Learning Affordances in Integrating Content and English as a Lingua Franca ('ICELF'): on an Implicit Approach to English Medium Teaching

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Abstract

This contribution focuses on classroom discourse, and student evaluations thereof, in a specific tertiary EMT (English-medium teaching) setting. This is done by drawing on a rich, triangulated and longitudinal data base, comprising classroom interactional and ethnographic data that cover the whole duration of an international, four-semester English-medium hotel management programme (HMP) set in Vienna, Austria. On the basis of the discursive nature of learning it is argued that, in spite of the absence of any explicit language learning aims, the classroom discourse affords (language) learning spanning the functions of English as language for international hospitality purposes and of English as the lingua franca of the HMP community. Building on the recent discussions of EMT instructional types and of English used as a lingua franca in the international classroom, it is argued that the HMP represents a case of 'implicit ICELF (integrating content and English as a lingua franca)'.

Introduction

The social constructivist understanding of learning has not only provided a pedagogical rationale for all forms of immersion education, but it has also fore-grounded classroom discourse as central for the teaching and learning enterprise. Given the added ease of direct observation, the activities in the classroom have thus been investigated for some time now, especially as regards the pedagogical potential inherent in specific forms of talk (Mercer and Dawes 2008, and Ball and Wells 2009). These, it is suggested, allow learners to explore their ideas and thoughts relatively freely when taking up 'a set of social and cultural practices associated with academic domains' (Bloome *et al.* 2009: 314). As pedagogically enriched classroom talk depends lastingly on the teachers and the classroom practices they support, teachers need to bring along the appropriate pedagogical expertise to help their students in their discursive learning process.

While by definition the discursive nature of learning is similarly relevant at the tertiary level, the status of pedagogical expertise is a fundamentally different one, with many higher educational institutions (HEIs) giving little, if any consideration to pedagogical education or training for their lecturing staff (but cf. e.g. Cancino 2011). Correspondingly, the pedagogical relevance of (classroom) discourse for learning and for developing subject expertise is largely ignored or downplayed, as has become highly apparent in the wake of the recent trend towards internationalisation of universities. HEIs are increasingly changing over to English-medium programmes without paying much attention to the pedagogical affordances of changing the medium of instruction and of assessment (Coleman 2006). Although generally hailed as an important development in our globalised academic world, the critical voices are becoming louder that argue for a pedagogically more reflective approach towards integrating content and language (e.g. Wilkinson 2013).

In an attempt to add a new angle to this so far largely pedagogically informed reflective approach to English-medium teaching (EMT), the study reported on in this article aims to offer a complementary route by approaching English-medium classroom discourse from an applied linguistic descriptive perspective. Instead of aiming to reveal 'what should (not) be found' in relation to pedagogical expectations, this article will focus on 'what can be found' in the classroom as a site of learners and lecturers co-constructing meaning. As EMT tends to attract international learner groups, the descriptive approach pursued here pays special attention to English as the lingua franca of the multilingual learners and teachers. By drawing on a rich, triangulated and longitudinal data base, comprising classroom interactional and ethnographic data that cover the whole duration of a four-semester English-medium hotel management programme (HMP) set in Vienna, Austria, this paper discusses the learning affordances that come with English functioning as the only shared classroom language in an international hospitality management programme and, based on these findings, argues for 'implicit Integrating Content and English as a Lingua Franca (ICELF)' as an additional, applied linguistic category of EMT.

Conceptual Frame

Given the aim of this contribution, the literature review will focus on the following three areas of research, which will be sketched here briefly and in as much as they pertain to the ensuing argumentation:

- English-medium teaching and learning at tertiary level,

- English as a lingua franca,

- Learning affordances of the international classroom.

English-medium teaching and learning at tertiary level
As already identified by Coleman (2006), of the various reasons for the massive increase in English-medium teaching (EMT) in higher education (HE), internationalisation must be considered central. This point relates to education itself (e.g. Knight 2008), but is also relevant for the students' later employability. While recent studies show that English alone might not suffice for all companies working beyond their national boundaries, it can be taken as given that no or insufficient English is a clear 'no-go' for international business. As regards HE, the quest beyond local or national concerns and people has become a reality in lecturer and student mobility as well as in the transnationality of research in all disciplines. Again, when applied to the language issue, the diverse realisations of multilingualism seem to have made English into a *conditio sine qua non*.

Despite the overall similarities in the motivation behind English-medium programmes, their local realisations are highly diverse, reflecting the socio-cultural and linguistic specificities of HEIs (e.g. Smit and Dafouz 2012). One recent framework for categorising different types of English-medium teaching and learning in HE is provided in Unterberger and Wilhelmer (2011). Inspired by Greere and Räsänen (2008), it recognises various important factors, such as learning aims and outcomes, kinds of participants, teaching formats (incl. assessment) or role of language, which help in identifying the kind of instructional type pursued in a specific case. The types suggested range from splitting content and English language learning (ESP/EAP) to full integration of the two (ICLHE). The arguably most widely-spread type is 'English-medium instruction' (EMI), which includes those programmes that are run in English and, by viewing the medium language as a tool, restrict their explicitly stated learning aims to the disciplinary expertise in question. By implication, language learning aims are not identified, thus apparently refraining from taking an ICL approach. The hotel management educational programme investigated within this research falls into this category.

While, as will be argued below, the pedagogically inspired categorisation of what is, or what is not, ICL is debatable in itself, the framework of instructional types seems underspecified when it comes to the functions English can fulfil in higher education. Next to being the language the

students need for their academic endeavours and for their professional development reaching beyond their studies, i.e. EAP and ESP, English is increasingly also the only language the students and teachers share, i.e. their lingua franca.

English as a lingua franca

Since Seidlhofer's (2001) programmatic paper calling for the analysis of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in its own right, applied linguists have been turning their attention to the realities and implications of this dominating function of English (e.g. Archibald, Cogo and Jenkins 2011, and Seidlhofer 2011). The few ELF studies that focus on classroom discourse (e.g. Björkman 2013, Hynninen 2012, and Smit 2010a) underline that the educational setting does not preclude typical ELF characteristics. On the contrary, they illustrate that using English as a lingua franca amounts to complex social practices that I argue can be conceptualised as relying on the three dimensions: 'Communicating', 'Established Practices', and 'Individual Repertoire' (Smit 2010b).

The last mentioned dimension, 'Individual Repertoire', foregrounds that individual participants of any ELF exchange bring along, and draw on, their own, usually rather diverse linguistic repertoires. In a traditional lesson (Cazden 2001), the teacher's individual repertoire is particularly relevant as it is the teacher who manages classroom talk in terms of structure and content. The second dimension, 'Established Practices', refers to discursive practices that are established within certain expert discourse communities, independent of the specific group of ELF users. Examples are manifold in HE pertaining to the many instances of expert language use that teachers usually employ and students learn to use in the course of their studies. The first dimension of 'Communicating' is the most central when dealing with ELF settings:

> Given that lingua franca interactions have to rely on relatively little shared background amongst the participants – it wouldn't be their lingua franca otherwise – communicating in the sense of making meaning in the specific interactional situation is usually at the forefront of the participants' concern. (Smit 2010b: 66)

When taken in combination, these dimensions bring to light the complexity of fully situated meaning making as well as its dynamics in that one or the other dimension can become more relevant in certain situations. Additionally, none of the participants contributing to the ongoing interaction has the *a-priori* role as language expert (cf. also see Hynninen 2012).

Learning affordances of the international classroom

Given the by now widely shared social constructivist understanding of learning (e.g. Ball and Wells 2009), it is generally established that learning takes place through individuals actively partaking in social practices, of which the discursive practices with peers and teachers are of particular relevance in the context of formal education (e.g. Schleppegrell 2004). While the educational linguistic literature provides us with convincing arguments and findings that some forms of classroom talk are more conducive to learning than others (e.g. Mercer and Dawes 2008), it is true of any classroom that topics and ideas are discursively developed, thus allowing learners (and teachers) to construct, and hopefully acquire new knowledge structures pertaining to a specific area of expertise (Mohan 1984). In other words, classroom discourse and its institutionalised objective to facilitate learning in general come with learning affordances.

When we turn to the international classroom, i.e. EMT with international and multilingual students, the basic educational endeavour is further characterised by the culturally diverse repertoires the students bring along (in terms of linguistic, national as well as educational backgrounds) as well as by their reliance on English as their lingua franca. As indicated above, this communicative function creates contexts that come with their own discursive characteristics, and, as this paper will try to show, also their own learning affordances. As such potential learning combines content and language, it would of course be ideal to investigate this potential in an interdisciplinary team. Given the applied linguistic focus of this paper, however, the approach taken here is more focussed in that the main research focus is on linguistic and discursive learning affordances. This is also reflected in the study design and the interactional data base, which, as expounded on below, is made up of classroom discourse collected longitudinally but across different disciplinary subjects. Consequently, the

following argumentation will focus on the learning potential inherent in the developing ELF classroom discourse of one classroom community of practice (Smit 2009) in their particular academic context.

Introducing the Study[1]

The Hotel Management Programme (HMP for short) is a four-semester post-secondary diploma programme that is run at a hospitality college in Vienna, Austria. Partially financed by the Viennese Chamber of Commerce, the HMP aims at educating and training newcomers to the field for employment in international or upmarket hospitality businesses. Given this explicit focus on internationality, it has been offered in English since its beginning in the late 1980s, and has attracted a yearly intake of about 30 students, a large proportion of whom come from outside Austria. The programme itself is intensive – approx. 34 contact hours per week – and comprises a broad range of subjects, including Hotel Management, Financial Management, Marketing, and also Cooking and Service, both in practice and theory. Class attendance is mandatory, as is a two-month internship in a hospitality business between the second and third semester. On fulfilling all requirements, which include written and oral tests, as well as group projects, students are awarded a diploma that can be used as the first part of BBA programmes in Business and Hospitality Administration at various universities.

In an ethnographic study, I accompanied one student group for the duration of their studies as a non-participant observer (e.g. Smit 2010a). Basic information on the 28 students and 10 teachers is provided in Table 1 (for more information cf. Smit 2010a: 112-120.). Table 2 gives a longitudinal sketch of the data collection process, leading to an interactional database of 33 fully transcribed lessons and an emic data base of 56 student questionnaires and 47 fully transcribed interviews with all students and teachers. Given the predominance of traditional lessons, the activity type overwhelmingly used in the lessons included in the corpus is whole-class discussion, with the teacher as classroom manager (Cazden 2001). Besides eliciting personal information, the questionnaires and interviews aimed at collecting the participants' ideas on the HMP and their changing positions therein, on using English as the medium of instruction, and on the teaching and learning process more generally.

Table 1. The Participants

	Number	L1s	Experience	English as ...
Teachers	10 (5 male, 5 female)	German (8), English (1), German+Arabic (1)	*teaching*: ranging from newcomer to trained teacher with 10 years' experience	*work language* (10), but ranging from partly to exclusively
Students	28 (8 male, 20 female)	German (9), German and other language (8); English and other language (3), other languages (8)	*hospitality*: previous training and work experience (2); some work experience (17); none (9)	*work language* (8) *language of education* (14):

Table 2. The Database (adapted from Smit 2009: 205 and published with the permission of Cambridge Scholars Publishing).[2]

Data	Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 3	Semester 4
Emic	qu* 1; 28 int* with students		4 group int.*; qu* 2	
		15 int.* with teachers		
	informal talks			
Interactional	observations and recordings of 126 lessons			
	corpus of classroom talk (33 lessons, transcribed): 12 (T1) 10(T2) 11(T3)			
	Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 3	Semester 4

* 'qu'= questionnaire, filled in by all students;
'int' = interviews (where not specified further: one-on-one)

Most importantly for the ensuing discussion of some results is the longitudinal nature of the data, reflected in the identification of phases when interviews were taken – given here in relation to the semester of the HMP – as well as of three phases of classroom interaction. These are labelled T1, the first two weeks of the programme; T2, the second half of the first semester; and T3, the third semester. T1 thus refers to the introductory phase of the HMP and T2 to the phase of group formation as well as becoming familiar with the basics of the various subjects. Finally, T3 captures the time period after the students returned from their internships in hospitality businesses during the summer vacation, thus starting the second year of studies on a combined basis of growing theoretical knowledge and practical experience. In view of the relevance lecturers and students attributed to these phases for their community development as well as their learning practices, they were taken as one selection criterion for the classes included in the final corpus of classroom data. Further criteria were different lecturers and types of subjects with the focus being on covering managerial (e.g. Hotel Management), numerical (e.g. Hotel Operations), soft-skills oriented (e.g. Human Relations) as well as practical subjects (e.g. Cooking).

A case of EMI (English-medium instruction)?

The website of the programme gives access to the official description of the HMP as 'an excellent basis for launching a career in the hospitality industry or for further academic education towards a Bachelor's Degree'. Regarding the medium language, the only information provided is that 'the language of instruction is English'.[3] As there is also no mention of language learning aims, the explicit policy statements places the HMP in the EMI category of the afore-mentioned EMT scenarios.

When turning to the participants' views, however, the situation gains in complexity as the emic data base (see Table 2) revealed considerably more varied perspectives on the roles and functions English and other languages fulfilled within the HMP (for a detailed discussion cf. Smit 2010a: 132–147):

a. The international nature of the HMP was considered an asset for studying, as was the group's multilingualism. English was generally acknowledged in its role as the only language shared by all participants.
b. As the language of international tourism, English was seen as an undisputable must for hospitality students.
c. Having English as medium of instruction was interpreted as advantageous also for improving one's language proficiency.

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[2]In order to respect the participants' anonymity, the location, name and website of the programme are not revealed and indications of time are given in relative terms only, by specifying the semester and month within the tertiary educational programme investigated. Furthermore, the students are referred to by arbitrarily chosen pseudonyms consisting of four-letter combinations, while upper-case three-letter ones are reserved for the teachers.

[3]For similar findings on the invisibility of language policies at Finnish universities cf. Saarinen and Nikula (2013).

d. Diverse English language proficiency levels were fully accepted.
e. Seen over time, the students identified changes in their shared repertoire as well as individual language proficiency levels.

Such opinions reveal that, from the participants' perspective, English was more than just a tool for learning, as presupposed in the EMI policy declaration. As illustrated in Quote 1, the HMP was identified as providing language learning possibilities. Additionally, and in extension from the EMI category, English was identified and positively evaluated as multifunctional in relation to, firstly, its relevance for future hospitality careers (Quote 2) and, secondly, its lingua franca function of the participants COMMUNICATING with each other in the here and now (Quotes 3 and 4).

*Quote 1.*Student interview(1st sem, 3rd mth)[4]
> Crek: English as medium of instruction is simply great and so is the multicultural element. […] I also like the **added learning possibility (.) learning content and English at the same time**.

*Quote 2.*Student interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)
> Cana: [EMT] **makes** erm **things much easier later on** . […]I don't think I would choose to study medicine in English or something . but […] but hotel management I would

Quote 3. Student interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)
> Elig: I think **we all got used to each other** . doesn't mean we're speaking English better , but **we speak in a way that we definitely understand each other**

Quote 4. Student interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)
> Alac: some teachers have better vocabularies than others I guess , [… but] you don't really need a high level of English cause that's not really the point I think . I mean **as long as they get it across what they want to- what is important for this subject** , if they don't have a fluent perfect English doesn't make a difference

Overall, then, the emic perspectives seriously challenge the first tentative conclusion that 'EMI' is all there is to the HMP and that English is restricted to being a 'tool' for teaching and learning. Put differently, the identification and appreciation of the multifunctionality of English point to a more complex and diversified HMP language policy in practice. Next to English being valued as the language of hospitality and as lingua franca, the stakeholders' views also hint at the possibility of seeing language and content in a more integrated way. In order to gain more insights into the enacted roles and functions of English in the HMP and the contingent learning potential, the participants' views will be complemented by looking into the actual goings-on in the classroom.

Learning Affordances of Classroom Discourse

The detailed interactional analyses of the corpus of classroom talk (see Table 2) revealed that the HMP classroom discourse afforded learning as regards lexis as well as discourse (for an overview cf. Smit 2010a: 403–408): on the lexical level, participants regularly engaged in explaining and clarifying terms and expressions, which offered access to HMP-relevant and subject-specific terminology (for examples see Extracts 1 and 2 below). On the level of discourse, whole-classroom discussion increasingly relied on the two community-specific interactional principles of 'explicitness' and of 'joint forces' that aided the participants in collaboratively constructing classroom talk in order to develop the respective topics across diverse English proficiency levels and linguistic repertoires. More on 'the principle of joint forces' will be given below (see also Extracts 3-6).

As this section aims to clarify the actual working of these two kinds of potential learning, I will focus on two individual students and their contributions to classroom talk. The two students have been chosen for their similarly active involvement in classroom discourse as well as for the differences in their backgrounds (see Table 3).

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[4]For the transcription conventions see Appendix 1.

Table 3. Students – Personal Information

Pseudo-nym	Age	Nationality	Hospitality background	English (self-reported)
Evak	early 20s	Greek	none	learned as foreign language to an advanced level; used as work language as a translator and interpreter
Jenz	early 30s	Chinese	previous training and work experience	learned as foreign language to a lower intermediate level; used as work language in hospitality industry

Evak and Jenz did not only differ in age, and socio-cultural and professional backgrounds, but also in their self-assessed English language proficiency: While Evak judged her language competence as good and sufficient right from the start (see Quote 5), Jenz acknowledged her lower intermediate language skills and her trouble understanding some of the lecturers (see Quote 6). These self-evaluations matched my impression as a non-participant observer in more than 120 HMP lessons.

*Quote 5.*Student interview (1st sem, 2nd mth)
> Evak: I don't **I don't think I have problems to understand** , I'm of course I'm learning new words that has to do with the hotel industry , [...] I'm satisfied [with my English] , I understand anything ,

*Quote 6.*Student interview (2nd sem, 2nd mth)
> Jenz: <to understand teachers at the beginning of the HMP> oh yeah yeah **that was hard** . that was hard . because you have **to figures out** all the different character personality **the way they talk** , it was very hard , for first semester for first three months it was hard .

Learning affordances linked to lexis

Learning of new words and expressions was not only something the participants were aware of themselves (see Quote 5), but the high frequency of possibilities of doing so was also a conspicuous feature in classroom talk: lexically-based explanatory exchanges featured regularly throughout the whole programme (cf. Smit 2010a: 337), involving also Jenz and Evak right from the first days of classes (T1). In Extract 1, for instance, Jenz reveals her subject-relevant work experience in response to a teacher question, thus offering relevant hospitality information for the whole group. Evak, on the other hand, lacked a hospitality background and could not engage in exchanges on (semi) technical terms and expressions in the initial phase, but she could use her fluent English in, for instance, unravelling an important regulatory matter, as in Extract 2 which is taken from a longer exchange dealing with the rather unusual use of *quiz* in their marketing classes to denote a written test on reading materials prior to dealing with the respective topic in class. Note her use of a disarmer (*excuse me*, line 1), pre-sequencing her request for information.

Extract 1. Hotel Management (T1)
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1   AKL      does anybody know this department here <pointing to chart>, stewarding ?
2   Jenz     for the washing and cleaning  this uhm dishes or (xxx)=
3   AKL      =that's correct washing at the dishes he's in charge of the the the=
4   Suka      =dish washing area=
5   AKL       =dish washing area this is correct .not everybody knows that most probably ,
6             stewarding is in charge of the dish washing area .
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Extract 2. Marketing (T1)
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1   Evak     excuse me I don't understand if we're (.) going to have a quiz next time
2            (.) is it gonna be on lesson number two or or on lesson number three .
3   NER      on lesson number three . (2) if we have a quiz next time (.) it's going to be on:
4            on lesson number three .
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Both extracts offer information that was new to some students and important to all, thus worth integrating into their knowledge structures (Mohan 1984). Similar learning affordances were inherent in the frequent interactional sequences included in the corpus of HMP classroom talk that clarified words or expressions relevant to the HMP and the respective subject matter.

Learning affordances linked to discourse

Thanks to the longitudinal structure of the corpus of HMP classroom talk, changes in classroom discourse could be traced over time. While whole-class discussion with the teacher as classroom manager remained the main format of teaching throughout, the participants' interactive behaviour developed markedly in response to what I have identified as the 'principle of joint forces'. This community-internal pragmatic principle specifies that the interactants 'contribute to the exchange whatever is considered […] necessary to make classroom talk work' (Smit 2010a: 380). In other words, this principle describes the increasing readiness with which HMP students and teachers helped their classroom talk along by offering what they were able to in terms of topic development as well as linguistic realisation. As this readiness was noted to become gradually more pronounced, irrespective of English language proficiency levels, it could be linked to the participants learning to function in English as their lingua franca, pursuing their common aim to overcome potential communicational problems caused by different individual repertoires and partially limited shared backgrounds (Smit 2009 and 2010a: 399–402).

This discursive development towards more communicative collaboration will be illustrated in the following by focussing on our two students, Jenz and Evak, and their interactive behaviour. Within the confines of this article, the increasing relevance of the principle of joint forces and its realisation in unsolicited student contributions will be argued for with the help of four more extracts, two each per person and per critical phase after T1, that is, T2 (second half of first semester) and T3 (third semester).

In contrast to the initial phase of familiarization when, just like most other students, Jenz and Evak contributed little more than responses to teacher questions (Extract 1) or carefully mitigated regulatory concerns (Extract 2), their contributions to classroom talk towards the end of the first semester contained bits of (verbal) information relevant for carrying the instructional exchange further. In Extract 3, for instance, Evak's unprompted contribution helps the cooking teacher along in his explanation of how fish needs to be prepared by providing a term (line 3) he has obviously been looking for (lines 1-2) and is then happy to pick up (line 5).

*Extract 3.*Cooking (T2)

1	RER	<on preparing fish> (1) defrost . (1) you have to defrost (.) where . (1) on the
2		fruit-board e:r (.) in kitchen: er: (.) er
3	**Evak**	**preparation ?**
4	SS	(xxxx)
5	RER	prep area (.) in the preparation area , (.) e:r (2) maybe (.) in the fridge . (1) it
6		means (.) not in: roomp- (.) not at room temperature (.) you have to defrost (.)
7		IN fridge:

Apart from suggesting helpful terms, classroom discourse at T2 was also characterised by instances of students topicalising aspects of the preceding discourse that were felt in need of more information. This is exactly what Jenz does in Extract 4 during a lesson phase in which the law teacher attempts to describe the different tasks and procedures at civil vs. criminal courts.

Extract 4. Austrian Law (T2)

1	XEN	there are only three steps that make it (1) possible to fight against a (.)
2		judgement .
3	**Jenz**	**so the judge which calls you go is truly , is from value .**
4	XEN	Is is in civil , (.) civil er court is the value , (1) and in punishment law ?
5	**Jenz**	**Yeah**
6	XEN	(.) criminal court , (.) it's er it depends on how much the punishment will be ,
7		(.) so (.) the punishment up to one year prison ?
8	**Jenz**	**yeah**
9	XEN	is one judge , (.)

Although this contribution is neither grammatically nor pragmatically transparent, the preceding exchange allows the interpretation that, with her contribution in line 3, Jenz wanted

to find out more about the three levels of courts (for a detailed linguistic analysis cf. Smit 2010a:358). What is interesting about this exchange is that it remains undecided whether the explanation the teacher offered actually matched Jenz's original intentions. This is mainly so because, on the one hand, the teacher did not probe any further, and, on the other, the student did not clarify whether she had received the information she had been looking for. After all, her brief affirmative *yeah*'s in lines 5 and 8 could simply have been minimal feedback and neither of the two interactants offered any further contribution after line 9 that could have clarified the issue. In terms of readiness to collaborate, this extract can be seen as reflecting the interactants' willingness to do so, but their inability to discursively act upon the principle of joint forces, leading to rather limited learning affordances.

While one might want to argue that the reason for Jenz leaving the matter unresolved might have been her relatively limited lexico-grammatical range, later examples show that this was not necessarily so. Even when having a lower level of English language proficiency than other students, she then revealed discursive skills that allowed her to clarify her interactional intentions and to engage in more meaningful collaborative exchanges. Extract 5, taken from the third semester (T3), features Jenz in such an exchange in which she responds to a 'teacher question'. Again, the student finds it difficult to express her ideas, but in contrast to her attempt in the first semester (Extract 4, lines 5 and 8), she does not reduce her contributions to minimal feedback-like utterances, but offers semantically clearer formulations (lines 5, 7-8, 10) and, at the same time, appeals explicitly to her interlocutor for confirmation or clarification (line 10).

Extract 5. F&B Management (T3)

1	AKL	if a bar (.) is not doing very well in a five star hotel, what could you do with this
2		bar ,
3	**Jenz**	**if the er (.) costs , too high ?**
4	AKL	the cost could be too high because of too much staff=
5	**Jenz**	**=then you have to: for example er I just say the beverage is too high ,**
6	AKL	yeah ,
7	**Jenz**	**then you have to find a reason ? maybe is too many staff , we just have to**
8		**make sure ,**
9	AKL	that's right . <1>look at the staff . yes ?</1>
10	**Jenz**	**<1> o:r maybe somebody </1> give free drink . you know what I mean ?**
11	AKL	fraud you mean maybe yeah

Interestingly, a similar discursive behaviour is apparent in Evak's contributions at T3. When in need of more information, as in Extract 6 (lines 2, 8 and 10), she used explicit requests for clarification, which, in contrast to T1 tended to be formulated without mitigation or hedges. This similarity in communicative strategy to Jenz in Extract 5 (line 10) is the more noteworthy given Evak's higher level of English proficiency. In other words, Evak's brief and directly formulated questions cannot be seen as a sign of her inability to formulate more elaborate or indirect requests for information; rather, and in light of third-semester classroom discourse more generally (Smit 2010a: 398–402), Evak's contributions arguably reflect the by then established community-specific interactive behaviour of participants 'joining their forces' to make their ELF instructional talk as communicatively effective as possible.

Extract 6. F&B Management (T3)

1	AKL	strategic plans would be like we said the example of outsourcing before .
2	**Evak**	**what do you mean=**
3	AKL	=if if the bar hasn't been doing well for let's say five years , (.) or I observed it
4		since the opening , (.) the bar has not been doing well , (.) and I've been trying out
5		(.) campaigns , advertising , promotional activities ? (.) and (.) they didn't (.) prove
6		to be successful ? (1) you decide for example , (.) in the long term , strategic , you
7		will out:source this outlet, this is a longterm (xx)=
8	**Evak**	**=which means ?**
9	AKL	outsource ?
10	**Evak**	**how many outsource a bar <1> (are there) </1>**
11	Alac	<1>yourent</1>
12	AKL	<1> you can , </1> you can let's say you you go to Planter's Bar , (.) and you
13		speak to the guy there (.) who is in charge of the Pla- you know the Planter's Bar ,

In sum, these 4 extracts illustrate the long-term development in discursive behaviour towards more collaboration, understood here as contributing to classroom talk on the basis of the principle of joint forces. Within the confines of the given instructional setting and its whole-class teaching format, this means that the two students in question increasingly offered unprompted contributions either when they could provide verbalisations that seemed relevant to the respective discourse topic (Extract 3) or when they identified aspects in need of more information (Extracts 4 and 6). In order to discursively reach a semantically transparent clarification the extracts have also underlined the relevance of asking for confirmation or clarification (Extracts 5 and 6).While it can be assumed that both students were proficient enough to formulate such requests in English from the beginning, it is interesting to note that they made explicit use of this strategy in whole-class discussion at T3 only, i.e. after a whole year of HMP classroom talk. The extracts thus exemplify that Evak and Jenz displayed different discursive behaviours at different moments in time. When put into their chronological sequence the findings thus suggest a learning process that the participants' discursive behaviour underwent towards more collaboration in whole-class discussion.

The HMP as a Case of 'Implicit ICELF'

Overall, the discussion of the interactional database – illustrated in six extracts featuring two HMP students, who were especially chosen for their differences in hospitality backgrounds and levels of English proficiency – has argued for two kinds of learning affordances of the HMP classroom talk: (a) subject-specific and HMP-relevant terminology and (b) interactive behaviour along the principle of joint forces in order to facilitate collaborative whole-classroom talk. The former is strongly linked to lexis and foregrounds English for specific, in this case hospitality purposes. The latter is discursive in nature and responds to English functioning as the group's lingua franca.

In both cases, the investigative focus has been on potentials for language learning. Given the overarching communicative purpose of HMP classroom talk on teaching and learning hospitality-specific topics, however, these cases of language learning can be interpreted as having implications for content learning as well. As regards ESP terminology, the link to subject-specific conceptualisations lies at hand. The relevance of the interactive learning affordances, on the other hand, might be less obvious, except when keeping in mind that it is exactly such collaborative discursive behaviour drawing on communicative strategies that the multilingual participants needed to engage in in their endeavour to make discourse topics more accessible in what was their lingua franca.

When combining these interactional findings with the emic ones based on the participants' evaluations, the empirical base is arguably strong enough to describe the English-medium teaching approach practised in the HMP as a case of 'implicit ICELF' – 'implicit' because the explicit policy framing is one of EMI and 'ICELF' since the classroom discourse reveals integrated learning affordances of content and English functioning as a language of hospitality and particularly as the group's lingua franca. The latter also entails that all participants, students and teachers alike, engage in, and jointly develop their community specific lingua franca practices over time. At the same time, it is important to re-iterate that this interpretation is based on an applied linguistic description that explicitly comes without a pedagogical agenda. While a different study would be needed to focus more comprehensively on the pedagogical processes and products, some initial thoughts and speculations on the pedagogical potential of implicit ICELF will be given below.

To which extent 'implicit ICELF' can account for other HEIs cannot be stipulated in this paper. As the degree and kind of transferability (Davis 1995) to other settings is primarily an empirical question, it is hoped that future investigations into EMI practices and their different situated specificities will profit from the conceptualisation suggested here.

In Conclusion

In an attempt to complement the largely pedagogically-oriented research interest into forms of English-medium teaching (EMT) at HEIs and their learning potentials, this article has taken an applied linguistic descriptive approach to argue for lexical and discursive learning affordances of the classroom talk of an English-medium instruction (EMI) programme – the HMP, the hotel management programme investigated here and elsewhere (esp. Smit 2010a). Additionally and in view of matching perceptions students revealed of their educational practices, the findings suggest that the discursive practices and their learning affordances might be captured more comprehensively when categorising the HMP as a case of 'implicit integrating content and English as a lingua franca (ICELF)'.

When interpreted from a pedagogical point of view, 'implicit ICELF' reveals strong, but also some weak aspects. One of the first strengths to be mentioned must surely be its good fit to the realities of the international classroom, especially the multilinguality of the participants and the fact that English is an additional language to all. Such a policy entails that the stakeholders have flexible and realistic expectations as to the English proficiencies to be encountered, but also as regards the general discursive need to help each other along, irrespective of participant role (teacher vs. student) or status in the discipline (expert vs. novice).While not discussed in this paper, such a supportive and collaborative take on discourse is also apparent in student assessment (Smit 2007), which tries to acknowledge differences in English proficiencies by, for instance, reducing student written output to a minimum or requiring student groups to produce texts jointly, thereby drawing on the group members' diverse competencies.

At the same time, an implicit ICELF approach comes with certain contingencies and potential challenges. First of all, it presupposes a relatively flexible structure of national or official policies; higher education requirements that, for instance, demand specific learning outcomes in standardised formats would certainly impinge on the community-internally developing discursive and learning practices. Secondly, the success of implicit ICELF has been identified as contingent on the activities and experience shared by students and teachers over the two years of the HMP. While it is to be expected that shorter-term educational programmes come with different practices, it would be interesting to find out whether there is a 'temporal threshold' for implicit ICELF to be enacted and what it might look like. Finally, the implicit nature of the approach presupposes that the participants' perspectives support their practices and *vice versa* that their views and expectations regarding the (envisaged) interaction fit the actual discourse. Reflecting the generally complex and dynamic relation between practices and ideology (Shohamy 2006), this rather fragile equilibrium may easily be shaken. Should some participants diverge, rather than converge in (the evaluation of) their discourse, presumably the realities of the classroom will be very different, especially if those pursuing another approach are some of the teachers. Given their privileged status in the classroom, their conceptualisations of English, e.g. as language of the discipline or as language of (near) native monolinguals, might entail that the students could no longer profit from the strengths of ICELF as described above. In other words, to make sure that ICELF is understood as the EMT policy of an HEI, it might be a safer option to make it explicit, by adding programme-specific policy statements as regards the aims of English language use as the learners' lingua franca as well as of English language learning to attain the language proficiency necessary for the respective discipline(s).

Overall then, this paper has argued that international tertiary classrooms in English allow for language learning to take place independently from explicit ICL support or language learning aims, when and if English functions as the lecturers' and learners' lingua franca as well as their (future) professional language. From an applied linguistic perspective, it can be considered a reassuring outcome that such an implicit ICELF approach provides a learning-supportive atmosphere generally welcomed by the participants. At the same time, it is surely not a fully satisfying finding, because the actual learning process and its outcomes are often unidentified and not used to their full potential. It is up to further research projects to find out in which ways a more explicit ICELF approach could be implemented and, once successfully done, in how far it would help lecturers and learners to maximise on the learning opportunities

provided by English in its multifunctionality as lingua franca, medium language, and future professional language.

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Appendix 1: Transcription conventions

3-letter pseudonyms (in capitals)	refer to teachers
4-letter pseudonyms	refer to students
x^{th} sem, y^{th} mth	point in time relative to semester and month of the HMP
(.)	pause shorter than a second
(2)	pauses, timed in seconds
exte:nsion	noticeable extension of a syllable or sound
cut off wo-	cut off word or truncated speech
text=	latching
=text	contributions
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
,	level intonation
CAPITALS	stressed syllables, words
<1></1>	overlapping speech
[...]	deletion of text
[text]	added text
<text>	added explanations
(xxx)	inaudible speech, 'x' stands for approximately one syllable
text (in Excerpts)	material which is currently under discussion
@	laughter