeks to add explanatory power to our understanding of ELF as a tool for social interaction. More specifically, the present dissertation seeks to provide fresh insights on how ELF takes on the particular forms it does by focusing on the elements of practice that the members of a specific ELF community imbue with meaning and importance. To that end, the dissertation illuminates the shared and evolving practices through which the Szeged Erasmus community achieves its goals from its early formation till its break-up. As the community of practice as an analytical tool is quite unknown in the field of ELF (but see Smit 2009, 2010; and Ehrenreich 2009), the present study has looked to

language and gender studies, on the one hand, and L2 socialization studies, on the other, for impetus on the use of the communities of practice approach in linguistic research.

Next, I will continue by providing an elaborate definition of ELF, and by reviewing the relevant literature in ELF (chapter 2). This I find necessary as I place my data in the context of ELF research. This will be followed by the description of the research site and context, and the data collection and data analysis procedures (chapter 3). Then, I will present findings that emerged from my data and, where appropriate, I will compare my findings with that of other studies (chapters 4-7). Finally, I will summarize my findings, evaluate my results, and draw conclusions (chapter 8).

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This work combines a community of practice approach with current perspectives on English as a lingua franca (ELF). The present chapter will be divided into three parts: the first part will clarify the methodological and ontological positioning of ELF; the second part will present an elaborated definition of ELF; and the third part will provide details of previous findings. The first part is an introduction to the field of ELF, and leads to the discussion of my specific methodology in the following chapter. The second part defines ELF for the purposes of the present dissertation. Finally, the third part reviews literature that will help to inform the analysis of the data collected in the study.[9] However, first, I offer a brief summary of the sociolinguistic realities of the spread of English.

Researchers started turning their attention to ELF in the late 1990s and early 2000s as a result of the global spread of English. The changing function of English around the world has been well documented (e.g. Crystal 2003; Graddol 2006). Already a decade ago it was noted that the non-native speakers of English (NNSs) outnumbered the native speakers of English (NSs)[10] in a ratio of 5:1 (Kachru 1996: 241). The number of NNSs has been growing quickly ever since (Crystal 2003), and the spread of English has reached a point where the majority of the interactions in English world-wide are between NNSs without the presence of NSs. The sociolinguistic realities of the spread of English may be described in terms of Kachru's (1992) three-circle model, which has its limitations, but is arguably the most useful point of departure here. English is increasingly used in the Outer Circle countries, that is, the postcolonial states where English has a special status, and in the Expanding Circle countries, that is, the countries where English is learnt and spoken although it does not serve institutional purposes. In the Outer Circle, English is for the most part used for intra-national purposes within national groups, whereas in the Expanding Circle, it is used for inter-national purposes across different national groups.

The type of English mainly used in the Outer Circle is understood as English as a second language (ESL), whereas the type of English mainly used in the Expanding Circle is

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[9] Here I will not give an overview of recent empirical work for such an overview is available elsewhere. See, for instance, Knapp and Meierkord (2002), Seidlhofer (2004), Seidlhofer at al. (2006) and Seidlhofer and Berns (2009).

[10] Here I resort to the most practical labeling but see the next section for its limitations and for alternatives.

understood as English as a foreign language (EFL) or English as a lingua franca (ELF).[11] In the case of EFL, English is taken to be taught for communication with the NSs of the language; whereas in the case of ELF, English is used as a convenient means of communication (Seidlhofer 2005: 156), which may, in its literal sense, be *used* with other NNSs, rather than *learnt* through interactions with NSs. However, this does not mean that NSs are excluded from ELF communication. ELF being an "additionally acquired[12] language skill, it is not native to the NSs, either; they too will need to acquire it to communicate effectively (Jenkins 2011). In this sense, then, in ELF interactions NNSs participate on an equal footing with the NSs. ELF, which therefore includes both NNSs and NSs, is pervasive from casual small talk to business negotiation, from face-to-face interactions to virtual communication, from interpersonal exchanges to large group meetings in the great many countries of the Expanding Circle.

The increased use of ESL and ELF has had a major consequence on the development of the English language. Crystal (2004: 40) characterizes the situation as "unprecedented, with more people using English in more places than at any time in the language's history. Building on Crystal (2004: 40), Seidlhofer (2007a) notes that the norms of the English language have been diversifying and changing at an unprecedented pace, to an unprecedented extent. Language spread has triggered language change, which, in turn, has triggered the development of new varieties of English. It is the postcolonial uses of English which first gained recognition as legitimate varieties. Within the World Englishes paradigm,[13] the "New Englishes" of the postcolonial states are considered in their own right, and not in terms of their differences from a particular native variety. Alternations from the more traditional (native) varieties are not described as "errors", but rather as local features resulting from appropriation. Alternatively, appropriation is the process in which speech communities engaged in a process of societal learning (Brutt-Griffler 2002) adjust their language to meet the needs of their multilingual realities. By so doing, they make their "Englishes" into a tool, which effectively serves local needs, and imparts local tradition and cultural values (Kachru 1991).

With the increased recognition of the postcolonial uses of English as indigenized or institutionalized varieties on their own, there came the recognition that the views underlying

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[11] The alternative perspectives on the international developments in English include International English (Görlach 1990), World Standard Spoken English (McArthur 1998) and World Standard Spoken English (Crystal 2003).
[12] Taken from the website of Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE).
[13] For the first attempts at a comprehensive theoretical account, see Phillipson (1992), Crystal (1997) or McArthur (1998).

the World Englishes paradigm need to be extended to the Expanding Circle countries. ELF researchers raised the concern that ELF sits comfortably within the world Englishes paradigm, and that it has to be considered on equal footing with the other native and non-native (New Englishes) varieties. They emphasized the "variety potential" of ELF, and argued for the need to describe and codify its forms.

Recently, ELF researchers have distanced themselves from the World Englishes paradigm and have looked more and more to the Global Englishes paradigm as an alternative (Jenkins 2011). According to Pennycook (2009: 115), such a shift has a major advantage: researchers may now try to "come to grips with a non-centrist understanding of English as an international language that is dependent neither on hegemonic versions of central English nor on nationally defined new Englishes". Within the Global Englishes paradigm, ELF is considered a unique phenomenon, which does not compare to any varieties of English, be they native or non-native varieties. Pennycook (2009: 115) further emphasizes that researchers seeking a better understanding of ELF have to "account for the ever-changing negotiated spaces of current language use". That is, they have to pay a special attention to the fluidity of norms (e.g. Canagarajah 2007; Pennycook 2009). In line with the above arguments, ELF is no longer treated as a variety in need of codification, but rather as language in use, which is differently co-constructed in every specific context of interaction. The shift from the World Englishes framework to the Global Englishes framework has had major theoretical and methodological implications, which will be taken up in the following section.

2.1 The methodological and ontological positioning of English as a lingua franca

Methodologically and theoretically, ELF is seen as caught between variationist studies and interactional approaches to language and discourse (Dewey 2009). This unique positioning of ELF may in short be explained thus:

> "ELF is […] best understood as a dynamic, locally realized enactment of a global resource, best conceptualized not as a uniform set of norms or practices, but as a highly variably, creative expression of linguistic resources which warrants a distinct analytical framework." (Dewey 2009: 62)

In more detail, ELF shares some common ground with variationist studies in that they are both concerned with describing and analyzing sociolinguistic variability with the ultimate goal of making conclusions about the linguistic system as a whole. In the conventional

variationist tradition, that is, in the quantitative paradigm researched by William Labov,[14] researchers examine surface-level linguistic forms and their distribution across different groups of speakers. By correlating language use with social categories such as class, age, sex and ethnicity, variationists seek to uncover social meanings, that is, they seek to show which linguistic forms "mean" being a male, an adolescent, or an African-American Vernacular English speaker in a given speech community. The underlying assumption is that social categories exist before language – they impose certain norms of behavior on people, and language reflects or mirrors the speakers' membership in those categories. In other words, linguistic forms are seen as having stable social meanings.[15]

In much the same way, ELF research began with a focus on surface level forms. Variation was defined as deviation from the NS norms. That is, surface forms were checked for features where the speakers diverged from the NS norms. The aim was to identify core (or typical) features, and thus provide a basis for the codification of one or more varieties of ELF. The main question guiding empirical work was "what (if anything) notwithstanding all the diversity emerges as common features of ELF use, irrespective of speakers' first languages and levels of proficiency" (Jenkins et al. 2001: 15). With such a research goal, ELF researchers meant to promote a better understanding of the nature of ELF, and to provide a basis for more informed decisions in language policy and language teaching (McKay 2002). With respect to teaching, they expressed hope that ELF might become a "feasible, acceptable and respected alternative to ENL [English as a native language] in appropriate contexts of use" (Seidlhofer 2001: 150). In keeping with the above goals, ELF researchers accumulated a relatively large body of research on the linguistic description of ELF. Research was undertaken at a number of levels, including phonology (Jenkins 2000), pragmatics (Meierkord 1998); and lexicogrammar (for an overview of such work, see Seidlhofer 2004). However, as more and more empirical data became available, ELF researchers had greater and greater unease with the conventional variationist tradition as a frame of reference.

Over the past several years, ELF researchers have begun to explicitly question the adequacy of the concept of variety in ELF (e.g. Seidlhofer 2005, 2007a, 2009a). If the notion of variety is understood as a fixed set of norms shared by a homogenous social grouping determined by geographical location (e.g Gumperz 1982), ELF clearly does not fit the category. In light of the emerging empirical findings, ELF is heterogeneous, ad hoc, fluid and

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[14] See, for instance, Labov (1963, 1966, 1972), Wolfram (1969) and Trudgill (1974, 1988).
[15] For critical views on the assumptions underlying classical, descriptive variationist studies, see, for instance, Eckert and McConnel-Ginet (1992), Cameron (2009) and Bucholtz (2009).

flexible. ELF speakers do not fully comply with any set of external norms but negotiate their own norms of speaking. As Kaur (2008: 55) points out, in ELF encounters "meaning is created and recreated as the participants apply commonsense procedures and methods that are jointly negotiated and made relevant to each individual interaction". However, this is not to say that the pre-set and fixed (NS) norms are completely irrelevant in ELF. In fact, as Smit (2010: 58) notes, they are important in at least two ways: one, in relation to the language acquisitional processes ELF speakers have gone through, and two, in relation to the language code that they draw on when engaging in ELF interactions, which more often than not overlaps with what they were exposed to at school. In this sense then ELF speakers do rely on NS norms, which serve as a useful point of departure in establishing more locally relevant and appropriate norms.

In co-constructing locally relevant norms, ELF speakers adopt and adapt the language to their own needs. This involves them creatively exploiting their multilingual resources and the "potential tendencies in English" known as "virtual English" (Widdowson 1997: 18). Such a creative use of linguistic resources does not have to result in hampering the communication. Quite the opposite, it may help the speakers reach intelligibility more efficiently (e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2006; Hülmbauer 2007, 2009). Fluidity, or in Dewey's (2009) terms, "heightened variability", is a key aspect of ELF talk.

The above insights would not have been possible had ELF researchers not taken a theoretical and methodological re-orientation recently. In current ELF research concerns do not end with surface linguistic forms, but rather researchers increasingly look to the underlying communicative processes, that is, the motivating forces which have given rise to the observed features. As Seidlhofer (2009a: 42) has recently put it, from an ELF perspective, it is theoretically less helpful to think in terms of "distinct varieties of language", and more interesting to think in terms of "what underlies variation". ELF researchers are now shifting from the classical variationist studies to the more interactionally oriented fields of linguistics. ELF is increasingly seen as an interactional phenomenon although ELF research is "far less interested in the finely detailed analysis of micro-moments than is the case in interactional sociolinguistics" (Dewey 2009: 61). In current ELF research, then, the naturally occurring spoken data are seen as products of ongoing discourse, and a discourse-analytic perspective of some kind is present in all studies. Before summarizing the main findings of current ELF research, I define ELF for the purposes of the present dissertation.

2.2 English as a lingua franca defined

ELF is best defined on the basis of three factors – namely, the speakers involved, their "old" and "new" linguacultures, and their communicative purpose. In the following sections, I will present current perspectives on these central but rather controversial factors as they are to be understood in the context of the present dissertation.

2.2.1 ELF speakers

Since ELF is commonly defined as the common means of communication for speakers who do not share a common language,[16] such a claim allows different groups of speakers to be included in the definition. The different groups of ELF speakers may be conceptualized in different ways. One possibility is to draw the dividing line between NSs and NNSs of English; the other possibility is to differentiate between L1 and L2 speakers of English; and the third is to make a distinction between monolingual and bi- or multilingual speakers of English. Next, I briefly describe what implications the above notions have, and how they contribute to the theory of ELF.

The notions "NS" and "NNS" are of limited value in ELF research. While they are fruitfully employed in the description of the sociolinguistic realities of the spread of English, a wider application of the notions is now carefully avoided. Current ELF researchers reject the idea of conceptualizing ELF speakers as mainly, though not exclusively, NNSs of English for fear that it would imply that ELF speakers are passive imitators of some external, idealized norm (e.g. Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2001; McKay 2002). These fears are rooted in mainstream second language acquisition (SLA) research, where the above implications have currency. The SLA literature does not provide a clear-cut definition of a NS, but the widely held belief is that it is a monolingual speaker who has learnt their mother tongue in childhood and has developed an innate competence in it (A. Davies 2003). It follows that a NNS is someone who speaks and learns a language, which they have *not* learnt in childhood, and in which they "lack" an innate competence. To compensate for their "lack" or "deficiency", NNSs are expected to look outside to NS norms. The NSs are seen as providing not only an alternative, but in most pedagogical approaches the (only) legitimate teaching and learning model for the NNSs. Their intuitions of grammatical accuracy and their sense of proper language are considered as a basis against which the NNSs' linguistic performance is matched. The NNSs are therefore conceptualized as norm-followers, aiming at the norms of

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[16] Taken from the VOICE website.

some idealized NS. Such an understanding of the NNS conjures up the picture of a second language (L2) learner who is on the way to becoming more native-like but is doomed never to get there (Cook 2005: 3). Thus, it is these implications of the NS-NNS dichotomy which current ELF researchers wish to avoid in reference to ELF speakers.

The ELF researchers' arguments against the NS-NNS dichotomy is in line with recent trends in SLA, which challenge the dominant view of L2 learning as an individual cognitive process. SLA researchers who take a sociocultural perspective on learning[17] caution against the use of the NS-NNS dichotomy, too. They point out that referring to a NS model as the target for L2 learners is counterproductive for reasons of identity, norms, goals, agency and voice.[18] To start with the NSs' identity, it is an idealization, and so is their linguistic competence. From a sociocultural perspective, language knowledge develops in "culturally-framed and discursively patterned communicative activities" (Hall et al. 2006: 228), meaning language knowledge is "rooted in and shaped by […] social practices" (Firth 2009: 131). This being the case, it cannot be assumed that NSs develop the same innate linguistic competence. Quite the opposite; their linguistic competence varies depending on the nature of experiences they have had with the language. Moreover, in the process of language learning, or better still, language socialization (e.g. Watson-Gegeo 2004), NSs acquire not only linguistic competence, but also sociocultural knowledge, that is, views, beliefs, stances and attitudes instilled in the community to which they belong (e.g. Rampton 1990, 1995; Norton 1997, 2000). What this then implies is that native-speakerness cannot be restricted to the linguistic competence of an idealized speaker isolated from the social context.

Further, SLA researchers critical of the traditional SLA thinking draw attention to the learners' agency (e.g. Siegal 1996; Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000; Morita 2000; Norton and Toohey 2001). They argue that L2 learners, as active participants of the learning process, take decisions about whether they wish to negotiate a new (NS) identity, and by so doing, whether they want to become, in the traditional sense, "successful learners". Their relationship with the target (NS) culture is crucial and so is their "investment" (Norton Pierce 1995 cited in Norton and Toohey 2001) into the learning. Both the process and the outcome of their learning is unpredictable – they largely depend on the L2 learners' desire (or lack of it) to learn and practice.

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[17] The sociocultural perspectives on learning include the language socialization theory (e.g. Shieffelin and Ochs 1986), the situated learning theory (Rogoff 2003), and more specifically, the communities of practice model (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). What they have in common is the interest in the highly social and situated nature of language learning.

[18] See, for instance, Rampton (1990, 1995); Norton Pierce (1995); Siegal (1996); Norton (1997, 2000); Kramsch and Lam (1999); Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000): Morita (2000); Norton and Toohey (2001); Duff (2007).

A final but equally important issue that comes into the equation is the L2 learners' identity and voice (e.g. Kramsch and Lam 1999). Kramsch (1998: 82) notes that the cultural identity of speakers mediating between several languages and cultures is made up of a "multiplicity of social roles and 'subject positions' which they occupy selectively, depending on the interactional context". Thus, speakers may want to remain "true to themselves" and express "their own voice", rather than display some distant NS identity. While in most of the cases the L2 learners "express their own voice" through signaling their first language (L1) identity, in other cases they may choose to give voice to their "hybrid" identities (e.g. Duff 2007). Hybrid identities are not a given, but are actively created by the L2 learners occupying a "third-culture" (Bhabha 1994) or "third-space" (Duff 2007). This is typically the case when L2 learners feel as though they have taken a certain distance from both their L1 culture and the assumed (NS) target culture.[19] The bottom line is that current ELF researchers wish to avoid the view of a "NNS" associated with a passive, norm following L2 learner.

Conceptualizing the majority of ELF participants as NNSs is problematic for another reason. The NS-NNS dichotomy is based on the dichotomy of L1 versus L2 speaker, which has its own implications to the speakers' language proficiency. First, as Jenkins (2009: 89) points out, for the majority of ELF speakers English is only one of the languages in the speakers' linguistic repertoires, which makes it difficult to decide which language is a speaker's L2 or L3. Second, labels such as L1 and L2 speakers imply that the single most important criterion for language proficiency is the order of acquisition, and that a speaker can be completely proficient only in a single language learnt from birth can be completely proficient. This is indeed misleading for, as Smit (2010: 52) points out, the point of reference in identifying an L2 or an L3 may not only be the order of acquisition of languages, but also the self-reported language proficiency of the speaker, the functional breadth of the language, or the speakers' feelings of linguistic identity. A third problem is that the notion "L2 speaker" does not describe the speaker in relation to their entire linguistic repertoire. In the case of ELF speakers, for whom English is only one of the languages in the speakers' linguistic repertoires this may be a weakness of the term.

To overcome the problems the NS-NNS dichotomy creates, ELF researchers have looked for alternative labels. Jenkins (2009: 23) claims that the "degree of proficiency or expertise is an eminently (and possibly the most) useful way to approach the English of its entirety of speakers nowadays, regardless of where they come from and what other languages

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[19] For more on this, see the next section.

they speak". In making this claim she draws on Rampton (1990), who argues that expertise is a more appropriate concept for English than that of nativeness. He uses the term in reference to all accomplished "users" of English.[20] While the notions of expert and non-expert users of English are an improvement on the terms "NS" and "NNS", they are not without problems, either. As Jenkins (2009: 90) notes they impose "something of a value judgment of the term 'NN'".

To foreground the degree of proficiency, but without making any value judgment on the speakers' linguistic repertoire, Jenkins (2000: 8-10; 2009: 90) suggests the labels of "monolingual" versus "bilingual English speakers", MES versus BES. She reserves the category of MES to those who speak no other language but English, and she applies the category of BES to proficient speakers of English and at least one other language, regardless of the order of acquisition. Smit (2010: 51) extends Jenkins' (2009: 90) system with the notion of multilingual English speakers, which she uses in reference to speakers with three or more languages in their linguistic repertoires. The notions have been effectively employed in reference to the individuals' linguistic repertoires, but they have been of limited use in reference to their languages. In particular, when Jenkins (2000) and Smit (2010) run into the problem of how to account for the difference in the linguistic repertoires of those bi- or multilinguals for whom English is the first learnt language versus those for whom it is a second or third learnt language, they both adopt the following strategy: they use the labels of MES and BES in reference to individuals, and L1 versus L2 in reference to the order in which the languages have been.

Finally, bilingual speakers for whom the only shared medium of communication is English were until very recently seen as constituting a community of practice, which is "an aggregate of individuals negotiating and learning practices that contribute to the satisfaction of a common goal" (Meyerhoff 2002: 530).[21] The first suggestion to treat the ELF community as constructing a community of practice came from House (2003), and then from Jenkins (2007) and Seidlhofer (2007a). ELF researchers saw the merits of the notion "community of practice" in that it allows the examination of linguistically heterogeneous, temporary, and often dislocated communities, which cannot be associated with a linguistic variety in any traditional sense of the term. Thus, after careful considerations of the fact that ELF is, by definition, multilingual, and ELF speakers use neither a variety of their own "making", nor

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[20] The notion "L2 user" comes from Cook (2003: 5) who uses it in reference to speakers who use an L2 for the needs of their everyday life.

[21] For a more detailed definition, and for a historical overview of the major linguistically oriented studies in the community of practice framework, see section 1.3.

look outside to NS varieties for norms of speaking, they claimed that the communities of practice framework best suits the lingua franca contexts.[22]

However, the idea to treat all ELF speakers as constituting a single ELF community of practice has met some criticisms lately. Ehrenreich (2009) rightly, in my view, draws attention to the problematic nature of such an approach. Firstly, using the communities of practice framework as a theoretical backdrop when in fact "detailed and empirically grounded explorations of this concept are still scarce" (Ehrenreich 2009: 127) is problematic and creates an "empirical gap" (Ehrenreich 2009: 136). Secondly, the domain of the concept of communities of practice is smaller than that of speech communities. What ELF researchers describe as communities of practice are perhaps best reconsidered as "constellations of interconnected practices" (Wenger 1998: 127). Finally, in the light of Wenger's (1998) definition communities of practice (see Section 1.3), speaking or using ELF is too broad in scope, and too abstract to "represent a meaningful and explanatorily productive" joint enterprise (Ehrenreich 2009: 134). Thus, Ehrenreich (2009) does not deny that ELF speakers can usefully be conceptualized as members of communities of practice, but warns that such a conceptualization has to be based on empirically grounded evidence in local communities of practice for which there exists a more specific "joint enterprise". Based on the little empirical data available at the moment (Ehrenreich 2009; Smit 2009, 2010), it seems that ELF speakers who are in regular contact with each other and share a common goal are indeed capable of creating an ELF community of practice with their own norms of speaking, but surely more work needs to be done in local contexts.

2.2.2 Linguacultures in ELF settings

After some initial debate on whether ELF is simply a means of communication or a means of identification as well (House 2003 referring to Hüllen 1992), by now most ELF researchers agree that it is both.[23] Based on current research into ELF as a tool of expressing social and cultural identity, ELF researchers now take the perspective that culture features in ELF interactions in complex ways. Inspired by work which stresses that verbal communication is "indissociable from the creation and transmission of culture" (Kramsch 1993: 9), ELF researchers "allow" the possibility of cultures being brought into the ELF interactions and created by them. In other words, current ELF researchers take the view of

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[22] See, for instance, Cogo (2010).

[23] For early work see House (1999, 2002) and Meierkord (2000, 2002) and, then, for a change in perspectives, see Pölzl (2003); Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006); Cogo (2007, 2009); and Klimpfinger (2007).

culture being both a product and a process in ELF interactions. To emphasize the close link between culture and language, they use the notion of "linguacultures" in reference to the cultures in ELF contexts (e.g. Pölzl 2005: 95).

Leading on from the discussion of ELF speakers as language "users" negotiating their own norms of speaking in the previous section, it becomes clear that the NSs' culture cannot be considered the dominant linguaculture in ELF. In fact, the native culture is seen as having very little, if any, role in ELF. Given that a language is normally associated with a native culture, some ELF researchers have felt the need to mark the distinctiveness of ELF, and have proposed the notion of "culture-free code" in reference to it. Pölzl (2003: 5) suggests the label of "native-culture-free code" instead, thus making clear that ELF is devoid of the native English culture but has room for the creation and transmission of other cultures. To the question which linguacultures may potentially feature in ELF interactions, ELF researchers offer the following answer: the linguaculture associated with the speakers' L1, the local linguaculture, and the so called ELF "inter-culture" (Meierkord 2000).

The linguacultures associated with the speakers' L1 are typically brought into the ELF contact situation as a product. ELF speakers have been shown to have a variety of strategies at their disposal for making their L1 linguacultures salient in ELF. They may switch to their L1 (e.g. Cogo 2007, 2009), or adopt L1 linguacultural norms such as L1 discourse markers, discourse strategies and turn-taking management techniques (e.g. Pölzl and Seidlhofer 2006). According to Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006), ELF speakers are most likely to enrich their use of ELF with their L1 linguacultural norms when their L1 linguaculture overlaps with the local linguaculture, and most of the participants are familiar with it. This view points to the potential influence of the actual physical location of the face-to-face interaction or, in Pölzl and Seidlhofer's (2006: 173) terminology, the "habitat factor". Thus, ELF speakers are most likely to be influenced by the "habitat factor" and to "localize" their ELF when they feel on a "home ground" in the local linguaculture (Pölzl and Seidlhofer 2006: 162) and it is the main linguaculture across the participants. Smit (2010: 55) expands on this view and argues that if the participants form a community of practice and are engaged in ELF practice over an extended period of time, "the 'habitat factor' will apply also for those originally unfamiliar with the local linguaculture". As an example she mentions the individually mobile students who become temporary residents in the place of their studies.

In addition to the L1 linguacultures and/or local linguacultures, which the speakers bring along into the ELF interactions and make relevant in different ways, they also co-create a new or hybrid culture. Here, culture as a process makes it mark. Speakers develop – out of

the contact of different linguacultures – a local "ELF culture". Such a hybrid culture has been elsewhere called a "third-culture" (Bhabha 1994) or "third-space" (Duff 2007); in ELF in particular it has been labeled as "ELF inter-culture" (Meierkord 2002: 120, Pölzl 2003: 6), or "intersociety" (House 2002).[24] The ELF inter-culture is created in the communicative event itself, and the form it takes depends on the communicative goal of the interaction, the linguacultural background of the participants, and the context of the communicative situation (Meierkord 2002; Pölzl 2003). The ELF inter-culture may, as an example, be focused on showing L1 linguacultures as described above, and/or multilingualism and multiculturalism (e.g. Pölzl 2003; Cogo 2007, 2009). Whichever the case, the participants will readily switch to and borrow from[25] their L1, or from a co-participant's L1, which is an additional language (Ln) for them (Pölzl 2003; Cogo 2007). This being the case, in ELF no language or code, be it the participants' L1 or Ln, has a fixed social meaning, but rather the views, beliefs and values they signify are negotiated in the actual interaction (Cogo 2009).

2.2.3 Communicative purpose

While in the previous section we saw how speakers may want to use up the available "space" in ELF for making their desired linguacultures salient, the linguacultural factors are not the main motivating force underlying ELF interactions. Where English is intended to serve as a lingua franca, its use is essentially motivated by communicative needs, that is, by the goal of successful international communication.

Seidlhofer et al. (2006: 7-9) point out that the objective of achieving intelligibility across languages manifests itself in different ways in different ELF contexts. They differentiate between two major types of ELF contexts. In scripted conference presentations, international publishing, on official political occasions or in formal business correspondence, to give but a few examples, prestige and communicative effectiveness are seen to be strongly correlated with linguistic correctness. NS norms and culture are not privileged as such, but are accepted as "the unquestioned (unquestionable?) yardstick" (p. 7). ELF speakers strive at NS norms and often see themselves as still learning English. By contrast, in informal written genres such as interactions in electronic chat rooms among teenagers, but even more so in

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[24] But note that House (2002) does not believe that a community as fluid, fleeting and changeable as is a typical ELF community is capable of creating an "intersociety" or a cultural symbol to identify with.

[25] Pölzl (2003: 9-10) provides a useful definition for code-switching versus borrowing in ELF. Borrowing refers to the process of incorporating words from one language to another, e.g. to express specific cultural concepts, or to share them with the community; code-switching, on the other hand, involves the socially-significant use of different languages within the same conversation or even utterance, e.g. to express group membership.

spontaneous spoken interactions, such as casual conversations among friends, or discussions at a business meeting, English is indeed employed as ELF. It is appropriated by its speakers and is used with very little reference to NS norms. Speakers in contexts such as these may well see themselves as learners of English or as users of English in their own right (Seidlhofer et al. 2006: 9).

What this then implies is that there is a substantial group of ELF speakers (within the latter group above) who use ELF to reach intelligibility and *not* with the primary goal of learning English. Since such users of ELF have been traditionally categorized from an SLA perspective as L2 learners, and their language production has been matched against that of the NSs, the focus of current ELF research is on this very group of ELF speakers. The ELF approach concerns itself with language use in its own right (e.g. Seidlhofer 2001). It does not describe ELF users in relation to their language proficiency achievements, but rather in relation to their communicative success. Comparison with NS norms is seen as both unnecessary and inappropriate.

The thrust of the empirical work on ELF has been to show how ELF speakers not directly oriented towards learning English invent and reinvent the norms of their English "online" to reach their communicative goal. In other words, ELF researchers explicate the communicative processes through which their participants, for whom learning English is not (the single most important) reason for engagement, work towards intelligibility. However, this is not to say that the use of a language can be separated from learning it, or vice versa. Recently, several ELF researchers have raised the concern that the learning of English is not the main goal of or reason for engagement in ELF conversation but it does take place anyway. In particular, Widdowson (2009: 214) claims that naturally occurring spoken ELF is "language learning put to use", in which ELF speakers adjust their language to make it function appropriately and effectively. Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2009) draw attention to the "non-conformist forms", which deviate from the NS norms, but do not hamper intelligibility and at times even enhance mutual understanding. They argue that such forms are creative exploitations of the "virtual language", that is, of the potential tendencies in a language, and are best seen as evidence of successful learning. Finally, Firth (2009: 132) points at a wide range of interactional strategies which a group of ELF speakers "contingently and situationally" implement for their communicative purpose. He then claims that the adoption of such strategies, including the flagging of one's own unidiomatic or marked utterances, the acknowledging of the partner's communicative difficulty, and the sharing of

non-standard resources, "in all cases would appear to require and entail learning-in-interaction" (Firth 2009: 132).

As follows from the above quotes, ELF researchers are now increasingly drawing attention to what can be considered learning in the form of "local context-sensitivity" (Pekarek Doehler and Wagner 2010). The assumption underlying this kind of learning is that "if communicative competence is a fundamentally ongoing, inchoate, transitional, situational, and dynamic process, then any language users (including both L1 and L2 users) will always be "learners" (or "acquirers"), regardless of the social setting" (Firth and Wagner 1998: 91). This kind of learning takes place "online" through the participants assessing what is appropriate; further, it happens incidentally as a side-effect (or side-process) in the collaborative "work" for intelligibility. The object of learning is not some NS target or "standard" form, but particular strategies which help the participants reach their communicative goal (Firth 2009).

Further, learning in the form of local context-sensitivity is not the only type of learning ELF speakers not directly oriented towards learning English may experience. ELF speakers who meet repeatedly and are engaged in an "ELF practice" for an extended period of time likely undergo a change in behavior, which may alternatively be described in terms of "pattern development" (Pekarek Doehler and Wagner 2010). At present, research into this kind of longitudinal learning is still scarce in ELF research but the results are very promising. They explicate the processes of group formation and identity transformation among ELF users. In particular, Ehrenreich (2009) provides an empirical analysis of one ELF community of practice at a German multinational corporation. She finds that her participants build their ELF interactions, as much as their entire conduct of business, around the goal of efficiency. This obviously requires learning. First, the participants have to learn that in their local professional community there are different measures of appropriateness than in other communities of practice, such as the ELF classroom. More specifically, they learn to tie appropriateness to efficiency. Second, they learn that there are certain locally negotiated, dynamically developing "patterns" in their professional community, which serve as a resource in accomplishing efficiency. Based on these findings, Ehrenreich (2009: 146) states that ELF speakers who traverse different communities of practice are repeatedly faced with the "challenging task of acquiring [a] new sociolinguistic competence". She concludes by saying that ELF speakers who interact with each other as members of a group, each with its distinct norms of speaking and behaving, are necessarily "life-long learners" (Ehrenreich 2009: 146).

The other work available on leaning as pattern development in ELF is that of Smit's (2009, 2010) study. The participants are the students of a classroom community, where ELF is used as the medium of education. They do not engage in ELF interactions to learn English per se but rather, as Smit's (2010: 149) ethnographic approach reveals, to familiarize themselves with an area of professionalization, and to develop a temporary community. Still, through their use of ELF over an extended period of time, their ELF undergoes some change. The change is most evident in the following three aspects of the classroom interaction: seeking understanding, jointly constructing objects of learning, and negotiating and constructing knowledge. What makes Smit's (2009, 2010) approach "richer" in comparison to Ehrenreich's (2009) investigation is the explicit longitudinal approach, which enables her not only to point at learning outcomes in the above noted areas, but also to show the steadily developing and changing interactional practice in each area. As an example, she shows how in the classroom talk problems of intelligibility decrease with time, and how readiness of all the participants to bring to the exchanges whatever is interactionally necessary increases with time.

2.3 Details of findings: CA and ELF perspectives

Current ELF researchers who focus their attention on the underlying processes rather than on surface forms emphasize that successful ELF talk, perhaps more than any other natural language, depends on the speakers' cooperation. As Seidlhofer (2001: 143) puts it "at the most general level [...] ELF interactions often are consensus-oriented, co-operative and mutually supportive". ELF researchers recognize two major kinds of cooperative strategies – namely, "accommodation" and "negotiation of meaning" strategies. Accommodation means the process in which speakers "usually unconsciously, adjust their speech and non-verbal behavior, fine-tune these to become more accessible and more acceptable to each other" (Seidlhofer 2005: 160).[26] Through the accommodation strategy of convergence they co-create a shared ELF repertoire, which may or may not be meaningful outside the local context. As regards the negotiation of meaning strategies, they concern the processes in which speakers indicate, react to, interactionally manage, and ultimately resolve non-understandings (Pitzl 2005: 14, 56-58).

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[26] But see also Giles and Coupland (1991: 60-67) who emphasize that speakers may want to make their speech resemble that of their interlocutors not only to enhance intelligibility, but also for affective reasons to signal solidarity and invoke approval.

The empirical work has further revealed that the cooperative strategies may serve multiple purposes. First, they may enhance mutual understanding; second, they may project linguacultural identities; and third, they may contribute something positive at the interpersonal level of talk, that is, they may create a "feeling of shared satisfaction" (Hülmbauer 2007: 10), express solidarity (e.g. Cogo 2007, 2009), and establish rapport (Kordon 2006). In all this, as Jenkins (2011) notes, speakers "prioritise communicative effectiveness over narrow predetermined notions of 'correctness'". The most widely researched cooperative strategies involve negotiation of meaning strategies, pre-empting moves, repetitions, a range of other interactional strategies, and code-switching.[27]

Next, I present ELF research findings on the above strategies, but before I do so I offer a brief review of how the same phenomena have been analyzed in other fields, mainly in Conversation Analysis (hereafter, CA). This I find necessary as most of the interactional phenomena ELF researchers currently examine (and which they consider key aspects of ELF talk) were first recognized and analyzed by CA researchers. In other words, it is mainly CA which has provided ELF with the type of features to look for in the naturally occurring spoken data. Importantly, though, I do not take CA or its findings as a priori important for my own study, but rather I mean to set the findings which have emerged from my own ethnographic method and analysis in juxtaposition with CA and ELF research findings. First, a brief definition of CA is to be provided.

CA is a distinctive methodology and a powerful analytical tool for the study of spoken interaction.[28] It defines talk as a social action, and aims at disclosing the ways in which it gets socially and interactionally organized. The assumption underlying CA work is that talk is "deeply ordered" (Hutchby and Drew 1995: 183), but the order it rests on is not a given, but rather an interactional achievement. Speakers jointly organize their talk by using commonsense procedures and practical methods. In fact, they co-construct their talk in situ, in an ongoing manner. In order to disclose the processes at play, CA researchers draw on empirical procedures grounded in the actual talk. They limit their analyses to naturally occurring spoken interactions, while maintaining that only those aspects of talk are interactionally significant which the participants themselves make relevant in the minute

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[27] For further strategies of interest within ELF, such as the use of idioms or strategies enhancing communicative effectiveness, see Pitzl (2009) and Hülmbauer (2007, 2009), respectively.

[28] For detailed discussions of its theoretical underpinnings and methodological orientations, see, for instance, Wooffit (2005) and Heritage (1989); for empirical findings emerging from studies applying CA techniques, see, for instance, Atkinson and Heritage (1984) and Drew and Heritage (1992).

details of talk. References to pre-established notions, mental phenomena in the form of "mind reading", or participant views are all strongly rejected.

2.3.1 Negotiation of non-understandings

The question of how participants make sense of their interlocutor's contributions to the unfolding talk, or how they accomplish and display understanding, is a central concern in CA. CA's approach to the study of understanding ties with the notion of "intersubjectivity" (Heritage 1984a: 256; Schegloff 1992:1295-1300). The assumption is that understanding is a negotiated and locally accomplished matter, which is continuously displayed in the actions of the participants (Heritage 1984a). The action an utterance accomplishes is determined by the sequential context, that is, by its placement within the turn-to-turn sequence of talk. The current turn makes relevant, or implicates, a particular next action to be accomplished by the next speaker in their turn. In this sense, then, the next turn is the locus for participants to display their understanding of the prior turn through the production of a relevant next action (Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Heritage 1984b; Psathas 1995). Further, the second speaker's understanding is publicly available for the first speaker to check what sense they have made of their utterance (Heritage and Atkinson 1984). This then allows the first speaker to provide repair in the third turn if necessary (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Repair is defined as "practices for dealing with problems or troubles in speaking, hearing, and understanding the talk in conversation" (Schegloff 2000b: 207).[29] Third position repair, as one type of repair, constitutes an action through which the first speaker puts right the problematic understanding of the "trouble source" (Schegloff 1992). However, if the first speaker does not take the opportunity in the third turn to provide repair, it is assumed that shared understanding has been reached. Thus, in CA understanding is perceived as an interactional achievement, resulting from the dynamic process of collaboration and negotiation between the participants.

The interactional view of understanding as defined in CA is also compatible with the view of understanding as a continuum (Bremer et al. 1996). While mutual understanding is desired, speakers may not always reach complete understanding. Their degrees of understanding may vary from complete understanding to non-understanding, with various degrees of partial understanding in between. Following Bremer et al. (1996: 40), a "non-

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[29] For early work on repair in the CA tradition, see, for instance, Jefferson (1972, 1973), Sacks et al. (1974), and Schegloff et al. (1977).

understanding occurs when the listener realizes, that s/he cannot make sense of (part of) an utterance."[30] In the case of a non-understanding the listener may choose to signal their difficulty in understanding through overt means (e.g. by saying "I don't understand"), or they may choose to display it covertly by not taking up the turn, or not offering a relevant next turn. Such a public display of a problem is often taken as a request for repair. If repair does take place, it is once again offered in the third position. However, this time third position repair is not initiated by the trouble source speaker, but by the recipient.

Much CA-based work has been undertaken into the structure of repair, that is, who initiates repair, where it is initiated in relation to the trouble source, and whether the problem is resolved or abandoned. This practice of repairing is seen as disruptive by CA researchers, who maintain that a repair activity interrupts the natural flow of the conversation, and has the potential to "supersede other actions", that is, to stop the speaker from saying what they were to say next had the problem in understanding not emerged (Schegloff 2000b).

"Problematic talk" of the kind described above has been widely examined in NS-NNS type of conversations in fields such as Intercultural Communication, Interactional Sociolinguistics, Intercultural Pragmatics and Second Language Acquisition (SLA),[31] and more recently from an ELF perspective in NNS-NNS talk. ELF researchers break with the tradition of viewing non-understandings as disruptive and problematic, and promote a view in which non-understandings are seen as part and parcel of all natural languages, and thus of ELF, too. In particular, their interest is not on the problematic nature of talk, but rather on how ELF speakers, as successful communicators, achieve shared understanding (e.g. Pitzl 2005; Mauranen 2006; Cogo and Dewey 2006; Cogo 2007; Kaur 2008, 2009). To this end, they explicate the processes through which speakers carefully and skillfully negotiate and jointly construct understandings despite initial difficulties. They, too, maintain a distinction between non-understandings and misunderstandings (see, for instance, Cogo 2007: 73-74). The notion of non-understandings is used to refer to failed, or partly successful, understanding, of which, at least, one of the participants is aware. By addressing and remedying the "problem", speakers avoid the non-understanding turning into a misunderstanding of which the recipient of talk is not aware. Researchers also converge on the point that understanding is not "a passive ability" but "an interactive and jointly

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[30] This is not the same as a misunderstanding, where the listener is not aware of the fact that their interpretation of the previous turn is not what the prior speaker has intended.

[31] In fact, in these research trends, problematic talk is seen as a key concern and a main characteristic of intercultural exchanges resulting from the participants' systematically different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (e.g. Coupland et al. 1991).

constructed process which is dynamic and co-operative and which all participants of a conversation continuously engage in" (Pitzl 2005: 52).

In identifying, describing and analyzing the processes that ELF speakers employ in the collaborative process of meaning-making, ELF researchers tend to draw on Varonis and Gass's (1985) model. Despite the limitations of the model (e.g. Pitzl 2005: 57-58; Cogo 2007: 76; Lichtkoppler 2007: 56-57; Kaur 2008: 63), they acknowledge its usefulness in explicating the ways in which speakers indicate, manage, jointly negotiate and ultimately repair moments of failed understanding. ELF researchers identify and describe a wide range of strategies used in the face of non-understandings. These involve repetitions, paraphrase, confirmation and clarification practices, and the use of multilingual repertoires. They highlight the different function of repetitions in the negotiation of meaning process. They point out that repetitions may serve the purpose of signaling a non-understanding, showing understanding, or repairing a problem (Cogo 2007: 84-104).[32]

Studies covering a variety of settings, from business meetings (Pitzl 2005) to academic settings (Mauranen 2006; Kaur 2008, 2009) through casual conversation (Cogo 2007), all point to the conclusion that non-understandings are rare in ELF, but when they do occur, speakers deal with them "most adequately and most competently" (Pitzl 2005: 69), and almost always reach a shared understanding. Another somewhat less surprising finding of ELF research is that the negotiation sequences may also contribute something positive at the interpersonal level of talk, that is, they may help the speakers express solidarity and show affection (Cogo 2007, 2010). Finally, research into non-understandings has had another striking finding which concerns the speakers' proactive work in talk (Mauranen 2006).

2.3.2 Preempting moves

CA refrains from separating the functions repair strategies perform in terms of whether they resolve a problem of understanding or avert a potential problem. The conceptualization of repair in CA presupposes a problem, and it implies a remedy to it.[33] However, ELF researchers believe that there is much to be gained from differentiating between repair as a remedial process and repair as a proactive strategy (e.g. Kaur 2008). To throw further light on the processes by which ELF speakers jointly construct understanding – rather than repair

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[32] For more on repetition, see section 2.3.3 below.
[33] For a definition, see the previous section.

problems of understanding in the narrow sense of the term – they have turned to SLA for insights.

In SLA, within the interaction theory framework, there is a relatively long tradition of examining how speakers check, monitor and clarify understanding (e.g. Long 1981, 1983a,b; Pica et al. 1987). Researchers have found that the most common practices involved in the so-called "negotiation of meaning" processes are clarification and confirmation requests by the second speaker, and repetitions, rephrasals or expansions of the trouble source by the first speaker. What the various negotiation of meaning processes have in common is that they involve the speakers modifying or restructuring the interaction with the purpose of averting a potential problem or repairing an actual problem. While in SLA, the notion of negotiation of meaning is used as a cover term for both remedial and proactive strategies, in ELF research it is reserved for remedial processes (as shown in the title of the previous section), and the notion of pre-empting strategies is used in reference to proactive strategies.

Influenced by SLA, ELF researchers argue that speakers do more than signal and repair non-understandings. They also make special attempts to pre-empt, that is, prevent problematic moments, thus ensuring the smooth running of talk (Cogo and Dewey 2006; Mauranen 2006, 2007; Cogo 2007; Kaur 2008, 2009). Researchers identify a variety of proactive strategies. First, self-rephrasing when the speakers retain the meaning while changing the form (e.g. Mauranen 2006: 138-140; Lichtkoppler 2007: 53-54; Kaur 2009: 110); second, additional explanations when, for instance, speakers insert an idiomatic expression from their L1 and, in their anticipation of a problem, offer an explanation to it immediately (Cogo 2007: 98-101); third, negotiations of topic when speakers introduce a topic or referent by using a noun phrase and a coreferential subject pronoun (e.g. Mauranen 2007: 253); fourth, discourse reflexivity when, for instance, speakers use the word "ask" to prepare the ground for the question they are about to raise; and finally, the coconstruction of expressions at moments of word search (Mauranen 2006: 135). This last strategy occurs at moments of word search when the current speaker is having a difficulty expressing themselves, and their interlocutor offers help.[34] Importantly, they do not wait for the current speaker facing a moment of word search to request help overtly, but they offer help voluntarily. In other words, they supply the missing expression in a co-operative spirit, and by doing so, they jointly construct the utterance.

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[34] For a definition of word search, see section 2.3.4.

Pre-empting strategies are offered when there is the risk of encountering a problem. Speakers anticipate difficulties and act upon potential problems. Their proactive strategies are aimed at improving clarity and increasing explicitness. Such strategies reflect the speakers' ability and willingness to adapt their speech to the communicative situation by adjusting their speech to their interlocutors' linguistic and cultural expectations. They also serve as evidence of the speakers' awareness of, and sensitivity to, the differences in their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. All things considered, then, pre-empting strategies enhance intelligibility, while at the same time they also function as accommodation strategies for convergence (Cogo 2009).

2.3.3 Repetitions

Both CA and ELF researchers recognize the key role repetitions play in negotiating and securing understanding when shared understanding is challenged in some way. But what are repetitions? In the CA literature, repetitions are defined as the exact re-saying of a prior utterance. In this sense they are differentiated from the practice of paraphrase, which involves a change in grammar and lexis, and which is seen as involving "very different uses for, and procedures of, constructing an utterance" (Schegloff 1996: 179). Generally repetitions are classified into two groups depending on who performs the practice of repetition: same-speaker or other-speaker repetitions. If it is a same-speaker repetition, they may be repeating an earlier segment of the ongoing turn or of a preceding turn; if it is an other-speaker repetition, they are necessarily repeating all or parts of a prior turn. As Wong (2000: 408-409) notes, CA researchers "take as a basic premise the notion that these forms of talk are not produced accidentally, haphazardly, or automatically, but rather they are motivated". She then invites researchers to ask, "what the practices of repeating might be doing in terms of actions".

Those who have looked into the functions that repetitions serve in the interaction agree that it is a valuable resource. In general, repetitions may serve three major goals. Firstly, they are used as a tool for enhancing shared understanding. As Merrit (1994) points out, if other-repetition is performed in rising intonation, it signals a potential or actual problem, and implicates a confirmation, a clarification, or a correction. Since, however, the practice of confirmation may also come in the form of repetition, repetitions can be seen as a tool for both initiating and performing repair. Further, same-speaker repetition, whether preceded with a request for repair or not, enhances comprehension by providing the recipient with another

opportunity to perceive the information. Thus, repetition has an element of redundancy (Tannen 1987: 582), which further facilitates shared understanding.

Moving on to the other functions of repetitions, it is an interactional strategy, and as such, it makes the conversation smooth and successful.[35] More specifically, it allows the speaker to hold the floor, to gain planning time, and to simplify speech production. In addition, repetitions have been shown to express social relationships, agreement, interest or surprise (Norrick 1987; Tannen 1984, 1987). Tannen's (1984) notion of "interpersonal involvement" is a useful cover term here; it can involve a whole range of effects such as interest and enthusiasm in the subject of talk, and solidarity and rapport with the co-participants. The created effects are best understood as following from the metamessage (Bateson 1972 cited in Tannen 1989: 29, 52) that the speakers send about their relationship to the subject of talk, on the one hand, and to the co-participants, on the other. Tannen (1984) further emphasizes that the metamessage undergoes substantial negotiation in the process of interpretation so that the actual effect may not correspond to the intended one, but more interesting than that, it may be different for different participants (Tannen 1984). In sum, repetition is said to play a role in speech production, comprehension, interpersonal connection, and interaction.

As regards the functions of repetitions, ELF research is very much in line with CA findings. ELF researchers also identify multiple functions. As has been pointed out above, the role of repetitions is acknowledged in the ELF literature on the negotiation of meaning strategies. In addition, their role is highlighted in the ELF accommodation literature (Cogo 2007, 2009; Cogo and Dewey 2006) and in the ELF literature on identities (Pölzl 2003; Pölzl and Seidlhofer 2006). Starting with the role that repetitions play in the process of negotiating and constructing shared understanding in talk, they enhance intelligibility in various ways (Lichtkoppler 2007; Cogo 2007). They make the conversation more intelligible and successful through facilitating rhythm and group synchrony, ensuring the smooth development of talk, buying time to think, providing time to catch up on the missed discourse, and by facilitating the production of language. Lichtkoppler (2007) differentiates between six groups of repetitions in the function of promoting intelligibility. One, self-repetitions, which help the speaker produce fluent speech while thinking about what to say next; two, utterance-development repetitions, which involve the speaker reformulating their utterance until a more satisfactory, and likely more intelligible utterance is reached; three, prominence-providing

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[35] For more on interactional strategies, see the next section.

repetitions, which involve the speaker giving an emphatic stress to the utterance they cannot reformulate in a more intelligible way; four, repetitions as acknowledgement tokens, which simultaneously indicate involvement, participation, and listenership; fifth, repetition as cohesion, which involves the speaker using "old" words that are known and understandable by both or all the participants; and finally, repetition as "borrowing", which involves the speakers repeating old words for easing production.

Out of Lichtkoppler's (2007) six types of repetitions, repetitions as acknowledgment tokens and repetitions as cohesion are particularly important at moments of word search.[36] As Klimpfinger (2007: 49) notes, when a co-participant has supplied the missing utterance, the current speaker has the opportunity to repeat the supplied utterance, thus showing their listenership, acknowledgment of the help and their recognition of the word. As regards repetition as cohesion and borrowing, Lichtkoppler (2007) suggests that by repeating old words, the speaker can ease both the comprehension and the production of utterances. More specifically, by repeating words that are known and understandable by both or all the participants, the speaker can produce a text which is more comprehensible for all, while at the same time they do not have to search for new words, and can thus produce an utterance relatively easily. Repetitions in this very last function can be associated with the so-called "idiom principle", which concerns the use of "pre-constructed phrases" for effective communication and economy effort (Seidlhofer 2009b).

In addition to enhancing intelligibility, repetitions have a second function, which Cogo (2007, 2009) calls the show of cooperation, and Lichtkoppler (2007) names as the show of attitude and opinion. When the second speaker repeats the first speaker's utterance, they are adapting their language either to sound similar to their co-participant, or to align to their strategic use. By doing so, they ensure the smooth running of talk, and at the same time, show alignment and solidarity with the speaker of the first turn. Finally, repetition as a strategic resource may also be used to express identity or membership in a particular group. If, for instance, a speaker repeats the first speaker's code-switched utterance, they may be seen as expressing membership in the same group of multilingual ELF speakers (Pölzl 2003; Cogo 2007; Cogo 2009).

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[36] For a definition of word search, see section 2.3.4.

2.3.4 Interactional strategies

As has been noted in connection with repetitions above, interactional strategies make exchanges smooth and successful. Their use has been described from numerous perspectives, including pragmatics, discourse analysis and CA, but always in relation to the turn-taking system. Given that each turn follows from a previous turn and projects a next turn, with their focus on interactional strategies, analysts seek to find out how speakers co-construct their turns to make exchanges successful.

A key and highly influential finding of early CA research, based on spoken American English, is that "one party talks at a time" (Sacks et al. 1974: 706). Such a claim is based on the assumption that speakers have the ability to project, and interlocutors to foresee when a transition relevance place is approaching. A transition relevance place projects a decision to give up the floor, and implies that the interlocutor may opt for taking over.[37] The one-party-at-a-time principle suggests that interlocutors do not take over during a turn but rather wait until the current speaker reaches a transition relevance place. By doing so, speakers carefully avoid simultaneous talk. Although simultaneous talk is undesirable, it does occur from time to time. Sacks et al. (1974, 1978) offer different explanations. One possibility is that the interlocutor begins their turn as a result of the speaker's misprojection of a transition relevance place. If so, they may have to fight for the floor, that is, for the right to use the space allocated for talking. Another possibility is that the interlocutor begins their turn at a place which cannot be considered a transition relevance place. If so, the simultaneous talk can be seen as an interruption, which disrupts the flow of the conversation, and is intrinsically problematic.

However, it would be wrong to assume that all simultaneous talk is disruptive and problematic (Sacks 1992). In some cases, after the overlapping talk, one or the other participant leaves the floor naturally. Most CA researchers agree that this typically occurs when simultaneous speech begins at or near a transition relevance place, rather than before it as it is often the case with interruptions. Such cases of simultaneous talk cannot be seen as competitive. Quite the opposite, they are cooperative in the sense that they help the smooth progression of talk. In addition, researchers who do not use CA, and maintain an interest in the functions of overlapping speech, emphasize that simultaneous talk can be linked to emotional and affective meanings such as the show of engagement, support, camaraderie, rapport and listenership (e.g. Ferguson 1977; Levinson 1983; Murata 1994; Tannen 1984,

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[37] For more on transition relevance places, particularly, on how they are signaled, see Schegloff (1987, 1996) and Szczepek Reed (2004).

1994), or in one notion, interpersonal involvement.[38] Thus, cooperative simultaneous talk is designated not with the notion of interruptions, which has negative connotations, but with the notion of overlaps.

Within cooperative overlaps, much attention has been given to collaborative utterance building and to backchannels. Speakers may engage in a collaborative utterance building both when the current speaker is facing a moment of word search, and when they are not lacking any notion. The notion of "word search" has been used in reference to problematic talk, where the speaker, typically, in the mid-course of the trouble-source turn, displays difficulty with the formulation of some word or utterance (Goodwin and Goodwin 1986; Lerner 1996; Kurhila 2006). They may signal their difficulty by hesitating in finishing the utterance, or by producing longer than normal pauses, sound stretches, incomplete wording and/or repetitions (Goodwin and Goodwin 1986; Lerner 1996). As self-initiations of repair are typically marked with the same verbal and non-verbal features (Schegloff et al. 1977), Kurhila (2006: 91) suggests that word search is best treated as one specific type of "self-initiation of repair". Further, the search may be "self-directed" or "recipient-directed", depending on whether the speaker holds the turn for self-repair, or whether they give up the turn in anticipation of other-repair (Kurhila 2006: 96, 107). Schegloff (2000a) and Murata (1994), in particular, note that if a word search has been indicated, and the current speaker has not (yet) given up their turn, the interlocutors may cooperatively supply the end of the utterance in an overlapping speech. The overlap is cooperative as the interlocutor is supplying the word the current speaker is looking for, and they are giving a backchannel which shows listenership and engagement in the conversation. Cooperative behavior of this kind is conceptualized as "collaborative utterance construction" by Schegloff (2000a), and somewhat misleadingly as "cooperative interruption" by Murata (1994).

Furthermore, as has been implied above, the interlocutor may overlap with the current speaker when there is no indication of any trouble. In light of Schegloff (2000a), this kind of overlap has two types. One is the so called "terminal overlaps", the other the overlapping "continuers". The former is cooperative insofar that they are offered at or near a transition relevance place and the current speaker is indeed finishing their turn. If they are not, and they have the intention to continue their turn, the overlapping speech is considered an interruption.[39] As regards "continuers", also called backchannels and "acknowledgment

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[38] For a definition of interpersonal involvement, see the previous section.
[39] This view is not necessarily shared by those who do not work from a CA approach but use a different form of discourse analysis. For instance, Tannen (1984: 60-64) identifies a type of overlap, which does not necessarily

tokens" (Lerner 1996), they involve verbal and non-verbal signals such as "yeah", "uh-huh", "mm", head nodes and smiles. These can be used to express listenership, acknowledgment of what the current speaker is saying, and to indicate that the current speaker can continue their turn. These functions apply both when they are offered immediately after the prior turn, and when they are provided during the current turn (e.g. Brunner 1979; Sacks 1992; Schegloff 2000a).

Of course, the above strategies are of interest not only when they occur in simultaneous talk, but also when they are offered immediately after the prior turn, as has been noted in connection with the continuers above. Thus, the speakers may engage in a collaborative utterance building immediately after the prior turn as well. Collaborative utterance building, also called "collaborative completions" (Gardner and Wagner 2005: 8) and "anticipatory completions" (Lerner 1996), involves the speakers providing the syntactic continuation of the prior turn. This may happen under two circumstances (Sacks 1992, vol. 1) One, when the current speaker is "at loss of words"; two, when they are not facing any problem. More specifically, the interlocutor may supply the notion the current speaker is looking for, or they may supply the end of the current speaker's utterance when no difficulty has been indicated. As with the other interactional strategies, CA researchers are not interested in why speakers may want to jointly produce an utterance, but rather their interest lies in the ways in which an utterance is co-constructed in the turn-taking system. With regard to collaborative utterance building at moments of word search, Sacks et al. (1974: 702) notes that for a turn constructional unit to be complete, it is essential that the turn projects how it will end. When speakers make sounds such as "uh" or "eh", it shows that a turn has begun but it has not been completed. Further, it shows that a particular word is needed so that the speaker could finish their turn. By supplying the missing notion, the interlocutors actually help the current speaker finish their turn.

With respect to collaborative utterance building where there is no indication of a word search, Tannen (1984: 56) gives a useful description. The second speaker picks up the first speaker's thread, and supplies the end of their utterance, which the first speaker then accepts and incorporates into the original utterance. Using a different form of discourse analysis, Tannen (1984) also elaborates on the functions that a process like this may have in the ongoing interaction. She argues that it generally serves to make the conversation smooth and cooperative.

start at or near a transition relevance place, and is still cooperative. She calls it "overlap-as-enthusiasm strategy", and argues that it primarily serves to establish rapport, and to make the talk easy and satisfying.

In the field of ELF, interactional strategies have received comparably less attention than some of the other strategies. Kordon (2006) and Cogo (2007) explicate the processes of backchanneling, and Cogo (2007) examines simultaneous talk, and collaborative utterance building. Within backchannels, Kordon (2006) describes the participants' agreement tokens and laughter; within simultaneous talk, Cogo (2007) examines three bigger groups of practices. Firstly, "backchanneling overlaps", where the speaker offers a backchannel in an overlapping speech; secondly, "completion overlaps", where the speakers engage in collaborative utterance building of some kind; and finally, "misjudgment overlaps", where the speaker starts speaking in an overlapping turn, not because of their intention to take over the turn, but rather because they have misjudged the transition place. Cogo (2007) further examines collaborative utterance building offered immediately after the prior turn, which she calls "utterance completions". Within the different types of collaborative utterance building, she differentiates between those cases where the interlocutors are supplying a missing notion "as a way of helping out", and between those where they are (simply) showing their involvement and listenership.

ELF researchers emphasize two main functions in connection with the observed interactional strategies. One is what Kordon (2006) calls the "flow-function". It serves the purpose of making the communication smooth and successful. This function is most evident in the case of backchannels where an agreement token sends the message that the speaker is listening, and the current speaker may continue their turn. The other function concerns the speakers' show of interest, involvement and investment in the conversation, and this to a point where they can guess what the current speaker is to say next (Kordon 2006; Cogo 2007). Kordon (2006) emphasizes that in this latter function, the above strategies help the speakers create a positive atmosphere, display friendliness, and establish positive interpersonal relations. Based on these insights, she calls this latter function "rapport-function".

2.3.5 Code-switching

Another strategy that has played an important role in the ELF literature is code-switching. Code-switching concerns the phenomenon when a speaker alternates between the use of two or more languages or language varieties within one single conversation (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993) or in different domains in different conversations (e.g. Heller 1988). Long before ELF researchers entered the scene, code-switching had been described from a number of approaches. ELF researchers are not concerned with the SLA approach, which

analyzes code-switching in terms of the speakers' linguistic proficiency as a compensatory strategy, nor with the approaches that have been taken to specify the linguistic factors which constrain such behavior. Rather, their focus is on the sociolinguistic approaches to code-switching, which examine the social dynamics of switching.

Recently, code-switching research has seen a major shift. Initially, code-switching was seen as a response to a set of macro-level features, which determined the symbolic value of different languages or language varieties (hereafter, codes), and had implications for the choice of code to be used in different domains (e.g. Fishman 1972, 1980). In other words, bilingual speakers were seen as adjusting their language to a set of external norms, which deemed one code appropriate for one domain, and another code for another domain. Gumperz (1982) refers to this kind of code-switching as "situational code-switching", and argues that the switch is necessarily between a "we-code" and a "they-code". The former is used in familiar situations, and indicates social proximity and domestic matters, while the latter is normally used in formal situations, and signals distance and power.

Gumperz (1982) further argues that bilinguals may switch codes not only when there is a change of domains, but also within the same speech exchange when the setting and the participants are the same. He introduces the notion of "conversational code-switching" to set this kind of utterance internal code-switching apart from situational code-switching. In this case, code-switching is not treated as a response to a set of contextual features, but rather as a strategic use of available linguistic resources to construct social meaning. The possible meanings involve discourse functions such as highlighting quotations, specifying an addressee, or marking interjections. In this sense code-switching is comparable to other resources called "contextualization cues" which serve similar functions. The other contextualization cues are prosody and various interactional features. However, there is an important aspect in which code-switching differs from other contextualization cues, that is, its association with the "we-code" and the "they-code". When speakers switch to the "we-code", they most likely want to signal a shift to a more intimate conversation; similarly, when they shift to the "they-code", they most likely wish to signal a change to a more formal conversation. All contextualization cues, including code-switching, are part of the discourse community's norms, meaning in using and interpreting them, members of a community rely on some shared background knowledge. Their shared background knowledge allows community members, but not "outsiders" to the community, to express and interpret contextualization cues in socially appropriate ways.

In much the same way, for Myers-Scotton (1993), too, the different codes symbolize different social values. She maintains that languages are associated with social rights and obligations, and that these are external to the interaction. Thus, bilingual speakers either choose the code which reflects pre-existing social rights and obligations, or the code which runs against social conventions. By running against expectations, and making socially significant language choices, they, as rational, active agents, create social meanings such as intimacy or distance.

Auer (1998) offers another interactionally oriented approach to code-switching. He, too, shares the view that code-switching is strategic, rather than responsive, but denies the idea of external symbolism. In other words, he doubts the link between code-switching patterns and the language-external social values attached to particular languages. Instead, he emphasizes that when speakers switch codes, they are attributing a certain meaning to their switch. Likewise, when speakers make inferences, they interpret meanings locally, on a turn-by-turn basis, rather than look outside for global values as it is suggested by Gumperz (1982) or Myers-Scotton (1993). In this sense then code-switching is always indicative of something, but its meaning is not to be determined by macro-level values, but rather locally and from the perspective of the actual speakers. Auer (1998) calls on researchers to examine code-switching as a tool for structuring local conversations. To that end, he recommends he combination of conversation analytic and ethnographic frameworks.

ELF researchers have, in many respects, followed on in Gumperz's (1982) and Auer's (1998) footsteps. They view code-switching as a resource which speakers creatively exploit for a variety of communicative and other goals.[40] Before specifying the most common functions and goals code-switching in ELF can be associated with, two general observations emerge as Cogo (2007: 169-170) points out. One is that in ELF contexts, speakers alternate not between two codes, but between many, and there is no single code that is generally recognized as "we" or "they". The other is that in ELF, code-switching is not "flagged" or signaled unless it is used as a compensatory strategy at a problematic moment. In other words, ELF speakers tend to hesitate or take a pause only when they are faced with a moment of word search or temporary memory lapse; otherwise they tend to switch without drawing attention to the switch itself. According to Cogo (2007: 170), the absence of flagging indicates certain "normality" in the switch, on the basis of which she then claims that code-switching is "part-and-parcel of the [ELF] participants' usual discourse practice".

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[40] See Pölzl (2003), Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006), Cogo (2007, 2009, 2010), and Klimpfinger (2007, 2009).

In section 3.2, it has been noted that ELF speakers may strategically switch codes to express social identity. In this section the focus is on additional functions code-switching may serve. Research has shown that ELF speakers may just as well switch codes to enhance intelligibility beyond cultural differences. Klimpfinger (2007, 2009) and Cogo (2007) identify three functions promoting mutual understanding. These are as follows: to specify an addressee, to appeal for help at moments of word search and temporary lapses, and to introduce another idea. Cogo (2007: 181) notes that in this function, code-switching provides an extra resource which monolingual speakers lack. However, Klimpfinger (2007: 49, 53-54) warns that this extra strategy available to ELF speakers does not always prove efficient. When, for instance, ELF speakers switch codes to appeal for help, they engage in a risk-running enterprise for there is no guarantee that the co-participants will understand the code-switched request, and/or that they will be able to offer help (Klimpfinger 2007: 49, 53-54).

Finally, Cogo (2007, 2009) sheds light on the accommodative function of code-switching, and on the ways in which it is further used to express social relationships. She claims that when speakers shift to their L1 or an Ln, they act upon the assumption that the co-participants are multilinguals who will be able to make sense of the code-switched element. In this sense then their code-switching is an attempt to express more nuanced meanings while at the same time adjusting their language to the linguistic and cultural diversity characterizing the ELF situation. When, in return, a co-participant repeats the code-switched element, it can be regarded as another instance of accommodation for convergence. By picking up the code-switched utterance, the co-participant is expressing solidarity with the interlocutor, invoking approval and/or showing membership in the same community of multilingual speakers. Finally, when in response to a code-switched utterance the second speaker does not (only) repeat the code-switched utterance, but they switch codes and thus make a new contribution, it is another instance of accommodation for convergence.

2.3.6 The use of humor

In CA there exists no straightforward definition for or approach to the study of humor, but there is a good deal of work on laughter.[41] While laughter plays a key role in helping the analyst identify how humor has been perceived (Jefferson et al. 1977), it does not always reflect humor. Thus, ELF researchers interested in humor do not use CA but another form of discourse analysis as a framework of reference.

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[41] See, for instance, Jefferson et al. (1977); Markku (2001); and Wagner and Vöge (2010).

Humor has been extensively examined by Janet Holmes and her colleagues[42] in NS business interactions. Holmes (2000: 163) defines humor as utterances, which the analyst "on the basis of paralinguistic, prosodic and discoursal cues [identifies as] intended by the speaker(s) to be amusing by at least some participants". In Holmes' (2000, 2006) perspective, humor is a context-dependent, interactive and collaborative achievement. That is, speakers jointly construct humor by building on one another's humorous comments (Holmes 2006). Since, however, successful collaboration in humor requires shared understanding and shared perspectives (C. Davies 2003), humor has the potential to create solidarity between the participants (Holmes 2006). More specifically, collaborative humor "constructs participants as equals, emphasizing what they have in common and playing down power differences" (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 80). This being the case, humor has particularly great relevance at the interpersonal level of talk. It creates interpersonal rapport and fosters good relations (Holmes and Stubbe 2003).

To date, the use of humor in ELF has received relatively little attention. It has been most thoroughly examined by Stark (2009). Her work is motivated by the question of how humor is enacted, and what role it plays in business interactions. Pitzl (2009) does not directly address the question of humor in ELF; rather, her interest is in creativity and metaphoricity in ELF. Nevertheless, she finds that ELF speakers may expand on, and play with, NS metaphors in a very openly humorous way. Both Stark (2009) and Pitzl (2009) point at the strategic use of humor, and emphasize that it plays a key role in constructing and nurturing good relationships. Stark (2009) in particular shows how chair and staff alike use humor to establish common ground and create rapport, which then serve the basis of creating pleasant atmosphere and building good workplace relations. As an example for creating rapport, she presents a case where speakers are understood without having expressed their meaning explicitly. Stark (2009) further demonstrates how humor may be used to mitigate power, and thus to increase solidarity between chair and staff.

Stark (2009) further notes that ELF speakers are fully capable of using humor collaboratively. That is, they are able to build on each other's way of talking, and to extend on their humorous comments in most subtle and complex ways. For purposes of illustration, she analyzes an extract of talk, where the production of humor is shared between three of the participants. She also claims that her ELF participants are able and willing to jointly repair

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[42] See, for instance, Holmes (2000, 2006); Holmes and Marra (2002, 2004); Holmes and Stubbe (2003).

failed uses of humor. Her example concerns a case where a speaker fails to understand the point of a humorous utterance because of his lack of a lexical item. The first speaker then rephrases his point, and thus clarifies the meaning of his utterance.

Stark (2009) finds that, in general, humor in ELF is context-based, rather than culture-specific. While her participants carefully avoided any reference to cultural knowledge (which would have likely created a problem in understanding the point of humor), they did their best to exploit their other resources. Thus, to accomplish their interpersonal and other goals, they used a variety of strategies, such as quick wit, sarcasm, subtle irony and language play. The examination of language play, that is, humor focusing on the language itself, has revealed that ELF speakers may readily play on their multilingualism, which in turn demonstrates "the multilingual [ELF] speakers' natural interest in language" (Stark 2009: 169). Furthermore, language play, more than any other strategy, illustrates the protean and spontaneous nature of humor.

2.4 Summary

The discussion above has clarified that ELF research shares some common ground with variationist studies, on the one hand, and with interactional approaches to language and discourse, on the other.

ELF has been defined as language in use among bi- or multilinguals whose primary concern is to reach intelligibility in the only shared language available to them. *In* and *through* ELF, speakers transmit "old" and co-create "new" linguacultures, and learn appropriateness for momentary effectiveness and alternatively for long-term group formation. It was pointed out that the notion of speech communities is inappropriate in relation to ELF speakers, and that they are more usefully conceptualized as communities of practice. I briefly noted that this has two major reasons: one, their communities are linguistically heterogeneous, and often dislocated; and two, they do not speak a variety in any traditional sense of the notion, but rather negotiate their norms of speaking "online" in the dynamic process of learning appropriateness and efficiency. This lends itself to the obvious conclusion that ELF – at least, in its current understanding – is based on the "function that it performs rather than on the form that it takes" (e.g. Kaur 2008: 54). In other words, ELF does not claim for itself the status of a variety, but rather concerns itself with the function that it performs in the interactions.

Empirical work is now undertaken to show how ELF speakers creatively exploit their (plurilingual) resources to reach their communicative and interpersonal goals. Researchers emphasize, above all, the cooperative nature of ELF talk, and the role of accommodation for convergence in accomplishing mutual understanding. The most widely researched strategies include the so called negotiation of meaning strategies, pre-empting moves, repetitions, a range of other interactional strategies, and code-switching, which are now considered as the main features of ELF talk. Thus, the bulk of current ELF research focuses on the "code" and not so much on the context, which presents a gap in current ELF research and theorizing. With my methodology described next, I wish to address this very gap.

3 METHODOLOGY

It was my participation in the LINEE research project which initiated the present study. LINEE was an EU-funded linguistic project (2006-2010), of which the University of Szeged was a partner institution. In the first phase of LINEE, research was conducted in twelve work packages. I was the member of Work Package 7, which was led by Don Peckham. Our research team sought to contrast views on English as a lingua franca (ELF) among experienced and inexperienced users of ELF. Our team collected eight group interviews with Erasmus exchange students in Szeged and Prague, and two group interviews with local secondary school students in Szeged, with a total of 32 informants. The interviews were unstructured, open-ended and conversation-like. As each interview was collected by myself and another PhD student (Emőke Kovács), I had access on them at once, and in the process of transcribing the data, I already made numerous observations.[43] While the above interviews are *not* included in the present analysis, they are of key relevance to the present undertaking. They drew my attention to the fact that for the Erasmus exchange students ELF is a way of life, which can be best described and analyzed by focusing broadly on language use in its social context.

Thus, I designed my data collection with a view to adopt an ethnographic approach. An ethnography aims to understand and interpret the behaviors and values of a social group "with particular reference to the *cultural* basis for those behaviors and values" (Duff 2008c: 34, emphasis in the original). From another perspective, ethnographies aim to "learn about what counts as membership and appropriate participation" (Green et al. 2003: 210) in a specific community. They enable researchers to examine how language use relates to the conditions of people's everyday activities, to discover how and why certain language practices gain significance in people's lives, and to watch processes unfold over time (Heller 2008: 250). By making the community's tacit cultural knowledge explicit (Spradley 1980), ethnographies are helpful in capturing complexities, contradictions, and consequences (Heller 2008: 250). In general, ethnographies can be used to describe what is going on, explain why it is happening in the way it is happening, or to explicate what difference the observed phenomenon makes to whom (Heller 2008: 259).

More specifically, as noted in Chapter 1, I adopted the communities of practice framework (Wenger 1998), which relies quite specifically on ethnographic techniques. Thus,

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[43] For some of the result, see Peckham et al. (2008) and Kalocsai (2009).

in the present study, the community of practice model has been used as a framework to design the data collection and analysis from the start.[44] Such an approach has had at least one major implication – namely, that the focus of analysis has not been on the ELF participants' language use per se, but rather on their social practices instantiated through a variety of means, including linguistic means. My goal with doing an ethnography grounded in a community of practice framework has been to uncover the practices that are important to the members.

In what follows, I will articulate the epistemological assumptions that the present study follows. I will then weave together detailed descriptions of the research site and context. This will be followed by detailed descriptions of the ethnographic methods for collecting data, and of the qualitative and discourse analytic methods for analyzing data.

3.1 Epistemological assumptions

The present study can be seen as taking a social constructivist approach. As such, it has drawn on the assumption that meaning and realities are constructed, not just discovered (Duff 2008c: 56), and the researcher's engagement with the participants and with the research itself plays a crucial role in the type of reality depicted (Duff 2008c: 56). Concerning the first point on the nature of realities, like Lave and Wenger (1991: 51), I have assumed that "objective forms and systems of activity, on the one hand, and agents' subjective and intersubjective understandings of them, on the other, mutually constitute both the world and its experienced forms". Bearing this in mind, I designed my data collection in such a way as to elicit the participants' emic perspectives and insights. I did not elicit emic views with the intention of matching them against some external truth – simply because there existed no such truth out there – but rather with the intention of throwing new light on the phenomenon under investigation (Codó 2008: 162). Once the participants' views were available for analysis, I triangulated them with my etic observations. What will eventually emerge out of this undertaking is best seen as a "version of truth" jointly produced by the researcher and the participants of the research.

As regards the second point on the researcher's role in creating a version of reality, I was reflexive about my influence on the data throughout the process. When analyzing interviews, I treated the data as jointly negotiated situated performances (Heller 2008: 256) conducted with a specific purpose for a specific audience (Duff 2008c: 133). That is, I was

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[44] For the theoretical perspectives on the community of practice model, see section 1.3.

fully aware of the fact that the elicited interviews reflected a careful consideration of who the interviewer/interviewee was, what they presumably knew, and what their relation to each other was. The same applies to the prompted e-mails. As regards the observational data – where I aimed at a quasi-insider view – they, too, reflect the participants' understanding of what my role in the field was, and what the nature of our relationships were. All things considered, then, while the present study has drawn on a systematic enquiry, and has been conducted according to well justified principles, it provides an "account" for which I as a researcher am responsible (Heller 2008: 251-254). Had other researchers undertaken the same study, it is quite likely they would have produced a different version of reality.

Furthermore, the present study can be seen as an ethnographically inspired, qualitative, applied linguistic inquiry. As has been articulated in the introduction to the present chapter, an ethnography aims to understand the culturally-based perspective that underlies knowledge, guides behavior, and shapes interactions within a given community (Watson-Gegeo 1997). Consequently, an ethnography needs to learn as much about the participants and their views as possible. To that end, the present study has adopted an emic, contextualized, naturalistic, log-term and longitudinal perspective.[45] The emic perspective has required a well-found understanding of the participants' views, beliefs and attitudes; contextualization has required a thorough emic understanding of the research site; the naturalistic perspective has necessitated the examination of language in use in its actual setting; the long-term perspective refers to the duration of the project and has necessitated a prolonged engagement in the field; and finally, the longitudinal perspective concerns the analytical focus of the study, and stresses the dynamic nature of linguistic and cultural knowledge. Therefore, the present study examines, by using ethnographic and discourse analytic techniques, how a group of Erasmus exchange students, while engaged in ELF practice, achieved their shared goals.

3.2 Research site and context

The study was conducted in Szeged with the participation of 142 Erasmus exchange students who studied temporarily at the local university.[46] For ethical considerations, which are to be discussed in greater detail below, I have made a special attempt not to make the participants recognizable. Firstly, I have not used the students' real names, but pseudonyms;

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[45] In this sense, it is closest to Smit's (2010) inquiry into ELF.
[46] Not all the 142 participants were equally involved in the present study. Some participated in a variety of data collection methods, others participated only in the method of participant observation. The number of students I worked most closely with was 15, including the so-called "key participants". For details, see section 3.2.1 below.

and secondly, I have not given the exact date of the data collection, but have revealed only the approximate time frame. The study spanned one academic year while I was working as a LINEE researcher between 2006 and 2010. The participants came from a wide variety of universities, with a wide range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Most of the participants were undergraduates who received transfer credits for the academic work they had completed at the University of Szeged. Some had to take more courses than the others depending on how many credits their home universities required, and how close they were to the end of their studies. Their fields of study varied from economics and law to foreign languages and journalism, from music and painting to sports science and computer science. They were free to take courses at whichever department at the University of Szeged so long that the courses were open to Erasmus students. They had the opportunity to study in English, German and Hungarian, with English being a far more popular choice than the other two. This has partly to do with the students' lack of competence in German and Hungarian, and partly with the fact that the vast majority of courses that they could choose from were offered in English. In some cases they attended courses together with the local students, in other cases they attended courses organized for Erasmus students only. Another option was the so called consultations, which meant no regular courses but private meetings with teachers.

The participants arrived in Szeged in three phases. Some chose to come a month earlier to learn Hungarian, others came at the beginning of the first term, yet others at the beginning of the second semester. Out of those who came in the first or second phase, some stayed for one semester only, others for a full academic year. This means that when the students in the third phase arrived, there were still relatively many "old" Erasmus students around. Precisely, in the first semester the total number of the Erasmus students in Szeged equaled 81 and in the second semester 61. Out of the 61 students of the second semester, 26 were "oldtimers" from the first semester. In addition, in both semesters, there was one student studying on Rotary scholarship[47] who socialized with the Erasmus students.

3.2.1 Data sampling

Before I began my research, I first asked for the approval of the General Secretary of the university. Once I got her permission, I started contacting the students. I invited them to participate in my research by introducing myself, explaining them about my research goals

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[47] Rotary International is an international organization of service clubs run by business people and professionals who have certain social service goals.

and data collection methods, and by handing out my letters of invitation (see Appendix 1). The students arrived in three phases, and accordingly, I invited them to participate in the research in three rounds.

First, at the beginning of August, that is, a month before the official start of the school year, there arrived a group of students in Szeged to learn Hungarian. They were participants of the European Commission's language preparatory course called EILC.[48] Only two of the participants of the course were planning to do their study abroad in Szeged, others elsewhere in Hungary. During the course, I established a personal contact with both of the students. I did this in an informal way by addressing them in their lunch hour in the hallway of the university. I gave them my letters of invitation. Both students confirmed me of their wish to participate.

Secondly, at the beginning of September, there arrived a bigger group of Erasmus students. My first contact with them was formal. Before the orientation week, I had asked the organizers if they could allocate some time for me in the program so that I could address the students in public. My wish was to let all of them know about my research as soon as possible. They approved. Therefore, the same day as when the department coordinators gave their welcome speeches, I had the opportunity to introduce myself, tell them about my research goals, and to distribute my letters of invitation. I encouraged them to take the letters home, read them carefully, and ask me if they had any questions, uncertainties or objections. While in the next few weeks, several students expressed a great interest in the research and requested further information on it, nobody raised a concern against being included in the research.

Finally, towards the end of January and early February, there came a smaller group of students. My meeting with them was truly informal. On the first night of the orientation week, one student from the second phase gave a good-bye party. Since the Erasmus coordinators, in fact, Erasmus Student Network (ESN) representatives[49] had invited the newly arrived students, that is, roughly 20 people, the new students and the "old" students from the first semester had the chance to introduce themselves to each other. In this context, it was all natural for me to introduce myself, too. I took the opportunity to introduce myself as a student researcher, tell them briefly about my research, and draw their attention to my letters of invitation which I was to send out in the next few days. Since, however, not all the new

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[48] For the aims of the EILC course, see section 1.1.

[49] The Erasmus Student Network (ESN) is a non-profit international student organization providing "opportunities for cultural understanding and self-development under the principle of 'Students Helping Students'". For more information, see www.esn.org.

students arrived in Szeged in good time to attend the orientation week, I made sure to meet the rest at a later event.

After my initial contact with the students, I began to introduce the different data collection methods (see Figure 3.1 below). First, I only attended the social events that were organized for, and by, the Erasmus students. After I had become friendly with the majority of the students, and had established a good level of trust with many of them, I started to send prompt e-mails. Based on the answers I received for my first two prompt e-mails, I selected my key participants (for a definition of key and non-key participants, see the following paragraph). From then on, I only prompted the key participants with questions. I continued to raise my questions in prompt e-mails, and started conducting face-to-face interviews as well. In the mean time, my attention turned to the participants' Facebook posts and circular e-mails. They became available, so I collected them as well. The last data collection technique I introduced was the audio-recording of naturally occurring conversations, which required the mutual trust of the participants and the researcher.

Figure 3.1 Data collection procedure: A timeline
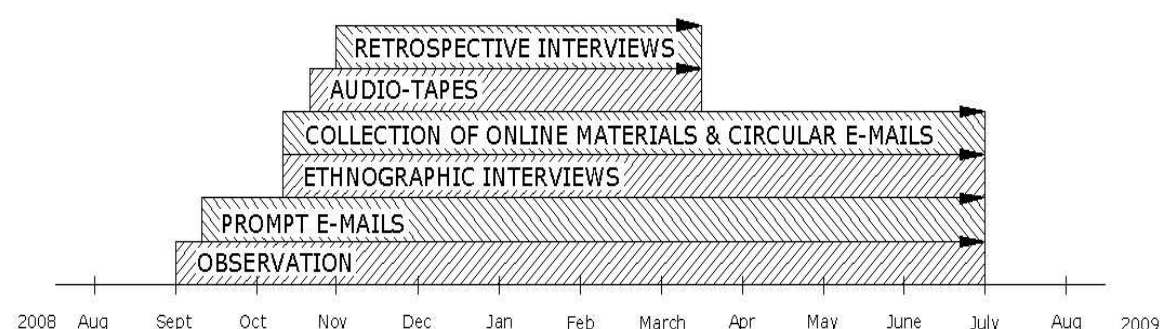
From the start I had the intention of choosing four to six focal or key participants who would help me gain a better insight into the emerging community. My focal participants emerged out of those who took time and energy to reply to my first two prompt e-mails. I selected a few responders, and asked them in person if they wanted to be more involved in the research. This strategy was different from my original plan. As the letter of invitation shows (see Appendix 1 again), I originally intended to select the focal participants out of those who volunteered at the start. However, the new strategy seemed more sensible at the time, and effective in the long run. In selecting the focal participants, I aimed at maximum variation sampling (Duff 2008c: 115) in terms of the students' L1 backgrounds, fields of studies, study abroad experience and past experience with ELF. All the students I asked agreed to become

more involved in the research. I ended up with one focal participant from the first group of incoming students, three from the second group, and two from the third group. It needs to be emphasized that the point of choosing key participants was not to trace individual trajectories, but rather to gain a closer insight into the ELF community, from its early stages of formation in September to its break-up in June the following year. With my choice of key participants, and with my ten-month ethnographic work in general, I covered the trajectory of the community of practice as I originally intended (see Figure 3.2 below).

Figure 3.2 Data collection with key participants: A timeline for interviews
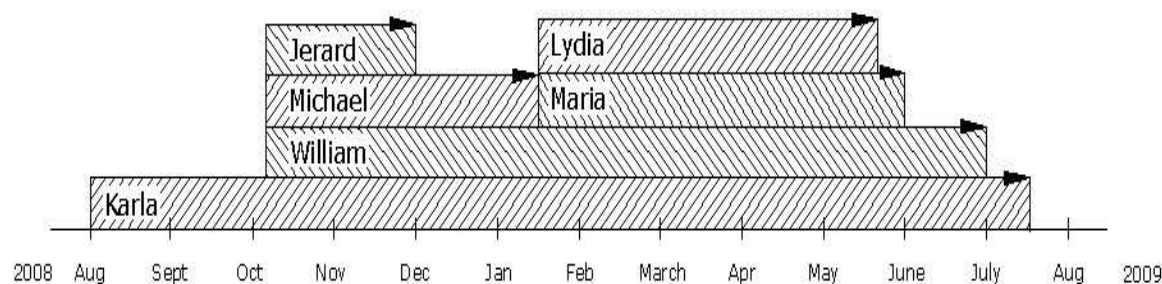
3.2.2 The researcher and the researched: Joint participants

The relationship between the researcher and the researched plays a fundamental role in the data that will emerge from the inquiry (Heller 2008: 254–255). Hence, in reports, special attention has to be paid to the researcher's role in the research process and their history with the participants or with the research site (Duff 2008c: 130).

My researcher position on the field can be described as an active participant. In choosing the most appropriate identity, I took into consideration four features of fieldwork identity as it is suggested by Atkinson and Hammersley (1994: 249). Specifically, the first can be associated with my need for observational data, which required regular and relatively close contact with the participants. To build close relations with the participants, it was necessary to join the group at social events, and to participate in their activities.

The second and the third features are closely connected. The second concerns the question of whether the participants know that they are dealing with a researcher. My participants all knew that I was a researcher since I made it explicit for them, both in speech (when I introduced myself to them) an in writing (when I circulated my letters of invitation). The third issue can be associated with the following question: if the participants know that there is a researcher around, are they informed about what exactly he/she is after? My

participants were told that the nature of my research was linguistic with a special focus on the culture of their group. So that they would not be intimidated by using English in my presence, I emphasized on several occasions that my interest was not in how "correct" they were, but rather in how they were using English to build a community.

The last problem that I had to take into consideration was my orientation to maintain a dual identity, that is, to position myself both as an insider and as an outsider. My outsider position had to do with the fact that at the time of the investigation I was not studying abroad. Thus, I was not away from home, I did not have the kind of "freedom" the students reported on, I did not have as much free time as them, and I was not in urgent need of establishing new relationships as was the case with them. By contrast, my insider position had to do with the fact that I was also a student, I was only a few years older than the majority of them; and English was not my mother tongue, either.[50] The fact that they perceived me as an insider is well illustrated by the following two examples. First, when a student was leaving, the other members of the group prepared a small booklet for them, in fact, a careful selection of photos and good-bye messages. The students typically contributed to these booklets with their messages or signatures at parties. When I was also present, they also asked me if I wanted to contribute. Secondly, when they were to leave Szeged, they said good-bye to me as well, and some thanked me for my friendship. Both of these researcher positions had their advantages. My outsider position allowed me to ask questions, which from an insider would have sounded awkward; at the same time, my insider position enabled me to give a detailed description of the phenomena, which were taken for granted by the participants. All things considered, then, I played both the roles of a researcher and of a participant, which, in Atkinson and Hammersley's (1994: 249) terms, best correspond to the role of an active participant.

The role of an active participant enabled me to build rapport, and comfortable relationships with my participants. This is best illustrated by the fact that they did not only tolerate my presence, but also invited me, as any other member, for many of the big social events such as parties, trips, paintball playing, go-cart racing, caving, bowling and swimming. Besides this, at one of their big weekly gatherings in the university club, they celebrated my birthday as well. They even prepared a cake for me. From time to time, they also invited me

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[50] Several years before the study was conducted, I studied on Erasmus scholarship in Durham, England, for four months. One may expect that this experience helped me relate to my participants as an insider. However, this is not the case at all. While I was in Durham, there were very few Erasmus students in town or I did not know of them. Further, I was not living with other students in student accommodation or in a rented flat, but was assigned a home stay at a local family. This being the case, my primary contacts were not Erasmus students, and I did not have any sense of belonging to an Erasmus community.

for small group events, mostly dinners. Being invited for small dinner parties was real honor because the hosts typically had hard time in deciding who to invite without offending those not being invited. Furthermore, some of my participants, key and non-key, had more trust in me than in other members of their community of practice. This became apparent when they revealed secrets in front of me, told me about their private life, and asked for my advice in questions that they did not openly discuss with others members. In sum, I developed harmonious social relationship with most of my participants, and became close friends with some of them. This, however, means that I have had to approach my data with a pinch of salt, as will be evident from the following section.

3.2.3 Ethical questions

Researchers are faced with a range of problems that are ethical. There are two major areas of ethical issues, in fact, responsibilities: the first concerns the ethics of fieldwork, the second the ethics of publications. Starting with the ethics of fieldwork, in my case, all the participants were informed about the research and its aims, both in writing and in speech. Permission for recording was obtained from all the participants who were to be audio-recorded. As the key participants were audio-recorded regularly and frequently, I did not ask for their permission every time I was to set up an interview, but rather when I invited them to be my focal participants. They all gave their permission. Other students were audio-recorded on an ad hoc basis in spontaneous everyday conversations with peers. I asked for these students' permission before the actual recording was to take place. Only once was permission denied. Most students seemed to have no problems with being recorded in interviews and/or in naturally occurring conversations.

Moving on to the ethics of publications, in the present report I have taken special steps to preserve the participants' anonymity. As a first step in this direction, I have used pseudonyms. While I have avoided using real names, I have given cross reference to information such as their field of study, their country of origin, and their linguistic background. I am fully aware of the fact that disclosing such information makes my participants more traceable; yet, this kind of information is essential in the description of the multilingual nature of the Erasmus group, and its dynamically developing group formational processes. To compensate for the information which might make the participants more recognizable, I decided not to reveal the exact date of the data collection. By so doing, the

participants' identities are more likely to remain unrecognizable, though as long as excerpts of data are included in the report, there is always some chance of being traced.

Respecting the participants' privacy and getting their permission for recording is only one dimension of the researcher's responsibility. However, not to do any harm, however, is not enough. Researchers should also work to give something back to the communities they investigate. In fact, "research should benefit the community as well as the investigator" (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 84). Thus, in addition to my roles as a researcher and a participant, I also played various other roles in order to give back to the community. Already at the start I made it clear for the students that I was glad to help them with whatever I could. The students seemed to have understood this and, occasionally, they did ask for help. For instance, I was asked to escort a student to the doctor's, help them with finding a flat, sort out bills, talk to the neighbors, check out bus and railway timetables, and help with Hungarian homework. My other strategy was to do things which I knew they appreciated. Occasionally, I invited my participants for a drink, an ice-cream, or a piece of cake, and on one occasion I cooked a Hungarian dinner for a bigger group of students. Further, if I was having a casual conversation with someone who I knew was highly motivated to learn Hungarian, and sought out for opportunities to speak Hungarian, I did not necessarily wait for them to switch to Hungarian, but rather I initiated the switch myself.

3.3 Data collection: An ethnographic approach

An ethnography requires researchers to collect relevant linguistic data and to analyze them with a consideration of the physical, social/cultural, and linguistic contexts in which language is used (Duff 2008c: 138). To that end, researchers collect different kinds of data and link them together (Heller 2008: 258). As Silverman (2006: 67) puts it, they look, listen, record and ask, and thus combine observational data with interview data. In fact, the triangulation of multiple sources and methods is a key aspect ethnographies, and so is singularity, which refers to the small number of individuals or social entities (cultures) examined (Duff 2008c: 23).

The present study meets both of the above criteria. Concerning singularity, the data were collected from the members of one particular community, that is, the Szeged Erasmus exchange students' community; as regards the need for triangulation, the data were collected from a variety of data sources through a variety of methods and from a variety of participants. First, the multiple data sources include audio-taped and transcribed interviews, audio-taped

and transcribed naturally occurring interactions, fieldnotes, prompted e-mails (or online journals), circular e-mails, Facebook posts, and a reflective journal. Secondly, the multiple methods involved observing and recording the Szeged Erasmus exchange students in their everyday activities, collecting their written materials, meeting with them for interviews, and finally prompting them with questions in e-mails (see Table 3.1 below). Finally, multiple participants meant including key as well as non-key participants, and their Erasmus Student Network (ESN) coordinators[51] in the data collection.

Table 3.1 Ethnographic approach: Triangulation of sources, methods, and participants

Data sources	Method	Participants
	ethnographic interview	key participants
	'interactional' interviews	varied participants
interview transcripts	retrospective interviews	the participants of the audio-recorded interactions
	casual conversations	varied participants
	semi-structured interview	ESN coordinator
naturally occurring conversations	transcribed audio-tapes	researcher + varied participants
fieldnotes	participants observation	researcher
online journals	sending prompt e-mails	key participants
Facebook posts	collection of online texts	varied participants
circular e-mails	collection of online texts	varied participants

Note: varied participants = both key and non-key participants; ESN = Erasmus Student Network.

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[51] See Footnote 49 above and section 3.3.2 below.

3.3.1 Interviews and casual conversations with the students

My participants engaged in three types of interviews (for the sample questions used in two of them, see Appendix 2). All the interview types were conducted in English, the chosen lingua franca of the community, face-to-face with individual informants. They were recorded and fully or partially transcribed. The location of the interviews was largely chosen by the participants themselves. Eventually, the majority of the interviews were conducted in the students' home, and only a small minority of the interviews were carried out in the PhD student office at my department, or in the university library. The length of the interviews varied substantially, depending on their type.

The first type is what I have referred to as "ethnographic interviews". These are open-ended interviews, and as such their major characteristic is "active listening" (Noaks and Wincup 2004: 80 cited in Silverman 2006: 110), which involves giving the participants the space to talk. As Appendix 2 shows, I conducted these interviews with the help of an interview guide, that is, a set of issues and possible questions that I collected prior to the interviews. I intended these questions as a checklist that would help me deal with all the relevant topics. The actual wording and the ordering of the questions varied from interview to interview. While the participants did the talking, I took notes on the participants' utterances, and when raising my next questions, wherever possible, I made a link to their previous answers.

The ethnographic interviews were carried out with the key participants at the beginning of the term and at the end of it. At the beginning of the semester, I asked them about their backgrounds and reasons for participation in the Erasmus Programme. More specifically, I asked them to tell narratives in connection with three major questions: first, their foreign language learning experiences, with a particular focus on English or ELF; secondly, their student-life in their home countries; and finally, their expectations about their life in Szeged. By contrast, at the end of the term, I elicited narratives in connection with the participants' experiences in Szeged. I asked them what they were doing, how they felt about it, and what they learnt. Although I designed this interview type for the key participants, occasionally, I elicited similar narratives from the non-key participants as well. This was typically the case when during other types of interviews with non-key participants I felt that these kind of narratives would help gain a better understanding of the situation, and would add to the richness of the data. The interviews lasted approximately 30-40 minutes on average and each was fully transcribed.

The second type of interviews I conducted is the so called "playback sessions" or "retrospective interviews."[52] The point behind these interviews was to invite the participants of the recorded interaction for an interview and, while their memories about the event are still fresh (Kobayashi 2004: 99), elicit their independent reactions to the interaction (Tannen 1984: 39). My wish was to engage as many participants of the recorded interaction in an interview as possible. Thus, in this kind of interview, both key and non-key participants were included so long that they agreed to it. Originally, my intention was to set up the interviews after I had transcribed and studied the data, but I soon changed my mind. Producing a transcript of a two-hour naturally occurring conversation with the participation of six speakers was so time-consuming that, if I was to do a transcript first, the playback session would have necessarily been delayed by weeks, if not, months. By postponing the interviews to a date when the memories are not "fresh" anymore, I would have seriously threatened the efficiency of the protocol. Therefore, when dealing with lengthy material, I did not start transcribing the data right away, but rather listened to the recorded material several times, took notes, searched for key incidents, and once I had identified the features of interest, I set up the interviews immediately.

The protocol of my retrospective interviews was similar to that of Tannen's (1984: 39), with the difference being that I had two versions of them. One involved listening to the whole interaction, as in Tannen (1984), the other involved listening to some parts of it. When the goal was to have the participants listen to the whole interaction, they were in control of the device. They were instructed to stop the file when they felt they had something to say, give their comments, and then continue with listening. If they did not comment on the key incidents I had singled out for analysis, or on the data the other participants had commented on, I drew their attention to the segment of interest by asking questions adopted from the field of folk linguistics (Niedzielski and Preston 2000: 30). That is, I asked them to comment on what is being said, how and why it is being said, and what their reactions are. By contrast, when they were exposed to certain parts of the recording only, I controlled the device. I played them the parts which I found interesting, and they commented on them. Before each new excerpt, I offered a brief contextualization of the data. So that they would not lose sight of the questions along the lines of which they were expected to comment, I printed out the questions I adopted from Niedzielski and Preston (2000: 30), and placed them in front of them on the table. I did not originally mean to be selective, but given that some of the recordings

[52] For this technique, see, for instance, Ericson and Simon (1993).

were more than two hours long, it seemed necessary. I did not mention what I thought was going on or what others had observed unless they had nothing to say. During the playback, when the participants did the talking, I took notes of their utterances, and saved them for later discussion (see the next section). I closed this type of interviews by asking the participants how they in general felt about the recorded conversation, both at the time of the recording and when listening to it in retrospect. These interviews generally lasted one-and-half to two hours and were partially transcribed depending on what I judged relevant for the purposes of the present analysis.

The third type of interviews is what I have referred to as "interactional interviews". The purpose of these interviews was to get the participants to reflect on their linguistic practices and show how they are using them. To this end, I gave the participants room to point out things they noticed, or that were important to them, and which I may not have noticed or considered important. I began prompting the key participants with general questions such as "How would you describe your using English with the other Erasmus students?" "What sounds awkward in the community?" "Are there things you are not sure of the meaning of?" or "Are there expressions or structures which have become part of your routine here?" Once these general questions were answered, I narrowed down the focus by eliciting examples or short stories.

Originally, my intention was to carry out these interviews with the key participants only, but later I decided to include the non-key participants as well. Once the non-key participants were invited for a playback session, they were available for further questioning. Had I not engaged them in this kind of interviews as well, it would have felt like I had missed a great opportunity. Thus, when the retrospective interviews were over, I pointed out that we were moving from the recorded interaction to the local Erasmus students' interactions in general. I raised the same kind of questions as from the key participants with one difference. When it seemed right, I referred back to the things we discussed in the retrospective interview by making a link between what they pointed out in connection with the recorded material and what was to be discussed next. To make these kinds of links, it was necessary that I take notes during the retrospective interviews. The length of these interviews varied substantially, the average being 20 minutes. The interactional interviews were all fully transcribed.

The above interviews have had, at least, three major advantages. First, they helped me elicit emic views based on which I can develop an ethnographic account of the participants' culture; secondly, they helped me elicit emic views on the interactional practices within the community; and finally, as Kobayashi (2004: 101) points out, they helped me build rapport

with the participants, which has further supported an in-depth understanding of the situation (Silverman 2006: 110). Establishing rapport with the participants required "attempting see the world from [the participants'] viewpoint without 'going native'" (Fontana and Frey 2000: 655).

In addition to the formal interviews described above, I also engaged in casual conversations with the participants. During the big social events that I attended, and at the one-to-one informal meetings, I communicated informally with the participants. We talked about a variety of topics, including private and serious matters. As part of these casual conversations, I often engaged the participants in an informal interviewing. In this manner, I prompted them with on-the-spot questions that were relevant for my research purposes. The shift was smooth, and without any orientation. I did not audio-record these conversations, but I did record them in my fieldnotes. The informal talks, perhaps, above all, helped me get to know my participants as people, and build rapport with them.

3.3.2 Interviews with the student coordinator

I conducted two semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes with one student coordinator who played a central role in the students' community. He was an undergraduate and one of the representatives of the local Erasmus Student Network (ESN), which is guided by the principle of "Students Helping Students". With his small team, he helped the students find decent flats, acted as an intermediary between the students and the owners of the flats, helped the students find their way in Szeged, and suggested places or events to go to. Very often, he did not only advise the students where to go, but took the responsibility to take them out, which was particularly useful when the students were new in town. Moreover, he and his team organized the weekly gatherings in the university club, which, according to many students, were the highlights of the week. In sum, he spent a great amount of time with the students, both as an insider and as an outsider, which made him a good candidate for the triangulation of outsider perspectives.

I timed my interviews to coincide with two critical phases in the trajectory of the students' community, namely, the change in members at the end of the first semester, and the fast approaching break-up of the community towards the end of the second semester. During these interviews, I first asked him about his overall impression of the Szeged Erasmus community, and then narrowed the focus on language matters. I asked him to contrast the current Szeged Erasmus students' use of English and other languages with the language use of

the former Szeged Erasmus students (for the sample questions used in the interview, see Appendix 3). These interviews, unlike all the others, were conducted in Hungarian.

3.3.3 Observations

I did my fieldwork in naturally occurring settings. I joined the participants in their weekly organized European club evenings, house parties, informal dinners, gatherings in pubs, trips, sports and other activities, and in their Hungarian language classes. At the big social events, there gathered roughly 30-40 students at a time, and about ten students at smaller events. Before I began the data collection, I set the goal of spending as much time with the group as possible. I pursued this policy until about the middle of the second semester, when I felt less participation was enough. By then, many of the "old" students from the first semester had left, and the new ones had settled in, and there was a stage of "quiet". Towards the end of the second semester, things changed again. Due to the fast approaching break-up of the community, the students became very active again, and their emotions were high. Thus, towards the end of the second semester I again carried out as much participant observation as possible. In the majority of the cases I learnt about the upcoming social events from the e-mail messages which the participants, and to a lesser extent, their co-coordinators circulated among the members through an e-mail list (see Section 3.3.5 below). In addition to my participation in group events, I occasionally met up with individual members as well in order to keep up contacts with them. In each situation, I played the role of an active participant. The Hungarian language classes were an exception. At these events, I quietly watched and listened, and I only participated in the activities if I was invited to do so.

As a participant observer, I looked, listened and recorded. Specifically, in the first one and a half months, that is, from September till the middle of October, I only looked and listened carefully. On the spot I rarely took notes; when I did, I took notes of the participants' verbatim utterances. My main strategy was to take quick notes right after the observation – which was mostly at night as the participants typically met in the evenings – and on the following day expand them into detailed narratives. In my fieldnotes I put down all the pieces of information which I thought might be of interest or help in the data analysis. I made a special attempt to keep my observer comments separate from the description of the observed events. To this end, I put my observer comments into parentheses. This approach left me with hundreds of pages of fieldnotes and a great amount of valuable data, which has helped me give a "quasi-insider" description of the students' culture.

The recording of naturally occurring conversations came later. Following Heller (2008: 257), I began recording naturally occurring conversations only after I was reassured in the belief that my participants knew me and had a sense of what I was doing. Besides this, by the time I started recording interactions in the middle of October, I had developed friendly relations with most of the community members, which was a huge advantage. In the months that followed, I managed to record spontaneous conversations between friends at a variety of places with a variety of participants. My intention was to record small group discussions (i.e. three to seven participants, including myself) where the participants are seated, and the chances are that they will pursue a longer conversation without the group breaking up or splitting into small group discussions. An equally important criterion was the setting. Since in the vast majority of the cases the participants met at pubs and clubs, or at house parties where there was much background noise (i.e. music, parallel conversations at the surrounding tables), I had to restrict myself to those interactions where the background noise was tolerable. Whenever I expected a meeting without loud music, and small group discussions, I had the recorder with me, ready to use. If the opportunity arose, first, I always asked the participants if they agreed to being recorded, and if no-one objected, I placed the recorder on the middle of the table. During the recordings, my observation was that the participants forgot about the recorder. I recorded more interactions than what I actually transcribed and analyzed. For the purposes of this dissertation, I transcribed and analyzed those interactions where, for most of the time, the participants communicated as one big group, rather than split into small groups. This left me with a corpus of six hours of audio-recorded conversations. These involved three dinner party conversations recorded in the home of the students, and one conversation in a pub.

3.3.4 Online journals (Prompted e-mails)

The focal participants were asked to keep online journals throughout their stay in Szeged. This type of journals was different from the traditional ones in at least two fundamental ways. First, it allowed immediate feedback. Once the participants had made an entry into their diaries, they sent it to me, which I read with very little delay, usually the same or the following day. Secondly, and more importantly, this writing process was guided. That is, the students received prompt questions through e-mails and the collection of their answers made up their journals. Although the plan was to ask for an online diary from the key participants only, at the beginning of both semesters I sent out my prompt questions to all the

participants. Once the key participants were selected, I stopped sending my questions to the whole group, and carried on prompting the key participants only. In fact, the key participants were selected out of those who responded to my first two prompts (see Section 3.2.1).

The frequency of the prompt e-mails was subject to much negotiation. At the outset, I set the goal of prompting my key participants with one set of questions every week. Contrary to this, I ended up sending one set of prompt question in every three or four weeks. The reason for this was that the participants generally took much more time answering the e-mails than I had expected. Despite my effort to elicit a relatively quick reply to my e-mails (i.e. in each of my e-mails, I asked the participants to respond within a few days, if possible), some of the participants did not respond for two or three weeks. The three-week delay was documented in the second semester, and happened with those key participants who arrived in the first semester and had been involved in the writing of the journal for at least seven months by then. This, I assume, was the result of fatigue. When my participants were more than two weeks late, I gently reminded them of the prompt questions. Even if they were late, they always answered my questions. Only one of my participants had an internet cut-off for some time and asked me if I he could answer the questions in speaking instead. I complied with his wish. I always sent out the new prompts after I had received an answer for the previous prompts from all of them. Finally, in the second semester I sent a few ad hoc prompts to my former key participants, that is, the key participants of the first semester who had left Szeged at the end of the first term. A few months after they had left Szeged, they had a big reunion with the members of their Erasmus community. A few days after the meeting was over, I prompted them with another e-mail.

Regarding the questions themselves, I used a standard prompt, with some modification from time to time. The prompt placed the emphasis on events and elicited narratives. It consisted of three sub-questions, that is, "What have you been doing?" "How have you felt?" and "What have you been learning?" The questions therefore required the participants to look back on the events during the time span between the current and the previous prompt, and tell about their experiences in the form of narratives. When I sent out my standard prompts for the first and second time, I made sure to explain my questions, and give hints along what lines to think (for a sample e-mail, see Appendix 4). I paid special attention to the question eliciting narratives about learning in Szeged. Assuming that the participants would associate this particular question with learning culture, I emphasized that by learning I did not only mean culture, but also language or language use. Then, as was noted above, I occasionally made my prompts more specific by asking the participants to focus on a particular event, e.g. the dinner

at a friend's place, the reunion with the members after the Christmas holiday, or the farewell party of one of the central members of the community. The prompted e-mails, or online journals, produced a written linguistic data base for my study.

A disadvantage of this data elicitation technique was that it intimidated those who had difficulties in writing. Particularly at the beginning of my participant observation I realized that some students were concerned about writing "bad English". I anticipated this problem and took steps to deal with it. In the first few prompt e-mails I emphasized that in answering e-mails it was content, rather than grammatical accuracy, that mattered. The participants seemed to have understood this.

3.3.5 Mailing lists and online posts

The idea of subscribing to a mailing list was initiated by one of the student coordinators as a way of facilitating communication and spreading news between the members. Many students recognized the advantages of being a member. Through membership of the list, they were sure to receive the latest and most up-to-date information concerning events, but more important than that, they could post their own items and thus plan and organize events on their own. In any case, the students sent a great number of messages. Typically, they used the list to initiate ideas for parties, travels, and sports activities, but also to spread information that was of great concern to them, e.g. the disappearance of an Erasmus student in Budapest which happened that year.

However, the mailing list was not the only means of making public notices within the community. The free-access social networking website "Facebook" became an equally important means of sharing thoughts and pictures. When the students arrived, there were some who were members already. By discussing each other's posts, they aroused the interest of those who had not yet been registered. By the end of the first semester, the vast majority of the students had become members. They used the website for sending messages, both private and public, commenting on each other's photos, posting videos and links that they thought were of interest by the others, and making announcements regarding the question, "What's on your mind?" The public messages posted on each other's "wall", and the comments about each others' photos are a valuable source of information, which, together with the mailing list postings, have contributed to a better understanding of the Erasmus students' community.

3.4 Data analysis procedure

I have employed an inductive data analysis technique. The analysis has had three main stages. The first phase of data analysis went hand-in-hand with the data collection and involved transcribing and a very rough coding of the data. Since transcribing is in essence a representation (Cameron 2001: 31), and is best regarded as the first step in the analysis, it requires careful decisions on the part of the researcher about what to transcribe and how. Transcribing is thus a challenging procedure to say the least and, as Kaur (2008: 84) rightly points out, it is "especially challenging in the case of ELF data where the occurrence of non-standard forms and usage is largely to be expected". In the transcribing of my ELF data, in line with Ochs (1979), my main goal was to strike a balance between the need for accuracy, on the one hand, and the need for readability on, the other (Kaur 2008: 98). Therefore, rather than including too many (unnecessary) details in the transcripts, I included those features only which I thought were relevant for my purposes. Specifically, I first decided on the amount of detail necessary for the analysis of naturally occurring conversations, and later when transcribing the interview data, I narrowed down the set of symbols to the needs of a less detailed linguistic analysis. I transcribed all the naturally occurring conversations and interviews in their full length, the only exception being the retrospective interviews which I transcribed selectively, depending on what I judged to be relevant. I did not follow any one set of transcription conventions but adapted two to my own needs. Specifically, in designing my own transcription conventions, I primarily drew on Tannen's (1984) conventions which were designed for the analysis of interactional phenomena similar to the present ones. However, to capture the specific features of spoken ELF data, I felt it was necessary to expand my set of symbols with some of the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) mark-up conventions (see Appendices 5 and 6).

The transcribing of the non-standard pronunciations and pauses in the data required some decision. When I encountered non-standard pronunciations, I used standard orthography unless the non-standard pronunciation was seen to make a difference. In such cases, I used a modified orthography, which I placed within square brackets next to the word in standard orthography. As regards pauses, I first marked all pauses with one or two dots in brackets depending on whether they were longer than one second. Later when a more detailed analysis began, and if I judged a particular pause to be relevant for my research purposes, I timed the pauses in question and changed the dots in brackets to numbers. With these considerations in mind, I prepared the transcripts which served as a basis for much of the data analysis in the next phase.

The second stage of the data analysis had begun a few months before the data collection finished and continued several months after it. It involved a very detailed analysis, including coding, generating and refining working hypotheses, and reflective journal writing. The procedure was to analyze each data set one by one. I thus analyzed the different data sets in the following order: fieldnotes, transcripts of the ethnographic interviews, transcripts of the naturally occurring conversations, transcripts of the retrospective interviews, transcripts of the interactional interviews, prompted e-mails or the so called online journals, Facebook posts and, finally, circular e-mails. In each data set, I coded four main types of practices. I started with the non-linguistic social practices, that is, the social activities in which the participants engaged. I continued with the views and opinions on social activities. Then came the linguistic practices, that is, language use and interactional patterns. Finally, I finished with the views and opinions on linguistic practices.

In the third stage of data analysis I used the constant comparative method. That is, I read and reread the transcripts and other data sets, and took notes on the recurrent themes related to the participants' linguistic and other social practices. When a particular theme previously coded emerged, I compared it with the previous instances. By constantly comparing the coded elements, I constructed tentative categories and sub-categories. By cutting and pasting the appropriate units of text from the original data sets, which I could easily manage on a computer, I collected the data which I believed belonged to a particular category in a separate document. When I added a new unit to a category, I sought for patterns and associations among the new and previously coded units. To easily distinguish between the actual data and my interpretations of the data, I highlighted my interpretations with yellow. By so doing, I ended up with five coding schemes for different analyses:

1) one for non-linguistic social practices (coding scheme 1)
2) one for views on non-linguistic social practices (coding scheme 2)
3) one for interactional patterns (coding scheme 3)
4) one for language use (coding schemes 4)
5) one for the emic views on linguistic practices (coding scheme 5; for all the coding schemes, see Appendix 7).

The practical steps of analysis can be formulated as follows. I coded all my data sources with coding schemes 1, 2, 4, and 5, plus the transcripts of naturally occurring conversations with coding scheme 3 as well (for the summary of the data analysis procedure,

see Table 3.2 below). Thus, I coded all my data sources for all the four main types of practices (that is, non-linguistic practices, linguistic practices, participants' views on non-linguistic practices and participants' views on linguistic practices); yet, not each data source proved equally useful for the analysis of the different practices. The interview transcripts, prompted e-mails, circular e-mails and the researcher's fieldnotes have been particularly useful as a source to provide an ethnographic account of the community and to analyze participants' views on their own linguistic practices. The naturally occurring spoken interactions and the participants' written communications in the form of online posts have in turn been particularly useful as a source to analyze language use and interactional phenomena.

In coding language use and interactional phenomena, I was focusing on those elements of practice which, in light of the participants' emic views, were salient to the members. It turned out that most of the features that were identified by previous studies as characteristic of ELF talk[53] were imbued with meaning and importance in the Szeged Erasmus community as well. That is, strategies such as repetitions, cooperative overlaps, collaborative utterance building, pre-empting moves, repair strategies at moments of non-understanding, code-switching, which have been highlighted in previous studies, emerged from my data, and became part of my coding. In addition, the use of humor, which is just beginning to gain attention in current ELF research, emerged as an important element of the ongoing practice in the Szeged Erasmus community, and was part of my coding, too. In addition, I managed to identify features which the previous studies did not. Thus, I ended up with a coding scheme which at the same time aligns with earlier findings and expands on them.

The ultimate goal of my analysis was to make sense of the codes, themes and relations, and to generate working hypotheses. I put the tentative categories, and my initial hypotheses in a reflective journal. The reflective journal helped me refine the categories, establish the relationship between the various categories, and continue the analytic approach to the data analysis.

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[53] See the literature review section in Chapter 2.

Table 3.2 Data analysis procedure

Order of analysis	Data sources	Social practices	Views on social practices	Linguistic practices	Views on linguistis practices
1	**fieldnotes**	CS1	CS 2	CS 4	CS 5
2	**interview transcripts: ethnographic interviews**	CS 1	CS 2	CS 4	CS 5
3	**naturally occurring conversations**	CS 1	CS 2	CS 3 and CS 4	CS 5
4	**interview transcripts: retrospective interviews**	CS 1	CS 2	CS 4	CS 5
5	**interview transcripts: 'interactional' interviews**	CS 2	CS 3	CS 4	CS 5
6	**online journals (prompted e-mails)**	CS 2	CS 3	CS 4	CS 5
7	**Facebook posts**	CS 1	CS 2	CS 4	CS 5
8	**circular e-mails by participants**	CS 1	CS 2	CS 4	CS 5

Note: The shaded boxes indicate which of the analytical steps taken have been particularly fruitful. CS=coding scheme.

The final stage of data analysis has occurred in the process of writing the dissertation. As Kobayashi (2004: 105) points out, a number of qualitative researchers (e.g. Merriam 1998) have expressed the view of "writing as integral to data analysis". Indeed, by choosing the words to summarize and reflect on the complexity of the data, I have engaged in an act of interpretation (Rossman and Rallis 1998: 105 cited in Kobayashi 2004: 105). A final but an equally important step in the data analysis has been the linking of the codes to the themes in the current literature. In sum, the whole data analysis procedure, including the process of writing up of the findings, has been an analytic and interpretive act.

3.5 Summary

To reiterate, the present study engages in the analysis of ELF practice in the framework of communities of practice. Even though ELF researchers increasingly emphasize the need for an ethnographic approach, the ELF perspective has rarely been combined with the communities of practice model (but see Smit 2009, 2010; and Ehrenreich 2009). My approach in the present study varies from the "mainstream" ELF approach in at least one key respect. That is, it seeks to uncover practices that are important to the participants, in this

case, to the members of a local community of practice. To meet this goal, the present study was designed to carefully examine both linguistic and non-linguistic social practices. The non-linguistic social practices were to be used as a resource, first, to provide an ethnographic account of the community and, then, to identify the linguistic practices that the community members imbued with meaning and importance.

The ethnographic method for data collection spanned a whole academic year. As the result of the nearly one-year data collection procedure, I compiled a large corpus of interview data, prompted e-mails, and observational data. The first two types of the data were elicited by the researcher, while the third type of data was collected in natural settings by recording naturally occurring spoken interactions, and by collecting other forms of expressions. The different kinds of data were collected with the intention of learning about the participants' activities and their subjective reactions to them.

The data analysis has necessarily employed both qualitative and discourse analytic methods. In the process of analyzing the data, I have aimed at describing the practices that were important to the members and also at aligning these practices with what I knew about language and interaction, which included insights from CA and ELF literature. In the following empirical chapters I will present findings that have emerged from my data, and at various points in the analysis, I will compare my findings with that of other studies. More specifically, I will relate my findings to the discourse analysis oriented studies on ELF, thus showing where the major overlaps and differences are.

4 AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF THE SZEGED ERASMUS COMMUNITY

Next, I will present my data in four data chapters. The first chapter will be an ethnographic account of the Szeged Erasmus community. The ethnographic sources are interviews, e-mails, participant observations and online documents; conversations are not analyzed here. The linguistic data will be presented separately in the subsequent data chapters. Nevertheless, they are to be interpreted within the "frame" described here.

The present chapter will follow the three dimensions of the community of practice. It will provide an account of 1) the jointly negotiated enterprise, 2) the forms of mutual engagement and 3) the shared negotiable resource of social practices. Within the joint enterprise, I will describe how the shared goals evolved during a year's time, and how they were hierarchically organized. Within mutual engagement, I will shed light on the social activities in which the participants engaged, and the nature of relationships that they developed during their mutual engagement in activities. Finally, I will describe ways of doing things, views, beliefs and attitudes, which the participants accumulated into a shared negotiable resource. Here the focus will be on those practices which are not directly connected with language use or interactional patterns.

4.1 The joint enterprise

The "enterprise" is the members' "collectively negotiated response to what they understand to be their situation" (Wenger 1998: 78). In other words, it is a shared goal which the members collectively negotiate in and through the process of pursuing it. It is both the goal and the practice involved in achieving it. Learning in this area involves struggling to define the enterprise, aligning the participants' engagement with the enterprise, learning to become and hold each other accountable to the enterprise, and reconciling conflicting interpretations of what the enterprise is (p. 95). The notion of being accountable to the enterprise, in particular, concerns questions such as what matters, what is important, what to do, what to pay attention to, what to display (p. 81). Appropriateness is defined in relation to the enterprise so that the things the members pay attention to, talk about, and display, are either appropriate (in relation) to the enterprise, or not.

4.1.1 "I want to get a friendship in another language" – Goals at the start

The rationale for the Erasmus Programme, as stated on the website of the Programme, is that "a period spent abroad not only enriches students' lives in the academic field but also in the acquisition of intercultural skills and self-reliance."[54] For students studying abroad, in particular, it sets the goal of helping them "benefit educationally, linguistically and culturally from the experience of learning in other European countries."[55]

Likewise, when the participants opted for a study abroad in Szeged, they each claimed they had a clear reason for relocating themselves in a foreign country. Some set language related goals, others were more concerned with the social side of living abroad, yet others sought to make progress in their studies. Those who wished to gain linguistically typically shared one or more of the following aims: to improve their English, to practice their other additionally learnt languages (Lns) with the native speakers (NSs) of those languages, and/or to learn a new language, which in their case was Hungarian. Those who expressed the desire to gain socially typically mentioned the wish to get to know and make friends with people from different cultures, to learn about their countries and cultures, to gain first hand experience of the local culture and of the neighboring countries which they planned to visit, to make time for themselves, and to use their free time in ways that they found most enjoyable. Finally, those who aimed at improving in their studies, planned to do some serious work such as the taking of a set of carefully selected courses or the collection of data required for their thesis. While the students had a range of different goals, there was one goal which they all adopted over the course of time. The goal which they came to jointly practice was that of building a friendship and family based social system with some special characteristics.

At the start, the shared goal of building a friendship and family based local Erasmus network was typically aligned with other goals. As Excerpt 4.1 below demonstrates, for Lucia the shared goal tied with her wish to gain self-confidence in English. For her, making friends in English was desirable as it served as evidence that she was able to communicate in English well, a desire that fit in well with her more general goal to "learn and improve [her] English". The second quote (see Excerpt 4.2 below) comes from Jerard whose main goal was to learn and experience new things, whether it was through talking to people or through visiting places. By building an Erasmus network his hope was to exchange ideas and views with other

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[54] See www.ec.europa.eu.
[55] A recent study called "2008 Study on the Impact of Erasmus on European Higher Education: Quality, Openness and Internationalisation" has shown that the Erasmus Programme has indeed a positive impact on the students. It develops "stronger person skills" and "better articulated job aspirations", and increases their chances of employability. The language education and the language of instruction were not on the agenda of the research team.

students. Finally, Excerpt 4.3 comes from Micha whose goal of making Erasmus student friends emerged in fear of solitude.

Excerpt 4.1

> I came here uhm:: besides to learn and improve my English, because I want to meet people from other countries and make friends abroad and:: try to to to find a or to get a friendship in another language to prove that I can communicate properly in English (interview, October 25)

Excerpt 4.2

> when I came here I wanted to make friends and, yeah, know many people from different countries. Just exchange some point of views, speaking about everything and, uh have some trips and move, not stay just here in Szeged or in Hungary. And also have some parties (interview, October 14)

Excerpt 4.3

> I usually do not go to discos, parties etc, since it mostly results in torment for my ears. However, here I decided to weaken this principle of not going to such events in order to not get separated from the community of all the other Erasmus students. […] I have no other choice than this [the Erasmus students'] community or becoming lonely, which is not an option. (prompted e-mail, September 15)

Excerpt 4.3 brings us to our next question. That is, why these students aimed at building a local Erasmus network, or a "family", as they called it, and why they did not seek to join local student friendship groups. To this question, Micha offers a possible answer. In Excerpt 4.4, he expresses a view which many other Erasmus students shared. In one of his prompted e-mails he speculates thus:

Excerpt 4.4

> I do not have any other friends here -- and it is very unlikely for me to find many others because of the lack of Hungarian language skills (prompted e-mail, September 15).

Excerpt 4.4 implies that the students who did not speak good Hungarian felt "limited" in their social contacts in Szeged. Influenced by the assumption that the local students do not speak English, they believed that they had no legitimate access to the local students' social networks. Thus, Micha and many other students who did not originally speak Hungarian set the goal of orienting themselves towards the Erasmus students' community, rather than to the local students' social networks. In this sense, for at least some students, the building of an Erasmus "family" was not so much a choice as a "necessity".

In conclusion, while some students arrived in Szeged with the goal of making Erasmus friends; others realized the benefits of, or the need for, Erasmus friendships over the course of time after they had reconsidered their goals and priorities. It is this transformation of goals to which I now turn.

4.1.2 "Without kidding, I have to concentrate on work by now!!" – Change in goals and priorities

A few weeks after the beginning of the term, several students who did not originally seek to make friends with the other Erasmus students expressed the view that they underwent a change in goals. They typically mentioned two reasons for this change: they either found that making friends with the Erasmus students was more important, or that it was more feasible than their original goals. Some students easily compromised their original goals in favor of making Erasmus friends; others gave up the original goals temporarily to come back to them later; and yet others had a difficult time trying to strike a balance between their original goals and their new priorities in Szeged. For purposes of illustration, I present the case of four participants. Excerpt 4.5 below comes from Micha whose main reason for coming to Hungary was to find new impetus for his thesis:

Excerpt 4.5

> Mhm, I'm here until January, (..) because uh I want to, to finish my thesis in (..) in summer, next year, so ((coughing)) I am, (..) I am, still need some time to, to finish it. And just here to, to, to get like the, the basic ideas, to, to get started, to know what I really going to write about. Unfortunately, I still don't know, I'm here for one month and I don't have the real starting point yet. (interview, October 10)

In Excerpt 4.5 he makes the impression of a fairly ambitious student whose only concern is his studies. However, contrary to his goals, he did not end up working as much as he originally envisaged and that was because of his fear that he might get "separated from the community of all the other Erasmus students". Once he was overcome by this fear, he soon reconsidered his goals and priorities in Szeged. As Excerpt 4.6 below demonstrates, he devoted less time to work and more time to the Erasmus students:

Excerpt: 4.6

> I don't find enough time to @work on it@ ((laughing voice)). Maybe because because I always fell- feel obliged to go to this party and to that party, and to do this and that (interview, October 10)

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His using the notion of being "obliged" to attend parties expresses his attitude towards making Erasmus friends. The building of a local Erasmus network was not something he originally wanted or desired, but something that he considered a necessary compromise for his well-being in Szeged. In the months that followed, he frequently went out with Erasmus friends and, to his great surprise, the more he socialized with them, the more he enjoyed being with them. After a certain point, he no longer felt "obliged" to go out with them; far form that. As Excerpt 4.7 below shows, he started to have regrets about not having spent more time with them right from start. This is most evident in his saying "I uh missed some uh opportunities to, to party longer":

Excerpt 4.7

maybe I felt all the better uh, the, towards the end because I was enjoying it more, (.) than at the beginning. At the beginning I think I was more serious about working, so I (.) uh, missed some uh (.) opportunities to, to party longer, or something like this. (interview, January 28)

Over the course of time he became less serious about his work, and more keen on partying. Nevertheless, he managed to strike a balance between the two desires. Work and friends came to be equally important considerations for him. Towards the end of his stay, when sitting in a restaurant with friends, he made an ironic comment, which, I believe, demonstrates this point. He and the small group of people sitting around the table were brainstorming ideas for the report that they were supposed to produce after their return to their home countries. In the report they were expected to reflect on their experiences as Erasmus students. Micha suggested the following:

Excerpt 4.8

in it [we] can put that the university courses were shit, and that [we] had no connections. (fieldnotes, January 14)

As Excerpt 4.8 shows, out of the many things that he could have mentioned in this situation, he stressed courses and "connections", that is, relationships. Although the whole utterance is perceived by the others as ironical and they all burst out laughing, it clearly reflects where his interest lay and what his biggest "occupations" were while in Szeged.

The second example comes from a student called Karla who, upon arrival in Szeged, voiced two major concerns. One was to get started with her thesis, the other was to make local

student friends. To achieve the latter goal, she moved into a flat with two Hungarian students, who, to her great regret, moved out within less than two months. Her original goal of making Hungarian friends did not work out but, as she pointed out, she still "needed social contacts". Thus, after a certain point she began to redirect her energies towards Erasmus friendships. However, there was a major difference between her and Micha. While Micha did manage to strike a balance between his two priorities, Karla did not. In Excerpt 4.9 she explains how she kept postponing her work until the very end of the second semester:

Excerpt 4.9 (Karla, Researcher)

K: […] the whole year I should I should I should on my thesis.
R: So you mean that it was on your mind?
K: Yes it was on my mind so ((laughs)) but I didn't. […] I think at the end of May, I really started. So like the last two months, I really started to work on my thesis so I arranged interviews. You even helped me translating (.) two or three times, I don't remember.
R: Two
K: Two times. Yes so (.) because actually of course when I came here I said like oh maybe I can write my thesis here but like my minimum goal was to go back home with literature and research data like data like export-import data or and the interview. So that was like the most important. Otherwise, it's like a failed (.) year, yeah but it's not failed. ((laughs)) (interview, July 14)

As Excerpt 4.9 reveals, she only started work in May, that is, nine months after her arrival in Szeged. Throughout her whole stay in Szeged she wished she would get back her motivation to work. As she states, during all those nine months she kept reminding herself "I should I should I should [work] on my thesis", but there was no change in her attitude. Instead of working, she was either building friendships, or as she often noted in casual conversations with me, she was "enjoying being lazy". As the second part of the quote above shows, the fact that she kept postponing her work so long meant that she could not fulfill her original goal of writing up her thesis during her year-long stay in Szeged. Rather than fulfill it, she refined her goal and convinced herself that collecting data was good enough and that the year in Szeged was still not lost.

Karla's experience with her local flatmates and Micha's assumptions about the Hungarian students that they do not speak English are indicative of the fact that gaining access to the local student networks was by no means easy for the exchange students in Hungary. Some (like Micha) believed it was not a realistic target, and did not even attempt to make local friends; others (like Karla) did make an attempt, but with little success. The difficulty in gaining access to the local students' networks is not entirely new in academic contexts. Duff (2006, 2007) shows what problems a group of Korean exchange students at a Canadian university encountered when they were seeking

meaningful access to the Anglo-Canadians' social networks. To deal with the problem, both the participants of the present study and those of Duff's participants had the same solution: after a certain point, they began to redirect their energies from the local students' social networks to the exchange students' networks.

The next example (see Excerpt 4.10) comes from Jerard. At my first interview with him, he explained that his intention was to strike a balance between the time devoted to Erasmus friends and the time devoted to his studies. However, despite his original plans, he devoted most of his energy and time to friends. For instance, he went out partying with them much more often than what he envisaged at home. As he put it in the interview, "I wasn't used to to go to parties like that in France". He enjoyed the time he spent with the Erasmus friends but, like Karla, he felt uneasy about the situation. Thus, in the last couple of weeks he made his studies his first priority again. The decision he took towards the end of his stay in Szeged sounded like this:

Excerpt 4.10

> Without kidding, I have to concentrate on work by now!! (prompted e-mail, November 25)

Finally, Excerpt 4.11 introduces two friends who planned their trip to Hungary together. One of them called Jake had Hungarian descendents, and he realized an old dream by coming to Hungary. His intention was to get to know the Hungarian people and learn about their culture. His friend, William, did not have any special reasons for coming to Hungary, so he adopted his friend's goal. However, contrary to their plans, in the first semester, they hardly made any Hungarian friends. It is not that they did not succeed in it, but rather that they did not even attempt to make local friends. In Excerpt 4.11 William offers a possible explanation to why they failed to realize their initial goals:

Excerpt 4.11

> We didn't plan this kind of but when we got together [with the Erasmus students], there were so cool people there that, you know, that (.) we just couldn't say no. ((laughs)) And also we wanted to go because it was good fun. Very nice people and (.) very colorful group of people. (interview, July 9)

As the above quote reveals, at the beginning of the first semester William and Jake met the Erasmus students, had fun with them, and got more and more involved with the group. They went with the flow, so to say; but if they had wanted to, they could, and as he noted, they

surely would, have said "no" to them. That this did not happen, and that they (first) made friends with the Erasmus students, rather than with the Hungarian students, was the result of the fact that they had such "good fun" with the Erasmus students. Redirecting their energies to the Erasmus group was a conscious choice.

In sum, the Erasmus students came to Szeged with a variety of different goals and expectations. As a group, the primary goal that emerged was to make "social contacts" with the Erasmus students, and to build a friendship and family based social network with them. In the following section, I move on to explore how the friendship and family based Szeged Erasmus community sustained itself.

4.1.3 Participants' views on building a community with a shared goal

Once the goal of building an Erasmus community had crystallized in the Erasmus students, about 30-40 of them, with the same major concern, gathered in what they called a "subgroup" within the Erasmus students' entire group. Given that in the first semester, the total number of Erasmus students was 81 and in the second semester 61, the roughly 30-40 students indeed represented a "subgroup" of roughly half of the complete group of Erasmus students. In the "subgroup" the building of a community with the other Erasmus students was a primary goal, whereas for the rest of the students it was a jointly shared yet a less important concern. The subgroup initiated the joint activities, and they defined the forms of participation for the entire group. Through joint engagement with each other, the members began a process, which is best seen as the formation of a community of practice.

The students described the dynamic shaping of their community in their own terms. The first thing they noticed was that all of a sudden, they were surrounded by "nice" and "friendly" people who wanted to talk and who they wanted to get to know more. For purposes of illustration, I provide two quotes by two different participants:

Excerpt 4.12

> They always are friendly and want to talk. […] so many interesting people..wish to know them more (prompted e-mail, March 1)

Excerpt 4.13

> You think that they are nice uhm (..) and friendly and you would like to know them better. (interview, October 10)

The two quotes above express a similar view. The students felt that the people around them were just as interested in making friends as they were. Once they had made this recognition, they were only a step away from engaging themselves in shared activities. However, they noticed that the various students did not participate in the shared activities to the same degree. The central members explained the peripheral members' limited participation in shared practices by the claim that that their primary interests in Szeged lay elsewhere. The example comes from an interview excerpt with Micha:

Excerpt 4.14

> we're all here together to, to enjoy this, to have fun together (.) to, to, to meet new people, but this isn't true for the whole Erasmus group. This is just (.) true (.) for the part who frequently meets together. (interview, January 28)

As Excerpt 4.14 illustrates, Micha was fully aware of the fact that the "subgroup" was formed by those who considered the building of a local Erasmus network their single most important concern in Szeged. Therefore, in the Szeged Erasmus community there was only one "subgroup", which was defined in relation to the shared enterprise. This is in sharp contrast with the "subgroups", which Smit (2010: 122-123) identifies in her data collected from a group of exchange students in Vienna. In Smit's (2010: 122) data, the international students had a "tendency towards language-based subgroupings", meaning the L1 speakers of the same language established their own subunits.

In Szeged, those sharing the primary goal of making Erasmus friends met in the institutional context as well as outside of it by their own choosing. That is, they met at the weekly European Club Evenings, which were organized *for* them (by the local ESN coordinators), and at parties, which were organized *by* them. As is the case with communities of practice (Wenger 1998: 74-75), at these meetings the students mutually engaged in some activities. In the following section, I move on to examine in more detail the participants' shared activities, which, together with the appropriate relationships, was a key aspect of their mutual engagement and, in a dynamic process, sustained the enterprise.

4.2 Mutual engagement

According to Wenger (1998), mutual engagement means regular meetings between the members. This involves the learning of the appropriate forms of participation in shared activities, and the learning of the nature of relationships appropriate for mutual engagement.

That is, over time the members need to find out what it is that they deal with together, and what kind of relationships they need in order to do things together.

4.2.1 The shared activities of the "Erasmus sharks"

Through mutual engagement in shared activities, the Szeged Erasmus students further negotiated the social goals which they could, to a varying extent, all embrace, and the activities in which they could, to varying degrees, all participate. They described this process by emphasizing the recurrence of people, activities and meetings. For purposes of illustration, I quote three participants. The first stated:

Excerpt 4.15

> always people which do the same what you do (interview, July 14)

Other students concurred:

Excerpt 4.16

> all together eighty people or at least fifty who meet uh uh always meet and (.) we meet, yeah quite often (interview, November 20)

Excerpt 4.17

> I think there was about thirty, thirty people, big group and always together. (interview, December 30)

As shown above in Excerpts 4.15 through 4.17, the notion of "always" was a key concept in the students' understanding of their situation. Firstly, all the three speakers stressed that there was a recurrence in meetings. The central members met regularly and frequently, which made the impression that they were "always together". Then, as Excerpts 4.16 and 4.17 reveal, there was a recurrence in people. In the first semester, it was the same group of roughly 40 students who met; in the second semester, it was the same group of roughly 30 students who got together. Moreover, there was some continuity in the central members from the first to the second semester. Out of the 47 central members I identified in the first semester, 24 stayed for the second semester as well, and most of them continued to project central member identities. When at the beginning of the second semester the new students arrived, they joined the group of the "old" students, rather than creating a new group. Thus, the recurrence of people, which some of the interviewees pointed out, added to the continuity of the community and its shared

goal. Finally, as Excerpt 4.15 suggests, there was repetition in the activities as well. The students looked to each other to find out how to engage.

Depending on their degree of participation in shared activities, the students belonged to one of three groups: students outside the "subgroup" (peripheral members), students within the "subgroup" (central members), and "Erasmus sharks". In the eyes of the participants, an "Erasmus shark" was one who participated in *all* the activities of the "subgroup" (the most extreme central members). The "subgroup" defined the forms of participation for the entire group. The students outside the "subgroup" also participated in the shared activities, but to a lesser degree and more randomly.

Parties were the students' main form of engagement. There were parties almost every night. Several students raised the concern that in Szeged they went partying much more often than in their home countries. Micha, for instance, explained that in his home Germany he "do[es] not go to discos, parties etc" but, in Szeged, he had decided to "weaken this principle of not going to such events in order to not get separated from the community of all the other Erasmus students". Micha's quote already foreshadows the "shared discourse" (Wenger 1998: 126) on the reasons for organizing and attending many parties. Parties were a necessity. They lived in different flats, scattered in different parts of the city, and they attended different classes, while some had no classes at all but consultations with the teachers only. This "life-style", they argued, prevented them from meeting during the day. Thus, if they wanted to keep in touch with the Erasmus students with whom they were not sharing a flat or attending the same classes, they had no other choice than to meet up during the evening.

As my participant observation has revealed, in the majority of the cases, the parties were organized on short notice: two or three students in the afternoon would decide that they would meet up in the evening in the home of one of the students. Due to the "rapid flow of information" (Wenger 1998: 125) among the Erasmus students, by 11 o'clock in the evening, the flat was always crowded with students (and occasionally by girlfriends/boyfriends and visitors from the students' home countries). In a minority of cases they planned their parties one or two weeks ahead of time. If so, they sent an e-mail around with all the necessary details concerning the time and venue. Each central member organized at least one party during their stay in Szeged, most likely in collaboration with their flatmates. However, the "Sharks" threw not only one, but several parties during their study abroad.[56] The many parties

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[56] In fact, for the purposes of the present dissertation, I identified central versus peripheral members based on their regular (or irregular) participation in parties and on their readiness (or not) to throw parties in their flats.

show that the students were concerned with "community maintenance" (Wenger's 1998: 74). That is, they put time and effort into building their community, and keeping it going.

European Club Evenings were a special type of party. They were organized not by the students, but rather by the ESN coordinators on a weekly basis. Initially, the coordinators socialized the students into the activities they considered appropriate for the occasion, such as eating, drinking, dancing, and the playing of games. In addition, each week they appointed a group of students the role of organizers, who were supposed to buy the drinks, prepare the snacks, and introduce the games. The groups were set up on the basis of "nationality", and they rotated on a weekly basis. For instance, one week it was the students from Germany, next week the students from France who organized the European Evening. The students followed the coordinators' instructions, but they also propagated "innovation" (Wenger 1998: 125). For instance, when there was an Italian Evening, the organizers self-selected a student who was both a disk jockey and a "showman", as they called him. He played music and when the games began he engaged both the players and the audience by asking questions and making funny comments. He was a great success, and from then on, the organizers of the following weeks appointed a "showman", too. This therefore shows that the students looked to the other students for "right" forms of engagement, and by so doing, they continuously negotiated and re-negotiated the appropriate forms of engagement.[57]

The preparation for the weekly European Evenings generally required much time and effort on the part of the students, as these evenings were a joint project which involved careful planning and close collaboration between the members. Firstly, the students had to plan who was to cook, who was to buy the drinks and put up the decorations; secondly, they had to decide on the games to be played and the props to be used (for instance, toothpaste and toothbrushes, bananas and lipstick); thirdly, they had to arrange who was to buy the drinks and the necessary ingredients for the meals; and finally, they had to arrange who was to coordinate the games and who would be in charge of the music. To do so, they had first to establish who was good at what, and who knows what (Wenger 1998: 95). After the planning phase there came the preparation phase. Usually, everything went as planned, but when there emerged a problem, there was always a "quick set-up of a problem to be discussed"[58] (p. 125).

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[57] For the shared repertoire of practices at Erasmus parties in general, and at the European Evenings in particular, see section 4.3 below.

[58] Characteristics such as the above mentioned "rapid flow of information", "community maintenance", "propagation of innovation" and "quick set-up of a problem" are not obligatory components of a community of practice; rather, they indicate that the three core dimensions of a community of practice are present to a great degree. In other words, they help reconfirm the claim that a community of practice has been formed (Wenger 1998: 125-126).

As an example, when in one flat the oven broke down, and the student in charge of the cake could not finish her cake, she went to some other students' flat to prepare the cake. Finally, when the day of the European Club had come, the students helped each other carry the food, the drinks and the ingredients to the venue. They laid the table, put up the decorations, and set up the equipment for music in a highly cooperative spirit. The "organizers" always did a good job, and the rest of the participants looked forward to the event with much excitement.

The second primary form of mutual engagement was traveling. The students generally traveled at the weekends. In both semesters, a bigger group of 15-20 students traveled to Budapest, Prague, the Lake Balaton, and to Transylvania. The purpose of the trips was sightseeing in all but one case. Each trip was organized by a different participant. The planning typically began weeks before the proposed date of travel. First, the students who took up the role of organizers sent round a circular e-mail with preliminary information, and asking the members of the big Erasmus group if they were interested in participating. Soon there followed a second and a third e-mail with more detailed information about the place they were going to stay at, the means of transportation they were to use, the proposed dates of travel, and the estimated costs. If in the mean time there was a European Club evening, where most of the big Erasmus community were present, the organizers took the opportunity to make a public announcement. Finally, when the date of departure was close, the organizers called on a meeting where they made more specific plans. They browsed the internet together, and decided on what they were to visit, and in what order. However, following Wenger (1998), mutual engagement through parties and travels would not have been possible had the participants not developed the relationships by which they could do whatever they wanted to do.

4.2.2 The nature of relationships

Through mutual engagement in parties and travels, the Szeged Erasmus students learnt to develop two kinds of relationships. One is what I have called "family relations", the other "friendships". The first, "family relations", comes from their notion of "family", which they used in reference to the entire Szeged Erasmus group as shown by a Facebook post: "Micha is missing his Erasmus family". "Family relations" involved a feeling of being connected with, and/or being close to, *all* the Szeged Erasmus people. As shown in Excerpt 4.18 and 4.19 below, the participants developed their family relations as a way to avoid solitude. The examples below are from Micha and William, respectively:

Excerpt 4.18

> And these these students are like their family here and friends. It's a kind of oh to be alone in a foreign country so that's a kind of get them together more. They organize dinners and parties and going to places and that makes them closer and that becomes their family. Because their real families are are in other country. (interview, June 18)

Excerpt 4.19

> Usually we have dinner together somewhere and most often we spend the evenings together (and also together with the others). This prevents me from feeling lonely or getting homesick, since I already feel like sharing something like a real large family relation with the other Erasmus students (prompted e-mail, September 15)

As the above excerpts indicate, the students wanted to know that they all belonged to some group in Szeged, and that they were close to its members. To achieve this particular goal, they organized meetings where they could jointly engage in activities. Their meetings were successful: through participation in dinners, parties and trips, they got closer to each other, and developed a sense of belonging. As William noted, after a certain period of time, they began to feel like "a real large family". The students did not have to know each other *well* to have this kind of relationship. "Family relations" developed even among those who participated in the community's shared activities to a limited extent only.

"Friendships", the second type of relationships, were not a substitute, but an extra to the "family relations". While "family relations" connected all the members of the big Erasmus community; friendships simultaneously connected certain students only*,* like an *extra* layer of ties*.* If "family relations" meant feeling close to all the people of the community, friendships meant feeling even closer to some. The following quote by Jerard helps clarify the notion:

Excerpt 4.20

> I uh just find really nice people and interesting people and I think that's more than that here. It's just really strong friendship with some people. (interview, December 30)

"Friendships", unlike "family relations", developed between people who, through mutual engagement in shared activities, got to know each other well. In the beginning, most of the participants split into small groups with those whom they shared an apartment with, or with whom they shared an L1 with. Most students therefore got to know their flat-mates and/or the other L1 speakers of the same language first, and it is them with whom they entered "friendships". To demonstrate this, I provide two quotes. Excerpt 4.21 was made by Maria, Excerpt 4.22 by Lucia:

93

Excerpt 4.21

> Well, I think [who makes friends with whom] depend on who lives with whom and on the nationality mostly. Because if you live with those people and not the others, not the other ones then you get to know each other in the flat and you do things together. So I think it's about the <u>flat</u> and the nationality, let's say. (interview, April 3)

Excerpt 4.22

> because we are a big group and it's also easier to uhm: join people from your country or people you feel closer /?   / to you. We have made little groups, you know? (interview, October 25)

This finding resonates to some extent with Smit's (2010) findings. In the classroom community of practice Smit (2010) examines, the students initially made friends with the L1 speakers of the same language, too, but in their case non-linguistic factors (such as sharing an apartment) did not initially play a role. Further, in Smit's (2010: 122) case, L1-based friendships led to the creation of L1-based "subcommunities", with very little cross-talk[59] across the different subgroups in the first few months (Smit 2010: 125-126). By contrast, in the Szeged Erasmus group, the small friendship groups had more permeable borders from the start. That is, most members were keen to make new friends and sought out for opportunities to get to know people other than the L1 speakers of the same language and/or their flatmates.

The students used the big social events where most of the Erasmus "family" gathered for building new friendships. They arrived for the big parties and trips in the company of their friends, but once they were in the big group, they could take steps to get to know people other than the ones they came with. Once they had made new friends, they started meeting up in pairs or in small groups. With "friends", they met up during the day as well. Thus, with "friends" they could do things which they did not normally do with the "family". They went to the library together, they went for coffee together, and they did their shopping together. William's prompted e-mail below provides an example for small group meetings between "friends":

Excerpt 4.23

> end of January when the old erasmus students were leaving..i had some meetings with some people i really call my friends..(prompted e-mail, March 1)

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[59] I am using the notion of cross-talk here to bring it in line with Smit's (2010: 5) approach to treating the examined classroom community of practice as engaging in discursive practice only.

Some students had more friends, the others less but, as Karla noted, "everybody [had] at least one person he [was] the closest to". "Friends" made a major difference in Szeged. For purposes of illustration I provide two quotes. In Excerpt 4.24 below, Micha explained that in the company of his friends he shared some intimate moments, which in turn made mutual engagement in parties and trips an even greater experience. In Excerpt 4.25, Lydia clarified that it is friends who made her stay in Szeged pleasant:

Excerpt 4.24

> if there's not such a big party, where there're lots of different people, but more of /it's/ small party with people you, you are closer to, you know better, than (.) uh, than there is a kind of (.) like intimacy between us, so- because we know each other than we know what will happen so (.) so maybe that's could be called, or could be an influential factor on this party spirit, what's, what makes a party special. (interview, January 28)

Excerpt 4.25

> I made some very good friends, who make my stay here very pleasant, because I can talk with them and spend time with them. (prompted e-mail, February 28)

Even if the students had "found [their] own little group", as Lucia put it, they maintained their "family ties" as well. That is, to keep the community running (Wenger 1998: 74-75), they invested both in their "family relations" and friendships until the very end of their stay in Szeged. Firstly, they arranged just as many big group gatherings at the end of the semester as at the beginning. Thus, the claims that they "always meet" and that they are "always together" proved true until the very end of their stay. Secondly, they gathered for each other's birthday, made birthday cakes, brought crepes for the parties, gave Christmas presents, and when at the end of the term they were to leave Hungary for good, they prepared the little albums or booklets for each other, which most members of the "family" signed. Thirdly, when a student was to leave Hungary for good, the other members of the "family" walked to the station with them, and they waved good-bye.

The students further built and maintained their "family relations" and friendships by openly declaring their feelings towards one another. This involved them mentioning, time and time again, how much they loved each other, and how much they missed each other. They typically voiced their love for each other when they had returned from a trip (where they got even closer to each other), or when towards the end of the semester, they began to realize that the end of the "Erasmus-life", as one of them put it, was coming to its end. As regards the

other type of claims, they typically noted that they missed each other while they were on a short visit back in their home countries, or after they had left Hungary for good. In cases like this, they used the virtual space of Facebook to continue their community building. For purposes of illustration, I first provide three Facebook posts of the "miss-you-all" type of messages, and three of the "I-love-you-all" type of messages:

Excerpt 4.26

> Micha has arrived at home and is missing his Erasmus family (Facebook posting, February 3)
>
> miss uuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuu (Facebook posting, January 31)
>
> miss U all fuckin much already (Facebook posting, January 31)
>
> I LOVE YOU SOOOOO MUCH EVERY PEOPLE!!!!!!!!! VIVA THE FIRTS SEMESTER!!!!!!!!! (Facebook posting, January 29)
>
> FIRST SEMESTER...I LOVE YOU!!! THE BEST! NO COMPARISONS...! (Facebook posting, January 28)
>
> CAN'T WAIT TO MEET THE OTHER ERASMUS HAPPY PEOPLE OF THE FIRST SEMESTER! I LOVE UUUUUU!!! MISS UUUUUU!!!! (Facebook posting, March 16)

The posts in Excerpts 4.26 clearly show that the students were overcome by a feeling of nostalgia after their return home. As some of them emphasized, they missed not only their friends, but the entire Szeged Erasmus group connected by "family relations".

Finally, both "family" relations and the friendships were designed with the goal of building a community with a focus on self-confidence. That is, both "family" relations and friendships helped the students become more self-confident members of their emerging community, which came to be a key aspect of the "family" they were building. First, in the area of "family" relations the students learnt that within the Erasmus "family" everyone was "accepted". This had major implications. One is that the students learnt that if there was to be a party or a trip, all the members of the "family" were to be informed about it. The other was that even if some students were not directly invited (perhaps because they could not be reached), they were all welcome to go, which in turn meant that any student could join any party without imposing themselves on others. This kind of learning was useful in the sense that it prevented the students from feeling lonely. As Karla explained in Excerpt 4.27 below, throughout the whole year in Szeged, she was in the safe knowledge that there were people she could go out with, which prevented her from feeling lonely:

Excerpt 4.27

> Well actually during the whole year, I figured out there's some people sometimes I can go out in party with them. So sometimes it was really good because otherwise I would not have somebody <u>else</u> so I would have been alone sometimes. (interview, July 14)

In the above quote, Karla used the notion "sometimes" twice. This was not accidental. As she explained in one of our casual conversations, she did not belong to the "Erasmus Sharks", or the "hard core party people", as she referred to them. Rather, her original goal was to make local student friends. Thus, when there was a chance for her to spend time with locals, she preferred their company to the Erasmus students' company; however, when she had no other company, she was happy to spend time with the Erasmus students. She knew, as much as the other students of the "family" knew, that they did not have to join every single party to be welcome. They could stay away from the "family" for some time, and "re-join" it later, without feeling out-of-place.

Concerning the question of how friendships helped the students become more self-confident members of their Erasmus "family", they learnt that there were, at least, a few people within the large "family" who "wanted" their company. The notion of "being wanted" comes from William, who claimed that one night around midnight he received a phone call from Franco, in which he was asked, "Hey mate, where are you? I *want to* talk to you". From this phone call William concluded that there was at least one student in the big "family" who counted on him, and took him into consideration when being with the "family". As Excerpt 4.28 below demonstrates, this recognition meant a lot to him:

Excerpt 4.28

> He rang me. Hey mate, where are you? I want to talk to you, you know. I was like wow such uh so good, yeah it was so good feeling. Really made my day that day. It was like late in evening, at twelve o'clock or something. It was so-, amazing feeling. So (.) yeah. (interview, November 8)

Once the individual students felt more self-confident, they took careful steps to "give back" to their friends by making them realize that they, too, counted on them. As an illustration, a few days after Franco had invited William to a pub, William asked Franco if he wanted to play basketball with him. The knowledge that there was someone relying on them, and that they had someone to rely on, clearly made the students more self-confident members of the emerging Erasmus "family".

What is particularly interesting about the above findings is that the participants needed both family relations and the friendships for their general well-being in Szeged. In other words, the students gained self-confidence from the fact that they had friends in Szeged, but also, and equally importantly, from the fact that they belonged to a "family", which they could join any time they needed company. In contrast, in the case of Smit (2010: 124), the participants relied on (L1-based) friendships (and *not* on a sense of belonging to a wider group) to deal with loneliness and homesickness.

4.3 The shared repertoire of resources

In their pursuit of a shared enterprise, the members of a community of practice develop practices, that is, local ways of dealing with the enterprise (Wenger 1998: 83-84). The local ways in which the members work towards the fulfillment of a shared goal may involve shared ways of doing things, routines, words, shared stories, inside jokes, actions, gestures, local lore, and knowing laughter (p. 126). They are created out of the resources the individual members bring to the community through innovation and adaptation (p. 83, 125). That is, the members rely on their inventive resources, but at the same time they also look to each other's resources, and by adapting their views, beliefs and attitudes to those of the others, they co-create a shared repertoire, which is both a constraint and a resource. It is a constraint in the sense that it has a recognizable history, but is a resource in the sense that it can be creatively used in the production of new meanings. Thus, within a community of practice, activities, views, beliefs and attitudes are measured in terms of their appropriateness to the enterprise (Ehrenreich 2009: 139), rather than to some external criterion. Although there are clear implications for English as a lingua franca (ELF) concerning this, in this section the focus remains on those elements of the jointly negotiated repertoire which are related to but not directly connected with language use.

4.3.1 The "schema" or "frame" for partying and traveling

Through mutual engagement in parties and travels, the participants accumulated a wide repertoire of resources. As they met up for partying almost every evening, the shared resource related to partying developed very quickly. The "schema or frame" for partying, as one of the participants put it, involved a "warm-up" in a flat or at a pub, a main party in a disco club or some bar, and an "after-party" in one of the flats again. The "warm-up" parties could be small or large. If they were small, the students generally cooked as well and they

dined together. They usually prepared a cheap dish, most likely pasta with some vegetables, and drank beer or wine. If, however, they were to make a big warm-up party, the hosts rarely cooked (except for crepes), and the snacks and the drinks were both on the guests.

Many of the shared ways of doing things at the warm-up parties aimed at maintaining a good mood. In fact, the majority of the social practices the students accumulated into a resource served the purpose of having fun, which over time came to be seen as part of the jointly shared enterprise. The students generally had three strategies for ensuring a good mood and fun. The drinking of alcoholic drinks can be seen as the first related practice. They had many drinks at each of their parties, and usually got drunk very quickly. Many of them noted that, in their home countries, they did not drink as much alcohol as in Hungary, but in Hungary, like they said, drinking was their "mission". In one flat, one of the students collected the bottles they had emptied, and, when at the end of the semester, they looked back on them, they were filled with "pride", as their Facebook posts revealed.

The second consistent practice for ensuring good mood was the playing of games, often drinking games. The students generally played two kinds of games at their warm-up parties. One type of games involved sitting in a circle, and asking some very personal, and likely very "naughty" questions. If they answered with a "yes", they were "allowed" to drink. The second type of games involved card games, such as "jungle speed". The students played this game with cards with some special symbols in it. At the same moment, two students turned one card each, and if the symbols in their cards matched, they had to touch the totem, a piece of wood, in the middle, as fast as they could. He who was faster, got rid of one of their cards, and he who had no more cards, won the game. This game was different to the other one in the respect that it did involve drinking but, as Jerard, a great fan of the game, explained, it was very funny if they played it when they were already tipsy.

The third practice for having fun was engaging in what they called "crazy things". To give but just a few examples, at one birthday party, they smashed the birthday cake in each other's faces, at another party they sprinkled each other with water. Sometimes at the middle of the party they went out onto the streets. On one occasion, they made themselves wet in the fountain, on another occasion, they dressed up the statues in the town.

Drinking, the playing of games and the "crazy" elements were a key resource not only at the warm-up parties, but also at the main parties. When shortly before midnight the question where to continue partying came up, the students had a playful argument. They were vehemently arguing in favor of one or the other university club. If they could not reach a decision that pleased everyone, the group split into smaller groups and everyone went to the

place of their preference. This negotiation work was as much part of the "schema" or "frame" for partying as was the drinking or the dancing that followed in the clubs. It showed that the students wanted to stay together in one big group for the main party as well, and they only split when there seemed to be no other satisfying solution.

In the clubs, they were drinking, dancing, and flirting. Some were only kissing and flirting without any further intentions, others were building romantic relationships. Eventually, quite a few of them had established serious relationships, mostly with local students. When the party was over, the students either headed to the McDonald's to have something to eat before going home, or to one of the large flats for an "after-party". At these early morning parties, they shared the food they had, and all the furniture that seemed suitable for sleeping. Some ended up sleeping in bed with one or two other students, others in the sofa, and yet others on the floor. Whether they slept in their own flats or in some other student's flat, they usually slept in quite late.

The shared resource during European Club Evenings involved a very similar set of practices as the warm-up parties and the main parties. European Clubs generally started at around 9 p.m. So that they would not miss the food and free drinks, most of the students were on time. Once the majority of the Erasmus "family" was present, one of the organizing students welcomed the guests and opened the buffet. This was what the students had waited for. They quickly helped themselves to food and drinks, and within less than half an hour, the food was gone. In the next one or two hours, the students had some more drinks and, with cans or plastic glasses in their hands, they went from group to group, and thus chatted with different people. Some of them also took the chance to dance.

The games were an integral part of the routine with which they organized their European Club evenings. The games were always played in teams, and those who did not participate were cheering. The games began with the organizers of the evening specifying the number of volunteers they needed. As encouragement, they only mentioned that the game would entail drinking alcoholic drinks. The idea of free drinks was attractive enough, and they needed no further encouragement. The groups formed quickly, the organizers explained the rules, and the games started. Although each game they played was to some degree different, there were some recurring elements. These involved the teams lining up in front of a table, and the contesters, one by one, emptying the glasses on it. Sometimes there were some new elements added which made the task a bit more difficult and thus more exciting. For instance, in one of the games they were not allowed to touch the glasses with their fingers; in another, they had to fill their glasses first, and then empty it; and in yet another, they had to light a

candle first, drink their drinks, and then blow out the candle. By the time the games finished, most of them were drunk.

They looked for "crazy" elements in whatever they did. The sometimes "crazy" games were just the beginning, and what followed was sometimes even more foolish. Many of their crazy activities followed from their re-using their assets, that is, the props of the games. For instance, one evening they used lipstick in their games. Once the games ended, they started drawing lips and flowers on each other's face with pink lipsticks. Later it was not only flowers, but "make-up" everywhere. The same was true for the leftovers and the decorations. As an example, one evening there remained many sausages from the dinner, which they then re-used for taking funny pictures. More "crazy" than these, they continued drinking until early morning, and then started it again in the evening. At the European Club evenings the question of whether to go to another club never came up. Some may have left and checked what was going on at other places, but then they returned, and stayed until early morning.

However, partying was not the only form of mutual engagement in the Szeged Erasmus community, and the participants also developed a shared repertoire of resources around the other main form of mutual engagement, that is, traveling. As soon as they had reached their destination, they headed to their accommodation, which more often than not was a hostel. They left their luggage there, and then set out for sightseeing immediately. As they were a big group of 15-20 people, they had to accommodate many different interests. On the first trip they were not fully successful in satisfying the different aims: despite their original intention to stay together in one group, they split into three smaller groups for most part of the trip. However, on the rest of their trips, they "improved" in this respect: for most part of the trip, they stayed together as a group. In the evenings, first, they went out for a dinner, and then, as Micha put it, they were "enjoying [them]selves in some bars and clubs". After a long day of sightseeing and a long night of partying, they returned to their accommodation. They preferred sleeping together in one big room to sleeping separately in smaller rooms. When they returned to Szeged, they were overwhelmed by emotions. They talked about their experiences a lot. They typically described their trips with notions such as "fabulous", "amazing" and "nice". The following quote is an example of that:

Excerpt 4.29

Hey!!!!!! it was really so nice!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! i hope we can do this another time!!!!!!!! ;)
(Facebook posting, October 11)

4.4 Discussion

A close examination of the social practices in which the Szeged Erasmus students engaged has revealed that they built a community of practice in Szeged. That is, they learnt new forms of participation (related to partying and traveling) and new identities (concerning how to project central versus peripheral membership) while abroad in Szeged. Their learning evolved over time, in two developmental stages, and with very little institutional influence. The first developmental stage coincided with the first semester. In this phase of the community of practice, the only institutional influence came from the few local ESN coordinators, who maintained the role of "experts". Apart from them, the students were all "newcomers" to the group. That is, a great part of the students' learning in the first semester was in response to other novices' forms of participation. Such learning supports L2 socialization studies (e.g. Potts 2005), which emphasize that learning in a community of practice need not take the form of experts guiding novices.

The second developmental stage coincided with the second semester. It involved the continuation of the practice with both old and new members. By the time the second developmental stage began, a little less then two thirds of the students from the first semester had left Hungary for good. Those who stayed for the second semester as well were joined by a new group of students. With a change in members there came a change in the power relations, too. The "old" students with a particular set of practices now became "expert" members to whom the newcomers could, and to some extent did, look for "right" forms of behavior. Thus, in the second developmental stage there was still "room" for the negotiation of practices, but learning was mainly in the form of experts guiding novices. Since, however, the "experts" were students themselves, learning in the Szeged Erasmus community may be summarized as students learning from students.

The building of the Szeged Erasmus community of practice was motivated by the primary aim of building a friendship and family based local Erasmus network with a focus on fun and self-confidence. This raises the question why the participants did not seek to join the local students' networks, rather than build a "family" of their own. The analysis has shown that some of the members did consider the possibility and the chances of making Hungarian friends, and some even took steps to make local friends. Yet, not many of the participants took the trouble to build, and even less participants succeeded in making, local friends. The focus of the present study has not been on the

students' experiences outside of their Erasmus community of practice (but see Kalocsai 2009). Nevertheless, it has shed light on a crucial issue. That is, most of the participants did not join the local students' social networks due to the their lack of Hungarian, which they considered a major drawback in gaining meaningful access to the local students' groups.

Further, the findings support Duff's (2006, 2007) conclusions that some exchange students may end up in a "third space" in their country of residence. The Szeged Erasmus students, like Duff's (2006, 2007) participants at a Canadian university, occupied a "third space" between their home countries and the host country. That is, during their study abroad they were not actively involved in any of their home country or host country social networks, but rather created a new space for themselves. The Szeged Erasmus community of practice was a happy and a safe place, and in the majority of the cases, the students talked about it in positive terms.[60]

The finding that the Szeged Erasmus community of practice was a happy and safe place needs some further elaboration. It was a happy and a safe place because its members had both the ability and the willingness to shape it to their own needs. That is, they successfully built a community with a focus on fun and self-confidence, as they desired. Firstly, to achieve the shared goal of having fun, they accumulated a range of practices (such as the drinking alcoholic drinks, the playing of games, and the performing of "crazy" things), which they enjoyed and considered funny. Secondly, to fulfill their goal of becoming more self-confident members, they collectively built and maintained friendly and family relationships, which helped them avoid loneliness and homesickness. The participants' jointly negotiated enterprises were accomplished through both linguistic and non-linguistic resources, as shown in Figure 4.1 below.

In this chapter, I have provided a critical evaluation of the Szeged Erasmus students' group as a community of practice based on the participants' non-linguistic social practices. In the following three chapters, the attention will shift to the linguistic practices which became part of the shared negotiable resources. More specifically, I will now show how, through a careful use of language, the participants sought to realize their shared goal of (1) building a friendship and family based network with a focus on (2) fun and (3) self-confidence.

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[60] While this should indeed leave us optimistic, there is a need for a reconsideration of the EU's goals with respect to the Erasmus Programme. Does the European Commission *want* the exchange students to occupy a "third space" between their home countries and the host country? Further, if the above question is answered with a "No", the next question to ask is, "What can the European Commission *do* in order to facilitate the exchange students' access to the local students' social networks?"

Figure 4.1 An overview of the joint enterprises
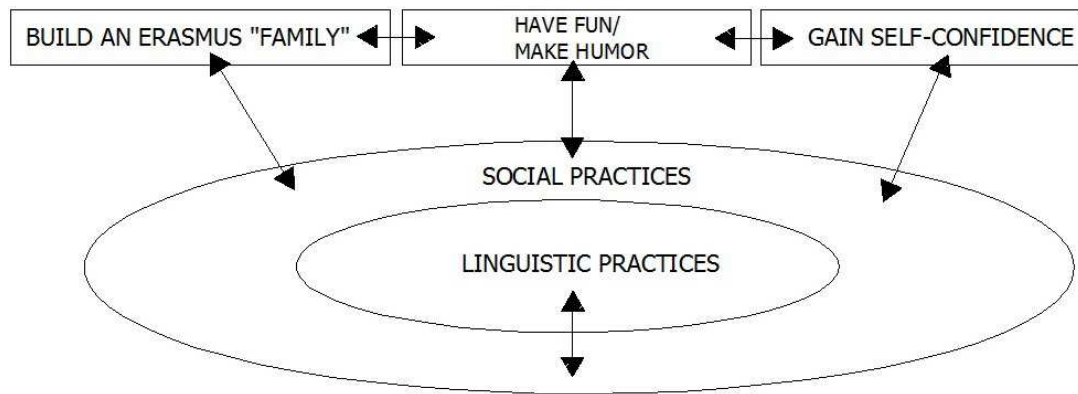
5 LINGUISTIC PRACTICES RELATED TO THE GOAL OF BUILDING AN ERASMUS "FAMILY"

With the present empirical chapter, the attention shifts to the linguistic resources with which the Szeged Erasmus students created the shared enterprise of building a local community with a focus on fun and self-confidence. In this chapter, in particular, my focus will be on that part of the shared linguistic resources which served the purpose of building a friendship and family based social network. To that end, I will look into the linguistic practices which the participants used to accomplish ritual activities at particular times, namely, at evening parties and at weekends trips. The linguistic rituals for which the participants typically drew from a shared resource include swearing, teasing, greeting, leave taking, addressing, congratulating, apologizing, thanking, "party conversations" and so called "real conversations" outside the parties. Thus, in the present chapter I will show what particular form (or meaning) connection the students had for the purpose of small, single-word type routines as well as for large, conversation-type routines.

For a particular form to become part of the shared negotiable resource, it was necessary that the participants repeat them. However, the kind of repetition evidenced in the building of a shared negotiable resource is different from the kind of repetition English as a lingua franca (ELF) researchers have examined thus far. Here repetition concerns the repetition of "old" utterances stored in the long-term memory, whereas in current ELF research, repetition concerns the repetition of the prior turn, which activates the short-term memory. A further difference between the present analysis and that of current ELF research is that repetition is not only seen as a strategy promoting mutual understanding and expressing solidarity, approval and rapport, but also, and more importantly, it is viewed as a practice in the service of building a friendship and "family" based social system. Thus, while the Szeged Erasmus students did practice rapport, their "work" was not just a general human attempt to be cooperative, as Grice's (1975) cooperation principle would imply, but something more profound accomplished through mutual engagement in shared practices.

A large part of the ritual practices that were drawn from a shared resource involved an act of code-switching. That is, when the members of the community were, for instance, to greet each other or address each other, they were expected, often, to make a language choice and switch codes. The type of code-switching to be analyzed here is different to the type of

code-switching current ELF researchers examine.[61] Here code-switching does not mean spontaneous code-switching which creates something new on the spot, but rather "repetitive" or "ritualized" code-switching which recycles "old" code-switched utterances. The participants of the present study used ritualized code-switching to create specific social meanings. In line with current ELF research findings, they switched codes to promote mutual understanding, as well as to accommodate to each others' norms, thus showing solidarity, approval and rapport. However, unlike in current ELF research, their code-switching simultaneously served a higher level goal. It was primarily motivated by the desire to build a friendship and "family" based social system.

Code-switching in the Szeged Erasmus community meant switching from English to a variety of other languages. This being the case it will be essential, firstly, to examine how the use of English (used as a lingua franca) became a key shared practice within the evolving Szeged Erasmus community (see section 5.1); then, I will make claims about the practice of code-switching for ritual activities (see section 5.2).

5.1 English as a shared practice

The members of the Szeged Erasmus community came from many different countries, and had a variety of languages as their L1. In addition, as is often the case with ELF speakers, they were mostly plurilingual speakers with two, but sometimes, three or more additionally learnt languages (Lns) in their linguistic repertoires. This huge variety of languages was coupled with a variety of language related goals. Some students had the desire to "practice" or "learn" English,[62] other students wished they could use other Lns in their linguistic repertoires. From another perspective, some were determined not to use their L1 while in Hungary, whereas others "did not mind" which language(s) they used. With so many languages and different language related goals on the table, it is not surprising that the choice of language was subject to much negotiation while a shared practice for when to use which language developed.

Over time, English (used as a lingua franca) emerged as a key shared practice within the Szeged Erasmus "family" or, as one student put it, it came to be seen as the "first language in Hungary". As a shared practice, the use of English was in the interest of the group: it

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[61] See section 2.3.5.

[62] When presenting data, here, as well as in the subsequent data chapters, I use the notion of "English", as it is this notion with which the students described their language use in the Szeged Erasmus "family" (and in their wider context in Szeged). Since, however, for the vast majority of participants English was an Ln, the data has to be (and will be) interpreted as English (used) as a lingua franca.

created and maintained the shared enterprise. Thus, the students who sought membership in the group were expected to use English in all group-wide communications. However, in small friendship groups, the students could and did use a range of other languages depending on which languages suited their individual purposes most. In the following sections, firstly, I will examine how English (used as a lingua franca) emerged as the "accepted" or "right" practice at the level of the group; secondly, I will show how some students breached the norm, and how the norm-followers attempted to socialize the norm-violators into the appropriate linguistic practice; and finally, I will point out what individual arrangements the students had for their small group interactions.

5.1.1 English as the "first language in Hungary" – Arrangements for the group

English as a shared practice concerns arrangements for, and serves the interest of, the entire group or "family". In some cases the students' individual interests overlapped with the group interest. Problems emerged not when the two altered, but rather when some members of the "family" did not immediately realize (or did not want to realize) that at the level of the group different norms or practices applied than in small friendship groups.

A widely shared view within the Szeged Erasmus community was that English was the best linguistic resource for establishing the group as a "family". The participants came to this conclusion based on the following line of argument. English was not so much a choice, as a need. The need emerged out of the fact that they did not speak each other's L1 or the local Hungarian. Thus, to communicate with the group, they needed a "common language", in which their linguistic repertoires overlapped. That the "common language" became English, rather than anything else, was the result of the fact that "everybody was speaking English", or as another student put it, it was the language that "[they] all shared". English was "the only way" they could talk to each other. It enabled them to talk to people with whom they would not have been able to speak otherwise. Consequently, they were all very positive about the role English played in their lives in Szeged. In Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2, Jerard and Karla, respectively, emphasized the idea of English emerging out of need, and that it was the "only way" they could talk to each other; in Excerpts 5.3 and 5.4, Karla and Maria, respectively, expressed the view that having a common language was "nice":

Excerpt 5.1

> It was really good because that was (.) almost the only way we had to talk uh except with French people but we couldn't speak Hungarian so (.) just had to speak English and it was, no, it was very good because everybody was speaking English (interview, December 30)

Excerpt 5.2

> For me it's okay, I mean it's the only way is sometimes you can communicate with them, so (.) I need to talk them in English and (.) it's okay for me. (interview, October 16)

Excerpt 5.3

> At least it's <u>nice</u> that you have a common language that you can just talk to each other, it's really nice. I mean if we all would have to speak in Hungarian, we wouldn't speak to each other because it's not possible. (interview, May 22)

Excerpt 5.4

> Yeah, I think it's quite a nice feeling that uh people from different countries and they can speak the same language. (interview, February 19)

The view that English was the best arrangement for the group had its own implications, the most important of which was that it *had to* be used when meeting in the group. However, the situation in which the L1 speakers of the same language found themselves was not without any problems. It is true that they were in a larger group of Erasmus students who likely did not speak their L1, but to talk to each other, they "[didn't] really need English", as one of the students noted. When the L1 speakers of the same language opted for English, as the group norm implied, many of them thought that they had to "give more energy" or that they had to "make an effort". Further, they felt "a little stupid" and found the whole situation "a bit strange" or "weird", as they claimed. Thus, when they entered the group, they had to decide whether they (still) wanted to comply with the arrangements that applied to the group or not.

Some L1 speakers did not always observe the group norm, and thus emerged as norm-violators. This typically happened with those L1 speakers who were relatively many within the Szeged Erasmus group, or as Micha put it, when "the majority [was] for instance French". The French speakers were in a majority, and they tended to alternate between the use of English and French within the same conversation. That is, when a group of French speakers were sitting at a table with a group of non-French speaking students, they would use French amongst each other and English with the other students. Many students, including some of the norm-violators, described this kind of practice in negative terms. They considered it "a bit

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rude", "impolite", "lazy", and "not nice". When asked about the reasons, they explained that by using their L1 in the "family", they "excluded" the other students from their conversations, "close doors" by not giving them the chance to "understand what [they were] talking about", and made it more difficult for them "to come together" as a group. This last point is particularly important as it suggests that by using their L1, rather than the "all-inclusive" English, the norm-violators risked the break-up of the Erasmus community. Or as Micha put it, they risked the separation of the group into what could be considered "the French speaking part and the rest". In Excerpt 5.5, Jerard, a French speaker, explained why he rejected the practice of French students speaking French in the company of students who did not speak French; in Excerpt 5.6, a German speaker called Meike explained why she avoided using German with her German speaking flatmate in the presence of their French speaking flatmate:

Excerpt 5.5

> Uh I think it's good to speak French only when everybody can understand. Because if you start speaking French and there is one or two people, just hear and they don't understand anything that's not so good. Not to be polite but I think (.) yes, something like that. We can't just speak French all together without, with excluding some people from the talks. (interview, November 20)

Excerpt 5.6

> And even if if Alyson is just sitting here in the morning, doing her bread, and she is not really noticing anything is going around, we try to speak English and I think sometimes it's strange. Okay you could just speak in German because Alyson maybe is not listening and but sometimes then I think (.) it's like uh uh (..) like a wall that you build up. (interview, December 9)

As Excerpts 5.5 and 5.6 illustrate, both Jerard and Meike were concerned with the idea that languages were either excluding or including people. They considered the use of L1 inappropriate whenever there was the fear that it would exclude some members of the community from the conversation.

Students who shared Jerard's and Meike's views kept their use of L1 in group-wide communications to the minimum. That is, they rarely switched to their L1 with the L1 speakers of the same language, but if they did, their code-switched utterance was brief, and they soon switched back to English. Then they often apologized or summarized what they had talked about in their L1. Besides that, as the playback interviews revealed, they were fully aware of their "good practice". The example comes from Lena, an L1 speaker of German, who made the following remark, "I think we [German speakers] are very good in speaking English because you know […] we don't switch over to our language". Then, she pointed out

that they only switched to their L1 when "it wasn't something important […] interesting for the whole table".

To give credit to her claim, I went back to the transcripts and the recorded material to identify the instances of code-switching among the L1 speakers of German. I found that during the two-hour recording, she and the other two L1 speakers of German switched to German only a couple of times, and that their switches were indeed about unimportant things. An example would be when Lena remarked to one of the other German speakers that she wanted to "steal" her lighter. Another example is when they switched briefly, and then burst out laughing. After the laughter, Lena waited until the non-German speakers came to a turn-taking point, and offered a summary in English. The information she offered in English was not important (see Excerpt 5.7), but there was laughter, which she thought needed some explanation.

Excerpt 5.7

> I said to her she could regret that we have no video camera to watch her eating because sometimes she does crazy things with the maize (naturally occurring conversation, October 15)

5.1.2 "Stop! English!" – Socializing practices

To ensure that language use would not break up the community, some members took steps to socialize the norm-violators into the appropriate linguistic practice. In Duff's (2007: 316) terms, some students took up the role of socializing "agents", and thus attempted to deal with the norm-violators. To this end, they "taught" each other ways of thinking, believing and acting. Typically, the students socialized each other by using one of the following three expressions: "Switch over!", "Stop! English!" or "Speak English!" When a speaker had switched to their L1 when English would have been more appropriate, they instructed them to use English. In the majority of the cases the socializing practice was initiated by the speaker who felt excluded from the conversation, and in small minority cases by the norm-violators themselves. For instance, in the middle of a French conversation, Jerard, a French speaker himself, was often heard reminding his French speaking peers of the need to "speak English".

Some students experimented with other socializing practices. Micha, for instance, did not explicitly instruct the other students to speak English, but instead, like he said, he made a special attempt not to use his L1 German unless he was "in a flat where like only German speaking people [were]". Furthermore, when he was asked why he did not speak in German,

which did happen from time to time, he answered that he did not want to "exclude anybody from conversations". He felt his practice, or "habit", as he called it, was successful: he managed to "convince", at least, some of the students around him of the need to use English in group-wide interactions.

Lena also experimented with new socializing practices. Initially, she, too, applied the shared socializing practices described above, but with the French speakers, she found them to be of little help. As she explained in an interview, when she asked the French speakers to "switch over", they "made it [for] five minutes [but] then every- everybody [was] speaking French again". This recurred several times, and she felt rather upset about it. Eventually, she came up with two solutions. One was to "teach" them (that is, teach them a lesson) by putting them into the same situation as they had put her and all the other students who did not speak French. When she was on a trip, she suddenly decided to ignore the French speaker present in the room, and she started talking in her L1 German to the German speakers. Her aim was to demonstrate to the French speaker what it felt like being neglected. She definitely reached her goal as the French speaking student opened a discussion on the question of the appropriate language choice, and they exchanged views. From that moment on, this particular French speaker changed his linguistic practices fundamentally. Micha, who was also involved in this episode, reflected on this change as follows:

Excerpt 5.8

> then, Xaviere (.) started (.) really (.) to speak in English. A lot more, than before. He really made an effort to, to speak in English, almost all the time. (.) So, he really changed, and (.) this was not bad, this was I appreciated it. […] he decided and (..) he stuck to it. (interview, January 28)

The other socializing practice Lena adopted tied with one of the card games the students played on their trips. The game offered "space" for the students to invent rules, and make the other students perform them. When Lena had the chance to enforce a new rule, she formulated the following rule, "You are not allowed to speak another language than English." All those who disobeyed the rule then had to drink. Although this socializing practice was introduced in the context of a drinking game, it worked out very well on the rest of the trip. As one of the students reported, the French speakers "really made an effort" to speak more English and less French. However, as soon as they returned to Szeged, where they were "reunited" with the rest of the French speakers, the same problem Lena had tried to solve re-emerged.

One last socializing practice involved the use of language forms, which, while drawn from a shared negotiable resource, helped the students accomplish everyday important tasks.[63] More specifically, the last socializing practice involved the use of the Hungarian form *igen* "yes", and its variations in other languages, which were part of a shared negotiable resource and were primarily used to express agreement. However, when used as a socializing practice, they came in rapid-fire type of repetition, and the choice of language was adjusted to the norm-violators' L1. For instance, if the French speakers shifted to their L1 French, those who did not understand them started saying *igenigenigen* "yesyesyes" or *ouiouioui* "yesyesyes". Likewise, if the Spanish speakers violated the norm and shifted to their L1 Spanish, the other students started saying *sisisi* "yesyesyes"; or if it was the German speakers who breached the norm, the students present said *jajaja* "yesyesyes". In most of the cases, one student started the rapid-fire yeah's, and one or two other students joined in. As William explained, their goal was to "remind" the L1 speakers that they were there, too, and that their switching back to English was highly desirable. Even if some minutes later the L1 speakers returned to their L1, when they heard a group of people chanting "yesyesyes" in their L1, they usually became silent for a while, and everybody started laughing.

5.1.3 "[D]on't you mind when we talk in French?" – Individual arrangements

Individuals who met frequently on a one-to-one basis or in small friendship groups in the day-time (rather than in the evening with the large group) often negotiated their own norms of speaking. That is, they made arrangements for their individual purposes, which may or may not have matched the group norm. As a result of these arrangements, individuals ended up using a variety of languages for a variety of purposes in a variety of contexts. Thus, the Szeged Erasmus community was an "English plus", rather than an "English-only" community, with English being used for group-wide communications, and the other languages being reserved for small friendship group interactions.

The small friendship groups had three major kinds of arrangements: firstly, the use of English, which was an Ln for the vast majority of the students; secondly, the use of L1 with the L1 speakers of the same language; and finally, the use of an Ln with the L1 speakers of the language (or, from another perspective, the use of L1 with the Ln speakers of the language). Firstly, in their small friendship groups, the students opted for the use of English if

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[63] See section 5.2.5 below.

their linguistic repertoires matched in no other language than English, or if they came to Hungary with the direct goal of improving their English. Excerpt 5.9 presents evidence for the latter case. Marianne, an L1 speaker of French, initially used her Ln Spanish with her Spanish flatmates. However, later they changed the linguistic practice of their friendship group to English as the Spanish speakers were particularly motivated to use their English, rather than their L1, in Hungary:

Excerpt 5.9

> Knowing that she speaks Spanish and Portuguese, I ask her [Marianne] what language she was using with her Spanish flatmates. She says in the beginning they were speaking in Spanish but then they agreed on using English for they are in Hungary to use English. (fieldnotes, January 12)

Secondly, the use of L1 with L1 speakers of the same language was an option for those who formed a relatively large group within the emerging Szeged Erasmus "family", such as the French, the Spanish and the Italian students. When amongst each other, the L1 speakers used their L1 with each other most naturally, like they said, and the question of using an Ln did not even come up. This view comes clearly through from the following quote made by Micha, an L1 speaker of German, who noted that "of course we are speaking German if we are all on our own".

Finally, the use of an Ln with the L1 speakers of that language was documented among those who came to Szeged with the desire to practice their Ln with the native speakers (NSs) of the languages. To give but a few examples, Miguel, an L1 speaker of Spanish noted that he "tri[ed] to practice Italian or French always", Karla, an L1 speaker of German that she wanted to "refresh" her French, and Micha, another L1 speaker of German, that he would "rather like to learn French than English" while in Szeged.[64] These and other students with similar motivations established, on an individual basis, the language that they were to use with the L1 speakers of the language. They openly discussed the language of their preference, often by asking a "don't-you-mind-if-we-speak" type of question. In Excerpt 5.10, Micha, an L1 speaker of German reported on how he and three L1 speakers of French usually negotiated their language choice; in Excerpt 5.11, Karla, another L1 speaker of German explained how she and an L1 speaker of French decided to speak more English, rather than French, with one another:

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[64] For more on the students' initial goals, see section 4.1.1.

Excerpt 5.10 (Micha, Researcher)

> M: […] And also uh, the others French people, they several times ask me do you prefer talking English or don't you mind when we talk in French. Because I don't mind because I, I can understand.
> R: So what do you usually say them?
> M: Mhm, I usually say them, I prefer them talking in French. Because I rather like to learn French @than English@. ((M laughs)). (interview, November 20)

Excerpt 5.11

> then she started to speak in English with me, and it was nice because she said that Oh she should do it more often and if I don't mind to speak with her in English, and I said No, of course we can talk in English if you would like to speak English. (interview, November 20)

As the excerpts show, language choice was often an openly debated and negotiated question between students who frequently met individually, rather than in the big group only. While in the majority of the cases, they managed to "agree" on a language that suited all the participants involved, it was not always the case. In my fieldnotes, I recorded one episode which struck me as strange. At a party, I overheard two flatmates talking with each other in different languages: Sabina, an L1 speaker of Romanian was speaking in her Ln French; Jerard, an L1 speaker of French, in English. Later I found out that this was something of a power play between two individuals with conflicting desires. In my fieldnotes, I wrote thus:

Excerpt 5.12

> I ask Sabina if she normally uses French with the French and Belgian people here. She says no as they have told her that they don't want to speak French but English. (fieldnotes, September 18)

Sabina, therefore, would have liked to practice her Ln French with the French speakers but she did not manage to fulfill her desire as the French speakers had told her that they would rather use their English with her.[65] During the months that followed, I only heard Sabina and Jerard speak in English, meaning Sabina, with a desire to practice her French, "gave in" to Jerard, who was highly motivated to practice his English. The fact that in this case French "gave in" to English is not surprising given that in the wider context, that is, in the group-wide communications, English was required as a key shared practice.

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[65] This seems to contradict the claim I have made earlier, namely, that the French group were the biggest norm violators of English. However, the French speakers were only reluctant to use English when they were involved in a mixed group of different L1 speakers and they were interacting with other L1 speakers of French; when they were involved in an interaction with L1 speakers of other languages, they readily used English.

In conclusion, the Szeged Erasmus students negotiated English as shared practice dynamically. While there developed the practice of using English in all group-wide communications, there developed shared practices for performing ritual activities in English, as well as in a range of other languages.

5.2 The shared negotiable resources

Using the students' terminology, in this section, I will move from the level of "common language" to the level of "common sayings". That is, in the following sections, I will examine the shared negotiable resources tied to English as a shared practice. By shared negotiable resources I mean a set of forms that were used to accomplish everyday important tasks (or routine activities), such as greeting, leave-taking, teasing, swearing, addressing, apologizing, thanking, "party conversations" and so called "real conversations" outside of parties. The analysis will show how these resources were a set of nested levels of specificity in terms of the language (from single words to conversation type), and the extent to which they relied on the students' ability to switch codes.

5.2.1 Greeting

The ritual practice of greeting others involved three major kinds of practices: English practices, Hungarian practices, and practices in a range of other languages. That is, when the students were to greet each other, they could choose English, Hungarian, or other language forms as all of these were part of the shared negotiable resource.

Firstly, when the students chose to greet each other with an English utterance, they almost always said, "Hi! How are you?" and received the following answer, "Fine, thank you." That this form became part of the shared negotiable resources is surprising for at least two reasons. On the one hand, it required more learning and socialization than the other ritual practices for greeting; on the other hand, most students did not like this particular form (and meaning connection) at all. Starting with learning, for many of the students this form of greeting was totally new. As Excerpt 5.13 below shows, Franco did not understand what the point in asking "How are you?" was when they could already anticipate the answer. Therefore, he had to learn that in order to express his membership in the emerging Szeged Erasmus "family", he had to answer some "strange" and by all means useless questions:

Excerpt 5.13

> between Erasmus students they ask very much how are you when we meet. It's quite strange for me because maybe we have met just one day ago or two days before or (.) and so. @I am the same@ ((laughing voice)) and if I don't have a flu or cold, I am okay, why do you ask me how I am? It's quite strange for me yes, and everybody (.) has it. (interview, March 19)

For some other students the greeting itself was not new but the way in which it was approached. For instance, some German speakers noted that, in their home Germany, they only raise this question if there is a real interest behind the question, and when they expect a true answer. By contrast, in the Szeged Erasmus community, they were struck by the recognition that "nobody cares" how they are. That is, the other students "don't want to hear it if [they] are good or fine or bad or whatever", and they only raise the question "for politeness". Therefore, these German speakers, as members of the Szeged Erasmus community, had to learn that in response to this greeting, they either said "Fine", or nothing. Excerpt 5.14 below is a summary of how Lena changed her routine practice for greeting others:

Excerpt 5.14

> But uh much people don't want to have an answer, here, so. They say hey, how are you ((gives two kisses)) and then, at the first time I started to explain yeah I'm uh good but many work blabla but they don't listen really so (.) and now I, I don't say something so when they say hi and how are you and I only give the kiss and it's ok (interview, December 15)

The above excerpt begs the question who these students' socializing agents were. As a participant observer, I drew the conclusion (which later two of my participants confirmed) that this practice was seen as locally constructed by the L1 speakers of French and Spanish (rather than adopted from American English). Since, however, the French speakers were greater in number and were more central members than the Spanish, it was mainly the French speakers who were seen as socializing the others into the "right" ritual practice of greeting. When the French speakers arrived at a party, they greeted everyone with "Hi! How are you?" gave two kisses, and then they either stayed for a short small talk, or not waiting for an answer, stepped to the next student. It was surely this element that they did not wait for an answer which made the German speakers say that the students using the ritual practice "Hi! How are you?" "don't listen" and "don't care."[66]

Besides that, the majority of students talked about the how-are-you type of English practice in negative terms. Some voiced the view that it was "strange" to them, others that

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[66] Of course, this did not apply to the "more darling friends", about whom they "really" cared. See section 4.2.2.

they "did not like" it, and yet others that they "hated" it. Some disliked it simply because they felt it served as a lead-in to "party conversations", which was another largely unpopular routine practice (see section 5.2.6). This raises the question why, despite their strong dislike of the practice, the participants still adopted it as part of the shared negotiable resources. The students were all very straightforward about the answer: they adopted the "new habit" in order to align with the group norms. This view comes clearly through in Excerpt 5.15 by Meike:

Excerpt 5.15

> I I I don't like this really (..) but but I say it because everybody says it (interview, December 9)

Secondly, moving on to the Hungarian routine practices, the English practice had its equivalent, namely, *Szia, hogy vagy?* "Hi! How are you?" To this ritualized practice the other students would typically respond with, *Jól, köszi*, or *Jól, köszönöm* "Fine, thanks". Interestingly, while this was the translation equivalent of the English ritual practice, in Hungarian it was not used as a greeting, but as a "real" question, which explains why the students liked it despite their strong dislike of the English greeting. The Hungarian practices for saying hello and good-bye further involved saying *Szia*, *Sziasztok*, *Szevasz* "Hi" without a "how-are-you", *Jó napot* "Good afternoon" and *Viszlát* "Good-bye". These practices were frequent, not only in speaking, but also in writing when posting a message on Facebook, or sending a circular e-mail. The Hungarian practices for greeting and leave taking had a special status in the students' shared resources. They were used widely for there was the assumption that everyone within the emerging community understood them. *Szia*, for instance, was acquired by the majority of the emerging group and became part of the shared negotiable resources as early as the second week of the community formation.

Thirdly, when the students were to say hello and good-bye to each other, they did not only switch to Hungarian, but also to the other languages in their linguistic repertoires. They could often be heard greeting each other in Spanish, Italian, or French, as the majority of them had one of these languages as their L1, or in the mixture of some languages as in *Ciao Barát* "Hi Mate", or *Ciao Mon Ami* "Hi My Friend". An example of that is when at a party Denis drew on the shared resource to greet three students (all of them L1 speakers of different languages) in three different languages. The norm they adopted was to greet each other in each other's L1, at least, from time to time, and then continue the interaction in English. Thus,

their practice of code-switching was meant as a lead-in, or as Franco put it, it was an attempt "just to introduce yourself, just to start [the] conversation".

In line with Pölzl (2003), the participants had a tendency to switch into an Ln routine practice regardless of whether they were fully competent speakers in the target language, learners of the target language, or had just taken up the co-participant's L1 as their target language. In the latter case, that is, when the students did not have any prior knowledge of their co-participant's L1, they often elicited the target language form from the L1 speakers of the language. This involved learning and the expansion of their linguistic repertoires, as shown in the following quote from a prompted e-mail. In it, the author, Maria, wrote that she had learnt "some basic words in the languages of the Erasmus people (e.g. hello, cheers, goodbye)".

Thus, the Szeged Erasmus students were each other's socializing agents, a finding which aligns with Potts' (2005) claims for students socializing students. When at the beginning of the second semester a new group of students arrived, those who stayed for the second semester played an important role in socializing the newcomers into the "right" ways of greeting. An example is when William repeatedly greeted the new students he met on the street by using one of the Hungarian routines. In the beginning, they ignored him, and it took him some time to realize why: they did not understand his Hungarian form. Yet, he did not stop using *Szia* and *Sziasztok* with them; rather, what he did was greet them both in Hungarian and in English. This did not last long as the new students adopted the Hungarian routines for greeting fast, and they started saying *Szia* back.

Finally, given the relative distribution of English versus other language greetings, one cannot but wonder how the students knew which practice to do in what setting. Some students had a routine practice for greeting a particular student with a particular form; other students chose the form on the spur of the moment. However, as long as they drew from the shared repertoire of negotiable resources, they made a "right" choice. That is, they used an appropriate form, regardless of the choice of language. In the following quote, Jerard reports on a Turkish speaker's practice of greeting him in his L1 French:

Excerpt 5.16

> I'm sure that every time, I will meet Hasad, he will speak to me just one or two sentence in French or (.) that's a kind of routine (interview, December 30)

As is evident from Excerpts 5.16, the students did not only acquire new Ln practices, but they also developed the ability to use their Ln practices appropriately. That is, they acquired how to communicate in a specific context in a specific language "well". In the sense of Hall et al. (2006), this serves as evidence for the participants' having further developed their multicompetence as members of the emerging Szeged Erasmus community.

5.2.2 Teasing

In the emerging Szeged Erasmus "family", teasing was another important daily task and a highly ritualized activity. In fact, it was a ritualized form of humor, through which the participants playfully made fun of each other. "Playfully" is a key notion here. As Maria emphasized at an interview, teasing was "all [about] joking and *not* to be rude", meaning "it [was] not hostile" at all. The shared negotiable resources built around teasing were one of the four main types of negotiable resources accomplishing ritual tasks and creating humorous effects.[67] The shared humorous practices (that is, practices that were meant to be amusing for the co-participants) further refined the joint joint enterprise. That is, they created the shared goal of building a friendship and family based local network with a focus on humor.[68]

A great part of the shared negotiable resources built around teasing was on the topic of parties. When the students did not know who would turn up at a certain party, or even more so, when they did not expect many people to attend the party, it was appropriate to refer (through a ritualized practice) to two "Erasmus Sharks", who were known to attend all the parties. The shared practices took the following form: "Chloe is going" and "Marcel will be there". Another shared practice typically occurred when the students did not have a place to throw a party. In cases like that, they would say (or ask) "Party in Marcel's flat". Marcel became the target of this shared practice due to the fact that he was the shortest and thinnest of all the Szeged Erasmus students, but he was renting the largest apartment of all the students in Szeged, which the students found funny. The same humorous practice came up in a circular e-mail as well, as shown in Excerpt 5.17 below:

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[67] The other three negotiable resources with humorous effects meant to accomplish addressing, swearing, and small rituals such as thanking, apologizing, and congratulating. See sections 5.2.3, 5.2.4 and 5.2.5 below.

[68] In the Szeged Erasmus community, humor played an even more important role than what the shared negotiable resources built around ritual activities might imply. For the remaining shared practices creating the enterprise on humor, see Chapter 6.

Excerpt 5.17

hey Chloe,
where is the the party tonight!!???
What time?
Marcel's Flat??
Szia, Jerard. (circular e-mail, November 22)

A third shared practice drawn from a shared resource centered around the topic of sausages. For one of the European Club Evenings, Lena prepared a huge pot of sausages. Normally, all the food disappeared very fast, but the sausages did not. Towards the end of the evening, when it was evident that no-one was eating the sausages, they started playing with them and took many humorous pictures of them. Then, at the end of the party, Lena collected the sausages and the following day she brought them to their house party. When the students saw the sausages, they started screaming, and the host said, "Oh no, you've brought the sausages!" A few minutes later Lena and the host went around with the huge pot, asking the guests to help themselves to some sausages. From that night on, there was much talk about the sausages, and there emerged several ritualized forms from which the students could draw from. The most widely recurring form, addressed to Lena, was "Where are the sausages?"[69] In response to this ritualized question, Lena pretended being annoyed, a practice by which she showed that she was a partner in creating the shared enterprise. At one interview, she laughingly remarked, "the most times somebody is talking about sausages when I am around".

The next example built on the topic of chicken. On their trip to Prague, Marianne, who had the guide book, told to her travel companions that, at a certain hour, the golden chicken on top of a tower would move. The students waited for about half an hour for the chicken to move, but they did not. As Mike explained at an interview, following this incident, they began to tease Marianne with the question, "Why didn't the chicken move?" Marianne pretended being furious. She squawked, and thus said, "Fucking chicken! Next time the, the, the chicken will move for sure". Sometimes she even added, "I will talk to the chicken in person. It will move next time". Marianne's anger (as much as Lena's) was strategic. As she explained, by displaying anger, she (only) wished to demonstrate that she was a partner in building humor. Later the students realized that it was enough to throw in the key words (i.e. "Chicken, chicken!") only, and they would reach the desired effect.

The shared negotiable resources with which the Szeged Erasmus students teased each other involved many similar expressions as the ones presented above. Further examples are

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[69] Right because of the sausages, Lena was the target of some other humorous ritual practices. See section 5.2.3.

"Ah, I love it!", which was drawn from a TV show; "It can be dangerous", which was picked up from one student who claimed that eating ice-cream after swimming was dangerous; and "yekyekyek", which originally came from the Spanish students who had difficulty with pronouncing the name "Jack". All these examples serve as evidence for the students' desire to create a community with a focus on fun.

5.2.3 Addressing

In the Szeged Erasmus "family", addressing was another ritual practice. That is, there developed a negotiable resource of shared practices on which the members of the "family" could draw when they were to address other students. A large part of the negotiable resource emerged and was maintained through code-switching. Thus, there existed ritualized practices in English, Hungarian, French, German and Spanish, all of which the students considered funny, irrespective of the language. Thus, when the students drew form their shared resource to perform the task of addressing others, they expressed their desire for creating a friendship and family support system with a strong emphasis on humor.

The English address forms, in particular, involved group names as well as individual names. When addressing the entire Erasmus "family", the participants used forms such as "babies", "Erasmus guys", "my friends" and "crazy people". Out of these four, "crazy people" was used most widely and, as Excerpt 5.18 below shows, it had many variations:

Excerpt 5.18

Hello crazy Erasmus people!!! (circular e-mail, September 4)

my favourites crazy people!!!!!! (Facebook posting, March 2)

Hi crazy partying people (circular e-mail, October 5)

you crazy bunch! :-) (Facebook posting, February 1)

The shared practices for addressing the group were mainly used in writing. In speaking, they typically occurred at the European Club Evenings, where the students gave welcome speeches and made announcements for the entire "family". Besides that, they were particularly useful when the participants of the European Club Evenings were about to play a game, and needed volunteers; or when they wanted all the people in one photo.

The English practices used for addressing individual students, on the other hand, involved forms such as the "Queen of Sausages", "Husband", "Wife", and "Second

Husband". Lena (who was repeatedly teased with the question of "Where are the sausages?")[70] was often addressed as the "Queen of Sausages". The practice was initiated by Marianne, and was picked up by the other students in a relatively short time. Lena responded to the shared practice by displaying anger and by expressing her objection to the name. However, at the retrospective interview, she made clear that she did not mind the practice. Quite the contrary; she considered it funny. By pretending being angry, she only meant to show that she was a partner in creating a humorous effect.

The shared practices building on the forms "Husband", "Wife", and "Second Husband" were used by a small group of friends. One evening, when they went out for a drink, they started talking about their plans to get married. At some stage, Hasad jokingly asked Lucia whether she would like to marry him. Building on Hasad's humor, Lucia answered with a "yes". It was not long before Hasad and Lucia developed the shared practice of addressing each other with the forms "Wife" and "Husband". Some time later Xaviere also began addressing Lucia as "Wife". In an attempt to "give back" to him, and express her appreciation of his efforts to build a friendship group and create a humorous effect, she started calling him "Second Husband". The three students maintained their shared practice until the very end of their stay in Szeged.

The shared negotiable resource further involved practices that required the speakers to switch codes. For instance, Lena, an L1 speaker of German, was not only addressed as the "Queen of Sausages", but also as *Bademeister* "life guard", plus her surname. The practice of addressing Lena in her L1 German developed when Lena and a few other friends, including Zeynep, went swimming. As soon as they entered the swimming pool, it turned out that Zeynep was not a good swimmer. Lena jokingly remarked that she should teach her how to swim, and to progress that idea, she offered to be her *Bademeister.* Zeynep, an L1 speaker of Turkish, picked up the German form, and soon developed a practice of addressing Lena through her newly learnt Ln form. In a retrospective interview, Meike, an L1 speaker of German, expressed the view that Zeynep's use of the German form was very funny. No matter how many times she repeated it, "it [was] always funny". As Lucia in the previous example, Lena also felt the need to "give back" to Zeynep: every time she posted a message for Zeynep on the Facebook, she signed it as "Your *Bademeister"*, plus her surname. Zeynep's practice of addressing Lena as *Bademeister* became part of the shared negotiable resource once the other students began to use the same address form.

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[70] See section 5.2.2.

Finally, the male students of the emerging "family" developed a wide repertoire of shared practices for addressing other male students. The majority of their forms were in Spanish, one possible reason for which is that the Spanish male students were in a majority in comparison to other male students. Their forms were as follows, *Amigo* "friend", *Hermano* "brother", *Tio* "dude" and *Maricon* "male gay person". The students who were not competent in Spanish asked the Spanish speakers what the meaning of their recurring forms were. Once they were provided with translation, they started experimenting with the forms, and it was not long before they took them up as part of their shared resource. Thus, to accomplish the task of addressing the members of their emerging group, the participants took up the other students' L1 as their Ln. Furthermore, they used address forms in Hungarian and in French, such as *Barát* "mate" and *Mon ami* "my friend", respectively. The Hungarian form was particularly popular with two male students with Hungarian girlfriends. They used the form between each other as well as with other male and female students. The French form, on the other hand, was mostly used by an L1 speaker of Turkish when he was addressing L1 speakers of French.

5.2.4 Swearing

For the Szeged Erasmus students, swearing was another ritual activity tied to a shared negotiable resource. Many of the shared practices part of the negotiable resource built around the notion of "fuck" and "fucking". For instance, when Marianne was teased with chicken, she mocked anger and swore thus, "Fucking chicken!" The students could say "fucking" with another adjective, as in "fucking good", with another noun as in "fucking fuck" or "fucking shit", or could take up phrases such as "I don't give a fuck", "fuck you", or "fuck off". Furthermore, in their building a shared resource for swearing, the students made good use of their code-switching skills. As in the case of other shared practices requiring code-switching, in the case of swearing, too, they typically switched to Hungarian and to each others' L1.

Acquiring and maintaining the shared resource for swearing required quite some effort. At a retrospective interview, Lucia noted that "it's hard sometimes to use them", meaning "it's hard sometimes" to use the shared practices related to swearing. However, despite the initial difficulties, she did her best to acquire the local norms of swearing. Her strategy was to "wait to hear somebody" use a certain swear word, and then begin to experiment with its use. The other students did the same. For purposes of demonstration, I provide a short extract from my fieldnotes (see Excerpt 5.19 below). The entry was made after a long night of partying, which best compares to a pub crawl, the only difference being that

the "tour" did not take in different pubs but different flats. To reach the last flat of the "tour" before it gets too late, and the neighbors start complaining, it was crucial to leave each flat after about half an hour. In the second flat, Chloe, the organizer of the "tour", had a difficult time making the people leave the flat. Dominik offered a solution:

Excerpt 5.19

> He [Dominik] says to Chloe that if the people don't want to "move", the best thing to do is shout out "fuck off" as did Jake at his house warming party. The same phrase comes up later as well (fieldnotes, October 22)

As Excerpt 5.19 above shows, Dominik suggested that Chloe should shout out "fuck off", an expression that he had picked up from Jake at another party. Jake's guests did not want to leave, either, and there was the fear that the neighbors would make a complaint. To get them out of the flat, Jake stood up on a chair and shouted out, "Fuck off!" At this moment, Dominik "learnt" that saying "fuck off" in situations like that was "right". It worked for Jake, so he expected that it would work for Chloe as well. Chloe took his advice, and shouted out "Fuck off!" During the same night, Chloe repeated her new practice several times. The new practice caught the students' attention, and they soon turned it into a shared resource.

Through such and similar practices, the students learnt new swear words and new usage for using their "old" swear words. Many of them felt that in Hungary, as members of the Szeged Erasmus students' community, they used more swear words than in their home countries. This view is reflected in the following quote by Jerard. He claimed that he used more swear words in English than in his L1 French:

Excerpt 5.20 (Jerard, Researcher)

J: I think I speak (.) more <u>rude</u> English than I speak French. Yeah.
R: How do you mean that?
J: Uh I think all talks and all discussion when people say oh fuck or oh /?   /. Yeah, I think I use it more than this type of word in French. (interview, November 20)

While the shared practices based on English swear words were considered funny, the shared practices based on Hungarian and other Ln swear words were "twice that funny", as William succinctly remarked. Firstly, the Hungarian practices were funny as the Hungarian forms were new to the vast majority of them; secondly, the Spanish and other non-Hungarian practices were funny because, as William explained, the L1 speakers of those languages went "crazy" when they heard an Ln speaker swear in their mother tongue. Denis concurred. He

argued that when he swore in his Ln Spanish in his foreign accent, the L1 speakers of Spanish were impressed and "were like wow wow".

The students learnt their Hungarian and other Ln swear words from each other, by "teaching" them to one another, as they said. In teaching Hungarian forms, anyone was a potential socializing agent or language expert, irrespective of their language backgrounds.[71] However, the teaching of Spanish, Italian and German forms typically meant L1 speakers guiding Ln speakers and complete novices. The first example comes from the beginning of the first semester. Denis, an L1 speaker of German and Hungarian, was frequently observed to enquire after the Spanish forms the L1 speakers of Spanish used among each other for swearing. First, he got them to repeat and translate their forms; then he started experimenting with their usage. The other example comes Franco, an L1 speaker of Italian, and Mario, an L1 speaker of Spanish, who, in the midst of a noisy party, "taught" L1 swear words to each other. Franco was modeling Italian swear words, while Mario was modeling Spanish forms. By all means, they took this "task" seriously. They moved to a relatively quiet corner of the room, leaned towards each other, and took on serious looks, as if sending the message, "Don't disturb us. We have an important task to do".

Once the Ln speakers were "armed up" with the "right" forms of swear words, they used the swearing practices in chains. That is, they swore one after the other by taking turns. In general, some swore more than the others. For the most extreme "swearers" such as Denis, Fabio, and the L1 speakers of Spanish, swearing was like a form of greeting: every time they met or went past each other at a party, they threw some swear words at each other. At one party, for instance, I was having a casual conversation with Denis when Ricardo, one of the Spanish students, went past. Denis turned away from me, and he threw some swear words at Ricardo; Ricardo responded by uttering some other swear words; Denis continued with some more swear words, and Ricardo likewise. They were exchanging swear words in several turns, and it was not until they finished that Denis turned back to me. Franco did exactly the same when he met his Spanish friends. He threw Spanish and Italian swear words at them. When I expressed surprise, Franco gave the following explanation:

Excerpt 5.21

> this is something that the Italians and the Spanish do if they feel close to someone. (fieldnotes, February 12)

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[71] This was due to the fact that for the vast majority of them, Hungarian was an Ln, and they started learning the language from scratch when their study abroad in Szeged began.

In one of the naturally occurring conversations I recorded, Franco was involved in a conversation with William, an L1 speaker of Estonian, and Andrew, an L1 speaker of English. With them – both of them highly motivated to learn Hungarian – he swore in Hungarian. This finding lends further support to the claim I have made in connection with greetings above.[72] That is, the Szeged Erasmus students did not only learn new forms in their Ln, but they also learnt how to communicate in different contexts in different ways. In this sense, they improved not so much their multilingualism as their multicompetence (Hall et al. 2006) while in Szeged.

5.2.5 Other small rituals

The students had one last shared resource of small rituals. These involved everyday important tasks such as apologizing, congratulating, agreeing, disagreeing, and thanking. As were the ritual practices of greeting, teasing, addressing, and swearing, this group of ritual practices were also based on single words and short routines. A further similarity between the various groups of ritual practices mentioned above is that they relied quite specifically on the students' ability and (willingness) to switch codes. In fact, the majority of the forms the participants used for apologizing, congratulating, agreeing, disagreeing, and thanking were in Hungarian and in languages other than English. Therefore, when the students wished, for instance, to apologize, they either drew an English form from their shared resources, or a Hungarian/German/Italian or French form, which, however, required code-switching. All the shared practices related to apologizing, congratulating, agreeing and thanking were seen as creating the joint enterprise of building a friendship and family based social network. Besides that, the shared practices involving code-switching had an additional advantage. They had a humorous effect and were meant to create a community with a focus on humor.

The shared negotiable resource of small rituals which have not yet been discussed drew mostly on Hungarian forms. They were as follows. Firstly, thank-you's, such as *köszi* "thanks", *köszönöm* "thanks", *szívesen* "you are welcome"; secondly, apologies, such as *bocsi* "sorry" and *bocsánat* "sorry"; thirdly, wishes such as *boldog szülinapot* "happy birthday", *gratulálok* "congratulations", *egészségedre* "cheers", *jó étvágyat* "good appetite", *nagyon finom* "very delicious"; four, "useful words" such as *igen* "yes", *nem* "no", *jó* "good", *persze* "of course", *nem tudom* "I don't know", *értem* "I see", *tessék* "here you are" and *sajnos* "unfortunately"; and finally, "interesting words" such as *csocsó* "table football" and

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[72] See section 5.2.1.

rendőrség "police". The category of "useful" and "interesting words" deserves some further explanation. These were the kind of practices which the students found useful and interesting. For instance, they liked the sound of *csocsó* so much so that they used it almost every time they were to talk about it. They even developed an English-like spelling, i.e. "chocho", which they used in their e-mails and Facebook posts. The students acquired most of the above forms in their Hungarian language classes, and then "practiced" them with each other.

When faced with the task of apologizing, agreeing, congratulating and thanking, some students opted for the Hungarian forms more readily than the others, but over time they all seemed to have increased their use of Hungarian. Some internalized the use of the Hungarian practices so much so that after a certain amount of time they were no longer aware of their using them. To give but a few examples, at one of the interviews, Karla argued that she did not "mix languages", and that she kept Hungarian and English apart; however, during the same interview (which was in English), she used *igen* "yes" twice. The other example comes from Marianne. After she had left Hungary for good, she took up German language classes. In her first class, when she was supposed to say *ja* "yes" and *nein* "no", she automatically said, *igen* and *nem*, which surprised her as well. Finally, many of the students who left Hungary at the end of the first semester returned in the second semester to be reunited with their Erasmus "family". During their short visit, they used their "old" shared practices related to small rituals tasks as automatically and naturally as before.

Out of the shared practices related to apologizing, agreeing, congratulating and thanking, one, if not the most important was that of saying *egészségedre*. The local ESN coordinators played a role in this. At the first European Club evening, they said that they were going to "teach" them the most important word in Szeged, which in their view was *egészségedre* "cheers". The same night, some of the students could already be heard using the form. For instance, one student kept repeating *egészségedre* not only when drinking, but also when posing in group photos. Although her use of the notion was not appropriate, it served as evidence for the students' desire to develop a shared negotiable resource right from start. Over time the students adopted the ESN coordinators' view. When they had visitors from their home countries, *egészségedre* was the first word that they "taught" to them. For instance, at one party, Cheryl could be seen sitting on the floor, "teaching" two friends how to say cheers in Hungarian. She was modeling, and the newcomers were repeating the Hungarian form.

The shared practices related to congratulating were an exception in one key respect. That is, the students had a language choice to make not only between English and Hungarian, but also between a range of other languages. The relationship between the various language

forms was not "either-or", but "as-well-as". Thus, when the students were to say "happy birthday", "cheers" and "good appetite", they typically did it in more than one language. First they used the Hungarian form, and then repeated the form in other languages as appropriate. For instance, if the students were having a small dinner party, any one student may have said "cheers" in four or five languages, depending on how many L1 speakers of different languages were present. However, if the students were at their weekly European Club Evening (where most of the Erasmus "family" were present), it was "right" to perform the above rituals only in the organizers' L1. Thus, if it was an Italian evening, those students acted appropriately who said *Salute* "cheers", even if in their immediate environment there were no Italian speakers. In a situation like this I was once told, "Say 'Salute!'. It's an Italian evening!"

As was the case with greeting and swearing, the ritual practices of apologizing, agreeing, congratulating and thanking also came in chains, which more often than not meant chains of code-switching. The naturally occurring conversations I recorded abound in cases where the participants use chains of ritualized practices involving code-switching. An example is when after Franco has poured wine into William's glass, he says *Köszönöm* "thank you", to which Franco responds by saying *Szívesen* "You are welcome". None of them are L1 speakers of Hungarian: Franco is an L1 speaker of Italian, and William is an L1 speaker of Estonian. Another example is when the same speakers and Andrew, an L1 speaker of English, take turns to comment on the meal, and say, all in Hungarian*, Nagyon finom* "Very delicious", *Jó munka* "Well done", and *Gratulálok* "Congratulations". Finally, when in a pub the waiter has served the drinks, Lena, an L1 speaker of German, says *Egészségedre*. Four of the six participants follow suit: latching to each or in overlapping speech, they, too, say *Egészségedre*. The chains of code-switching in the data reconfirm Cogo (2009) who claims that ELF speakers readily respond to a code-switched utterance with a code-switched utterance, thereby adjusting their strategic language use to that of the co-participants'.

A question emerging is why the students established a shared negotiable resource of mostly Hungarian forms, when in their community English was *the* key shared practice. That is, why they created the need for ("ritualized") code-switching, and why they preferred to switch to Hungarian. There are three answers to this question. One answer has to do with the fact that the participants shared the goal of creating humorous effects (and more generally, the

goal of making fun),[73] and switching to Hungarian was a form of humor to them. As they explained, while all the non-English expressions which they "slipped into" their English practice were funny, the Hungarian forms were by far the funniest. Hungarian did not compare to any of the languages in their linguistic repertoires, and thus it was unusual to their ears. In Excerpt 5.22 below, Lucia expresses the view that switching to Hungarian was a form of humor among them:

Excerpt 5.22

> Because it (.) I think it sounds very funny for us, in Hungarian, so we use it as a joke. (interview, October 25)

The other answer has to do with the fact that at the time of the investigation, the participants were based in Hungary. Although some would have liked to know more Hungarian, this was not the case. Thus, the best they could do was use the couple of words they knew and, like Jerard explained, make their English "more local". Their switching to Hungarian therefore served the purpose of "localizing" their English practice, and was, in Pölzl and Seidlhofer's (2006) term, an instance of "local accommodation".

Thirdly, the majority of the students put time and effort into learning Hungarian while in Hungary. Most of them started from scratch and, as students of one of the two beginner courses, their struggles and challenges were the same. That is, they learnt the same words at the same time, and were, more or less, equally motivated to practice their new vocabulary. When in the ongoing interaction they came across a word that they happened to know in Hungarian, they were happy, as they said, to "throw in", or "slip in" those words. It is these forms, which developed into a shared negotiable resource over time.

5.2.6 "Party conversations"

Furthermore, the shared negotiable resources the students built while in Hungary involved shared practices for accomplishing conversation type large rituals. Since parties were one of the two main forms of mutual engagement for the participants, party talk, or "party conversations", as they called them, turned out to be one of the two large ritualized practices. To understand the shared practices associated with party talk, one needs to take into consideration several factors. Firstly, party talk typically occurred between members of the

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[73] For more on the shared goal of making humor, see Chapter 6; for more on the shared goal of having fun, see section 4.3.1.

big "family". Thus, the people involved were connected by high degrees of solidarity (arising from common group membership), and by high degrees of mutual affection; yet, they typically had little mutual knowledge of personal information.[74]

Secondly, party talk typically occurred in the evenings when the members of the "family" gathered to party together. The students had different motivations for the evening than for the day. The following excerpt by Meike provides an excellent summary of the expectations they had for the evening:

Excerpt 5.23

> you meet when you want to have fun. And you drink alcohol, make party and there's loud music. (interview, December 9)

As Excerpt 5.23 implies, when the students gathered for partying, there was loud music, they were drinking alcohol and, as one of them put it, they were "not quite clear in [their] head". They were split into small groups, but they changed groups frequently and abruptly. As Micha succinctly described it, "groups here, groups there, groups over there, and you're going from group to group with your glass", and join as many of the groups as you wish.

Thus, the nature of relationships, the students' motivations for the evening, and the actual circumstances of the parties all had their mark on the shared practices developing. The students seemed to know this well. In Excerpt 5.24, Meike pointed out that their party talk "always stay[ed] on the same level", but emphasized that this had nothing to do with the speakers' English skills, but rather with the circumstances under which "party conversations" developed:

Excerpt 5.24

> it always stays on the same level. So but I think it's not because mhm (.) somebody is speaking bad English, or your English is bad or something, it's uhm th- mostly of the situation about the mhm you are in mhm with the Erasmus people. So not at uh (.) <u>daytime</u>. (interview, December 9)

Meike's saying that their party talk "always stay[ed] on the same level" is a clear reference to the shared practices that were developed for topic introduction and for the revelation of personal matters. As she explained, party talk was organized around "questions [which] you can ask everybody without even if you don't know him that well". Their

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[74] For details, see section 4.2.2.

questions sounded as follows: "How are you?" "What did you do today?" or "What did you do on the weekend?" These ritualized questions then opened up the way for discussing their three major forms of engagement in Szeged, namely, partying, travelling and school. Starting with the shared practices on the topic of parties, they typically raised questions about who went to which party the day before, what it was like, who drank what, who got most drunk, what music was on, what they did after, and if they stayed in bed late.

Party talk about trips meant enquiring about what they did at the weekend, where they traveled last time, what it was like, how they got there, where they stayed, and how much they paid for the accommodation. They also asked each other who was planning to go where and when. If there was the prospect of a big trip in the pipeline, party talk also involved long discussions about who was going, and why some were not attending. The shared practice also involved attempts to making the people not originally interested in the trip come round. Excerpt 5.25 provides a typical example for the shared practice of party talk focusing on the topic of traveling:

Excerpt 5.25 (Mujde: L1 Turkish; Lena: L1 German; Researcher: L1 Hungarian; Zeynep: L1 Turkish; Heidi: L1 German)

1. Mu: But we must go to this weekend Kecskemét.
2. L: Aha.
3. R: Who?
4. L: We will go.
5. R: Ah you go. =
6. Mu:　　　　　 = ↑Yes.
7. R: You go to Kecskemét?
8. Z:　　　　　　└This weekend?
9. L: I think so.
10. R:　└Really? =
11. Mu:　　　　 = Yes yes.
12. H: We want to go maybe to Ba- [Balaton Lake
13. Mu: Yes yes.
14. Z: This weekend? ((sounds surprised))
15. Mu: Saturday.
16. Z: Huh? Saturday?
17. Mu: Pardon?
18. Z: Balaton Lake?
19. Mu: You want?
20. Z: Yes I want to go. You <u>don't</u> want to go? Why?
21. Mu:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　└Balaton Lake I
　　　don't want to go.
22. Z:　　　　　　　└Why?
23. Mu: Uh I prefer Kecskemét.
24. Z: But [Kecskemét, I saw Kecskemét.

25. Mu: [I want to visit because I want to visit some like town,
          city, and uh [lake, hm, I don't prefer, no

Extract 5.25 begins with Mujde suggesting going to Kecskemét at the following weekend. Lena acknowledges it with a "yes". In utterances 3 and 7, the researcher raises two questions to find out *who* exactly is going; in utterance 8, Zeynep raises one question to find out *when* they are planning to go. In utterance 12, Heidi jumps in to state that maybe they will go to Lake Balaton instead of Kecskemét. In utterance 13, Mujde answers Zeynep's question, and confirms her of their plan to go to Kecskemét. In utterances 14 and 16, Zeynep repeats her question twice. Then, in utterance 18, she makes a hint at why she has asked the same question three times by then: she is surprised to hear that Mujde and Lena are considering going to Kecskemét, rather than to Lake Balaton, where most of the "family" are going at that time.

In the next utterance, Mujde does not directly answer Zeynep's question, but rather responds to what she believes Zeynep is hinting at. That is, she asks if she perhaps wants to go to Lake Balaton. In utterance 20, Zeynep makes her implied message clear: she wants to go to Lake Balaton, rather than to Kecskemét. Then, to find out why Mujde does not want to go to Lake Balaton, she raises another question. In the next utterance, Mujde first states that she does not want to go to Lake Balaton and, after another question from Zeynep, she states that she prefers to visit cities. Meanwhile Zeynep remarks that she has already been to Kecskemét. A few turns later, Meike prompts Zeynep to tell them about her visit to Kecskemét and their party talk on traveling continues further. Even if it is not presented in its entirety, Excerpt 5.19 provides a revealing window on the shared practice of party talk.

Finally, there developed a ritual practice for "party conversations" on lessons. Many of the students did not have lessons but consultations with the teachers only. The majority of the "family" did not normally meet at school, either because they did not take the same courses, or because they had no regular classes but consultations with their teachers. Thus, the Hungarian language courses, which the majority of the "family" enrolled, were an important meeting place, and an important ritualized topic at parties. As part of their party talk, they typically asked each other whether they were going to meet at the Hungarian language class the following day, whether they had done their homework, and if they had, whether it was difficult. Besides these questions, they also asked each other what some of the other courses

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were like, whether they were interesting or boring, how many exams they were going to have, and once the exams were completed, whether they were easy or difficult.

Of course, they had more to say to some students than to others. If they "fitted together well", as Micha put it, they established common ground easily. That is, they talked longer and revealed more personal information. Further, in line with their motivation to make humorous effects,[75] they answered each other's questions in a humorous manner. However, if they did not fit together well, they soon ran out of things to say. As Franco in Excerpt 5.26 noted, in cases like that, they "rushed over" the "standard things or questions", and cut their party talk short:

Excerpt 5.26

> sometimes I (..) I f- I was feeling that I was talking for few minutes with someone, but we both want to say just the some standard things of questions and then we we knew that our conversation is going to end very quickly as we don't have very much to say or to share. (interview, March 19)

Many students expressed disappointment about the personal matters – or better still, lack of personal matters – they covered on the occasion of party talk. They noted that, to them, these conversations were "superficial", "shallow", "not deep going", "not that interesting", "artificial", and "not like real conversations". Nevertheless, they were partners in discussing them, which lends further support to the claim I have made above in connection with greetings. That is, one unique feature of the Szeged Erasmus community of practice was that it relied to some extent on practices that many claimed they did not like. In Excerpt 5.27, Franco explained that he was a partner in performing party talk even though he did not like the practice, and did not initiate it himself; in Excerpt 5.28, Meike raised the point that she did her best to accomplish the task of party talk even if it meant speaking to people who she did not really want to speak to:

Excerpt 5.27

> But usually I I if I like, if I meet the person and I don't want to talk with them, I just say hello. But if someone wants to talk with me for a few minutes, I don't want to be rude, so I start to talk with him about nothing ((laughs)) just to be polite, but (interview, March 19)

Excerpt 5.28

> I I I of c- for sure I try to uhm (.) do these conversations but sometimes I feel okay I really have some people that I would really like to speak with [more]. (interview, December 9)

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[75] See Chapter 6.

That the students were disappointed with the outcome of their "party conversations" has to do with the fact that despite the many questions they asked, they in general gained little personal information, and established little common ground. In light of Svennevig (1999), this had mainly to do with the questions they asked. By raising the type of questions they asked, they introduced certain constraints on the possible responses and on the subsequent development of personal topics.

In conclusion, even though party talk failed to meet the students' expectations for mutual knowledge of personal information, they were helpful for what they were: a ritualized practice building a shared negotiable resource and serving a joint enterprise.

5.2.7 "Real conversations"

The other large conversation type ritual practice is best referred to as "real conversations". The notion itself was introduced by Meike, who meant to set the related shared practices in contrast with the shared practices of "party conversations". To understand the ritualized practice of "real conversations", one needs to consider the nature of relationships between the participants involved, and the circumstances in which this practice occurred.

The practice of "real conversations" emerged between friends, who shared the same degrees of solidarity and affection as students connected by "family" relations, but on top of these "relational dimensions", as Svennevig (1999: 36) calls them, they also had relatively much mutual knowledge of personal information. That is, their relationships were characterized by high degrees of familiarity, which students connected by "family" relations lacked. Friends did not only meet at noisy parties, as the "family" did, but in the day-time as well.[76]

The students had different aims when they met their friends (day-time) than when they met their big "family" (in the evening). As they pointed out, they craved for "more interesting", "more serious", "more personal", "more deeply", more "private" and "real" talk. To their delight, they had many such talks, and they felt extremely grateful for them. Some of the students considered "real conversations" more important than all, or most of the other social practices in which they simultaneously engaged. This is well reflected in the comments the students generally made after they had returned from a trip, where they spent the whole

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[76] For details, see section 4.2.2.

weekend together, after they spent the whole afternoon sitting around a campfire by the river, or after they had gone for a walk or shopping together. In Excerpt 5.29, Micha expressed the view that his last trip was "crazy" because of the "interesting conversations" he had with the other students; in Excerpt 5.30, William noted that the talks he had on trips were the "highlights of everything":

Excerpt 5.29

> I am still crazy about it, but I cannot really explain why I liked it so much. I suppose, it was because I was together with the right people whose company I like and with whom I can have good time talking about interesting things (prompted e-mail, October 20).

Excerpt 5.30

> when we travel somewhere, when we go somewhere, then we talk about more like serious which, which like we had at the campfire. It was so good. […] And that's, that's, that's probably the highlights of, of (.) everything. (interview, October 17)

"Real conversations" were a pleasure to the students because they enabled them to establish common ground with some of the members of the community. As they explained, when they were with people with whom they felt they "fitted together well", they moved beyond the "standard questions" (around which party talk was built), and thus "check[ed] out where the common ideas" were. In Svennevig's (1999: 34) terms, they showed great readiness to be open and to share personal information. That is, they did not only wait until a question had been asked, but rather they offered personal information as a new topic. The more they went into issues of "common interest", the more they got to know each other, and the more they got to know each other, the more satisfying their talks became. In Excerpt 5.31, Lucia expressed the view that talking about "more serious, more personal" topics was necessary to deepen relations and to make friends; in Excerpt 5.32, Maria noted that once the students got to know each other well, they discussed personal questions more readily:

Excerpt 5.31

> well to speak about uhm (.) typical things it's okay, but sometimes to know better the person and to get really friends, you need to talk about other things, more serious, more personal (interview, October 25)

Excerpt 5.32

> Well, if you start uh getting to know a person better then you get deeper into more personal questions (interview, 3 April)

A shared way of expressing common ground was telling narratives (i.e. personal stories from the past) and discussing plans for the future. Besides that, they readily talked about their relationships with their family members, current boyfriends/girlfriends and ex-partners. Finally, their shared practice involved exchanging views about social and cultural issues. As an example, in two of the naturally occurring conversations I recorded,[77] the students told a total of 89 personal stories about past experiences, 53 stories and 36 stories respectively. The majority of the stories were told in story rounds, which Tannen (1984: 100) defines as follows: story clusters which illustrate similar points, and where the thematic cohesion is achieved through the juxtaposition of similar stories. In one of the recordings, the participants told 40 stories in 15 story rounds; in the other recording they told 25 stories in 7 story rounds. For purposes of illustration, consider three stories, which were told in a story round. The stories clustered around the theme of sleepwalking. In the first (see Excerpt 5.33), Lena has just announced that she "can walk in the dreaming" and the researcher has just asked Meike, Lena's flatmate, if she has seen her walk:

Excerpt 5.33 (Meike: L1 German; Zeynep: L1 Turkish; Researcher: L1 Hungarian; Heidi: L1 German; Lena: L1 German)

1. M: [See her? It was very /?   /. We have a door
        between our two rooms and
2. Z: └Yes. Lena, →
3. L: Yeah.
4. Z: Lena, you, you walk and I'm talking and /?   /
5. M: └And   └she went,
        she opened the door to my room, was walking until to the
        end of the room, going and going outside =
6. Z: = ↑Ah ((screams))
7. R: And you don't remember? Phew
8. H: She wanted just to look if
9. M: Everything is [all right
10. H: [All right, yes. ((laughs))
11. M: And I I I woke up and I saw, /heh/, what is she searching,
        what does she want from me, and I /?   / and I though ok
        when I do like I'm sleeping, she won't do anything
12. R: └Don't wake
        up =
        ((Z laughs a lot))
13. M: = But then I thought something is strange. [When she →

14. L: [But I
15. M: walked away I thought, heh?

In Excerpt 5.33, Meike tells the story of how Lena walked into her room one night, and then how she walked away without saying anything. Hearing Meike's story, Lena continues with a story of her own, as exemplified in Excerpt 5.34. In it she tells about her encounter with Alyson, their third flatmate:

Excerpt 5.34 (Lena: L1 German; Researcher: L1 Hungarian)

1. L: But I wouldn't walk /away/ when you asked me →
       ((Z laughs a lot))
       something. (1.1) Because the last last uh time I did it, uh I did
       it, I I met Alyson, our other flatmate, at the corridor. Because
      she came home, I heard it, I don't know, and I opened the
      door, ah, you are, OK, then I closed it again, /heh/. And then
       uh she came to my my room she told me after, and asked me if
       I can help her with her window, this, to dark, to make it →
2. R: └Aha.   └Aha.
3. L: dark because it was like ((makes the sound of cracking)), huh,
       and I went into her room, helped her, sat on the chair →
       ((laughs))
4. R: And you don't remember?
5. L: No ((laughs)). And I went into my bed ((laughs)). And then I
       at the next day I ask her, oh Alyson, when have you when have
       you been home tonight, last night. You saw me (.) No (.)
       Yes, you helped me with this window (.) No ((laughs)). And
       she said, yeahyeahyeah, you stand there and make this, and I
       was, what? Because I don't do that in Germany ((speaks as if
       ashamed of herself)). Really. ((laughs))

In Excerpt 5.34 above, Lena points out that with Alyson, she even talked. In response to Lena's story, Mujde volunteers a story of her own. In it, she tells about her neighbor who was found on the balcony one night. Her story is shown in Excerpt 5.35 below:

Excerpt 5.35 (Mujde: L1 Turkish; Heidi: L1 German; Zeynep: L1 Turkish; Lena: L1 German)

1. Mu: [My neighbour uh she was

        walking
2. H: Yes? ((to L))
3. Mu: Yes [but →
4. Z: [Wow.

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5. L: [And you get up, you get up in the morning ((to H))
6. Mu: └but but uh   her her
   husband uh /put/ her in balcony, you know, at midnight
7. H: It's dangerous.
8. Mu: Very dangerous.
9. /?/:   └Very dangerous.
10. Mu: Yes.

Hearing Mujde's story about a neighbor, the participants agree that sleepwalking can be dangerous. All the three stories point to the conclusion that sleepwalking is a "strange" and a bit scary experience.

The participants found the shared practice of "real conversations" (just like that of party talks) reportable. They expressed their awareness of it by emphasizing that they "knew" what they were going to talk about with whom. For purposes of illustration, consider Excerpts 5.36 and 5.37:

Excerpt 5.36

> Well, I, I think it, it, it changes uh, (..) uh, more and more (.) uh, if you spend more and more time (.) together. So you get to know each other better and you know what you can talk about. So because (.) you, you, you know what, what, what people are, are liking or they are doing or and so on and so on. (interview, November 20)

Excerpt 5.37

> So you know what they're going to talk about you know (.) and it's so natural (interview, December 4)

In conclusion, the students connected by friendship drew on a different set of practices with respect to personal revelation and topic initiation than did the students connected by "family" relations. The difference in practices resulted from the students' desire – or lack of it – to get to know each other better.

5.3 Discussion

The above analysis has focused on that aspect of the shared negotiable resources which was at the same time an indicator of the Szeged Erasmus students' friendship and "family" based community of practice, and a marker of the students' dynamically developing membership in it. The analysis has shown that the participants created a friendship and "family" support community of practice by developing shared ritual practices in a range of

languages, including the students' L1 but also, and more importantly, English and Hungarian, which were *not* an L1 for the vast majority of them. This lands itself to three major groups of conclusions and implications.

Firstly, the shared ritual practices, connected to everyday important tasks, were a means of accommodation. That is, when the members of the emerging community of practice were faced with the task of greeting, addressing, teasing, swearing, thanking, congratulating, "party conversations" and "real conversations", they drew from shared negotiable resources. The shared linguistic resources were a set of nested levels of specificity in terms of the language: the forms ranged from single words to conversation type of routines. By using forms that were shared across the members, the participants engaged in accommodation for convergence. That is, they adjusted their language to the language of those with whom they wanted to be seen as one group. The desire for accommodation was so great that the participants performed the shared practices even if they did not like them. As a result, the participants ended up with a set of shared ritual practices which many students claimed they did not like, a feature which gives the Szeged Erasmus community its unique nature. Since the Szeged Erasmus community of practice was an ELF-resourced community (see below), this finding has clear implications for ELF research. On the one hand, it supports current ELF research, which highlights the role of accommodation in ELF (e.g. Seidlhofer et al. 2006; Jenkins 2007; Dewey 2007). On the other hand, it expands on it. It shows that ELF speakers, as members of a community of practice, may engage not only in short-term accommodation for affective reasons as, for instance, Cogo (2007, 2009) claims, but also in long-term accommodation for the purpose of creating a group and marking membership in it.

Secondly, the analysis has shown that many of the forms (or routines) drawn from the shared negotiable resource were in English, an Ln for all but three participants. In the Szeged Erasmus community of practice, English was a key shared practice. That is, out of the many different languages the students could have potentially used for building and maintaining a linguistically and culturally diverse friendship group, they adopted English, which (due to the small number of L1 speakers) meant English used as a lingua franca. That is, in order to build a linguistically diverse friendship group, the participants negotiated English (used) as a lingua franca as the only acceptable language in group-wide communications. This finding supports Smit (2010) whose participants (also international students) followed a very similar language policy. Throughout the first year of their education (mutual engagement) at the Vienna Hotel Management Programme, they operated on the principle that "English should be the only language used" in group-wide communications (Smit 2010: 127-128). Thus, different groups

of international students in different localities in Europe may, out of their own will, negotiate English (used) as a lingua franca as the means of building a linguistically and culturally diverse community with some specific shared goals.

In both the Szeged Erasmus community, and in the Vienna Hotel Managament Classroom community Smit (2010) examines, the international students *chose* English (used as a lingua franca) as the vehicle of communication on democratic grounds: They recognized that English was the only language in which their linguistic repertoires overlapped and therefore believed that English was the only guarantee against excluding people from conversations. In the Szeged Erasmus community, there was no alternative to English (used) as a lingua franca being adopted as the key shared practice; however, in the case of the Vienna Hotel Management Classroom community, there was a certain period of time when German was competing with English as a potential resource. Yet, German, the language of the environment, was not taken up as an additional resource until *all* members of the community had developed an adequate level of proficiency in it (Smit 2010: 127-128). The Szeged Erasmus students also put time and effort into learning Hungarian; yet, the majority of them stayed for too short period of time in Hungary to gain sufficient knowledge of the language. Thus, both the Szeged Erasmus students and Smit's (2010) international students adopted English (used) as a lingua franca as the key shared practice not because of laziness to use other languages, nor because of lack of interest in learning other languages; rather, their goal was to provide each (potential) member of their community with access to shared practices.

This raises a question that has been of much debate recently: is English (used as a lingua franca) a threat to linguistic diversity? With regard to the Szeged Erasmus community, the answer is "no but". The students who wanted to learn, practice, or use the other languages in their linguistic repertoires had the opportunity to do so: the language of small friendship groups was open to negotiation. Given that in the Szeged Erasmus community many of the small friendship groups were among L1 speakers of *different* languages (see section 4.2.2), friendships were the site of many different L1 and Ln practices. Thus, in the Szeged Erasmus community, English (used) as a lingua franca was *not* a threat to linguistic diversity: it helped the participants gain access to the multilingual setting, and once in there, it opened up the way for using other languages. This finding has major implications for language policy and education planning. It is "multilingualism with English" (Hoffman 2000: 3) that will bring most gains to the individual speakers/learners.

However, the above conclusion that in the Szeged Erasmus community English worked with, rather than against, multilingualism did not always hold true. There is some

counterevidence in the data, which issues a warning. Some students refused to use their L1 with the Ln speakers of the language. These students were the ones who considered themselves learners of English:[78] they took all the opportunities that became available for using English as a lingua franca, thereby improving their English as a lingua franca skills. When speakers with a desire to improve their English as a lingua franca skills entered a friendship group with speakers with a desire to practice their Ln skills, the desire to use English as a lingua franca almost always "won out", and an opportunity to use other languages was missed. In this case, then, English used as a lingua franca was indeed a threat to linguistic diversity, a finding that seems to support critical voices on English.[79]

It seems to me that the threat to linguistic diversity could have been avoided had all the participants developed a satisfying degree of multilingualism by the time they arrived in Hungary. This, however, was not the case. Those who claimed that they were inexperienced users of English (as a lingua franca), and/or lacked self-confidence in their abilities to use English (as a lingua franca) well,[80] set the goal of improving their English (as a lingua franca) skills in Hungary. By contrast, those students who had a satisfying level of multilingualism with English had no urge to use English (as a lingua franca) in all of their interactions in Szeged. Thus, in their friendship groups, they could negotiate the use of alternative languages without having any regrets about not using and practicing English (as a lingua franca). In other words, they could use whichever (Ln or L1) language in their linguistic repertoires without thinking that an important opportunity (to practice English as a lingua franca) had been missed. Thus, the fact that in some cases other languages "gave in" to English (used as a lingua franca) is not so much the result of English being an a priori threat to other languages, as Phillipson (1992) argues, but rather of inadequate English language pedagogy. Seidlhofer's (2007b: 147) point is borne out here: English language pedagogy needs an English as a lingua franca perspective, which does not set unrealistic goals by notions such as perfect native-like proficiency, and therefore, it frees up resources, and a great amount of teaching time currently devoted to the mastering of native-like forms can move to the teaching and learning of other

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[78] For more on the distinction between learners and users of English, see section 2.2.

[79] Perhaps the most ardent critique of the spread of English today is Robert Phillipson, who has published a number of books and articles on English as the language of power and a form of oppression (see, for instance, Phillipson 1992, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009a,b). His views may be summarized as follows. We live in an English-dominant empire in which "the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (Phillipson 1992: 47). Whenever English is chosen at the expanse of other languages, it is evidence of linguicims, cultural and linguistic hegemony, and language imposition.

[80] See section 7.1.

languages.[81] Had the English language teaching goals been more like ELF goals focusing on effective communication in non-native contexts, the Szeged Erasmus students may have achieved a higher level of success. That is, some of them may have felt less need to spend their time trying to learn English in Szeged and could have further improved their multilingualism instead.

Despite the small minority of students who considered themselves learners of English and refused to use other Ln languages in Szeged, the majority of the Szeged Erasmus students seemed to have had a great appreciation for multilingualism as well as for having a common language for mutual intelligibility. Thus, Crystal (2003: xiii) is indeed right when he claims that both multilingualism and having a common language for mutual understanding are "amazing resources", and the two do not necessarily stand in opposition with each other. Quite the opposite, as the examination of the Szeged Erasmus community has revealed, English used as a lingua franca and other languages may co-exist side-by-side in one single community, while each language being treated as an "amazing resource".

Thirdly, the analysis has shown that while many of the forms used in ritual practices were in English, equally many were in languages other than English. The shared repertoire of non-English forms, and the corresponding ritual practices, developed over time as the students began to repeatedly switch codes to accomplish a ritual activity. As this type of code-switching does not create something new on the spot, but draws on a shared resource of "old" forms, it is best differentiated from "spontaneous" code-switching and is called "ritualized" code-switching. Thus, in the emerging Szeged Erasmus community, "ritualized" code-switching was a shared practice creating the shared enterprise of building a friendship and "family" based community. The kind of "ritualized" code-switching evidenced in the Szeged Erasmus community is new in ELF research and theorizing; yet, it reconfirms several earlier claims made about "spontaneous" code-switching in ELF.

Firstly, code-switching in ELF is between three of more languages indeed. The Szeged Erasmus students readily switched to each others' L1 as well as to the local Hungarian. Out of the many different L1 languages represented in the group, they typically switched to those languages which were an L1 for a relatively large number of students, such as French, Spanish and Italian. While these languages were an L1 for about five to ten students each, they were (still) an Ln for the majority of the group. The student readily switched to their co-participants' L1 (their Ln) regardless of the fact whether they were fully competent in the

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[81] For more on the view that English languge pedagogy should reflect an English as a lingua franca reality, see, for instance, Widdowson (2003), Seidlhofer (2004), and Dewey (2009).

target language, they were learners of the target language, or they (only) took up their co-participants' L1 as an Ln through participation in the local practice. Pölzl's (2003: 10) point is borne out here: ELF speakers readily switch to their Ln regardless of their degrees of competence in the target language.

As far as code-switching to the local language is concerned, Hungarian was not an L1 for the vast majority of the Erasmus students; yet, a large part of their "ritualized" code-switching was to Hungarian. This finding supports Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006: 155) who claim that ELF speakers readily adjust their English to the local environment wherever they are. However, in light of the present study, this type of local accommodation (also known as the "habitat factor") may take place not only when the majority of the participants are L1 speakers of the local language, as Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006) suggest, but also when a minority of the participants are L1 speakers of the local language. Furthermore, in the Szeged Erasmus community, there was an apparent increase in the number of shared practices requiring code-switching to Hungarian. This finding confirms Smit (2010: 377) who argues that ELF shows greater signs of the "habitat factor" over time as the speakers become more competent in the language of the environment.

Secondly, based on current evidence, it is right to claim indeed that code-switching is part-and-parcel of English as a lingua franca (cf. Cogo 2007, 2009). The Szeged Erasmus students did not flag their "ritualized" code-switching in any way. That is, when they switched codes to perform a ritual activity, they did not interrupt the flow of the conversation to draw attention to the switch itself. Quite the opposite, their "ritualized" code-switching was performed with the type of smooth transition, which is said to imply "normality" in the switch (Cogo 2007: 170).

Thirdly, there is much evidence now that speakers using English as a lingua franca are "multilingual speakers [with a] natural interest in languages" (Stark 2009: 175). The Szeged Erasmus students gave indication of their "natural interest in languages" in two ways: firstly, by using ("ritualized") code-switching as the means of creating the joint enterprise, and more specifically, as the means of creating a humorous effect; and secondly, by taking steps to expand their plurilingual repertoires. Concerning ("ritualized") code-switching, they could have used (and as we will later see, they did use) other practices for creating humorous effects. However, the fact that code-switching was one of the many practices through which they created the shared goal of building a friendship group with a focus on humor is a clear sign of their interest in languages.

As regards their attempts to further expand their plurilingual repertoires, the Szeged Erasmus students learnt new forms in new languages without the presence or guidance of any (external) authority. That is, they were each other's linguistic resources or "experts". In the case of languages such as Spanish, Italian, French or German (but also in the case of smaller languages such as Polish, Czech or Estonian), they typically elicited the target language expressions from the L1 speakers of the language. The L1 speakers modeled the target expressions, and the Ln speakers "practiced" them by repeating it. However, in the case of learning of Hungarian (which was an Ln for the vast majority of them), learners taught learners. The majority of the students attended Hungarian language classes, and were highly motivated to learn and practice their new language. That the Szeged Erasmus students showed such great interest in learning the local language is noteworthy for at least two reasons. Firstly, on a global scale, Hungarian is not considered a very useful language; and two, given their relatively short stay in Hungary, it was quite unlikely that they would get far in learning the language. By all means, the participants of the present study, as much as the other groups of Erasmus students I have worked with (see Kalocsai 2009; Peckham et al. In press), took time and effort to further expand their plurilingual repertoires both with the other students' L1 and with the language of the environment.

In conclusion, there is little doubt that for the Szeged Erasmus students the knowledge of languages, and more specifically, multilingualism in English, was a resource on which they could draw. In the following chapter, I will further examine how the participants created the shared enterprise of building a friendship and "family" based community with a focus on humor, with a particular emphasis on the shared linguistic practices creating humorous effects.

6 LINGUISTIC PRACTICES RELATED TO THE GOAL OF MAKING HUMOR

My analysis of the Szeged Erasmus students' non-linguistic social practices[82] has shown that a focus on fun resulted in particular shared linguistic resources and practices developing. Making fun with linguistic resources meant making humor through English used as a lingua franca. As the use of humor requires both stating (implying) and understanding the implications, in the additionally learnt language (Ln) of the majority of speakers, accomplishing humor was a challenge. The fact that in spite of this challenge, accomplishing humor was a key shared practice provides evidence that it was considered a negotiable resource that needs to be built, or within the communities of practice framework, "practiced". In the present chapter I will examine in detail the linguistic practices and resources that helped the members of the community of practice to accomplish the shared goal of having fun. More specifically, through some carefully selected examples, I will examine how the Szeged Erasmus students used their shared code (and key practice) of English used as a lingua franca to create humorous effects. By making humorous effects I mean contributions which the speaker intends as amusing for the co-participants (Holmes 2000: 163). The analyzed ELF practices will include both group-wide communications where (as a key shared practice) English was deemed necessary as well as interactions between friends where the use of English was subject to local negotiation.[83]

The Szeged Erasmus students had two major kinds of linguistic practices for creating humorous effects. One group of the practices involved "ritualized practices" built around ritual activities.[84] As they were accomplished through particular forms of language drawn from shared negotiable resources, the humorous effects they created were "old", rather than new. While they would equally fit the purpose of the present chapter as well, the focus here is on practices that built new humorous effects on a moment-to-moment basis in the unfolding interaction.

The latter group of practices building humor on the spot had two types. One group of the practices emphasized the content component of humor, the other group focused on the style component of humor. In the case of humor aimed at style, the source of humor was not so much in the content of the message as in the manner in which it was communicated to the

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[82] See Chapter 4.
[83] See sections 5.1.3.
[84] See Chapter 5.

co-participants. Humor in content was achieved through narratives, teasing, irony, and what the students called "naughty conversations". Humor aimed at style, on the other hand, was realized through practices such as code-switching, the use of paralinguistic features, and word plays. The style component of humor may be more closely aligned with the goal set at the outset to look at ELF practices. However, a close analysis of the content component will also contribute, quite substantially, to our better understanding of the Szeged Erasmus students' ELF practices. It will show that the participants used the fact of their differential skills in different languages as part of the material for making humor.

Overall, the present chapter seeks to shed light on the ways in which humor was used as a shared negotiable resource. To that end, I will first illuminate the ways in which the participants built on each others' ways of talking, and extended on each other's humorous contributions. This in turn will result in the examination of a wide range of interactional strategies, such as repetitions, collaborative utterance building (both at a moment of word search and when there was no indication of a problem), simultaneous talk and back-channelling. Then, I will explicate how the participants drew not only on each others' ways of talking, but also on each others' ways of thinking, while pointing at the underlying shared views and perspectives. That is, I will show how shared knowledge was also a shared negotiable resource and how it contributed to the joint production of humor. All this will be done with the goal to pinpoint the specifics of the practices for the Szeged Erasmus community, which may not be the same for other ELF-resourced communities, i.e. some practices may be funny only to the Szeged Erasmus students simply because they were a community of practice.

6.1 Participants' views on the strategic use of humor

The students' ritual practices with a humorous effect (as shown in Chapter 5) provided only a glimpse into the Szeged Erasmus students' efforts at making fun through linguistic resources. The participants had a range of other practices for creating humorous effects, which made some of the students think that they only had humorous conversations. Humor was always appreciated and well received. Students built humor spontaneously in the unfolding interaction in such contexts as the middle of a noisy party, around a campfire, as well as on the train. They built humor in different ways when they were involved in "party converstions" with students they did not know very well and when they were engaged in "real conversations" with friends. As Micha explained in Excerpt 6.1, when they were involved in

"party conversations", it little mattered what they said; rather, there was an urge to have fun in any way possible, to talk about useless stuff. By contrast, as Lena clarified in Excerpt 6.2, when they were talking to friends, they built humor around carefully selected topics, which highlighted how well they knew each other:

Excerpt 6.1

> Well, well, the, the party conversations always tend to be (..) like (..) in a way about useless stuff, uh, just to, to keep the, the, (..) the mood being well. So it, it should be something which is funny, just some stupid comments or something, you exchange some stupidities to make other laughs, and then you laugh at what others say, and like this (interview, January 28)

Excerpt 6.2

> when you know people better then you know people then you know how how they are and what uh kind of thing they do and then you can make fun of them ((laughs)) they also make fun of you so it's no problem. (interview, December 15)

In Excerpts 6.1 and 6.2, both Micha and Lena stressed the reciprocity of humor. One used the notion of "exchange", the other said "you can make fun of them ((laughs)) they also make fun of you". The students therefore knew that humor was a strategic use of language (note Micha's saying "it *should* be something"), and they felt that it best worked in both directions. In Excerpt 6.3 below, William explained how he created the address form "brother from another mother" to make Franco realize that he wanted to make friends with him:

Excerpt 6.3

> I put quite a lot of effort in (.) to ma- make him feel that (.) that I'm interested to find out about him more: (.) and I like even the messa-, even the message (.) like I sent like so where are you like brother from another mother. ((laughs)) (interview, November 8)

That he found the address form "brother from another mother" amusing (and that he produced it in the hope that Franco would find it amusing, too) is best indicated by his laughter. Furthermore, that his use of the address form was strategic is evident in his saying "and I like even", which implies that this was one solution to the problem of making Franco realize that he wanted to be friends with him.

6.2 Humor in content

6.2.1 Narratives

In their ritualized practice for "party conversations,"[85] the students devoted a large part of their conversations to the discussion of their Szeged "Erasmus life". They typically started their conversations with the questions "What did you do today?" or "What did you do on the weekend?" and then continued with the discussion of recent parties, trips and lessons. Since the focus of these conversations was the students' "Erasmus life" in Szeged, they were an ideal place for the telling of narratives and story rounds. Following Tannen (1984: 100), by narratives I mean personal stories about past experiences, and by story rounds, the juxtaposition of stories with a similar point. Thus, the students told many narratives, and they told *most* of their narratives in ways which created humorous effects.

The participants had two major strategies for creating humorous effects in and through narratives: one meant building up humor in solo, the other in collaboration with the co-participants. In the case of humor in solo, a single student manipulated the various negotiable resources while deciding on the appropriate content, adopting the "right" ways of speaking, and foregrounding a certain set of views and perspectives. Excerpts 6.4 and 6.5 present two stories as recorded in my fieldnotes. The stories were told by Dominik in the midst of a noisy party, where the students were split into small groups, chatting:

Excerpt 6.4

> Dominik is joking about one of the courses he and Marcel are taking in Szeged. They both study law and sit in the very last row. Dominik explains that had difficulties in the beginning because of his not knowing the English technical terminology. Now he is putting effort into learning the terminology and today, for the first time, to please himself and his teacher, he has contributed to the class by asking a question. Hearing this, everybody bursts out laughing. (fieldnotes, September 19)

When saying that he raised his first question in the class, he displayed satisfaction, which added to the humorous effect. Humor was in the content of the story: it was three weeks before he was ready (or able) to raise a single question in class. To add to the humorous effect, he told his story as if it was a detective story. That is, he uncovered more and more details as the story was drawing to its end. His strategies proved effective. When he reached his punch line, the students started laughing, which in this case was a sign of his humor

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[85] See section 5.2.6.

reaching its end. They would not have found the story funny if there had not been the shared knowledge that they were all in a "strange/foreign land", it was the beginning of the term, they were mainly taking English medium-of-instruction classes, the teachers and classmates were all new, and their English was (still) "bad."[86]

A few minutes later, as illustrated in Excerpt 6.5, Dominik told another story:

Excerpt 6.5

> He tells that he didn't have a pillow or a blanket in his flat so he had to ask the "owner of the flat" to get him a blanket. Although he wanted to say that he needed a blanket, he mistakenly asked for a pillow. He didn't realize that he asked for the wrong thing until the man appeared in the door, holding a small pillow in his hand. He was so surprised seeing the small pillow, rather than the blanket in his hands, that he couldn't utter a word. Until he meets him again, he will sleep in his sleeping bag. (fieldnotes, September 19)

Once again, Dominik built up his humorous narrative very skillfully: first, he stated that he needed a blanket, but mistakenly asked for a pillow, which was funny in itself; then, by saying that he did not realize for days that he had asked for the wrong item, he made his second humorous effect; and finally, his humor reached its climax when he described how awkward he felt when he saw the "owner of the flat" standing in the door, holding a small pillow, rather than a big blanket, in his hands.

Both stories illustrate the point that speaking "bad English" leads to specific types of interactions in the Hungarian society in Szeged. Thus, the shared knowledge of speaking "bad English" (and little or no Hungarian), and the shared experience of being in a "strange/foreign land", were both tools for humor in this ELF-resourced community. That is, in the Szeged Erasmus community, at least, in part, humor built around the skills – or lack of them – in certain languages (namely, in English *and* Hungarian), and around the participants' "strangeness or awkwardness" in the Hungarian society.

The next example for building humor in solo comes from a dinner party conversation recorded in the home of two students. The participants were three Erasmus students, two local Hungarian students who were the girlfriends of two of them, and the researcher. In Excerpt 6.6, the participants had just finished their dinner, and were sitting comfortably, chatting, when William told the story which was the last story of a story round about swimming:

Excerpt 6.6 (William: L1 Estonian; Franco: L1 Italian; Emese: L1 Hungarian)

1. W: And once there was a water police and they asked us to go →

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[86] For how their perceptions about their English changed over time, see Section 7.1.

2. /?/:   └Mhm.
3. W: out, they /?   / a camera, a /man/ with a camera
4. F: └Yeah?   Here?
5. W: In in Szeged. And /there was/ water police. And we were →
6. F: └Ok.
7. W: were in the water with Jake and some other people as well,
        and they were filming, with a camera, and I was like ↑hey:
        ((shows how he shouted and waved to them)). They were like
        ↓@Attention, attention, go out from the water@↓((seriously)).
        I was like ↑hey: ((shows how he shouted and waved
         to them))
        ((E and F laugh a lot))
8. W: Yeah, @I was /included/ in the TV, in England, /young/@
        ((laughing voice)). And then (.) and then some our friend, we
         had a Hungarian guy, @hey guys (.) come out from the
         water. Come on@ ((whisper voice)) I said why. @They
         asked us (.) to come out. They are water police. No:@
        ((whispering voice)). I was like ((makes the sound of
        sneaking out from the water)). Like in the /?   / walking on
        ((makes the sound of sneaking out)).

In William's story, humor is primarily in the content, but he also adds to the humorous effect by other linguistic and non-linguistic means. He raises his intonation to model to his co-participants how he was happily shouting to the policemen, uses gestures to show how he waved to them, whispers when quoting his friend directly, changes back to his normal intonation to quote what he naively replied to his friend. Then, when quoting his friend again, he returns to the whispering mode, and finally, gives a voice with which he is trying to indicate how he got out of the water as fast as he could. Thus, William achieves humorous effect through intonation and pitch modifications.[87] That he manages to reach the desired effect is evident in Emese's and Franco's laughter.

Moving on from humor in solo to humor in cooperation with others, the participants often collaborated through a range of cooperative strategies for building humor. Staying with the same conversation and with the same participants as in Excerpt 6.6, Excerpt 6.7 shows how a bit later in the unfolding interaction, William collaborated with Franco and with Franco's girlfriend, Emese, to jointly create a humorous effect. The story is about a text message that William sent to a wrong recipient. The extract begins right after Andrew has asked William what he had put in the text message:

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[87] For more on the use of intonation in creating humorous effects, see section 6.3.2.

Excerpt: 6.7 (William: L1 Estonian; Franco: L1 Italian; Emese: L1 Hungarian; Andrew: L1 English)

1. W: I don't even remember. I /?   /
2. F: Something like (.) you wrote something like you just went →
3. E: └Sleep well. I →
4. F: home,
5. E: love you:, you are sexy:
6. W: └love you   └sexy: @You are sexy:. My sexy:@
      ((laughing voice)).
7. A: <Hu> Jujj {oups} /?   /
8. W: └Yeah.
9. E: To Franco
10. W: I was like
11. E: Instead of Virág.
12. W: └And what did /you/ answer back?
13. F: Something sweet.
14. W: Yeah:
15. F: └I love you too, honey.
16. W: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Miss you very much (.) honey
17. F: X, X, X
18. W: X, X, X. You gave me (.) Franco opus, oups, oups, sorry
      Virág. ((laughs)) So so nice.

As Excerpt 6.7 demonstrates, William cannot immediately recall what he has put in the text message, which allows Franco, who mistakenly received the text message, to answer Andrew's question by saying "you wrote something like". At this point, Emese, who has also read William's message, jumps in, and in overlapping speech finishes Franco's utterance. She does not make her contribution at or near a transition relevance place, which could be interpreted as an interruption.[88] Yet, her contribution is not an interruption, but a cooperative overlap,[89] which indicates involvement and listenership on the part of the speaker. Emese's and Franco's utterances fit together nicely. It turns out that William wrote that he had just arrived home, and that he loved her, and that he thought she was sexy.

Hearing this, William automatically repeats Emese's recollection of his text message. He says "you are sexy", and then, realizing that this is not exactly what he wrote, he adds "my sexy". Thus, he first automatically echoed Emese, and then, when he realized that Emese was wrong, he offers the "right" notion. His repeat of Emese's contribution is an acknowledgment token, which indicates, on the one hand, involvement, participation and listenership (Lichtkoppler 2007), and solidarity and rapport (Tannen 1984), on the other. In the sense of Tannen (1984), if he was not so highly motivated to practice (build) rapport with Emese, he

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[88] See, for instance, Schegloff (2000a).
[89] More specifically, in Cogo's (2007) terms, it is an example of a completion overlap.

would not automatically repeat her utterance. In the next utterance, Andrew makes a cry of sympathy, to which Emese responds by emphasizing the point of their humorous story, namely, that William sent his love message to his friend Franco, rather than to his girlfriend, Virág. The story could just as well finish here, but it does not.

In utterance 12, William raises a question with which he indicates that he wants to add to the humorous effect they have built so far, and wants to continue the co-operative work which they have begun. To that end, he prompts Franco to tell what he answered back, a strategy Tannen (1984: 119) calls co-operative prompting. As is evident in utterance 16, where he says "miss you very much", he does remember what Franco wrote him back, meaning he could have told it himself without asking Franco. His prompting Franco is therefore nothing else but an attempt to co-operate with him further. And indeed, when in utterance 15 Franco says "I love you too, honey", William acknowledges it three times, adds what he remembers from the text message ("I miss you very much"), and then, as another sign of co-operation, he repeats Franco's "honey". In utterance 17, Franco adds that he also sent three kisses to him. This he expresses by saying "X, X, X." which, as we can see in utterance 18, William repeats without any modification. With the "X, X, X." closing, William continues with another story.

In a final example, the participants were three L1 speakers of German, two L1 speakers of Turkish, and the researcher, an L1 speaker of Hungarian. Excerpt 6.8 begins with the researcher trying to reconstruct the funny story she heard in connection with the interview William gave on the local TV about his experiences as an Erasmus student in Szeged. As the researcher did not see the interview, her reconstruction of the story necessarily draws on what some other students told her in connection with it:

Excerpt 6.8 (Researcher: L1 Hungarian; Lena: L1 German, Meike: L1 German; Heidi: L1 German; Mujde: L1 Turkish)

1. R: And they
      were coming from from Marianne's flat and they told me→
2. L: └Ah, Ok.
3. R: that they were watching the the interviews on the TV. And
      they told me that it was very interesting when William said that
      Ah I love it and then they showed the picture of a girl.
4. L: └Ah: └Yes:
      ((S screams))
5. M: But not the picture of a girl, the <u>ass</u>. That was the funny, it
      was not only a girl.
      ((big laughter))

6. R: Aha:
7. L: Aha. And /with/ a yellow dress. It was very = ((laughs))
8. M: = /It was like/
    you couldn't miss /this/ ass.
9. L: Yeah, and you couldn't miss his uh
10. R: His comment?
11. L: Yeah. =
12. M: = Aha.
12. H: But what they are they were talking about in this show?
13. L: Was in Hungarian so you can't understand the the really →
14. Mu: └Aha.
15. L: [what they really say. →
16. H: [I /understand/.
17. R: Aha.
18. L: Only a little bit. ((laughs)) I like it very much and then the
    girl with a yellow ass coming to the picture. ((laughs))
19. M: She was walking into the library. ((laughs))

In utterance 1, the researcher is telling the other participants what William has told her in connection with the interview. She points out that William finished the interview by saying "Ah I love it", and in the mean time, they showed "the picture of a beautiful girl". It was funny because his utterance could be taken as referring to the girls in Szeged, when in fact what he meant was his "Erasmus life". Two of the participants, namely, Lena and Meike, have seen the interview themselves. While Lena acknowledges the recount of the story with an "ah" and "yes", and then with a scream, Meike expands on what the researcher has said. She uses the researcher's expression "the picture of a girl" as a starting point and adds to it by saying, "not the picture of a girl, the ass". In utterance 7, Lena builds on Meike to paint a more detailed picture of the "ass" shown in the film; she says, "and with a yellow dress". While Lena is laughing, Meike makes the claim that it was impossible not to pay attention to the "ass". In the next turn, Lena expands on Meike again. She uses the linking word "and" and then repeats Meike's structure "you couldn't miss". Based on Sacks et al (1974: 72), here she clearly faces a moment of word search, which is evidenced in the hedge "uh". The researcher intends to provide help and, with rising intonation, supplies the notion, "his comment". She supplies the end of Lena's utterance at a moment of word search immediately after the prior turn, which Gardner and Wagner (2005: 8) call "collaborative completion", and Cogo (2007) names "utterance completion". In the next turn, Lena acknowledges the supplied utterance, and Meike, latching to Lena, acknowledges the appropriateness of Lena and the researcher's utterance.

In utterance 14, Heidi, who did not see the TV program, asks what the interviews were about. Lena replies by saying that they were dubbed into Hungarian, and they did not understand much. Later, in utterance 20, she makes the point that they all understood one small bit only, that is, when William said, "I like it very much". Then, to summarize the funny episode in it, she says "the girl with a yellow ass coming to the picture". In this utterance, Lena builds on two of her co-participants' earlier contributions. From the researcher she picks up the structure "the picture of a girl", and from Meike the word "ass", and combines them with her own emphasis on the yellow color of the girl's skirt.

6.2.2 Teasing

In Chapter 5, when discussing the Szeged Erasmus students' ritual practices, teasing was defined as the practice in which the students playfully made fun of each other.[90] In what follows, I will present two examples for teasing on a moment-to-moment basis. In Excerpt 6.9, two speakers collaborated with each other to tease a co-participant. The student being teased is Zeynep, who earlier in the conversation spontaneously code-switched to Hungarian several times, saying *villa* for "fork."[91] When Zeynep expresses regret about not being able to attend the Hungarian language classes, Meike and Lena refer back to her notion of *villa* to playfully make fun of her:

Excerpt 6.9 (Meike: L1 German; Mujde: L1 Turkish; Lena: L1 German; Zeynep: L1 Turkish)

1. M: = But I think you can survive

   without ((laughs)) without a language [class.
2. Mu: [Yes. =
3. L: = So you know

   what the knife is in in Hungarian.
4. M: └Hm. └That's everything. You don't need

   more.
5. L: Yeah.
6. M: And <Hu> villa {fork}.

   ((laughter))
7. Z: Ok. But I will ask later.
8. L: Oh no, no, but at McDonald's you don't need to uh a knife. Uhuh uh

   ((laughter))

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[90] See section 5.2.2.

[91] For an example, see Excerpt 7.14 in section 7.2.1.

Meike, who does not attend Hungarian language classes, expresses the view that Zeynep can survive without language classes, too. In the utterance 2, Mujde confirms this view. So far there is nothing humorous or ironical in the interaction, as both Meike and Mujde confirmed it at the retrospective interviews. The first humorous remark comes in utterance 3, where Lena states that Zeynep knows "what the knife is in Hungarian". In the retrospective interview, Lena explained that here she meant to say "fork", rather than "knife", for "that was the thing that [they] talked about before". Although, on the spot, Lena gets the word wrong, to Meike it is evident that she is trying to tease Zeynep by referring back to the notion of "fork". During the playback she noted, "Yes so she [Lena] made a bridge to what Zeynep said before with the knife thing, and yes, she took the connection, made a joke out of it".

In utterance 4, building on Lena's way of thinking and her way of speaking, Meike, too, makes a humorous contribution on her own. In doing so, she builds on Lena's previous utterance. She states "That's everything. You don't need more", meaning Zeynep knows what the Hungarian is for "knife", and she does not need anything else. Lena confirms her joke with a "yeah". Meanwhile Meike gains a little thinking time, remembers the Hungarian expression Zeynep used several times before, and adds, partly in Hungarian, "And villa". By repeating Zeynep's notion of "villa", she implies that apart from the notion of "knife", which Lena has suggested, and her notion of "villa", Zeynep does not need anything else in Hungary. The jokes are acknowledged with laughter by all the participants.

In utterance 7, Zeynep (still) insists that she should try to get enrolled for the Hungarian course. In the next utterance, Lena, who was very keen on learning Hungarian, and who, as Meike noted during the playback, was very proud to be at a higher level than most of the other students, responds to Zeynep's utterance by saying, "no, no". Surely, this is not to be taken seriously; she says it only as a way of preparing the ground for her next humorous contribution, which is as follows: "at McDonald's you don't need to uh a knife". In this humorous remark, she picks up Meike's structure ("you don't need"), and adds to it, by saying, "At McDonald's you don't need". During the playback interview, Lena laughingly noted that she made a reference to McDonald's because "Zeynep loves McDonald's". As is evident from the following laughter, "Zeynep loves McDonald's" was part of the shared understanding on which the students could draw. Besides that, in Excerpt 6.9, there was the shared knowledge of the fact that language skills – or lack of them – are a salient issue for all the Szeged Erasmus students temporarily residing in Hungary. Hence, their humor is about language learning, language use and misunderstandings. In this case, it is their knowledge of

Hungarian that is ridiculed, in other cases, as shown in Excerpts 6.4 and 6.5, it is their knowledge of English.

In Excerpt 6.10, one student teased two of her co-participants. The participants have just finished a story round about the disadvantages of staying in a hostel. The point of the last story has been that you may find it impossible to sleep if you are put into a room with people who snore:

Excerpt 6.10 (Zeynep: L1 Turkish; Lena: L1 German; Researcher: L1 Hungarian; Heidi: L1 Turkish)

1. Z: Some people can talk (.) in the dreaming, for example, me.
   ((laughter))
2. L: But I can <u>walk</u> in the dreaming. Haha.
   ((laughter))
3. R: You can walk?
4. /Z/: Ja. [And I hear her talk.
5. R: [Did you see her?
   ((laughter))
6. H: You can [walk and talk together
   ((Z laughs a lot))

Excerpt 6.10 begins with Zeynep making a humorous remark that she can "talk in the dreaming". This evokes laughter, which makes Lena say a partly competitive, a partly co-operative utterance. She is co-operative, in fact, accommodative, in the respect that she almost fully adopts Zeynep's structure of "can talk in the dreaming". She only changes the verb, and thus says, "can walk in the dreaming", with an emphasis on "walk". However, she is competitive in the sense that she uses "but" at the beginning of her utterance. Lena's utterance is funny (due to its content), but it is not meant to tease Zeynep. Then, in utterance 6, Heidi jumps in, and makes a contribution with which she playfully makes fun of both Zeynep and Lena. She suggests that they "can walk and talk together". She offers her contribution in a highly cooperative spirit: she adopts Zeynep's structure of "can talk" and Lena's structure of "can walk", and thus accommodates to them both.

The Szeged Erasmus students enjoyed teasing each other on the spot, especially if it involved high levels of collaboration across the students, as seen in William's quote in Excerpt 6.11. He suggests that within the Szeged Erasmus community teasing worked best when a small group of friends met in the home of one of the students. He liked the evolving interactions (in addition to the funny content) because of the students "joining forces" and

trying to accomplish the same goal. He described this co-operative process as "everybody […] joining in and throwing in it towards [a single] person":

Excerpt 6.11

> there's, like a / /, like a <u>heart</u> of the ERASMUS (.) when they normally meet up during the week just for pancakes, or for somebody's birthday [Then] we just started joking @about someone@ ((laughing voice)), some countries also about somebody. Uh, and then everybody's joining in and throwing in it towards that person or: that's very funny so. (interview, October 17)

The shared practices of teasing (including both the ones that created humor on the spot and the ones that recycled "old" humorous language forms) are a clear example of the negotiation work that the developing of the shared resources required. Had the participants not negotiated certain shared ways of talking, thinking, and believing, despite their good will to make fun and create a shared goal, they could have easily caused offense. That this did not happen is a sign of the fact that the participants carefully "defined", and observed, the limits of their shared resources.

6.2.3 "Naughty conversations"

For the Szeged Erasmus students, swearing was an important everyday task, which led to the developing of particular shared resources and practices.[92] However, most students loved not only swearing, but also talking about "dirty" or "naughty" things, as they said. "Naughty" questions often came up in their drinking games,[93] but even more frequently in their regular interactions. They were an important means of building a friendship and family support social group with a focus on humor.

The shared practices and resources which were developing allowed the students to either directly address a "naughty" topic, or to indirectly refer to it. Whether they were direct or indirect, the rapport value of being involved in a "naughty conversation" was high. Tannen (1989: 23), drawing on Gumperz (1982), notes that indirect reference to meaning requires the participants of the interaction to "fill in unstated meaning [which] contributes to a sense of involvement through mutual participation in sensemaking". In this sense, through indirect reference to "naughty" topics, the Szeged Erasmus students practiced solidarity by showing that they were mutually involved in figuring out unstated meanings. Of course, the fact that

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[92] See section 5.2.4.
[93] See section 4.3.1.

they could do so is evidence of the fact that they formed a community of practice. As regards the participants' direct reference to "naughty" topics, it was a key shared practice that helped to establish and maintain the community. This practice is similar to what Tannen (1984: 79) refers to as the strategy of mutual revelation.[94] The students sent the message that they are intimate, and they both speak about "naughty" topics without embarrassment. Besides that, the strategies by which the participants built on each others' contributions, and the wide range of interactional strategies which they further adopted, helped the students to establish and maintain the group.

I present four quotes. The first two (Excerpts 6.12 and 6.13) exemplify indirect reference to "naughty" content; the second two (Excerpts 6.14 and 6.15) provide examples of cases where the "naughty" content is directly stated. In Excerpt 6.12, the six participants are getting ready for a group photo. While one of them is setting up the camera, the other five are waiting squeezed into a small sofa. While waiting, the following interaction ensues between two of them:

Excerpt 6.12 (Franco: L1 Italian; William: L1 Estonian)

1. F: This couch make makes so much noise.

    ((laughter begins))
    @When my mum /?   /@ ((makes some movements
     in the bed so as to show how it creaks))
2. W: @What's your mum doing here?@ ((laughing voice))
3. F: Nothing, @she was alone@. Every time she was turning in
    the bed, we could hear.
4. W: └Aha.   └Yeah?
    ((W laughs))

In utterance 1, Franco has not yet made any direct reference to a "naughty" issue, but the participants assume he may be implying one, and thus start laughing. Knowing that he is living in the flat with his girlfriend, they assume that he is hinting at the following: the bed makes funny noises when he and his girlfriend are making love in it. Franco realizes the implied meaning of his utterance, and continues with this original intent, now in a laughing voice. He starts saying something about his mum, and then pauses to show what noise the couch actually makes. While he pauses, William jumps in to ask "What's your mum doing here?" By asking this question, he shows, at least, two things. Firstly, he knows what they are

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[94] By mutual revelation Tannen (1984: 79) means the strategy when a speaker makes a statement of personal experience, and thus elicits a similar statement from the other speakers. When the strategy proves effective, the speakers send the following metamessage: "We are intimate; we both tell about ourselves".

all laughing about; and secondly, by redirecting the focus from him and his girlfriend to his mother, he indicates that the implied meaning, that is, that the couch makes some funny noises when people make love on it, may still prove correct. In his next utterance, in a laughing voice, Franco says, "she was alone", and thus makes clear, for once and for all, that the implied meaning was wrong. In the next utterance, William acknowledges Franco's answer but keeps laughing.

In the next extract (see Excerpt 6.13), Franco has just told a funny narrative about a young man in his block of flats who was singing Madonna. Hearing this, Andrew, who is gay, makes the following remark:

Excerpt 6.13 (Andrew: L1 English; Emese: L1 Hungarian; William: L1 Estonian)

1. A:@I probably know him@ ((laughing voice))
2. E: What? Who?
3. W: The singer. Downstairs.
4. A: @If he is chanting out Madonna, I have probably seen him
    at the bar@ ((laughing voice))
    ((big laughter))

In utterance 1, talking bout Franco's neighbor, Andrew states that he probably knows him. He is laughing, which already indicates that he has something "naughty" on his mind. The other participants do not respond to his utterance, which leads him, in utterance 4, to make another hint at what he means. He does not say so, but his implication is the following: if he sings Madonna, he must be gay, and must go to the bar where gay people, including him, normally meet. The implication being much more clear now, his co-participants start laughing, and thus acknowledge his humorous utterance.

In Excerpt 6.14, the participants make explicit reference to a "naughty" topic with a high level of cooperation between the participants. The students have just ridiculed another neighbor, in fact, the previously mentioned "singer's" mother who always looks very stressed. Right after the laughter, they build another humorous utterance:

Excerpt 6.14 (Franco: L1 Italian; William: L1 Estonian; Emese: L1 Hungarian)

1. F: = Maybe she needs dick.
2. W: @She <u>needs</u> dick@ ((laughing voice))
3. F: Yeah. [She needs /dick/
4. W: [Yeah, she @needs something@ ((laughing voice)).
5. F: That's what we say in Italy.
6. E: ↑What:?

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((E laughs))
7. F: Yeah, really (..) ((pauses because of the laughter)). A
   nervous woman, we say, she needs the fuck. Sorry.
   ((laughter))

    The extract begins with Franco's comment, "Maybe she needs dick". What he means is that if she is stressed, "maybe she needs dick". As we can see, he does not directly state the first part of the message, but focused on the second, the "naughty" part. William understands what he means and, in a laughing voice, he repeats Franco's utterance. His repetition can be seen as an acknowledgment token showing, on the one hand, involvement and listenership (Lichtkoppler 2007), and shared understanding and perspectives on the other. Seeing that William shares his views, he confirms his point with a "yeah", and starts to repeat his utterance. With his self-repetition, he intends to give a greater emphasis to the shared views and perspectives between him and William. This was confirmed at the retrospective interview, where Franco made the point that William's repetition of his utterance made him realize that "in other countries [they] think the same about certain topics". The fact that William, who was from Estonia but studying in England, shared the same views as him, who has spent his entire life in Italy, was a pleasant surprise for him.

    When Franco starts repeating his utterance, William does not wait for Franco to finish his utterance but overlaps with him. He repeats both his "Yeah", and his "she needs", and only changes the last element of the original utterance (instead of "dick", he says, "something"). The simultaneous speech in which William engages is an instance of misjudgment overlap in the sense of Cogo (2007). That is, William starts speaking in an overlapping speech because he has misjudged the transition relevance place. Yet, his overlapping speech is best not seen as an interruption in the sense of Schegloff (2000a), but collaboration in the sense of Tannen (1984). They both complete their turns and, what is more, they end up saying the same thing. In fact, they are both repeating the "naughty" content, which has made them aware of a new set of shared views and understandings.

    In utterance 5, Franco points out that he has mentioned this because "That's what [they] say in Italy". In the next utterance, Emese makes a cry of surprise. She asks "What?" with a rising intonation, amid much laughter. In utterance 7, Franco confirms what he has said in utterance 5 with a "Yeah, really". By this time, it is not only Emese laughing, but all the participants. Franco waits until the laughter ends, and then makes two important points. Firstly, he explains what he left unsaid in utterance 1: the woman in the neighboring flat "needs dick" because she is nervous; and secondly, he points out that he has made this

connection based on what they say in Italy. Franco's contributions in utterances 5 and 7 may be seen as attempts to clarify the meaning of his humorous utterance to all those participants who may not have understood his point because of lack of shared views and understandings. Therefore, this instance of humor is an illustration of how, despite the participants practicing particular shared negotiable resources, the task of humor still remains a challenge for them as a result of the fact that some members of their community of practice have more shared knowledge than others. They all share the goal, but the resources are variable among them.

In Excerpt 6.15, Franco has just told a story about a friend of his in Syria for whom, after meeting with friends in the evenings, it is not safe to go home at night. A non-understanding evolves which Andrew tries to repair by drawing a parallel between their situation and that of Franco's friend. He says it is as if they could not leave Franco and Emese's flat, where they are at the moment, until morning. To this Emese responds by saying, "Stay here". Then comes the humorous part:

Excerpt 6.15 (William: L1 Estonian; Franco: L1 Italian; Emese: L1 Hungarian; Andrew: L1 English; Researcher: L1 Hungarian)

1. W: How many people fit in your bed then?
2. F: Uh if we: get tight, three. Three, two and one somewhere else.
3. E: └What?
4. A: On top. =
5. R: = On the on the on the (..) armchairs pushed and
6. F: └Yeah we can   └Yeah.
7. W: /Or/ make a pancake.
8. ((A and K laugh))
9. E: What's that?
10. W: /I said/ on the top of somebody I will make a pancake.
11. ((E laughs))
12. E: @I will go to top of you@ ((laughing voice))

Excerpt 6.15 begins with William asking "how many people fit" in Emese and Franco's bed, thus checking if they could stay for the night. Franco takes up the question and suggests that three people would fit in their bed in the bedroom, two in the couch in the living room, and "one somewhere else", meaning they should look for an alternative solution for one of them. Hearing this, two participants offer a possible solution: Andrew suggests that somebody could go "on top" of the other (utterance 4), and the researcher states that they could make use of the armchairs as well (utterance 5). In utterance 7, William takes Andrew's idea further, and by doing so, he jointly constructs humor with him. He suggests that they could "make a

pancake". Andrew and the researcher start laughing. In utterance 9, Emese signals failed understanding of William's humorous utterance. In an attempt to repair the failed use of humor, William combines Andrew's contribution and his own contribution into one utterance, and thus says, "on top of somebody I will make a pancake". This provides further evidence to the claim made earlier that the Szeged Erasmus students worked hard to make naughty humor "work" – that is, to "be funny for everyone" present. Following William's offer of help, Emese starts laughing as well. She then turns to Franco, her boyfriend, and laughingly says that she will go on top of him.

The "naughty" idea that they could go on top of each other during the night was revisited later as well. Franco has just remembered that a few weeks ago Emese was studying in the bathroom, which makes him suggest that the bathroom is an alternative location for spending the night. Before he makes his point, he first tells the story of why Emese studied in the bathroom. As soon as he starts narrating, he gets interrupted:

Excerpt 6.16 (Franco: L1 Italian; William: L1 Estonian; Emese: l1 Hungarian)

1. F: Few few weeks ago she was studying in the bathroom because
     (.) we have uh uh crazy crazy
2. W: └Few weeks ago (.) she was on the
     top of me
     ((W laughs))
3. F: No.
     ((F laughs))
4. W: @Sorry.@ ((laughing voice)) I was like I think you can't
     carry it on all right.
      ((laughter))

As Excerpt 6.16 illustrates, Franco starts his story by saying "Few few weeks ago". Franco's utterance turns out to be something that William can build on for humorous effect so he overlaps with him. His overlap is meant to be an interruption: he does not wait until Franco reaches a transition relevance place, nor does he try to finish his utterance. Rather, he jumps in with something totally different (and incorrect), which nevertheless has a humorous effect. He picks up part of Franco's utterance ("few weeks ago she was") and adds Andrew's earlier utterance ("on top") to it. His contribution in utterance 2 has at least two important implications. Firstly, for William, the rapport value of making a humorous contribution is potentially more important than the "harm" he may potentially make by interrupting the current speaker, and by saying something which he clearly knows is incorrect.[95] Secondly, in

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[95] It cannot be that Emese was "on top" as she was studying then, as Franco has made it clear in utterance 1.

creating a humorous effect, he returns to an "old" utterance. By building on each others' ways of speaking, he is signaling that he (still) remembers what his co-participants have said before, and is therefore practicing rapport. In the next utterance, Franco says "No", and then starts laughing himself, thus acknowledging the humor in Franco's "naughty" utterance. In the next utterance, William first apologizes for having interrupted Franco, and then explains how he made a connection between what Franco was saying in the unfolding interaction, and what Andrew had said earlier. By so doing, he reveals that when Franco was doing the talking, he was thinking ahead, and was making connections with what was being said earlier. Thus, very often by practicing humor, the Szeged Erasmus students practiced solidarity and rapport, which served the overall goal of creating and maintaining a community based on "family" relations and friendships.

6.2.4 Irony

Irony, which is a technique for conveying a meaning that is the opposite of its literal meaning, was another shared practice that helped the participants accomplish humor in content. As Meike stated in connection with the use of irony at a playback interview, "we sometimes do it, we like it". Excerpt 6.17 was documented at a house warming party. The participants are Jerard, one of the ESN coordinators called Aron, and the researcher:

Excerpt 6.17

> He [Jerard] tells about his summer job. In the past five years, every summer he has worked as a tutor in different camps. He describes his work as tiring and underpaid but says he had no other choice. He needed the money so that he could support himself during the school year. When he is talking, Aron makes several ironical comments such as, "Oh that's a pity", and "We are so sorry for you". (fieldnotes, September 19)

Aron was ironical – he was not sorry for Jerard, or at least, not as much as he suggested with his ironical comments. Jerard knew that Aron's contributions were meant to be amusing, rather than serious, and he did not stop recounting the story. By telling more, he gave prompts for Aron, on the basis of which he could make further ironical remarks. Such interactions show the great "expertise" with which the members of this community of practice used their shared negotiable resources: they adopted certain shared ways of speaking which in their group did not, but in other contexts, with other groups of people, might have easily caused offence.

Excerpt 6.18 was recorded at a dinner party. The participants finished reconstructing the story of William's interview and have just begun to discuss how William and the other interviewees were selected:

Excerpt 6.18 (Heidi: L1 German; Meike: L1 German)

1. H: └Some Spanish people asked me if I want to come.

    There's a TV show, and you have just to to ((coughs)) just a few questions, and you have just to answer and I I asked when and at 8 o'clock in the morning, I said, no, thanks, I don't want.
    ((laughter))
2. M: You missed to become a TV star, Heidi, I'm sorry.
     ((S laughs)).
3. H: Never mind.

Heidi explains that the Spanish students asked her if she would like to be interviewed. Before answering their question, she double-checked when the interview was due to start. When they told her that it should start at 8 o'clock in the morning, she said, "No, thanks". Her saying this is ironical for it suggests that she is honored to be asked, when, in fact, she is not. She knows, and the Spanish students know as well, that starting an interview so early is totally out of the question for them as they usually slept in quite late in Szeged. The participants realized the irony in the content of her message, and started laughing.

In utterance 2, Meike responds to Heidi's ironical comment with an ironical comment. She says, "You missed to become a TV star" and then adds, "I'm sorry". As she explained at the retrospective interview, she would not have been ironical, had Heidi not been ironical in the previous turn. She adjusted her way of speaking to Heidi's way of speaking. As she put it at the interview, her utterance is "just ironic because Heidi said when she was talking about this, oh, no thanks". In light of this, her contribution is not to be interpreted literally. Apparently what she really means is that Heidi did not miss a great opportunity anyway, and there is nothing to be sorry about. Hearing her ironical statement, Lena starts laughing. In utterance 3, Heidi says, "Never mind", which is ironical again. It implies that there is some kind of a problem, when in fact there is no problem of any kind. Excerpt 6.18 is an example of accommodation for convergence through the means of irony. Therefore, the practice of irony often meant adjusting one's ways of speaking not only to the group as a whole, but also to the previous speaker.

6.3 Humor aimed at style

6.3.1 Code-switching

Code-switching was one of the most salient ways in which the Szeged Erasmus students constructed humor aimed at style. They had two major types of code-switching. One group involved using particular forms of language drawn from a shared resource, and resulted in repeating "old" humorous effects;[96] the other group involved switching codes spontaneously in the unfolding interaction, thus creating a new utterance, and with it a new humorous effect. The focus here is on this latter group. The subsequent analysis will show that one instance of spontaneous code-switching was fun, but the chains of code-switching, that is, subsequent turns where the participants adjusted their ways of speaking to that of the previous speaker, were even greater fun. Thus, the Szeged Erasmus students often responded to one particular type of shared practice with the same type of shared practice, and thus increased the efficiency of their practices sustaining the joint enterprise. Chains of code-switching were characterized by very high levels of cooperation, and made the impression of a language play, which can be defined as humor focusing on the language itself (Stark 2009).

The first three extracts exemplify long chains of spontaneous code-switching. In Excerpt 6.19, the participants are Lena, an L1 speaker of German, and Marianne, an L1 speaker of French. While they are on the street with some students, waiting for the latecomers turn up, they "invent" a language game:

Excerpt 6.19

> Lena and Marianne suddenly engage themselves in a game. They take turns to count up to 3 but they are not allowed to use the same language twice. It is as if they were playing table tennis. One starts counting in one language, the other takes over, and they start counting in another language. When they have exhausted all the languages in their repertoire, they approach the students around them and, in a whispering voice, ask for their help. Franco, for instance, models the Italian numbers to one of them, me in Serbian. Once they have memorized the numbers in a new language, they face up to each other again, and throw the numbers at each other. Lena wins, to which Marianne responds by saying that she will do better in bowling. Throughout their "game" they are very cheerful and apparently enjoy what they are doing. (fieldnotes, October 8)

Marianne and Lena set the "rules" of their game on the spot while they were playing it. They invented a game which drew on their multilingualism. Their game was one in which they switched codes through several subsequent turns, and in each turn they used a different

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[96] For this kind of "ritualized" code-switching, see sections 5.2.

language. In this game, switching codes was the means of humor. Besides that, as it was achieved through accommodation in which one of the participants adjusted their ways of speaking to that of the previous speaker, it was also the means of "practicing" rapport, and of creating a friendship group.

Excerpt 6.20 comes from Lucia's birthday party. When the students arrived, they congratulated her individually and everybody split into small groups. Shortly before the students were to leave the flat and go clubbing, Lucia stepped on the stairs so that everyone could see her, and made an announcement. She thanked the students for coming, and asked them to leave her messages on the big canvas she had hung up on the wall. Then suddenly the following language game ensued:

Excerpt 6.20

> The students start singing the song "happy birthday to you". As soon as they are finished with the English version of the song, the Spanish students start singing the Spanish version. Then Hasad takes over and starts singing it in Turkish. Then William jumps in and sings it in Estonian. Then Lena and Meike jump in to sing it in German. When they are finished, Denis and 2 Hungarian boys start it in Hungarian, and eventually the French girls do it in French. (fieldnotes, December 6)

In section 5.2.5, it was noted that the participants had ritualized practice for saying "happy birthday" in different languages. However, singing the song "Happy birthday to you" in different languages was not part of the shared resources used to accomplish ritual activities. That at Lucia's birthday party the students still sang the song in as many as seven languages was totally spontaneous. It was another language game, which they "invented" on the spot, and which reflected the participants' multilingualism. The "rules" of the game were that everybody should sing in their L1, rather than in their Ln. The students negotiated the rules of the game on the spot through a careful adjustment of their behavior to that of the other students. This game required even higher levels of collaboration than the game in Excerpt 6.19. In this case, it was not only one person adjusting their way of speaking to that of the previous speaker(s), but many. When a group of L1 speakers had finished their song, another group of L1 speakers took over immediately. More specifically, when a group had finished their song, one student took over immediately, and the L1 speakers of the same language joined in with very little delay – a skill that indicates the level of cooperation and alignment among the community members, both within and across the different L1 groups.

Excerpt 6.21 comes from the dinner party where Zeynep code-switched to the Hungarian *villa* "fork" several times. The first time she code-switched to *villa,* it was meant as

a compensatory strategy, and to make this clear, she flagged her utterance in many ways. After the switch, Lena, one of the co-participants, modeled her the English equivalent of the notion, and Zeynep "practiced" it (see Excerpt 7.14). Later in the unfolding interaction, she needed the notion of "fork" again. By this time, she had a language choice to make: she could decide whether she wanted to code-switch to Hungarian or use the newly learnt English notion. As Excerpt 6.21 shows, she opts for the Hungarian notion, which her co-participants develop into a language game:

Excerpt 6.21 (Zeynep: L1 Turkish; Meike: L1 German; Lena: L1 German; Heidi: L1 German)

1. Z: Where's my <Hu> villa {Fork}?
   ((H laughs))
2. M: @Where's my <Hu> vi′lla {Fork}?@ ((sing-song voice))
3. Z: What?
4. L: @Where's a: <Hu> vi′lla {Fork}?@ ((sing-song voice))
5. Z: @<Hu> Vi′lla {Fork}.@ ((sing-song voice))
6. L: @<Hu> <u>Hol</u> van a villa {Where is the fork}?@ ((sing-song
7.   voice))
8. Z: @<Hu> <u>Hol</u> van a villa {Where is the fork}?@ ((sing-song
      voice))
      ((laughter))
9. H: What do you want?
      ((Z laughs))
10. M: @<Hu> <u>Itt</u> van {It is here}@((sing-song voice))
11. Z: Fork [/?   /
12. M: @[<Hu> <u>Itt</u> van a villa {The fork is here}.@ ((sing-song
      voice))
13. L: @<Hu> Itt: {Here}@ ((laughs)) ((sing-song voice))
14. /?/: @<Hu> Itt: {Here}@ ((sing-song voice))

When in utterance 1 Zeynep code-switches to Hungarian, she does not flag her utterance in any way. Like Pölzl's (2003) and Cogo's (2007) participants, she, too, aims to create some kind of social meaning. In light of the research findings presented in section 5.2.5, she might have a variety of goals such as to practice her Hungarian and/or to localize her ELF; yet, the goal of making humor is hard to be denied. She knows, as much as the other members of her Szeged Erasmus community know, that code-switching is considered funny, and is valued highly. This is most evident in the other participants' reactions. First, Heidi starts laughing, and Meike repeats her question with the Hungarian element. At this stage, Zeynep does not

yet expect her code-switching to be further developed into a language game, and expresses surprise evidenced in her question, "What?"

In utterance 4, Lena repeats Meike's question. That she is repeating Meike, rather than Zeynep, is evident in the fact that she puts the primary stress on the second syllable of the notion of "villa" as did Meike.[97] In the mean time, she strategically changes the original pronoun "my" to the indefinite article "a". By this time, Zeynep has realized that her utterance has been taken up for language play, and she also joins in the game. In utterance 5, she repeats *villa* "fork", and in doing so she adopts her co-participants' placement of the stress on the second syllable. In utterance 6, Lena aligns with Zeynep's strategy of code-switching, and she provides the entire utterance in Hungarian. In doing so, she stresses the first word of her question. In the next utterance, Zeynep repeats her, in Hungarian, and with a stress on the first word. The participants burst out laughing. The source of their humor could not be in content (as they were repeating the same question), but in the manner in which they repeated the question. That is, they were switching codes while at the same time they were repeating each other and building on each other. After the laughter, the language game continues.

In utterance 8, Heidi, too, takes up Zeynep's question for a humorous effect. She asks "What do you want?" a question with which she intends to tease Zeynep. Acknowledging the humor in Heidi's question, Zeynep starts laughing. By now Meike has gained some planning time, which often comes with the repetition of utterances, and expands on Lena's question in utterance 6. The question has been, "Where is the fork?" all in Hungarian, to which now Meike answers, all in Hungarian, "It is here". Her emphasis is on the Hungarian equivalent of "here". In utterance 10, Zeynep starts answering Heidi's question in utterance 8. Part of her answer is inaudible as Meike overlaps with her to answer Lena's previous question in an even fuller detail. In utterance 11, she says, all in Hungarian, "The fork is here". Again, her emphasis is on the Hungarian equivalent of "here". In utterance 12, Lena repeats the notion of "here" in Hungarian, as it is this part of the utterance, which Meike has stressed in her previous two utterances. All this is performed in a sing-song voice. The extract finishes with someone repeating Lena.

In Excerpt 6.21, three speakers have accommodated for convergence through various strategies. Two of their strategies are in line with Cogo's (2007, 2009) participants. That is, the participants switched codes, and they repeated each others' structure and lexical items. An additional strategy they adopted was the repetition of each others' sing-song voice and

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[97] For more on the role of intonation and other paralinguistic features in creating humorous effects, see section 6.3.2 below.

syllable (word) stress. More will be said on the role of paralinguistic features in the following section.[98] The upshot here is that code-switching was one of the many shared practices through which the Szeged Erasmus students jointly created humor. Part of the shared practice was a language game in which they responded to one practice of code-switching by another practice of code-switching, and this in a long chain

My final example illustrates how even a small amount of spontaneous code-switching can serve the purpose of co-constructing humor in this community. In Excerpt 6.22, William has just told about his swimming in the local river, and the researcher has just warned him that swimming is prohibited. Emese confirms the researcher's point and, as a response, William explains what he would have said to the policemen had they wanted to fine him:

Excerpt 6.22 (William: L1 Estonian; Emese: L1 Hungarian; Franco: L1 Italian)

1. W: [We don't →
2. E: the river on the <Hu> Belvárosi Híd{The Downtown Bridge}
3. W: speak Hungarian.
4. E: And →
5. W: └<Hu> nem beszél- {I don't speak} ((a few meaningless syllables
    follow, indicating   he is not able to finish))
6. E: and there's a:
7. F: <Hu> Nem értem. {I don't understand}.
8. W: @<Hu> Nem értem.@ {I don't understand} ((laughing voice))
9. E: a piece of land →
10. F: <Hu> Sajnos. {Unfortunately}
    ((W laughs))
11. E: and usually there are some (.) some people who are lying on
    the sun actually, but it's (.) they can get the (.) fine.

William utters, first, in English, what he would have said to the policemen ("We don't speak Hungarian"). Then, in utterance 5, he makes an attempt to repeat the expression in Hungarian. He has, at least, two reasons to do so. Firstly, by switching codes he can make another humorous effect; secondly, by switching to Hungarian, he can show what *exactly* he would have said to the Hungarian policemen. The humor he desires is not so much in content (for he is repeating "old" information), but in the process of code-switching. However, no sooner than he starts making the expression in Hungarian, he realizes that he cannot inflect the verb. He signals his word search indirectly by adding a few meaningless syllables to the verb. In utterance 7, Franco code-switches to Hungarian to offer William a scaffold. By

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[98] Here paralinguistic features are interpreted as tools for making humorous effects; yet, playing with the stress, in particular, may be further interpreted as showing the students' attention to language forms, and their intention to learn, or "practice" a given language.

offering a scaffold to him, he does not in the first place seek to promote intelligibility,[99] but rather he intends to help him with the creation of humor. In light of Sacks et al. (1974: 72), one would expect him to perform collaborative utterance building, and thus finish William's utterance. However, he cannot inflect the verb, either. As a solution, he produces a new utterance with a similar meaning. That is, rather than say the Hungarian equivalent of "I don't speak Hungarian" he says the Hungarian equivalent of "I don't understand you". His code-switching is appropriate and well chosen. William laughingly repeats the utterance Franco has supplied. His repetition has at least two functions. Firstly, as Klimpfinger (2007) notes with reference to her ELF participants involved in a word search, it shows his acknowledgment of help, and his recognition of the (Hungarian) utterance; secondly, it serves to create the desired humorous effect. Thus, by switching to Hungarian, William and Franco jointly create a humorous effect.

The co-construction of the humorous effect continues in the next turn. Franco utters the Hungarian equivalent of "Unfortunately". In so doing, he builds on William's way of speaking. That is, he accommodates to his use of Hungarian, and thus adds to the humorous effect they have jointly created in the previous turns. Furthermore, his Hungarian utterance is ironical: in the present situation, "unfortunately" is meant as an excuse not to get a fine, rather than something to be sorry about. By using irony, Franco makes the humorous effect even more powerful. Franco's second code-switch is well received again: William acknowledges it with laughter.

6.3.2 Paralinguistics

The other means of creating humor aimed at style was the use of paralinguistics, that is, the non-verbal aspects of spoken communication such as speech tempo, pitch and intonation. The students used paralinguistic features in two different ways to create a humorous effect. Firstly, they used it as a supplementary strategy to add to the humorous effect in content. In this function, it was typically used in narratives. Excerpt 6.6, in which William recounts the humorous story of his encounter with the water police in Szeged, is a case in point. As a reminder, his humor was *primarily* in the fact that he did not realize that he was waving and happily shouting to the police, when in fact, they could have easily fined him. That he played with his intonation was an additional strategy he adopted to *add* to the

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[99] Intelligibility has already been reached in utterance 1, where William provides the same information in English.

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humorous effect. Secondly, the Szeged Erasmus students used paralinguistics as the only (or as one of a few) strategies to achieve humor aimed at style. This is exemplified by Excerpt 6.21 above, where the question "Where's my *villa*?" was the topic of a language play for over ten turns. To jointly create a humorous effect, three speakers combined the strategy of code-switching with the use of paralinguistic features. In the following, I provide two more examples of how paralinguistic features were strategically used to create humor aimed at style.

In Excerpt 6.23, Franco mentions for the first time that he has a neighbor who sings Madonna:

Excerpt 6.23 (Franco: L1 Italian; Emese: L1 Hungarian; William: L1 Estonian)

1. F: Once I was cleaning the house and I was /also/ listening much
        more (.) the music because when I study I isolate (.) my minds,
        /?   /, and he was listening the same song, like
        Madonna song, for six times, like a loop, and he was singing
        but he was shouting.
2. E: It's a boy, it's some kind of young boy
3. W: └@Like a virgin
        [on the first night@ ((singing))
4. E: [No, not this, the new one, I don't know.
5. F: One of the the last song.
        ((laughter))

In utterance 1, Franco explains that one day he was disrupted by his neighbor singing Madonna. Hearing this, Emese gives some extra information about "the singer". When she gets close to a transition relevance place, William overlaps with her, and starts singing a Madonna song. By singing the song he means to create a humorous effect. In the sense of Schegloff (2000a), his overlap is not an interruption as Emese was to leave the floor anyway. While William is chanting the song, Emese overlaps with him to tell him that he was singing another song. Emese's overlap may be seen as a misjudgment overlap (Cogo 2007) if we assume that she expected William to leave the floor after "Like a virgin". However, even if it is not a misjudgment overlap, her overlap is cooperative, rather than disruptive, as William continues with the song. When they both leave the floor, Franco confirms Emese's point, and then the participants burst out laughing. The laughter is (at least, in part) an acknowledgment of William's singing the song. In this case, therefore, William attempted and successfully manipulated his voice quality to reach a humorous effect.

In Excerpt 6.24, Mujde has had some difficulty taking over the floor. Eventually, she makes a direct claim for the floor:

Excerpt 6.24 (Mujde: L1 Turkish; Heidi: L1 German: Lena: L1 German; Zeynep: L1 Turkish)

1. Mu: [I want to say something.
2. H: Like in school, @I want to say something@. = (pretends speaking like young children speak at school) ((laughs))
3. Mu: └/?   /
4. L: = Ok, Mujde ((pretends speaking like teachers speak))
5. Z: [Like a student. ((laughs))
6. Mu: [@Thank you@. ((laughing voice)) Today I went, oh what happened? Are you good? ((laughs))

In utterance 1, Mujde states that she "want[s] to say something". With no interruption, Heidi takes the floor. She makes a comment in which she reveals that to her Mujde sounded as if she was a young child asking for their teacher's permission to "say something". Then, she even repeats Mujde's utterance. In doing so, she changes her voice quality to sound like a young child. In utterance 4, Lena builds on Heidi. Heidi has pretended being a student; she now pretends being a teacher. That is, she adopts the intonation with which teachers call on students in class. She says, "Ok, Mujde". This she does without any delay, latching to Heidi's utterance. Her response comes so very fast that, in utterance 5, Zeynep's contribution can be seen as being a little bit delayed. In utterance 5, she expands on Heidi's contribution in utterance 2. She says "Like a student". By saying this, she accommodates for convergence to Heidi (hence, her use of the same structure and even the same notion "like"), and paints an even more detailed picture of how Mujde spoke in utterance 1. By now it is clear that she sounded "like a student" speaks "in school". In the mean time, Mujde overlaps with Zeynep, and thus responds to Lena's fast-paced contribution in utterance 4. As expected from a "good" student who has been given permission to "say something", she now says, "Thank you". In other words, she joins in the collaborative work through which Heidi and Lena are jointly building a humorous effect. That the participants are indeed working on co-constructing humor is further evidenced in the fact that half of their utterances are pronounced laughingly or are followed by laughter.

6.3.3 Word play

Word play was another form of language play. In this case humor was focusing on one particular word, rather than on the students' multilingualism, as in the examples above.[100] They were single occurrences created on the spot. In the following, I present six examples of word play that emerged in my data.

Most of the word play in the Szeged Erasmus community played on the students' names.[101] Starting with the first, one evening a bigger group of students were standing in a big circle on the street when, with some delay, three drunk students arrived. The three of them went up to their friends and greeted them by saying hello and giving them two kisses. A few minutes after their arrival, Dominik jokingly asked one of them, "Hi Maud [mud]! Are you in good mood?" His question played on rhyme: the student's name pronounced as [mud] rhymed with "mood". Moreover, the question "Are you in good mood?" was humorous in another sense. With it, Dominik signaled, in a funny way, that he realized that Maud was drunk.

The other word play targeted a student called Josepa. The word play was carried out by one of the French students who thought that "Josepa" sounded a bit like the French expression *je ne sais pas* "I don't know". On one occasion, she modified the French expression *je ne sais pas* "I don't know" to sound more like "jo-se-pa", and came out with the expression *"je-se-pas"*. She then used it as an alternative to the student's name. Furthermore, there is another sense in which the French equivalent of "I don't know" can be seen as funny. Josepa, an L1 speaker of Spanish, had such a strong Spanish accent because of which most of the students claimed that they had difficulty understanding him. Thus, the alternative name (derived from the French "I don't know"), is funny, and at the same time, well chosen, as it may be seen as sending the message, "I don't know (don't understand) what you are saying".

The third example comes from one of the prompted e-mails. After the table football competition, or as the students called it, "chocho tournament", which Lucia organized in her home, Micha played on the name of his team and on his opponents' name. His team was called *borospince* "wine cellar" while his opponents, by mere accident, were called "Jack" and "Daniel". Micha associated their names with the drink "Jack Daniel's", and in his e-mail, he wrote, "we finally lost against Jack & Daniel (probably because Jack Daniel's is stronger than wine)".

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[100] See section 6.3.1.
[101] Unlike in the other chapters, here, at least, in some cases, I provide real names. Otherwise, I could not illustrate the practice of word play as used by the Szeged Erasmus students.

A final example of word play on students' names was documented in a circular e-mail. Lucia wanted to remind the students that Graziella was leaving Hungary the following day, and that they should organize a party for her. In an attempt to be funny, she started her e-mail by saying, "Hey peoplecilla". This word play emerged as she took the second part of the girl's name "ziella" (pronounced as "ciella"), shortened it to "cilla", and then added it to the address form "people", which was most commonly used in circular e-mails.[102]

Word plays other than those which played on the students' names came up in writing. One of them played on rhyme and at the same time had a "naughty" content, which added to its humorous effect. At one house party, the hosts placed a sheet of paper on their entrance door, saying "Erasmus – Orgasmus". This was meant to be a funny solution for giving help to those who had not yet been at their place and perhaps needed directions.

Finally, Marianne was known for her "alcoholic jelly", which she prepared from time to time to the delight of many students. When in the second semester she returned for a short visit to Szeged, she made "alcoholic jelly" again. To let the whole "family" know about the party where jelly would be served, they posted a message, saying, all in capital letters, "TONIGHT BIG PARTY WITH MARIANNE AND HER ALCHOLOC JELLY". This posting prompted several responses from those students who, by that time, were in their home countries and could not participate. Dominik wrote, "ah, enjoy jelly, i will enjoy my je(o)llousy". In this word play he built on the similar pronunciation of "jelly" and the first part of "jealousy". To bring the similarity, and thus the word play, to the attention of the students, he modified his spelling by bracketing "o". However, this was not the only strategy he used to create a humorous effect. He also made use of irony: he wrote that he would "enjoy" his jealousy.

6.4 Discussion

In the process of re-inventing themselves as members of the Szeged Erasmus community, the participants also re-invented their language, or in community of practice terms, they practiced new identities by developing a set of shared resources. That these resources were often linguistic, and English used as a lingua franca was negotiated as a key shared practice, ties to Widdowson's (1993) notions of proficiency in a lingua franca, when he says that "you are proficient in the language to the extent that you possess it, make it your own, bend it to your will [and] assert yourself through it" (p. 43). While using the local set of resources and (re-)creating the shared goals of building friends, "family" and fun, the Szeged

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[102] See section 5.2.3.

Erasmus students created through practice their own "version" of English used as a lingua franca. By so doing, they made the fleeting, changeable nature of ELF "fixed" to the extent that it helped them define themselves as a group. Their group was one of short duration which involved elements of practice which most members of the group claimed they did not like.

Making fun with linguistic resources was primarily accomplished through English used as a lingua franca with humor being *in* the language. That is, much of the humor they created was accomplished by using their shared code (and key practice) of English used as a lingua franca in particular ways. They had four major groups of practices to joke in the language, namely, code-switching, paralinguistic features, interactional strategies and word play. The findings have significant implications for ELF research and theorizing

Firstly, the fact that the participants had a range of shared practices for communicating their message and interpreting others' messages in ways that created humorous effects implies that the participants, using English as a lingua franca, had both the ability and the willingness to move beyond the goals of achieving mutual intelligibility and that of showing linguacultural identities. In Tannen's (1984: 78) terms, we may say that they operated on the assumption that they mutually understand each other and that the show of linguacultural identities is not their main concern. Therefore, they placed the signaling load on the creation of humor, and through it, on the show of solidarity with the group. This is noteworthy for in line with the widely accepted view that ELF is the "reconciliation" of intelligibility and identity (Pölzl and Seidlhofer 2006: 151), current ELF research focuses on how speakers achieve mutual understanding and/or signal their linguacultural identities. In the mean time, research into humor, solidarity and rapport is lagging behind (but see Stark 2009 and Cogo 2007, 2009). That the Szeged Erasmus students were so highly concerned with making fun, and that in the creation of humor they so often practiced rapport, necessitates more research to be done into humor and the interpersonal dimensions of ELF talk in a range of local contexts. In taking ELF research into these relatively new directions, a social approach such as the one presented here would be most helpful.

This brings us to the second major implication of the present study concerning solidarity and rapport. In the Szeged Erasmus community, the practices were layered into each other so that very often by practicing humor, the members simultaneously practiced solidarity and rapport, which served the goal of creating and maintaining a "family" and friendship support system. To this end, the participants developed a shared resource of interactional strategies such as cooperative overlaps (including both completion overlaps and misjudgment overlaps), utterance completions and repetitions as acknowledgment tokens.

Thus, in the joint construction of humor, when they evoked, interpreted and built on each others' (implicit or explicit) meanings, they often used one or more of the interactional strategies. As one of them explained at an interview,[103] practices emphasizing the content component of humor were all the more effective (from the point of view of the joint enterprise) if two or more students "joined in", and there was a sense of collaboration between the participants. This finding is most compatible with Holmes (2006) and C. Davies (2003), who imply that humor is an effective tool for expressing solidarity so long that the participants have a set of shared perspectives and understandings to draw upon, have the willingness to sustain each other's topic, and show readiness to adjust their ways of speaking to those of the co-participants. Thus, speakers using English as a lingua franca may well have the resources to build humor, solidarity and rapport by drawing on each other's contributions, and by using a range of interactional strategies, if that is compatible with their goals.

In the Szeged Erasmus students' community there was another shared way of practicing rapport. When the participants responded to one particular type of shared practice with the same type of shared practice, they practiced solidarity and rapport in the form of accommodation for convergence. However, their accommodation is not to be understood in the traditional sense of the notion.[104] Rather, it is something broader, which occurred on two levels: on the level of the previous speaker and on the level of the group. That is, the students adjusted their ways of speaking to the previous speaker in such a way that they observed (or remained loyal) to the group norm as well. The community of practice approach of the present study both confirms and adds something new to the current understanding of accommodation in ELF research. For the Szeged Erasmus students, as well as for many of Cogo's (2007, 2009) participants, the most common ways of accommodation were repetition and code-switching. In both cases, the participants either repeated the previous speaker's utterance (that is, their structure and lexis), or they aligned with the previous speaker's strategic language use (that is, they adopted their strategy of code-switching). However, the Szeged Erasmus students did not only align to their co-participants' language use through the practice of code-switching, but also through the repetition of the co-participants' paralinguistic features, such as their intonation, syllable and word stress, tone of voice, and their use of irony.[105] Furthermore, through their accommodation for convergence in several subsequent turns, the

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[103] See Excerpt 6.11 above.
[104] See Giles and Coupland (1991: 60-67).
[105] Humor in content is not the focus of the present discussion but it is noteworthy that the participants also aligned to each other by sustaining the humorous content and/or the implicit reference to meaning (likely related to a "naughty" topic). See sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2 and 6.2.3.

Szeged Erasmus students were able to achieve so high levels of collaboration that it made the impression of a language game.

Humor most likely flew from one turn to the next when the participants converged to each others' ways of speaking through code-switching. The fact that code-switching, and more specifically, chains of code-switching, were one if not the most important means of joking in the language shows that the participants productively exploited their multilingualism as a shared resource for generating humor. Stark's (2009: 175) point is borne out here – ELF speakers do seem to have "a natural interest in languages". However, based on the insights we have gained into the Szeged Erasmus community, this view needs to be expanded. That is, users of English as a lingua franca readily exploit their natural interest in languages if it is compatible with the goals that they jointly practice. The Szeged Erasmus students, in particular, creatively exploited their plurilingual repertoires for the creation of humor, rapport, and a "family" more so than for achieving intelligibility or signaling linguacultural identities. This being the case, we need careful understanding of the social context in which ELF is used or is developing – e.g. corporate multinational lawyers in the workplace likely use English as a lingua franca for different shared goals (if they can be said to be in a community of practice at all) than did the Szeged Erasmus students.

A close analysis of the Szeged Erasmus students' code-switching practices lends itself to another major conclusion. That is, for social players engaged in ELF practice, native speaker (NS) norms are a useful point of departure (Smit 2010: 58), but they are clearly not "the unquestioned (unquestionable?) yardstick" (Seidlhofer et al. 2006: 7). As Firth (2009) puts it, ELF speakers often "do not being an L2 learner" (Firth 2009). That is, they tend not to attend to each others' "errors". In the Szeged Erasmus community, the participants went further than that: they repeatedly made certain type of "errors", of which code-switching was a salient one. Therefore, it mattered little whether NS norms were met or not; what mattered was the shared goal of creating humor, which was key to their re-inventing themselves as members of one and the same community. In a dynamic process, their code-switching practices emerged (at least, in part) to achieve the goal of making humor, then they were solidified in practice, which sustained the enterprise.

Finally, the Szeged Erasmus students did not only joke *in* the language but they also joked *about* it. As English was a key shared practice, one which was particularly salient to the group, the students developed the shared practice of joking about their knowledge of English or lack of it. Besides that, they were all temporary residents in a "strange/foreign land", in which the knowledge of the local language of the environment (or lack of it) was central to

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their daily practice. This shared experience led to some further jokes. They repeatedly made fun of their "strangeness and awkwardness" in the Hungarian society, and of their Hungarian skills or lack of them. Many of their jokes about the language (including both English and Hungarian) were about language learning, language use and misunderstandings. For instance, at the beginning of the term when most students had little self-confidence in their abilities to use English in Szeged well, they told humorous narratives about their "bad English" leading to specific types of interactions in the Hungarian society.

In conclusion, then, all the above noted practices were a resource in making fun, and helped the participants to establish themselves as a group. Knowing how to make the different types of humor was one of the indicators that they formed a group (a community of practice) indeed. In the next chapter, I will explain in detail how initial perceptions about "bad English" (re-)defined the shared enterprise which the students came to jointly practice.

7 LINGUISTIC PRACTICES RELATED TO THE GOAL OF GAINING SELF-CONFIDENCE

In this chapter, I turn my attention to the third enterprise of the Szeged Erasmus students' community of practice. My focus shifts from the desire for having fun to their goal to become more self-confident speakers of English (used as a lingua franca). More specifically, the present chapter seeks to show how the participants developed a community in which gaining self-confidence *in* English (used as a lingua franca) was a joint enterprise causing particular shared practices and resources developing. To this end, I first present interview data in which the students stated their intention to gain self-confidence in English (used as a lingua franca); secondly, I illuminate the ways in which they manipulated their linguistic resources to build a friendship and "family" based social network with the additional focus on self-confidence in English (used as a lingua franca).

The chapter will show that the Szeged Erasmus students sought to become more self-confident speakers of English (used as a lingua franca) in and through two major kinds of linguistic practices. One of their practices can be referred to as collaborative utterance building at moments of word search, and the other as negotiations of meaning at moments of non-understanding. From a Conversation Analytic (CA) perspective, which emphasizes intersubjectivity (Heritage 1984a: 256; Schegloff 1992:1295-1300), both practices emerge in situations where, due to some problem, the speaker alters from the "normal state" of talk in progress. That is, "instead of providing the 'next relevant turn', [they] orient to some prior turn or to the turn-under-construction" (Kurhila 2006: 20). In particular, in the case of a word search, the problem lies in the fact that the speaker has begun a turn but, for lack of a particular word, they cannot finish the turn (Sacks et al. 1974: 72). Following Kurhila's (2006: 96, 107) distinction between "self-directed" and "recipient-directed" search, the speaker in need of help may hold on to the trouble-source turn, and invite other-repair *implicitly*, or they may give up their turn, and request help *explicitly*. As regards cases of non-understanding, the problem lies in the fact that a speaker cannot make (complete) sense of the previous turn (Bremer et al. 1996: 40), which they either signal explicitly by an overt claim such as "I don't understand" or implicitly by, for instance, repeating (part of) the trouble-source turn with a rising intonation. Thus, while word search moments and non-understandings are generally regarded as problematic to the talk in progress, the Szeged Erasmus students turned the (otherwise) problematic situations to their advantage by

developing the shared practices of collaborative utterance building at moment of word search and negotiations of non-understanding.

In conclusion, after a while, due to their major role in presenting a context for the participants to become more self-confident English (as a lingua franca) speakers, word search moments and non-understandings were not treated as problems in the Szeged Erasmus community, but as opportunities which could be turned to their advantage. In the next sections, I will first present the participants' views, and then I will demonstrate through what linguistic means word search moments and non-understandings were turned into mutually accepted practices.

7.1 Participants' views on developing self-confidence in English[106]

For most of the Szeged Erasmus students, the biggest change concerning their English practices in Szeged was that they became more self-confident speakers of English. Concerning this, recall Dominik's stories from a party at the beginning of the first semester (see Excerpts 6.4 and 6.5). He told two humorous stories illustrating the point that he spoke "bad English". While Dominik, and some others, too, talked about their "bad English" skills in a humorous manner, it was a serious issue for them. In the interviews, several students raised the concern that they were "afraid" and "shy" to use English, and English majors were no exception. In Excerpt 7.1 below, Maria, an English major, states that at the beginning of her study abroad she had the "same impression" concerning her "English" skills as the other Szeged Erasmus students:

Excerpt 7.1

> I think that uh most people here or those of whom I talked about it uh have the same impression that […] at the beginnings, they felt that they shouldn't really say anything because they were not confident about their competence. (interview, May 28)

The students' fears that they "shouldn't really say anything [in English]" had two major sources at the beginning of their stay in Hungary. One of them concerned word search

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[106] The students used the notion of "English" to refer to their use of English as a lingua franca. When presenting data, I will use their notion of "English", which will then be interpreted as English (used) as a lingua franca.
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moments, and may be identified with the student quote, "Oh, how, how do I can say it in English?" the other concerned "non-understandings", and may be identified with the student quote, "What are we talking about?" Excerpts 7.2 and 7.3 below reveal that the students feared these moments for different reasons. Word search moments were "difficult" because they realized that they lacked the linguistic means with which to articulate their message; non-understandings, on the other hand, were "embarrassing" for they realized they did not know how to express and repair their lack of understanding the prior turn:

Excerpt 7.2

> I think the most difficult was when you want to do, speak about something and you don't know how to express it (interview, December 30)

Excerpt 7.3

> I think that in the beginning it used to be more uhm (.) embarrassing for you, you know you are talking and you didn't understand the others like oh (.) how can I solve that, how can I deal with it (interview, October 25)

However, over time their perceptions of word search and non-understandings changed substantially. In the area of word search, like Lena put it, they learnt that "[they] are not alone with, with describing". That is, they learnt that their co-participants readily joined in to complete their searches. As regards their difficulty with understanding the prior turn, they learnt, as Lucia claimed, that "[the co-participants] just try to explain in another way, nothing happened!" That is, they learnt that the trouble-source turn speaker readily modifies their prior speech to help them understand what they may not have understood otherwise. Moreover, as Lucia's use of "just" implies, they realized that offering help was not a hassle for the prior speaker and, hence, signaling failed understanding was not at all embarrassing. Further down the line, through their joint effort at repairing problematic moments, they understood that "nobody can speak English perfect", and "everybody have his own prob-problems". This further made them aware of the fact that they were a valuable resources for each other, and through collaboration they can make their English communications successful.

With regard to word search, the participants further learnt that repair could be successful not only when an external (most likely, a native-like) notion was brought into the exchange, but also when a new, local meaning was created on the spot. As Karla pointed out: "it's uh not to get the right solution, it's more for understanding each other". That is, when intelligibility was called into question, it little mattered what utterance was "right" by native

speaker (NS) standards; much more important was the desire to reach a local meaning, or a "temporary solution", which would satisfy them all. By following this principle, the Szeged Erasmus students felt that they "always" accomplished mutual understanding. As Franco explained, they "always get to the point and get understood". Further, as Karla demonstrated in Excerpt 7.4, they did not have to drop a subject in English because of their lack of words: this was however, not true for their use of Hungarian:

Excerpt 7.4

in English it wasn't the case but sometimes now in Hungarian it's like oh it doesn't matter, okay we change the subject or something. (interview, July 14)

The question emerging is whether the participants were always happy with their co-participants' joining in and providing the missing utterance. As indicated by their comments above, they were happy indeed: these practices helped them feel more at ease with the language which was a salient practice to the group, given their propensity to talk and joke in it and about it. However, the students drew a strong dividing line between the co-participants' attempts to fill in moments of word search and their efforts at "correcting" them, as they said. Providing a notion was acceptable and desirable when it was offered at a moment of word search, but it was strongly unacceptable and undesirable when no request for help had been made. That is, other-repair that meant to gear the current speaker towards some external norm was an inappropriate "intervention" unless the current speaker had expressed their need for help, either implicitly or explicitly. As an example, Micha was often criticized on the grounds that he inappropriately tried to "correct" his co-participants. And indeed, at an interview he explained that he had an urge to "correct" what to him seemed a "simple mistake". Micha's practice of "correcting" other students was unique, but frequent enough to be noticed, and to be rejected by the students. In Excerpt 7.5, Lena explained how she refused to accept Micha's offer of a native-like English idiom. She had just translated an L1 German idiom into English for the purposes of fun, and Micha, rather than appreciating her creativity, insisted on accuracy. In Excerpt 7.6, William reports on his and some of the other students' negative reactions to Micha's offer of words, which though more "correct", seemed less appropriate in the given context:

Excerpt 7.5

I know one situation at the beginning that I made uh such a translation and there was Micha and he said, @you ca- can't translate it <u>like this</u>@ ((mocks a teacher)) (.) I said, yes Micha, I

think I know, but (.) doesn't matter, it's funny. @You can't translate like this, you have to say, blablablablablabla@ ((mocks a teacher)). @Yes: so? ((laughing voice)) (interview, December 15)

Excerpt 7.6

he is uh (.) isn't that the word /?   / I was like, everybody was like oh gosh /?   / come on. ((laughs)) (interview, December 4)

Thus, in the Szeged Erasmus community language support at a moment of word search was truly welcome, but unrequested "help" geared toward NS norms was strongly rejected.

While from an outsider's perspective, non-understandings and word search moments were quite many, the vast majority of the students had the impression that they were rare. When towards the end of their stay in Hungary, I asked the participants to reflect on the problematic moments they had in their English conversations, most of them expressed the view that "[they] happened really more at the beginning than [towards the end]". Later I reformulated my question, and was more explicit about word search moments and non-understandings. The answer was still the same: they were rare. This finding confirms the claim that the Szeged Erasmus students' perceptions about word search moments and non-understandings changed. In fact, they became part of their everyday life, which is evident in the fact that they stopped thinking of them as problems, and they stopped paying attention to them. However, some students showed a greater degree of awareness of word search and non-understandings than the rest of the participants. In Excerpts 7.7, Lucia expressed the view that word search moments and non-understandings were many but, unlike at the beginning of the semester, they "ha[d] become something normal". In Excerpt 7.8, Karla stated that they were perhaps so many that they did not (even) "recognize" them:

Excerpt 7.7

Yes they are common. The thing is that they have become something normal. (interview, October 25)

Excerpt 7.8 (Researcher and Karla)

R: Does it happen often?
K: No not at all. I don't think so. (..) Or maybe if then it is already so usually that @you don't even recognize@ ((uncertain voice)) No, I don't know (interview, February 25)

As the students' perceptions about word search moments and non-understandings changed, so did their overall attitude towards their use of English. After the first few weeks of their stay in Hungary when they were afraid of, and ashamed about, using English, they

gradually became more "self-confident" in, and "proud" about, their English skills. As an example, towards the end of her stay in Hungary, Maria expressed the view that by then "starting to talk in English [was] much easier" than at the beginning.[107] Further, Jerard made the claim that in the Szeged Erasmus community a widely shared view was that "everybody [had] improved their English" and "everybody became more fluent" in it. His view resonated with William's claim, who argued that all the Szeged Erasmus students had gained self-confidence in their English through "developing together."[108] For Jerard's and William's quotes, see Excerpts 7.9 and 7.10 below:

Excerpt 7.9

> I think everybody improved for vocabulary and also just everybody became more fluent, could have some talks and talk normally in English like they do /with their own/ language. Yeah. (interview, December 30)

Excerpt 7.10

> I kind of see why they are getting closer and why why they, they are not scared to talk any more because, for example <u>in language</u> p- point of view that they're getting more confidence talking and they are realizing that (.) not many of them speak speak speak very good English, you know, that they all develop together (interview, June 18)

Whether the students "improved" their English, and if they did, by what norms, are not relevant for the present purposes. What is important is that they claimed that they had gained self-confidence in English, and this mainly through the co-operative work with which they approached moments of word search and non-understandings.

Finally, when at the beginning of the second semester a new group of students arrived, they underwent the same process as those in the first semester. At the beginning, they also complained about their English being "bad", but over time they made fewer and fewer complaints. The "expert" members of the first semester who stayed behind had a role in this. They helped the newcomers gain self-confidence in their English both indirectly (through the appropriate linguistic means) and directly by overt statements. Thus, at one interview, Karla "showed" how she overtly boosted Olga's self-confidence in her English skills. As Excerpt 7.11 below demonstrates, firstly, Karla denied that Olga's English was "bad", told her not to

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[107] See excerpt 7.1 for a comparison.
[108] William distanced himself from his quote for he believed that he had become a self-confident English speaker in the UK, where he had lived and studied for several years by then, rather than in Szeged.

worry, and promised that she would soon realize that her English was an efficient means of communication in the Szeged Erasmus community:

Excerpt 7.11

>Like the beginning when Ola arrived she said like oh my English is so bad and I said no no no: don't worry, you'll see we can talk to each other (interview, February 25)

Karla's saying, "you will see" is particularly remarkable. It implies that she, too, gained her self-confidence in English through participation in the Szeged Erasmus community.

7.2 Collaborative utterance building at moments of word search

When the participants faced a moment of word search, they offered a scaffold, and thus helped the speaker finish their turn constructional unit (Sacks et al. 1974: 72). In return, the trouble-source turn speaker accepted, or alternatively incorporated the supplied element into their original utterance. By so doing, they expressed their listenership, acknowledgment of the help and their recognition of the word (Klimpfinger 2007: 49), and jointly built an utterance (Tannen 1984: 56). As will be demonstrated in the subsequent analysis, the participants had three types of practices for the construction, in fact co-construction of meaning at moments of word search. Firstly, they developed a shared practice of supplying the missing utterance when no explicit request for help had been made; secondly, they had a shared practice for providing the missing utterance when there had been an overt statement of the help needed; and finally, they had a shared practice for co-constructing a local meaning on the spot, rather than invoking some external meaning.

7.2.1 Explicit word search

When the Szeged Erasmus students faced a moment of word search, one possibility was that they gave up their turn by overtly stating their need for help, and by "directing" their search to one or more of the co-participants. If so, they verbalized their gap in knowledge, raised a specific question, and/or code-switched for linguistic needs. In Excerpt 7.12, the speaker, Lena, poses three questions to signal her word search, and to elicit help from her co-participants. Lena is serving the pizza they have just baked. When she wants to draw to Zeynep's attention that they have a slice without pork on it, she runs into a word search:

Excerpt 7.12 (Lena: L1 German; Zeynep: L1 Turkish)

1. L: We have a piece without pork. Pork? Is it pork? Pig?
2. Z: No, pig, pork the same /type/, I know.
3. L: └Aha.   Especially for you.

As Excerpt 7.12 shows, the problem for Lena is not that she lacks a certain word, but rather that she has two alternative solutions for the same notion ("pig" and "pork"). As she explained at the retrospective interview, with her questions ("Pork? Is it pork? Pig?"), she actually invited her co-participants to provide the notion which best fit the given context. In utterance 2, Zeynep responds to her request for help by stating that they are "the same type". With this answer, Zeynep satisfies Lena's request for help. In utterance 3, Lena acknowledges her help in overlapping speech, and then, when Zeynep has completed her turn, she returns to her original utterance, emphasizing that the "piece without pork" has been prepared "especially" for Zeynep. Notable here is that the goal is immediate understanding, not necessarily improving English language knowledge – Zeynap says "pork" and "pig" are the same, although in this context, for NSs, "pork" is the appropriate term.

While word search for which the speaker had some alternatives to suggest (e.g. Excerpt 7.12) was rather many in the Szeged Erasmus students' community; word searches where the current speaker had no proposals or alternatives for completing their turn constructional unit was even more common. In Excerpt 7.13, Lena has just commented on the researcher's choice of the word "kindergarten", to which the researcher responds by saying "you can also say nursery school". A few turns later, Lena wants to say that kindergartens are a German invention, but she runs into a word search, which she signals by a cut-off, and also by switching to her L1 for linguistic needs:

Excerpt 7.13 (Researcher: L1 Hungarian; Lena: L1 German; Meike: L1 German)

1. R: Well yes, you can also say nursery school but
2. L: └Yeah?
3. R: Yeah kindergarten is easier.
4. L: It's a German in- what is <Ge> Erfindung {invention}?
5. M: Uh invention.
6. L: I asked you today, again. ((laughs)) It's a German
    invention, the kindergarten.

When in utterance 4 Lena switches to her L1 German, she first says "what is" and, then, provides the German expression with a rising intonation. In the sense of Cogo (2007: 169-170), this is a sign of "flagging": she marks her code-switching as a compensatory strategy at a problematic moment. More specifically, with her code-switching, she appeals for a missing notion, a process, which she believes is the fastest and most efficient in the present situation. Her strategy works out well. After a short hedge, Meike, the other L1 speaker of German, supplies the English form she needs. In the next utterance, Lena laughingly remarks that she has asked for the same word earlier that day. Then, she returns to her original utterance, and incorporating the notion she requested and Meike has supplied, she completes her utterance. What this and the other similar instances of talk in the data show is that if the Szeged Erasmus students' intention was to repair a word search fast, one alternative was to switch to their L1, and thus appeal for help. However, like Klimpfinger (2007: 49) notes, this strategy was effective when there were other L1 or additional language (Ln) speakers of the same language present.

My next example further illustrates code-switching as a tool for appealing for help. Moreover, it shows how the Szeged Erasmus students requested and offered help at a moment of word search in their Ln. In Excerpt 7.14, Zeynep wants to ask where her fork is, but not knowing the English for "fork", she code-switches to her Ln Hungarian:

Excerpt 7.14 (Zeynep: L1 Turkish; Lena: L1 German)

1. Z: Where's my <Hu> villa {Fork}? <Hu> Villa {Fork} is
       Hungarian name ((points at a fork on the table)). I don't
       know English name but I know Hungarian name.
2. L: └Ah really?
3. Z: Yes.
4. L: In uh English, fork.
5. Z: Fork?
6. L: Fork.
7. Z: Fork.
8. L: Aha fork.
9. Z: Fork.

As in Excerpt 7.13, in Excerpt 7.14, too, the current speaker marks her code-switching as a compensatory strategy at a moment of word search (Cogo 2007: 169-170). Firstly, Zeynep states that the code-switched utterance *(villa)* is a Hungarian utterance; secondly, she remarks that she does not know the English equivalent of the notion; and finally she emphasizes that

she is only familiar with the Hungarian expression. By flagging her code-switching, she invites Lena, another Ln speaker of Hungarian, to provide the missing English utterance. Lena goes along with Zeynep's invitation and provides the utterance Zeynep is looking for. However, rather than simply saying "Fork", she says "In uh English fork", which is a careful attempt on her part to provide an appropriate scaffold. In the next utterance, Zeynep repeats the utterance she requested and Lena has provided. However, her repetition is performed with a rising intonation, which is a sign of the fact that the word search has not yet been resolved. She has been provided with an utterance she is unfamiliar with and, in order to fill a gap in her vocabulary, she wants to "practice" (Pölzl 2003: 18) the new utterance. To do so, she needs Lena to "model" the new utterance for a second time. In utterance 6, Lena complies with her wish: she repeats her notion of "fork" for a second time. In the next turn, Zeynep repeats the notion again, this time with a falling intonation. Her repetition of the notion in utterance 7 is an indication of her listenership (Lichtkoppler 2007), her acknowledgment of the help (Klimpfinger 2007: 49), and also of her having filled a gap in her vocabulary.

The collaborative utterance building could just as well end here, but it does not. In the next utterance, Lena says, "Aha fork". Her utterance has double meanings. Firstly, with her saying "Aha", she acknowledges the notion Zeynep has newly learnt. Secondly, with her saying "fork", she repeats the missing utterance for a third time, and thus makes sure that the word search has been successfully repaired. In utterance 9, Zeynep repeats the notion for a third time. With her third and final repeat of the missing utterance, she expresses her listenership, her acknowledgment of the help, and her having learnt a new utterance in a more efficient way. The kind of "practicing" that is evidenced in Excerpt 7.14 is a particularly revealing example for how the Szeged Erasmus students helped each other learn new utterances in a truly co-operative manner. One speaker initiated the process of "practicing", and the other complied with it. Not surprisingly, those students who came to Szeged with the direct goal of improving their English, oriented towards this kind of learning more readily than those whose interests and goals lay somewhere else.

7.2.2 Implicit word search

Another possibility when faced with a word search was to hold on to the trouble-source turn, and to maintain a "self-directed" search (Kurhila 2006: 96). This practice bears resemblance to Mauranen's (2006: 137-138) co-constructed repairs: the speaker facing a word search does not ask a direct question or make a direct statement to prompt help from the co-

participants; but rather, they *imply* their difficulty, and perhaps their need for help, implicitly through longer than normal pauses, hedges and other signs of hesitations or repetitions. In my first example, help comes right after the first signal of a word search (see Excerpt 7.15). Emese and Franco have just related the following personal story. When they were driving on the highway in Italy, a car overtook them and the two people in it pointed guns at the drivers in front of them. They assumed that they were police officers. The problematic moment comes when Emese wants to specify what they thought they were after:

Excerpt 7.15 (Emese: L1 Hungarian; Franco: L1 Italian)

1. E: We think that the police (.) he says that there are some
    policeman who are working in (.) who are working
    undercover (..) [They are looking for uh
2. F: [Like   drug traffic
    something like this
3. E: └Drug dealers or (.) something like this and
    (..) and I think that they were but it was a very scary (.)
    thing that I haven't seen (.) anything like this before.

Emese runs into a word search towards the end of her utterance 1, which she signals with a hedge ('uh'). Not waiting for a direct request for help, Fabio supplies the expression, which he believes Emese is most likely looking for ("drug traffic"). Since, however, he may be wrong, and it may turn out that Emese is looking for some other expression, he adds "something like this" to his utterance. Emese does not wait for him to finish his utterance. When he gets close to a transition relevance place, she takes over. In a cooperative overlap she amends Fabio's utterance, switching "drug traffic", to "drug dealers" while continuing to align with Franco by also repeating Franco's "something like this". She connects it to her notion of "drug dealers" with an "or", and thus continues her original utterance. Franco's "something like this" is an insignificant utterance; Emese has not lacked this expression. That she still incorporates it into her original utterance is a sign of her strong desire to express listenership (Lichtkoppler 2007), acknowledgment of the help (Klimpfinger 2007), and alignment with Fabio (Cogo 2007).

Excerpt 7.16 presents another example for a word search from the same story as in Excerpt 7.15. When Emese mentions the police officers for the first time, she wants to point out that they were not wearing uniforms. Since, however, she lacks the word "uniform" she encounters a moment of word search:

Excerpt 7.16 (Emese: L1 Hungarian; William: L1 Estonian; Andrew: L1 English)

E: With airplane to Rome, because my parents were (.) at at me
   in Italy. And my brother came and we went to uh to
   L'Acquila together from Rome. And we were going on the
   (.) motorway, and it was full, all lanes full. And there was a
   car in front of our car (.) with four guys. And there was a (.)
   normal car (.) but at the end it turned out that they were two
   policemans but not in the @policeman uh suit@ ((slows
   down)) or =
1. W: = Undercover
2. E: Or how to say?
3. W: Aha, aha.
4. E: And: (.) what undercover? (..) It's called the suit? The
       policeman
5. A: Uniform.
6. E: Uniform.
7. A: └That's a uniform.
8. E: Undercover.
9. A: But if you don't have a uniform, then it's [undercover.
10. E: [Undercover. Ok,
       [they were undercover. And:

When faced with a word search, Emese (first) holds on to her trouble-source turn: she slows down and makes a hedge ("uh"). That is, she does not (immediately) impose her search on others, but she tries to deal with the problematic moment by herself. She fills her word search with the notion of "policeman suit". Since, however, "suit" is not the notion she needs, she starts raising a question, thus eliciting help from her co-participants. As is evident from utterance 3, what she means to ask is "or how to say?", but before she could finish her turn, William jumps in with the notion of "undercover". Thinking that Emese's word search has emerged because of her lacking a notion for "not in the policeman uh suit", he provides the utterance "undercover". As William's offer of help is latched to Emese's unfinished turn, it comes too fast for Emese. In utterance 3, Emese first finishes her request for help, and in utterance 5, she gives an indication of her intention to continue with her original story (hence, the linking word "And:"). After her saying, "And:" she makes a pause, and instead of continuing with the story, she responds to William's offer in utterance 2. As if she had just realized that a scaffold has been provided for her, she now repeats the utterance in a question form ("What undercover?"). This bears resemblance to Zeynep's repetition of "Fork" with a rising intonation in Excerpt 7.14; it shows that the word search has not been repaired yet, and that she needs some explanation. This becomes even clearer when in the same utterance, she

raises another question, "It's called the suit?" These questions reveal that her word search has been caused not by her lack of the notion "undercover", as William expected, but by her lack of the notion "uniform". She is confused, and with her questions, she means to find out if "undercover" is the "right" notion for the policeman "suit".

In utterance 6, Andrew jumps in, and provides the notion which Emese has originally looked for, that is, "uniform". In her next utterance, Emese repeats Andrew's offer with a falling intonation, thus expressing her acknowledgment of the help, and her recognition of the word. In his next utterance, Andrew provides the missing notion once again: he says, "That's a uniform". Andrew's repetition of the missing utterance is reminiscent of Lena's repetition of "Fork" in Excerpt 7.14; he wants to make sure that the word search has been successfully resolved.

However, for the word search to be successfully resolved, Emese now also needs an explanation on William's offer of help. Thus, in utterance 9, she repeats William's notion of "undercover" once again. This time she does not use a rising intonation; yet, to Andrew it is evident that her repeat is an attempt to elicit more help. In utterance 10, he offers the following explanation: "but if you don't have uniform, then it's undercover". Anticipating the end of his utterance, Emese overlaps with Andrew, and they say simultaneously the same. With her overlapping speech, Emese indicates that the word search has been successfully repaired. She then says, "Ok", and continues with her original story. If she were to continue the story along the same lines as in utterance 1, she would have to say, "not in a uniform"; however, what she actually says is, "they were undercover". Thus, she does not incorporate the utterance, which she has requested in utterance 3, but the one she has been provided with in a co-operative spirit. By so doing, she means to express her appreciation of both William's and Andrew's help: William has helped her fill a moment of word search; Andrew has helped her fill a gap in her vocabulary. This excerpt is, therefore, another example for how the participants turned their English context into a learning environment in a highly co-operative manner.

As Excerpts 7.15 and 7.16 have demonstrated, even when the speakers remained implicit about their word search, the participants skillfully resolved the problematic moments. To do so, first, they had to pick up the current speaker's thread, a practice which bears resemblance with collaborative utterance building as involvement (Tannen 1984: 56); then, they could offer help. Thus, in the case of implicit word search, providing the missing utterance had a great rapport value. This perhaps explains why in utterance 12 of Excerpt 7.16

Emese incorporated "undercover" in her original utterance, when in fact that was not the utterance she was originally looking for.

Even if in their acknowledgment of the help, the participants incorporate notions which they did not originally mean to say, they did not give up on their original message. As Excerpt 7.17 below illustrates, they typically managed both to build rapport (by incorporating the notion they had been provided with), and to communicate their message. The participants are talking about what they like to have for breakfast. A few turns earlier, Mujde has made the claim that she likes to eat "chocolate, bananas and milk". Now she comes back to this point, and wants to expand on her list by adding "honey" and "walnut" to it. However, the notion of "walnut" eludes her:

Excerpt 7.17 (Mujde: L1 Turkish; Zeynep: L1 Turkish; Researcher: L1 Hungarian)

1. M: And sometimes I cut banana, like here, and after I put on
   uh
2. Z: Chocolate.
3. M: Chocolate sauce or another kind uh uh honey
4. R: Ah.
5. M: Honey and <Tu> ceviz? Ceviz ne demekti {walnut?
   What is "walnut"} English?

In utterance 1, Mujde mentions bananas again, and when moving on to the next item on her list, she runs into a word search, which she signals indirectly by making a hedge ("uh"). Thinking that Mujde is repeating, rather than expanding on her previous list, Zeynep joins in, and says, "chocolate". By so doing, she signals two things, at least. Firstly, she shows that she has been a good listener; secondly, she demonstrates her willingness to help. In utterance 3, Mujde accepts Zeynep's offer of "chocolate", and adding "sauce" to it, she incorporates it into her utterance. Like Emese in Excerpt 7.15, she, too, adapts the notion to her own needs first, and it is only then that she incorporates it into her original utterance. However, when she continues with her original utterance, it becomes evident that "chocolate" is not the word she has been originally looking for. That she has still incorporated it into her original utterance is a clear sign of the fact that she means to build rapport with Zeynep.

Once she has expressed her appreciation of Zeynep's help, Mujde continues to signal her word search. First she says "or another kind", then makes further hesitation signs ("uh uh"). In the mean time, she remembers "honey" and, although it is not what she is searching for, she includes it in her list. Eventually, she makes her search explicit by appealing for help

in her L1 Turkish. Thus, Mujde has taken up Zeynep's offer of "chocolate", but this does not prevent her from continuing her search for the notion of "walnut".

7.2.3 The co-construction of local meanings

In the previous two sections we have seen how the participants invoked external meanings to fill moments of word search. The third possibility at a moment of word search was to co-construct a local meaning on the spot. This involved a negotiation process in which the speaker in need of help did not immediately take up the utterance which a co-participant had provided (if they had provided any), but rather they further clarified the meaning. Other students joined in, and the clarification (or negotiation) of the meaning continued until they reached "common ground". The participants typically aimed at a local meaning when, as Karla put it, the "right solution" was not available. That is, they sought local meanings when due to a gap in vocabulary, mutual understanding was at risk. The underlying principle, at least, in the early stages of community formation was that establishing local meanings was better than not communicating their message and better than accuracy measured against a standard language norm. However, later they benefited from the process in other ways as well. That is, they also used it as a tool for boosting self-confidence and building rapport. In my first example (see Excerpt 7.18 below), Zeynep is explaining what documents she had to provide at the Immigration Office so that she would get a Hungarian visa. When talking of a "lease", she runs into a word search:

Excerpt 7.18 (Zeynep: L1 Turkish; Mujde: L1 Turkish; Meike: L1 German; Researcher: L1 Hungarian; Lena: L1 German)

1. Z: Because when I didn't come Szeged the the Hungarian o-
   Immigration Office want (.) lots of documents. I don't
   know the (.) <Tu> Tapu ne demek?{What is the English
   for lease}
2. Mu: /?   /
3. Z: Yes. For example the flat is my and live in this flat and I
   have to give uh, I have to show →
4. R: Aha.
5. Z: this flat is my.
6. Me: └Where's your, ah:
7. R: └Yes.
8. Z: And the uh
9. Mu: └Paper.
10. Z: Paper. Yes. I don't know English name.
11. L: └So →

12. Mu: We know.
13. L: that you don't live under the bridge or something like this.

When faced with a word search, Zeynep code-switches to her L1 Turkish, hoping that Mujde, the other L1 speaker of Turkish, will be able to provide help fast. Mujde's reply is not audible on the recording but based on Zeynep's response in utterance 3, in which she paraphrases the utterance, it is evident that she cannot provide the missing utterance. This seems to support Klimpfinger (2007: 49, 53-54) who claims that code-switching as an appeal for help is a risk-running enterprise for there is no guarantee that the co-participants will understand the speaker, or that they will be able to provide the missing utterance. Nevertheless, Zeynep achieves mutual understanding. In utterances 3 and 5, she circumlocutes the missing word. She says, "the flat is my and live in this flat and I have to give uh, I have to show this flat is my". In the next two turns, two of her co-participants signal their understanding: Meike says "ah:" and the researcher gives the acknowledgment token "yes". As neither of the two interlocutors have any knowledge of Turkish, their understanding of the notion follows not from Zeynep's code-switching to Turkish, but from her circumlocution.

Now that two of her co-participants have assured her of their understanding, Zeynep wants to make another contribution. She starts saying "And the", but before she could finish her utterance, she runs into another word search. While she is making a hesitation sign ("uh"), Mujde overlaps with her. In an attempt to further clarify the missing notion, she says, "Paper". In the next utterance, as an acknowledgment of the help and an indication of her listenership and agreement, Zeynep repeats the notion "Paper", and gives the acknowledgment token, "Yes". In the very same utterance, she also explains why she has paraphrased the utterance, and why she has confirmed Mujde's notion: due to a gap in vocabulary, she cannot provide the "English name" for the "paper". In utterance 11, Lena also joins in to take her "share" in the co-construction of the utterance. Building on Mujde's notion of "paper", she adds, "So that you don't live under the bridge". By making this contribution, she further clarifies the type of paper Zeynep had to provide at the Immigration Office. With this the negotiation of meaning ends. The interlocutors did not mention the native-like expression "lease" once, but through their establishing a local meaning, they reached mutual understanding most skillfully and efficiently.

Excerpt 7.18 is similar to Excerpt 7.19 in that all the interlocutors participate in the co-construction of meaning. However, in Excerpt 7.19 most participants make two or more

contributions to the negotiation process. Excerpt 7.19 begins with Andrew asking the L1 speakers of Hungarian what *cserkész* "boy scout" in English is. In response to his inquiry, Emese wants to say that in Hungarian the notion *cserkész* is often used in reference to boys who like picking up girls. Since, however, she is unfamiliar with the English expression "pick up girls", she needs her co-participants' help to accomplish shared understanding:

Excerpt 7.19 (Emese: L1 Hungarian; Researcher: L1 Hungarian; Virág: L1 Hungarian; Andrew: L1 English; Fabio: L1 Italian; William: L1 Estonian)

1. E: Pickpocket and <Hu> cserkész{scout}, scout, we use in some
    contexts for those boys who are (..) uh (.) making
    ((sighs)) <Hu> hogy van az, hogy fölszedni lányokat? {How do
    you say pick up girls}
2. V: @Pull@ ((very silently))
3. R: [Uh
4. A: [/?   /
5. V: └Pull girls.
6. R: <Hu> Nem, nem. {No, no}.
7. V: <Hu> A Will @azt szokta mondani@ ((laughing voice)) {That
    is what Will usually says}.
8. E: <Hu> Mi? {Sorry} [Pull girls?
9. R: [<Hu> Nem, ő mást mond. {No, he says
    something different}
10. V: <Hu> Fölszedni? {Pick up}
11. E: How do you say when you (.) you start a relationship with a
    girl
12. R: But you are not too serious about it?
13. A: @Player@ ((shouts out))
14. R: No:, a verb.
15. E: Just the word, [the word.
16. A: [Flirt?
17. R: No.
18. E: When you get (..) start to go out with
19. A: └Acquainted =
20. R: = No.
21. A: Date? =
22. E: = To date?
23. R: = No. Nonono. William?
    ((With her question, R interrupts F))
24. R: Oh @sorry, sorry@ ((silently)).
25. F: [<Hu> Tessék. {Go ahead}
26. R: [How d-   How do you say when someone starts
    a relationship (.) ve- very regularly with girls like he does a sport
27. E: └<It> /?   / in
    Italiano.
28. F: Date.
29. E: [To date?

30. R: [No.
31. W: Dating, pulling
32. R: Not pulling.
33. A: ∟Pulling
34. E: @Pulling@ ((cries out))
35. W: ∟Depends depends what you mean. Do you want to start a
      relationship in a good way or just to get a one night →
36. E: ∟Just just
37. W: /extent/
38. E: Just, yes, just like this.
39. A: ∟Yeah.   Pull pull a bird.
40. R: ∟Aha.
41. A: He is a player.
      ((A few turns later))
42. E: Ok, I wanted to say that <Hu> cserkész {scout} scout, we say in
      Hungarian tho- (.) for those boys who (.) are pulling girls.
43. A: Aha.

When Emese encounters a word search, she appeals for help in Hungarian. Virág, one of the L1 speakers of Hungarian, provides a notion immediately. She offers the notion "pull girls". Hearing her offer, the researcher, the other L1 speaker of Hungarian, rejects her offer, which has mainly to do with the fact that she has a specific notion on her mind. In fact, she is looking for the notion of "chat up girls", which she has picked up from William. In the next utterance, Virág emphasizes that "pull girls" originates from William. In utterance 8, Emese repeats the notion with a rising intonation, thus expressing her surprise; in utterance 9, the researcher again rejects the notion, saying that it is not the one that William frequently uses. Throughout the whole sequence, the researcher rejects her interlocutors' offer of help which do not match the notion she is looking for[109] but, by the very practice of rejecting their notions, she also encourages them to further clarify the missing utterance. In addition, by the questions she and Emese ask,[110] and the points they raise,[111] they, too, contribute to the co-construction of meaning.

The first instance of a question in which the meaning gets clarified is raised in utterances 11 and 12. In utterances 11 and 12, Emese and the researcher jointly construct the utterance with which they appeal for help from Andrew. That they (first) turn to an L1 speaker of English for help is *not* because they expect him to be a greater "expert" at providing the missing utterance, but rather because the other two students present are engaged in another conversation. Emese asks, "How do you say when you start a relationship with a

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[109] See utterances 14, 17, 20, 23, 30 and 32.
[110] See utterances 12 and 26.
[111] See utterances 14, 15 and 17.

girl" to which the researcher adds, "but you are not too serious about it". In response, Andrew supplies four utterances through which he clarifies the missing utterance. He says, "a player", "flirt", "[get] acquainted" and "date". Between two of his notions, in utterance 18, Emese makes another contribution, with which she clarifies the meaning further. She says, "When you get (..) start to go out with".

In utterance 23, the researcher turns to William and Fabio and, although they are still engaged in a different line of conversation, she interrupts them to elicit help from William. She asks, "How do you say when someone starts a relationship (.) ve- very regularly with girls". Meanwhile, in utterance 27, Emese code-switches to her Ln Italian to appeal for help from Fabio, an L1 speaker of Italian. Out of the two of them, Fabio is the first to make a contribution to the negotiation process. He offers the notion "date". In utterance 31, William repeats Fabio's notion of "date" in a slightly modified form. His repetition is an attempt to express involvement, participation, and listenership, which, in turn enhance mutual understanding (Lichtkoppler 2007), and to show solidarity and rapport, which, in turn, promote interpersonal relations (Tannen 1984, 1989; Cogo 2007). To Fabio's notion of "dating", he then adds the notion of "pulling".

In utterance 33, Andrew jumps in and repeats William's notion of "pulling". His repetition can be seen as another attempt to enhance intelligibility in the sense of Lichtkoppler (2007), and interpersonal relations in the sense of Tannen (1984, 1989) and Cogo (2007). In utterance 35, William elicits further clarification from Emese and the researcher. He asks, "Do you want to start a relationship in a good way or just to get a one night /extent/". When he gets to the notion of "just", Emese can already anticipate the end of his utterance. She therefore overlaps with him, and answers the question in an overlapping speech. She says, "Just, just, just, yes". In utterance 39, Andrew, once again, repeats William's previous notion of "pulling."[112] This time, however, he also builds on it: he says, "pull a bird". Finally, in utterance 41, he repeats his earlier notion, "a player". With this contribution, the negotiation process ends, and the conversation splits again. When a few turns later Emese returns to her original utterance, she says "scout, we say in Hungarian tho- (.) for those boys who (.) are pulling girls".

Thus, in her original utterance she uses the notion of "pulling", which is different from both the notion of "pick up girls" which she was originally looking for, and that of "chat up girls", which the researcher was looking for. Yet, her notion of "pull girls" in utterance 42 has

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[112] See also utterance 33.

been locally established and defined, and conveys the participants' meaning successfully. That is, by the time Emese uses the original construction "pull girls" in utterance 42, all the interlocutors know what they mean by it and are satisfied with it, even though it is not a standard English expression.

7.3 Non-understandings

Moving on to the Szeged Erasmus students' practice of negotiating non-understandings, following Bremer et al. (1996) and Kurhila (2006), when a speaker overtly displayed their difficulty with interpreting the prior turn, a speaker (not necessarily the trouble-source turn speaker) offered repair. That is, they helped the speaker understand what they may not have (fully) understood otherwise. As the subsequent analysis will reveal, the students had three groups of practices for negotiating – in fact co-constructing – meaning at a moment of non-understanding. One group of practices involved repeating the trouble-source turn with no modification, or with some slight change in the grammar and lexis, a practice also known as paraphrasing (Schegloff 1996: 179); the second group involved repetition with expansion or clarification; and finally, the third involved switching codes, and drawing on the speakers' plurilingual repertoires.

7.3.1 Repetitions and paraphrase

Repetitions and paraphrase are one of the three main groups of repair strategies through which the speaker of the trouble-source turn and/or their co-participants dealt with (partly) failed understanding in the data. Excerpt 7.20 exemplifies the practice of paraphrase. It illustrates how non-understandings were accomplished amid humor and laughter once the participants had gained self-confidence in their abilities to use English well. Zeynep is planning a short visit back to her country, and the students are discussing the details of her trip. The non-understanding emerges when Lena prompts Zeynep to tell the time of her flight, and Zeynep gives an inappropriate answer:

Excerpt 7.20 (Lena: L1 German; Zeynep: L1 Turkish; Heidi: L1 German)

1. L: └But you should   Yeah and when will your airplane go?
2. Z: By train [I will go
3. L: [Yeahyeah but not to Turkey.
      ((Z laughs a lot))
4. L: What? I know.

5. Z: Yeah Ok but I want to laugh.
6. L: Zeynep [laugh, laugh.
7. Z: [Ok, repeat please. ((laughs)) Bademeister Krüger, repeat please.
       ((S laughs))
8. H: When is when is your flight?
9. L: Yeah.
10. Z: Twenty-first October [to.
11. L: [No the time
12. Z: The time I said, ten to ten

In utterance 1, Lena asks Zeynep "When will your airplane go?" Earlier Zeynep had specified the time of her flight, and now she thinks that Lena is not asking her about her flight again. She starts answering the question by telling how she will go to the airport, "By train I will go". Before she could finish her utterance and specify the departure time of her train, she is interrupted by Lena. She jokingly remarks, "Yeahyeah but not to Turkey". The idea of her traveling by train all the way to Turkey makes Zeynep laugh. In the next three utterances, Lena and Zeynep talk about Zeynep's laughter. In utterance 7, Zeynep should provide the relevant next turn. That is, she should offer an appropriate answer to Lena's question in utterance 1. Since, however, she is not able to provide the expected answer, she signals a non-understanding by asking for the repeat of the trouble-source turn. She says, "Ok repeat please". Then, to continue with the humorous manner which Lena started in utterance 3, Zeynep repeats her question, and in so doing, she addresses Lena by the funny address form "Bademeister Krüger". With her use of the funny address form, she aligns with Lena's strategic use of humor, which can be seen as another form of accommodation for convergence in ELF. Following her question, in fact her signal of non-understanding, Lena starts laughing. While she is laughing, Heidi attempts to repair the non-understanding. In utterance 8, she paraphrases Lena's original question, and asks, "when is your flight?" In utterance 9, Lena acknowledges Heidi's repeat of her question with a "Yeah".

Zeynep still thinks that it cannot be that they are requesting her to repeat the time of her flight. Thus, in her next utterance, she specifies the date of her flight. At this moment, Lena realizes that Heidi's repair was not effective enough and that it needs some modification. In utterance 11, she says, "No, the time". By making this contribution, she adds nothing new to Heidi's question, but changes its wording only, as if asking, "What time do you fly?" Following the two repairs in utterances 8 and 11, Zeynep understands that despite the fact that she has mentioned the time of flight earlier, her co-participants want the repeat of the information. In her next utterance, she provides a next relevant turn: she says, "The time I

said, ten to ten". With this, the non-understanding is over. That it has been resolved amid humor and laughter shows, perhaps more than anything, that non-understandings were stress-fee events in the Szeged Erasmus community and, given their role in helping the students become more self-confident speakers, they were part of their everyday life.

7.3.2. Repetitions with clarification

Repetitions with clarification are another group of repair strategies, which the Szeged Erasmus students used at moments of non-understanding. As part of this practice, one or more of the interlocutors first repeated the trouble-source turn and, then, for greater efficiency, expanded on it. In Excerpt 7.22, William is relating the story when he and three other Erasmus students were interviewed on TV. His saying "Erasmus students" creates a non-understanding:

Excerpt 7.22 (William: L1 Estonian; Researcher: L1 Hungarian; Franco: L1 Italian; Emese: L1 Hungarian)

1. W: = You know
      when we went to the, we were on a TV uh (..) four Erasmus
      students were on TV, on <Hu> Szegedi tévé {Szeged TV}
2. R: Chloe →
3. F: [<Hu> Igen? {Really?}
4. E: [Four hours?
5. R: └Chloe →
6. W: Nono, four Erasmus students. Chloe, Lucia, Dominik and I.
7. E: And what did you have to do?

In utterance 1, William says that there were "four Erasmus students" on TV. In utterance 2, the researcher attempts to provide the end of William's utterance: she starts naming the "four Erasmus students". She provides the first name and, while searching for the names of the other students, Franco and Emese start talking. In overlapping speech, Franco asks, in Hungarian, "Really?", and Emese asks "Four hours?" Franco's question is as a form of "co-operative prompting", serving both as a prompt and as a show of interest in the story (Tannen 1984: 119). Emese's question, on the other hand, is an indication of her lack of understanding, in fact lack of hearing of William's turn. The repair for Emese's lack of understanding comes not in the next turn, where the researcher is still searching for the name of the students, but in the turn after, where William offers three solutions to Emese's problem. Firstly, by saying

"Nono", he indicates that "four hours" is not the right interpretation of his utterance; secondly, by repeating the trouble-source turn "four Erasmus students", he offers another possibility for Emese to make a right interpretation of his utterance; and finally, by listing the names of the "four Erasmus students", he actually clarifies the trouble-source turn.

In addition, his contribution in utterance 6 simultaneously serves other goals. On the one hand, it fills a moment of word search, which the researcher has indicated with her repetition of the name "Chloe" in utterance 5. On the other hand, it makes the conversation smooth and cooperative in the sense of Tannen (1984: 59). That is, in utterance 2, the researcher has provided the name "Chloe" as an attempt to finish William's turn; in utterance 6, William accepts and incorporates the researcher's notion of "Chloe" into his utterance, and by so doing, he turns the researcher's contribution into successful collaborative utterance building. Thus, William's contribution in utterance 6 serves to build good interpersonal relations both with Emese and the researcher.

The second example illustrates how the practice of repairing and clarifying was efficiently used by two of the participants in a joint effort In Excerpt 7.23, Zeynep has just asked the researcher if she knows the famous statue called "Rose Grandfather" in Budapest,[113] With her pronunciation of "rose" as [ros], she creates a non-understanding:

Excerpt 7.23 (Zeynep: L1 Turkish; Researcher: L1 Hungarian; Mujde: L1 Turkish; Meike: L1 German)

1. Z: Maybe the name different, I can't say. But nickname Rose
    [ros].
2. R: <Hu> Rossz {bad} [ros]. <Hu> Rossz {bad}, like meaning
    bad?
3. Z: Nono flower, rose [ros]. Like [flower
4. Mu: [Rose [rouz]. You know?
    Flower.
5. R: Ro- ah sorry I thought you were saying <u>in Hungarian</u> <Hu>
    rossz {bad}.
6. Z: No.

When in utterance 1, Zeynep explains that the statue was named after a Turkish man whose "nickname" was "Rose", she pronounces "rose" as [ros]. The researcher cannot identify her pronunciation with any of the English expressions she knows and, first, to gain thinking time, she repeats the notion with falling intonation. Then, knowing that Zeynep often code-switches

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[113] What she actually meant here was the statue of Gül Baba, which translates as the "Father of Roses".

to Hungarian (her use of *villa* "fork" being one example of that),[114] she concludes that maybe Zeynep is using the Hungarian word *rossz* "bad", which is pronounced as [ros]. Since, however, she finds this interpretation quite unlikely, she signals a non-understanding. She asks, "*rossz* like meaning 'bad'?" In the next turn, Zeynep first rejects the researcher's interpretation of her turn, and then comes out with the notion of "Flower". By saying, "Flower", she clarifies the trouble-source utterance, and thus makes it more intelligible for the researcher. As a third solution, she repeats the problematic utterance "rose" (still pronouncing it as [ros]), and then repeats her notion of "flower".

To help repair the non-understanding, Mudje overlaps with Zeynep. Her overlap is not disruptive: she joins in when Zeynep is near a transition relevance place. She starts her repair practice with the repetition of the trouble-source utterance. However, she pronounces "rose" not as [ros] but as [rouz]. That is, she diverges from Zeynep's pronunciation to produce a more native-like utterance. With her saying [rouz], she does not mean to "model" a new utterance for Zeynep (since Zeynep has not invited her to do so), but rather she is repairing the non-understanding that was signaled by the researcher. This is evident in the fact that she does not stress her saying [rouz], and she does not slow down,[115] Then she checks with the researcher if she "knows" what meaning they are trying to convey. Finally, she takes steps to clarify the problematic utterance. To that end, she repeats Zeynep's notion of "flower". According to Cogo (2007), her repeat of the notion of "flower" is a sign of accommodation: she actually adapts her language to sound similar to her co-participant. Thus, Mudje is simultaneously repairing the researcher's non-understanding and expressing alignment with Zeynep. Muje and Zeynep's joint effort at repairing the researcher's non-understanding proves effective. In utterance 5, the researcher says "Ah", and thus indicates that mutual understanding has been reached. Then, she apologizes for having made a wrong interpretation of Zeynep's notion of "rose". She could just as well say that the cause of the non-understanding was Zeynep's pronunciation, in fact mispronunciation of the notion of "rose", but she does not take the opportunity to do so. That she does not comment on Zeynep's language production and proficiency is a sign of the fact that she avoids making Zeynep's language competence a "public matter" (Firth 2009).[116]

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[114] See Excerpt 7.14.

[115] Furthermore, in the next turn, Zeynep neither repeats, nor acknowledges her utterance, which is another sign of the fact that she is not taking Mujde's contribution as a form of "correction".

[116] But see section 7.4 for a discussion of the Szeged Erasmus students' orientation to their own and to each others' language competence.

7.3.3. The use of multilingual resources

The Szeged Erasmus students switched codes on the spot, and thus helped a co-participant understand what they may not have understood otherwise. As plurilingual speakers (see Section 6.2.), they had the possibility and the freedom to switch to any of the languages in their linguistic repertoires, including both their L1 and Ln languages. As Excerpt 7.24 below demonstrates, they typically switched to their L1 when the speaker in need of help was an L1 speaker of the same language. In Excerpt 7.24, the students are finishing their dinner. When Lena complains that she has eaten too much, the researcher suggests that "it's time for sleep". The non-understanding evolves when, in response to the researcher's utterance, Lena switches into Hungarian:

Excerpt 7.24 (Lena: L1 German; Researcher: L1 Hungarian; Heidi: L1 German)

1. R: It's time for sleep.
2. H: [Yes.
3. L: [Yes. Not, only <Hu> pihen {relax}, the Hungarian word. →
4. R: ∟Aha.
5. L: <Hu> pihen {relax}. <Hu> Pihen-ek {I am relaxing}.
6. R: <Hu> Pihenek {I am relaxing}.
7. L: <Hu> Pihenek {I am relaxing}.
8. H: What is it?
9. L: ↑<Ge> Ausruhen {to relax} ((sings))

In utterances 2 and 3, Heidi and Lena express their acknowledgment of the researcher's idea to have some sleep. In overlapping speech, they both say "yes". Then, Lena denies her "yes", and switching spontaneously into Hungarian, she suggests that they only need relaxation. She code-switches three times all in all: when she code-switches for the first two times, there is no inflection on her verb; when she code-switches for a third time, she adds the inflection as well. Her code-switching is "atypical", and it is marked as such. She is not creating a humorous effect, but rather she is "practicing" her Hungarian with the researcher, who is an L1 speaker of Hungarian. Thus, knowing that apart from the researcher none of her interlocutors will make sense of her switch, she feels she needs to take steps to avoid a potential non-understanding. Hence, she says, "the Hungarian word". The researcher is well aware of Lena's attempt to "practice" her Hungarian with her. She acknowledges her Hungarian utterance with an "Aha" first (utterance 4), and then with the repeat of the notion (utterance 6). In utterance 7, Lena repeats her Hungarian notion one more time, and thus gives another sign of her intention to "practice" her Hungarian. Despite Lena's attempt to pre-empt

a potential non-understanding in utterance 3, there still emerges a non-understanding. In utterance 8, Heidi asks, "What is it?" In response to her request for help, Lena switches to German, which is an L1 for both of them, and in a singing voice provides the utterance with which she repairs the non-understanding.

Excerpt 7.25 presents a case where two speakers repaired a non-understanding in a joint effort through one of them switching to her L1 and the other to her Ln. Lena asks if any of her co-participants have topped up their mobile phone cards since in Hungary. The non-understanding evolves when Ophilia says that there is a possibility for them to top it up from a cash-machine:

Excerpt 7.25 (Lena: L1 German; Ophilia: L1 French; Andrea: L1 Italian)

1. L: Did somebody of you load some money on the mobile phone
   again after uh
2. O: Yeah.
3. L: Yeah? And easy or
4. O: Yeahyeah. You can also load it from the (..) cash-machine.
5. L: Cash-machine?
6. A: <It> Bancomat {cash machine}[Bankomat]
7. L: What?
8. O: <Ge> Bank<u>au</u>tomat {cash machine}[Bankautomat]
9. L: Ba- ah yes: ((surprised))
10. O: Because she said and I

In utterance 1, Lena asks if the other students have "loaded some money on [their] mobile phones", and when Ophilia, in utterance 2 says, she has, Lena, in utterance 3 asks, if it has been easy. In utterance 4, Ophilia says it is easy indeed and, building on Lena's notion of "load some money", she says that they can also "load [money] from the cash-machine". In the next utterance, Lena repeats "cash-machine" with a rising intonation, and thus signals her non-understanding of the notion. At this stage, Andrea, an L1 speaker of Italian jumps in, and supplies the Italian for "cash-machine", which is "Bancomat". At a casual conversation soon after the recording was made, she explained that she had spent a year in Germany before she came to Hungary. She did not exactly remember what the German for "cash-machine" was, but she did know that the German utterance and the corresponding Italian utterance sounded similar. In utterance 6, when she switched to Italian, her expectation was that Lena, an L1 speaker of German, would find the Italian notion recognizable, and therefore helpful. Andrea's expectation is not met. In utterance 7, Lena signals another understanding. She asks, "What?"

In utterance 8, Ophilia, who has triggered the non-understanding, makes a joint effort at repairing Lena's non-understanding. In response to Andrea's effort at repairing the non-understanding through switching codes, she also opts for the strategy of code-switching, which supports Cogo's (2007) claim on the ELF speakers' desire to align with each others' strategic use of language. This becomes even more clear in utterance 10, where Ophilia makes an overt claim that she has only code-switched because Andrea has code-switched earlier. However, while Andrea code-switches to her L1 Italian, she code-switches to her Ln German. When uttering the German word, she stresses that part of the expression which is different to Andrea's Italian utterance. More specifically, she says "Bankautomat", while stressing the "au" in it. In the sense of Firth (2009), this *is* a form of "correction" and, as it has been noted earlier, in the Szeged Erasmus community, other-corrections were strongly unacceptable.[117] That in this specific situation Ophilia's other-correction is still acceptable and appropriate has to do with the fact that it is embedded in a repair sequence. Thus, it is not meant to be an improvement on Andrea's utterance, but rather a scaffold aimed at resolving Lena's non-understanding.

7.4 Discussion

In the foregoing, I have explored the Szeged Erasmus students' repair work at moments of word search and failed understanding. The analyzed linguistic practices emerged to achieve the shared goal of developing self-confidence *in* English used as a lingua franca. The participants themselves did not use the notion "lingua franca" once but given that their context of use within the Szeged Erasmus community (and in the wider context in Hungary), was one of English as a lingua franca, their shared goal of developing self-confidence in their English skills translates as self-confidence in their ELF skills. Thus, a great contribution of the above analysis is that it offers a link between the practices of word search and non-understandings, on the one hand, and the students' growing self-confidence in their language skills, on the other, a link that is missing from the field of ELF,[118] It has shown that the Szeged Erasmus students, who were initially concerned about speaking "bad English", and who felt they "shouldn't really say anything [in English]", put themselves at ease in speaking English over time. They realized that that they did not have to accomplish problematic moments "alone", but they could anticipate the co-participants' help. The safe knowledge that

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[117] See section 7.1.
[118] But see Smit (2010: 375) how her ELF participants gained self-confidence in their ability to use ELF through "actively participating in the process of knowledge development in class".

they would receive help when in need of help made them more self-confident speakers of their ELF-resourced community.

Another contribution of the above analysis is that it opens up the way for examining the link between word search and non-understanding, on the one hand, and solidarity and rapport on the other. Current ELF researchers increasingly recognize that the analyzed practices have positive effects at the interpersonal level of talk. Cogo (2007), in particular, stresses the link between the analyzed linguistic practices and their function of showing solidarity and rapport.[119] In addition, current ELF researchers increasingly see the analyzed linguistic practices as interactional phenomena. That is, they treat them as co-operative processes, which involve both or all the interlocutors, and are resolved through both or all the participants' activities (Pitzl 2005; Mauranen 2006; Kaur 2008). In light of these views, when the participants were negotiating moments of word search or non-understandings, they simultaneously created and solidified the goal of building a "family" and friendship support community with a focus on self-confidence.

A third major contribution of the analysis focusing on word search and non-understandings is that it has brought to light a key concern in current ELF research and theorizing. That is, whether ELF speakers can usefully be conceptualized as "L2 learners". The answer is yes, indeed. When faced with a word search and non-understanding, they readily orient to restrictions in their linguistic knowledge, thereby demonstrating their "L2 learner" status.

Firstly, in the case of word search, the participants displayed their "L2 learner" status in much the same way as Kurhila's (2006) non-native speaker (NNS) participants. They announced trouble, and invited their co-participants to complete their word search when they were describing events to which they had primary access. Thus, they invited help when they lacked the linguistic means with which they chose to narrate the event. Their searches were mainly lexical, and were signaled either through an "unfocused interrogative" (e.g. "or another kind uh uh"), or through a question, which specified the missing notion in a language other than English (e.g. "what is <Ge> Erfindung?"). In addition, some searches were indicated with an explicit statement of a gap in vocabulary (e.g. "I don't know English name"). These kinds of practices display NNS identities and "language learner" roles. The evidence comes from Kurhila (2006), who reveals that native speakers (NS), who do not normally position themselves as "language learners", initiate word search in different ways.

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[119] Their function at the interpersonal level of talk are an extra to their function of promoting shared understanding, and making the communication smooth and successful. For details, see Chapter 3.

They tend to raise information seeking questions, and tend to specify the target of their word search without switching into another language (e.g. "what was the name of that previous guy") (p. 224).

Furthermore, the Szeged Erasmus students' orientation to their non-nativeness and "language learner" roles can be detected in the ways in which they resolved word search. In the analyzed practices, word search was completed by the co-participants who provided the missing utterance. By offering a scaffold, they accepted and reconfirmed the prior speaker's "language learner" status. In return, the prior speaker almost always repeated the supplied utterance, often by incorporating it into their original utterance. In light of Kurhila (2006: 225), the repeat of the co-participant's offer of help is another attempt to display non-nativeness and "language learner" roles. However, the speakers' orientation to "language learner" roles was nowhere as evident as in the process Pölzl (2003: 18) calls "practicing" When a speaker was provided with a lexical item that they were unfamiliar with, they often invited their co-participant to repeat ("model") the utterance. Once the missing utterance had been "modeled" for a second and third time, the speaker in need of help repeated it, in fact "practiced" it with the purpose of filling a gap in their vocabulary. In this sense, then, "practicing" in the data was an overt "language learning" activity, initiated by a speaker who meant to emphasize their "language learner" role.

Moving on to the cases of non-understandings, the Szeged Erasmus students displayed their "language learner" roles by readily displaying their lack of understanding. When they experienced the previous talk as problematic in some way, they did not choose to employ any of the two major strategies with which, based on Firth (1996; 2009) and Kurhila (2006), they could have avoided emphasizing the problem, and thus their "language learner" status. Firstly, they did not adopt the "let-it-pass" principle; that is, they did not choose to wait for the problematic moment to pass, thus concealing (or, at least, postponing) the public show of non-understanding (Firth 1996); secondly, they did not produce a possible understanding of the trouble turn, thereby demonstrating that they had (at least, potentially) identified the meaning of the trouble turn (Kurhila 2006: 220).[120] Instead, in the vast majority of the cases, the Szeged Erasmus participants used two major groups of repair-initiators (Kurhila 2006: 153, 216). Their unfocused problem markers, on the one hand, involved open class repairs (e.g. "What is it?") and requests for clarification (e.g. "Ok, repeat please."); the more specific repair initiators, on the other hand, involved full or partial repeats of the problematic item

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[120] But see Excerpt 7.23 for an exception.

(e.g. "Together with?"). Kurhila (2006: 220), drawing on Schegloff et al. (1977) notes, that these kinds of repair initiators "only imply that the recipient has observed a problem in the speaker's turn". Thus, they shift attention to the problem, and display non-understanding, rather than understanding.

The Szeged Erasmus students had a number of shared practices through which they oriented towards their own and their co-participants' language competence; nevertheless, there were "restrictions" on how far they could go with displaying their orientation to the co-participants' "language learner" status. When the participants operated on the assumption that they mutually understand each other, it was strongly undesirable and unacceptable to make the co-participants' language production and proficiency a "public matter" (Firth 2009). This being the case, other-repair was used with a great deal of caution. They were applied in what Kurhila (2006: 220) calls an "unobtrusive way": the corrections were responses to a marker of uncertainty or difficulty, and were managed within other activities. More specifically, they were offered as part of a repair sequence at implicit word search or non-understanding. This result is in line with that of Smit's (2010: 223) who claims that in her data, ELF speakers perform very few language-norm related other-repair, and instead focus their attention on "genuine communication trouble". Thus, in ELF talk other-repair is used in the sense of resolving a problem, rather than in the sense of maintaining language norms.

Finally, in the Szeged Erasmus community, as much as in the ELF community Smit (2010) examines, developing expertise was a joint undertaking. When a member of the community expressed some kind of difficulty with constructing the utterance or with interpreting the prior speech, a co-participant joined in. In highly cooperative spirit (often in a cooperative overlap, and by repeating, or adding to the prior speaker's utterance), they offered a scaffold, and in so doing, they offered their expertise. If one speaker's expertise was not enough in resolving the problem, other participants joined in. By sharing their expertise (or resources), they almost always reached their interactional goals. That is, they jointly constructed some kind of meaning. What is more, by sharing their expertise, they also helped each other develop an ability to interact more confidently in ELF. This finding resonates with Smit (2010: 380) who argues that speakers, engaged in ELF classroom talk, display great readiness to cooperate: they are willing to bring to the exchange whatever is perceived as interactionally and transactionally necessary to make classroom talk work. That this claim also applies to the Szeged Erasmus community implies that the "principle of joint forces" (Smit 2010: 377) has relevance to ELF interactions outside of classroom settings as well.

All things considered, then, Firth (2009) seems right when he claims that the question whether ELF speakers orient to each others' language competence depends on the nature of relationships that are made relevant and are seen as appropriate in a given context. In work related conversations, where the construction of professional competence is a key concern, ELF speakers may well refuse to make language production and proficiency a "public matter" (Firth 2009); yet, in everyday interactions, where the speakers' interest does not lie in the conduct of business, ELF speakers may readily exploit their non-nativeness and may demonstrate their "language learner" roles for a purpose. In the present case, the sharing of non-native resources helped the speakers develop an ability to communicate more self-confidently in ELF; in Smit's (2010) ELF data, it primarily helped the speakers construct relevant knowledge but, as a side-effect, it also made them more self-confident speakers (p. 138, 199). Thus, NNS may take up "language learner" roles not only when they are engaged in an interaction with NS of the language, as Kurhila (2006) implies, but also when interacting with other NNS, thereby achieving their interactional and transactional goals. Finally, NNS may well be a source of expertise themselves and, like Smit (2010: 374-375) argues, when faced with a problem, they may show great readiness to share their expertise with each other.

8   SUMMARY AND FINAL REMARKS

The present study was initiated by the first phase of LINEE project, which drew my attention to the fact that for a better understanding of the Erasmus students' linguistic situation at whichever university in Europe, one needed ethnographic methods. Thus, in the present dissertation I set the goal of providing an accurate picture of the Szeged Erasmus students' linguistic situation and the role and status of English as a lingua franca in their interactions by adopting an ethnographic approach.

From my reading of the language and gender literature on the one hand, and second language socialization literature, on the other, I was familiar with the communities of practice approach (Wenger 1998), which relies quite specifically on ethnographic techniques for collecting data, on qualitative methods for analyzing the social context, and on discourse analytic techniques for analyzing interactions. Within interactions, the emphasis is on repeated interactions which emerge between social players who are mutually involved in the realization of some joint enterprise. Thanks to my pre-dissertation work, by the time I began my Ph.D. project, I had evidence that the Erasmus students were indeed engaged in regular meetings and repeated interactions. Therefore, in my dissertation I used the communities of practice model to frame my data collection and data analysis from the start.

More specifically, in the present undertaking the communities of practice framework was adopted as an analytical tool to describe the nature of the repeated interactions between the Szeged Erasmus students, and to identify what (the special nature of) their repeated interactions meant for them. In other words, the present study adopted a community of practice approach to provide an inventory of the linguistic and non-linguistic, social, practices through which the Szeged Erasmus students learnt to express their dynamically developing membership in the Szeged Erasmus community. To achieve this goal, I articulated three research questions. In the following three sections, I will provide a summary of my results by linking them to the individual research questions. I will then discuss implications for the field of English as a lingua franca (ELF) research and will draw some general conclusions.

8.1 Summary and discussion of major findings

8.1.1 What tools and resources do the Szeged Erasmus students bring to bear to engage in their jointly negotiated practices reflecting a shared goal?

This question highlights the shared goals for this community of practice and, through identification of and focus on those students who wanted to move to the centre of the emerging group, allows for an understanding of the key goals and resources brought to bear to achieve them. In other words, this question shows how certain individuals secured their central membership in the emerging group. The analysis revealed that those students moved to the core of the Szeged Erasmus community who shared the primary aim of building a local Erasmus social network with a focus on friendships and "family" relations, fun and self-confidence. Some students shared this goal right from the start (mainly because they expected that the Erasmus friendships would prove a good learning environment for English); others adopted it over the course of time out of "necessity" when their original goal to make local Hungarian friends did not work out. That is, when they attempted but failed to gain access to the local students' social networks. In their view, this failure was due a language problem: to become legitimate members in the local students' networks, they would have needed a fairly good level of Hungarian. Since, however, the majority of them (only) started learning Hungarian when their study abroad began, their level of Hungarian was far from enough to open doors. A third group of students anticipating language related problems refused to put time and effort into local friendships. They shared the assumption that the local students did not speak English, and believed that, in lack of Hungarian skills, they would be unable to cope with the language problems. Eventually, many of the participants initially interested in local friends redirected their energies to the Erasmus students, which implies that in making Erasmus friends they did not anticipate language-related problems. Nevertheless, problems such as how to ensure that English was the sole medium of communication in group-wide interactions, as well as the need to develop strategies to handle non-communication, such as moments of word search and failed understandings did emerge. Yet, they found these problems manageable, and by no means so threatening as the problems they encountered or expected in making local friends.

The students with the desire to make Erasmus friends started to build an Erasmus community or "family", as they called it. Their community can be seen as occupying a "third space" (Duff 2006, 2007): they took a distance from the social

networks in their home countries and also from the local students' networks in their host country. In building their friendship and "family" support community, the participants relied heavily, though not exclusively, on English used as a lingua franca, and in the process of using it, they shaped "ELF competence" to their own needs[121]. However, as they were neither a classroom community, nor business partners, who are primarily involved in linguistic practice (cf. Ehrenreich 2009 and Smit 2009, 2010), in their community building and maintenance, the non-linguistic, social practice played just as important a role as the linguistic practice. Their practice (including both the linguistic and non-linguistic) emerged in and developed through mutual engagement in parties and trips. The non-linguistic, social practice for partying involved shared ways for organizing small dinner parties and large warm-up parties in a flat; shared ways for moving to a club or a bar at midnight; shared ways for drinking, dancing, chatting and flirting while at a club or a bar; shared ways for gathering for an "after-party" in a flat, and shared ways for sleeping in the following morning. Likewise, their shared practice for traveling involved shared ways for sight-seeing, for dining out, for going out to a club or a bar, and for spending the night in a hostel room which could accommodate a large number of students at the same time.

A large part of the students' social practice served the purpose of having fun and making fun of others. That is, many of the social practices in which they engaged were considered to be good fun to them. These practices can be grouped as practices related to the drinking of alcoholic drinks, practices related to the playing of games, and practices related to the enactment of "crazy" things. As the core members strived at having fun and making humor throughout their mutual engagement in parties and trips, having fun came to be seen as a key aspect of the community which the students jointly built. The desire for having fun translated to the linguistic level as the desire for making humor. The participants appreciated humor in talk so much so that humor came to be an important aspect of their "ELF competence".

In addition to building a community with a focus on fun and humor, the members also strived at building a community with a focus on self-confidence. The central members took the lead by adopting practices (both social and linguistic) which helped the members of the evolving community become more self-confident social players in Szeged. To that end, they built and maintained two major kinds of

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[121] For a summary of what "ELF competence" in the Szeged Erasmus community meant, see section 8.1.2 below.

relationships between the community members: "family" relations and friendships. Both kinds of relationships were based on solidarity and mutual liking; in what they differed was that "family" relations connected all the members of the community, including those who did not know each other well, whereas friendships connected, as an extra layer of ties, only those who knew each other relatively well. As indicated above, both relationships were developed with a purpose. "Family" relations were helpful in that they allowed the participants to mutually engage with others (without imposing themselves on others). This prevented the participants from feeling lonely, and made them more self-confident social actors in Szeged. By contrast, friendships were helpful in that they allowed the students to meet up with a few students outside of the big "family" events, and to increase the degree of familiarity with them. These kinds of meetings were more personal and "intimate", as they said, and while they made the students' stay in Szeged "nicer", they made the students more self-confident members of their community as well.

To a large extent, "family" relations and friendships were built and maintained through linguistic means. "Family" relations, in particular, were tied to the use of ELF. Once the participants had recognized that English was the only language which all of them shared, they negotiated and, from that on, required English (used as a lingua franca) in all group-wide communications. As they explained, in making this "decision", they followed a democratic principle: they wanted to ensure that no-one in the big "family" was excluded from conversations. Had they adopted another language (most likely French as it had the greatest number of L1 speakers in the group), or made no "regulation" at all, they would have excluded those who were not competent in the given language. Furthermore, as one of them noted, they would have risked the break-up of the community "into a French speaking part and other".

Concerning friendships, the participants gave (or took) the space for using a variety of languages, be it the participants' L1 or another additionally learnt language (Ln). Initially, many of them built friendships with the L1 speakers of the same language, but their L1-based subgroups, unlike those in Smit (2010), had no rigid borders. Quite the opposite: the borders of their friendship groups were fluid, and over time many of those who initially established friendships in their L1, made friends outside of their "little groups" as well. With L1 speakers of different languages, the students opted for the language which suited their individual purposes most. That is, they negotiated the language on a local basis depending on who wanted to use (or

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practice) which language and, more often than not, they did so to the mutual appreciation of both (or all) parties. The only case when the participants did not reach a satisfying solution was when a student considering themselves a learner of English refused to use their L1 with the Ln speakers of the language, and instead insisted on their use of English (as a lingua franca).

The students at the periphery of the Szeged Erasmus community differed from those at the core in several respects. Firstly, they did not consider the building of a local Erasmus community with a focus on friendships, "family" relations, fun and self-confidence their single most important goal in Szeged. Instead, they set goals such as the following: to gain professionally from their studies, to improve their Hungarian (despite whatever difficulties), to get to know the local culture and/or to visit the neighboring countries. Secondly, but following directly from the first, they did not participate in the Szeged Erasmus community practices to the same extent as did the central members. For instance, while the most committed central members known as the "Erasmus sharks" met up for partying almost every night, the peripheral members may have joined the group once a week only, or even less. The ratio of central members to the peripheral members was approximately 1:2 in the first semester, and 1:1 in the second semester.

8.1.2 What does a closer examination of linguistic practices in the community tell us about ELF?

As noted above, in the Szeged Erasmus community, the use of ELF was required in all group-wide or "family" communications, and was subject to local negotiation in friendship groups. The second research question is geared towards examining what "ELF competence" meant in the dynamically developing Szeged Erasmus community. That is, our interest here is in how the participants defined and redefined appropriate ELF competence and expertise while in the pursuit of their shared goals.

One major aspect of the Szeged Erasmus students' ELF competence was its cooperative nature evidenced in the students' long-term accommodation for convergence. Long-term accommodation (in contrast to short-term accommodation, which in the context of the present paper was defined as the repetition of the previous turn) meant the repetition of a particular set of language forms drawn from a shared negotiable resource. By developing such a resource of "old" forms, the participants accomplished important ritual activities, such as

greeting, addressing, swearing, teasing, apologizing, thanking, congratulating, "party talk" and "real talk" outside of parties. The ritual practices helped the participants realize their shared goal of building a friendship and "family" based social system in two ways. Firstly, by adjusting their language to the language of other students, they signaled with whom they wanted to be seen as forming a community. In other words, they engaged in a form of accommodation, which helped them express their desire for establishing a community and, once a community had been formed, for displaying their membership in it. Secondly, as accommodation for convergence is known to express solidarity, approval and rapport (Giles and Coupland 1991), through the use of "old" utterances, the participants simultaneously practiced rapport, which was particularly useful in helping them build a friendship and "family" support social system.

A partly related, and a partly new feature of the Szeged Erasmus students' ELF competence was code-switching. When using ELF, the students readily switched codes on the spot. They switched to their L1 as well as to their Ln regardless of whether they were fully competent speakers in the target language, learners of the target language, or had just taken up the co-participant's L1 as their target language. Out of the many languages on the table, much of the code-switching was to Hungarian, which was in a special position. It was the local language of the environment, and most students were actively involved in learning it. In the interviews, the students gave three reasons for their switching codes: firstly, it helped them create humorous effects, which was one of their shared goals; secondly, it enabled them to practice their Ln languages, including the newly learnt Hungarian; and finally, it enabled them to add "flavor" to their use of ELF, which, among other things, meant making their ELF "more local", as they claimed. However, their code-switching was not always meant to create something new on the spot; quite often it was meant with the intention to repeat or recycle "old" code-switched utterances. Thus, code-switched utterances were also part of the shared negotiable resource, and when the students were to greet, address or tease each other, to give but just a few examples, they had a language choice to make. Therefore, the students were inclined to accommodate to the language of the other students both in English (used as a lingua franca) and, by switching codes for ritual practices, in a range of other languages. In this sense, then, when the participants were engaged in ELF practice, code-switching was another tool for long-term accommodation, and as such, it served the purpose of building a friendship and "family" based local community.

A third key feature of the Szeged Erasmus students' ELF competence was its humorous nature. The participants treated the making of humor a shared goal put in the

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service of the more general goal of having fun. In their attempts at humor, they developed a shared practice for creating new humorous effects in the moment-to-moment interaction and also for repeating or recycling "old" humorous effects. As noted above, code-switching was one strategy which the students (partly) used for its humorous effect. They created a humorous effect by switching codes spontaneously on-the-spot, as well as by using "old" code-switched utterances which were part of the shared negotiable resource. However, code-switching was not the only strategy at the students' disposal. Starting with the shared practice for creating humor on the spot, it further involved strategies such as narrating, teasing, irony, "naughty" topics, paralinguistic features and word plays. Thus, the students aimed at and successfully realized humor through both *what* they said (content) and *how* they communicated their message (style). Within content, there were jokes in which they made fun of their language skills, or lack of them, which therefore means that they were inclined to talk and joke *in* the language as well as *about* it As regards the students' shared practice for drawing from a shared resource and repeating "old" humorous effects, it is the ritualized practices of addressing, swearing and teasing, which (in addition to code-switching) they considered humorous.

Furthermore, the way the participants constructed, in fact co-constructed humor reconfirms the claim I have made above about the cooperative nature of the Szeged Erasmus students' ELF talk. Humor in the Szeged Erasmus community was realized with the help of a negotiable resource which involved shared ways of thinking, speaking and believing. The findings are most compatible with Holmes's (2006) and C. Davies's (2003) perspectives on "collaborative humor" in which the speakers build on shared views and perspectives, sustain each other's topic, and expanded on each other's humorous contributions. As the shared practices for humor required that the Szeged Erasmus students adjust their ways of thinking and their ways of speaking to those of the previous speaker (while observing the group norm as well), humor was a form of accommodation for convergence. As an example, when a student switched codes, made an ironical contribution, spoke in a sing-song voice, or made an implicit reference to a "naughty" topic, the speaker of the next turn likely followed suit. Thus, humor flew from one turn to the next, often through several turns. Besides that, in the joint construction of humor, the participants often adopted interactional strategies such as collaborative utterance building, cooperative overlaps and repetitions as acknowledgment tokens. As all of these practices meant practicing rapport and solidarity, they all helped the participants to build humor as well as a friendship and "family" based social system.

A third characteristic of the Szeged Erasmus students' ELF competence was its supportive nature. When a speaker was faced with a moment of word search or was struggling with interpreting the previous turn, one or more of the co-participants joined in and offered language support. Language support at moments of word search took the form of collaborative utterance building: following a direct request for or an implicit signal of the help needed, a co-participant either provided the missing utterance, or they made an attempt to co-construct the missing utterance with the trouble-source turn speaker (and most likely with the other interlocutors) on the spot. In return to the help offered, the trouble-source turn speaker accepted and, more often than, not incorporated the utterance they had been provided with; or if language support was geared towards some local meaning, they continued the joint construction of the missing utterance. By contrast, language support at moments of failed understanding meant a negotiation of meaning process in which one or more of the co-participants (not necessarily the trouble-source turn speaker) repeated, paraphrased or clarified the problematic utterance in any of the languages in their linguistic repertoires. The above repair practices served two fundamental goals in the Szeged Erasmus community. On the one hand, they were a means for helping the speakers in need of help develop self-confidence in their ability to use ELF; on the other hand, they were a means for building good interpersonal relations both with the speaker in need of help and with the students who were mutually involved in the repair process. The evidence to the first function comes from my interview data: shortly after community formation began (and in retrospect when the community building was in full swing), the students pointed out that moments of word search and failed understanding were most threatening and discouraging for them; however, not long before the break-up of the community, the participants claimed they no longer paid attention to the once problematic moments of word search and non-understanding. Concerning the evidence for the second function described above, several researchers raise the point that by helping the current speaker finish their turn-construction unit, and likewise, by helping them understand what they may not have understood otherwise, speakers engage in a cooperative act (Schegloff 2000a), which expresses solidarity and rapport, and helps build good interpersonal relations (e.g. Murata 1994; Tannen 1984, 1994; Cogo 2007, 2009).

Another closely related feature of the Szeged Erasmus students' ELF competence was the public display of the speakers' "language learner" roles when faced with a word search or non-understanding. The students demonstrated "L2 learner" roles by orienting to restrictions in both their own and their co-participants' linguistic knowledge. In the sense of Kurhila (2006), they oriented to their own "language learner" status in four ways: firstly, by inviting

help when they lacked the linguistic means through which they chose to express themselves; secondly, by repeating the missing utterance they had been provided with; thirdly, by initiating the repeat of the supplied utterance, and engaging themselves in a process called "practicing" (Pölzl 2003: 18); and finally, by directing attention to their lack of understanding without showing that they had, at least, potentially, identified the meaning of the trouble turn. Moving on to the ways in which they oriented to the co-participants' "language learner" roles, they developed two shared practices: firstly, when a speaker had difficulty with finishing their turn under construction, they either provided the missing utterance, or helped with co-constructing a local meaning; secondly, when the speaker in need of help had expressed a desire for "practicing" the missing utterance, they repeated, in fact "modeled" the missing utterance as many times as necessary until the speaker in need of help gave a sign of their having acquired it. In orienting themselves to the co-participants' "language learner" roles, they exercised caution: they only made their co-participants' language production and proficiency a "public matter" (Firth 2009) when there had been a public display of a problem or uncertainty. By so doing, they accepted and reconfirmed the "language learner" roles they chose for themselves, but they did not impose such roles on each other.

8.1.3 What effects do the different linguistic resources that the students bring to the community have on the overall practices of the group?

After having looked at how the Szeged Erasmus students defined "ELF competence" and what it meant for them, the third research question asks why it developed the way it did. That is, it shifts attention to the linguistic resources through which "ELF expertise" in the Szeged Erasmus community developed. Firstly, when the participants arrived in Szeged, it soon turned out that English was the only language in which their linguistic repertories overlapped. As a result, English (used as a lingua franca), rather than another language, was negotiated as the linguistic means of realizing specific goals. That is, English became a key shared practice within the group, which helped the participants accomplish their shared goals.

Secondly, since the vast majority of the participants were non-native or L2 speakers of English, their competencies in and experiences with English varied to quite some extent. Some students had relatively little experience in using English (as a lingua franca) outside of class, others had more; yet, there was one thing they had in common: initially they all lacked self-confidence in their ability to use English in Szeged (well). The shared practice of jointly repairing problematic moments emerged in response to the students' need to deal with

different competencies and experiences, on the one hand, and to become more self-confident speakers of their community, on the other. Thus, when the students were faced with a word search or non-understanding which occurred due to their non-native or L2 speaker identities, they looked to each other for language support. The co-participants almost always offered help: drawing on their linguistic resources, they contributed to the repair practice with whatever they could. In other words, experienced and inexperienced users of English (as a lingua franca) jointly repaired problematic moments by sharing their linguistic resources. The repair was successful *not* when the participants observed the native speaker (NS) norms, but when they reached a "common ground".

Thirdly, that the students were NNS of English with different competencies in and experiences with English had another effect on the students' linguistic practice. That is, they felt that under specific conditions they could freely alter from the NS norms. As implied above, they readily diverged from the NS norms when mutual understanding was at risk, and common ground could be reached through no other means than a local meaning. In addition, they freely diverged from the NS norms when mutual understanding was *not* called into question; more specifically, when they meant to create humorous effects in the language. As all the participants were multilinguals or, at least, bilinguals when their study abroad in Hungary began (and even more so towards the end of their study abroad), they could and did use their plurilingual repertoires as a valuable resource for reaching their shared goals. Therefore, they negotiated code-switching as one, if not the most important prctice in making humorous effects.

Fourthly, while in the beginning the participants' linguistic repertoires did not overlap in any language but in English, over time, their repertoires converged more and more. The fact that the students were temporary residents in Hungary had its consequence on the students' dynamically developing linguistic repertoires, and hence on the evolving practices of the group. During their stay in Szeged, the participants attended formal language classes and, as most of them started learning the language from scratch, they developed their Hungarian competencies together. The majority of them did not get very far in learning the language (due to their relatively short stay in Szeged); yet, Hungarian came to be another language which they all shared. Not surprisingly, then, much of their code-switching was to Hungarian. By switching to Hungarian, they managed not only to build humor *in* the language (by using it in particular ways), but also to practice their newly learnt language and to make their English (used as a lingua franca) "more local". Furthermore, the shared knowledge of Hungarian (or lack of it) led to the shared practice of joking *about* the language. That is, the

participants had a propensity to joke about their Hungarian language skills (or lack of them), a practice which tied to the larger shared feature of being in a "strange/foreign land" in which they could make humor of their "strangeness or awkwardness".

Finally, the fact that the participants were NNS with different competencies in and experiences with English had another effect on the groups' practices, which lends further support to the point raised above concerning the participants' attitude to the NS norms. Some participants signaled their L2 speaker, in fact L2 learner identities more than the others. That is, they requested language support more readily than the others, and when they had been provided with the missing utterance, they initiated a process called "practicing". These students had relatively little experience with using English (as a lingua franca) before coming to Hungary, and considered themselves users and learners of the language at the same time. Thus, for them, English was at the same time a primary means for realizing specific goals and a subject of learning. In learning the language they relied on the other members' linguistic resources and expertise.

8.2 Implications for the impact of the Erasmus exchange programme

Looking back to my pre-dissertation work with Erasmus students under the auspices of the LINEE project[122], the present study provides a wider context for the interpretation of the initial results and complements them with new insights. The two studies paint a detailed picture of the Erasmus exchange students' situation in a Central European context, with a particular emphasis on the role of English and other languages in their day-to-day practices. The main implications of the two studies may be summarized as follows[123]:

Firstly, the Erasmus exchange students may have both the willingness and the resources to build a temporary community of practice in their country of residence. What this actually means is that "over time and in response to others' forms of participation, [they may] learn together about how to participate most meaningfully and also how to project their desired identities" (Duff 2006: 16). The participants of the present study negotiated shared goals and interests and happily put their linguistic practices in the service of their specific social goals. That is, they looked to each other for forms of participation, and developed a shared repertoire of practices, both linguistic and non-linguistic, which served as a resource in realizing their shared goals. Those who could fully internalize the shared goals (or externalize

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[122] See the Introduction to Chapter 1.
[123] But see also Kalocsai (2009).

the goals and monitor others), naturally, participated more, and took a greater initiative in expanding the shared resources. These students were seen as central or expert members whereas those who participated less and used less of the shared resource were seen as peripheral members.

Secondly, the study has shown that for the Erasmus exchange students in countries of lesser used languages such as Hungary or the Czech Republic, the knowledge of English may be a facilitator. In lack of other shared languages, it may help connect both with the other Erasmus students and the local students. In the context of the present study, the need for the use of English emerged as the majority of the participants demonstrated no competence in the local language when they arrived in Hungary. Most students attended formal language classes in their host country; since, however, the majority of them started learning the language from scratch, during their relatively short stay in the country of their temporary residence, they did not get very far in learning the language. This being the case, English turned out to be the only language in which the participants' linguistic repertoires overlapped from the beginning of their study abroad till the end. Therefore, in building and maintaining an Erasmus community they relied quite specifically on English for social connection purposes, if not for work or study purposes. Likewise, in contacting the local students (especially at the beginning of their study abroad, when their competence in the target language was non-existent or minimal), they expected to use English with them. However, due to a real or assumed language problem concerning the local students' lack of competence in English, few Erasmus students gained, or even attempted to gain, access to the local students' networks. Kalocsai (2009) points out that with more competence in the local language, some students may have changed the language from English to Czech or Hungarian, and some may not have desired to use English with the local students but Czech or Hungarian right from the start; yet, for the vast majority of the students, English was, at least, potentially, the primary means for contacting the local peers.

A third implication of the present study is that in the process of re-inventing themselves as members of the local Erasmus community, the Erasmus students may also re-invent their language. That is, they may show readiness and willingness to "make it [their] own, bend it to [their] will [and] assert [themselves] through it" (Widdowson 1993: 43). Since the participants of the present study built their community of practice, and established their desired identities with respect to the emerging community through English (see above), the language which they skillfully re-invented was English. Their re-inventing their language actually meant using it *as* a lingua franca. That is, they broke with the practice of using the

language "correctly", and used it appropriately instead, which in all cases meant negotiating and following local norms. They adjusted their language to the needs of the moment-to-moment interaction as well as to the long-term goals of their local community. One implication of this is that there is a need to help teachers and students reconceptualize what it means to use language.

Another major issue the present study has brought to light concerns the Erasmus students' identity as users versus learners of English. The implications of the present study are that the Erasmus students using English as a lingua franca may well take on *both* identities at the same time. The participants of the present study were users of English, in the first place, and learners of English in the second place. That is, they primarily used English for the needs of their everyday lives: it helped them realize specific goals which they shared within their local community. In the mean time, they developed shared practices for positioning themselves as L2 learners. Their shared practices did not imply an L2 learner who is on the way to becoming more native-like but is doomed never to get there (Cook 2005: 3), but rather an L2 learner who takes on a learner identity by choice, as and when appropriate, as a way of exploiting a shared resource.

Finally, both my pre-dissertation work and the present study have shed light on the Erasmus students' "natural interest in languages" (Stark 2009: 175). They may readily exploit their plurilingual repertoire and take steps to further expand it. The participants of the present study did not only use English, but rather a variety of languages for a variety of purposes. In the pursuit of their shared goals, they used English for the purposes of building a community, and a range of other languages for the purposes of building and maintaining friendships. When they were concerned with community building and communicated in English (in fact in English used as a lingua franca), they switched in and out of English, without flagging their code-switching. Their code-switching was a marker of in-group status and a resource for making a humorous effect. To turn code-switching into a resource it was primary that they expand on their linguistic repertoires and pick up Ln expressions from each other. All things considered then in the Szeged and Prague Erasmus students' communities, English worked with, rather than against, multilingualism: it helped gain access into a multilingual environment where further languages could then be used.

8.3 Final remarks

I hope that despite the specific nature of the Szeged Erasmus community (i.e., a community characterized by the relatively short-term membership of young people studying abroad, their intense contact and close ties), the present case study also contributes meaningfully to our understanding of how languages, and more specifically, English used as a lingua franca can be conceived of by providing for readers a rich, participant-informed description of the complex linguistic and non-linguistic (social) practices in which the community members engaged. It is the dynamic interaction between the social and the linguistic which shapes the individuals' changing participation and identity formation in their respective communities (Wenger 1998) and which therefore merits more research attention in the study of languages in general, and in the study of ELF in particular. My hope is that the present study helps pave the way for further understanding of how social meaning is constructed in and through English used as a lingua franca.

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APPENDIX 1: Letter of invitation

As a doctoral student of the English Applied Linguistics PhD Program at the University of Szeged, I am inviting you to participate in a research project titled "Lingua franca interaction and socialization among exchange students: A case study". In this research I am investigating how students from different language backgrounds use English in their everyday conversations, and what linguistic and cultural knowledge they gain through their participation in social activities. The study will be conducted in accordance with the Act LXIII of 1992 on the Protection of Personal Data and the Publicity of Data of Public Interest and with the Data Protection regulations of the University of Szeged, and also with the approval of the General Secretary and of the Erasmus Coordinator of the University of Szeged. The study will be written up as my doctoral dissertation.

If you choose to become involved in this research, your involvement will include being observed at social events. Thus, there will be no tasks to perform, no structured interviews to attend which would take away extra time from you, but observations will target events which you and your friends organize or choose to engage in.

In order to analyze the data thoroughly, some of the observations will be audio-recorded with your permission. Confidentiality of the data will be guaranteed during and after the study, meaning that I will never make the recordings or your names public. If you want to, you may withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences.

I would very much appreciate your participation in the study as it would help me understand how learning takes place outside of school environment where speakers share neither a common language, nor a common culture. If you agree to participate please read and sign the consent form attached.

Last but not least, I would like to offer you the possibility of being more involved in the research. More involvement would entail regular but informal discussions with me and would give you the chance to reflect on your experiences and your linguistic and socio-cultural learning. If you are interested – *in addition* to signing the consent form –, please sign up on the form circulated so that I can contact you by e-mail.

If you would like more information, or if you need some time before deciding, please feel free to contact me either by e-mail (kalocsai2000@yahoo.com) or by phone (+36-70-507-9387).

Thanks a lot for considering participating in the study.

Wishing you all the best in Szeged,

Karolina Kalocsai
PhD Student, University of Szeged

APPENDIX 2: Guiding questions for interviews with students

Sample questions/instructions for the "ethnographic interviews": beginning of term

• Please tell me about yourself. What kind of a person are you?
• Please tell me about your student-life at home.
• Please tell me about your foreign language learning experiences both inside and outside of the school, prior to your arrival in Szeged.
• What are some of your expectations regarding your stay in Szeged? What do you expect to gain from this experience?

Sample questions/instructions for the "ethnographic interviews": end of term

• What have you done in Szeged?
• How have you felt?
• What have you learnt?

Sample questions for the "interactional interviews"

• How would you describe your using English with the other Erasmus students?
• What are some of the most interesting/funny/remarkable conversations you have had recently? Why?
• Do you mind your English when speaking to other Erasmus students? What are the things you pay attention to? What are the things you neglect?
• What are some of the things you have picked up from each other while using English? Are there certain words, expressions, structures that you use as a routine simply because the others use them, too?
• What sounds awkward in the Erasmus group? What are the things you avoid in English?
• Do you speak English the same way as before you came here? Why or why not?
• Do you switch to another language sometimes while using English? When is it appropriate to switch to another language, including Hungarian?
• Do communication breakdowns happen? If yes, when do they happen, and how do you solve them?
• What are some of the topics most often discussed in the group? What are some of the topics that are never discussed?
• Do you sometimes talk about language amongst each other in the group? If so, what are the things you discuss?

APPENDIX 3: Guiding questions for interviews with student coordinators

• What are some of your observations regarding the current community of practice? In what sense is it similar to and/or different from the previous Erasmus communities of practice in Szeged?

• What have you observed in connection with the current members' English language usage?

• How do you think the change in members at the end of the first semester and at the beginning of the second semester will effect the current community of practice?

APPENDIX 4: Sample prompt e-mail

Hi Everyone,

[…]

I am going to send out similar questions once in every two weeks. In the beginning I will focus on events, but later I will shift the focus on experiences related to language use, hoping that you will (always) take some time to answer the questions.

This time the questions are the same:
1. What did you do during the last week?
2. How did you feel?
3. What have you learnt?

Regarding the first question, last week there were quite a few social events, including two parties in the JATE, one house warming party, and a trip to Budapest. Alternatively, you may focus on them.

Concerning the third question, you may think of learning on the social plane, that is, cultural things you have learnt from other Erasmus students (e.g. what the Erasmus people do together and how they do what they do) or the Hungarians, and on the linguistic plane (e.g. what you have learnt to say and how, what matters and what matters not, how you should express yourself and why, etc).

Again, the point is NOT how correct you write in English. In fact, I don't mind at all how correct or incorrect you are as long as you write in English. :-) What I am interested in is the content of your message.

Another thing I should perhaps draw your attention to is what counts as relevant information for my research. ANYTHING you have to say in connection with the questions is a valuable source of information to me. So don't hesitate to write down whatever comes to your mind.

One last remark, you may provide short answers or long ones, I will be glad for both. But the more detail you go into, the better for me. :-)

I look forward to your answers.

Thanks a lot,
Karolina

APPENDIX 5: Transcription conventions for naturally occurring conversations[124]

(.) untimed brief pause

(..) a pause longer than one second

1.0, 3.0, 4.9, etc. longer pauses within and between utterances (in tenths of a second)

′ primary stress on the next syllable

<u>underline</u> emphatic stress

↑ high pitch on word, or high pitch on phrase continuing until punctuation

↓ low pitch on word, or low pitch on phrase continuing until punctuation

. sentence final falling intonation followed by a noticeable pause

? yes/no question rising intonation followed by a noticeable pause

, phrase-final continuing intonation followed by a short pause

- abrupt cutoff (always attached to what precedes)

: lengthened sound (extra colons indicate greater lengthening)

→ continuous speech (look for next line)

/?/ transcription impossible

/words/ uncertain transcription

(( )) comments on quality of speech and context

@ @ marks the beginning and the end of the utterance to which the comment applies

[overlapping utterances (B begins to talk when A is at a word boundary)

└ overlapping utterances (B begins to talk when A is not at a word boundary)

= linked or continuing utterances (no overlap, but no pause between utterances)

[ ] phonetic transcription of words pronounced with non-standard pronunciation

<Hu> indicates the language of the code-switched element, e.g. Hu(ngarian) or Ge(rman)

{ } translation of code-switched utterance

B,L,O,C, K block letters for letters which are spelt

- words syllabified (always attached to what precedes and what follows)

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[124] Adapted from Tannen (1984) and from the VOICE Transcription Conventions available at http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/documents/VOICE_mark-up_conventions_v2-1.pdf.

APPENDIX 6: Transcription conventions for interview data

(.) untimed brief pause

(..) a pause longer than one second

<u>underline</u> emphatic stress

. sentence final falling intonation followed by a noticeable pause

? yes/no question rising intonation followed by a noticeable pause

, phrase-final continuing intonation followed by a short pause

- abrupt cutoff (always attached to what precedes)

: lengthened sound (extra colons indicate greater lengthening)

/?/ transcription impossible

/words/ uncertain transcription

(( )) comments on quality of speech and context

@ @ marks the beginning and the end of the utterance to which the comment applies

= linked or continuing utterances (no overlap, but no pause between utterances)

<Hu> indicates the language of the code-switched element, e.g. Hu(ngarian) or Ge(rman)

{ } translation of code-switched utterance

APPENDIX 7: Coding schemes

CODING SCHEME 1: SOCIAL PRACTICES

A. Daytime activities
1. Getting up late
2. Courses
3. Free-time

B. Evening activities
1. European clubs
2. (House) parties [clubbing, house-warming parties, birthday parties, good-bye parties]
3. Dinner parties – small or large
4. Other
5. The 'ingredients' of a party:
  -- Food and drinks; getting drunk
  -- Outfit and decorations
  -- Games
  -- Music and dancing
  -- The 'crazy' element
  -- The 'surprise' element
  -- Wishing happy birthday
  -- Reusing assets [the same object used for multiple purposes]
  -- Flirting, love making
  -- Greetings and good-byes
6. Spontaneity [parties organized at short notice]
7. Arriving late
8. General mood/Emotions [what they show on the outside]

C. Weekend activities
1. Travels [joint trips]
2. Other

D. General
1. 'Always in a group'
   -- In pairs or small groups, rather than individually
   -- In a big rather than in a small group
   -- Bring a friend along
   -- The 'forcing' element
   -- Newcomers
   -- Peripheral members
2. Taking up the lead in organizing
   -- follow your mates
3. Coordination and synergy: [joint projects which require careful planning and 'joining forces']
   -- Quick set-up of a problem
4. Documentation projects: visual [photos on the Facebook]
5. Money concerns

E. Contacts
1. Contact with the Erasmus students [with whom, how, how often]
2. Contact with the locals [with whom, how, how often]
3. Contact with family and friends at home
   -- Visitors from home
   -- Short visits back home
4. Contact with other foreigners

F. Change in social practices
1. At the individual level
2. At the group level

CODING SCHEME 2: VIEWS ON SOCIAL PRACTICES

A. The "Erasmus life-style"
1. Definition of the "Erasmus life-style" [the speaker refers to what it is, what it involves]
2. General attitudes to the "Erasmus life-style" [the speaker explains what it feels like being an Erasmus student, what they like or dislike about the "Erasmus life-style", whether they want to be part of it or not, and why]
3. The experience of the "Erasmus life-style" in comparison to other former experiences [the speaker compares their experiences in Szeged with former experiences at home]

B. Attitudes to and views on the (groups of) people associated with the "Erasmus life-style"
1. Central members: the "hard core party people"
2. Non-members: people who do not want to belong or do not fit in
3. Peripheral members: people who belong only partially and are thus "looking from further away"
4. Newcomers: new people seeking membership
5. The big group of Erasmus students
6. Small groups within the big group of Erasmus students
7. Relationships within one's group
8. One's group in comparison to other groups [including one's relationships outside of the Erasmus students' group]

C. Attitudes to and views on activities associated with the "Erasmus life-style"
1. Attitudes to and views on day-time activities
-- staying in bed late
-- courses and school work
-- free-time
2. Attitudes to and views on "night-life" activities
-- European clubs
-- (House) parties [clubbing, house-warming parties, birthday parties, good-bye parties]
-- Dinner parties
-- Other
-- The ingredients of a party
 -- Food and drinks; getting drunk
 -- Outfit and decorations
 -- Games
-- Music and dancing
 -- Doing 'crazy' things
 -- Flirting, love making
 -- Greetings and good-byes
3. Attitudes to and views on weekend activities
-- Trips
-- Other
6. Change in perceptions and views regarding the activities

D. Goals of the Erasmus stay
1. Major concerns/General goals
2. Major concerns prioritized [speaker refers to an order of importance in reference to two or more major concerns]

3. Personal dilemmas
4. Change in goals

E. Emotions
1. The "Erasmus life-style" a reality: General mood/emotions [what they feel inside]
-- A feeling of being 'lonely'
2. The "Erasmus life-style" suspended [how they feel about their short visits back home]
3. The "Erasmus life-style" ending [what those who are leaving feel towards the end of their stay in Szeged and after they have returned home; what those who are staying for the second semester feel when some of the others are leaving]
4. Change in emotions

CODING SCHEME 3: LINGUISTIC PRACTICES

INTERACTIONAL FEATURES AND THEIR DEFINITIONS

A. "Basic" strategies through which the participants were building rapport

1. Co-construction of utterances	a. co-operative sentence building as enthusiasm b. co-operative sentence building as a way of helping out (following a word search) c. co-operative questioning d. pick up and add
2. Co-operative overlap	a. guess the end b. a parallel question-answer sequence c. a delayed question-answer sequence
3. Permitted interruptions	
4. Elicited modeling (following a word search)	a. direct word search b. indirect word search
5. Non-requested modeling	
6. Mutual revelation	
7. Persist in asking	
8. Repetition	

B. More complex devices through which the participants were building rapport

1. Non-understandings as co-operative routines	a. avoidance strategies b. repair and post-repair strategies
2. Ironic or humorous routines	a. irony in content b. irony aimed at style
3. Narrative strategies	a. story rounds b. by-passes/side remarks c. where the point can be? d. evaluations and responses
4. Speaking in tandem	a. ask in tandem b. answer in tandem c. guess in tandem (direct word search) d. jointly paint a detailed picture of an image e. model in tandem f. construct the meaning in tandem g. narrate in tandem
5. Code-switching	a. appeal for assistance (due to linguistic needs) b. local accommodation: on-the-spot type of code-switching c. local accommodation: routine-like expressions d. on-the-spot type of code-switching of non-Hu utterances e. routine-like expressions in L1 or Ln, but not in Hungarian

	d. repair in the case of a non-understanding

C. Working definitions of the analyzed interactional phenomena

Indirect word search	The speaker does not know, or cannot on the spur of the moment recall a certain word, which he/she signals indirectly, e.g. halts, makes a long pause, produces a hedge (e.g. 'uh'), or apparently struggles with producing the utterance. Uncertainty and/or lack of knowledge is implied implicitly.
Direct word search	The speaker does now know, or cannot, on the spur of the moment recall a word, or a part of it, which he/she makes explicit for the others, e.g. verbalizes his gap in his knowledge, or asks a confirmation check question, code-switches to his/her L1, or flags his/her utterance. Lack of knowledge or uncertainty is expressed explicitly.

Co-operative overlap	For some time, two or more speakers speak simultaneously without the overlap causing anyone to stop as in interruption:
	  1) guess the end: two or more speakers say the same, or make a similar point, simultaneously, as when, for instance, a speaker offers to finish the current speaker's sentence, or when a speaker offers a word when the other is dealing with a word search;
	  2) a parallel question-answer sequence: one of the speakers asks a question which the other is answering simultaneously;
	  3) a delayed question-answer sequence: the current speaker finishes her utterance first and then incorporates an answer to the question raised in overlap.

Permitted interruption	One speaker permits the other speaker to interrupt him/her, either in the form of an overlap or during the brief pause he/she makes between utterances. As a result of the interruption, the speaker changes the course of his/her talk temporarily, but later returns to what he/she has originally wanted to say, and does it smoothly without any difficulty in regaining the floor. (Cf. obstructive interruption when the speaker has difficulty in regaining the floor and saying what he/she has originally wanted to say, if he/she wants to say it, at all).
Flagging of an utterance	The speaker comments on his/her own or on someone else's language use, e.g. "I don't know the English name" or "It's like you learn it in n English book in school".
Persist in asking	The speaker makes two or more attempts to gain the floor and say whatever he/she wants to say; at the mean time the speaker is sensitive to the others' needs and, when eventually he/she gains the floor, he/she may first comply with what the others have said (e.g. produce a backchannel) and then make his/her own contribution.
Disregarded questions	A speaker ignores a question for he/she assumes that he/she can answer this question or go ahead with a topic that is of greater concern to him/her
Elicited modeling	In response to someone's direct or indirect word search, the speaker provides a scaffold: he/she provides the other speaker with the missing word, thus helping him/her formulate an utterance he/she may not

	have been able to accomplish himself/herself. The speaker thus provides the model because he/she feels he/she has been invited to do so. It involves a handover on his/her part, and a takeover on the co-participants' part.
Non-requested modeling	A speaker prompts the other speaker to repeat and thus learn a (new) utterance – not because he/she has been invited to do so, rather because he/she assumes it may be of use or of interest to the others. The model is thus provided with the intention of a handover and in the hope of a takeover on the part of the co-participants.
Speaking in tandem	Two or more speakers jointly hold one side of the conversation either as interrogators or as responders. Both speakers make landmark contributions on their own, rather than support the other speaker's points only as, for instance, through co-operative sentence building or repetition. In addition, both speakers contribute at least twice.
Painting an image together	Two or more speakers pick up and add to each other's utterances to jointly paint a detailed picture of an image.
Mutual revelation	To a speaker's statement of personal experience the other responds with a similar statement of personal experience.
Co-construction of utterances	When 2 or more speakers jointly produce an utterance by picking up words/structures from each other, or the thread of the other speaker, and adding to them: 1) co-operative sentence building as enthusiasm: one speaker picks up the thread of the speaker, finishes the other's sentence, which the former then accepts, and alternatively incorporates into his/her sentence; 2) co-operative sentence building as a way of helping out: one speaker picks up the thread of the other speaker, and when he/she faces a word search, finishes the other's sentence, which he/she then accepts and alternatively incorporates into his/her sentence; 3) co-operative questioning: one speaker scaffolds the other so that he/she could answer a more complex question, e.g. breaks a complex question into smaller and more simple questions. 4) one speaker picks up the previous utterance, modifies it and/or adds to it
Narratives	Accounts of personal experience that tell about past events
Detours	The speaker begins a story but then changes his/her course of talk to give some extra information or to comply with a co-participant's contribution; when finished, he/she continues telling the story.
Story rounds	Story clusters in which speakers exchange stories of personal experience that illustrate similar points; the thematic cohesion is achieved through the juxtaposition of similar stories.
Non-understandings as co-operative routines	Non-understandings are seen as moments of failed understanding of which, at least, one of the participants is aware. Non-understandings as co-operative routines involve two or more speakers joining forces to deal with the instances of "problematic talk". Their attempts may be aimed at: 1) avoiding non-understandings; 2) signaling non-understandings;

	3) remedying non-understandings.
Ironic or humorous routines	Two or more speakers jointly make a humorous effect: 1) irony in content: changing slightly or adding to what somebody else has said; 2) irony aimed at style: playing with intonation or voice quality for humorous effect
Code-switching	1) appeal for assistance (due to linguistic needs): the speaker faces a moment of word search and switches to another language to appeal for help 2). local accommodation: on-the-spot type of code-switching: the speaker switches to the local Hungarian, to create a code-switched utterance on the spot 3) local accommodation: routine-like expressions: involves the speaker switching to another language and saying the same thing in the same Ln, in this case, in the local Hungarian, most if not all the time 4) on-the-spot type of code-switching of non-Hu utterances: the speaker switches to their L1 or Ln, but not to the local Hungarian, to create a code-switches utterance on the spot 5) routine-like expressions in L1 or Ln, but not in Hungarian: involves the speaker switching to another language and saying the same thing in the same Ln, most, if not all the time 6). repair in the case of a non-understanding: the speaker switches to another language to offer help in the case of a non-understanding

CODING SCHEME 4: LINGUISTIC PRACTICES

A. Language choice [longer stretches of talk, rather than short code-switched elements]
1. Non-English: L1 speakers in their L1
2. Non-English: L1 and Ln speakers
3. Non-English: Ln speakers
4. English: L1 speakers in English, rather than in their L1

B. Discussing L1/Ln linguistic practices
1. Ask about sy's L1/Ln linguistic practices ["elicit a model": not necessarily when there is a word search moment or immediate need for the modeled utterance – involves questions raised in language classes]
2. Tell about your own L1/Ln linguistic practices unasked ["non-requested modeling": not necessarily when there is a word search moment or need for the modeled utterance]
3. Comment on or flag sy's L1/Ln linguistic practices in situ [refer to level of proficiency, word choice, accent, or slang, and alternatively provide a non-requested model]

C. Slang, "bad words", "dirty jokes"
D. "Common jokes" and "funny things" [inside jokes, recurring funny remarks]
E. "Typical Erasmus subjects" [Routine-like utterances, including questions and songs and recurring subjects of talk]

G. Linguistic practices with which speakers establish a CofP
1. Request for information [about non-linguistic practices]
2. Seeking experience
3. Documentation projects [Facebook messages and postings and other written linguistic practices with which the speakers document their experiences in Szeged]
4. Discussing developments
5. Mapping knowledge and identifying linguistic gaps ["elicit a model": requires a consideration of who knows what, what I am missing, what other person/s I can ask or connect with]
6. Socializing practices: Coordination of linguistic practices [socializing practices with which the participants establish the 'right' ways of speaking]
7. Socializing practices: Coordination of social practices [socializing practices with which the participants establish the 'right' ways of acting]
8. Fast flow of information
9. Quick set-up a problem to be discussed

H. L1/Ln culture in focus
1. Ask about sy's L1/Ln culture
2. Tell about your own L1/Ln culture unasked
3. Identify sy by their L1 culture [speaker makes the other speaker's L1 culture most salient]

I. Change in linguistic practices
1. At the individual level
2. At the group level

CODING SCHEME 5: VIEWS ON LINGUISTIC PRACTICES

A. Goals of own linguistic practices [refers to plans to improve quality of speech]
1. Goals of own English
2. Goals of own Hungarian
3. Goals of own Ln[125]

B. Perceptions of own languages [speaker makes a value judgment on their language, e.g. states that it is good, bad, sufficient, etc.]
1. Perceptions of own English
2. Perceptions of own Hungarian
3. Perceptions of own Ln
4. Perceptions of L1

C. Mapping knowledge and adjusting language [opinions about who knows what or who can do what within the Erasmus group or among the locals they get in touch with; references to sy's level of proficiency, word choice, accent, or slang]

1. Perceptions of others' English (ELF)
2. Perceptions of others' Hungarian
3. Perceptions of others' Ln
4. Adjusting language [speaker refers to ways in which they make their language more similar to that of the co-participants through switching to the appropriate language, using (or not) idioms, swear words, by aiming (or not) at accuracy]

D. Attitudes to languages [speaker makes a reference to the social value of a particular language, e.g. nice, useful, useless]
1. General attitudes to the English language (ELF)
2. General attitudes to the Hungarian language
3. General attitudes to Ln
4. General attitudes to L1

E. Attitudes to and views on recurring ELF practices [recurring linguistic practices which the speaker refers to as 'right', funny, interesting, 'wrong' or 'strange']
1. Attitudes to code-switching/language choice
2. Attitudes to accent and pronunciation
3. Attitudes to "typical Erasmus subjects" [English routine-like expressions, e.g. greetings, how-are-you's, where-are-you-from's, recurring topics]
4. Attitudes to word search
5. Attitudes to word choice
6. Attitudes to idioms (both English and L1 idioms translated into English)
7. Attitudes to slang and "bad words"
8. Attitudes to "common jokes" and other "funny things" [routine-like jokes and on-the-spot utterances which create a humorous effect]
9. Attitudes to grammatical accuracy
10. Attitudes to non-understandings
11. Overall views on ELF talk in the group
12. Change in perceptions and views

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[125] Ln = foreign language(s) in the speaker's language repertoire other than English

F. Views on language learning
1. General views on language learning
2. Personal views on learning English
3. Personal views on learning Hungarian
4. Personal views on learning Ln
5. Views on changing ELF practices in Szeged [speaker explains how their proficiency level, fluency, use of idioms, or L1 speed has changed since in Szeged]
6. Views on "correctness" and "good English" [speaker refers to "correctness" and "good English" and/or to the relation between the two, and the practice of correcting each other]

G. Difficulty in communication [speaker refers to some kind of a difficulty in their communication and perhaps hints at some solution to it]
1. Difficulty in ELF communication
2. Difficulty in Hungarian communication
3. Difficulty in Ln communication

H. Efficiency in communication [speaker expresses views on what makes their communication successful]
1. Efficiency in ELF interaction

H. Language learning background before Szeged
1. English learning background
2. Hungarian learning background
3. Ln learning background