Doing English-Only Instructions: A Multimodal Account of Bilingual Bangladeshi Classrooms

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ABSTRACT: The research reported here is part of a broader research project on bilingual Bangladeshi ESL schools. The study seeks to find out how a prescribed language policy that is operating at the school informs classroom instruction. To do so, it uses the distinction between *medium of instruction* and *medium of interaction*, introduced by Bonacina & Gafaranga (2011), to examine how participants to instructional exchanges orient their actions to the language policy as well as to locally emerging interactional challenges. Through multimodal conversation analysis the study shows how participants sustain, suppress or even overlook the medium of instruction in the service of doing instruction. These findings therefore contribute to the existing literature on language policy-in-practice and language alternation in bilingual classrooms.
Keywords: language alternation, bilingual classroom, multimodal analysis, conversation analysis, medium of classroom interaction.

1. INTRODUCTION

It has been widely demonstrated that language alternation is a common and orderly feature of bilingual interaction. Language alternation has been explored in terms of grammatical orderliness (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993) and as a discourse strategy (e.g. Gumperz, 1982) by which participants draw on shared cultural values that bilingual communities assign to their distinct language codes. In the wake of Gumperz' work, Auer (1984, 1998, 1995) proposed that language alternation should be thought of as an instance of *practical social action.* According to this view, rather than reflecting culturally shared values, for participants the meaning of "any instance of language alternation is contingent on its local sequential context" (Musk & Cromdal, in press) and can be analytically established by examining the participants orientation to their choice of language in the turn-by-turn mutually coordinated flow of social actions (Cromdal, 2001; Wei, 2005).

The present article adopts this social interactional perspective to examine the organization of instructional exchanges in a bilingual educational setting. Previous studies of such settings have shown that participants can make a selective use of co-available languages sensitive to the pedagogical focus of the setting. For instance, Ustunel and Seedhouse (2005) have found in a Turkish EFL setting that language alternation is employed as a strategy of solving some specific interactional as well as instructional problems, such as lack of students' response, clarification, translation of L1 items etc. Cromdal (2005) observed how students to a bilingual Swedish-English primary school classroom produced a local systematic 'bilingual order of conduct', when writing a joint report of their project work. Going about this task, the students used English for the purposes of constructing the report (producing actions such as quoting, dictating, spelling out the sounds of particular letters of the text in English), while Swedish was used for actions that did not have an immediate bearing on their work. Somewhat similarly, in a Swedish (FL) language lessons in an upper-secondary Finnish classroom, Lehti-Eklund (2012) observed that participants often maneuver a 'division of labor' between Swedish (FL), which was used for the purposes of instructional work, and Finnish, which served the purposes of non-institutionally

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oriented exchanges. In the present article, we further pursue the organization of bilingual classroom interaction taking into account the institutionally sanctioned language policy. Before moving on to the analysis, we offer a brief review of the literature focusing on language policies in bilingual educational settings.

1.1. Language Alternation and Policy in Education

In bilingual educational settings, matters of language policy have been studied primarily from three perspectives – (i) 'language management', (ii) 'language beliefs' or 'ideology' and (iii) 'language practices' (Spolsky, 2004, pp. 11-14; Spolsky, 2007). Some studies have explored language policy to deal with the policy documents on language use in institutional settings on the national or the local levels. The primary concern of the 'management' approach then, is to discuss the issues of policy *documents* – the execution of policy documents or authority, written down legal or semi-legal texts or laws, or discourses that govern, manage and dictate what language should be practiced in/around bilingual classrooms. Other studies have explored the understanding of participants' thoughts, beliefs and ideas regarding the use of languages in bilingual classroom. This present study approaches language policy issues from the perspective of locally situated language practices, examining participants' language use along their displayed orientation to the business at hand. A merit of this approach is that it allows for an understanding of institutional policy as a participants' phenomenon (for a recent study of L2 policing see Balaman, 2016), which reveals the bearing of officially prescribed norms of language use on the parties' actual classroom conduct.

As Nikula (2005) pointed out, in bilingual and second-language classrooms, the L2 is the 'goal' as well as the 'tool' of instruction. As a result, such classrooms often adopt *monolingualism* as a norm of interaction and students' resorting to the L1 can be treated as inappropriate, sanctionable conduct. Breaches of such monolingual norms were analyzed by Amir (2013a, 2013b) and Amir and Musk (2013, 2014), who show that such infractions (comprising use of Swedish in an English-only classroom) trigger acts of 'language policing'. Interestingly, language policing practices may be self-initiated, where a speaker will self-correct the choice of language, or other-initiated, as participants may hold each other accountable for violating the language policy (cf. *embedded* and *implicit* language policing in Hazel, 2015; *rule* and *language policing* in Sert & Balaman, 2018). Reporting from a complementary Chinese classroom in the U.K., Wei and Wu (2009) have found that the students challenge the teacher's traditional authority as well as the monolingual norm. The students were found to 'follow or flout' the rules to engage in negotiations of alternating between the languages. Although these language practices were often treated by the teachers as deviant, they also testify to the students' 'flexible, creative bilingualism' (p. 209) by which they would resist the official language policy, undermining the teacher's authority in the classroom. Somewhat less confrontative bilingual practices were observed by Jakonen (2016) in a Finnish-English setting. His analysis shows how students worked to evade the institutionally promoted medium of instruction using different strategies, such as (a) withdrawing from the talk (keeping silence), (b) waiting for suitable time when the teacher is not paying attention to their talk, or (c) addressing the rule enforcement activity as a 'jocular encounter'. Similarly to the results by Wei and Wu (2009), Jakonen (2016) points to the flexibility and creativity involved in bilingual interaction taking place under an official monolingual language policy. Finally, analyzing the interactions in a Swedish-medium classroom in Finland, Slotte-Luttge (2007) found that students may temporarily suspend the operating language policy, when facing difficulties expressing themselves in Swedish. She points out that by resorting to Finnish – a potentially sanctionable practice – students 'do not stand out as victims of a linguistic policy governed from above, but contribute actively to the monolingual classroom norm by the *attitude they show* regarding the use of Finnish' (Slotte-

Luttge, 2007, p.124; emphasis added). Somewhat surprisingly, then, Slotte-Luttge's study shows that bilingual conduct can sometimes offer a way of sustaining a monolingual norm.

In order to conceptually account for such diversity of language practices, we turn to the notion of *medium* which was introduced by Gafaranga and colleagues (Bonancina & Gafaranga, 2011; Gafaranga, 1999; Gafaranga, 2007; Gafaranga & Torras, 2001) to refer to "the actually oriented-to linguistic code" (Gafaranga, 1999, p. 216). In an effort to understand the language practices of bilinguals in educational contexts informed by a language policy, Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011) proposed a distinction between the 'Medium of Instruction' (i.e., the prescribed, expected, normative language policy) and 'Medium of Classroom Interaction' (the actual oriented to the code of the participants). As they point out, the *medium of instruction* can only account for the participants' conduct in instances where the language practice and prescribed language policy are in congruence. Where this is not the case, Bonacina & Gafaranga (2011) propose the term *medium of classroom interaction*. Based on this distinction, they have found three modes of talks – (i) L2 base code with L1 alterations, (ii) L1 base code with L2 alterations and (iii) mix of the two languages. Using samples of talk from a complementary French school in Scotland, they demonstrate first case, in which French (the officially prescribed language) is used as a base code with occasional alternations into English. Such language alternations were found to be either 'repairable' or 'non-repairable' deviations from the language policy. In the second case, English was used as the monolingual medium, and speakers would occasionally switch into French for specific functional purposes. In the third case, participants would act along (thereby producing) a *bilingual medium* by alternating between French and English interchangeably without orienting to any violation of a language norm. This conceptual framework promotes a view of bilingual order as a participants' concern. Analytically, it allows researchers to account for a diversity of bilingual practices, without conforming to preconceived, episode-external notion of language norms.

In the analysis below, the concept of medium is used to shed light on the language practices of bilingual participants in an English-only school in Bangladesh. Specifically, this paper aims to investigate the patterns of language alternation during classroom instruction, the interactional and instructional work that such alternations serve to accomplish, and to explore the ways by which the participants accountably manage the official *medium of instruction policy* of the school.

2. METHOD

The empirical materials used in this article were collected in a grade-6 bilingual school situated in a large metropolitan city in Bangladesh. The data collection took place in the first quarter of the academic year. Data were collected using two cameras. One camera was placed in the right hand corner of the classroom allowing a left-lateral view of the teacher's podium and the first few rows of the classroom. The rear camera was positioned interchangeably between the two rows. The rear camera allowed a full-view of the whiteboard, teacher standing on the podium, and a rear view of the students. A classroom typically contained 45 or more students. The teachers were equipped with microphones so that the students can hear him/her clearly during their lectures. Each lesson generally lasted for 45 minutes. The recorded corpus holds 44 hours of classroom interaction.

The names of the school, teachers and students were altered. Permission to record classes was obtained from the administrative authority of the school, the teachers, students and their parents. Permissions were also obtained to store as well as publish the analyzed film clips.

According to the school's policy, the prescribed medium of instruction is English. All school subjects were taught in English except Bengali (Grammar and Literature). The texts used in the classroom were the official translated version of the national curriculum (NCTB, National Curriculum and Textbook Board). The teachers were officially obliged to follow the monolingual, English-only rule during teaching. The aspiration of this mode of education system is to introduce English at an early age so that the students are offered opportunities of learning and interacting in English. Although Bangladesh is a fairly monolingual country (99% of its population speaks vernacular Bengali), English, as a colonial language, enjoys a high status language in Bangladesh (as in many Asian and South Asian countries) with a growing popularity among parents to send their kids to bilingual schools.

The overall interest of the project was with the bilingual participants' language practices in the classroom. During the early stages of analysis, the corpus was searched through based on this potential interest. Accordingly, instances of language alternation were drawn from different classroom situations in which the teachers are lecturing, instructing or otherwise interacting with the students. In the next step, these collections were built according to the *medium of interaction* (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011). For the purposes of the present analysis, five episodes with the same group of students were drawn from different lessons, including Agriculture, Bangladesh and General Studies, Mathematics, General Science and Information and Communication Technology (ICT). After preliminary rough transcriptions, the chosen transcripts were fine-tuned following standards for multimodal Conversation Analysis (Mondada, 2007) to allow for analysis of the coordination of semiotic resources along different modalities (talk, embodied action types as well as use of material objects) in the participants' actions.

3. FINDINGS

The analysis is arranged into three subsections. We begin by showing how the participants maintain a monolingual medium, with occasional instances of language alternation, and then proceed to demonstrate how the monolingual medium can be temporally suspended in the course of teacher's instruction. In the final section we examine how the teaching proceeds using a bilingual medium.

3.1. Monolingual Medium of Interaction

The first extract is drafted from an Agriculture lesson. The teacher has written down the topic of the lesson on the whiteboard in bold letters – ''fish culture''. In the transcript below, she explains how to measure food shortage in a pond, and she is about to demonstrate the procedure to the students.

```
Extract 1. Do You Know Elbow?
[Teacher (TEA), Ruhan (ruh) CM2 2.12.45 - 2.13.10]

1 TEA:    there is a- unh  pi::cture in your book >all of yo::u<
2         re[ad this ]
3 STU1:     [>read th]is<?
4         (0.3)
5 TEA:    #if you #dip *your hand in <the #pon::d*>((noise outisde))
  tea     ...........*dip left hand & hold---->*
          #Fig.1  #Fig.2                    #Fig.3
```

Fg1.Preparing   Fg2.Hand bend   Fg3.Down the water

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6        →      up to el*bow# (.) elbow+ chino?*
                                         know
                                         (do you) know elbow?
    tea          ,,,,,,,,*hold left hand & nod->*
    ruh                             +affirmative head nod-->
                      #Fig.4
```


Fg4. Mutual gaze with Ruhan

```
7             (0.5)
    ruh       ---->
8   TEA:      up +to elbow+ if we dip our+ hand
    ruh       -->+showng->+straight hnd->+put left hand down-->
9             (0.2)#(0.2)
    ruh       ---------->
                  #Fig.5
```

Fg5. Ruhan shows his elbow

```
10 TEA:    in the pond ↑and if the palm is visible
   ruh     ------------------------------------->
11         (0.8)
   ruh     --->
12 TEA:    ↑if ↑palm is visible+ up to elbow we will dip our
   ruh     keep hand down----->+
13         hand into the pond water (.) okay? thayn if
14         palm is visible there is shortage of (.) food
```

The teacher draws attention of the students to an illustration in the textbook (line 1-2). Besides verbal explanations (line 5-6), she also performs a series of *kinetographic gestures* (McNeil, 1992) – (i) straightening the right hand (fig.1), (ii) bending the right palm (fig.2), and (iii) dipping the hand into an imaginary pond (fig.3). Holding her right hand elbow, she asks the students 'elbow chino?*'* (tr: 'Do you know elbow?'). The question is produced in the format of 'target word + repetition + tag on question', with the turn final tag being switched into Bengali. In line 6, the teacher establishes mutual gaze with Ruhan, a student sitting in the rear row (fig.4), then nods, by which she allocates the next turn to the student. In response, Ruhan produces an affirmative nod (line 6-8). Then, as the teacher continues her multimodal demonstration, he displays his understanding by reproducing the teacher's prior series of gestures – (i) holding the right hand elbow with fingers (line 8, fig.5), (ii) straightening his hand in the line of sight (line 8), and (iii) mimicking the dipping gesture (line 8-12). Such use of "matching gestures" was described by Majlesi (2015), who found that Swedish as Foreign Language instructors would display their understanding of their students by reproducing their embodied actions (see also Eskildsen & Wagner, 2013 for 'return gestures'). As Majlesi (2015) points out, matching the students' gestures afforded instructors an 'alternative way of telling and exhibiting' rather than articulating in verbal turns (Majlesi, 2015, p.32). In our current extract, Ruhan's embodied actions sufficiently respond to the teacher's comprehension query. This extract shows how the teacher's demonstration of the procedure for measuring food levels in fish ponds is being multimodally coordinated with the students' displayed recipiency.
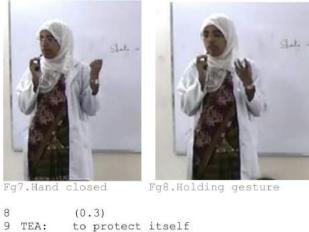
This extract is an example of 'L2 base code with L1 alterations' (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011). Here, the teacher's verbal actions are in English, save for the tagged-on particle in line 6. As Huq et al. (2017) have demonstrated in a different bilingual Bengali setting, teachers produce such turn-final comprehension checks in Bengali, which results in momentary instances of language alternation within an otherwise monolingual English medium of interaction (cf. teacher-initiated self-policing in Amir 2013b).

The next extract is from a Bangladesh and General Studies lesson. The topic of the lesson is 'State and Society'. The teacher has just written a definition of 'state' on the whiteboard. In her words, a state is 'an area that is lived by some people, has independence and a well-organized government'. The lecture is dedicated to discussing four components of the definition – (i) area, (ii) people, (iii) independence, and (iv) government. In the extract below, the teacher is elaborating on the concept of 'independence'.

Extract.2 Sovereignty
[Participants: Teacher (TEA), Rumi, Munni CM2 1.26.33 - 1.27.22]

```
1  TEA:    >from the attack of<*other country*# =that mea::n*s
   tea                         *pointng wrd->*drags finger->*
                                                   #Fig.6
```


Fg6. Pointing the word 'independence'

```
2          (.) the state must have* its soveri ni:*t:y
   tea     move back to students->*withdraw hand->*
3          (0.4)
4  TEA:    >↑sove ri nity< =whad you mean by soverini:ty:
5  MUNNI:  sadhinota
           freedom
6  RUMI:   =°°sa[dhinota°°
              freedom
7  TEA:       [>u::tmo#st<] power sadhinota na::(.) <pOWe:r#>
                            freedom        not
                            its not freedom
              #Fig.7                              #Fig.8
```


Fg7.Hand closed   Fg8.Holding gesture

```
8          (0.3)
9  TEA:    to protect itself
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At the beginning of the transcript, the teacher was reading aloud from the whiteboard (fig.6), and then starts to gradually turn toward the class (line 2). Next, she introduces a new concept, *sovereignty*, pauses, and then repeats it using high pitch and emphasis to establish its

status as a focal concept. She then produces an interrogative clause, asking the students to explain the meaning of the concept (line 4). Such interrogative practices have been frequently observed in the literature on second language classrooms, where focus is on teaching vocabulary (Waring et al., 2013; Mortensen, 2011).

In this case, however, two students interpret the teacher's question as a request for translation of the target word (see Stoewer, in press, on translation requests). Rather than explaining the meaning of "sovereignty" Munni and Rumi offer a Bengali synonym for independence (*sadhinota*), a concept that was discussed just previously. In lines 7-9 the teacher produces an explicit correction of the students' answer. Her correction is delivered in three steps: (i) a prosodically stressed synonymous phrase for sovereignty ("utmost power") iconically emphasized (cf. McNeil, 1992) through the teacher's clenched fist (ii) an explicit rejection of the concept proposed by the students, and (iii) an elaboration of the correct answer ("power to protect itself").
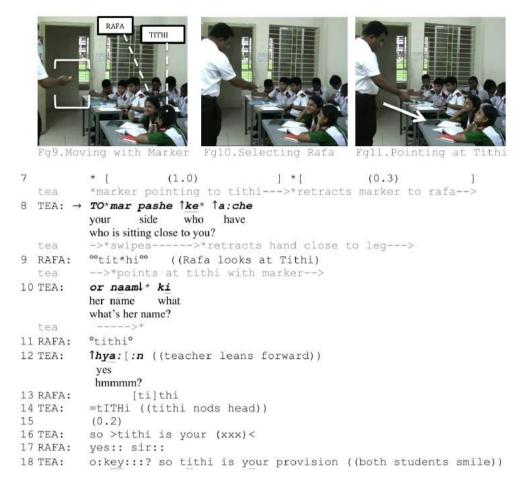
This extract also shows how participants orient to L1 alternations reserving an overall monolingual order. We may note that although the teacher rejects and corrects the concept offered by the students, she does not reject their attempt to produce a translation of the target word. To the contrary, her switching into Bengali to produce the rejection of their candidate concept (line 7), would seem to ratify their translation as an acceptable way of responding to her question. In so doing, resorting to the other language is treated as ''an additional resource'' rather than ''trouble'' (Gafaranga, 2012). Again, the monolingual medium of instruction is preserved, and the occasional alternations into Bengali are handled as legitimate ways of participating in the instructional activity. In the next section we turn to demonstrate how the monolingual medium is temporarily suspended for instructional purposes.

3.2. Medium Suspension

In the previous section, we showed how the interaction proceeded in the normative language of instruction, that thereby offered a base code from which participants were seen to code-switch as a way of producing locally relevant actions (e.g., Gafaranga, 1999, 2007). In the current section, we will examine two empirical extracts, in which the medium of instruction is being suspended, while the participants attend to locally emergent business.

Extract 3 was recorded during a Mathematics lesson. The topic of this lesson is the concept of ''provision''. According to the teacher's proposition, proximity of two values (such as '5' and 'y' of '5y') means that they are one another's provisions.

```
Extract 3. Provision
[Teacher (TEA), Rafa, Tithi CM1 1.21.45-1.22.06]

1           ((students talking to each other in murmuring voice))
2   TEA:    do (we) know th provi sheyan
3           (0.7)
4   TEA:    ↑what is? provisheay::n
5           *[         (1.7)        ]*[          (0.7)          ]*
    tea     *movng frm rht to lft-->*movng wth marker in hand--->*
6   TEA:    who# is::? be#si*de you#*
    tea     --------------->*swipes->*
              #Fig.9    #Fig.10   #Fig.11
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Fg9.Moving with Marker   Fg10.Selecting Rafa   Fg11.Pointing at Tithi

```
7         * [        (1.0)          ] *[        (0.3)              ]
   tea    *marker pointing to tithi--->*retracts marker to rafa-->
8  TEA: →  TO*mar pashe ↑ke* ↑a:che
           your    side    who    have
           who is sitting close to you?
   tea     ->*swipes------>*retracts hand close to leg--->
9  RAFA:   °°tit*hi°°   ((Rafa looks at Tithi)
   tea     -->*points at tithi with marker-->
10 TEA:    or naam↓* ki
           her name      what
           what's her name?
   tea     ----->*
11 RAFA:   °tithi°
12 TEA:    ↑hya:[:n ((teacher leans forward))
            yes
            hmmmm?
13 RAFA:        [ti]thi
14 TEA:    =tITHi ((tithi nods head))
15         (0.2)
16 TEA:    so >tithi is your (xxx)<
17 RAFA:   yes:: sir::
18 TEA:    o:key:::? so tithi is your provision ((both students smile))
```

As the transcript opens, the classroom is still a bit noisy, and students prepare to settle down. Without nominating any individual student, the teacher introduces the topic of the lesson in line 2, asking if the students are familiar with the concept of provision. The students do not volunteer any response and after a pause the question is rephrased more comprehensively in line 4. Again, the students refrain from answering. The teacher then moves towards the front-row and draws an imaginary line between two of the students seated there (Rafa and Tithi, fig. 9). His hand then stops at Rafa (fig 10), who is thereby selected as the recipient of the teacher's actions. The teacher then asks Rafa about his front-row neighbor, moving his hand towards Tithi. Rafa's hesitation or unpreparedness is visible in the notably absent answer (line 7).

The lack of apparent relation between the question about the student to the left and the previous line of questioning which concerned a mathematical concept may perhaps account for the student's puzzlement (see also Sert, 2015 for a comprehensive analysis of students' hesitation and display of insufficient knowledge). The teacher deals with this by repeating the question in Bengali (line 8), which solicits a notably inaudible response from Rafa. The teacher then points at Tithi and rephrases the question, asking directly about Tithi's name. In line 11, Rafa produces another hesitant reply, and the teacher leans forward, demanding a new answer (line 12). Rafa then names her neighbor once more, which the teacher accepts as a satisfactory answer, repeating Tithi's name. The teacher then switches back into English, explaining that Tithi can be considered Rafa's provision, thereby returning to the mathematical concept introduced at the beginning of the transcript, reframing it as a practical, real-life example of 'provision' to the class.

Fig12. Swiping gesture (line 6 & 8)

The students' withholding of response to the teacher's initial question suggests that they may not be familiar with the concept of provision. By way of explanation, the teacher opts for a new track, which we later learn involves letting the two students represent the proximal relationship of provision. Of course, in order to do so, the teacher needs to know the other student's name, and consequently proceeds to ask Rafa about Tithi's name. For the students, however, it may be hard to make sense of the local relevance – and pedagogical focus – of this question, and so the problem that the teacher is now facing is to find a way of soliciting an answer from Rafa (Nakamura, 2004). It is tempting to interpret his alternation into Bengali as a strategy toward this end. Indeed, Ustunel & Seedhouse (2005) found that teachers would code-switch into the L1 to make the pedagogical focus of their questions transparent to the students, thereby enabling them to produce an answer: ''When there is no L2 answer to the teacher's question in the L2, the teacher code-switches to L1 after a pause of more than one second.'' (p.321). Because the teacher in our example seeks to explicate the mathematical concept by embarking on an entirely new trajectory of questioning, it is hard to see how switching into Bengali would help the students to come up with the expected answer. While Rafa may not be familiar with the notion of provision, she certainly knows the name of her front-row neighbor, regardless of the language in which the question is posed. Rather, we wish to suggest that the teacher's alternation into Bengali in line 8 may be accounted for in terms of the relation between shifting pedagogical focus and sequence organization (cf. Ustunel & Seedhouse, 2005). By suspending the medium of instruction, the alternation indexes that the current line of questioning about provision is similarly suspended, and that the exchange to follow is an insertion sequence with no immediate relevance to the initial topic. We have already proposed that this lack of transparency may explain Rafa's notably reluctant responses in lines 9 and 11. We may now note that once the pedagogical focus of the teacher's question becomes clear, Rafa's participation in the exchange is no longer marked for hesitation (line 17). The insertion is closed with the teacher's receipt of the name (line 14), and his return to the topic of provision in line 16 completes the base sequence. Here, his choice of English restores the medium of instruction.

Extract 4, drawn from a General Science lesson, shows another example of medium suspension. The topic of the lesson is ''Usage of Stems''. The extract starts with a formal question-answer session between the teacher and a student. During this talk, a new topic is introduced, dealing with whether the potato is a root or a stem.

Extract.4 Roots or Stem?
[Teacher (TEA), Roy, Munni, Sania, Pia, Nitu & Students(STU) CM21.59.59
- 2.00.58]

```
1  TEA:    yo:u ((pointing at Roy with a continued gaze))
2          (0.3)((Roy stands up))
3  ROY:    >we can get tuber< from stem::s
4          (0.4)
5  TEA:    ↑sorry ((teacher leans forward to listen clearly))
6  ROY:    <we ca:n get tuber fro:m stems::>
7  TEA:    okay ho:w?
8          (1.7)
9  TEA:    tube::r pota::to: ((teacher smiles))
10         (1.2)
11 TEA: →  >accha potato< je:::h =amra::h- (0.7) alu vorta::h
           okay          that       we           potato mash
           okay          (potato) that we        mashed potato
12         ajke kehye aschi >tai? nah<
           today  have eaten     so    no
           (we've) done (breakfast) with mashed potato today, right?
13 SANIA:  >°°ki? kheyechi°°<
           what  have eaten
           what (we've) eaten?
14 TEA:    alu vorta::h(0.3) accha ei:: potato:s::
           potato mash         okay   these
           mashed potato       okay   these (potatoes)
15         (0.5)
16 TEA:    eta ki::? apnar- potato k::i- apnar (0.5) stem na ki::
           this  what    your          what    your              or  else
           what's this? you (know) (potatoes) are  you (know)       or (is it)
17         roo:t[s::
18 MUNNI:       [si]r roo[ts:: root]
19 TEA:              [na ki::h?] roots na ki
                     no  else              no else
                     is it (roots)?       or (is it)
20 STU1:   =sir roo[ts
21 TEA:             [roo]ts ta[i na?
                             so   no
                             isn't it?
22 PIA:                     [yes °°sir°°] roots
23 MUNNI:  =°°root [roots°°
24 STU2:           [°°roots°°]
25         (.)
26 TEA:    KYAno roots >eta matir niche< tha[ke  ]
           why             this  earth   below  stay
           why?            it's (grown) below the ground?
27 STU3:                                    [↑yes]:: ↑↑si:r:::
28 MUNNI:  sir [ogulor sathe]
               those   with
               with those (roots)
29 TEA:        [it is under]
30 MUNNI:  =lagano thake
           attached   stay
           (potatoes are) attached
```

```
31 SANIA:   =es[s::te::m toh ]((dissatisfied face))
                        so
             (these are) stems!
32 TEA:       [undergroun:d?] ei jonyo eta: roots:
                              this reason  this
                              that's why it's (roots)?
33 STU4:    =yess:: [sir:::
34 NITU:          [sir  ] yes
35          (0.5)
36 MUNNI:   sir roots er sathe lagano thake
                       with      attached  stay
                 (potatoes are) attached to the roots
37 TEA: →   =eti:: so::thi:::k ↑NO:::y ((shakes head negative))
             this    correct      not
             it's not correct (at all)
38 SANIA:   =este:::m [sir ((smile on her face))
39 STU5:             [stem] sir
40 TEA:     ETa STem (0.3) thou::gh it re::mai::n under grou::nd
             this
             it's (stem)
41          (0.4)
42 MUNNI:   °stem er sathe joriye thake°
                  with      entangled stay
                 (stem is) entangled to the roots
43 TEA:     thou::gh it re::ma::ins:
44 SANIA:   under ground
45 TEA:     underground
46          (0.5)
47 TEA:     it is:::
48 SANIA:   st[em
49 TEA:       [th]e ste:m: (0.5) potato is a stem =potato is
50          not root
```

The transcript opens as the teacher selects Roy as respondent to a previous question. Roy's answer – that tuber belongs to the stem of the plant – is inaudible to the teacher, who solicits a repetition of Roy's answer (line 6). Acknowledging the response, the teacher asks him to explain the answer in detail. Roy does not answer and after a pause, the teacher introduces the potato as an example of a tuber. It is possible that the upshot of the teacher's question *how* (to get tuber from stems) is not entirely clear to the student. For whatever reason, the student does not seem to affiliate with the current pedagogical focus (Seedhouse, 2004) and the teacher's attempts to solicit an elaborated answer from Roy fail.

The teacher then looks up at the class and produces an extended turn that ends in an open question to the class – whether potatoes are a stem or a root (lines 16-17). Before producing the question, the teacher elaborates on the mundane use and presence of potatoes, thereby linking the object of the instruction with the real-world experiences of everybody present in the class. In line 18, Munni responds, in terminal overlap (Jefferson, 1986) with the teacher's question, that it is a root. The teacher's, seemingly confirmatory, receipt of her answer is overlapped by several students pitching in responsive turns, claiming that it is a root (lines 20 and 22). As there seems to be a general consensus among the students concerning the status of potatoes, the teacher moves on to elaborate the matter by advancing a logical explanation.

According to a common conception of plant anatomy, if a part of a plant grows above the ground, it is termed a stem and if it grows beneath the ground (conveying water and nourishment to the rest of the plant via numerous branches and fibers), it is called a root. The teacher tweaks this explanation and asks the students to reconfirm the line of thought (line 26). While several students readily agree (line 27, 28 and 30), Sania is dissatisfied with the answer. With a hesitant voice, she suggests – against the collective agreement – that potato is in fact a

stem (line 31). The teacher withholds his feedback, while a few more students agree with the proposed rationale. Finally, in line 37, the teacher produces a prosodically marked rejection of most students' position, upon which Sania smiles triumphantly and repeats her earlier claim that it is a stem. Next, the teacher offers the correct answer (line 40), and continues to explain (line 43, 45, 47, 49) that in spite of remaining under the ground, the potato is a stem. He then closes the exchange by concluding once more that ''potato is a stem. potato is not root'' (lines 49-50).

In this extract, we have seen how the teacher's unsuccessful questioning (lines 7 and 9) of a student is handled by his opening an expansion episode, which allows him to elaborate and clarify the pedagogical upshot of his question to the student cohort. During the episode, the students are given the time to produce their respective answers and the teacher even helps them to construct a line of thought that elaborates on the (mistaken) logic of their replies before finally resolving the matter. Crucial to the interaction is the suspension of the medium of instruction, and we find the teacher and students alike producing talk in both Bengali and English, as well as bilingually constructed turns. In short, the medium of instruction has been replaced by a mixed-mode bilingual medium of interaction (Gafaranga & Torras, 2001). The English medium of instruction is resumed only after the teacher has announced the answer to his earlier question ('eta stem', line 40), and begins to formulate an exception to the rule that he had suggested earlier ('though it remains underground', line 40). At this point, it is interesting to find that the bilingual turn produced by Munni in line 42 leads the teacher to restart his formulation in line 43. Equally interesting is the fact that when Sania projects the next element of the teacher's turn ('under ground') and delivers it in the midst of the teacher's turn-constructional unit (Sacks et al., 1974), the teacher simply continues his talk. This observation leads us to propose that in line 43, the teacher orients to the other-languageness of Munni's turn, and that by restarting to formulate the exception he is essentially engaging in medium repair (Gafaranga & Torras, 2001) by which the monolingual English medium of instruction is restored (cf. Amir and Musk, 2014; Amir, 2013b).

To recap, the examples in this section showed how the teacher's attempts to pursue local instructional goals involved shifting pedagogical orientations, which proved problematic for the students. By way of handling the emergent trouble, teachers engaged in expanded sequences of interaction. These expansion sequences were brought off partly by suspending the English medium of instruction in favor of a Bengali (Extract 3) and mixed mode, bilingual (Extract 4) medium of interaction. In the final section of the analysis, we show how a bilingual medium is used to conduct lecturing sessions.

3.3. Bilingual Instruction

This extract to follow is collected from an Information and Communication Technology (ICT) lecture focusing on the topic of 'Internet'. During the lecture, the teacher points how information is saved and accessed online. The transcript shows how the concept of access is the topicalized and discussed at some length.

Extract 5. What Do You Mean by Access?
[Participants: Teacher (TEA), Munni, Student (STU) CM2 2.57.22-2-58.19]

```
1  TEA:   thousands of networks connected together <and create:s::>
2         =internet
3         (0.8)
4  TEA:   ekhon ei inte:rnet e::: ↑kichu ((steps down from the dais))
          now   this         in       some
          now in (the Internet)        a few
5         (1.8)
6  TEA:   computer thakbe those compute:r wi::ll (1.7) keep running
                   remains
          (computers) will be there
7         (0.3) twenty four hour::s (0.5) >chobbish ghonta cholte thkbe<
                                           twenty-four hours   running remains
                                           (these) will keep running twenty-four hours
8         (0.2) and >this computer is:< must- will be connec =must be
9         connected with inter:ne::t (0.4) for all ti::me ↑an:d i:f we::
10        (0.2) >created< or stor something in this compu:te:r *anybody
   tea                                                         *turning
11     →  can access# it =a*ccess mane ki?#
   tea     to middle row--->*move gaze to rear-->
                                     means  what
                                     (access) means?
                #Fig.13                    #Fig.14
```



```
Fg13.Gazing Middle Row    Fg14.Gazing Rear Bench
```

```
12        (.)*[           (0.9)              ]*[    (1.0)    ]
   tea    -->*moves gaze from rear bench to left row-->*returns gaze-->
13 TEA:   ↑ya*nhh  access mane barabari#
   tea    ->*gaze middle row students->
          hmmm            means  excess
          hmmm?    (access) means doing excess?
                                #Fig.15
```



```
Fg15.Gaze at middle row, second bench students
```

```
14          (0.7) ((teacher turns to whiteboard))
   tea      ----->
15 ST1:     °°#(e)ei *khane# (dhoka)°°((not in camera))
   tea          --->*move back to WH-->
            this    place    enter
            make an entry there
             #Fig.16      #Fig.17
```



```
Fg16.Holding left hand   Fg17.Small tilt of head
```

```
16 MUNNI:   =access mane[ki? (xxx)
                    means  what
                    (access) mean (xxx)?
   tea      ----------------->
17 ST2:                [(xxxx xxxx deya) (not in camera))
                               to give
   tea                     ------------>
18 TEA:     =na*AAH.((teacher starts writing))
            nope
   tea      -->*
19          (9.6)# (.)
               #Fig.18
```



```
Fg18.Just finished writing 'Access' & its synonyms
```

```
20 TEA:  →access A double c e double es porbesh kora man:e
                                      enter   do   means
                                      to enter     it means
21          eta ke use kora jemo::n uunh. you have the access (0.6) in
            this one do  like
            to use it          such as
22          this class:
```

Having explained the basic infrastructure of the Internet, the teacher informs how a saved file can be obtained virtually: "if we created or stored something in this computer anybody can access it" (lines 10-11). He then repeats the word "access" and tags on the interrogative Bengali particle "mane ki?" (means what?), thereby checking that the students are familiar with the concept (see Huq et al., 2017, for an elaborate account of similar comprehension checks). This turn is not allocated at any particular student, and the teacher checks across the classroom

(lines 11-12) for any volunteers. With no attempt at an answer forthcoming from the students, the teacher issues a question prompt ("yanhh"/"hmmm?"), then produces a false candidate answer – a pedagogical trap of sorts – asking if "access" means the same as "excess". This trap is devised on the fact that although they mean very different things, the two words are phonologically as well as orthographically similar. The teacher now scans the middle section of the classroom for volunteers, but by the time the students begin to answer (correctly in some cases, but mostly inaudibly), the teacher has turned away from the class and is moving toward the whiteboard.

In line 18, the teacher negates the students' responses (or possibly the false candidate term that he offered in line 13) and, having reached the whiteboard, writes the word "access" and two possible Bengali translations (fig.18). He then reads and spells through the target word in English, then reads the two possible Bengali translations ("to enter" and "to use it"), and gives a real-life example of the latter meaning in English ("you have access in this class", lines 21-22).

The practice we are dealing with here is known as the *analytic vocabulary explanation* approach (Waring et al., 2013). This approach promotes a definitional type of understanding and "seems particularly apt for abstract nouns" (p. 254). Procedurally, it involves establishing the target word (verbally or by documenting it on the whiteboard), inviting learners to volunteer an explanation, or simply explaining its meaning. It also involves giving samples of how the word may be used in context, and terminating the sequence by repeating the word, or summarizing the explanatory work. In addition, in our current example, the teacher also advances a treacherously similar but incorrect candidate explanation, spells through the sequence of letters (which highlights the dissimilarity with the false candidate), and a translation of two possible meanings of the target word into Bengali.

We should finally note that unlike the previous examples, the interaction in Extract 5 proceeds along a bilingual medium of interaction, where the teacher's turns during the lecture are constructed using both English and Bengali. A symptomatic sign of the bilingual medium being in operation is that the students' responsive turns – predominantly produced using Bengali – are not subjected to language policing efforts (Amir & Musk, 2013). Although the teacher's choice of medium may be at odds with the institutional policy of the school, it does allow for a pedagogically successful, analytic explanation of one of the key concepts in ICT.

4. DISCUSSION

This study has demonstrated how participants to a bilingual pedagogic setting informed by a formal English-only policy participate in and accomplish a variety of instructional activities. It thereby contributes to the existing literature on conversation analytic approaches to code-switching and language alternation in educational settings (Amir & Musk, 2013; Auer, 1984; Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011; Cromdal, 2003, 2005; Wei, 1998; Musk & Cromdal, in press; Seedhouse, 2005; Ustunel, 2009; Ustunel & Seedhouse, 2005). However, while most of this literature reports from instructional activities focusing on the learning of a second language, the data analyzed in this article reports from lessons dealing with different curricular subjects. That is to say, the exchanges that we have examined did not arise as part of, primarily, language lessons, but address the more general issue of interactional organisation of bilingual education.

Although very few studies in the past have taken onboard the notion of *medium* (Gafaranga, 1999; Gafaranga & Torras, 2001) to examine the interaction taking place in bilingual classrooms (but see Cromdal, 2005), it proved central to the present analysis, as it allowed us to focus on the participant-relevant mode of talk. Specifically, using the distinction between *medium of instruction* and *medium of interaction* introduced by Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011), we have shown how local practices of language alternation may take place while the monolingual medium is being oriented to and sustained by the participants. As Gafaranga and Torras (2001, p. 204) point out, 'adopting a monolingual medium for particular interaction does not necessarily mean that only one language is used'. During the instructional activities, we have seen that, the participants may overlook the use of mother tongue in favor of instruction. Furthermore, we have also seen that, instructional agendas, as the lessons unfolded, involved shifts in pedagogical focus, which occasionally proved troublesome for students resulting in their inability and/or unwillingness to produce relevant next actions. On such occasions teachers worked to bridge the impasse by engaging in extended sequences of interaction, which often involved suspending the normative medium of instruction until the trouble was resolved. These observations resonate with Ustunel & Seedhoouse's claim that to understand practices of language alternation in the classroom, we need to "trac[e] how language choice relates to developments in sequence and the shifting pedagogical focus" (p. 316). At the very least, this insight guards against premature discussions concerning the pros and cons of language alternation in bilingual classrooms.

The analysis also showed how the participants took part in and produced an extended analytic vocabulary explanation episode (Waring et al., 2013) by using a bilingual, mixed mode medium of interaction. It shows how dissemination of curriculum contents is prioritized over prescribed language policy in classrooms. Against the backdrop of the monolingual English-only policy, this is an important observation because it shows the potential benefits of bilingual instructional interaction (cf. Huq et al., 2017; St. John, 2010; Ustunel & Seedhouse, 2005).

In conclusion, rather than assuming a-priori that an institutional policy concerning language use inevitably determines participants' language behavior, we have demonstrated how the participants themselves sustain, suppress or even overlook the medium of instruction – in the service of doing instruction. In an important sense, the notion of medium allowed us to flesh out the local rationalities of *in vivo* educational practice. These findings should hopefully offer informative insight to researchers, current and would-be teachers and policy makers (local, national and international levels) to deal with language policies as well as practices in bilingual classrooms.

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Multimodal Transcription Notations

**	teacher's gestures and delimitations
++	student's gesture and delimitation
*-->	gesture continues across the line
*-->>	gesture continues until the end
-->*	gesture continues until this end
>>-	gesture begins before the beginning
...	gestures' preparation
- -	gesture's apex reached and maintained
,,,,	gesture's retraction
tea	teacher's multimodal actions
ruh	ruhan's multimodal actions
fig	the exact point of picture taken
#	specific sign showing its position in turn
WH	whiteboard