dylan
Language dynamics
and management of diversity

SIXTH FRAMEWORK
PROGRAMME

SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
PRIORITY 7

Citizens and governance in a knowledge based society
Call FP6-2004-Citizens-4

INTEGRATED PROJECT

DELIVERABLE 4.3: "WORKING PAPER 3"

Project acronym: **DYLAN**
Project full title: **LANGUAGE DYNAMICS AND MANAGEMENT OF DIVERSITY**
Proposal/Contract no.: **CIT4-CT-2006-02**
Operative commencement date of contract: **01/10/2006**
Date of preparation: **02/2010**

Authors: **Teams of Workpackage 3**

Nature: **O**[1]
Dissemination level: **PU**[2]

---

[1] **R** = Report, **P** = Prototype, **D** = Demonstrator, **O** = Other.

[2] **PU** = Public, **PP** = Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services), **RE** = Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services), **CO** = Confidential, only for the members of the consortium (including the Commission Services).

dylan
Language dynamics and management of diversity

WORKING PAPER 4
WORKPACKAGE 3

CONTENT
TABLE DE MATIÈRES
INHALT

INTRODUCTION p.3
LUCI NUSSBAUM, WORKPACKAGE MANAGER

RT3.1: UNIVERSITAT AUTONOMA DE BARCELONA p.9
EULÀLIA BORRÀS
LAIA CANALS
MELINDA DOOLY
EMILEE MOORE
LUCI NUSSBAUM (TEAM COORDINATOR)

RT3.2: LIBERA UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLZANO p.22
DANIELA VERONESI (TEAM COORDINATOR)
CECILIA VARCASIA
LORENZO SPREAFICO
ALESSANDRO VIETTI
RITA FRANCESCHINI

RT3.3: UNIVERSITÉ DE LAUSANNE p.45
GABRIELE MÜLLER
JEANNE PANTET
GABRIELA STEFFEN
LAURENT GAJO
ANNE-CLAUDE BERTHOUD
ANNE GROBET
CECILIA SERRA

RT3.4: UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI p.59
SEBASTIAN GODENHJELM
SAARA HAAPAMÄKI
JAN LIDSTRÖM
TOM MORING (TEAM COORDINATOR)
JAN-OLA ÖSTMAN
MIRJA SAARI
JENNY SYLVIN

RT3.5: BEBES-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY, CLUJ-NAPOCA **p.69**
DIANA COTRAU
DELIA MARGA
MANUELA MIHAESCU
STEFAN OLTEAN
LIANA POP

RT3.6 VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT BRUSSELS **p.85**
LAURE ALLAIN
EVY CEULEERS
PIET VAN DE CRAEN

Annèxes **p. 98**

1. Research tasks

This text introduces the working papers written by workpackage 3 research teams and discussed in transversal workshops at CM6, held in Glasgow in November 2009. The proposed task was to show how multilingualism could contribute to creativity and innovation in tertiary education settings.
All teams have analysed interactive practices considering the background of policies / strategies. UNIL-GE, UBBC and VUB have also explored representations. In all cases, data already studied have been reviewed, but also new data, not yet explored in previous papers, has been presented.

2. Specific perspectives on "creativity" and "innovation": dimensions and phenomena

Looking at definitions of creativity and innovation, some teams have considered the two terms in one single syntagm, understanding that they have to be associated with the emergence of a new phenomenon or an activity carried out in a way that has not been done before (UBBC, UHE). UNIBZ do not explicitly speak of creativity; the team considers innovation in multilingualism in the model of social networks and examines how they are created in university contexts and how they introduce innovation in actors' linguistic practices.
UNIL-GE and UAB teams agree to distinguish between innovation, on the one hand, and creativity, on the other. Innovation is observable in policies/ strategies for the implementation of specific new elements related to multilingualism at macro and meso levels. Both teams link creativity with multilingual practices, but UNIL-GE consider two different levels: the conceptual level and the strategic level. The conceptual dimension refers to how multilingualism is involved in negotiation and building new knowledge processes and in obtaining new products. The strategic dimension considers how multilingualism is involved in organizing interactive activity, by mobilizing new plural resources. VUB also associates creativity to practices and mental processes of language learning.

Thus single definitions of creativity and innovation in multilingualism are not found in the papers, although there seems to be a trend, either explicitly or implicitly, to consider multilingual practices linked to creativity, while innovation is associated with policies and strategies proposed by institutions.

3. Analysis

The following chart shows the data that each team has considered in exploring how multilingualism can contribute to creativity and innovation.

	Policies/strategies	Practices	Representations
UBBCC	Policy documents (UBBCC)	Classroom activities	Interviews and questionnaires
UAB	Field work in to universities	Two pair-group activities in two universities	-
UHE	Policy documents (UHE)	-	Focus-group
UNIBZ	Policies at macro and meso level (UNIBZ)	Seminars, lectures, service encounters, student informal interactions and diaries	-
UNIL-GE	Policy documents and web sites (five universities)	Classroom activities	Policy documents, web-sites, interviews
VUB	-	-	Classroom practices

The following briefly summarizes the evidence of creativity that each group found in its data on practices.

UBBCC discovers communicative creativity (new linguistic forms, specific discursive strategies) in several LSP or CLIL situations. Sometimes participants use gestures with the purpose of compensating for the deficiency of the verbal code in the target language, but also multilingual hybrids. The team finds instances of cognitive creativity to construct or recreate new thematic/ conceptual networks, to recognise information or to associate information with distinct synonymous linguistic forms.

UAB locates creativity, on the one hand, in instances where participants overcome their linguistic shortcomings displaying an array of different resources (code-switching, gestures, glances, body positioning) for negotiating a common path and reaching consensus. On the other hand, creativity is also strategically present in lateral code-switched sequences in which the source of difficulties with the language or with the concepts can be clarified with a peer more expert. In both cases, this plurilingual creativity observed in the process allows participants to reach a monolingual product in L2 requested by the institution.

UHE finds instances of multilingual practice that promotes creativity when students are encouraged to hold presentations in their own language in courses that are basically held in Finnish. This enables them to mobilize the full potential of their flow of thoughts while utilizing the potential of L2 skills among their fellow students, which results in language training for all parts involved. This practice furthermore increases the visibility of multilingualism as a phenomenon and the students´ awareness thereof.

UNIBZ do not speak properly about creativity. However, data on seminars and lectures present phenomena similar to those discussed by UNIL, UAB and UBBCC.

UNIL finds evidence of creativity in the process of construction of knowledge (use of new resources treated intensively and extensively) and in the product (distance between the starting point and end point) ie the creation of new networks of knowledge. UNIL finds also evidence of creativity at the strategic level, ie the organization of activities and to achieve certain objectives. This requires participants to understand the value of the languages as organizers of ongoing activities.

VUB relates creativity practices in classroom, on the one hand, with the brain capability of multilingual people and, on the other, with the construction of identities in multilingual contexts.

4. Comparative analysis of monolingual and multilingual situations

No team has established comparisons within the policies/strategies dimension (except in the case of UHE) and within the representations dimension. This is motivated probably because all institutions have, in a greater or lesser degree, innovative policies and strategies and teams have not yet established possible cross-comparisons, except in the case of the UNIL-GE team. Representations, explored through questionnaires and interviews, do not explicitly focus on innovation, so no comparisons can be drawn, if not indirectly.
Some teams have established comparisons between practices, explicitly (UNIL-GE, UBBC) or implicitly (UAB, UNIBZ). Nevertheless, in all the papers it is stressed that, in situations where multilingual resources are mobilized creatively, speakers manage go into greater depth in their goals, whether as regards the construction of knowledge, or whether in terms of participation.
However, the lack of explicit reference to the comparison between interactions in unilingual mode and multilingual mode in most papers suggests that

comparing results of analysis is not an easy task, mainly because the data were not collected for this purpose. Thus, if we strive to compare results in all DYLAN dimensions according to different contexts, we should work on the identification of parameters for comparison. UNIL-GE provides comparisons between sequences of description-explanation in unilingual mode and multilingual mode. Proposals in this line could be taken into consideration for the comparison of sequences in a single corpus or between different corpuses.

5. Results

Implicitly, tertiary education institutions linked multilingualism with innovation. As for how this link emerges in representations, the binomial multilingualism-innovation seems to be associated with offering lessons in different languages, but always respecting OLON (one-language-only) and OLAT (one-language-at-a-time) rules. That is, without considering what is observed in practice: 'creative' activities in which actors use plural and hybrid resources to accomplish specific cognitive or communicative goals.
In this sense, some papers (UNIL-GE, UBBC, UNIBZ and UAB) agree to emphasize forms of participation and tasks speakers have to do as revealing key elements that enhance the mobilization of creative, multilingual resources. It seems therefore that multilingual uses are crucially involved in the learning process that allows one to pass from one stage of knowledge to another.

6. Conclusions

The introduction of the notions of innovation and creativity within the DYLAN program has allowed teams to reflect on how multilingualism contributes to the development of tertiary education and to examine data from a new angle, looking for evidence of innovative and creative activity. As mentioned, the task has not been done homogeneously because a) the concepts have been interpreted differently in each team, b) diverse data have been focused and c) models of analysis are also diverse.
However, progress has been made in terms of new evidences of the impact of multilingual practices on the construction of knowledge and social relationships. These results open up the possibility of exploring a 'third way' in Bologna directives towards academic mobility and knowledge construction in Europe. If the L1(s) of a country is (or are) not enough, it would neither appear that a single L2 would allow universities to achieve optimal results with regards to the Bologna process' aims.

From the standpoint of DYLAN research, wp4 opens up new challenges in the direction of reaching a better definition of what counts as evidence and suggests the need for new areas of common analysis between teams.

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Eulàlia Borràs
Laia Canals
Melinda Dooly
Emilee Moore
Luci Nussbaum

1. Research task

Placing practices as the research focus, the UAB team studies interactions in multilingual contexts and their relationship with policies/strategies and representations in two Catalan universities moving toward internationalisation. Like other WP3 RTs, the UAB has paid particular attention to L2-medium academic-content classes as a privileged setting for exploring language dynamics and for examining if multilingualism is a resource for the construction of knowledge. The UAB team has also examined other social settings to portray emerging day-to-day language practices and their possible relationship with classroom language use, although such practices will not be referred to in wp4.

2. Introduction

Popularly speaking, creativity precedes innovation; i.e., the second is the result of the first. Nevertheless, as pointed out in the guidelines for wp4, these terms are polysemous and are especially used in politics and business, fields in which the UAB team is non-expert. Therefore, we will provisionally make an operational distinction between creativity and innovation, employing innovation to refer to policies / strategies and creativity to refer to plurilingual uses and the representations of multilingualism that emerge therein.

2.1. Innovation

Our contribution in wp4 focuses on practices and, therefore, will not explore innovative policies or strategies in-depth. We do, however, propose some examples of innovation, based on the idea of breaking the OLON (one language only) and OLAT (one language at a time) rules that seem to inspire policies and representations of language uses constructed by authorities in the institutions studied (see wp1, 2 and 3). Notwithstanding, the following examples of innovation have either been observed by us, or are recommendations made by our team to university authorities, and include:

a. Explicitly doing academic-content courses in plurilingual mode (see UAB RT data discussed at the Brussels workshop).

b. Having plurilingual websites, i.e. websites not just in local languages + English (a recommendation put forward by our team to university authorities).

c. Making linguistic diversity in higher education institutions visible, through a census of languages spoken by the members of the community, highlighting their social and economic value, and through a rewards system (a recommendation put forward by our team to university authorities).

2.2. Creativity

In the field of linguistics, Chomsky (1974) speaks of creativity in reference to people's ability to use new forms of language, i.e. forms not previously heard by the speaker. Chomsky grounds this concept in his understanding of what language competence is, and therefore the notion of creativity is linked to the concept of grammatical rules. Following this approach, the notion has been used by researchers in SLA to exemplify aspects of learner's interlanguages and idiolects in L2.

We take a different viewpoint of creativity from that of Chomsky (see criticisms on Chomsky's view in Firth & Wagner, 1997; Lüdi, 2006; among others), because we: 1) do not share his vision of the idealised native speaker, 2) view competence as a situated capacity linked to practices, which includes not only the forms of language but also social aspects related to its use, and 3) work with natural data, analysed from an emic perspective.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, Wei & Wu (2009: 196) refer to creativity as "the ability to choose between flouting and following the rules and norms of behaviour, including the use of language". In their case study (about the use of bilingual Chinese-English code-switching by children in school situations), creativity is understood as the use of available resources to resist the OLON and OLAT policies. In our data, creativity is also linked to plurilingual practices, not as a process of resistance, but as a resource for exploring knowledge and / or for participating in activities. The question is, in what sense can such plurilingual practices be considered creative? We will attempt to respond to this question at the end of the text.

3. Data analysis

3.1. Introduction

In this section we present two situations of student group-work from two different universities. In both cases, the students are required to submit a monolingual product at the end of the process. We explore how creative, hybrid-plurilingual practices contribute to the eventual construction of this final monolingual output. Our hypothesis is that such practices scaffold cognitive and communicative activities that allow speakers to participate at the end of the process in monolingual activities.

3.2 Leather Technology

The first case takes place in an English-medium leather technology class at one Catalan university for chemical engineering students. According to the teacher, the objective of this CLIL class is two-fold: 1) to raise local students' professional competence in English and 2) to familiarise (incoming Erasmus and local) students with the concepts and processes linked to their degree.

In the fragments presented, two Turkish students (Fatma and Ahmet) and a local student (Laia) are taking part in a group-work discussion on leather tanning technology methods. The teacher (Caterina) is also present. The data includes a 50-minute conversation to prepare for the final task, being an oral and a written description of the characteristics of chromium tanning. To assist them, the students have a table with missing information that they need to complete, including comparing the main tanning types in relation to different parameters.

In fragment 1, a problem emerges with the colour of the leather produced through a process of vegetable tanning. Ahmet, in turn 3, proposes that the resulting leather is brown or yellow, but this is problematised by Laia in turn 5; Ahmet, in turn 12, accepts the Laia's first proposal. But Laia wants to describe the colour more precisely and this opens a new sequence (turn 17) in which the search for a conceptual accuracy is imbricated with the search for an exact expression.

Fragment 1
07:12 - 08.02

1.	Fatma	a:nd\ (0.43) what does xx ah\ what colour is the: leather\ (0.18)
2.	Laia	[hm:\]
3.	Ahmet	[brown\] (0.42) i:n vegetable tannage/ [bro:wn]\ yellow\
4.	Fatma	[which means xx\]
5.	Laia	yeaha:/ (0.06) (?val)\ (0.1) yellow/ no:\ (0.04) no:/ (0.06)
6.	Ahmet	vegetable\ (0.15)
7.	Laia	+vegetal+/) (0.11) [yellow/] no**:**\ (0.12) pardon/ my: tsk (0.21) ((touching her brown jumper)))
8.	Fatma	[it's a:h changing with-]
9.	Ahmet	[sometimes sometimes\ white\ \]
10.	Laia	[brown/ brown\]
11.	Fatma	[brown\ brown\]
12.	Ahmet	[brown\ brown\] (0.04)
13.	Fatma	[yes\]
14.	Laia	[brown] bro:wn/ not [brown]\ hm:_=
15.	Fatma	[brown\] ((moving fingers))
16.	Ahmet	=brown\=
17.	Laia	((to teacher)) **=color cre- color crema/ com és color crema/ (0.09) o color clar**/ (0.09)

&Laia ((to teacher)) **=cream col- cream colour/ how is cream colour/ (0.09) or light colour**/ (0.09)
18. Caterina a::h\ (0.13) [**on t'és/**]
&Caterina a::h\ (0.13) [**where is it/**]
19. Laia [it] depends (the/de:?) the extract\ (0.36) color [depend (the/de?) extract\ ]
20. Fatma [it depends of the plant\] (0.07) on the [extract\ yes\]
21. Ahmet [exactly\] (0.16)
22. Laia for example i:f if the extract is +sintetik+ the colour is_ (0.56) m:ore intensive\ (0.2) ((to teacher)) more/ no\ [more **és més intensiu** no/]
&Laia for example i:f if the extract is +sintetik+ the colour is_ (0.56) m:ore intensive\ (0.2) ((to teacher)) more/ no\ [more **it's more intensive** no/]
23. Fatma [bu:t when it comes to vegetable\] if you are using mimosa and if you [are u]sing chestnut they are different colours\ [but a:l]most brown/=
24. Laia [(right\?)]
(2.21) [hm hm\]
25. Ahmet =brown yeah\=
26. Fatma =yeah\ (0.51) dark brown\ [light brown/]
27. Ahmet [xx] (0.45)
28. Laia a:h okey\ **s-**/ yes yes/ [a:nd_]
&Laia a:h okey\ **y-**/yes yes/ [a:nd_]

In turn 15, the problem moves from one relating to the subject content to one relating to the English language, as Fatma seems to incorporate the movement of her fingers in searching for a more appropriate description of the colour. In turn 17, Laia seeks help, addressing her teacher in Catalan and asking for the translation of "*color crema*". However, she abandons this translation, and goes back to dealing with the content, adding the extract used as a condition to the description of the colour (turns 19-22). At the end of turn 22, she again seeks help from the teacher, asking if she has correctly translated the modifier "*més*" in English, crucial to getting her scientific meaning across accurately. However the group do not wait for the answer and in turn 23, Fatma provides two examples of extracts. The interaction pursues with other subtopics and with the acceptance of the cooperative contributions.

It is interesting to note that Laia's code-switching, rather than being a demand for help, seems to be a crutch to overcome her linguistic shortcomings. Despite her asymmetrical competence in English, Laia, who conversationally categorises herself as not being fully competent as an English speaker, turns out to be an extremely successful and creative communicator and an active participant. She displays an array of different resources (code-switching, gestures, glances, body positioning) for negotiating a common path through the content and language-related difficulties the group encounters in reaching consensus on one aspect of the description of vegetable tanning. These communicative resources, along with Laia's sound knowledge of the subject matter, provide a fallback for her gaps in English.

Fragment 2 exemplifies how the use of such communicative resources to overcome language gaps was openly encouraged in the student group. In this

fragment, the students are comparing textile and leather technologies, with Fatma seeking clarification from Laia about a suggestion she has made that leather technology is "more complicated". Laia, in turn 5, seeks a different way of explaining what she means, finally saying that it is more "*delicate*" (/delikate/), which she utters in supposedly Italian pronounciation. This episode opens a metalinguistic sequence, in which Turkish is also present for a private exchange between Fatma and Ahmet.

Fragment 2
25:04 - 26.16

1. Fatma and eh: you said but [eh:] more complicated_
2. Ahmed [more_] (1.37) more compli[cat]ed/
3. Laia [eh\] (0.65)
4. Fatma from textile/ (0.27)
5. Laia ***sí:***\ (0.88) ahm:\ (1.01) is: hm: ***bueno***_ more complicated_ is:_ (0.9) +delikate+\ (0.24) ((laughter)) deli- **ja parlem en italià aquí:**/ ((laughter)) (0.04) **com es diu** de- ((laughter)) (1.12) +delikat+\ ((laughter))

&Laia ***ye:s***\ (0.88) ahm:\ (1.01) is: hm: ***well***_ more complicated_ is:_ (0.9) +delikate+\ (0.24) ((laughter)) deli- **we'll now talk in italian he:re**/ ((laughter)) (0.04) **how do you say** de- ((laughter)) (1.12) +delikat+\ ((laughter))

6. Fatma [+delikat+ +delikat+\]
7. Ahmed [deli- (0.51) bili]yordum\ sözlük ver_ [sözlüğüm ver]

&Ahmed [deli- (0.51) I] knew it\ give me the dictionary_ [give me my dictionary]

8. Fatma [+delikeit+\] (0.32)
9. Fatma ok we will- ((laughter)) xxx (1.11) [explain] explain okey_ delicate_ explain\
10. Ahmed [yeah use-] (1.77)
11. Laia [((laughter))]
12. Fatma [with your hands\] (0.52)
13. Ahmed ((referring to the bilingual dictionary) if you want you can use_ (0.82) spanish turkish\) (0.43)
14. Laia *delicado\ (0.57)*

&Laia *delicate\ (0.57)*

15. Laia *delicado\ (14.56) delicado\ (2.17)*

&Laia *delicate\ (14.56) delicate\ (2.17)*

16. Fatma ah_ [ok] yes\
17. Laia [ok/] (0.95) for me is: this:_ (0.49) ((laughter)) *delicado*_ hm: is more *delicado* (0.51) [hm:] process the: the the: leather_

Laia's metalinguistic "*ja parlem en italià aquí*" (turn 5) is indication of her perception that all languages are available for communication, as is Ahmet's encouragement in turn 13 that she use the bilingual Spanish-Turkish dictionary. In fact, throughout the group-work interaction, we find code-switching, into Spanish and Catalan by Laia and into Turkish by her peers; instances hybrid forms of speech, which are accepted by the group; the use of gesture, as Fatma encourages Laia to do in turn 12 above; and recourse to other available resources and artefacts, such as the teacher in the previous fragment and the dictionary by Ahmet in turn 7 and 13, above.

Fragment 3, below, represents Laia's performance in explaining the group-work responses to the task to the whole class (Cem = Turkish student). In doing so, she has the monolingual written response formulated by her group at her disposal. In the fragment, Laia is providing a description of chromium tanning. It may be observed how Laia delivers her description using the hybrid *lingua franca,* including insertional code-switching (turns 1, 3, 7 and 14) and gesture (turn 7) that was constructed in the student group as an acceptable and encouraged means of communication, and that provides fallback for communicating.

Fragment 3
50:34-52.16

1. Laia chromium tanning is a::/(0.41) chemical +produt+\ hm:: hmm::\ (0.23) +majoritari+\ (0.06) ((laughs)) (0.11) +majoritari+ for a:h tanning leather\ (0.59) hmm::_ (0.46) after +vegetal + a:::nd_ (0.6) +sintetik+\ (0.52) +etcetera etcetera+\ (0.08) [((laughs))]
2. Cem [((laughs))]
3. Laia but the first is:_ (0.33) is:_ (0.37) chromium tanning\ (0.36) a::hmm\ (0.56) there are- ((to Fatma) and the: different tannings we [explained/)]
4. Fatma [no\](0.08)
5. Laia no\ (0.34) a:hm\ (0.28) +temperatura de kontrakthion\+ (0.49) ((to Fatma) is good [+temp]eratura de kontrakthion)/=
6. Fatma [yes\]
7. Cem =yes\(0.3)
8. Laia ((laughs)) +temperatur kontrakthion+ is more/ (0.43) ah: +komparation+_ (0.1) a::: (0.18) +temperatura kontrakthion de: vegetal/+ (0.51) is mo:re_ (0.38)
9. ((51 :16 - 51 :42))
10. Laia chromium tanning leather colour is green and blue it's **depèn del tan per cent de:_** (0.05) chromium\ (0.09) to the lea[ther\ ]

&Laia chromium tanning leather colour is green and blue it's **depends on the such and such per cent o:f_** (0.05) chromium\ (0.09) to the lea[ther\ ]

11. Ahmet [xx]xx (0.46)
12. Cem (yes you can?) (0.31)
13. Laia a::hm:\ (1.4) a::hm::\ (1.9) and the chromium tanning is using for a:h retanning\ (0.22) +reteining+/ (0.11) [+reteining+/]
14. Cem [yes yes \] (0.45)
15. Laia a::nd\ (2.42) º**a veure on som**\º (0.68) in the::_ (0.08) in the ((moving hands in circles) world +komersial+\) (0.12) ((to Fatma) *comercio/*)

&Laia a::nd\ (2.42) º**let's see when we are**\º (0.68) in the::_ (0.08) in the ((moving hands in circles) world +komersial+\) (0.12) ((to Fatma) *commercial/*)

16. Cem xxxxx
17. Fatma +komersial+/
18. Laia ((moving hands in circles) +komers-+ [el comer]cial/)
19. Ahmet [XXXX] (1.04)
20. Fatma ((nodding) +komersial+\)
21. Laia a::h wet blue\

Although we cannot make claims as to the sequential construction of the description of chromium tanning itself, we can tentatively argue that Laia

shows communicative expertise in effectively delivering the discourse genre demanded by the task (a description) in English. She structures her description, including the chemical process involved, the resulting colour, its uses and its commercial potential. In this case, it could be argued that creativity is a shared predisposition that drives speakers to include all available resources, including hybrid-plurilingual ones, in building a discursively and scientifically correct product within the parameters of the task.

3.3 Educational Psychology

The second case is from an educational psychology class at the second university studied. Based on our conversations with the professor, Neus, English is categorised both as the language of authority (Mortimer, 2002) in the psychological community that she aligns to and as a *lingua franca* (LF) for teaching the subject to a linguistically mixed group (approximately 2/3 ERASMUS and 1/3 local students). This use of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) allows students to follow lectures and read bibliography; however they are also actively encouraged to work with speakers of other languages in order to use English amongst themselves in class activities. Therefore, the course was conversationally constructed by the professor as a unilingual, ELF space.

However, taking an emic perspective and looking at actual student practices in (and outside) this class, a more complex dynamic of languages-in-use emerges. In the group-work sequence below, the four students (two local students, Ariadna and Gisela; two Erasmus students, Emine and Camilla) were supposed to have read a scientific article in English and discuss it outside class time to prepare a class presentation, in English.

The introduction to the article reads: "This study surveyed 925 Australian high school students enrolled in grades 8 through 12 on measures of occupational aspirations, occupational expectations, career status aspirations, and career status expectations…" The discussion begins with Gisela expressing a doubt about the meaning of occupational aspirations and career status aspirations. Her difficulty would seem to stem from the term career; in Catalan and Spanish, her native languages, career is a false friend, translatable as CAT*professió*/SPA*profesión*, not as CAT/SPA*carrera* (ENGdegree).

The discussion continues, and in fragment 4, below, Gisela proposes a definition for *career*, being "it's related to the *trajectory*". Gisela, however, orients to *trajectory* (CAT:*trajectòria*/SPA:*trayectoria*) as being incorrect in English, asking her peers in the following turns if the word is correct, and, in particular, switching to Catalan in turn 12 to seek help from Ariadna, who will presumably understand what she's trying to express.

Fragment 4
00:44 – 01:04

1.	Gisela:	it's related to the:\ (0.33) trajectory/ (0.14)
2.	Ariadna:	hm:_ (0.12)

3.	?:	ah_
4.	Gisela:	it's corr[ect/]
5.	Emine:	[ok\] (1.26)
6.	Gisela:	it's correct tra- ((laughing) trajectory/) (0.02)
7.	Camilla:	[wha:t the:/]
8.	Emine:	[traject]o[ry (no ?)\ ]
9.	Ariadna:	[((laughs))]
10.	Gisela:	[[the tra[ject]] the ay\
11.	?:	[xx] (0.36)
12.	Gisela:	**com se diu això**/=
	&Gisela:	how do you say that/=
13.	Emine:	=tra[ject/]
14.	Ariadna:	[the:_] the the per- xx_ (0.42) what do you mean/ (0.63)
15.	Gisela:	**la trajectòria**\ (0.28)
	&Gisela:	the trajectory\ (0.28)
16.	Ariadna:	**però acadèmica**/ (0.32)
	&Ariadna:	but academic/ (0.32)
17.	Gisela:	**sí:**\ (0.08)
	&Gisela:	ye:s\ (0.08)
18.	Ariadna:	like the: e: e:_ (0.21) a[ca]demic history well [the:_]
19.	Camilla:	[ok\] (0.79)

In contrast to previous episodes, in which Catalan does not appear in the public sphere, in fragment 4 Catalan becomes the language proposed by Gisela to interact with Adriana, the authoritative voice, as the other girls have not read the article. After Ariadna summarises the text for the two Erasmus girls and they have asked her some questions, fragment 5 begins with Gisela expressing what she describes as "*a difficult with the language*" (turn 6), switching again to Catalan to address Ariadna. It would seem that her previous doubt about the meaning of *career* has not yet been entirely resolved, as she still struggles to understand the difference between *career* and *occupation*. Specifically, she doubts as to the distinction made in the article between career status vs. occupational *aspirations* and career status vs. occupational *expectations*. Although the meaning of *career* dealt with in fragment 4, and at the beginning of fragment 5, has to do with the misleading similarity between English and Catalan/Spanish, the problem in distinguishing between these terms in relation to *aspirations* and *expectations* from turns 12-25 in the following fragment is clearly related to the psychological content, given that the words are transparent (ENGaspirations: CAT*aspiracions* / SPA*aspiraciones*; ENGexpectations: CAT*expectatives* / SPA*expectaciones*).

Fragment 5
09:42 – 10:29

1.	Gisela:	º**és que jo XX què és** career\º (0.38)
	&Gisela:	º**it's that I xx what is** career\º (0.38)
2.	Ariadna:	**o sigui** career **és la carrera professional**\ (0.03)
	&Arianda:	**so** career **is the professional career**\ (0.03)
3.	Gisela:	**sí sí**\ (0.69) **però**\ (0.52) **és que- l'ocupació**/ (1.61)

	&Gisela:	**yes yes**\ (0.69) **but**\ (0.51) **it's that- the occupation**/ (1.61)
4.	Ariadna:	**clar tu dintre de la teva carrera professional tindras diferents-** sorry just a [moment\]
	&Ariadna : just	**of course you within your professional career will have different-** sorry a [moment\]
5.	Emine:	[*nada*] *pues*\ (0.05)
	&Emine:	[*no worries*] *then*\ (0.05)
6.	Gisela:	[yeah] because I have a ((laughing) difficult [with the:])
7.	Emine:	[yeah\]
8.	Camilla:	[((laughs))]
9.	Ariadna:	**són difer**[**ents**:_]
	&Ariadna:	**they are differe**[**ent**:_]
10.	Gisela>	[lan]guage\ (0.85)
11.	Ariadna>	**diferents ocupacions vull di:r\ (0.83) jo què sé com la carrera esportiu pues la carrera professional**\ (0.64) **és que no sé si entenc molt bé el que m'estàs demanant** [**potser**\]
	&Ariadna:	**different occupations I mean**\ (0.83**) I don't know like the sporting career well the professional career**\ (0.64) **it's just that I don't know if I understand very well what you're asking me** [**perhaps**\]
12.	Gisela:	[**sí sí sí**] **sí sí**\ (0.36) **és que no entenc o sigui no entenc la diferència entre_** (1.45) **hm**:\ (0.08) **hm**:\ (2.15) **és que no em: no em recordo**\ (0.68)
	&Gisela:	[**yes yes yes**] **yes yes**\ (0.36) **it's that I don't understand I mean I don't understand the difference between_** (1.45) **hm**:\ (0.08) **hm**:\ (2.15) **it's that I do :n't I don't remember**\ (0.68)
13.	Ariadna:	**entre estatus i jo et- l'ocupació-**=
	&Ariadna:	**between status and I to you- the occupation-**=
14.	Gisela:	=**sí lo de l'estatus i: la** aspiration **la** expectation **i tot això**\ (0.51)
	&Gisela:	=**yes the status and the** aspiration **the** expectation **and all that**\ (0.51)
15.	Ariadna:	well I think that aspiration is what you want\ (0.16) and expectation is so:me somehow more realistic what you think you will have\ (0.12)
16.	Gisela:	**sí** it's [more XX\]
	&Gisela:	**yes** it's [more xx\]
17.	Ariadna:	[for example I wa- my] aspiration is to be rich\ (0.49) but I won't be rich\ (0.52) so I expect to not be rich\ (0.57)
18.	Emine:	yeah\ (0.12)
19.	Ariadna:	so perhap- perhaps I can +aspirate+ to a: have to be a doctor_ (0.52) but as my:- I am not studying_ (0.12) for example I know that I won't be a doctor so I\ (0.45) I don't expect to be a: doctor\ (0.48) and they measure_ (0.28) this_ (0.53)
20.	Gisela:	but it's more realistic_ (0.32) the: the expectations that you [have\]
21.	Ariadna:	[yeah\]
22.	Gisela:	that- than the:\ (0.24)
23.	Ariadna:	aspiration [is the ideal-] idealistic [thing\]
24.	Camilla:	[aspirations\] (0.32) [like] dreams [yeah\]
25.	Ariadna:	[yeah\] (0.08)

In strategically switching to Catalan, Gisela marks a transition to a lateral sequence in which the source of her difficulties with the language (turns 1-11)

and with the concepts (turns 12-25) can be clarified with the peer most able to help her. It is interesting to note, however, that while Ariadna orients to Gisela's code-switch, she apologises to their non-Catalan speaking peers in turn 4 for having alternated, followed by justification from her and Gisela for having done so. The local categorisations of English (*lingua franca*) and Catalan (a sort of 'we' code) are made explicit in this move. It is also significant that in turn 15, once the source of Gisela's problem has been located, Ariadna switches back to English to respond 'publically' to Gisela's doubt, including the other two girls in the explanation. Ariadna's code-switch is strategic; as in the previous fragment (4), Ariadna uses her competence in (at least) two languages and in the subject of the reading in order to position herself as the expert within the group.

During Gisela's part of the presentation, in which she is required to narrate the results of the experiment referred to in the article, the psychological variables *aspirations* and *expectations*, two of the concepts clarified in fragment 5, are problematised. In turn 2, below, the teacher, Neus, asks Gisela to explain the difference between the two.

Fragment 6
15:23-16:25

1. Gisela: ok\ (0.78) as we can see in the results of RIASEC\(0.57) ah categores that were most frequently expect- a:h +aspirate+\ (0.32) by: students were investigative/ (0.48) social and realistic\ (0.72) and the categories that were least aspired by students were enterprising and conventional\ (0.88) a:h for expectations happened more or less the same because the categories that were most expected by students/ (0.57) were social realistic and invesigative\ (0.21) but with different percentage\ (0.52) and the categories that were mo:- (0.56) hm: less ex- EXPECT by students were conventional/ (0.27) conventional and enterprising\ (0.8) categories\ (0.83)
2. Neus: Gisela\(0.6)
3. Gisela: yes\ (0.32)
4. Neus: can you remind us_ (0.28) what's the difference_ (0.46) between the aspirations_=
5. Gisela: =oh yes\=
6. Neus: =and the expectations\ (0.16)
7. Gisela: aspirations is more idealistic_ (0.72) it's e:h what you aspire to do in:_ (0.53) in your life and expectation is e:h more realistic\ (1.5)
8. Neus: very good\ (1.94)

Gisela demonstrates communicative expertise in effectively delivering the discourse genre demanded by the task (narrative). Furthermore, in response to Neus' question, Gisela provides a definition of the concepts in English which is very similar to the one reached collaboratively in the group-work discussion (fragment 5, turns 20-25). Therefore, Gisela demonstrates her ability to act monolingually during the presentation. However, the plurilingual process followed in getting to that point would seem far more complex than the *a priori* categorisation of the linguistic dynamics of the course as being monolingual in ELF, discussed above. In this case, creativity in regard to language use could be described as an awareness of how plurilingual resources may be put at the service of practicality and efficiency in negotiating shared meanings.

4. Discussion: multilingual and monolingual situations

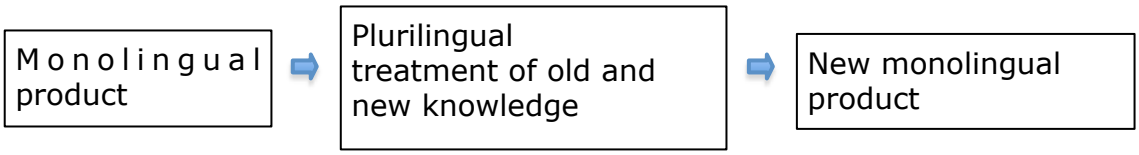
Precedent work by members of our team (Nussbaum, 2006; Masats, Nussbaum & Unamuno, 2007), has explored the development of oral L2 communicative competence among young children and adolescents, through the analysis of pair-work tasks. From an emic perspective, fulfilling the task primarily implies: a) contributing to the management of the activity (turn taking, focus on adequate topics, etc.); b) formulating appropriate utterances for achieving the task; and c) overcoming communicative obstacles. The analyses of these data have revealed three stages through which learners pass in working towards being able to accomplish tasks in monolingual mode:

STAGE 1. Learners basically use L1 or other shared languages, inserting (some) utterances in the target language; they manage the activity in L1 or other languages shared by participants and overcome communicative obstacles by asking for help or using code-switching and hybrid forms.	STAGE 2. Similar to Stage 1, learners manage the activity in L1 or other shared languages and overcome communicative obstacles by asking for help or using code-switching and hybrid forms. However, learners use a considerable number of utterances in the target language.	STAGE 3. Learners use target language all the time; they manage the activity in the target language; they overcome communicative obstacles through reformulations or looking for other ways to construct utterances, always in the target language.

It is important to emphasise that these analyses are based on an emic perspective, i.e. hybrid forms are in some way marked by participants (false starts, laughs, rising intonation, etc), not determined by the researchers. Taking into account these stages, one can affirm that acquiring *communicative expertise* in L2 (Hall et al., 2004) implies following a path that starts from plurilingual practices (the simultaneous presence of more than one language) and builds up to monolingual practices (the use of only one language at will). It is worth noting that in Stages 1 and 2, learners would not be able to participate in the activity if it weren't for the support of multilingual, shared resources. Hence it can be said that *plurilingualism scaffolds the process of gradually acquiring communicative expertise in monolingual mode*.

In the research mentioned above, we dealt with L2 situations involving a low cognitive level, i.e. implying difficulties related to the code's *opacity* (Gajo, 2007), but not in the understanding the world, as knowledge is not *dense* (Gajo, op. cit.). However, when people deal with more complex activities, with a medium or high cognitive demand, such as understanding variables and results (case 2, §3.3) or explaining processes and end products (case 1, §3.2), the activity and the artefacts (the use of L2, the texts and tables supplied by the teacher) are sometimes not sufficient mediating instruments. It is therefore necessary to use shared resources to re-mediate between old and new knowledge, as in case 2 (§3.3), in which the concept's density is triggered by its misleading transparency. When participants have not yet acquired

sufficient communicative expertise in the L2 (for example Laia in case 1, §3.2) and face challenges in transmitting their knowledge, plurilingual resources (as well as gestures, laughter, etc.) provide fallback for their communicative in-expertise and scaffold fluent participation in the activity (Nussbaum & Unamuno, 2002). The processes observed in this paper can be summarised in the following diagram:



5. Conclusion

In the data we have presented, speakers are set the task of working with professional content in order to present a monolingual product in L2. Our above-mentioned hypothesis – that hybrid-plurilingual practices scaffold cognitive and communicative activities to construct monolingual products – is tentatively supported.

This leads us now to consider in what sense these plurilingual practices may be considered creative. Above we have argued that creativity in our data is: a) a shared predisposition that drives speakers to include all available resources in building a discursively and scientifically correct product within the task (case 1, §3.2); and b) an awareness of how plurilingual resources may be put to the service of practicality and efficiency in negotiating shared meanings (case 2, §3.2). In both of these cases, creativity is ultimately linked to a will, on the one hand, to not abandon the communicative aims of the set task and, on the other, to not take the knowledge first presented for granted. Plurilingual practices emerge as a basic tool for such purposes.

It goes without saying that this creativity cannot be exercised in all circumstances. In precedent wps, we highlighted the fact that multilingualism, in our data, especially emerges in more open interactional regimes (group work vs. lectures, for example) and according to the degree of formality of the interaction (group work vs. final presentation, for example).

References

Chomsky, N. (1974) Reflections on Language. New Cork: Pantheon Books.

Firth, A. & Wagner, J. (1997) On Discourse, Communication and (Some) Fundamental Concepts in SLA Research, The Modern Language Journal, 81, 286-300.

Gajo, L. (2007) Knowledge and Subject Knowledge: How Does Bilingualism Contribute to Subject Development?, International Journal on Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 10, (5), pp. 563-581.

Hall, J. K., Cheng, A. & Carlson, M. T. (2006) Reconceptualizing Multicompetence as a Theory of Language Knowledge, Applied Linguistics, 27, (2), pp. 220–240.

Lüdi, G. (2006) De la compétence linguistique au répertoire plurilingue, Bulletin Suisse de Linguistique Appliquée, 84, pp. 173-189.

Masats, D., Nussbaum, L. & Unamuno, V. (2007) When activity shapes the repertoire of second language learners. In L. Roberts et al. (eds) EUROSLA Yearbook. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 122-147.

Mondada, L. (2007) Le code-switching comme ressource pour l'organisation de la parole-en-interaction, Journal of language contact – THEMA, 1, pp. 168-197.

Mortimer, E. F. (1998) Multivoicedness and univocality in classroom discourse: an example from theory of matter, International Journal of Science Education, 20, (1), pp. 67-82.

Nussbaum, L. & Unamuno, V. (2000) Fluidité et complexité dans la construction du discours entre apprenants de langues étrangères, Acquisition et Interaction en Langue Etrangère, 12, pp. 27-49.

Wei, L. & Wu, C.-J.(2009) Polite Chinese children revisited: creativity and the use of codeswitching in the Chinese complementary school classroom, International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 12, (2), pp. 193 – 211.

Freie Universität Bozen
Libera Università di Bolzano
Free University of Bozen · Bolzano

Daniela Veronesi,
Cecilia Varcasia,
Lorenzo Spreafico,
Alessandro Vietti,
Rita Franceschini

1. Research task of RT UNIBZ

Our task is that of analyzing the role of multilingual institutions of higher education and their influence on the language practices of individual speakers, in particular with regard to their adoption of multilingual communication practices. The goal has therefore been to collect a variety of data within the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano (field and object of analysis), so as to gain a broad perspective on communicative practices, as well as on representations of the various social actors studying and working in it (see corpus description in Working Paper 2 and Deliverable 3). A series of analyses has been produced and made available to the scientific community so far, while further investigations are currently being carried on.

2. Introduction

Previous analyses carried out for the DYLAN project have shown the existence of a variety of institutional policies and communicative practices within the context of the Free University: officially trilingual, this young institution still appears as a lab where different ways of teaching, learning and working in a multilingual environment are being approached, experienced and talked about. The present paper therefore tries to reconsider data from the perspective of how social actors accomplish their interactional goals in the new multilingual, or better, exolingual context they are faced with. A number of questions arises, to be tackled here: how do lecturers, for instance, go about the institutional language policy in pursuing their pedagogical goals? Does the potential availability of three official languages represent a useful resource for the co-construction of knowledge in the classroom? And insofar is the use of more languages throughout educational activities in multicultural classes an experience that is reflected also in students' life outside the classroom, namely in further interaction within the institution (for instance, in service encounters) and outside the institution (with fellow students)? How are language

asymmetries coped in formal and informal contexts? What are the constraints posed by this educational multilingual setting as compared to monolingual situations?

3. Analysis

In order to address the above mentioned questions, the current analysis mainly focuses on face-to-face interactions in different contexts and with different participants (pedagogical events: seminars and lectures; student's informal interactions; service encounters between students and university staff), thus investigating practices of code choice – and their effects - as well as representations of multilingualism in higher education as these emerge from interaction itself. When useful, the analysis of conversational data has been complemented by taking into consideration speakers' social networks (3.5) and speaker's discourse (interviews, 3.2)[3]. Furthermore, a sketch of the recent evolution of higher education in South Tyrol is offered at this point, so as to formulate hypotheses about the possible impact of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano on the local sociolinguistic and interactional context, to be further verified on the collected corpus.

3.1. Seminars

The analysis of eight seminars held at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano has shown that as regards the management of multilingualism dissimilar practices can be observed. Notably it has revealed that in the case of seminars provided at the Faculty of Education tutors and students fluctuate between the tendency towards a moderate multilingualism and the adherence to a strong monolingualism. On the other side it has shown that as for activities held at the Faculty of Design and Art students and especially tutors perform multilingual practices and repeatedly code-alternate and display intersentential as well as intrasentential code-switches (see Table 1).

The emergence of unlike and sometimes diverging practices in the class has been explained referring to two factors: on the one hand the official language policy of the faculty and the way tutors 'interpret' such policy in practice; on the other hand the linguistic repertoire of the tutor. As regards the language policy the Faculty of Education states that each course has to take place in one of the three languages of the degree course (namely English, German or Italian), whilst for the supplementary exercise classes (*i.e.* seminars) students

[3] All extracts in this paper are to be considered as provisional; please do not quote.

have the right to choose which language to do them in -if offered in more than one language- even if the final examination must be taken in the official language of the course.

At the Faculty of Design and Art instead each of the three modules that jointly make up the whole of a so called "interdisciplinary project work" might be held in one of the three statutory languages and actually whenever possible the Faculty combines lecturers and tutors with different L1s to assure that each module is taught in a different language. Besides it is the lecturer's right to use the other two languages for various sections of the very same lessons, if deemed necessary. As a consequence at the Faculty of Design and Art there is an higher potential for multilingual interactions among participants than at the Faculty of Education.

The second, relevant factor to influence the rate of multilingualism during seminars is represented by the structure of the linguistic repertoire of the tutor. As a matter of fact the potential offered by the faculty's language policy can only be actualized if the leader of the interaction masters at least two languages out of the three official ones. In that case, and mostly if the tutor controls each of the three codes, the seminars tend to dissolve into really multilingual events, which has tangible benefit as well as symbolic values.

In this respect it is worth noticing for example that the way a tutor can customize the multilingual policy of a faculty might turn out to be beneficial, as observed in the case of the seminar BB2 held at the Faculty of Design. Indeed in that circumstance the tutor interweaved and gave everybody the right and the chance to interweave languages (English, German, Italian) and, by so doing, actually offered the students the opportunity to understand as well as to be understood; he allowed not only for the transfer of knowledge, but also for the elaboration of new knowledge and ideas via the use of different languages. In a sense he cut down possible discriminations against language and clearly showed that -at least as pertains language selection- the governance had been transferred from the tutor to the class meant as a unique body made up of both students and scholars and not only of trainees and trainers, which is a novelty at least for the Italian academic system.

Of course both the official language policy and the structure of the tutor's linguistic repertoire play a role in shaping the actual practices during seminars. However the latter factor seems to be of greater significance for the achievement of multilingual events than the presence of guidelines that limit or

promote the use of different codes. As a matter of fact on the one hand it can be combined with the tutor's will to use more languages irrespective of the limitations imposed by the rules of the faculty, as in the case of AC1, AC2, EC1, EC2 (see Veronesi & Spreafico, 2009), where a moderate multilingualism surfaces as a consequence of the reiterated use of translation employed by the tutor to enhance comprehension. On the other hand the tutor's will to evade the language regulations is all the same vain if not supported by sufficient linguistic skillness, as emerges from PC1.

In that case the tutor -a native speaker of Italian with some knowledge of English- is well aware of the difficulties faced by the native speakers of German that attend his course but given his ignorance of German he can't do anything but suggest as an hypothesis the fact of having a native speaker to help non native students when sitting the exam[4].

Connected to this we can observe a last, unexpected and surprising phenomenon that gives witness for the advantages of multilingualism: the tacit election of a spokeswoman from students. As a matter of fact the tendential monologicity of the seminar[5] is seldom interrupted (see ex. 1: an older student native speaker of the local German exploits a Tutor's pause to ask a question).

Extract 1 (PC1: 0:37,33)

TUT da un'attività # /inferenziale che è # l'attribuzione causale↓.
(1.83)
ST1 io →volevo sapere←
(0.05)
ST1 però↑
(0.49)
ST1 questo /esercizio non potevamo far^ne meno↓. fare delle domande¿
TUT *no*
ST1 dico↓

[4] A practice which the tutor believes to be used by some colleagues, though he cannot be absolute sure about it; a practise, though, which would be at odds with the policy of the Faculty of Education.

[5] The seminar is to be considered monological because of the tutor dealing with the main topic of the lesson (i.e. how people gossip) for almost forty minutes The seminar is structured as follows: Tutor and Students discuss on how and where to buy the course textbook (approximately 2 minutes); Students (and Tutor) chat, the Researcher introduces himself (approx. 5 min.); the Tutor explains the students how to act a role-play (approx. 5 min.); the Students act the role-play (approx. 7 min.); Tutor and Students discuss the role-play (approx. 11 min.); the Tutor deals with the topic "gossip" (approx. 40 min.); Tutor and Students discuss the overall course performance (approx. 15 min.); Students and Tutor discuss again on how to come into possession of the course textbook (approx. 2 min.).

ST1 forse se avessimo # potuto fare delle domande↑ lei dice:↑

ST1 lo stesso farà::¿

(0.64)

ST1 variato:¿ o::¿

TUT ma! forse qualcosina però secondo me non tanto↓ # perchè è so [//] è [/] è più il:: [//] è più:↑

[TUT continues his explanation]

However in the final stage of the seminar the Tutor opens up the discussion to comments and observations from the floor on how the course all in all was. In that case a student -apparently the most fluent in Italian among them- begins to talk and for roughly four minutes keeps on commenting and criticizing on the exaggerated workload as if speaking on behalf of the whole audience (ex. 2), probably because of both her personality and language skills. On the other hand the Tutor finds it difficult to interrupt her, to explain his point of view (ex. 3).

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">BB1, BB2, BB3</td><td>AC1, AC2, EC1, EC2</td><td>PC1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Tutor’s L1</td><td colspan="2">German</td><td>Dutch</td><td>German</td><td>Italian</td></tr>
<tr><td>Tutor’s L2(s)</td><td colspan="2">Italian, English</td><td>English, German</td><td>Italian, English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Quechua</td><td>English</td></tr>
<tr><td>Audience’s L1(s)</td><td colspan="3">German, Italian, English, Spanish, Portuguese</td><td>German, Italian</td><td>German</td></tr>
<tr><td>Language(s) of instruction</td><td colspan="2">German, English, Italian</td><td>English, German</td><td>German (Italian)</td><td>Italian</td></tr>
<tr><td>Faculty</td><td colspan="3">Design and Art</td><td colspan="2">Education (BScMC)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Policy</td><td colspan="3">Each course takes place in one of the three languages of the degree course but it is the lecturer’s right to use the other two languages for various sections of the lessons, if deemed necessary.</td><td colspan="2">Each course takes place in one of the three languages of the degree course. For the supplementary exercise classes students have the opportunity to choose which language to do them in, if offered in more than one language.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">Practices</td><td colspan="3">Highly unplanned spoken discourse</td><td>Highly planned spoken discourse</td><td>Partially planned spoken discourse</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Tutor(s)</td><td colspan="2">Strong dialogicity</td><td>Tendential Monologicity</td><td>Tendential Monologicity</td></tr>
<tr><td>Strong multilingualism</td><td>Multilingualism</td><td>Moderate multilingualism</td><td>Strong monolingualism</td></tr>
<tr><td>Code alternations: frequent intersentential cs frequent intrasentential cs</td><td>Code alternations: moderate intersentential cs</td><td>Code alternations: rare intersentential cs
moderate intrasentential cs
>> teacher talk</td><td>No code alternation</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Students</td><td colspan="2">Multilingualism (variability)</td><td colspan="2">Monolingualism</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Code alternations: frequent intersentential cs</td><td>No code alternation</td><td>No code alternation
L2</td></tr>
</table>

Extract 2 (PC1: 1:11,16)

TUT come: →vi siete sentite←?

TUT stanche? non stanchi? interessate →non interessate←? l'o:ra quando facevamo le quattro era uno schifo¿

ST? no: io magari: +... mi permetto dire:↓ allora secondo /me↑ ehm↓ la cosa positiva sicuramente è che si vede che:↑ ehm: c'è↑ +...

[ST? keeps on talking for about four minutes]

Extract 3 (PC1: 1:19,23)

ST? di non avere il tempo. [//] è sempre quello secondo me.

TUT °o:chei°

ST? qui adesso non /parlo solomente di io che sto anche lavorando ma:↓ ho sentito che anche gli altri fanno +...

TUT sì! ho capit. cioè: xxx xxx

ST? molta fatica↓. molta↓.

TUT °ho capito°.

ST? poi secondo /me↑ va be' continuiamo a dirlo↓. però se non continuiamo a dirlo: alla fine:

Unlike what discussed with reference to the "truly" multilingual seminar BB2 however, in this seminar there is little room for any shared elaboration of new knowledge or ideas (either in one language or in more than one), neither for the transfer of the governance from the leader to the students, possibly because of the communicative and pedagogical style of the tutor, but possibly also because of the linguistic gap.

3.2. Academic lectures

As noted in previous reports (Working Paper 2, Deliverable 3), in Veronesi & Spreafico (2009) and Veronesi (forthcoming), the analysis of lectures has shown a clear orientation to the institutional policy, prescribing the use of one language per course: this is carried out by lecturers in their extended contributions and confirmed by students' participation in question-answer sequences and collective discussions. Against this background, it was also noted that occasional code-switching mostly occurs in 2 out of 5 analyzed lectures, that is, in form of terminological transfers given in English and followed by glosses in Italian, which is the official language of the 2 courses. Besides, one of these lectures (HI, *diritto dei mercati finanziari*, e.g. law of financial markets) is characterized by the use of a powerpoint presentation in English, and by a certain amount of transfers which involve common language expressions, thus not being interpretable as connected to the particular LSP

involved in the lecture. Such transfers (for instance *cash, pile of cash, worldwide, headquarters, business, paper,* libri di *finance, trend,slides:* 16 occurances) are phonetically marked (e.g. not integrated into the Italian phonetic system) and are thus exhibited as being code-switches to "English", as are most of the terminological transfers in this lecture (about 20, for a total of 70 occurrences). While the use of English terminology is "repaired" (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977) by the lecturer himself, who provides a metalinguistic comment on the fact that English terms are loaned in Italian from the US legal system ("uso vedete tutti termini, e:h anche inglesi perché son proprio parole che noi importiamo da quell'ordinamento"), no explanation is provided as to the use of the other transfers, so that the question about what they "do" in context, together with the other transfers, arises.

By using English terms in the first place, the lecturers clearly exhibits the role of English in the specific subject matter; the metalinguistic comment he provides repairs the fact of violating the institutional "one-language-only" rule, but, at the same time, seems to ratify what would be a dispreferred action and turn it into a preferred action in that particular context. The 'normality' of English within an Italian language classroom environment – within a trilingual university - seems thus to be further reinforced by common language transfers, not to mention the use of a presentation in English (in the last part of the class). This latter is repaired by the lecturer while argumenting that English is "the language of financial markets" and displaying his own participation to international (educational) contexts which require English (extract 4):

Extract 3 (Lecture HI, 01:04:00)

1 PRO come ogni tanto è successo nell'ambito di questo corso
2 uso diapositive, slides in inglese
3 perché sono slides che avevo *preparato (0.6) eh per (0.7)
**operating keyboard ->*
4 eh eh appunto (0.9) interventi (0.4)*
*operating keyboard**
5 che ho fatto anche per un auditorio internazionale in altri,
6 in al- in altri contesti, ma tanto voi, abbiamo detto
7 che il linguaggio dei mercati finanziari è l'inglese e quindi
8 (1.9)

9 mi perdonerete (.) per questo[6]

By doing so, the lecturer seems to find a way to cope with the need of following the institutional policy on the one hand and the need of teaching a subject matter which has a broad international character and for which English is considered to play an important role, on the other. Such categorization of English clearly emerges from an interview that was carried out with the same lecturer, in a passage where the trilingual orientation of the Free University is commented upon, together with observations about the linguistic needs (and language proficiency levels) of students in the perspective of their future collocation within the labour market (extract 4).

Extract 4 (interview HI)

1 LEC oggi secondo me abbiamo i nostri studenti
locali tedeschi NON sono vendibili sul mondo italiano. (0.2)
se non sanno, (.) talmente bene l'inglese da compensare
con l'inglese tutto il resto. (.)
5 e immagino >anche dal punto di vista degli studenti<
che è vero (.) il contrario.
cioè che i nostri non sono, così vendibili all'esterno,
SALVO che non sappiano l'inglese così bene che vanno
a lavorare a monaco perchè lavorano poi in un'impresa,
10 in un'azienda, in cui poi la lingua nei fatti è l'inglese
come nei fatti sta avvenendo in tutte le più grandi imprese
al mondo insomma.
I mh mh
HI questi modelli di DIVERSITÀ come eheh,
15 poi alla fine si concentrano (.) tutti su una lingua
I sí
HI che è la lingua inglese. (1) e qui naturalmente diciamo, (.)
da un certo punto di vista, in un'ottica di eh appunto, […]
in un'ottica di prospettiva futura,
20 io oggi ragiono in italiano, perchè gli diamo il titolo legale
in italiano, perchè loro, gli- diciamo le imprese
(1)
italiane potrebbero pensare che gli studenti di bolzano

[6] English translation (for understanding reasons only; *italics* is used for transfers): "as it happened sometimes in this course I'm using slides, *slides* in English because these are *slides* that I had prepared for presentations I did also for an international audience, but anyway you, we have said that the language of financial markets is English and therefore you will excuse me for this."

sanno molto bene anche l'italiano

25 e quindi c'è questa preoccupazione, almeno da parte mia, di:
convincerli A. (0.2.) mi rendo conto che (.) la lingua che devono sapere, NETTAMENTE meglio delle altre non sono nè l'italiano nè il tedesco ma è l'inglese. cioè per il loro futuro diciamo l'inglese

29 è (.) essenziale. (0.2.)[7]

It shall be noted here that English is considered by the professor to be "the" working language of big corporations; similarly, models of linguistic diversity are said to end up to English only. Such categorizations, though, do not interfere with the lecturer's efforts to enhance students' proficiency in Italian[8], as they don't prevent the lecturer to exhibit, in the course of the same interview, a positive view of multilingual higher education and of multilingual communication, which is reported to be presented to students as a model to be followed[9]. Similarly, his efforts to improve his own English (to which he devotes his spare time, by autonomous learning) do not collide with the fact that he is also learning German formally, to which cultural and aesthetic valued are connected, as documented in the following extract:

Extract 5 (interview HI)

1 I […] il tedesco lo sta imparando: facendo dei corsi o:=

LEC =facendo, .h tirandoli tra una parte all'altra del mio tempo

---

[7] English translation: "today in my opinion our local students [German speakers] are NOT sellable on the Italian market, if they don't master English so well that they compensate everything else. And I think, also the opposite is true for the other students. They are not sellable on the foreign market, unless they master English so well that they can work in a company in Munich, where ultimately only English is used as in all big companies in the world is happening. These models of diversity and so on, at the end they concentrate on one language only, which is English. And so, from a perspective, thinking about the future, so now I'm focusing on Italian, because we give them a degree which has legal value in Italy, because they, let's say, Italian companies could think that students from Bolzano master Italian too, and therefore this is our worry, at least mine, to convince them TO. I am aware that the language they have to know ABSOLUTELY better than the others is neither Italian nor German, but English. I mean for their future what is essential is English."

[8] From a participatory perspective, the lecture shows the alternance of extended lecturer's verbal contributions and question-answer- sequences which extend to collective discussions; from a multimodal perspective, the transition between such phases is clearly marked by verbal and non verbal cues; from a linguistic perspective, finally, the lecturer makes abundant use of reformulations, examples and metacommunication, thus potentially enhancing comprehension. As reported in the interview, the lecturer also uses only Italian in institutional interaction with students; written tasks are also employed as a way to check students' language proficiency in Italian.

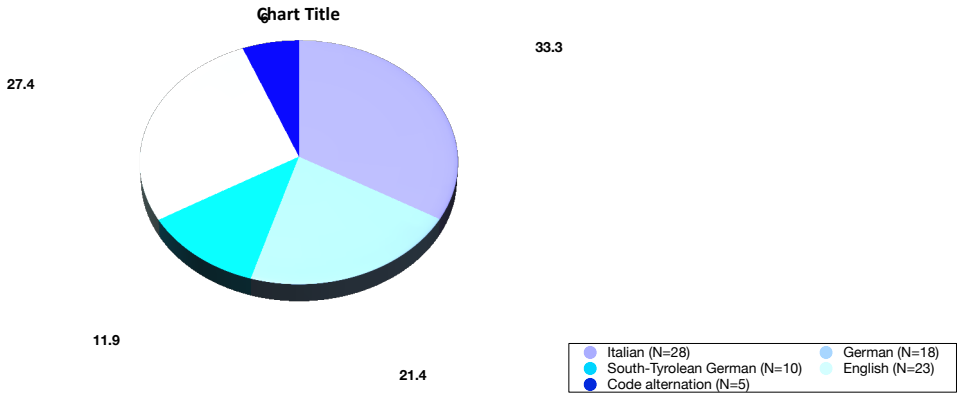
[9] The lecturer was also very active, in 2002-2003, in terms of pinpointing students' language problems within the Faculty of Economics, and in asking for the creation of a specific workgroup; an inter-faculty "language workgroup", composed also by members of the Language Centre and by linguists, was established in late 2004.

perchè sono un disgraziato, ma lo sto facendo perchè poi
è molto bello, mi piace […] preciso (.) anche perchè (.)
per avere un quadro più ampio, (.) che diciamo nella mia
settimana eh io eh devolvo tutto il tempo libero che posso,
sulla lingua, all'INGLESE.
quindi il tedesco eh lo faccio perchè (.) voglio provare, così,
per mio ormai gusto personale, perchè mi trovo bene
con l'insegnante che ho, eccetera,
mi diverte culturalmente voglio dire.
però: eh io devo imparare, (.) VOGLIO continuare ad imparare,
mantenere il mio inglese, migliorarlo eccetera eccetera.
quindi la lingua è l'inglese.[10]

3.3. Service encounters

Among the different sets of practices observed within FUB, also service encounters taking place at the information desk and the library were recorded and analyzed. Data consist of a corpus of 86 video-recorded and transcribed encounters. Participants at the interaction are usually two: the service provider (an employee of the University) and the service seeker (students mostly), although in a few instances the interaction can take place among three people, either because there are two service providers present, offering two different services for the public, or because two students approach the desk together.
The following graph shows the languages used in the data. Next to the three official languages of FUB, English, Italian and German, the local variety of German (South-Tyrolean German) is also spoken and a few instances of code-alternation were also observed.

[10] English translation: "Interviewer: are you learning German attending classes or
Lecturer: attending, squeezing them between my time because I am a mess, but I am doing this because it is very beautiful, I like it […] I have to pinpoint this (.) so that you get a broader picture (.) let's say, in my week I devote all the spare time I can to the language, to ENGLISH. So I'm having German because I want to try, like, for my personal pleasure, because I get along well with my teacher and so on, I have fun, culturally I mean. But uh I have to learn, I WANT to go on learning, keeping my English, improve it and so on. So the language is English."



Graph 1: What languages are spoken in FUB service encounters?

9 Service providers were recorded: five coming from South-Tyrol whose L1 is German[11] (or a local German dialect), one coming from Germany, and the other three whose L1 is Italian. All of them fluently speak the three official languages of the university. The South-Tyrolean German dialect is spoken by the five service providers from South-Tyrol, and understood by all others.
For what concerns service seekers instead, the following were recorded:

- 25 people from South-Tyrol whose L1 is German (or the local German dialect);
- 25 people whose L1 is Italian;
- 28 international students (whose L1 goes from Albanian to Chinese, from Spanish to Polish, to Russian, etc.)
- 6 students coming from Germany;
- 1 person from South-Tyrol whose L1 is Ladin;
- 1 bilingual (Italian-German) from South-Tyrol.

As the graph shows, the tendency in those encounters is to orient towards the use of one code only, which has been selected from a bunch of possible languages to be spoken. This is especially valid for service providers, who tend to converge to the linguistic choice of their interlocutor. As an internal and shared policy both offices taken into consideration tend to orient to the language choices of their interlocutors, i.e. the service seeker's L1 or preferred language. As a matter of fact such policy is mirrored is mirrored in practice by the fact that service providers leave it up to the service seekers to choose the code for the exchange.

Service providers indeed, wait for the service seeker to start speaking. This is done by the service provider orienting with both body and gaze towards the

[11] All information about the linguistic repertoire of the participants were collected together with permission for recording in the form of a questionnaire.

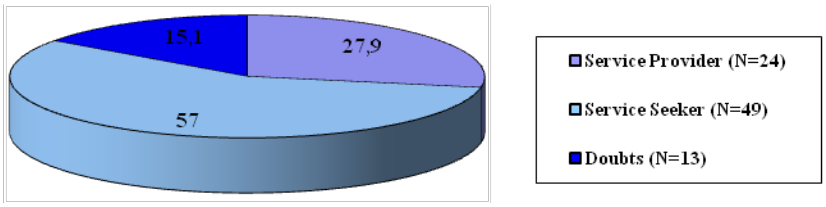
student approaching the desk, and smiling: a behavior that is interpreted by the service seeker as an invitation to start speaking, as in the following example.

Extract 6: International Relations (SE-intern-080925-8)

Participants:
SP4: Service Provider 4, F, 40, L1 German (South-Tyrol);
S25: Service Seeker 25, F, 25, L1 Spanish.

29 *(0.8)*
30 S25: *enters the room, walks towards the desk and clears throat*
31 SP4: *looks at S25, moves towards her and smiles**
32 S25: °hi°
33 SP4: hi?
34 (0.4)
35 S25: e:::m i::: a new stude- i'm a new student this year
36 SP4: yes
37 S25: e: we have a meeting tomorrow at [( ) p m
38 SP4: [yes yes.
39 SP4: welcome. [ahah
40 S25: [e: a:: I wanted to know if I: (.) can do something (.) [eh today
41 SP4: [so. you are eresm- erasmus student
42 S25: yeah.

Such practice is common within the corpus. The majority of encounters (57%) is characterized by the service seeker starting speaking and therefore operating the language choice. The service provider starts speaking in 27,9% of the encounters instead, as the graph below shows.



Graph 2: Who speaks first?

Such practice appears creative in the multilingual setting in which the encounters take place, especially if compared to the practices which seem to be common in other service encounters in the local context: according to preliminary ethnographic observation, in Bolzano the service seeker usually

provides a bilingual greeting or availability offer (*prego-bitte*). Similar results were also found in the study of bookshop service encounters in Great Britain and Italy (Pixi, 1988, especially Anderson, 1988 and Ciliberti, 1988), in which the majority of the encounters were opened by the customer's turn taking. Such openings on the customer's part are explained by a priority implicitly given to the customer in this kind of asymmetrical encounters. The result reported by Pixi researchers is in line with the practice observed in the FUB encounters in which the service provider orients to the language choice of the service seeker and accommodates it. Unfortunately the Pixi study is only based on audio-recordings and cannot take into account what kind of activities were going on prior to the actual encounter, nor is it possible to know about participants' body orientation, gestures and gaze (Aston, 1995). Video-recordings of the FUB encounters has allowed to observe how, in the majority of the encounters, the exchange actually starts well before the two or more participants start speaking, that is, when both orient to each other bodily (see Mondada 2007). This orientation is certainly supporting the priority given to the service seeker/'customer' in this kind of encounters, but is also a new practice in a multilingual setting which allows the service seeker to select his/her preferred language interaction.

3.4. The Free University of Bozen-Bolzano and the South Tyrolean context

As well known, South Tyrol, an autonomous province within the Italian state since 1919, is characterized by the coexistence of three officially recognized speech communities: the German speaking group (69,15%), the Italian speaking group (26,47%), and the Ladin speaking group (4,37%), (Astat 2002).

German and Italian are legally parified and can be used by citizens when interacting with public administrations[12] and in law courts, where civil servants have to certify their knowledge of both languages by passing a locally managed language exam. Recruitment in public administration, as well as public housing policies, take place according to the proportion of the three communities, which is determined every ten years through census. Given the right of citizens to be taught in their *mother tongue,* secondary socialization – which is provided separately by schools in Italian language, schools in German language, and schools of Ladin areas - takes place from kindergarten to

[12] For Ladin speakers this right is applied in Ladin areas and for institutions which mainly deal with matters related to the Ladin community.

secondary school in the L1, whereas the L2 is learnt starting at elementary school. While in Ladin schools German, Italian and Ladin are used as languages of instruction on equal terms, a CLIL approach for German has been adopted experimentally since the early 1990s in some Italian schools (Maggipinto, Veronesi & Simone 2003: 177-204). The opportunity for secondary school students, since 2001, to spend one year in a school with a different language, should also be mentioned here[13].

In spite of such recent efforts, and in spite of a positive change in German and Italian speakers' attitudes towards the (respectively) 'other' language group documented, for secondary school students, in Baur (2000), ethnographic observation as well as reported practices (see Veronesi 2008b) depict a representation of reality where early contacts between Italian and German South Tyroleans were until recently quite sporadic. Furthermore, not only primary and secondary education, but also the institutional offer for leisurely activities (sports, arts, volunteering etc.) was mostly (and still is) organized on quite separate tracks, thus not providing opportunities for children and teenagers of different language groups to interact with each other.

A first exception to the educational panorama was represented by the Music Conservatory in Bolzano (Conservatorio di Musica "C. Monteverdi"), founded in 1940, where, according to its secretariat, both Italian and German were (partially) used as media of instruction (Veronesi 2003: 210).

A second exception came into being in 1988, when the filmschool ZeLIG was founded (first as a private cooperative, then officially recognized at local and European level); initially using both Italian and German as languages of instruction and internal communication, the school has been offering classes in English as well since around 2000.

Within nearly 10 years, though, higher education in South Tyrol not only would provide local students with more options, but also with more languages: in 1996 a school for health professions (*Scuola Superiore di Sanità*), in 1998 the Academy of Design (*Accademia di Design Bolzano*) started their first academic years, with classes both in Italian and German. At the same time, the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, founded in 1997, had its first students, in

[13] Most of the above mentioned observations are taken from Veronesi (2008a).

academic year 1998-1999, in the trilingual faculties of Economics (Italian, German, English) and of Education (Italian, German, Ladin)[14].

Currently in its 11th year of educational activity, the FUB, with its 5 faculties, has a student body of about 3200 students (a.y. 2008-2009): 13,85% come from foreign countries (7,76% of the whole body is from Germanophone countries), while students with Italian nationality come mostly (2/3) from South Tyrol.

The creation of the Free University, thus, gave a new dimension to bilingual higher education as it had been carried on by previously established institutions with much smaller student bodies: not only by providing educational opportunities in the two (or three) local languages and in an 'international' language like English to a large amount of local students, but also by providing South Tyroleans with a context for interaction inside and, potentially, outside the classroom. Furthermore, by attracting foreign students and students from other areas of Italy, local students are potentially confronted with new conversational partners, which in turn might give rise to communicative practices where common practices of intergroup communication (for instance as regards code-choice, namely the use of Italian as default language, see Veronesi 2008b) might be modified by the changed participant constellation.

3.5 Student informal interaction and social network

Some examples of the above mentioned phenomena have been found in informal student-student interaction documented within the DYLAN project[15]; further data analysis is now planned in order to confirm or modify these preliminary observations, in particular with regard to the adoption of social network analysis, which can provide insightful information about individual linguistic repertoires and help to uncover the emergent social structure that carries symbolic and material goods among social actors.

The trilingual university environment sets up the macro-contextual conditions for a potential multilingual behaviour. Nevertheless, speakers can act according

[14] In academic year 2002-2003 the Academy of Design flew into the Faculty of Design and Art of the Free University.

[15] Verbal data, collected by two Italian students (from Northern and Southern Italy) who spent a 6-month-residence abroad with two Germanophone fellow students, document the impact of studying at the FUB, as well as, against the background of a dominant use of Italian, the emergence of sequences of natural pedagogy. See Vietti (2009) and Veronesi (to appear).

to, or react against the sociolinguistic framework, and in any case they can 'translate' this background into an individual behaviour following their language competence, attitudes and representations. All these pieces of information leak out through the particular shape of a personal set of relationships, namely the social network structure and especially the ego-centred social networks.

The present analysis is aimed at investigating whether personal social networks influence the patterns of language use of university students: our aim is to sample a wide range of ties in the personal network, not only the closest relationships but also the so-called weak ties, which, according to sociological (Granovetter, 1973) and sociolinguistic theory (Milroy-Milroy, 1985), carry linguistic innovation in open networks[16].

On the basis of previous analysis on language diaries (see Working Paper 1 and 2 and Vietti, forthcoming) and careful review of the relevant sociological and sociolinguistic literature on social networks, a modified version of language diary method has been developed (Romaine, 1983; Lawson & Sachdev, 2004) and tested on a pilot sample of 10 subjects in order to get a qualitative and unstructured knowledge of the phenomenon investigated.
The language diary method could overcome many methodological obstacles because this instrument is highly reliable, is not so tedious to fill in and most importantly it enables to collect actual, first-hand and complete contact data.
The analysis of the networks of the sample of 10 subjects provide us with a stimulating picture of the different social strategies applied to cope with a multilingual environment.

Table 1 – Language diaries: 10 subjects sample (speakers self-categorisations).

N-ID	*Age*	*Gender*	*Background*	*School leaving language*	*Faculty*	*Year*	*Native language/s*	*Other languages*
DL-001	23	M	Germany	German	Science	3	German	English Italian French
DL-002	23	F	Italy (other regions)	Italian	Economics	-	Italian dialect	German English
DL-003	22	M	South Tyrol	Italian	Science	3	Italian	German English
DL-004	20	M	South Tyrol	Italian	Science	1	Italian	German English
DL-005	22	M	Germany	German	Science	3	German	English Italian Spanish French
DL-006	21	F	Italy (other regions)	Italian	Economics	3	Italian	English German Spanish
DL-007	22	M	South Tyrol	Italian	Science	4	Italian	English German
DL-008	22	M	South Tyrol	Italian	Science	4	Italian	German English

[16] This aim raises many methodological problems in terms of reliability of the instrument and overloading effort required to the subject, which cannot discussed in detail here; it suffice to mention, though, that a list of 40 members corresponds to a 780 potential ties among them, thus the task could be too time- and energy-consuming.

DL-009	20	F	Italy (other regions)	Italian	Design	2	Italian	French English German
DL-010	21	F	Italy (other regions)	Italian	Economics	3	Italian dialect	English German French

Using Egonet (a software specifically designed for the collection, analysis and visualization of personal network data), we can provide a sample analysis of the personal network of the student THI (DL-001). THI is a student of the Bachelor in *Logistics and Production Engeneering* (III year) and comes from Bayern, Germany. He recorded each social contact in a diary during a period of three days.

A careful description of the method and the basics of network analysis with Egonet is provided in Vietti (to appear). In the following paragraphs only the key issues will be sketched out.
The output of the analysis, as carried out with Egonet, is twofold:

- a set of structural and compositional measures (density, centrality and distance);
- a visual representation of the personal network (without EGO).

A selection of indexes are contained in Tab. 2.

Table 2 – Structural network measures

Size	Ties	Density	Components	Cliques
19	30	17,54%	11	2

Size refers to the number of nodes in ego network (minus ego itself), while *Ties* is the number of the actual directed ties among the members of the network (ego's ties excluded).

Density is the number of ties divided by the number of all the potential ties (e.g. 30/171*100=17,54). *Components* and *Cliques* report the raw number of two different types of sub-groups within the network: a component is the largest number of actors who are connected, and a clique is a sub-set of a network in which the actors are more closely and intensely tied to one another than they are to other members of the network (ideally a clique is 100% dense sub-group).

The network is relatively loose-knitted with many (single) components, or sub-group with no interconnections to one another, belonging to different domains of THI's life: residence hall (green nodes), university mates (cyan nodes), and

exchange ties, namely those kind of utilitarian everyday relationships of exchange of goods and services.

As already mentioned, we can't go into details of each node but we want to discuss the main feature of THI's network: the relationship between the two dense cliques and language use.

Firstly, we can notice that THI maintains to use mostly Italian with core members of the pentagon clique (circle nodes: e.g. Silvia, Ludovica, Federico, Federico 2 and Michele), thus showing a strong social orientation towards "Italian" rather than German. Furthermore, it must be considered that Italian is the last language he acquired, during the years at the University of Bozen/ Bolzano.

Secondly, THI is also engaged in a multilingual sub-group, the triangle clique, in which he maintains to use a different language (or combination for languages) with each member: Italian with Florian (from South Tyrol), German and Tyrolean dialect with Christoph (from South Tyrol) and German with Viktoria (from Germany). As these languages are spoken within the same speech event, as recorded in THI's diary, we must presume that the three languages are spoken more or less by all the participants.

A selection of indexes are contained in Tab. 2.

Table 2 – Structural network measures

Size	Ties	Density	Components	Cliques
19	30	17,54%	11	2

Size refers to the number of nodes in ego network (minus ego itself), while *Ties* is the number of the actual directed ties among the members of the network (ego's ties excluded).

Density is the number of ties divided by the number of all the potential ties (e.g. 30/171*100=17,54). *Components* and *Cliques* report the raw number of two different types of sub-groups within the network: a component is the largest number of actors who are connected, and a clique is a sub-set of a network in which the actors are more closely and intensely tied to one another than they are to other members of the network (ideally a clique is 100% dense sub-group).

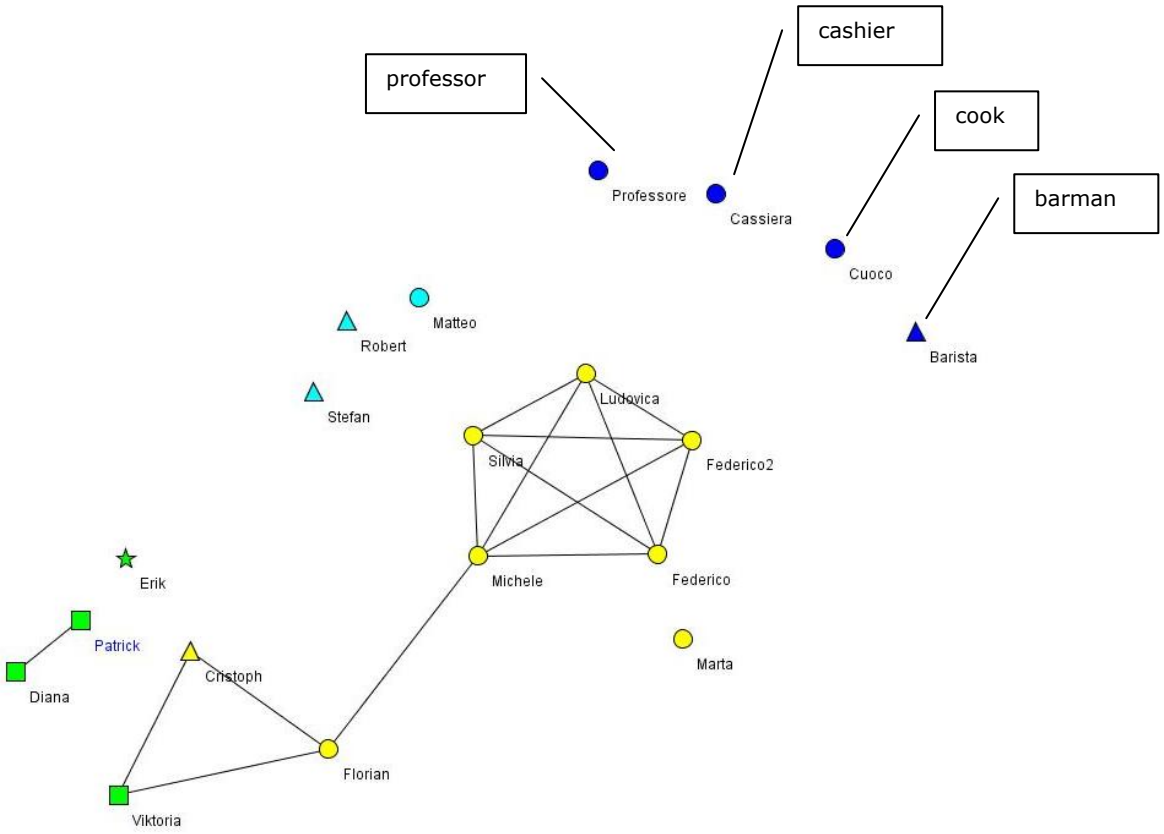
The network is relatively loose-knitted with many (single) components, or sub-group with no interconnections to one another, belonging to different domains of THI's life: residence hall (green nodes), university mates (cyan nodes), and

exchange ties, namely those kind of utilitarian everyday relationships of exchange of goods and services.

As already mentioned, we can't go into details of each node but we want to discuss the main feature of THI's network: the relationship between the two dense cliques and language use.

Firstly, we can notice that THI maintains to use mostly Italian with core members of the pentagon clique (circle nodes: e.g. Silvia, Ludovica, Federico, Federico 2 and Michele), thus showing a strong social orientation towards "Italian" rather than German. Furthermore, it must be considered that Italian is the last language he acquired, during the years at the University of Bozen/ Bolzano.

Secondly, THI is also engaged in a multilingual sub-group, the triangle clique, in which he maintains to use a different language (or combination for languages) with each member: Italian with Florian (from South Tyrol), German and Tyrolean dialect with Christoph (from South Tyrol) and German with Viktoria (from Germany). As these languages are spoken within the same speech event, as recorded in THI's diary, we must presume that the three languages are spoken more or less by all the participants.



Role	*Node color*	*Language spoken by EGO to alter*	*Node shape*
Exchange tie	Blue	Italian	Circle
University mate	Cyan	German	Square
Residence hall mate	Green	German/ Tyrolean dialect	Triangle
Friend	Yellow	English	Star

Figure 1 – THI personal network

Finally, from this outline we can draw stimulating hypothesis to re-discuss the relationship of network ties and language behaviour. In terms of Milroy's theory of linguistic innovation, we can maintain that the denser the network, the more conservative the language norm. As expected, this is exactly what happens in the THI's monolingual Italian clique. However, if we consider the linguistic repertoire of the German student, the "shift" towards Italian must represent an innovation, an adaptive answer to a new multilingual environment, rather than a conservative solution. The equations that link weak ties to linguistic innovation and strong ties to conservation must therefore be contextualized.

4. Results and conclusions

As it emerges from the analysis of different types of interactions discussed in section 3, where differences between monolingual and multilingual practices have been highlighted, the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano provides a new institutional context where students, academic and administrative staff are confronted with new needs and new participant constellations that are unique both for local speakers and for non locals alike.

Against the background of the FUB institutional language policy, it was noted how seminar tutors can make use of the contextually available languages, and thus enhance multilingual communication - which in turn can allow mutual understanding, the common elaboration of new ideas and the management of linguistic diversity through *all* participants – according to the way s/he 'interprets' the language policy itself and according to his/her own linguistic repertoire. Consequently, a functional bilingualism of tutors seems to be one of the preconditions for languages to become a resource in pedagogical settings. It was also noted, though, how lecturers can skillfully exploit the very limited use of other languages (for instance, English) while strongly orienting to the institutional language policy, and thus find a way to solve apparently contrasting needs and representations of languages.

Furthermore, being a study- and workplace at the same time, the University can show the existence of different language policies for different contexts of interaction: an example of this phenomenon was given by looking at service encounters, where the internal policy asks service providers to orient to the 'customer''s language choices (e.g. the service seeker's displayed language preferences). What seems to be a regular practice in similar encounters, namely the fact that the first verbal turn is 'taken care' of by the service seeker, is to be found in the FUB service encounters as well, where it also functions as a way, from the perspective of the service providers, to follow the internal policy. This is made practically possible by the non verbal establishment of a common interactional space between participants, in which bodily orientation, mutual gaze and the service provider's smile represent the very beginning of the interaction prior to verbal communication. This constitutes a new practice if compared to the locally more usual service provider's 'double greeting' which is to be experienced in South Tyrol.

Finally, a sample analysis of students' social networks has shown how the University can represent a potential for the modification of speakers' network

of social relationships, which in turn can enhance new language practices leading to the use of an L2 in native-non native speaker communication, as well as to the use of more languages and varieties within the same communicative event. These findings, furthermore, call for a theorical reconsideration of the dynamics of language innovation which can provide new inputs to research on multilingual communication.

References

Anderson, L. 1988. Access Routines in Service Encounters. In G. Aston (ed.). Negotiating Service. Bologna: CLUEB, 99-134.

Aston, G. 1995. 'In Reference to the Role of Openings to Service Encounters'. Cahiers de Linguistique Française 16, 89-111.

Auer, P. (ed.) 1998. Code-Switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity. London: Routledge.

Auer, P. 1999. From Code-switching via Language Mixing to Fused Lects: Toward a Dynamic Typology of Bilingual Speech". International Journal of Bilingualism 3 (4), 309-332.

Baur, S. 2000. Die Tücken der Nähe, Meran: Alpha&Beta.

Ciliberti, A. 1988. Strategies in Service Encounters in Italian Bookshops. In G. Aston (ed.). Negotiating Service. Bologna: CLUEB, 43-71.

Jefferson, G. 2004. Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In Lerner, G. (ed.). Conversation Analysis: studies from the first generation. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: Benjamins, 13-23.

Mondada, L. 2007. Interaktionsraum und Koordinierung. In Schmitt, R. (ed.), Koordination. Analysen zur multimodalen Organisation. Tübingen: Narr.

Orletti, F. 1983. Pratiche di glossa. In Orletti, F. (ed.). Comunicare nella vita quotidiana. Bologna: Il Mulino, 77-103.

Orletti, F. 2000. La conversazione diseguale. Carocci: Roma.

Schegloff, E., Jefferson, G. & Sacks, H. 1977. The Preference for Self-Correction in the Organization of Repair in Conversation. Language 53 : 361-382.

Spreafico, L. forthcoming. Strategie di compensazione lessicale nel parlato accademico: una fenomenologia. In Veronesi, D. & Nickenig, C. (eds.). Bi-and multilingual universities: European perspectives and beyond. Bozen-Bolzano University Press.

Veronesi, D. & Spreafico, S. 2009. Between mono- and multilingualism in the classroom: communicative practices in a trilingual university. In Proceedings of the International Festschrift Symposium for Paul N. Mbangwana: Language, Literature and Nation Building", Yaoundé, 199-235.

Veronesi, D. forthcoming. La lezione accademica in contesto plurilingue: prospettive di analisi tra parlato monologico ed interazione plurilocutoria. In Verones, D. & Nickenig. C. (eds.). Bi-and multilingual universities: European perspectives and beyond. Bozen-Bolzano University Press.

Veronesi, D. 2003. Pratiche comunicative bilingui in Alto Adige/Südtirol: l'esempio di due istituzioni formative post-diploma. In Maggipinto, A., Veronesi, D. & Simone, P. Lingue veicolari e apprendimento. Azzano:Junior, Quaderni operativi dell'istituto Pedagogico di Bolzano (16), 209-236.

Veronesi, D., 2008a. Languages and language learning in South Tyrol: some data from Italian speakers' language biographies. In Abel, A., & Putz, M. (eds.). Old and New Minorities. Linguistic Approaches to Growing Complexity. International Journal of Anthropology 3-4, 261-274.

Veronesi, D. 2008b. Geschichte, Sprachpolitik und Lebenserzählungen: erste Gedanken zu Sprachbiographien in Südtirol". In Keller, T. & Lüdi, G. (Hgg.). Biographies et pratiques de l'état / Biographien und Staatlichkeit. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag.

Veronesi, D. to appear. Sequenze di pedagogia naturale nell'interazione tra studenti universitari: a che cosa serve parlare di lingue? In Atti del Convegno AITLA, Bozen 2010.

Vietti, A. forthcoming. Multinguismo in interazione: descrizione dell'uso di più lingue in interazioni verbali tra studenti universitari, in D. Veronesi and C. Nickenig (eds.): Bi-and multilingual universities: European perspectives and beyond. Bozen-Bolzano University Press.

Granovetter, Mark S. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. American Journal of Sociology 78(6): 1360-1380.

Vietti A. to appear. Reti sociali e repertori plurilingui: il caso degli studenti in una università trilingue, in Atti del Convegno AITLA, Bozen 2010.

Romaine, S. 1983. Collecting and interpreting self-reported data on the language use of linguistic minorities by means of "language diaries". M.A.L.S. Journal 9: 1-30.

Lawson, S. & Sachdev I. 2004. Identity, Language Use, and Attitudes: Some Sylheti-Bangladeshi Data from London, UK. Journal of Language and Social Psychology 23 (1): 49-69.

Milroy L. & MIlroy J. 1985, Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation. Journal of Linguistics 21: 339-84.

UNIL | Université de Lausanne

GABRIELE MÜLLER
JEANNE PANTET
GABRIELA STEFFEN
LAURENT GAJO
ANNE-CLAUDE BERTHOUD
ANNE GROBET
CECILIA SERRA

1. Rappel de la tâche de recherche du RT 3.3

Nous analysons les pratiques plurilingues dans l'enseignement tertiaire et la recherche, dans le but de comprendre les effets du plurilinguisme sur les processus de construction, de transmission et de mise en oeuvre des connaissances (effets cognitifs et stratégiques). Nous étudions également l'articulation entre ces pratiques, les représentations des acteurs impliqués (sur leurs propres pratiques, sur le plurilinguisme et sur la diversité linguistique) et les politiques linguistiques des institutions concernées.

2. Introduction: créativité et innovation au niveau des institutions, des discours et des pratiques

La RT 3.3 travaillant sur trois dimensions, nous avons adapté nos définitions de « créativité » et « innovation » à nos objets d'analyse.

Nous considérons que l'innovation se situe au niveau de l'institution, en termes de mise en place de discours, de politiques linguistiques ou de dispositifs d'enseignement originaux, *innovateurs*, par rapport au paysage tertiaire suisse.
La créativité porte plutôt sur les pratiques interactionnelles, et concerne aussi bien le processus que le produit : la *créativité du processus* s'observe dans la façon de mobiliser des ressources plurilingues pour accomplir des interactions didactiques dans un contexte comportant des contraintes constantes (politiques linguistiques). La *créativité du produit*, en revanche, s'observe dans l'émergence de savoirs nouveaux et originaux.
Nous porterons aussi attention à ce que les acteurs institutionnels considèrent comme des dispositifs innovateurs et des pratiques créatives.
Les objectifs de cette recherche sur les liens entre "innovation", "créativité" et "plurilinguisme" seront donc d'identifier:

1) le degré de mise en rapport des notions d'"innovation/créativité" et de "plurilinguisme" dans les discours institutionnels officiels ainsi que dans les discours des acteurs institutionnels;
2) les dispositifs innovateurs en lien avec le plurilinguisme dans les institutions;
3) les processus créatifs dans les interactions didactiques et leur rapport avec la présence/l'absence de plurilinguisme;
4) les produits créatifs issus des interactions didactiques et leur rapport avec la présence/l'absence de plurilinguisme.

Voici un tableau qui résume les types de données auxquels les phénomène d'innovation et de créativité sont associé selon notre définition, les observables correspondants ainsi que quelques exemples du présent WoPa4.

Tableau 1: Types de données auxquels les phénomène d'innovation et de créativité sont associé selon notre définition, les observables correspondants ainsi que quelques exemples du présent WoPa4.

	Types de données	**Les observables**	**(Exemples de) quelques résultats**	
Innovation	**Discours institutionnels** (cf. 3.1): Discours publics (sites Web) Politiques linguistiques	Occurrences lexicales des entrées: "innovation, innovatif, créativité, créatif"; Typologie et structuration discursive associée	*Présence* de liens entre "innovation" (+"créativité" (1 cas)) et "plurilinguisme" **et** *présence* d'un dispositif de formation plurilingue (USIFIN) *Présence* de liens entre "innovation" et "recherche" **et** *absence* d'un dispositif de formation plurilingue (UNIZHJUR) *Absence* de liens entre "innovation et "plurilinguisme" **et** *présence* d'un dispositif de formation plurilingue (HESB-TI)	
Innovation/ créativité	**Discours des acteurs** (cf. 3.2)	Occurrences lexicales des entrées: "innovation, innovatif, créativité, créatif"; Réseaux sémantiques associés; Type de formulation et d'arguments associés	Etablissement de liens entre "plurilinguisme" et "innovation/ créativité" scientifique et/ou culturelle	"[...] aber hat dann auch eine... eine sagen wir, Offenheit, *Innovationskultur*, die man so sonst nicht findet" (HESB-TI)

Créativité	**Pratiques didactiques** (cf. 3.3)	Au niveau des **processus**: mobilisation des ressources plurilingues donnant lieu à: 1) des négociations originales autours des savoirs Balayages conceptuels extensifs et intensifs, définitions, mise en réseau 2) une diversification des pratiques/stratégies didactiques Exploitation différenciée de l'alternance (méso et micro)	1) En mode bilingue, négociations très étendues mobilisant un grand nombre de concepts pertinents pour la discipline (travail extensif) et contenant des activités de définition mutiples et diversifiées (travail intensif); concepts articulés et différenciés au sein d'un réseau conceptuel (cf. 3.3.1). 2) Changement de langue au début des séquences explicatives avec reprise et reformulation dans l'autre langue (méso-alternance) **vs** Intégration dans le processus de construction des savoirs (micro-alternance); changement de langue à l'intérieur des séquences explicatives marquant des concepts/réflexions centraux (cf. 3.3.2)
		Au niveau des **produits**: savoirs nouveaux/ originaux Réseaux sémantiques	p. ex. *mandat*, *mandant*, *mandataire*, *contrat de travail, travailleur*, *employeur*, *salaire*, etc. (cf. 3.3.1)

3. Analyse

3.1 "Créativité", "innovation" et "plurilinguisme" dans les discours publics et les politiques linguistiques des institutions étudiées

L'objectif de ce point est de présenter brièvement comment les institutions étudiées traitent les relations entre les 3 notions ci-dessus et mettent en avant ou non dans leurs discours publics (sites web) et dans les conceptions sous-jacentes aux politiques linguistiques.

Le discours public de l'Universität Zürich (UNIZH), située en région germanophone de Suisse, ne fait aucune référence à la dimension plurilingue de ses enseignements et ses politiques linguistiques ne réglementent pas les langues d'enseignement[17]. La Faculté de droit, où nos enregistrements ont été effectués, a mis en place un site web et des règlements en allemand uniquement[18], étant donné qu'elle offre une formation (droit suisse) d'intérêt avant tout national et s'adresse en première ligne à un public local (germanophone). Plutôt qu'au public visé, la dimension bilingue des cours de droit que nous avons observés est liée à la nature du contenu disciplinaire

[17] Cf. www.uzh.ch/studies/application/generalinformation/.../rzs_reglement.pdf, §23 et www.ad.uzh.ch/commissions/.../20041112_CRUS_Aufnahmepruefungen.pdf, §8

[18] Cf. www.ius.uzh.ch/cont/Promotionsordnung_94.pdf, §28 et 30.

(besoin de travailler sur des arrêtés rédigés en français[19]). Lorsque les notions de créativité ou d'innovation apparaissent dans le discours public de l'Université, elles sont reliées à la recherche scientifique.

Au contraire, L'Università della Svizzera Italiana (USI), avec son slogan "Internazionale, Interdisciplinare, Innovativa", pose l'innovation comme un de ses trois piliers promotionnels, en même temps qu'elle se définit en premier lieu comme université plurilingue[20]. Malgré cela, l'USI n'exploite pas en profondeur le rapport entre *plurilinguisme* et *innovation* (un seul document établit une relation indirecte). La forme d'enseignement dit *plurilingue* - mais que nous qualifierions plutôt de *double monolinguisme* - choisie par l'USI est le "dual language system", qui permet à certains cours d'être enseignés tant en anglais qu'en italien, à deux moments différents de la semaine (macro-alternance). De plus, l'USI prévoit des crédits pour des cours de langue (langues nationales). Ce choix permet à l'USI (unique et toute jeune université en Suisse italienne) de s'adresser à la fois à un public d'étudiants local et international, ainsi que de proposer une relation intéressante entre méthode d'enseignement plurilingue, innovation et efficacité, largement mise en avant dans son discours public[21]. Nous verrons néanmoins ci-dessous (cf. point 4) que cette mise en avant de la dimension novatrice du plurilinguisme se base en réalité sur une conception monolingue de l'enseignement plurilingue et engendre des pratiques monolingues.

Dans les documents officiels de la Haute Ecole spécialisée bernoise–Technique et informatique (HESB-TI), l'innovation est citée en relation à l'objectif de la formation (développement de nouveaux produits et lancement de nouvelles entreprises), mais elle n'est pas mise en rapport avec la dimension bilingue qui a comme but explicite l'augmentation des chances sur le marché du travail[22]. Sur le site d'enseignement de Biel-Bienne (ville bilingue), la HESB-TI a mis en place une filière bilingue afin de rendre officiel, au sein de l'institution, une pratique bilingue qui y existe déjà naturellement par la présence d'un public mixte et dans le but d'attirer plus d'étudiants en se démarquant d'autres institutions offrants des enseignements similaires. L'originalité de ce dispositif de formation est que la filière bilingue fonctionne sur le principe de l'alternance

[19] Le tribunal fédéral étant implanté en région francophone, les arrêtés du tribunal fédéral sont rédigés en français et non immédiatement disponibles dans leur traduction allemande. De plus, même en présence de la traduction, les juristes semblent préférer comparer les deux versions.

[20] Cf. http://www.usi.ch/presentazione-studiare/studying_at_usi.htm

[21] Cf. http://www.unisi.ch/presentazione-studiare/ studying_at_usi.htm

[22] Cf. "Etudier à la HESBTI" .pdf sur http://www.ti.bfh.ch/fr/bachelor.html le 18.01.2008).

français-allemand réglementée au niveau de l'institution, ainsi que des cours de langues et une certification des langues[23]. Cette démarche est originale par rapport à ce que nous avons observé dans d'autres institutions qui optent soit pour un mode monolingue en L2 ou une macro-alternance (HECL, USI), soit pour un mode bi-/plurilingue (EPFL, UNIZH), mais sans avoir mis en place une réglementation de l'alternance, ni une certification des langues.

Nous noterons pour conclure que l'UNIZH n'investit ni la dimension plurilingue ni la relation entre plurilinguisme et innovation, alors que l'USI la pose au premier plan de son discours public. Ces deux discours publics éloignés recouvrent néanmoins des réalités didactiques monolingues semblables (à l'exception de l'enseignement de droit que nous analyserons en 3.3). Tout comme l'UNIZH, la HESB-TI ne met pas non plus en relation le bilinguisme et l'innovation, alors que son dispositif de formation bilingue constitue en quelque sorte une innovation en termes de réglementation de l'alternance et de certification des langues, par rapport à l'enseignement tertiaire suisse.

3.2. "Créativité", "innovation" et "plurilinguisme" dans les discours des acteurs

Le point 3.2 vise à résumer les discours des enseignants et des étudiants des différents terrains sur l'innovation et la créativité, notamment en relation avec le plurilinguisme ou leurs propres pratiques plurilingues. Il s'agit de dégager des éléments récurrents (opinions, formulations) survenant dans des *settings* en partie très différents. Notons qu'aucune question sur cette relation ni même sur ces notions n'a été posée lors des entretiens menés avec ces acteurs. Si "l'innovation" et/ou "la créativité" surviennent dans les discours, il s'agit à proprement parler de notions émergentes. Soulignons encore que l'objectif n'est pas de repérer les seules occurrences des termes "innovation" ("innovant") et "créativité" ("créatif"), mais de saisir les propos potentiellement en lien avec ces concepts. Il était donc nécessaire d'élargir la recherche à des notions/propos proches de "innovation" ou de "créativité", comme p. ex. *orginalité*, *différence*, *nouveauté*, *développement*, etc.

Parmi les cinq terrains (partiellement) explorés jusqu'ici, ces notions émergent du discours des acteurs de quatre terrains, à savoir EPFLMAT, UNIZHJUR, HECLMAR et HESB-TI; dans les trois derniers, elles sont, de plus, mises en lien

[23] Cf. *Directive DTI No 24; Bilinguisme (octobre 2005)* et *Certificat Bachelor HESB-TI bilingue* http://www.ti.bfh.ch/fr/bachelor/a_propos_des_etudes/bilinguisme/tabs/certificat_bachelor_hesb_ti_bilingue.html

avec le plurilinguisme, les propos tenus suggérant régulièrement un rapport entre le plurilinguisme et:

- une richesse disciplinaire ou culturelle et un esprit d'ouverture (p. ex. *Innovationskultur*, entretien avec un enseignant du terrain HESB-TI);
- le développement d'une pensée, de compétences ou de stratégies nouvelles (p. ex. *pensée libre, spontanée, créative*, entretien avec l'enseignant du terrain HECLMAR);
- le processus de recherche de solutions ou de résolution de problèmes (UNIZHJUR, EPFLMAT).

Notons finalement que certains acteurs – notamment des étudiants – soulignent le fait que les stratégies communicatives innovantes ou créatives nécessaires pour surmonter les problèmes posés par des pratiques plurilingues favorisent à leur tour l'acquisition de compétences plurilingues.

Pour résumer, les notions de créativité ou d'innovation sont présentes dans les discours des acteurs – ou, du moins, des notions qui s'y rapprochent – à l'exception notamment du terrain UNISIFIN. De plus, dans trois terrains sur cinq, les acteurs créent, de manière récurrente, un lien entre ces concepts et le plurilinguisme/les pratiques plurilingues. En ce point, les discours des acteurs tendent à se distinguer des discours officiels produits par les institutions dont ils relèvent, dans lesquels ce lien est quasiment absent (cf. point 3.1 et 5).

3.3. Créativités et plurilinguisme dans les pratiques

Après avoir esquissé de quelle manière se manifeste "l'innovation" ou la "créativité" au niveau institutionnel et dans les discours des acteurs concernés, nous présentons ici l'analyse des pratiques, plus précisément la manière dont la dimension plurilingue contribue à la "créativité" à deux niveaux différents: le niveau conceptuel (3.3.1) et le niveau "stratégique" (3.3.2).

3.3.1. Créativité au niveau conceptuel

Comme l'analyse des effets cognitifs – au sens des effets sur les savoirs - du plurilinguisme dans l'enseignement tertiaire est au coeur de notre tâche de recherche (cf. point 1), le traitement des concepts dans les pratiques est d'un intérêt particulier pour notre RT. En interrogeant ce traitement sous l'angle de la créativité, notre analyse a pu dégager un phénomène intéressant à la fois au niveau des processus et des produits.
La "créativité" est donc ici à prendre 1) au sens relativement littéral de **processus créatif** – et original (cf. point 4) – qui se déroule lors de

négociations interactives étendues et pour lequel est mobilisée une grande diversité de moyens; et 2) au sens d'un **produit nouveau, original et créateur** de sens et de savoirs dans la mesure où ce résultat se caractérise par un écart considérable entre le point de départ et le point d'arrivée de la négociation autour des concepts.
Il s'agit d'un phénomène rencontré dans une collection d'extraits provenant du corpus UNIZHJUR (cf. annexes), à savoir la *création* de réseaux de connaissances avec mise en lien originale des concepts.

Processus: Il s'agit de séquences dans lesquelles les participants établissent des réseaux conceptuels originaux en partant d'un terme ou d'un concept spécifique soumis à négociation (cf. Müller/Pantet 2008, Müller/Grobet en préparation).
Cette négociation initiale vise souvent un travail linguistique (activité de traduction) censé assurer la compréhension d'un concept disciplinaire ou tout simplement enrichir en lexique la L2. L'asymétrie linguistique, exigeant un étayage et une explicitation plus importante qu'en mode monolingue, représente un moyen puissant d'élaboration conceptuelle. Par ailleurs, le moment déclencheur consiste souvent en des "erreurs" linguistiques de la part des étudiants[24].

Au cours de ce type de séquences, les participants passent d'un concept à l'autre en faisant le parcours – plus ou moins complet – des notions/concepts pertinents d'un domaine ou sous-domaine disciplinaire. Il est à noter que ces parcours se caractérisent non seulement par l'extensivité (le nombre de concepts soumis à négociation) mais aussi par l'intensitivité du traitement des objets disciplinaires : chaque concept introduit est abondamment défini/ expliqué par une diversité de stratégies de définition (cf. aussi Grobet/Pantet en préparation).
Ce véritable balayage conceptuel résulte de mécanismes comme le traitement spécifique des réponses jugées incorrectes, l'explicitation de l'activité de parcourir les concepts d'un sous-domaine disciplinaire spécifique, le traitement de questions qui restent sans réponses ou le "glissement conceptuel" en tant que tentative de se rapprocher linguistiquement et disciplinairement d'un concept donné.

[24] Pour une description détaillée de l'organisation des ouvertures, des mécanismes dont résulte l'établissement des réseaux, des activités définitoires/explicatives ainsi que de l'organisation des clôtures, cf. Müller/Grobet en préparation.

De manière générale, tous les concepts négociés sont non seulement définis et expliqués pour eux-mêmes, mais ils sont clairement différenciés d'autres concepts proches, situés et articulés de façon renforcée au sein du réseau conceptuel disciplinaire original - parce que bilingue (p.ex. les types de contrats, les formes de culpabilité, les acteurs devant le tribunal, etc.). Autrement dit, les participants développent les concepts par différenciation, atteignant finalement une forme de complétude, c'est-à-dire une "saturation" conceptuelle (cf. Gajo/Grobet 2008; cf. aussi WoPa 3 du RT 3.3), dont l'obtention est, par ailleurs, étayée par la présence d'une clôture interactive accomplie par tous les participants.

Produit: Les résultats de ces négociations, à savoir les réseaux de concepts d'un domaine ou sous-domaine disciplinaire, sont d'une complexité variable, mais peuvent être extrêmement riches et originaux.
A titre d'illustration d'un tel produit, voici un tableau représentant le réseau finalement constitué par la négociation de l'extrait "Contrat d'entreprise I" (cf. annexes), le point de départ de la discussion étant la traduction en français du terme *auftraggeber*:

contrat		**parties impliquées**		**rémunération**		**pour**		**obligation juridique**	
Allemand	Français	Allemand	Français	All.	Franç.	A	F	A	F
Mandat	mandat		mandant, mandataire						
Arbeitsver-trag	contrat de travail	Arbeitneh-mer, Arbeit-geber	travailleur, employeur	Lohn	salaire	Arbeit	temps, durée	arbeits-/ mittelbe-zogene Sorgfalt	obligation de moyens
Werkver-trag	contrat d'entreprise	Auftrag-geber	maître, entrepreneur	Honorar	hono-raires	Ergebnis	résultat	erfolgs-bezogene Sorgfalt	obligation de résultat
Kaufver-trag	contrat de vente		acheteur, vendeur						

3.3.2 Créativité au niveau stratégique

Nous situons la dimension stratégique 1) – dans un sens restreint – au niveau de l'organisation des activités qui représente des "enjeux de pouvoirs" (p. ex. contrôle sur la prise de décision ou leadership au sein d'un groupe, cf. CM2 Berlin et Jacquin/Pantet à paraître) et 2) – au sens large – dans la mobilisation de *ressources* (ressources discursives dans une ou plusieurs langues) par les acteurs dans une situation donnée et pour un certain but (non pas le but

intentionné, mais le but atteint) tel qu'il est observable dans l'interaction[25]. Ce qui suit se réfère au deuxième sens.

A ce niveau stratégique, nous envisageons la créativité comme le processus qui mène à la diversité de pratiques bilingues et de situations pédagogiques, que nous avons observée dans les différentes institutions et évènements didactiques retenus. Dans ce sens, la créativité des acteurs concernés permet de mettre en place des interactions et pratiques didactiques qui composent, voire juxtaposent les *ressources* langagières (plus ou moins bi-/plurilingues) de manières très diverses et qui mettent en avant des manières de gérer, voire d'exploiter l'alternance dans un but didactique ("stratégies didactiques" différentes).

Prenons l'exemple de deux cours (mathématiques et physique) au sein d'une même institution, la HESB-TI, et qui s'inscrivent, par conséquent, dans la même politique linguistique et les mêmes exigences par rapport aux savoirs disciplinaires enseignés. L'alternance est donc présente dans les deux cours, mais employée de manière différente par les deux enseignants observés.

Dans le cours de mathématiques (cf. annexes, séquence "Defintion einer elliptischen Kurve"), le changement de langue intervient en général en début d'une séquence explicative et est souvent balisée (*vite aussi résumer en français*). Le contenu conceptuel est ensuite entièrement repris et reformulé dans l'autre langue. Les séquences en allemand et en français sont donc juxtaposées, de manière à ce qu'il est possible de suivre le raisonnement/ l'explication de l'enseignant entier en une seule langue. Il s'agit toutefois bien d'une reformulation (et non d'une répétition) qui reprend le contenu de manière plus condensée et sensiblement différente, puisque le problème mathématique n'est véritablement résolu que la première fois (inscription de la résolution au tableau et verbalisation du langage formel). La deuxième fois, la résolution figure déjà au tableau et seule l'explication est reformulée.

Les alternances de l'enseignant de physique (cf. annexes, séquence "Was bedeutet das Minuszeichen?") en revanche, interviennent à l'intérieur d'une séquence explicative, de manière enchâssée (all-fr-all. ou fr.-all.-fr. etc.) et ne sont pas explicitement balisées. De cette manière, on assiste à une continuité entre une langue et une autre dans le discours de l'enseignant et, pour pouvoir

[25] La différence qu'on fait habituellement entre *stratégie* et *ressource* est qu'à la première on attribue une intention et une planification, mais pas à la deuxième. Ici, nous ne retiendrons pas le facteur de l'intentionnalité pour distinguer entre stratégie et ressource, l'intention d'un acteur n'étant en général pas observable dans ses pratiques.

saisir le raisonnement, les étudiants doivent suivre dans les deux langues. Les contenus ne sont pas tous reformulés, mais la reprise dans les deux langues de certains d'entre eux semble indiquer qu'il s'agit d'éléments centraux à retenir, ce qui pourrait faciliter la sélection de l'information importante.

Bien qu'ils s'inscrivent dans les mêmes politiques linguistiques, les deux enseignants composent différemment avec les ressources bilingues. Dans le cadre du cours de mathématiques, l'alternance contribue à l'articulation et au balisage de deux moments didactiques (résolution de problème - reformulation), sans véritablement s'intégrer à la construction des contenus disciplinaires à l'intérieur d'une séquence explicative. Lors du cours de physique, en revanche, l'alternance met en évidence les contenus-clé ainsi que les différentes étapes de construction de l'objet disciplinaire, tout en s'intégrant directement et localement à la construction des contenus disciplinaires.

4. Comparaison entre les séquences de définition/explication en mode monolingue et en mode bilingue

Nous reprendrons ici les résultats du point 3.3.1 (créativité au niveau conceptuel) afin de proposer une comparaison avec une séquence de définition provenant du terrain UNISIFIN, à savoir un cours de Finance dispensé en mode monolingue en anglais L2 (transcription en annexes).

L'analyse du corpus UNIZHJUR a permis de mettre en évidence la construction de réseaux sémantiques et disciplinaires originaux et créateurs de sens. En mode bilingue, ces réseaux sont caractérisés par une **articulation plus marquée** des notions, la **différentiation récurrente** des notions proches au sein d'un même réseau, ainsi que la forte **intégration des traitements disciplinaires et linguistiques** permettant la saturation et la complétude des notions et leur **organisation en savoirs**.

L'analyse de séquences de définition comparables issues du terrain UNISIFIN met en évidence des différences notables dans les processus de construction des notions ainsi que dans leur organisation en réseaux de connaissances. Les résultats préliminaires de la comparaison montrent que les réseaux disciplinaires construits en mode monolingue présentent un caractère **plus déconnecté** et **moins intégré** que ceux construits en mode bilingue.
Sans présenter ici une analyse complète, nous pouvons résumer les divergences principales observées:

- La différentiation des notions entre elles est moins souvent présente en mode monolingue, et moins explicitée lorsque présente.
- Bien qu'il y ait quantitativement plus de notions mobilisées pour la définition, leur articulation est qualitativement moins forte en mode monolingue : la relation entre les notions est *posée* plutôt qu'explicitée et *problématisée.*
- La diversité des stratégies de définition est plus grande, quantitativement et qualitativement, dans les séquences de définition en mode bilingue.
- En mode bilingue, la définition d'une notion engendre souvent l'ouverture d'un large réseau notionnel; en mode monolingue, le réseau notionnel est plus souvent *utilisé* pour la définition de la notion-cible que *développé* à cette occasion: elle représente ainsi une activité moins "créatrice" de sens et de savoirs.

L'ensemble de ces divergences pourrait être expliqué par **l'absence, en mode monolingue, de la possibilité de traduction et de reformulation en L2** ainsi que par son corollaire, **l'absence de prise en compte de la matérialité linguistique des notions disciplinaires**. En effet, il semblerait que ces deux paramètres favorisent des définitions extensives alternant travail métalinguistique et travail disciplinaire menant à la construction de réseaux disciplinaires créatifs.
Notons tout de même que de telles assertions doivent être comprises comme des pistes de recherche, la comparaison entre les corpus analysés étant pour l'heure trop ténue pour en déduire un véritable résultat significatif.

5. Résultats

Les points 3 et 4 ont permis de présenter des exemples et des analyses qualitatives des relations envisagées entre le plurilinguisme, l'innovation et la créativité dans différents terrains de recherche. Afin de présenter des résultats sur ces relations dans l'ensemble de nos terrains et d'opérer des comparaisons entre eux, nous avons évalué le degré de relation grâce à des indicateurs simples (cf. point 4 des annexes): l'attribution de valeurs a permis de catégoriser les discours institutionnels officiels, les discours des acteurs et les pratiques didactiques selon leur degré de relation entre ces notions/concepts, dont nous présentons maintenant l'interprétation.

Des discours aux pratiques: gradation du lien entre plurilinguisme et créativité/ innovation

De façon globale, nous observons que les discours publicitaires et leurs implémentations en politiques linguistiques ne présentent pas de lien entre plurilinguisme et créativité/innovation: même si certaines institutions déclarent "encourager le plurilinguisme", ils n'argumentent pas ce choix en invoquant le potentiel d'innovation pour l'enseignement, ou de créativité dans le processus de construction des savoirs.

Quant aux discours des acteurs, on observe globalement une plus grande mobilisation de notions proches de "créativité" et "innovation" (nouvelles façons de faire/dire les choses, progrès, différences, ...) pour argumenter les avantages de l'enseignement plurilingue. Ce constat doit néanmoins être nuancé par la petite part qu'occupent ces notions dans l'ensemble de leurs discours.

Les pratiques didactiques constituent le lieu où la relation entre plurilinguisme et créativité est la plus visible : l'analyse comparative (cf. point 4) a permis de poser l'hypothèse d'une plus grande créativité dans le processus et le produit de construction des savoirs en mode bilingue, sous la forme de réseaux notionnels nouveaux et plus fortement intégrés.

Le cas d'UNISIFIN

Ces tendances générales connaissent une exception de taille: le terrain UNISIFIN présente la tendance inverse, c'est-à-dire une forte mise en rapport des notions de plurilinguisme et d'innovation dans les discours institutionnels officiels, contre une exploitation très faible du plurilinguisme et de son potentiel créatif dans les pratiques didactiques. Cet exemple nous montre que l'argument selon lequel le plurilinguisme peut engendrer des dispositifs innovants ou des processus créatifs existe dans le discours commun, mais que sa présence ne garantit pas son exploitation effective dans les pratiques didactiques.

Liens entre la créativité des pratiques et le régime des langues/le mode participatif

Nous avons tenté de croiser nos résultats avec une hypothèse développée dans nos derniers papiers, à savoir que le degré d'interactivité et le régime des langues constituaient des variables influant fortement le mode de construction

des savoirs. Il se trouve que le degré de "créativité" des pratiques (Cf. Tableau en annexe) est en partie proportionnel à ces deux variables : les pratiques qui ont été jugées plus "créatives" (UNIZHJUR, EPFLMAT) sont aussi celles qui présentent un plus haut degré d'interactivité et un régime des langues pleinement bilingue - le contraire étant aussi vrai dans le cas d'UNISIFIN. Ceci suggère que le mode bilingue n'est pas l'unique manière de générer des processus et des produits (savoirs) créatifs, mais confirme son implication dans cette construction.

6. Conclusion

Pour conclure nous souhaitons relever deux points forts de cette recherche sur les rapports entre "plurilinguisme" et "innovation/créativité".

Plurilinguisme et créativité

Les analyses qualitatives (cf. 3.3.1 et 4) ont permis de renforcer une hypothèse fondamentale dans la recherche des conditions de l'atout plurilingue (cf. WoPa 2 et 3), selon laquelle l'impact du plurilinguisme sur la construction des connaissances est fortement lié aux variables "régime des langues" et "degré d'interactivité". Il apparaît plus clairement suite à cette recherche spécifique que la première de ces deux variables est la plus fortement impliquée dans l'émergence de pratiques didactiques créatives de sens et de savoirs.

Plurilinguisme et innovation

Le terrain Unisifin présente une tendance inverse par rapport au paysage tertiaire suisse (cf. 5), qui pourrait être expliquée par l'hypothèse suivante: étant une institution relativement jeune et située dans une région linguistique minoritaire du pays, l'exploitation du lien entre "innovation" et "plurilinguisme" dans les discours officiels permettrait de créer une identité propre et originale dans le panorama universitaire national, en investissant sur une "méthode plurilingue" reconnue au niveau international (le "dual language system"). Malgré les réserves exprimées plus haut quant à cette méthode (cf 3.1.1 et 4), cet exemple démontre que le couple "innovation-plurilinguisme" constitue une stratégie publicitaire efficace dans certains contextes.

Références

Gajo, L. & Grobet, A. (2008): "Interagir en langue étrangère dans le cadre de disciplines scolaires : intégration et saturation des savoirs disciplinaires et linguistiques", In: Filliettaz, L. & Schubauer-Leoni, M.-L. (éds), Processus interactionnels et situations éducatives, Bruxelles: De Boeck, 113-136.

Grobet, A. & Müller, G. (en préparation): "Construction des connaissances en français langue seconde dans un contexte d'apprentissage bilingue au niveau tertiaire: constitution de « paradigmes » conceptuels et (sur)saturation".

Grobet, A. & Pantet, J. (en préparation): "Les trajectoires du signes entre transparence et opacité dans les séquences de définition en contextes didactiques".

Jacquin, J. & Pantet, J. (à paraître): "Le code-switching comme ressource stratégique pour la gestion de l'interaction multilingue: coordination et leadership dans un groupe de travail", Bulletin VALS/ASLA, Actes de la conférence de Lugano février 2008.

Müller, G. & Pantet, J. (2008): "Plurilinguisme et construction des savoirs disciplinaires dans l'enseignement universitaire", TRANEL 48, 105-124.

Annexes (voir fin du document)

1. Séquences citées en 3.3.1 (UNIZHJUR)
2. Séquences citées en 3.3.2 (HESB-TI)
3. Séquence citée en 4 (UNISIFIN)
4. Tableau et indicateurs (point 5)

HELSINGIN YLIOPISTO
HELSINGFORS UNIVERSITET
UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

SEBASTIAN GODENHJELM
SAARA HAPPAMÄKI
KAN LIDSTRÖM
TOM MORING
JAN-OLA ÖSTMAN
MIRJA SAARI
JENNY SYLVIN

1. Brief reminder of research tasks

The UHE team's research questions and objectives divide into two parts. The *first* part, representing the overall WP3 task, includes the analysis of language practises, policies and representations in educational systems and how these changes are reflected in legislation and lower level regulations. Focusing on the University of Helsinki the UHE team will identify the implications of language policies and practises of the state and administrations for educational systems.

The *second* part, representing RT 3.4, includes the examination of the impact of language policies on institutional strategies at European, national and regional levels in order to identify inefficiencies reflected in the existing policies and strategies of educational systems.

UHE research questions:

a) To what extent do language policies aimed at higher education exist at different levels (EU, National, and Institutional) with regard to different languages?

b) To what extent do language policies exist that aim to establish minority languages within higher education?

c) To what extent are these language policies in higher education explicitly formulated to strategies at the various levels mentioned above?

d) Are the strategies formulated at each level consistent with strategies formulated at the other levels?

e) In addition to the explicitly formulated language strategies, are there implicit strategies that guide the field on the national and local levels?

f) Which are the outputs of these policies at the different levels (EU, national and institutional), as observed at a national and institutional level?

g) Which are the outcomes (intended and unintended) of these policies in the context of education, research, administrative praxis and everyday language use in the institutions studied?

h) To what extent do the different policy outcomes promote capacity, opportunity and desire to use minority languages, in addition to national languages and international transmission languages, in higher education in daily practice as scientific language?

2. Introduction

Expanding the UHE research tasks towards a discussion of the innovative potential in the two sets of approaches in our research (i.e., tasks b-e, and h-g), this working paper presents a discussion about whether multilingualism can, and if so, under what conditions constitute an asset in terms of creativity and innovation. We will illustrate how analytical and operational perspectives can be combined and linked to research on political and economic action.

The terms innovation and creativity are strongly interlinked. They are also usually linked to the development of new business processes or products and are therefore not necessarily applicable to higher education per se. The essence of innovation and creativity can be interpreted as creating something new or doing something in a way that has not been done before. It consists of the successful production, assimilation and exploitation of novelty in both economic and social spheres (Commission of the European Communities, 2003).

Innovations do, however, not emerge in a vacuum. There are certain conditions that must be present. We argue that capacity, opportunity and desire are definitional of some of these conditions that are relevant to creativity and innovation in multilingual institutions for higher education. Relating our discussion to the DYLAN research questions:

- Innovation and creativity is a result of linguistic diversity that enables the transmission of knowledge (the overall perspective of the DYLAN project)

- Innovation and creativity are being fostered by language practises in educational institutions (the perspective of WP3)

- Innovation and creativity are being promoted by language policies and institutional strategies (the perspective of RT3.4)

- Innovation and creativity emerge through the different outputs and outcomes that language policy and institutional strategies produce (the UHE research questions)

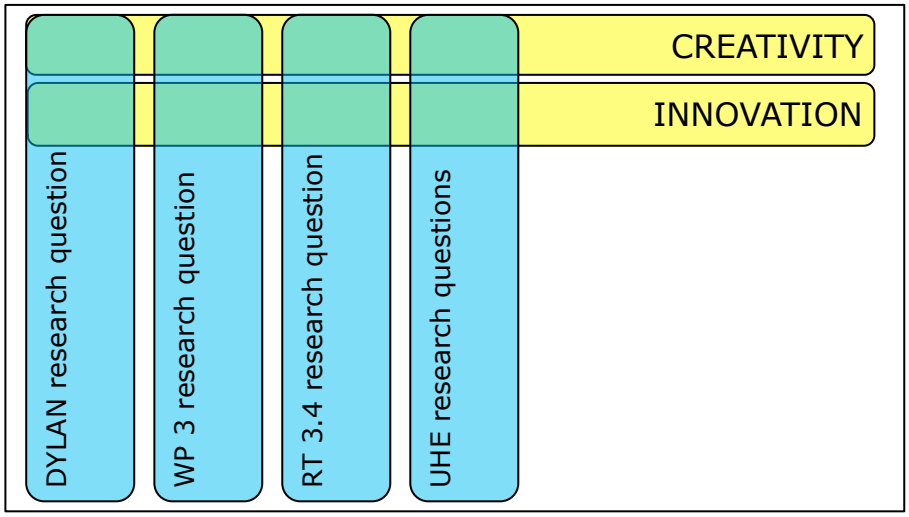


Figure 1.

3. UHE analytical framework

The UHE analytical framework suggests that multilingualism provides a creative potential in that individuals who master several languages and cultural contexts may become more creative and innovative, and consequently more successful, than monolingual individuals (this is often referred to as the "diversity dividend", c.f., Price et al., 1997; Grin and Vaillancourt, 1999). This however requires interaction among a multitude of languages, which often can be regarded as problematic. *Methods and strategies* used to cope with this dilemma can therefore be seen as innovations in themselves, as they offer new solutions for removing obstacles from innovation and creativity. For this to work society must take an active approach; relevant policies must regard multilingualism as an asset rather than a drawback.

In terms of the WP 3 research questions, we may ask whether creativity and innovation are enabled by language practices, policies, representations and context in educational institutions. In terms of the RT 3.4 research question one aspect is whether *language policies* and *institutional strategies* have an impact that might be regarded as creative and innovative from a multilingual perspective. Language policies and strategies might not necessarily constitute cases of creativity, but could be a step towards demonstrating the connections between creativity and multilingualism. Another aspect is whether language policies and institutional strategies have an impact on creating spaces where creativity and innovation can emerge.

This double perspective on innovation and creativity has guided our argument in this working paper, i.e., to look upon the matter both from the point of view of *methods* and from the point of view of *outcomes*.

4. Analysis

The following sections present two analytical attempts to, within a DYLAN frame, systematically interpret multilingualism as a factor of creativity and knowledge. Innovation and creativity will be analyzed by identifying multilingual practices and situations, and by combining linguistic analysis with policy analysis.

Multilingual practices and situations

One example of a multilingual practice that promotes creativity is when Swedish speaking students are encouraged to hold presentations in their own language in courses that are basically held in Finnish. This enables them to mobilize the full potential of their flow of thoughts while utilizing the potential of L2 skills among their fellow students, which results in language training for all parts involved. This practice furthermore increases the visibility of multilingualism as a phenomenon and the students´ awareness thereof. The following example, from a focus group interview, is picked from a context in which one student (S) presents to another student (J) and the moderator (M) how she has been acting on the encouragement to use Swedish in her studies at the University of Helsinki.

M: °right° so you do your presentations also in Swedish
(0.5)

S: I've [done it sometimes and then maybe make a»
M: [second (--)
S: »summary in the end in Finnish or (0.7) or then have the text in Swedish if it is something everybody will read through and then for example do the presentation in Finnish or in some way like»
(0.5)
M: hm
(0.2)
S: »like combine because it (0.4) it isn't about me wanting to make things difficult for (0.6) for others
(0.3)
S: or [if there are >there are still many who have»
M: [yes
S: »difficulties<
J: ºmhº
(0.2)
S: with Swedish
(0.7)

The student above has been encouraged to use her native language Swedish in her studies even though she is the only native speaker of her language in the group. This is an exceptional practice even though language policies do encourage students to use their native language such as Swedish in situations that basically are monolingual in Finnish. The example is thus a result of an innovative interpretation of the language policy of the university. At department level multilingual practices include meetings where the participants use Finnish and Swedish in parallel, depending on the native tongue. This secures the right to transmit ideas in the language the speaker masters best and secures the adequacy and precision of what is being said.

The benefit of multilingualism is that it works in an inclusive manner. However, it requires innovation and creativity to form a transmission strategy so that different language groups can be included and the flow of information secured. This would call for an enhancement of translation, interpretation and other services in specific languages; a complementary solution is the use of a widely accepted lingua franca which in many cases would be English.

From a strategic point of view, it seems that multilingualism would increase the university's competitiveness better than monolingualism. Language would not be an excluding factor in the recruitment of the best talents and in the

distribution of these in the functions of the organisation. Bilingualism is also a regionally and nationally relevant competition factor for the University of Helsinki; the effects of bilingualism add to a student's educational and cultural capital in ways that are not as evidently experienced at unilingual Finnish or Swedish universities.

Combining linguistic analysis with policy analysis

As argued above, multilingualism requires innovation and creativity in order to work, and thus presents a challenge. This view, however, only takes us half the way. A large part of the challenge relates to identifying metalinguistic utterances and individual monolingual and multilingual situations and analyzing them, and also to communicate the results obtained in order for them to have an impact that can be linked to both political and economic action. This presents methodological challenges. We argue that this is not only a micro-level problem but also a macro-level problem related to language policy. Several interpretations of a statement or a finding are possible depending on the theoretical point of departure.

From the perspective of institutional policy theory (cf. Vincent, 2007), policies set the frames within which interaction occurs in society. In the case of the DYLAN project this would be language policies framing how monolingual and multilingual situations operate in higher education institutions. The policy on mandatory language education for all university students is an example of such an overt policy (Section 6 of the Finnish Government Decree on University Decrees). This policy provides the tools necessary for multilingualism.

From a socio-pragmatic perspective we need to make a basic distinction between, on the one hand, what is explicitly said in a public document or in an interview situation, and what we can read between the lines as being the implicit message that is being communicated. Furthermore, we need to make a distinction of different kinds of explicit and implicit information: (a) what is being argued and lifted into a discussion on-line, as arguments, and as communicating involvement and aspects of politeness, and (b) what are the discourse patterns utilized and the ideological coherence lying behind (=i.e. being taken for granted) what is being communicated. This is the framework (the PIA model) that has been variedly utilized in the UHE RT as an analogical tool to get at a deeper understanding of what is being explicitly stated.

In addition we have linked this model to the political process that can be seen as a backdrop of political science, so that the output of a process - for instance, the overt and covert results of a discussion - does not go "directly through to the outcome and further to the input for the next round in the policy/political process, but the output goes into the discourse-pattern part of the linguistics analysis, from where it drains into the ideological taken-for-granted aspects, and finally, from there, it can go (back) into the outcome slot of the political process (for an overview, see Godenhjelm & Östman 2009).

Let us take an example. In one interview with a high-level administrative official at the University of Helsinki the mandatory language education is being commented on: it is overtly stated that there will be no extra costs for anybody if we do not have Swedish as an obligatory subject in the national matriculation exams. (The result of this has been that nowadays some 60-70 % of the youngsters get themselves a grade in Swedish - as opposed to 95 % a couple of years ago.)

In the interview the interviewee says that he has pointed out several times - also publically - that it will cost the universities millions. This we can call the covert information (see below) that is being communicated. One of the reasons for this is that the universities now have to take over the role that the secondary schools have had so far.

With respect to what is being said, we can - using the PIA model, note that explicitly, we are told that it will cost millions; in addition, the interviewee explains that we will now have to save money in some other sector. And, he adds - we do not have this problem with respect to English. All through the interview, we then notice that the two languages - although they are two languages - are not treated the same. We will not go through the details of this analysis here, but merely note that it sounds as if there is a subconscious attempt at building up a defense-line for the future: if things start going not so good for the University of Helsinki, at least one culprit is easily to be found: the Government, especially the Ministry of Education, for accepting such a costly law despite what the university experts said. But, and this is the "but" that makes the interview extremely important for multilingualism: the real culprit is Swedish. That is, if the University of Helsinki were not officially bilingual, we would not run into this financial problem to the same extent.

This sounds harsh, and the details of the analysis needs to be looked at better, but we think we have due reasons to say things like this - on the basis of how

things are being said in the interview, the linguistic and interactional features that allow us (as socio-pragmatically attuned analysts) to read between the lines of what is being said.

In order for the UHE RT and the WP3 as a whole to truly analyze the impact of language policies and the relation between language practices, policies and representations a new way of thinking outside of our own disciplines is required. By combining sociopragmatics, conversation analysis and discourse analysis and policy analysis, the UHE RT has taken a step towards a new way of clarifying the impact of language policies from the DYLAN project´s focus. The UHE RT has combined the perspectives in the analysis of policy implementation (see UHE research questions b-e above) and in policy outputs and outcomes (see UHE research questions f-h above). The main challenge is to clarify where and how these two major diverging perspectives both analytically and operationally can be combined and linked to political and economic action. The UHE RT has identified two such possibilities, namely language policy implementation and policy output.

In terms of policy implementation, the point of departure is overt and covert policies. From an analytical point of view, overt policies can be studied using traditional policy-analysis methods (cf. Patton & Sawicki, 1993 & Hill, 1984). This is, however, not enough as policies also can include covert policies (cf. Lipsky, 1980). Thus, in itself, studying the innovative potential of language policies requires innovative solutions in combining and developing different strands of research. In this sense sociopragmatics can be of importance in clarifying covert strategies. Consequently, when moving on to operationalisation, this combination of different methodological approaches requires that significantly more detailed results are obtained about the role that higher education institutions have, thus contributing to reflection and discourse about Europe as a knowledge-based society.

5. Comparative analysis of multilingual and monolingual situations

When discussing innovation and creativity we are faced with the question of efficiency in the university's language policies and practices. In fact, the university has two different stands to multilingualism which both can be motivated with efficiency factors. As noted by one participant in the focus groups we recorded the unilingual administration policy is based on the idea that one language is used for one reality, the administrative business. But because the university in reality is a multilingual community, the unilingual

strategy works in an excluding, thus ineffective manner; it blocks persons without competence in Finnish from administration and concentrates administrative influence but also burden to the Finnish-speaking. To avoid this, the university should have an innovative strategy for a better linguistic integration of the international personnel and students, i.e. developing their competence and creativity in the national languages and new solutions such as multilingual language services, e.g. interpretation.

6. Results

Arguably, bi- and multilingualism is likely to create benefits for the university and for the members of the university community in regional, national, interregional and international educational and working markets if taken advantage of in an appropriate manner. Multilingualism is a training asset enabling a creative flow of thoughts in one's own language in education, research and administration. It is also a factor for competitiveness in the recruitment of students, personnel, researchers and their socialization in the society and business and science networks.

In terms of measuring policy outputs and outcomes the point of departure is the mono- or multilingual spaces created by policy, in other words what the impact of language policy actually is. Analytically speaking these outputs or spaces can be measured by policy actions; however, significantly more details can be extracted by using for instance conversation analysis and discourse analysis. These methods of analysis enable separate disciplinary definitions and measurements of the phenomena, but in order to have an impact on language policies and to capture the essence of multilingualism the methods need to complement each other.

7. Conclusions

Innovation is about finding opportunities to be multilingual to act in a multilingual context and these aspirations need to be supported. However, spaces where true multilingualism occurs are few and cannot be taken for granted.

The combination of different perspectives creates a possible win-win situation where both the overt language policy strategies will be identified by the policy analysis and the covert policies by the interviews conducted in relation to the policies, using sociopragmatic and discourse-analytic methods, where a

differentiation between the explicit and the implicit in a communicative event needs to be analyzed as different manifestations of participants' views. And since changes in communicative behavior - in our view - takes place on a subconscious level, the covert outputs need to be re-analyzed linguistically in order for us to get a deeper understanding of the political/policy process as a whole.

References

Finnish Government Decree on University Decrees (794/2004).

Commission of the European Communities (2003) Innovation policy: updating the Union's approach in the context of the Lisbon strategy. Brussels: COM(2003) 112 final

Godenhjelm & Östman (Forthcoming 2009) En dialog mellan discipliner (A dialogue across disciplines)

Grin, F. and Vaillancourt, F. (1999) The cost-effectiveness evaluation

of minority language policies: Case studies on Wales, Ireland and the Basque Country. ECMI Monograph 2. Flensburg: ECMI.

Hill, M. (1997) (3rd Ed.) The Policy Process in the Modern State. London: Prentice Hall.

Lipsky, M. (1980) Street level bureaucracy. New York: Russell Sage

Patton, C. & Sawicki, D. (1993) (2nd Ed.) Basic methods of policy analysis and planning. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Price, A., O Torna, C. and Wynne Jones, A. (1997) The Diversity Dividend: Language, Culture and Economy in an Integrated Europe. Brussels: European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages.

Vincent, A. (2007) The Nature of Political Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

DIANA COTRAU
DELIA MARGA
MANUELA MIHAESCU
STEFAN OLTEAN
LIANA POP

1. Introduction

Creativity and innovation are basic to language, since the theoretically infinite number of utterances produced by speakers are in principle unique and original, they being constructed out of finite means (rules, words) and not used by mere repetition (Chomsky 1986). Creativity and innovation are also associated with the dynamic nature of language, which changes constantly. From this point of view one can speak of *unintentional* creativity, consisting in the random changes introduced by speakers during their interactions, and *intentional* creativity, when speakers communicate about new things for which they need words, and, as a result, they either create new words or stretch the meanings of words for the things they want to communicate. This is quite visible in the case of multilingual communication, where confrontation with a different language can lead to changes in the speaker's conceptual system, given that each language is equipped with culture specific terms. Such a conceptual change is facilitated by code-switching, when new information comes through the other language and when words are introduced into the mother tongue or vice versa. These words quite often fill in lexical gaps, especially when the topics discussed are more easily accessible in one language than in another, as is the case with technical or culture specific topics. Thereby conceptual flexibility in the host language is enriched and new distinctions are expressed. Thus multilingualism fosters creativity and innovation through the conceptual enrichment it brings. But creativity and innovation can also be features of language policies and of multilingual practices in institutions.

2. Research Tasks

In the present paper we propose to capture the ways in which multilingual practices and multilingualism at UBBC are innovative and foster creativity and knowledge. To achieve this, we have

- revisited the documents of the UBBC language policy and its content;
- administered new questionnaires to incoming Erasmus students, and analysed the responses;
- revisited the responses in the already administered questionnaires and the interviews;
- analysed video recordings (LSP and CLIL) by using discourse and conversational analysis, and sequential analysis;

3. Analysis

3.1. The language policy and study lines

In keeping with EU recommendations UBBC elaborated a language policy in 2001 – the first of this kind in Romania, which sanctions the 1 + 2 formula, sets level B2 in the first foreign language (language B) as the target level for LSP, makes reference to CLIL, highlights the importance of the study of the mother tongue, and contains provisions for the development of communicational competences and (inter)cultural competences, so skills necessary for European citizens. In addition, it includes the study of non-European languages (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Hebrew). Likewise, it introduces *language proficiency certificates* or internationally recognized language certificates as a condition for acceptance to the BA exam, or an MA or PhD programme, as well as for participation in European mobilities and in tenure competitions. To achieve these, UBBC set up, as a pioneering act in Romania, two language centers (*Alpha* and *Lingua*) that carry out teaching and testing, which exist side by side with specialized departments: *The Department of Foreign Languages for Specific Purposes*, *The Department of Applied Modern Languages for Economics and Business Administration*, the *foreign languages departments* of the Faculty of Letters).

Most importantly, this policy creatively adjusts EU language policy recommendations to the regional context by highlighting the study and importance of regional and of minority languages, and thus valorizing the multilingual and multicultural heritage of Transylvania, where the university is located. This has led to the University's multilingual and multicultural profile, defined in the *The University Charter* (*Carta Universităţii Babeş-Bolyai* 2000), which provides for the exsitence of three study-lines, in which complete educational programmes are provided, separately, in Romanian, Hungarian and German at all levels: BA, MA and PhD. The study-lines are in turn each headed by a vice-rector and enjoy autonomy by making their own decisions with

regard to human resources, research, publishing, international relations, development and offer of study programmes. Thus the University has defined a specific organizational structure, which ensures the practice of multilingualism in the actual teaching process and in various other domains of academic activity (e.g., publishing, conferences, events).

As a result, UBBC promotes in addition to education in Romanian an education in regional languages (Hungarian and German), as well as an education in widely spoken languages (English, French, German). For UBBC German occupies a position where the two directions overlap, considering that the German study-line is attended by native speakers of German as well as by students for whom German is a foreign language acquired through previous instruction. On the other hand, programmes in English, French or Italian are as a rule attended by non-native speakers and thus the classes taught in these languages are seen as CLIL classes.

It follows that UBBC has innovated the concept of language policy by promoting a three tiered multilingual education: one furnished in (1) the national language, (2) a regional language, or (3) an international language. Multilingualism and multiculturalism are thus part of the institution's organizational structure itself and of the way it functions.

3.2. Representations of multilingualism

I. Questionnaires

The representations emerging from the questionnaires are partly convergent with the language policy arguments regarding innovation and knowledge, they highlighting various cognitive gains of multilingualism, such as those associated with the students' preference for specialized language in addition to general language and their favorable attitude to specializations taught in widely spoken languages (English mainly) (CLIL) at BA level and MA level. This indicates how importantly they view the study ***of*** and the study ***in*** widely spoken foreign languages and, implicitly, of multilingualism, which are also seen in terms of their relevance for scholarly, technical or culture specific topics; likewise, the role of CLIL for improving foreign language competence has been emphasized.

II. Interviews applied to academic staff

The interviews support the overall conclusion that the academic staff and academic leadership at UBBC view the language policy of the university and its multilingual/multicultural structure as an asset. They have positive effects on academic programmes, enabling a better acquisition of knowledge and formation of competences, be they scholarly, technical, cultural or intercultural. To illustrate this, we reproduce below some interview samples, which are answers to the interview question "Do you think it is important to teach in widely spoken languages (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish) at BA, MA and Ph.D. levels?"

The first sample contains sentences that justify multilingualism and teaching in a widely spoken foreign language (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish) through informatory effectiveness, as well as equity in access and competences, including intercultural and communicative competences.

Respondent 1 (Vice Rector)

□ da\: se impune cunoaşterea limbilor străine de către toţi studenţii\
De ce/
□ R: acces la materiale bibliografice de specialitate în limbi de circulaţie internaţională/ competenţe egale şi sanse egale cu absolvenţi din UE/ consolidarea unor competenţe interculturale şi de comunicare/ acces la mobilităţile studenţeşti Erasmus/ CEEPUS etc\ [...] mobilitate pe piaţa muncii UE\
□ "It is essential that all students know foreign languages [because of] access to reading materials in widely spoken languages, equal competences and chances with EU graduates, reinforcement of intercultural and communicative competences, access to Erasmus, CEEPUS, etc. mobility on the EU labour market.[…]

The sentences in the following interview sample express similar arguments; they emphasize the importance of teaching in foreign languages and of knowing widely spoken languages in terms of cooperative effectiveness and enhancement of knowledge, since some subjects are more easily accessible in one language than in another, as is the case with technical subjects

Respondent 2 (Vice Rector)

□ R: mi se pare foarte importantă/ [...] pentru că [...] există bibliografie foarte importantă/ şi la unele discipline este hotărîtoare predominant această bibliografie în limbi străine/ care trebuie

să fie consultată/ să fie accesibilă studenţilor\ [...] foarte mulţi profesori din străinătate care susţin cursuri/ conferinţe în diferite limbi/ adică în limbi europene/ şi desigur cunoaşterea acestor conferinţe ce se traduc din ce în ce mai puţin în limba română/ aşa că trebuie cunoscută limba străină respectivă\

□ "It seems to me very important […] because […] there is a very important literature and for some subjects it basically prevails this literature in foreign languages that must be read, must be accessible to the students, […] very many professors come from abroad, who teach classes and give talks in different languages, in European languages, and understanding these conferences requires knowledge of the respective language."

Likewise, the following interview sample highlights the importance of teaching in widely spoken languages and of knowing such languages by laying stress on the close ties between language and culture; thus, foreign languages are relevant for subjects that require knowledge of foreign cultures and formation of intercultural competences.

Respondent 3 (Dean)

□ […] răspunsul este/...a...pozitiv/, da\ [...] pentru că [...] este necesar ca şi colegii noştri să propună cursuri la nivel master/ la şcoala doctorală/ în limbi de circulaţie sau în problematici/ să spunem/ care/ care-s cultivate în cultura în care limbă ajungem să ţinem cursul/ pentru că/ spre exemplu/ cum avem masterat de filozofie franceză/ evident că este profitabil ca lucrurile să se întîmple în limba franceză\

□ "The answer is … a … positive; yes […], because […] it is necessary that our colleagues, too, propose courses at MA level, for the doctoral school in widely spoken foreign languages or in domains which, let's say, which are cultivated in the culture in the language of which we come to teach the course, because, for instance, since we have an MA in French philosophy, it is obviously a gain for things to be in French."

In another interview sample we find sentences that justify knowledge of widely spoken foreign languages (English) and teaching specializations in these languages (CLIL) in terms of enhancement of knowledge through access to scholarly materialsand of increased employment opportunities.

Respondent 4 (Dean)

□ Da/ într-adevăr/ eu cred că […] studenţii la matematică trebuie să se documenteze într-o limbă/ cel puţin o limbă de circulaţie internaţională/ la noi/ în engleză\ [pentru că] sînt foarte multe lucrări ştiinţifice în reviste de specialitate\ […] şi după aceea foarte mulţi absolvenţi ai facultăţii sînt absorbiţi de către ţările din vest\

□ "Yes, indeed, I believe […] students in mathematics must read in a language, in a widely spoken language at least, with us English, [because] there are very many articles in scholarly journals. […] then very many graduates from the faculty are absorbed by Western countries."

□ […] pentru ei [Wayne State Universirty] e foarte important să aibă legături cu astfel de/ cu astfel de … de universităţi […]/ cu astfel de facultăţi unde se vorbeşte [limba engleză]/ şi am văzut şi alte firme care vin tot timpu' aici la noi pentru recrutare de absolvenţi\ ASTA întreabă\ ce limbi învaţă\

□ "[…] for them [Wayne State University] it is very important to have ties with such, with such … universities […], with such faculties where [English] is spoken and I have seen other firms, too, that come here all the time to recruit graduates; THAT'S what they ask, what languages the latter learn."

Thus the UBBC language policy, its implementation, and the representation of the multilingual practices associated with it highlight multiple cognitive effects (informatory effectiveness, cooperative effectiveness, equity in access and in competences, including intercultural and communicative competences).

The questionnaires and the interview answers also contained some critical points and suggestions, which indicate possible problems with the implementation of the UBBC language policy and/or discrepancies between various arguments invoked in the policy and the multilingual practices. Thus, while taking/teaching CLIL courses is justified in terms of informatory effectiveness and equity in access and competences, more than half of the students consider that the teaching in a foreign language can have a negative impact on knowledge transmission, this being either due to their own language proficiency, or the teaching methods, or the instructor's language proficiency. This prompted the majority of students to consider that code-switching to the native language during the class on the part of instructors is an advantage, despite the fact that CLIL practices at UBBC are meant to be monolingual. The way to eliminate this problem is raising teachers' and students' language proficiency. Thus, good LSP practices can be important for good CLIL activities.

The questionnaires and the interviews suggest that multilingualism at UBBC is not merely symbolically exploited in creatively building up the image of the university, but, most importantly, it is part of the institution's structure and functioning itself.

3.3. Corpus analysis

In the corpus analyses we have noticed a difference between the LSP and CLIL classes, consisting in the fact that in LSP the discourse is more interactive and the reformulations are more frequent. The instructor constructs not only a conceptual domain, but he/she also recontextualizes it in a foreign language-culture. The discourse therefore bears the marks of these two objectives and thus it stands apart from other discourse types. We need to admit the innovative and creative aspect of this discourse type at the ***macro*** level of the analysis.

In the examples below we have considered other classes as well in addition to the ones previously analyzed (from our available UBBC transcripts), such as a class of French for specific purposes (FSP): *French for chemists*, on the topic "La pollution", and a class of Spanish for specific purposes (SSP): *Spanish for business administration*, on the topic „La integración de Rumania a la Unión Europea". The students are Romanian native speakers whose language proficiency level is intermediate in French and, respectively, Spanish. In addition to these recently analyzed texts, we have used previously analyzed examples.

I. Communicative creativity (new linguistic forms, specific discursive strategies)

Beyond the ***macro*** level, of the class itself, creativity/innovation can be interpreted in LSP or CLIL situations in terms of generation of hybrid communicative forms at the ***mezzo*** or ***micro*** level. We have observed hybrid forms consisting in a more extensive use of a nonverbal code, with the help of which the category/referent can be identified when the verbal code is deficient. Thus, speakers with an intermediate level of language competence who do not like to code-switch (they do not want to use words in the mother tongue, knowing that they are in a plurilingual situation), resort to what could be called a nonlinguistic code-switching: for the words they do not know they use gestures that mimic the form of the objects (the terms *suprapus* "overlapping" and *fărâmicios* "crumbling" below are drawn in the conversational space), which enables the identification of the referent or the category:

1. **verbal + nonverbal** (more significant intrusion of mimicry, of gestures with the purpose of compensating for the deficiency of the verbal code in the target language):

(1) e un băţ pentru moş nicolae\ deci când eram eu mică aveam şi noi băţul dar noi xxx dar stropea băţul\ ştii era aşa o piatră care se roşeşte argintiu/ şi nişte argintiu\ are aşa mai multe:: ***[gesture with overlapping palms]***
P: ***mică\ aşa se numeşte*** (leçon roumain RLE culture et civilisation)
(c'est un bâton pour la fête de saint nicholas\ donc quand j'étais petite nous avions le bâton aussi maias nous xxx mais on induisait le bâton\ tu sais il y avait une sorte de pierre qui rougit couleur argentée/ et une couleur argentée\ elle a comment dire plusieurs :: [geste de mains superposées]
P : « mică »\ on appelle ça comme ça)

(2) S3: urât\ deci e:: dat cu un xxx plastic între el- şi nu ştiu\ alb şi roşu şi albastru şi nu ştiu\ şi a/\ şi aşa- ***[gesture by rubbing fingers]*** auriu/\ (zâmbet) (leçon roumain RLE culture et civilisation)
(S3 : moche\ donc c'est :: passé au xxx plastique entre- et je ne sais pas du blanc et du rouge et du bleu et je ne sais\ et a-/\ et comme ça [geste en frottant les doigts] argenté/\ [sourire])

2. multilingual hybrids (graphic, phonetic or/and morphological false friends) used by speakers as a result of presumptions of linguistic similitude. Most often it concerns words in cognate languages; the instructor, who is a native speaker, corrects these in almost all the situations we have taped:

(3) E: c'est un signal d'alarme parce que ces ***particles*** de sac\
P: ***particules***
E: ***particules de sac*** (leçon FSP chimie)

(4) E: cabas \ un grand sac solidé\ solide
P: solide
E: solide un grand sac solide
P: ensuite/
E: biodégradable/ qui ***se détrissait***
P: qui se
E: ***détruisse***
P: qui peut corriger/ qui se/
E: ***détruit***
P: ***détruisent***
E: ***détruisent*** par eux-mêmes (leçon FSP chimie)

(5) E: et main- mainténant maintenant même nos pations sont
P: patios
E: patios sont en
P: en/ en quoi/ qu'est-ce que vous avez trouvé/
E: pvc
P: pvc\/ bien sûr c'est toujours un plastique\ oui ah:

E: il y a aussi l'avantage de nécessiter moins de d'***intrétions***
P: ***entre-***
E: ***entretions***
P: qui le corrige/
E: ***entre-***xxx
P: ***entretien*** (leçon FSP chimie)

(6) C. qué es ↓ algo como un parlamento ↑ o como un ***gobierno*** ↓
L. [tusesc fortat]
C. MIRA ↑ los nuevos miembros de la unión… ↑
L. como un ***governo***
C. … europea no saben qué es la comisión europea ↓ no ↑
L. [with the left hand streched out and the palm up] la comisión vigila en la que … [stops and begins to smile as he does not find the proper words]
C. sí ↑ pero qué es ↓ es un parlamento o ***un gobierno*** ↑↓
L1. un ***guverno*** ↓
L2. un parlamento ↓
C. es un ***gobierno*** ↓ es un …↑ existe también el parlamento europeo que se llama PARLAMENTO ↓ pero la comisión no ↓ la comisión es el ***gobierno*** y los comisarios serían como ministros de la unión europea ↓ del gobierno europeo ↓ (Spanish for business SSP)

(7) L. las principales ***media- medie- medidas*** de *vigilencia* y de *salvagua-* salvaguardia se *refieran* a controles sanitarios ↓ por ejemplo ↑ la importación de carne de cerdo de bulgaria y rumania ↓ se…↑

These "new forms" are the result of language interferences, but they can appear in the case of international words as well. As a rule they are classed as "errors", but in the situations we have observed, they help understand the message and confirm the lexical presumptions/expectations of the speakers. From this perspective, we might say that a sort of lingua franca *(lingua franca romanica)* is about to crpo up whenever two Romance languages come into contact. In the cases cited above, the overlaps are between Romanian and Fench (exs. 3, 4, 5, the chemistry class) and Romanian and Spanish (exs. 6 and 7, the Spanish class); even if the forms are lexically and grammatically incorrect, they are identified by speakers and communication succeeds.

II. Cognitive creativity (Specific cognitive operations)

In multicultural situations, the interaction resorts to specific strategies, and from this point of view we may consider that innovations are permanent. Some

are ad-hoc, but others seem to have stabilized as communicative genres. Thus, in classes *of* foreign languages (LSP) or *in* foreign languages (CLIL), some strategies are "cognitive" as to their nature. *The metacognitive or metadiscursive operations* are explicitly proposed to the student (see the expressions underlined), and the class strategy is organized around these activities in most cases. It is obvious that the language is *used* and not *studied*:

1. Construction of cognitive networks in interaction

Both in CLIL and LSP strategies the instructor selects creative teaching strategies by trying to construct or recreate a thematic/conceptual network as he/she interacts with the students. The goal being understanding and the creation of networks that connect notions, the lexical fields are often covered as "lists" or (more or less complete) "cognitive schemata" Such a strategy is applied below by "passing in review" the lexicon of "degradation" associated with pollution/sanitation; this is done by formulating the conceptual content of the terms (definitions):

(1) E: ***se dégrader*** \ *c'est le point b*\ *usure par les éléments naturels*\ *vent* \ *pluie* \ *gel*
P: *qu'est-ce que ça veut dire/* ***se dégrader*** (toux)
E: se détxxx
P: ***se détériorer***/ attention/ bien
E: ***incinération*** ah: g *qui se détruit par le feu, brûle brulé*
P: ***brûlé***\ très bien bon
E: ***décharges*** ah:
E: ***décharges à ciel ouvert***
P: *c'est quoi la décharge à ciel ouvert*/ on avait discuté la fois précédente\ il y a ici à Cluj une décharge à ciel ouvert\qui ne fait pas honneur\ Pata rât\ vous en avez entendu parler\ non/ c'est une décharge à ciel ouvert\ pardon/
E: *l'endroit non couvert où l'on met les déchets*
P - bien sûr c'est l'endroit non couvert où l'on met les déchets\ bien sûr
E: ***érosion*** - qui est détruit par le feux, brûlé
P: ça on a déjà utilisé et on avait accepté comme bonne\ qu'est-ce que ça veut dire/ l'érosion
E: x
P: très bien\ c'est l'usure par les éléments naturels\ le vent\ la pluie\ le gel peuvent produire de l'érosion oui/ (leçon chimie FSP)

It can be noticed that the metacognitive strategy combines with the metalinguistic one, which is specific to multilingual situations of the LSP and

CLIL type. In the case of LSP the strategy is predominantly dialogical, while in CLIL situations it is basically monological.

2. The student must reorganize a text, find key-words and recognize information in the text

Many of these cognitive operations are thematized in the text and become "discourse objects" in teaching situations. This can be noticed in the following sequences, in which the instructor thematizes the planned activities and problematizes them at the same time. In monolingual situations these operations are not preferred strategies:

(2) P: oui\ peuvent_être dangereux\s'ils vous plaît\donc ils peuvent_être dangereux sur la santé\ ah je vous invite je vous invite maintenant à ***lire les phrases\ les syntagmes*** qui sont dans (…) le_petit encadré ***il y a des phrases qui sont dissociées*** ah: ***veuillez les parcourir et essayez de les reconstituer*** donc vous dites ah: la la continuation de la première phrase se trouve dans le deuxième et le troisième ah encadré alors lisez s'il vous plaît les trois phrases/ vous pouvez vous mettre à deux\ vous pouvez vous associer\ vous consulter entre vous et dire quelles sont les suites (…)/ de regrouper les phrases (bruits) (…)
P: ***il n'y a que trois phrases que vous êtes censés reconstituer*** (…) alors est-ce que quelqu'un d'entre vous est prêt/ donc vous devez faire attention\ ***c'est un petit exercice de compréhension écrite par lequel on voit comment vous pouvez reconstituer les phrases suivantes\ les ah les données grammaticales\ oui les connecteurs éventuellement*** (…) oui\
E: si la qualité de l'environnement est un souci très ancien\la question de sa protection devient de plus en plus aiguë\
P: donc la deuxième partie de la phrase correspond à la lettre/
E: c
P: c\ tout le monde a trouvé la même chose/ c'est bien/c'est sûr/ réfléchissez maintenant dans cette phrase reconstituée\ ***quel est le mot clé*** / (…) ***le mot clés dans cette phrase\ ou bien les mots clés***
E: envirxxx
P: environnement\ ensuite/ ensuite/
E: protection\
P: protection\ très bien\ la deuxième phrase oui
E: la rarxxx
P: la raréfaction
E: des ressources l'impact de la pollution à l'échelle globale et le traitement des déchets se trouvent au cœur de des préoccupations mondiales\ c'est bon\
E: oui\
P - ça va/ merci donc c'est la lettre a la phrase a si puis le reste\
E: si la production passée doit être éliminée la pollution future devra être prouve et en éviter\

P: quelqu'un peut corriger/ la pollution future doit être/
E: prévu x
P- prévue\ ça vient du verbe/ (…) du verbe/ (…) vu \ prévu
E: voir\
P: pré:voir bien sûr\ merci\ donc s'il vous plaît ***trouvez les mots clés*** pour les deux dernières phrases qu'on vient de reconstituer\ quels sont les mots clefs/
E: pollution
P: la pollution\ et/ encore/
E: préoccupation mondiale
P: préoccupation mondiale\ ça pourrait aller\ et/ qu'est-ce qui reste/ pourquoi ah est-il nécessaire de tirer un signal d'alarme/ qui est déjà xxx pardon/
E: déchets
P: très bien\ déchets le danger des déchets\ ***donc on a trouvé ces mots clés*** donc je vous prie de retenir\ maintenant ah ***on revient à notre exercice de compréhension de texte*** qu'on avait essayé de parcourir ensemble et puis maintenant (toux) ah s'il vous plaît\ ***essayez de ah répondre de cocher la phrase c'est vrai ou c'est faux***\ pour répondre aux questions qui sont données\ qui veut commencer/ qui veut commencer/ alors\ ça va/
E: la plupart des plages anglaises semblent polluées par les particules de plastique - c'est vrai\
P: qu'est-ce qui est vrai/ le fait que\ (…) les plages anglaises sont polluées\ quelle est la partie du texte qui mentionne ceci/ si cela est vrai\vous pouvez revenir au texte et puis dites-moi pourquoi c'est pas faux/ (…) oui
E: une pollution à grande échelle car les chercheurs britanniques ont trouvé les mêmes particules particules partout où ils ont fait des analyses au Royaume-Uni/ (leçon chimie FSP)

This forms part of the organization of the teaching activity at the ***méso*** level by selecting well diversified strategies with complex purposes: identification of basic categories (key- words), understanding and assimilation of information, creating and/or recreating the links among the key-categories and thus structuring the information. Teaching strategies of this type benefit the diversification of expression in the language.

Another example analyzed by us in terms of distinct *discursive operations* and, implicitly, in terms of teaching strategies was the *class of Italian for the students at the Faculty of European Studies*, in which the instructor thematizes the lesson stages. The codes used for delimiting the distinct activities/ sequences in this transcript are:

- **activités de classe**
- **opér. cognitives** (transfert de connaissances)
  fixer l'objet du discours/thématisations, apport cognitif
- **opér. métacognitives:** vérification compréhension ~ écrit, écoute, vidéo

- **opér. métalinguistiques :** corrections, traductions, reformulation,...

(3)

C. come abbiamo stabilito insieme\ per questo corso\ci siamo proposti **DI PARLARE DELLA PUBBLICITÀ**\ avete tutti i fogli davanti /	**FIXER L'OBJET DE DISC. OD**
L. [consentono muovendo la testa]	
C. cominceremo/ come al solito\ con una **prova di comprensione del testo scritto** per vedere **COS'È/ LA PUBBLICITÀ/ QUAL È IL RUOLO DELLA PUBBLICITÀ / QUALI SONO I TIPI DI PUBBLICITÀ**/ che conoscete\ oppure anche **QUAL È IL COMPORTAMENTO DEL CONSUMATORE NEI CONFRONTI DELLA PUBBLICITÀ** / e poi\ a partire da **alcune citazioni riprese da un libro sulla pubblicità**\ cioè **I SEGRETI DEL MESTIERE DI GIANCARLO LIVRAGHI**\ cercheremo di capire quali potrebbero essere **I BENEFICI SOCIALI DELLA PUBBLICITÀ** e di verificare/ nelle pubblicità scelte da voi prima del corso\questi benefici\ sì/ poi faremo una **prova di ascolto**\ **SI TRATTA DI UNA PUBBLICITÀ RADIOFONICA**\ vediamo quanto capirete di questa pubblicità/ e anche **uno spot televisivo** per vedere alcune pubblicità e per discutere un po' di queste cose\ vediamo\ chi vuol cominciare a **leggere** /(...) qual è **LA DEFINIZIONE DELLA PUBBLICITÀ** nella legge/	Opération métacognitive (vérifie compréh.) **Texte écrit** Structure de l'OD **Citations** **Texte audio** Opération métacognitive **Publicité TV**
C. prego\	**Définir OD1** **Lecture**
L. con il termine pubblicità/ si intende generalmente\ quella forma di comunicazione a pagamento\diffusa su iniziativa di operatori economici\ attraverso mezzi come la televisione\ la radio\ i giornali\ le affissioni\ la posta\ internet\ che in- che tende in modo internaz- intenzionale e sistematico — a influenzare gli atteggiamenti e le scelte degli individui — in relazione al consumo aa.. di beni e all'utilizzo di servizi\	apport cognitif
il decreto legislativo numero duecentosei dal duemilacinque — dal codice del consumo definisce come pubblicità qualche forma —	-**opér. métaling :** corrections
C. qualunque forma\	
L1. qualunque forma di messaggio che sia diffuso — nell'esercizio di una attività economica— allo scopo di promuovere la vendita o il trasferimento di beni mobili o immobili\oppure la prestazione di opere e servizi\	**Définir OD1**
C. sì/ allora/ secondo la legge\ quale sarebbe la **DEFINIZIONE DELLA PUBBLICITÀ**/ provate a **riassumere \ con le vostre parole**\ così come avete l'abitudine\ chi prova/ prego\ Bogdan	-résumer, reformuler
L2. una definizione (...) aaa	
C. sarebbe	-**opér. métaling :** anticipation forme
L2. sarebbe una comunicazione pagata da operatori economici\ per (...) con l'obiettivo di promuovere dei delle idee aaa idei delle prodotti \ dei servizi	**Opér. cognitive** (connaissance)
C. dei prodotti	-**opér. métaling :** corrections
L2. dei prodotti\ dei servizi	

3. Operations for associating information with distinct synonymous linguistic forms:

(4) E: ***la pollution marine par le pétrole est plus importante que celle provoquée par le plastique***\ c'est f (…) c'est f (...)

P: est-ce que/

E: c'est faux
P: c'est faux\ tout le monde a trouvé que c'est faux/ vous êtes d'accord/ pourquoi c'est faux/ est-ce que/
E: parce que (…)
P: qu' est-ce qui dit dans notre texte que c'est faux/
E: ***la pollution par les plastiques serait nettement supérieure à celle causée par les spectaculaires marées noires des pétrolières accidentés***\ (leçon chimie FSP)

4. The student must recognize the causal link between the events/ statements in the text or distinguish, by way of the linguistic form, similar information. These teaching strategies benefit the development of cognition and critical attitude:

(5) P: partons de ce fait au point trois ah: il y a des affirmations\ la réponse\ enfin\ ***vous devez toujours répondre si les affirmations sont vraies ou fausses***/ ou bien il se peut que la réponse ne soit pas donnée dans notre texte\ alors vous cochez la case où il y a un signe d'interrogation ah: oui
E: les particules de plastique disparaissent complètement après cent ans\ c'est vrai
P: c'est vrai\ c'est vrai/
E: faux
E: c'est faux
E: c'est après cent ans ***parce que*** dans notre texte: ah: il dit qu'il disparaissait entre cent et quatre cent seulement après quatre cent ans
P: alors\ qui a raison/ c'est vrai/\ ou c'est faux/
E: c'est faux
P: ***arguments d'un côté et de l'autre\ pourquoi c'est faux/***
E: ils disparaissent mais pas complètement après cent ans
P: voilà\ ils disparaissent\ mais pas complètement\ très bien\ pour la deuxième question\/ le point b oui/
E: un sac en matière biodégradable coûte zéro virgule une centime d'euro\ ***c'est faux\ parce que: un sac en matière biodégradable coûte zéro virgule six: six centimes***
P: tout le monde a trouvé la même réponse/ c'est bon\
E: oui (leçon chimie FSP)

5. Question-answer internal structure (dialogic monologue): the instructor in fact asks false questions and intends not so much to direct the interaction in the class itself but rather the students' cognitive stance, involving explicit hypotheses formation, contextualization, solutions, classifications and examples:

(6) ***Man, was braucht man vom Schwein?*** \Fleisch, Probe/ ja eine Probe, man nimmt eine Probe, und diese Probe untersucht man unter Mikroskop, ***nicht?*** Und dann findet mann diese kleine, kleine, ***wie gross sind sie?*** Mikroskopisch sind sie, ... und dort kann mann sie gut sehen. ***Was haben wir noch zum sehen? Was ist das hier? Was kann es sein? Schweineblase? Ja was kanns sein?*** Eine Qualle ja eine Qualle. (biology class in German - CLIL)

This sequence is an example of a fake dialogical strategy, whose purpose is to direct thinking and to structure it – operations with an obvious cognitive import.

6. Redundancy: the instructor repeats information, reformulates or reframes scholarly information in an everyday context:

L: Ja?/ Und/ wie waren sie?/ Wie groß waren sie?/
S3: Klein\.
L: Ja! Millimeter/ bis 1 cm.\ 1 cm/ bis 2 cm.\ Nicht größer waren die,/ die wir gesehen haben.\ Also\ die sind klein,/ sie sind als mikroskopische Präparate,/ als Dauerpräparate vor uns...

(biology class in German - CLIL)

III. Comparison between multilingual and monolingual situations

Considering that the classes above are multilingual situations (they display the presence of specific strategies), we have proposed to compare them to monolingual situations, where the students' level of language competence is advanced. Our case study is represented by an enterprise simulation (offer in the catering field) with majors in applied modern languages at UBBC's Faculty of Letters.

We have found that in these situations there is neither resort to interlanguage strategies, nor evidence of linguistic innovation proper. However, the class we have analyzed (enterprise simulation) shows clearly that it is pragmatic and cultural competence that is created: the students play "roles" and simulate a situation in which a restaurant gets offers from various suppliers. The only *meta* sequences in this course are the ones in which the instructor describes, in the introductory phase, the teaching procedure, and some brief „staging" sequences during the unfolding of the activities. The informational, behavioral and interactional elements figure importantly, given that the students acquire professional skills in a foreign language by participating in this activity.

4. Conclusions

The United Europe has brought complex innovations in the Romanian HE system at UBBC, which, in addition to interuniversity exchanges in the Bologna system has conceived a multilingual and multicultural language policy (teaching of specialized foreign languages – LSP – in all departments, study lines in regional languages and in widely spoken languages, CLIL teaching system). Now, this policy has prescribed, at the macro, institutional level, the setting up of an appropriate infrastructure and the training of specialists capable of carrying out multilingual tasks. At the mezo level innovating teaching strategies have appeared, with measurable linguistic and cognitive significance. Last but not least, the analysis of the classes points to linguistic innovations at the micro level as well, which proceed either from the interference of languages belonging to the same family, or from interference with other languages. Several hybrid forms of the "lingua franca" type have been captured, as well as communicative sequences with a "mixed syntax": verbal and nonverbal (see Cazacu 1977). Such discursive phenomena are some instances of linguistic creativity and innovation that crop up in multilingual class environments.

References:

Babeş-Bolyai University. 2007a. Babeş-Bolyai University, The Multicultural Profile. A new and open system. Cluj-Napoca.

Cazacu, Slama. 1977. Le concept de „Syntaxe Mixte", Recherches autour d'une hypothèse. Etudes de linguistique appliquée, Paris, 114-123.

Chomsky, Noam. 1986. Knowledge of Language: its nature, origin, and use. New York: Praeger.

Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai. 2000. Carta Universităţii Babeş-Bolyai ("Charter of Babeş-Bolyai University"). Cluj-Napoca.

Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai. 2001. Pentru o politica lingvistica europeana in Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai. ("For a European Language Policy at Babeş-Bolyai University"). Cluj-Napoca.

Vrije Universiteit Brussel

PIET VAN DE CRAEN
EVY CEULEERS
KATRIEN MONDT
EVA MIGOM

1. Introduction

The main research plan for the Dylan project is the added value of multilingualism. For the Brussels' group the research task is described as *the influence of policy on multilingual education and the impact of multilingual education on practices* (Dylan Proposal 2005). Apart from the ideological aspects, addressed in the first work package reports, this group's attention is also focused on (1) the effect of CLIL education on the metalinguistic skills of the pupils in their L1 & L2, (2) the effect of CLIL education on the pupil's (oral) fluency in their L2 and (3) whether or not there is a significant relationship between (oral) fluency and metalinguistic skills (Management report 2008). In this contribution the added value of multilingual education to learning and brain processes is briefly demonstrated. Next, examples from our data are analysed in terms of these ideas. Finally an evaluation is presented.

2. The idea of creativity

The idea of creativity is not commonly related to languages or to multilingualism. Widely accepted is the idea that creativity is intimately related to design and products. Less widely known is the idea that creativity can be related to learning processes in the brain and as a result to multilingual education. The gap between these two, despite the European year of creativity, remains enormous. Out of 35 workshops that could be attended at *The 11th European Conference on Creativity & Innovation* held in Brussels at the end of October 2009 not one single topic dealt with creativity as part of the learning process. Creativity is mostly seen as an endeavour with economic gains in mind and as such education is vastly underestimated as a source for creativity, let alone multilingual education that is still not widely adopted everywhere in Europe.

2. Multilingualism, early language learning and the brain

Creativity plays a central role in theoretical debates on multilingual education and on the role of multilingualism on practices. In order to appreciate the added value of multilingualism in learners it is important to have a look at research on early language learning. The findings over the years include evidence that neonates are able to distinguish rhythm patterns between languages (cf. Mehler *et al.* 1988, Nazzi *et al.* 1998, Nazzi & Ramus 2003) and also that infants are capable to discriminate between the sounds of languages they have been exposed to (Kuhl *et al.* 1992). Recently, an ingenious experiment has shown that seven-month-old bilingual infants have a cognitive added value over monolinguals in that they can respond more accurately to visual cues to anticipate a reward on screen (Kovács & Mehler 2009).

What exactly is the difference between a bilingual infant and a monolingual infant? Let us give an example of research in this respect. Consider figure 1.

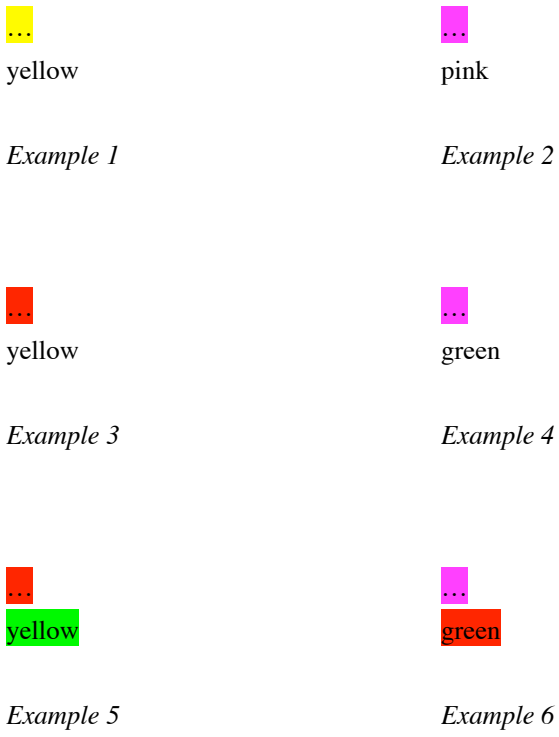


Figure 1 : Examples of a discriminatory pattern experiment or a Simon experiment

In presenting coloured dots we can put the right name under it, as in examples 1 and 2 or we can put a wrong name under it, as in examples 3 and 4. We can make it even more difficult by writing the names of the colour in a different colour as in example 5 and 6. If we present this in rapid succession to bilingual and monolingual school children asking them to point out those

combinations that are wrong (or right for that matter) bilingual children, more easily than monolingual children, distinguish between the colour and the name (cf. Bialystok *et al.* 2005). No wonder one might say since they have been used to distinguish between languages from an early age. This is correct but what is shown over and over again is that the effects of early language acquisition surpass linguistic aspects and influence cognitive aspects such as making these distinctions and, as such, these results are part of the metalinguistic processes that accompany multilingualism.

As a result we can say that making distinctions is an easier task for bilinguals than for monolinguals. Kovács and Mehler's experiment (Kovács & Mehler 2009) came to the conclusion that visual distinction can be observed in infants as young as seven-month- old suggesting that discriminatory processes are part of the repertoire of bilingual infants but not of monolingual ones.

A second observation has to with brain activity. Brains can be considered as very effective learning machines. The brain is able to learn by way of various approaches: incidental, implicit, intentional, explicit (cf. Hulstijn 2003; DeKeyser 2003). In other words, it is possible to learn something *the hard way* by learning it by heart for instance, say the list of prepositions that require the dative in German grammar - which is a very explicit way of learning - or it is possible to learn something by doing, i.e. learning to speak a language by interacting with speakers of that language – which is a very implicit way of learning.

Whatever differences these processes have they also share a number of characteristics. In all cases *repetition* will play an important role, in all cases *mistakes and errors* will be made, in all cases it will take a *period of time* before a particular aspect is acquired or learned. Also in all cases, once a particular element is acquired or learned, the brain will strive to automatize that particular element, in such a way that it does not have spend any more energy in order to carry out the particular activity whatever it may be. This is referred to as the workload of an activity.

This is reminiscent of a well known phenomena in language learning. The above is the brain substrate of the observation that, if pupils or speakers have mastered a particular speech act, grammar rule, idiom or whatever, it can be used automatically without any workload or thinking involved. That is why Segalowitz (1997) states that advanced learners have more procedural

knowledge and need low cognitive load to (unconsciously) carry out language related activities (see also Van de Craen 2001).

A rather dramatic example of this phenomenon was demonstrated by Mondt in her dissertation (see Mondt 2005) and reported in Van de Craen *et al.* 2007 en 2008). Mondt was able to show that in carrying out a simple calculation task, such as 'does 8+7 equal or not 5+9?' eight to nine year old bilinguals were able to do the task with considerable less workload than monolinguals – in fact they did not need any workload at all- indicating a difference in brain processing between bi- and monolinguals for calculation tasks.

3. A theory of multilingualism and creativity

Multilingual speakers need less workload than monolinguals to do particular cognitive tasks indicating that their brains have automatized certain activities. These brains perform at a higher level than monolingual brains and can be called 'better brains' as Blakemore & Frith (2005) suggest. As a result an interesting counterintuitive aspect is involved here. If these brains are automatized they can concentrate on something else and are as such more apt to come up with new, and consequently creative ideas and/or activities and perhaps behaviour.

Before turning to multilingualism for examples we would like to turn to a well studied cognitive activity playing chess. As early as 1938 the psychologist and chess master De Groot set out to examine the differences between amateur players and grandmaster chess players. In his conclusions he emphasized that the differences had to do with pattern recognition in the sense that the professional player's brain reacts differently and more effectively to particular patterns (cf. De Groot 1965).

Recently the mathematician Rowson (2005) described this in the following words. "While weaker players are seeing snap-shots of positions, with conceptual labels attached grandmasters are seeing relationships, and move through variations without explicit corresponding images in mind. *The cognitive load of the grandmaster is therefore much less […] we don't waste much cognitive capacity holding the position in mind,* so we can move from position to position much more fluently than if we have to struggle to hold the various aspects of the position in mind, and use words to explain to ourselves how it all fits together" (Rowson 2005:82, italics are ours).

The relationship between creativity and multilingualism has to do with the cognitive workload of the brain. Multilingual speakers have been shown to need less cognitive workload because of their mastery of languages by the same token that professional chess players need less workload to solve difficult positional problems. Less workload is an indication that creativity comes to the foreground. Creativity as such is the result of a non-working cognitive brain but a leisurely, strolling brain as it were, that is not particularly focussed.

4. Creativity and language practices in a multilingual context.

4.1. Introduction

In this part a number of examples are given that illustrate the previous in terms of learning attitude and multilingual practices in two secondary schools that are part of our data collection. On purpose any hard test material is left out. The first observations relating to learning come form a vocational school in Hasselt, Limburg. The second ones come from a secondary school in Brussels and discuss prototype negotiations. The third ones examine identity negatiation though hybrid language practices.

4.2. Learning and creativity in a vocational school

This particular group of students are taught in Dutch and French as part of a CLIL project. In fact they are taught practical kitchen skills for two to three hours a week. These children are 12 to 13 years old and are rather from lower class origin. The fact that they were taught in French made them quickly realize that something special was going on. They also embraced the idea that they were doing something completely different from other sections in school and they were quick in labelling themselves as special.

Apart from the CLIL moments French was taught as subject matter as well. Very quickly the teachers reported an increase in the will to learn formal French where before French was like an ordeal to them. On the whole their school marks increased by 10% on the average and the pupils were reported to be happier and more collaborative than other groups in the same school.

The increase in well-being and better school performance is a direct result from the CLIL approach and is reported in other publications as well (cf. Smit & Dalton-Puffer 2007). It is easy to link this to their more creative approach because of their better mastery of the language, the subject matter and the

attitudinal aspects related to this. Clearly, multilingual education led to more than language knowledge.

4.3. Prototype negotiation: the Fleming

The next example reports on attitudinal aspects in a group of secondary school children in Brussels with respect to the idea of what a Fleming or Dutch speaker is in its prototypical sense. A prototype is defined as a cognitive representation of a social group (here Flemings) based on "a fuzzy set of attributes that are meaningfully inter-related and simultaneously capture similarities within the group and differences between the group and other groups, or people who are not in the group (Hogg & Smith 2007: 94)." An important attribute of the group "Flemings" is "not speaking French". However, "not speaking French" as a result of not being able to speak French or the unwillingness to speak French have a different value. In the sequence below it is illustrated how, through the process of metacontrast, i.e. the configuration of prototypes in order to accentuate similarities and differences, the participants negotiate the meaning of "a Fleming". (English translation is in italics).

M4: ma ik denk als ge hier echt Vlamingen allé als leerkracht hier brengt dan gaan ze één week blijven ni meer
but, I think if you bring in real Flemings, I mean, bring in as teachers, they will not stay longer than a week

M1: hier
here

M4: hier
here

M1: zelfs ni
even if

??: zelfs ni
even if

M4: ge zet hier een Vlaming (.) ma echt Vlaming Vlaming als leerkracht
Make a real Fleming come here (.) I mean a real Fleming Fleming as a teacher

M1 hij gaat weglopen
He will run away

M4 na één week is hij ( ) hier zijn ze echt tolerant en zo hé
After one week he is (.) here they are really tolerant and things like that

M3: TEACHER X die kan geen Frans spreken
Teacher X he cannot speak French

M5: ja
yes
M6: nee TEACHER X meneer TEACHER X die kan wel geen Frans hé of TEACHERY die kan ook geen Frans
No, teacher X, mister teacher X he does not speak French, you know, or teacher Y he does not speak French either
M4: TEACHERY jama TEACHER Y allé die is toch (.) in zijn mentaliteit is hij toch een beetje
Teacher Y, yes but, teacher Y, I mean, he is really (.) his mentality is a bit
M5: TEACHERY probeert om Nederlands om Frans te praten
Teacher Y tries to speak Dutch and French
M1: ma kijk naar zijn lessen ook hé
But look at his lessons as well, all right
((laughter))
M4: zijn lessen zijn euh Frans Nederlands gemengd
His lessons are euh a mixture of French and Dutch
((inaudible))
Mo: ja euhm dus (.) heeft het dan niet alleen met de taal die je spreekt of kent ma ook met de mentaliteit
Yes, but (.) has this to do with the language you speak or know or also with the mentality
M4: ja met de mentaliteit
Yes, with the mentality
M1: ma ja (.) sowieso
But, yes (.) certainly
Mo: dus iemand waarvan je zegt die is honderd procent vlaming dan gaat het ni alleen over die spreekt alleen Nederlands ma dan gaat het ook over een bepaalde houding
So someone you would call a 100% Fleming this not only means that he only speaks Dutch but it also refers to a certain attitude
M4: ja die zich Vlaming eerst Vlaming voelt en dan Belg
Yes, someone who feels Fleming, first Fleming and then Belgian
Mo: ja
yes
M4: want hier bijvoorbeeld (.) want als w wij leven hier in Brussel ma zouden we in Wallonie leven tussen mensen die echt euh pro Frans zijn bijvoorbeeld dan gaan we ook die mentaliteit euh
Because here for instance (.) because we live here in Brussels but should we live in Wallonia where people speak French, are pro French, for example, we would also adopt this mentality

When discussing their current school as opposed to the *other school*, Sophie states that in their current school, a Flemish teacher would not last for longer than a week. Samir adds that he would not even last that long and mockingly says that he (=the teacher) would run away. Sophie continues by arguing that

in this school "they are tolerant". T be a Flemish teacher is considered by Sophie as something which is incompatible with "being tolerant". At this point in the interaction, Sara mentions the fact that TEACHER X (a teacher in their current school) does not speak French. Saeed acknowledges this and mentions another teacher who does not speak French either. "Not speaking French" does not seem to be a reliable attribute of the teachers in their current school. In response to this, the participants make inferences about the teacher's "mentality" based on the behaviour in the classroom: "they are a mix of French and Dutch".

This sequence offers valuable insight into how prototypes are formed among multilingual young adults in Brussels, contested and renegotiated in interaction, how this is related to strategies of depersonalization and how participants make inferences about others' attitudes on the basis of their behaviour. Earlier in the discussion, category membership of the group "Flemings" was discussed in terms of "not being able to speak French" and "refusal to speak French". At this point, however, it becomes clear that "not being able to speak French" is not considered a reliable marker of category membership due through "personalization", whereby the attribute is linked to personal experiences, i.e. the behaviour of a teacher they know who shares the attribute of "not speaking French" with the group "Flemings". Consequently, category membership is renegotiated in terms of the behaviour of this teacher. This teacher is not considered a Fleming because his behaviour is not prototypical for the group: he allows the use of French in his classroom. When asked to elaborate on the notion of *mentality*, the participants agree that is is not only the language you speak, but your attitude that determines whether you are a Fleming. Furthermore, Sophie relates this attitude to feelings of relatedness to Flanders: a hundred percent Fleming is "someone who feels Flemish first and then Belgian". The importance of contextual salience for identification processes is explicitely expressed by Sophie who argues that were we to live in Wallonia among people who are pro French we would also develop that attitude.

The attributes of "a Fleming" are renegotiated in order to not have to include the teacher. However, the teacher's tolerant behaviour towards the use of French does not lead to the incorporation of the attribute "being tolerant" in the set of attributes that define "a Fleming". Instead the attribute "not speaking French" is redefined in terms of "not allowing it" in order to be able to exclude the teacher out of the group. The fact that knowing someone who exhibits behaviour that does not allow for prototype-based depersonalization

reveals the flexible and dynamic nature of how people categorize their surrounding world. Furthermore, the fact that the category "Fleming" is referred to throughout the discussion suggests that prototypes play an important role in the process of meaning making whereby personal events and experiences are interpreted through the lens of highly accessible group prototypes.

4.4. Identity negotiation through hybrid language practices

From one of the previously discussed extracts, it became clear that Saeed sometimes switches to French. When asked what he thought the reason was for the fact that his fellow students sometimes had difficulties using Dutch, he mockingly said "maybe they're not smart enough", followed by "des cons". This was not perceived of as an insult by the other participants, which might be explained by the fact that he expressed himself in French. In another extract, Sophie positively acknowledged his use of French by mentioning an event earlier that day when Saeed switched to French while talking to them. In response to this, Saeed signalled that "it was between us". In the extract below Saeed starts talking in French again. This occurred while the moderator was occupied with the video equipment. As soon as the moderator stood up, the participants switched to French, including Saeed. Unfortunately, the content of the conversation was not very audible, but the fact that it happened while the moderator was briefly away from the table is highly illustrative of the important role of French as a code in which peer solidarity is expressed and ingroup membership is confirmed. (English translation in italics).

Mo: ik ga is (.)kijken ik ga is kijken of mijn camera nog aan het draaien is want (.) het zou wel jammer zijn
I am going to find out whether or not the camera is still working
M1: ah moi j'ai studie
M6: ah j'espere qu'il ( ) j ai pas ( ) parce que ( )
M1: ( )
Mo: ah ik heb nog ( ) ik heb nog (.) euhm een kwartier cameratijd dus euh (.) laten we da nog vullen euhm
Ah I still have (.) I still have fifteen minutes (.) let's fill them in mmm
M6: ( )

Saeed's code switching to French is an example of what Rampton (1995) calls *crossing*: "Crossing […] focuses on code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they

employ. It is concerned with switching to languages that are not generally thought to belong to you" (Rampton 1995: 280). Crossing can be used to negotiate peer solidarity, but when used with people in authority (as is the case when Saeed addresses a police officer in French), crossing can "be reinterpreted in terms of a wider set of political relations" (Rampton 1995: 133). In doing so, "interactions between particular adults and adolescents could be reconstrued in terms of the domination of one social group by another" (Rampton 1995: 133). Group membership and boundaries between groups seem to be more fluid in multilingual and multicultural urban settings where there is no one to one relationship between language and identity.

What is particularly striking in these sequences is the subtlety of the argument and the intricate way the participants analyse their multilingual linguistic community, i.c. the school with respect to their own and other people's behaviour. Equally striking are the underlying implications, the meaning, of their analysis. It is clear that they are convinced that multilingualism is an asset for them and that it is weird and not done not to allow it in class and in school.

5. Conclusion

The analyses of the three interactional sequences show that language learners who attend a Dutch-speaking school in Brussels hold different attitudes and representations about language use and language learning. These differences are related to their personal language learning experiences. Conflicting attitudes surface when they start discussing the French classes. Some learners argue that the level is too low and that the teacher should adapt the lessons. Others argue that one should have respect for those who do not speak French very well by relating it to their own language learning experiences.

The linguistic heterogeneity of pupils in Dutch-speaking schools is probably most noticeable during language classes. The fact that French is taught as a second language, while for many learners it is their dominant language, explains the learners' conflicting views. In the discussion, it becomes clear that the participants' attitudes towards the French lessons are closely entwined with their feelings towards the teacher. The teacher is seen as responsible for the low level of French. Those learners who hold a more positive attitude towards the teacher challenge the negative attitudes of the other participants by saying that one has to have respect for one another. This process of attitude negotiation is highly revealing about how interactants try to reach consensus in

interaction. At the end of the interactional sequence, consensus is reached and ingroup solidarity is maintained by shifting the focus of attention to the personality of the teacher. The main argument of those who initially criticized the teacher because of the low level of French now becomes "it's just her way of doing things" and "she doesn't let you finish". This way, they saved "face" of themselves (they did not have to change their negative attitude into a positive one) and of the participants who are not very fluent in French.

The notion of *a Fleming* seems to be a highly accessible prototype that is anchored in the minds of the participants. They all seem to share the view that Flemings are anti-French. The way in which they interpret being anti-French is very closely entwined with their experiences as pupils in a Dutch-speaking school. The teachers in their current school are not considered as Flemings because they allow the use of French in their classrooms and make an effort to speak French with parents even if they do not speak the language themselves. The main characteristic that is attributed to "a Fleming" is not "not being able to speak French", but having a negative attitude towards French, which is revealed primarily through the refusal to accommodate to French-speakers.

Representations of good and bad language behaviour are also related to the participants' experiences as learners who are in a Dutch-speaking school context. In this context, code-switching and code-mixing are considered as "not good" and "confusing". At the same time, the way in which they describe their own plurilingual practices suggests that they view it as a positive ingroup characteristic, a marker of solidarity and a shared attribute. Furthermore, the fact that they speak fondly of the teacher who allows a mix of French and Dutch in his classroom shows that they feel more at ease in contexts where plurilingual practices are allowed. In contrast, contexts in which Dutch is the only legitimate medium of communication, such as *the other school*, are described in terms of polarization and exclusion.

6. Creativity and multilingualism: an inevitable relationship

The previous has shown how creativity is part of multilingual practices at various levels. The first level we discussed is the level of brain activity. The cognitive boost that multilingual language learning engenders leads to better learners also in daily class practice in secondary schools. The second level we discussed has to do with attitudes and multilingual practices. Particularly striking is the subtle and inventive way adolescents analyse complicated linguistic situations in terms of the quality of interrelations in a school context.

It is no wonder that in areas where linguistic conflicts play a role, such as in Belgium, often multilinguals takes the floor in trying to appease the situation. Multilingualism and its day to day practices are not innocent because they deeply influence human activities and development.

References

Bialystok, E., F. Craik, C. Grady, W. Chau, R. Ishii, A. Gunji & C. Pantev. 2005b. 'Effect of bilingualism on cognitive control in the Simon task: evidence from MEG'. NeuroImage 24, 40-49;

Blakemore, S.-J. & U. Frith. 2005. The Learning Brain. Lessons for Education. Oxford: Blackwell.

De Groot, A. Thought and Choice in Chess. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Academic Archive. 1965.

DeKeyser, R. 2003. 'Implicit and explicit learning'. In: C. Doughty & M. Long (eds). The Handbook of Second Language Acquisition. Oxford: Blackwell, 313-348;

Dylan Proposal. 2007. Language Dynamics and Management of Diversity. Integrated Project Proposal.

Hogg, M & J. Smith. 2007. 'Attitudes in social context: a social identity perspective'. European Review of Social Psychology 18(1), 89-131.

Hulstijn, J. 2003. 'Incidental and intentional learning'. In: C. Doughty & M. Long (eds). The Handbook of Second Language Acquisition. Oxford: Blackwell, 349-381;

Kovács, A. & J. Mehler. 2009. 'Cognitive gains in 7-month-old bilingual infants'. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 106(16), 6556-6560;

Kuhl, P., K. Williams, F. Lacerda, K. Stevens, B. Lindblom. 1992. 'Linguistic experience alters phonetic perception in infants by six months of age'. Science 255, 606-608;

Management Report 2008. WP3, Brussels. Internal Dylan Report.

Mehler, J., P. Jusczyk, G. Lambertz, N. Halsted, J. Bertoncini & C. Amiel-Tison .1998. 'A precursor of language acquisition in young infants'. Cognition 29, 143-178;

Mondt, K. 2005. Bilingual Language Education. Its Neurocognitive Effect and Opportunities for Integration. Neuroscientific Research and Language Learning in a Multilingual Environment. Brussels: Vrije Universiteit Brussel. Unpublished doctoral dissertation.

Nazzi, T., J. Bertoncini & J. Mehler. 1998. 'Language discrimination by newborns: towards an understanding of the role of rhythm'. Journal of Experimental Psychology, Human Perception and Performance 24, 756-766;

Nazzi, T & F. Ramus. 2003. 'Perception of linguistic rhythm by newborn infants'. Speech Communication 41, 233-243;

Rampton, B. 1995. Crossing. Language and Ethnicity among Adolescents. London: Longman.

Rowson, J. 2005. Chess For Zebras. Thinking Differently about Black and White. London: Gambit.

Segalowitz, N. 1997. 'Individual differences in second language acquisition'. In: A. De Groot & J. Kroll (eds). Tutorials in Bilingualism. Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum, 85-112;

Smit, U & C. Dalton-Puffer (eds). 2007. 'Current Research in CLIL'. Vienna English Working Papers 16.

Van de Craen, P. 2001. 'Content and language integrated learning, culture of education and learning theories'. In: M. Bax & J.-W. Zwart (eds). Reflections on Language and Language Learning. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 209-220;

Van de Craen, P., K. Mondt, L. Allain & Y. Gao. 2007. Why and How CLIL Works. An Outline for a CLIL Theory. Vienna English Working Papers 16(3), 70-78;

Van de Craen, P. E. Ceuleers, K. Mondt & L. Allain. 2008. 'European multilingual language policies in Belgium and policy-driven research'. In: K. Lauridsen & D. Toudic (eds) Language at Work in Europe. Festschrift in Honour of Wolfgang Mackieiwcz. Göttingen: V&R Press, 139-151;

Annexes (WoPa4, RT 3.3)

1. Séquences citées en 3.3.1 (UNIZHJUR)

Contrat d'entreprise I

PW: qui sont: qui sont quoi en français les auftraggeber\
MB: ((expiration)) . le- ceux qui: lui ont donné la- le mandat\
PW: ouais\ bon on a déjà vu que c'était pas forcément un mandat/ . mais quelle sorte de contrat/
MB: c'était un contrat de (3.2) de travail/
PW: eu::h n:on je pense pas non plus\ . ça on en a pas parlé la dernière fois\ . eu:h le contrat de travail ça implique quoi\
(2.3)
PW: comment est-ce que vous décririvi- décriviez/ . un contrat de travail\
MB: je dirais en allemand werkvetrag
PW: AH: mais c'est justement pas la même chose\ . ((aspiration)) werkvertrag c'est quoi en français\
(4.5)
LS: le contrat d'entreprise\&
PW: &voilà n'est-ce pas\ le contrat d'entreprise\&
MB: &aha
PW: [(vous vous) vous vous [rappelez/ . contrat d'entreprise\&
MB?: [(OUAIS) [ouais
PW: &((aspiration)) et le arbeitsvertrag/ . [contrat de travail/ . qui&
LS: [contrat (de t-)
PW: &se distingue comment du werkvertrag\&du contrat d'entreprise\
(1.0)
PW: c'est- c'est quoi la différence entre: (1.7) un entrepreneur et un travailleur\
(3.5)
MB: le- l'entrepreneur/ (2.9) reçoit/ ((aspiration)) ((bas)) <une euh> . dans ce cas-là/ . des plantes\ . alors des produits
PW: oui
MB: ((aspiration)) et . le travailleur/ (2.4) ((bas)) <(et)> ((petite toux?)) (2.3) (et) seulement/ (2.5) il n'est pas entrepreneur le travailleur\ [xx
PW: [euh . oui ça forcément parce que [ça . c'est justement&

MB: [((rire))
PW: &la différence/ mais elle . elle consiste en quoi cette différence\
MB: a- eine leistung erbringen\
PW: ça je crois que les deux le font\ n'est-ce pas/&
MB: &ah oui\
PW: un travailleur qui . qui qui eu:h qui fait son travail/ ... il- il fait aussi une PRESTATION[: de de::: de travail/ . et&
LS?: [ouais
PW: &l'entrepreneur aussi\ [((aspiration)) mais dans un STAtut un peu&
LS?: [ouais
PW: &différent: par rapport (1.5) à s-&au MAÎTR:E . dans le cas du: du contrat de travail/ ((aspiration)) (où; ou) . comment est-ce qu'on appell:e . le: l- . le mandant du auftraggeber/ . dans le con-&co-&contrat de travail\
(5.5)
PW: en allemand\
(1.4)
PW: wie heisst man- wie- wie&wie nennt man denn ((aspiration)) ä:h . also s- (d-; g-) gibt den xx[xxx
Mb: [arbeitgeber oder ar[beitnehmer
PW: [voilà (n'est-ce pas)\ arbeitgeber und arbeitnehmer\ . ((aspiration)) et pui- maintenan:t/ . et dans le: le contrat d'entreprise on a déjà vu que on appelait ces deuch- personnages/ ((aspiration)) le l'entrepreneur/ . celui qui fait le travail/ ((aspiration)) et puis l'autre il s'appelle comment/
(4.0)
MB: l'acheteur:\
PW: non\ . ((plus bas)) <non . ça c'est> dans quel contrat s'appre- il s'appelle[rait l'acheteur\
MB: [ce serai:t .. kaufvertrag\
PW: oui ce serait quoi en français\
MB: le contrat de: de vente/
PW: de vente voilà tout à fait\ ((aspiration)) donc il faut distinguer . ces différents types de contrat/ ((aspiration)) mais . ma question maintenant justement c'est de savoir quelle est la différence entre le contrat de d'entrepri:se/ . où le: . mandant entre guillemets s'appelle . MAÎTRE n'est-ce pas c'est le maître\ . ET le contrat de travail/ . qui se conclut entre employeur et travailleur\
(1.8)
MB: le travailleur touche eu:h . eu:h de monnaie pour son travail/
PW: l'entrepreneur pas/
MB: bien sûr mais .. il (2.9) il reçoit l- ((coups de glotte et toux?)) la monnaie/ . pour un produit/ ..
PW: oui/ et puis l'autre/

MB: et l'autre pour son travail\
(4.1)
PW: ouais mais disons le produit c'est aussi le produit de son travail\
MB: ah
PW: donc c'est une différenc:e .. vous avez . en principe vous avez raison\ ((aspiration)) ((de plus en plus bas)) <il s'agirait simplement de: de préciser ça encore un peu>\
..
MB: ((bas)) <(oui)>
..
PW: l- le- . cette monnaie:/ on dirait comment\ . on appelle ça comment\ la monnaie:/ que je reçois comme travailleur de mon employeur&
MB: &en allemand lohn
PW: oui et en français/
(5.6)
PW: monsieur schaller/&
LS: je ne sais pas
MB: ((petit rire))
PW: ah c'est pourquoi vous:[:: riez
[((plusieurs personnes commencent à rire dont par la suite PW))
JR: c'est [le salaire
PW: [(ah oui) c'est le salaire [n'est-ce pas . (le) salaire\ le&
MB: [xx le salaire
PW: &salaire\ ((aspiration)) et l'entrepreneur/ il reçoit aussi un salaire/
(2.3)
MB: ((bas)) <non>
PW: qu'est-ce qu'il reçoit lui\
MB: il reçoit (3.9) monnaie pour un produit\
(1.0)
PW: oui
(2.8)
MB: lors- eu:h le travailleur . est payé par exemple p- par . par euh heure/
PW: VOILÀ
..
PW: ça c'est un (gran-) un:: euh un point/ [. qui distingue nettement\
MB: [((bas)) <(ouais)>
PW: le travailleur est payé/ . pas forcément à l'heure/ ((plus vite)) <ça peut aussi être au mois>/ [. mais . il est payé: pour la- la durée&

MB: [mois\ . (x au jour)
PW: &de son travail n'est-ce pas\ [. tandis que l'entrepreneur il est&
MB: [((très bas)) <(ouais)>
PW: &payé pour quoi/
(1.7)
PW: pas pour la durée mais pour/
(1.2)
MB: pour le succès de son: travail\&
PW: &ouais le succès ça on (n')en est pas tout à fait [sûr\ mais . (n-)&
MB: [non ((petit rire?))
PW: plus un un terme un peu plus neutre\
JR: c'est la prestation\ . c'est pour une c'est une prestation&
PW: &la PRESTATION/ s:- (j-) les deux font une [prestation de service\
JR: [ouais . ouais mais une c'est ponctuelle et:
l'autre c'est^eu::h plus:^euh-&
PW: &oui ça on vient de voir parce que justement c'est ça qui distingue/ . (le; la) la la manière dont le: le:
(donc; dont) eu:h l- . l'argent . ou bien le le: le salaire ou bien eu:h
JR: c'est forfait (c'est un) forfait non
PW: c'est pas f:rocément un forfait ça peut être un forfait\ . vous savez ce que c'est qu'un forfait les- les
deu:x autres messieurs\
(3.7)
PW: ((bas)) <was ist ein forfait>\
(1.6))
?: ((expiration; petit rire?))
(5.8)
PW: ça peut être différentes choses\&das kann ein vorschuss sein od'r/
MB: ((toux))
PW: et ça ça: ça [x (.) on voit souvent/ . que dans un contrat&
MB: [((toux bruyante))
PW: &d'entre[prise/ . eu::h la somme à payer est par exemple divisée en&
MB: [((toux))
PW: &un forfait de tant et tant/ ((aspiration)) et puis après à la fin du contrat quand le: l: . l'objet est
livré/ . y a encore un paiement\ un: second paiement\ ((aspiration)) eu::h mais normalement disons c'est
justement ce paiement/ . de: qui va de du maître à l'entrepreneur pour sa prestation/ ((aspiration)) qui est
pas une prestation sur le temps/ mais k- . qui est délivrée en tant que/ . en tant que quoi\
..

PW: also nicht die ARBEIT ist das wesentliche sondern/ . das erGEbnis nicht\ das ergebnis\ et ce ergebnis ce serait quoi en français/

..

MB: le résultat

PW: voilà le résultat n'est-ce pas/ . ((aspiration)) d'ailleurs/ . vous connaissez peut-être la distinction que: qui qui vient de: de de france c'est (qu'y; qui) a: aussi . fait ses: preuves en suisse/ . c'est la distinction entre obligation de moyens et obligation de résultat\ . also erfolgsbezogene oder eben . arbeits (und) mittelbezogene . sorgfalt\ . äh:m . ((de plus en plus bas)) <und das ist genau der unterschied zwischen mandat und werkvertrag auf der einen seite und . dem äh: .. arbeitsvertrag>\ .. mais alors on cherche toujours le:: . le: terme pour (tou-) . eu:h le paiement de l'entrepren- le- du maître à l'entrepreneur\ qu'est-ce que ((petite hésitation)) le maître paie à l'entrepreneur\

(1.1)

PW: comme d'ailleurs le mandant au mandataire\

(1.5)

PW: c'est pas un salaire/ .. c'est/

(4.6)

PW: ja wenn sie an einen anwalt denken zum beispiel was&wie nennt man die bezahlung eines anwalts\

MB: honorar\

PW: voilà c'est des honoraires [(n'est-ce pas)

MB: [honoraires

PW: les honoraires (n'est-ce pas)\ . donc eu:h y a&y a cette distinction\&et puis le eu:::h l'essentiel c'est justement que ((aspiration)) le travailleur travai:lle . sur une . une période définie sans forcément devoir . livrer un résultat déterminé: après cette période/ . s- si c'est quelqu'un qui est^au bureau: i- . il travaille . à fur et à mesure de ce qu'on lui donne c'est pas . par lettr:e ou par eu:h

MB: ((toux))

PW: ou par euh . m- . mandat/ singulier/ qu'il est payé\ c'est p:our son travail de tous les jours\ . tandis que le: le: l'entrepreneur/ . on le paie UN PEU comme le vendeur n'est-ce pas/ . pour ... un objet/ ((plus bas)) <un résu- un résultat>/ [((aspiration)) et . le&

MB?: [xx ouais

PW: &MANDATAIRE (alors) lui on le paie pour quoi en fait\

(4.3)

PW: si vous pensez à un avocat ou un médecin\

(4.3)

MB: je dirais euh un résultat

PW: ah pf ((aspiration)) alors si vous trouvez un avocat [qui que:: .&

MB: [((rire)) ((aspiration)) ah non ((rire)) xxx erfolg . non . ((rire))

PW: &que vous pouvez (x) erfolgxx . pour gagner le procès/ je vous félicite\
PW+MB: ((rire))
PW: non justement pas n'est-ce pas\ ((baisse de volume)) justement pas . il est payé pour: faire les meilleurs^efforts possibles/ . mais pas pour le résultat parce que il n'est^ il est^incapable de garantir\
MB: ouais
PW: le médecin aussi il est^inca- euh- incapable de di:re ((débit plus lent)) <je vais vous guérir> . et puis si: s'il me guérit pas/ . eu::h je: je: le:&le contrat est voilé\ non ((aspiration)) donc c'est- précisément cette cette division qu'on fait entre . obligation de moyens/ . ((aspiration)) qui caractérise le: mandataire/ . et l'obligation de résultat/ . qui caractérise . l'entrepreneur\ n'est-ce pas/
(6.0)
PW: VOILÀ donc ça c'était- d- un petite eu::::h une parenthèse sur le&le&l- . l:-la: la NATURE du contrat qui est en jeu ici\ ((aspiration)) mais donc . on revient à: l'article:: . dix-neuf/ . de: la loi sur les stupéfiants/ .. et vous nous avez dit . euh- ça ça pourrait à la rigueur s'appliquer n'est-ce pas\&(e-) monsieur x . a cultivé les plantes/ . euh::: (de-) du chanvre/ .. euh:: . et la question . où il peut peut-être se défendre/ . c'est laquelle\

Contrat d'entreprise II

MB: c'était une question assez délicat/
PW: ouais [ça c'est souvent le cas dans les procès oui
MB: [délicate ... ((rire)) il: s'agit des plantes euh . de chanvre/ . et: .. on peut (peut-être) guère distinguer/ . mais l'hor- l'horticulteur/ . les reçoit/ . pour cultiver\
PW: ouais
MB: à une (hautitude) euh: (prescrit) .. et pour les rendre ou bien . pour les rendre au:: ... mandateur/
PW: au/
MB: (dem) . auftraggeber\
PW: c'est le mandant\
MB: le mandant\&
PW: &n'est-ce pas/ si [s-s- si c'est un mandat/ . je crois qu'on en
MB: [(man-)
PW: &avait discuté/ puis on avait . en fait trouvé que c'était pas un mandat mais un autre . type de contrat/ . mais le mandat [(donc)
MB: [un contrat d'un- euhm . entreprise\&
PW: &voilà\ tout à fait n'est-ce pas\ . mandat/ . et les: les parties dans le mandat/ ce sont/ . le mandant/
MB: (ah le mandant)&

PW: pas le mendiant hein\
MB: ((petit rire))
PW: ce serait quoi ça\
(8.0) ((PW écrit au tableau))
PW: mendier/ . c'est un verbe\
(3.3)
MB: un bettler\
PW: oui tout à fait/ .. betteln\ . un mendiant c'est un bettler\
MB: ((petit rire))
PW: tandis qu'un: . le: le: auftraggeber du mandat/ . c'est le MANDANT\ .. hein\ . et . et son:: . son contre- CO-
contractant/ . il s'appelle comment\
(4.0)
MB: auftragnehmer en allemand/ mais-/
PW: oui\ . euh:/ (der-) en allemand/ comment est-ce qu'on l-l- la loi le . le: le désigne\ le: . celui qui exécute
le mandat\
(4.0)
PW: en allemand\ .. der auftraggeber [und der/
MB: [(und) auftr- au- auftragnehmer/
PW: nein im gesetzt steht nicht auftragnehmer\ .. sondern der beauftragte\&
MB: &der beauftragte\&
PW: &der beauftragte\ .. es- et en français ce beauftragte c'est un mand:-/
(6.5)
PW: c'est pas fini hein il manque quelque chose\
MB: ((très bas)) ouais
PW: celui qui DONNE le mandat c'est le mandant/ . c'est c'est un participe hein/ mand- mandant/ . celui qui donne/
. le mandat/ et celui qui le Reçoit/
MB: peut-être le mandeur/
PW: le man:/da/
MB: teur\
PW: taire\
MB: taire\
PW: mandataire\ voilà\
(3.3) ((PW écrit au tableau))
PW: voilà\&(et puis) l'Autre contrat c'était donc le contrat . d'entreprise/
(6.8) ((PW écrit au tableau))
PW: et là l- les les personnes/ . les acteurs/ . si (on peut le dire)/ . ils s'appellent comment en français\
(4.0)

PW: ça va pas de soi hein\
(1.2)
PW: c'est-à-dire que le&celui qui exécute .. l'entreprise/ il s'appelle ça c'est assez: .
MB: l'en- l'entrepreneur/&
PW: &tou:t à fait oui c'est l'entrepreneur/ .. qui signifie aussi quoi\
(1.8) ((PW écrit au tableau))
PW: en:: en allemand\
(4.2)
PW: c'est l'entrepreneur c'est celui qui f- . qui FAIT une entreprise/ mais c'est aussi celui qui/
(2.9)
PW: qui diRIGE une entreprise\
MB: ouais\
PW: et qu'on appelle/
MB: directeur ou bien
PW: oui non mais tout simplement unternehmer hein\
MB: unternehmer\
PW: (le- les s::-) celui qui qui . le chef d'une entreprise/ . le propriétaire d'une entreprise/ . c'est l'entrepreneur\ . ET . celui qui ... pour lequel: euh- cette entreprise est exécuté alors là/ c'est plu::s c'est .. ça va moin:s de soi\ .. en français\ en allemand c'est-/
(4.3)
MB: ((smack)) arbeitnehmer\
PW: nein das waere im arbeitsvertrag\ im WERKvertrag/
(14.3)
PW: euh:: (2.5) (jetzt) muss ich ehrlich gestehen (s') weiss ich's auf deutsch gerade auch nicht\
(1.5)
PW: vous avez pas par hasard un code des obligations/
(3.8)
MB: ((bas)) XX
PW: ah peut-être (ce; ça) se[rait là-dedans\ oui&oui ça (il y a) . on&
MB?: [X (XX)
PW: &pourrait voir\ on pourrait voir\
MB: mais/ .. c'est: français all- . allemand\
(1.4)
PW: oui mais ça fait rien\ je peux&je peux partir du français/ .. parce qu'en français je le sais mais en allemand [((petit rire)) j'ai&
MB: [((petit rire))
PW: &oublié\

(10.0) ((PW regarde dans le dictionnaire))
PW: ah oui (je) le voilà\ le voilà\
(4.5)
PW: c'est celui qui a commandé le l'ouvrage\ . donc ce serait le/ . en allemand/ . commander/
MB: euh anordnen\ . befehlen\
PW: ja oder also wenn man etwas/ .. euh: ein ein: . ein werk/
MB: ((petite toux?))
PW: verlangt von jemandem dann macht man was\ . man: . be-/
MB: (ah) (man macht eine arbeiten) bear[beit-
PW: nein derjenige der sie: . der sie in auftrag gibt\ [die arbeit\ der&
MB: [ah
PW: &macht was\ der- . euh- wenn ich euh:m: .. zum beispiel zum baecker gehe und sage/ . euh ich moechte ich moechte einen zopf fuer zwanzig franken statt nur fuer fuenf\ ((aspiration)) dann mach ich was\
(2.3)
MB: eine bestellung\&
PW: &VOILA\ . ja\ eben\ und das ist der besteller nicht\
MB: (euhm)
PW: der besteller/ ((aspiration)) und der andere ist/
(3.0)
PW: und auf franzoesisch ist das/
(1.5)
MB: [(le)
PW: [wie heisst der\
(5.5)
PW: ((aspiration)) es gibt einen bestimmten . euh bereich im im werkvertrag/ . wo man das: . auch in der umgangssprache immer so nennt\ ((aspiration)) und zwar ist das: . wenn jemand/ .. einen bau errichten laesst/ . dann heisst der wie/&derjenige der dies: diesen auftrag gibt/
(2.6)
PW: derjenige fuer den der bau/ .. errichtet wird/
(2.6)
PW: celui pour qui/ . un:: . un bâtiment est est [érigé\
MB: [(ouais)
PW: c'est&c'est le/ . en allemand\
(2.8)
MB: bauherr\
PW: der bauherr\ der bauherr\ . et justement en français/ ... pour toutes les forme d'entreprise/ . celui qui donn:e . le: .. qui Commande l'entreprise/ . c'est le maître\

(1.5) ((PW écrit au tableau))
PW: le maître\
(1.8) ((PW écrit au tableau))
PW: voilà\
(2.6)
PW: also der meister eigentlich\
(8.9)
MB: X[X
PW: [BON\ . donc vous nous aviez dit que il y avait/ . euh cette société/ qui: . avait commandé justement&(ou bien) qui (a)&qui a& qui a livré des: . des:: .. des boutures/ à: à ce:: . cet horticulteur/ ((aspiration)) qui lui . devait . les élever jusqu'à une certain:e euh: un certain: stade/ ((aspiration)) et ensuite les rendre/ . ((aspiration)) et . euh avec ce chanvre/ on pouvait faire différentes choses/ . entre autres justement/ . quoi\
(2.2)
JR: (ouaih) ((petit rire))&
PW: &hein/&
JR: &(de) la drogue\ ((petit rire))
PW: ouais la drogue\ des stupéfiants\ voilà\
...
PW: et donc le&le la question du procès c'est laquelle\
(2.7)
PW: parce que le&l'accusé/ .. c'est qui dans (l'a-; la) dans l'affaire ici\
(4.4)
MB: ((smack) c'est: . l'entrepreneur\&
PW: &oui c'est l'entrepreneur\ celui (k-) donc qui a .. qui a élevé/ cultivé ces ces ces plant(e)s/ ... et qu'est-ce qu'on peut lui reprocher à la rigueur/

Verteidiger

MB: ((bédrouille))
PW: monsieur bieri/
MB: les faits sont assez simples/
PW: oui/
MB: monsieur x .. euhm . n'obéit PAS . à (la; le) surveillance du prison\
(3.3)
MB: il euh ...
PW: qu'est-ce qu'il ne- qu'est-ce [XXXXXXX (obéit) pas\

MB: [il- il refuse il refuse .. de: donner sa ceinture . et de: .
PW: et d'enlever quoi/
MB: il est ... ((quelque chose en allemand?)) les souliers\
PW: ouais\ . enlever les souliers\
PW: mais&mais pourquoi il doit faire ça\ pourquoi il devrait enlever sa ceinture et enlever (ses; les) souliers\
MB: parce uqu'il y a des:: . des bruits/ des petits bruits qui annoncent . un métal/ . peut-être euh ça pourrait .. être dans la ceinture ou bien ... dans les souliers\
PW: il faut peut-être nous dire encore pourquoi ce monsieur x va en prison\
PW: est-ce que c'est [XXXXXXXX
MB: [ah oui il va . visiter il veule visiter un client\
PW: il VEUT visiter un client/ donc il est quoi/ il est coiffeur ou
((quelqu'un rit))
MB: il n'est pas n'importe QUI il [(est) le défendeur\
PW: [il est
PW: le dé/
MB: défendeur\
PW: pas tout à fait\ mais presque\
MB: der verteidiger\
PW: oui/ . (le) défendeur c'est quoi/
(1.5)
PW: ça on a rencontré maintenant plusieurs fois/
(2.0)
PW: was ist da sauf deutsch\
LS: le défens:eur\
PW: oui le déf:enseur n'est-ce pas\&
MB: &(aha)
PW: ((se racle la gorge)) .. c'était bien qu'on (est) soit tombé là-dessus pour .. faire aussi cette (petite) distinction qui XX (être) . assez capital\ . XX
(15.9) ((PW écrit au tableau))
PW: voilà\ donc le défendeur c'est c'est quoi\ c'est qui\
(5.4)
PW: c'est que celui qui se DEFEND/ .. contre . une accusation par exemple\
(2.4)
PW: ou contre une plainte\
(1.9)
MB: der beklagte\
PW: ja genau nicht wahr\

(4.9) ((PW écrit au tableau))
PW: der beklagte\ .. et celui qui . porte . plainte/ .. ou qui qui . qui (ec-) qui qui euh:: qui élève une prétention/ . on l'appelle comment\ parce que ça c'est plutôt en droit civil qu'on (a) parle de défendre\ .. et&et le: le: . le CO-contractant/ . celui qui: . qui agit/ .. on l'appelle comment\
(2.0)
PW: le pendant du défendeur c'est le quoi\
(5.4)
PW: der gegen- die gegenpartei\
(4.4)
PW: herr schaller\
LS: euh le accusateur\ ((murmure))
PW: ça ça serait . de nouveau . euh::: plutôt du droit pénal\ mais en droit civil\ . der klaeger\ . wie nennt man den\
PW: vous vous rappelez/
JR: ouais mais (je- je- je-) klaeger ((brédouille))
PW: c'est quoi en français\
JR: c'est euh:: ...
MB: le demandeur\
PW: VOILA\ . le Demandeur n'est-ce pas\ . donc ici en fait .. ça fait . c'est&c'est (de) euh- . un couple euh ça c'est (euh; les) . le démand- le demandeur . qui demande quelque chose et puis le défendeur qui . euh se défende de devoir .. euh::: fournir ou livrer ou: .. ou exécuter quelque chose pour ce demandeur\ . en revanche le verteidiger en: . droit pénal/ . justement c'est le défenseur\
(4.2) ((PW écrit au tableau))
PW: et et et son::: s::on contre- . sa contrepartie en droit pénal/ ce serait qui\
LS: ((claquement de langue?)) (ah)
PW: maintenant vous pouvez venir avec XX\
LS: l'accusateur\
PW: voilà\
LS: mais c'est le[::
PW: [ouais mais normalement on l'appelle pas l'accusa[teur&
LS: [oui
PW: &on (l')appelle/
LS: oui (je&)je cherche . le mot\ ((petit rire)) .. euhm . (le-) . [X
PW: [en allemand/
LS: staatsanwalt\
PW: oui\ [et en français c'est/
LS: [(euh) le mandataire du: . de l'état ou quelque [chose comme ça

PW: [pas mandataire/ [c'est le/
JR?: [XXXXXXXXXX [((petit rire))
PW: [MINIstère&
LS: &ah ministère oui\ [XXX
PW: [le ministère public n'est pas\
LS: XXXXXX[XXXXXX
PW: [le ministère public\ . ((hausse de voix)) bon\ . donc le défenseur\ . [(hein)
MB: [(oui) (al-) monsieur x est défenseur d'un client/
PW: ouais
MB: qui: (habite une cellule)/ . et il veut visiter . le client/ ...
PW: il le veut le visiter/ . POUR euh nous dit-on dans le: dans le: l'histoire-là/ . pour y CONFERER/ . avec son client\
MB: conférer das heisst (ja) mehr .. bereden\
PW: hae/
MB: bereden\
PW: ja\ ja\

Fahrlaessigkeit

PW: bien\ et maintenant on continue sur le point un deux/&((à l'adresse de JR)) <est-ce que je peux vous demander de lire s'il vous plaît/
(2.1) ((une ou plusieurs personnes feuillettent))
JR: [sur le- . sur le plan objectif la cour cantonale distingue&
PW: [xx
JR: &((aspiration)) l'activité antérieure à l'intervention de la police/
PW: eu:::h ((alemand?)) <(mome:nt)>\ . oui et [c'est- ... ce- mais vous&
MB: [(c'est le deux)
PW: &avez lu sur le plan objectif/ et (et-) [xxxx\
JR: [ah ((brédouillé)) <xxxxx> pf [((rire)) je (j:-) j'étais resté en fait sur le: ((aspiration)) .&
PW: [((rire)) c'est pourquoi je:- (mais; ouais) oui voilà\
JR: &paragraphe précédent\ ((en riant)) <(x) sur la plan subjectif/ ((plus bas)) <désolé> ((petit rire))> la cour cantonale distingue ((aspiration)) l'activité antérieure à l'intervention de la police/ ((aspiration)) le cinq juillet deux mille un/ . de <u>celle</u> qui lui est ((petite hésitation)) postérieure\ . ((aspiration)) alors qu'elle retient le dol éventuel pour la livraison des plantes/ . après la visite de la police/ ((aspiration)) elle considère . que le recourant a agit par négligence/ ((aspiration)) pour son activité <u>antérieure</u> au cinq juillet deux mille un\ . ((aspiration)) en effet/ . elle estime qu'avant le cinq juillet deux mille un/ . bien

19 que le recourant ait su qu'il pouvait être fait un usage illégal du chanvre/ ((aspiration)) il . s'est
20 contenté/ . pour lever ce doute sur le caractère illicite de son activité/ . et celle de ses ((hésitation au
21 milieu du mot)) <parten-aires> contractuels/ . d'interpeller ceux-ci/ . et . sur la base de leur assurance .
22 d'admettre . sans plus amples vérifications/ . qu'il(s) ne violai(en)t pas la loi\ .. selon la cour cantonale
23 on pouvait attendre d'un horticulteur professionnel/ . qu'il prenne d'autres précautions/ . et se montrait
24 plus prudent/ [. par exemple en se renseignant auprès d'un office agricole .&
25 MB: [((toux))
26 JR: &fédéral ou cantonal . ou mieux^encore/ . auprès de la police\
27 PW: bon .[. alors/ . ce passage/ est-ce que monsieur bieri vous pouvez .&
28 MB?: [(alors)
29 PW: &rapidement nous dire/ . quelle est cette distinction que la cour^eu:h . cantonale a fait\
30 (1.2)
31 PW: auf deutsch\
32 (1.5)
33 MB: sie verlegt .. den entscheid/ vom (rechtler) zu- . zur expertise ((brédouillé) <oder zur> ((aspiration)) zum
34 beizug von . einem a-&a- landwirtschafts . a- amt eu:h ... eu:h . des bundes oder der kantone\
35 PW: ((aspiration)) ja gut also das: . das ist der schluss dort sagt sie/ . der der gärtner oder der^ä::hm(^ja d-)
36 der gärtnereiunternehmer hätte sich entsch- (äh-) erkundigen sollen nicht\&
37 MB: &ah
38 PW: ((aspiration)) ab'r .. vorher macht man eine unterscheidung . vor dem fünften juli und nach dem fü- e-&e-
39 erst- fünf-&f- fünften juli\ ((aspiration)) et quelle est cette distinction\&was ist diese unterscheidung\
40 (9.6)
41 PW: ((hausse de voix)) <qu'est-ce qui c'est passé le cinq juillet\
42 (3.1)
43 LS: la police est venue\
44 PW: ouais\&
45 LS: &l:- le contrôle de-&
46 PW: &ouais\ . alors ((aspiration)) et (quel-; quel est-) quel- quelle influen:c:e/ a- a pu avoir cet-&
47 LS: &après . la . l'(intervention) de la police/ . c'est clair qu'il: . qu'il sait . que ces: ces cultures peute-
48 pouvaient être des: . stupéfiants\ ((aspiration)) alors il: . au minimum/ il agit par négligence après\
49 (1.5)
50 PW: eu:h eu:[:h d'après la cour cantonale ça va même PLUS loin
51 LS: [xx c'est (la xx-) c'est (non intentionnel . avant)\
52 ..
53 PW: parce que . elle elle retient/ . non seulement la négligence mais/&
54 LS: &ah le dol . éventuel\
55 PW: le dol éventuel\&

LS: &ouais
PW: c'est quoi (ça-; s-)\ c'est quoi ça\
(4.5)
LS?: [xxx
MB: [ça vient du: . du latin/ . dolus
PW: oui/ et puis mais en-&en allemand ça signifie quoi\
(1.3)
MB: eu:h strafbar\
(1.3)
PW: ((lent)) <jo das wäre strafbar wahrscheinlich wenn's> ab'r ab- was ist [(denn; es)&was heisst es
LS: [((murmure)) <xx xxxx>
PW: hä/
LS: ((murmure)) <xxxx eventualvorsatz>
PW: eventualvorsatz nicht wahr\ (et:; e:h) . und was ist der eventualvorsatz im&im: prinzip/ . also in dieser unterscheidung die wir vorhin gesehen haben/
(1.9)
MB: hm&[(äh-)
PW: [zwischen . verschiedenen verschuldensformen/
..
LS: ((bas)) <auf deutsch/>
PW: ((bas)) <ja>
LS: also man nimmt's:
MB: man nimmt's in kauf
LS: man nimmt's in kauf dass das eintritt\&
PW: &VOILÀ alors expliquez-moi ça encore en français\ quelle est la différen:ce entre ((aspiration)) le dol éventuel et . qu'est-ce-&quel serait la: l::e pro-&le prochai:n^échelon\
LS: dol: direct
..
PW: ça ce serait . vers [le haut/ . et vers le bas/
LS?: [(bas) . (aja)
(1.6)
LS: (te-) la&la néglingent\ ((sur-articulé)) <négligence>\
PW: oui\ et une forme de négligence particulière qu'on appelle/
(2.5)
MB: ahnungslos\
PW: pardon/
MB: ahnung:slos\

(1.0)
PW: ja n-&nein das wäre dann wirklich wenn er keine ahnung hat\&
LS: &(c'est-) .. c'est . négligence . grève ou- ..
PW: ça c'est un: un terme de droit civil\ [la négligence grave [n'est-ce&
LS: [((bas)) <XXX> [(ah oui)
PW: &pas/ was (heis-) das- wie (w-) wie würden sie das deutsch&
LS: &grob(e) fahrlässigkeit\&
PW: &grobe fahrlässigkeit\ ((aspiration)) aber es gibt- ... innerhalb der- . (euh-) fahrlässigkeit/ [. vor allem der groben gibt es noch&
MB?: [X
PW: eine weitere unterteilung\
(1.2)
PW: NOTAmment en droit .. pénal/ parce que en droit civil ((aspiration)) ça joue normalement pas de rôle\
..
PW: MAIS- . si vous prenez si vous- vous cons{e}dérez que la faute . la plus grave c'est le dol . direct n'est-ce pas/ .. quand je VEUX . nuire . é la personne . contre laquelle je commets mon: . mon acte/ .. ensuite y a . le dol éventuel/ qu'on vient de nous expliquer:/ où . on veut pas forcément/ . mais on accepte que: . y ait un- un résulta:t euh:: . euh dommageable\ . ((aspiration)) et la pro- le prochain échelon/ vers le bas/ ((aspiration)) ce s'rait une négligence/ . où .. on ENTREVOIT .. qu'il pourrait se produire un tel résultat/ .. mais- et on- mais on l'accepte pas vraimen:t/ . simplement on passe dessus et on se di:t/ ((aspiration)) euh: ça ne va pas^arrriver\
MB: [gleichgültigkeit
PW: [XXX ja aber also jetzt als fahrlässigkeit [hat das&
MB: [(mhm)
PW: &einen bestimmten namen/
(2.5)
PW: on SAIT . on a conscience ((aspiration)) que ça pourrait arriver:/ mais on se dit non&non&s- ça: ça va pas arriver\
(4.3)
PW: (et) bien c'est précisément ce qu'on appelle la négligence . consciente\ .. bewu[ss:te fahrlässigkeit ((bas)) <nicht>
MB: [(ah)
PW: im gegensatz zur unbewussten fahrlässigkeit/ ... euh: .. où justement cette conscience manque\ où c'est simplemen:t . qu'on a pas du tout entre^euh: (e-) pas du tout .. euh:: vu . euh: que: il se pourrait se passer: quelque chose de: de: ((bas)) <de dommageable>\
(1.9)

PW: donc dol direct/ . dol éventuel/ et ensuite (1.5) con-^euh:: .. négligence . consciente/ et négligence . on dit ((petite hésitation)) pas ((baisse de volume et accélération)) <je crois pas (on-) on dit pas . négligence inconsciente mais négligence simple> ((bas)) <einfache fahrlässigkeit>\

(1.9)

PW: et [donc justement/

MB: [négligence consensuelle

PW: pardon/

LS: consciente

JR: con[sciente

PW: [consciente\ . bewusst nicht\ ((aspiration)) [la conscience/

MB: [XXX

(13.3 pendant lesquelles on entend PW écrire au tableau)

PW: das ist .[.. hat zwei bedeutungen

MB: [((tousse bruyamment))

(3.5)

LS: das bewusstsein\

PW: das bewusstsein ist die eine/ ((écrit au tableau)) und wenn ich sage j'ai mauvaise conscience/

LS: das gewissen\

PW: dann ist es das gewissen\ ((écrit au tableau)) (hm:) . ((bruit de langue?)) donc en français il existe un terme le- . les deux choses pour lesquelles en allemand nous avons deux termes différents\ . et- et le le le l'adjectif ((écrit en temps au tableau)) <qui rime/ . avec conscience c'est justement/ . conscient (4.5) ou (3.8) inconscient\

(5.0)

PW: et on dit de quelqu'un qu'c'est^un inconscient/ (1.0) que ça veut dire quoi/

(1.8)

PW: quand vous dites de quelqu'un (qu') c'est un inconscient\

JR: (i:) i fait pas attention aux choses X[XXXX

PW: [oui c'est quelqu'un qui vraiment euh:: . euh- un hurluberlu hein/

JR: ((petit rire))

LS?: ((murmuré)) <XXX>

JR: ((très bas)) [<hurluberlu>

PW: [euh:: (1.9) et s- et quelqu'un qui est conscient c'est just-ment s:- quelqu'un qui ({ç}) qui sait ce qu'il fait\ .. qui a de la conscience de ce qu'il fait/ ... et on peut dire simplemen:t euh: de&de personnes justement/ on peut dire qu'elles sont inconscientes ou conscientes/ ((aspiration)) mais je crois qu'on puisse dire de la négligence [qu'elle est inconsciente\ . parce que c'est pas la négligence évidemment qui a la conscience ou pas\ .. donc c'est- c'est un::: . une tournure/ . d'ailleurs aussi en- . en

allemand/&bewusste fahrlässigkeit&nicht die fahrlässigkeit ist bewusst\ . sondern derjenige der handelt ((écrit au tableau))]
[((tout ce segment est chevauché par des murmures en arrière-fond))]
(7.0)
PW: voilà je constate que: euh nous avons même pas réussi à: . à terminer ce cas aujourd'hui malgré: euh:: . nos efforts/ c'est parce que: on a un peu divagué dans d'autres domaines/ . mais: euh c'est un peu le: le: (l-) disons le: . la manière dont je conçois ces exercices c'est que: (on-) quand on tombe sur les (X-) sur les . questions qui ((aspiration)) euh: sont connexes mais qui ont pas: forcément directement à faire avec .. le cas que: on (s'en occupe XX)\

Taeter

PW: ((lit)) <wer unbefugt alkaloidhaltige pflanzen oder hanf- ((petite hésitation)) hanfkraut zur gewinnung von betäubungsmitteln (anpflanzt; anbaut)
MB: ja
(2.0)
PW: und dann heisst es in absatz drei/ ((lit)) <werden die widerhandlungen nach ziffer eins> ((de plus en plus bas)) <also das ist das (darinnen) was wir jetzt (genau) xx> ((lit, de plus en plus bas)) <FAHRLÄSSIG begangen so ist die strafe xx>\
(6.5)
PW: kann man das fahrlässig beghen\
(4.6)
MB: je cherche une expression français . pour ((très articulé)) <hehler>
(1.2)
PW: hehler/
MB: oui ((coup de glotte?))
PW: eu[::h
MB: [si/
PW: ouais
((toux))
MB: eu:h monsieur x là/
((petit rire de PW?))
(2.1)
MB: produit/ .. sans savoir si- euh- que cette plante est capable de produire des: stupéfiants/ (1.7) sans savoir&
PW: &oui

MB: alors il- . il travaille par négligence\ ((aspiration)) mais s'il s- s'il agit/ (1.7) (et) s'il sait/ ... ce qu'on peut faire avec ((bas)) <(s-) cette plante> . alors il serait (1.5) ((bas)) <hehler non>\ . pour le product- euh producteur\ . pour LE

PW: vous décrivez comment le he- le hehler\ eu::h [je suis en train de&

MB: [x

PW: &chercher le terme\ parce que je dois vous avouez que:: dans le moment j'ai: j'ai pas non plus le: le terme en: en tête\ mais je vais le trouver\ ((aspiration)) MAIS il fait [quoi (le::) . ouais

LS?: [xx hehler

LS: vous: . vous pensez à un hehler ou à un dealer\

..

MB: ((en suisse allemand)) <xx> (di-) ((rire)) dealer\ . ce- . c'est celui . qui ... euh- f- fait euh . part dans la population/ et cherche euh des clients\&

JR: ((bas)) <(mais c'est x dealer)>

LS: (ah) bon [c'est pas un hehler

MB: [(non) (donc) a hehler/&

LS?: &(je n'ai pas bien [le:)

MB: [(euh; a) mitwisser

PW: ah mais c'est pas tout à fait la [même chose\

LS: [xxx c'est [pas la même chose\

MB: [mais- m- mit-&

PW: &qu'est-ce que fait un hehler/ . e- ((coup de glotte?)) ... quel-&quelle [est son activité\

LS: [il (vend) il vend des: . des des choses furtifs\ .. eu:h&

PW: &des choses/&

LS: &euh ((murmure à JR ou JR murmure)) il (s'est pris) des choses qu'il a: .. qui (qui; qu'ils) sont furtifs\

PW: furtif/

?: ((petit rire))

PW: furtif vous savez ce que ça veut dire furtif/

LS: (x) c'est pas ça&

PW: &dites-lui monsieur:&

JR: furtif c'est (comme si on agit rapidement) (p'tif?)

PW: ouais&

JR: &furtif

PW: furtif c'est . flüchtig hein&

LS: &(können sie nicht furtif sagen)

PW: ((écrit au tableau)) vous- vous euh- (d-) vous vouliez dire . fautives ou éventuellemen:t/ . qui ont été obtenues par un- . mais ça s-&s-&ç:a supposerait que vous parliez l'italien/ . un furto

LS: furtivsache\

PW: donc qui a été volé/
LS: oui
PW: ouais c'est ça que vous vouliez dire&
LS: &((bas)) <oui>&
PW: &oui&
LS: &ça existe pas en [français
PW: [c'est plutôt . non . [c'est plutôt de l'italien
[((plusieurs personnes parlent et à la fin, il y a des petits rires))
PW: c'est plutôt de l'italien\&
LS: &excusez-moi\
PW: NON donc . mais vous avez raison\ donc c'est celui qui fait le commerce avec des cho:ses/ ((aspiration)) qui sont le produit d'un délit n'est-ce pas\&
LS: &oui\ . et je ne s- peux pas voir . pourquoi c'est un hehler là\
PW: eu:h non justement\ je pense que . c'est pas tout à fait ça parce que ici .. c'est presque- je dirais le (k-) le contrai:re\ ((aspiration)) euh- c'est lui qui livre . des: des: euh des objets/ qui peuvent ensuite servir à commettre un délit/ .[. mais e- s- c'est^ avant/ et&
LS: [c'est pas (un hehler)
PW &pas après n'est-ce pas\&
LS: &non xx[xxx
PW: [donc s- y a une différence\ mais je vous tout de suite vous dire [(ce que c'est le .) le hehler/
MB: [((toux))
(12.7) ((au début, on entend quelques murmures, puis des bruits de pas; PW est en train de chercher le mot dans le code des obligations))
PW: ah voilà\ c'est le receleur\
?: ((bas)) <(ah oui)>
PW: le- hehlerei c'est recel n'est-ce pas/ . on va tout de suite voir ce que c'est- esk- . comment c'est: c'est défini/ ((feuillette dans le code des obligations)) ((lit)) <celui qui aura acquis/ . reçu en don/ . ou en gage\ . dissimulé ou aidé à négocier/> donc c'est plus large que seulement simplement revendre hein ((lit)) <celui qui aura acquis/ reçu . en don/ ou en gage/ ((aspiration)) dissimulé ou aidé à nég- négocier une chose dont il savait ou devait présumer/ ((aspiration)) qu'un tiers l'avait^obtenu au moyen d'une inf-fraction contre le patrimoine sera puni> etc.\ . donc/ . vous voyez c'est- c'est celui qui qui ((petite hésitation)) . qui f:::: reprend le- le produit de . d'un délit/ . soit pour: pour lui-même/ . n'est-ce pas\ . soit pour le re: le remettre en commerce eu:h donc ici [c'est (un) x-
MB: [non c'est mit-täter
PW: c'est (l'un)/ oui ça ça pourrait être le cas\&
MB: &xxx[xxxx
PW: [et ça on appellerait comment ça le mit-täter\

(1.6)
PW: ((bas)) <en français>\
(2.0)
PW: comment est-ce qu'on appelle le täter\
(1.6)
PW: c'est^- c'est un peu bizarre en français parce que c'est le mêm:e [.. terme xx hein/
LS: [xx acteur\
PW: ((aspiration)) eu::h . ça ce serait la: traduction littérale/ . mais un acteur c'est pas non plus un
[straftäter (c'est-) c'est quoi/
LS: [(x) (nicht) ((petit rire)) il- il fait du théâtre\
PW: voilà c'est^un schauspieler [n'est-ce pas\ . un acteur\ . OU BIEN un&
LS?: [((petits rires))
PW: &acteur/ c'est quelqu'un qui agit\ [. mais de façon neutre\ donc ça&
LS?: [(ouais)
PW: &veut pas forcément dire . qu'il agit de façon: . défendue\ (1.2) DONC/ .. un- un (1.1) dans l- dans le: dans
le contexte eu:h du droi:t pénal/ . de la criminalité/ . le täter c'est un:/
(2.9)
PW: c'est bizarre parce que là aussi y a^un:: rapport avec eu::h^l::: . l'art/ et la et la: . production de: .
d'oeuvres d'art/
(1.7)
PW: c'est un auteur\ . c'est l'auteur [du crime\ n'est-ce pas\
?: [ouais
?: ouais
PW: also der- (eigentlich) auch der verursacher oder der der
LS: donc c'est le . coauteur\
PW: ce serait le coauteur\ tout à fait\&
LS: &oui
PW: der mittäter c'est (un) coauteur\ (2.6) et:: . puisqu'on est dans les: dans les: ... eu:h personnes qui: . qui
ne commettent pas eux-même le crime mais qui . contribuent à le com- à le commettre/ ((aspiration)) (il) y a
encore encore un autre::: . type de ce- . de [cette es-
MB: [gehilfe
PW: voilà . et ça c'est quoi\
(1.4)
PW: [(c'est un terme)
MB: [(un; une) aide . (mpfou)&
PW: ouais mais un aide/ ((expiration)) c'est c'est c'est très neutre un aide\ . ça peut être quelqu'un qui aide à:
à faire de très bonnes choses n'est-ce pas\ ((aspiration)) eu:::h un aide confiseur par exemple\ ... mais:: .

le: le celui qui contribue: ou qui aide précisément/ . à commettre un crime/ . ((petite hésitation)) c'est un terme qu'on utilise en allemand aussi/

(2.9)

PW: wie nennt man (euh-) leute die zusammen ... eu::h etwas: verbotenes tun\

(6.5)

PW: eh c'est des complices n'est-ce pas&

MB: &aha&

PW: &komplizen\ ((bas)) <das ist (eigentlich ein; einen) ausdruck den man auf deutsch auch braucht> . un complice et coauteur\ c'est ça les: les deux: . eu::h . [xx

MB: [complice ((prononce les lettres)) <s ou c:>\

JR: ((lettre) <c>

PW: qu'est-ce que vous pensez\

MB: (à mon) on aurait ((lettre)) <c>

PW: oui (mais) vous [avez raison

LS?: [((petits rires))

PW: c'est le complice (qui; et) s'écrit ((épelle)) <c o m p l i c e>\

(3.0)

MB: et . täter c'est l'auteur\

PW: ((bas)) <ouais> . et l'autre/ le täter c'est l'auteur ((bas)) <oui>\

MB: et mittäter ce serait . coauteur

PW: eu:h vous voyez-/ oui (oui; mais) coauteur\

MB: ouais

Pw: d'ailleurs je&je tombe sur ce terme: dans: le: l'article sur euh recel/ .. euh:: s::- donc . que je viens de vous lire/ . qu'il y a un chiffre deux/ si l'auteur fait métier du recel/ . la peine sera de réclusion etc./ . si l'auteur fait métier qu'est-ce que ça veut dire ça/

(2.6)

MB: métier heisst euhm beruf\

PW: ja

(7.0)

PW: ((bas)) <ja> man&man kann das man kann das woertlich uebersetzen dann kommt man schon drauf\

...

LS: ((bas)) <(vous répétez le phrase)>

PW: si l'auteur fait métier du recel\

..

LS: ((bas)) <XX gewerbsmaessig>

PW: ja ganz genau/ nicht wahr/ das ist derjenige . der gewerbsmaessig hehelerei betreibt\ .. also zum beispiel euh: . ein kunsthaendler nicht oder so\ . ja also (beim de-) bei denen ist es nicht sehr selten

((tout le monde rit))
PW: BON/ revenons à:: aux stupéfiants\ .. et puis allons-y maintenant définitivement pour euh: .. pour euh: (cet arrêt)\

La créance compensatrice

PW: ((lu)) <il a mis à la charge de x une créance ((saccadé)) <compensatrice> de trente milles francs/ ((aspiration)) ((baisse de voix)) à verser à l'état du valais/ ainsi que les frais de la cause\> .. c'est quoi ça\ .. ((à l'adresse de F)) est-ce que vous comprenez vous comme francophone\ ... ou bien est-ce que vous- vous DEvinez ce que ça peut être cette créance compensatrice\
(2.0)
MB: ((bas)) das ist (euh)
PW: was heisst es wörtlich\
(4.6)
MB: eine kompensatorische (1.3) ja das ist nichts and[(eres als) XXX
PW: [eine kompensatorische was/
MB: ja (das) XX&
PW: &((rire))
LS: kaution
PW: euh- . hä/
MB: kaution
(..)
PW: [eine kompensatorische/ . kaution/
MB: [X
PW: [créance/ ist das kaution/
MB: [((parle de manière saccadé et incompréhensible))
(2.4)
PW: was ist créance/ das ist ja wirklich [also-
MB: [créance
LS: XX&
MB: créance isch doch der: . geldgeber\
LS?: cré[ancier
PW: [das ist der créancier [ist der . ist der . gläubiger\
LS?: [créan-cier
PW: und die créance ist/
(4.0)
PW: vom gläubiger aus gesehen/ . der hat eben eine créance/ drum ist er der créancier/

LS: eine schuld\
(..)
PW: euh- schuld hat eigentlich eher der andere&
LS: &der andere ja stimmt ((petit rire))
PW: was hat der créancier de- wenn de- wenn der eine(n) schuld(ner/en) hat hat der was/&
LS: &(einen) anspruch
PW: einen anspruch oder eine forderung nicht\&
LS: &XX&
PW: &jawohl\ . und diese créance compensatrice/ das wusste ich also bis heute morgen auch nicht\ ... das war ((changement de registre)) on a toute de suite fini hein\ .. eu:::h ... aber das gibt's auch im neuen recht/ also da kann ich sie nicht^eu::h . befreien davon\ .. das ist/ . die ersatzforderung die dann fällig wird wenn eine . bereicherung die sonst konfisziert worden wäre/ . nicht mehr vorhanden ist\ ((aspiration)) [dann- . wird statt dessen eine ersatzforderung&
[((chuchotement?))
PW: &fällig/ .. ((baisse de volume)) die eben dann auch: . euh wie- wie eine konfiszierte wie eine konfiszierte . eu::h geldsumme . eingezogen wird\
?: XXXXX
PW: ((aspiration)) donc/ . normalement/ . si eu::h .. ce qu'on appelle le: le: . le butin/ ou le fruit/ de- du crime/ . est confisqué n'est-ce pas ((aspiration)) et- mais il se peut/ que quelqu'un/ qui a: . euh obtenu de l'argent/ par un crime ou par un délit/ ((aspiration)) n:'est plus en possession de cet [argent parce qu'il a il a:&
LS?: [ah:
PW: &dépensé ((aspiration)) et dans c' cas-là on peut pas confisquer la somme/ ((aspiration)) mais on peut lui imposer une créance compensatoire/ . qui correspond à ce qu'il aurait dû/ . à ce qui aurait été confisqué si- . cet argent avait encore été- . dans la caisse\ . ((aspiration)) et ça s'appelle en allemand ((accompagné de bruit de feuilletage)) ersatzforderung/ . et puis dans la nouvelle loi pénale vous trouvez ça/ . dans l'article: ... septante et-un soixante et-onze . du nouveau code pénal/ jusqu'à maintenant c'était l'article cinquante neuf . donc ça a quand même changé assez considérablement^hein\
(4.0)
PW: voilà/ . alors on a on a euh: . utlisé un peu beaucoup de temps pour cette introduction mais je crois que . ça nous a: . (prem-) permis aussi de répéter un peu le: . les&les: la terminologie de la:: du premier cas/ . et puis . la prochaine fois donc . on: passera un peu plus vite sur la partie juridique/ . je&que je vous prie quand même peut-être de&de lire . euh: attentivement pour que justement ça nous permette . et&et de de:: . euh::: souligné ce que vous comprenez pas pour que nous puissions . le discuter\

2. Séquences citées en 3.3.2 (HESB-TI)

Definition einer elliptischen Kurve

Ens jetzt (...) zur definition einer elliptischen kurve (...) ich betrachte zuerst elliptische kurven über r\ (...) he über der menge der reellen zahlen\ oder/ ((écrit au tableau)) (5.5) eine elliptische kurve ist einfach die menge der (PUNKte) x y (die) x y aus r/ (3.0) ((écrit au tableau)) die eine solche gleichung erfüllt\ (2.0) also a und b (3.0) ((écrit au tableau)) das sind parameter/ (.) die sind gegeben/ ((écrit au tableau)) (9.0) dann weiter hab ich noch die bedingung (2.0) ((écrit au tableau)) x hoch drei plus a mal x (.) plus b gleich null (..) das darf keine mehrfachnullstellen haben\ (..) keine mehrfachnullstellen\ ((écrit au tableau)) (15.5)

Ens also nochmals as- ALLE x y jetzt (.) die diese gleichung erfüllen/ (..) die bilden eine elliptische kurve\ (.) und sie haben da im skriptum haben sie eine solche elliptische kurve abgebildet/ (3.0) ((manipule le tableau noir)) das ist y: (..) ((écrit au tableau)) quadrat ist da x hoch drei (.) minus x (1.0) also da wäre a: jetzt minus eins und b ist null\ (1.0) oder und sie sehen da diese kurve die besteht jetzt HIER (...) aus zwei solchen zusammenhangskomponenten/ (2.5) (ich) skizziere das vielleicht (1.0) kurz ((écrit au tableau)) (4.0) also ich habe hier (mal) eine nullstelle (2.0) also ich spreche jetzt von diesem polynom (hier)\ (oder)=das hat ja nullstellen (..) bei eins minus eins ((écrit au tableau)) (1.5) und bei null (...) he/ (2.0) das ist klar also (.) HIER ist das polynom natürlich (..) wieder positiv oder/ (1.5) dann taucht das da (1.0) ab (...) oder das ist irgend so etwas sieht das aus das polynom das wäre jetzt irgendwie y gleich (..) das ist ein anderes y x hoch drei minus x

((un E tousse))(2.5)

Ens nun ist ja klar dass dazwischen oder/ (2.0) hat diese gleichung hier sicher keine lösung\ (...) weil y quadrat kann nicht negativ werden\ (1.5) (al)so die kurve sieht dann eben so aus\ (2.0) (al)so das (xxx) ist wirklich das oder/ ((écrit au tableau)) (4.5) dann hat man da noch so eine (..) so eine (a drei) (1.5) voilà\ (5.0) und dazwischen gibt's nichts\ (..) (xxx)\

((Ens manipule le tableau)) (6.0)

Ens jetzt kommt noch etwas weiteres dazu dass will ich aber nicht (..) eh: im detail erklären also (..) ich habe gesagt die elliptische kurve bestehe aus allen punkten also aus allen punkten (die) jetzt auf dieser gelben kurve liegen/ (.) plus dann noch einen punkt im unendlichen\

(1.5)

Ens das muss jetzt hier nicht weiter eh: uns interessieren (ja) der punkt ist an und für sich schon wichtig (1.0) wir werden (über) den schon sprechen aber ich will den nicht mathematisch sauber einführen das ist relativ abstrakt da muss man mit der projektiven ebene arbeiten\ das will ich nicht machen\

(9.5) ((manipule le tableau))

Ens es gibt es ist natürlich durchaus möglich (...) eh dass man auch ein polynom hat mit nur EINER EINzigen reellen nullstelle/ (da)=sind die beiden andern eh (xxx)\ (.) das geht schon auf\ (...) wir haben einfach NUR EINE komponente der kurve\ (...) die sind auch zu zugelassen\

(2.5) ((manipule le tableau))

Ens on peut ((se racle la gorge)) (...) (xxx) vite aussi résumer en français/ (2.0) donc LÀ (.) ça c'est la définition d'une courbe elliptique et nous considérons qu'il y a d'AUTRES classes de courbes elliptiques (.) eh: auxquelles nous nous intéressons pas/ (1.0) a et b (.) sont des paramètres qui sont donnés (.. donc pour eh toute couple a et b ça donne une autre courbe elliptique\

(1.0)

Ens donc la courbe elliptique (..) c'est l'ensemble (.) eh des points x y/ (...) et (qui) satisfont à cette équation\

(2.5) ((manipule le tableau))

Ens là vous avez un exemple concret/ (...) eh: (.) j'voudrais encore préciser on a encore une condition à respecter/ (1.0) le polynôme (..) cubique (1.5) ne doit pas avoir eh=de:s évolutifs\ (4.0) donc eh (.) ce polynôme peut avoir (.) trois zéros réels différents/ parce que UN zéro réel vous avez de toute façon/ on peut avoir trois zéros ou plus (...) un zéro avec deu:x (..) zéros contexte(s) conjugué(s)\

(1.0)

Ens là je donne un exemple concret et je vous ai v=un ptit peu expliqué comment on peut comprendre cela (...) hein entre zéro et UN (...) notre polynôme (.) prend une valeur négatif/ (..) donc la courbe elliptique (.) eh: (...) n'a pas de points dans cet intervalle n'est-ce pas\

(4.0) ((manipule le tableau))

Ens maintenant je veux expliquer (..) comment on peut définir (...) une addition (..) pour les points sur une courbe elliptique\

(18.0) ((écrit au tableau; les étudiants parlent entre eux))

Was bedeutet das Minuszeichen?

Ens ja: (...) das hier ist verblüffend was bedeutet das minuszeichen\

(4.0)

Ens das drückt etwas aus das sie genau genommen hier bei dieser feder (..) schon (.) sehen können\ (.) wenn die welle ankommt (...) wie sie reflektiert wird\

(1.5)

Ens wird sie nach oben oder nach unten reflektiert\

(3.0)

E nach unten

Ens mhm (vous voyez) que la réflexion pour le ressort ici (..) à ce point très (..) très dur hein (1.0) point de fixation (.) se fait vers le bas\

(...)
Ens hein/ (.) l'onde (.) arrive vers le haut et saute vers le bas (.) en retournant\ (.) on appelle ça un saut de phase (...) et le signe MOINS (1.5) correspond à cet effet-là (1.5) toujours lorsque r est négatif (1.0) il s'agit d'un saut de phase\
(10.0) ((écrit au tableau))
Ens vous voyez que (...) r devient négatif (..) si l deux est plus fort que l un/ (1.0) donc si le milieu plus dense (.) pour la lumière (1.5) si la lumière entre dans le milieu plus dense\ (1.0) arrive du milieu moins dense et (..) entre dans le milieu plus dense\ (...) pour une onde (...) sur un ressort ou sur (une corde) ce serait la même chose\
(2.0)
Ens immer wenn r negativ ist redet man von einem phasensprung\ (...) der tritt wie sie sehen hier auf (..) wenn die welle (.) von einem milieu mit kleinerem brechungsindex in ein milieu mit grösserem brechungsindex (.) kommt (...) oder (mit einem) milieu (...) (von) kleinerer geschwindig(.)keit in ein milieu mit grösserer geschwindigkeit
E umgekehrt\
Ens nein umgekehrt\ von grösserer in eine kleinere geschwindigkeit kommt\

3. Séquence citée en 4 (UNISIFIN)

Implicite/implied volatility

GBA OK/ NOW we have to start discussing about warrants and dividends ajustments/ (4.51) uh::=perhaps I'll talk about implicit volatility\ (12.23) ok let's talk about implicit volatility\ we'll talk about (.) dividends ajustments just after the break
(…)
GBA what is/ the implicit volatility\
(2.57)
GBA WELL/ (...) if you have no (1.0) arbitrage opportunity/ (3.41) you can (1.59) take this formula/ (1.06) and solve it numerically/ (..) for sigma square\ (…) so given an option price\ (..) in the market/ (1.81) you may look for sigma square/ (..) which makes these equation (..) right\ (2.57) and YOU find that there is always such a sigma square/ (..) unless you have an arbitrage opportunity\ (1.51) SO THAT'S already interesting for the traders\ 'cause of course if there is an arbitrage opportunity/ (1.0) they like to know it
(1.3)
((petit rire))
(2.56)
GBA OKAY/ SO YOU CALL (...) this thing/ (…) implied volatility/ (5.82) XXX SIGMA XXX implied volatility/

(14.66)
GBA WELL APPARENTLY\ (0.94) that's useless (is?) (…) of information\ (.) it's the volatility that makes the option\ (1.17) price (…) conform to the model\ (..) big deal\
(0.96)
GBA WELL first of ALL let's assume that there is no arbitrage opportunity otherwise you cannot find such a number\ (1.3) THEN (is-it's) also very usefull/ (..) because according to this model/ (1.1) SIGMA is the volatility of the stock\ (...) so (of course?) of the options written on THAT stock\ (…) for (.) a given maturity at least/ should have the same volatility\
(1.67)
GBA well in PRACTICE they do not\
(3.3)
GBA so\ you compute different implied volatility/ for each option\ (4.06) and you're going to find/ (...) at a given maturity/ (4.39) the sigma (« i »?) are functionnal (described?) price (2.56) and= for example fo::r (...) different (matters?) we will have different shapes/ (..) but most typically fo:r options on the standard XXX index\ (..) which is the most regular index in the united states/ (1.0) it will look like this (1.06) where this is demand
(7.23)
GBA so the options of demand (..) tend to (aim?) this model volatility and then goes up a bit (...) fo:r (...) calls(..) (upper?) demand/ (0.97) and goes up a lot (1.2) fo:r (..) CALLS (1.1) XXX demand/ and for put out of d- (..) out of demand\ (1.59) uh::: (2.19) because of put=call parity/ (…) the PUT and the CALL with the same strike price/ (1.61) MUST have the same implied volatility\ (…) otherwise you have an arbitrage opportunity XXX
(1.64)
GBA ((smack)) the way to see that (..) is that this term and this term of course do not depend on volatility/ (..) the stock price a=today is what it is/ (..) the present value of the strike price also/ (…) SO the only dependance (1.12) of volatility/ (0.95) is in "p" and double u/ (..) and shared an equation/ must be the same (.) dependance\
(2.07)
GBA ok/ (…) so (1.87) ((smack)) (...) to prevent arbitrage/ you must have the t=the call and the put of the same (..) implied volatility/ if they (.) ARE european/ and have the same strike price\
(1.9)
GBA SO THIS IS the way/ (…) traders describe the market\ (..) essentially\
(2.33)
GBA ((smack)) actually/ (1.56) ((smack)) if you take a map that XXX the XXX index (1.07) each day/ (..) you XXX be two hundred different options\ (...) credying on the index\ with different strike prices (and-at?) maturity\ (1.0) two=three hundred\ (..) when this include also puts\ (1.52) and you know the index moves\ each instant\ (2.08) so imagine you're trying to trade options\ (1.14) if you (would-will?) quote in direct the

option prices/ (…) you'll be looking at three hundred (...) fastly changing prices at each instant/ (…) and you have to try to determine which one is most convenient\ (1.73) it will be tough even for very fast computer\

(1.31)

GBA ((smack) so what actually traders do/ (…) is to QUOTE you/ (.) simply what is the volatility/ (..) at which they're willing to BUY or to sell the option\ (1.14) it is certain that all these formulas both for pots=puts and calls (..) are increasing in volatility\ (…) SO high implied volatility simply means (.) higher price\

(2.09)

GBA SO/ (...) the way I quote (1.46) an option/ (...) is to tell you that at that strike price XXX are willing to (...) sell you an option\ (1.59) at (a?) volatility of nineteen percent/ (1.6) (analysed?) (1.57) and BUY it (for-from?) you at thirteen percent\

(2.83)

GBA ((smack)) then/ (..) whenever the index changes/ I do not need to update my quotes\ (1.26) my quote applies to the current index level\ (.) always\ (2.15) OR if I think that the market for the option is really changing/ (..) I will need to change (.) my implied volatilities

(4.77)

GBA but that way/ (..) it's easy \ (1.08) to keep XXX of what's going on (..) in the option market/ (..) without having to update prices (1.02) every instant because the underlying has changed\ (1.21) in practice you update (1.84) implied volatility only (...) once in a while (.) if there is much more XXX (.) you may (.) not change them for several hours\ (1.59) ok/

(3.06)

GBA so\ (.) the implied volatility/ (.) is the language (1.26) of the option credits\ (2.46) AND OF COURSE/ (…) THE FACT THAT IMPLIED VOLATILITY is not (a?) constant approach like prices/ (…) tells you that the model (.) is wrong\ (.) but it is usefull ((petit rire)) ok/ ((petit rire))

(1.71)

GBA ALSO PEOPLE TALK OF VOLATILITY SURFACES\ (...) this would be a one XXX\ (1.11) on the volatility surface/ because it's for given maturity\ (1.84) if you consider options with different maturities/ rather than having\ (...) (a land on the plane?) you XXXX the surface on space\

(3.22)

GBA so traders try always to predict how the volatility surface will change\

(3.57)

GBA ALLWRIGHT so let's take a break a

4. Tableau et indicateurs (point 5)

Evaluation du degré de relation entre les notions de multilinguisme d'une part, et de créativité et innovation d'autre part, pour chaque terrain étudié par la RT UNIL_UNIGE

		EPFLMAT	HESBTI*	UNIZHJUR	UNISIFIN **	HECLMARK
Discours publicitaire		0	0	0	2	0
Politiques linguistiques		1	1	0	1	0 - 1
Discours/représentations des acteurs institutionnels	**sur les politiques linguistiques**	1	1	1	0	1
	sur les pratiques	1-0	2	2	0	0 - 1
	sur le multilinguisme en général	1	1	2	1	2
Pratiques didactiques	**créativité au niveau stratégique**	2	1	2	0	1
	créativité au niveau conceptuel	1-0	1 - 2	2	0	1

Résultats	EPFLMAT	HESB-TI*	UNIZHJUR	UNISIFIN **	HECLMARK
Discours institutionnels officiels (Discours publicitaire + Politiques linguistiques)	0.5	0.5	0	1.5	0.25
Discours / Représentations des acteurs institutionnels	0.83	1.3	1.6	0.3	1.2
Pratiques didactiques observées	1.25	1.25	2	0	1

* Pour plus de précision nous ne prenons en compte qu'un seul des trois enseignements étudiés, à savoir le cours de Mathématiques (cf. Annexe X)
* * Nous ne prenons en compte qu'un seul des deux enseignements étudiés, à savoir le cours de finance "Derivatives" (cf. Annexe X)

Les moyennes ci-dessus indiquent le degré de relation entre les notions de multilinguisme et de créativité/innovation dans les discours officiels, individuels, et les pratiques didactiques observées. Plus les valeurs se rapprochent de zéro, plus la relation est faible (inexistante pour 0); plus les valeurs se rapprochent de 2, plus la relation est forte et explicite dans les discours et les pratiques. Les indicateurs ayant servi à cette catégorisation sont présentés ci-dessous.

Définition des indicateurs	2	1	0
Discours publicitaires	les discours publicitaires des institutions (surtout site web) investissent explicitement la relation entre multilinguisme et créativité/innovation et l'utilisent pour argumenter leurs choix	les discours publicitaires présentent un lien (implicite) entre multilinguisme et créativité/innovation mais ne l'investissent pas dans un argumentaire	les discours publicitaires ne présentent pas de lien entre multilinguisme et créativité/innovation
Politiques linguistiques	les politiques linguistiques investissent explicitement la relation entre multilinguisme et créativité/innovation et l'utilisent pour argumenter leurs choix	les politiques linguistiques présentent un lien (implicite) entre multilinguisme et créativité/innovation mais ne l'investissent pas dans un argumentaire ou : les politiques linguistiques sont plurilingues mais n'investissent pas le lien avec la créativité et l'innovation	les politiques linguistiques ne sont pas plurilingues et ne présentent pas de lien entre multilinguisme et créativité/innovation

Définition des indicateurs		2	1	0
Discours / représentations des acteurs institutionnels	**sur les politiques linguistiques**	Les discours des acteurs sur les politiques linguistiques sont favorables aux enseignements multilingues et l'argumentent en recourant aux notions de créativité, innovation, changement, progrès, avantage, etc...	les discours des acteurs sur les politiques linguistiques sont favorables aux enseignements multilingues mais n'invoquent pas les notions de créativité/innovation pour les justifier	les discours des acteurs sur les politiques linguistiques ne sont pas favorables aux enseignements multilingues et n'invoquent pas les notions de créativité/innovation
	sur les pratiques didactiques	Les discours des acteurs sur les pratiques didactiques invoquent l'enseignement multilingue comme créatif ou innovateur	les discours des acteurs sur les pratiques didactiques sont favorables à l'enseignement multilingue mais n'invoquent pas les notions de créativité/innovation dans leur argumentaire	Les discours des acteurs sur les pratiques didactiques ne sont pas favorables aux enseignements multilingues, et n'invoquent pas les notions de créativité/innovation
	sur le multilinguisme en général	Les discours des acteurs sur le multilinguisme en général lui sont favorables et invoquent les notions de créativité/innovation dans leur argumentaire	Les discours des acteurs sur le multilinguisme en général lui sont favorables mais n'invoquent pas les notions de créativité/innovation	les discours des acteurs sur le multilinguisme en général ne lui sont pas favorables et n'invoquent pas les notions de créativité/innovation

Définition des indicateurs		2	1	0
Pratiques didactiques	**créativité au niveau stratégique**	les pratiques didactiques observées présentent une forte exploitation de la dimension multilingue dans la gestion stratégique de l'interaction entraînant un processus et un produit créatifs	les pratiques didactiques observées présentent une exploitation partielle de la dimension multilingue dans la gestions stratégique de l'interaction mais n'entraînent pas un processus ou un produit spécialement créatifs	les pratiques didactiques observées ne présentent pas d'exploitation de la dimension multilingue dans la gestion stratégique de l'interaction
	créativité au niveau conceptuel	les pratiques didactiques observées présentent une forte exploitation de la dimension multilingue dans la construction des concepts entraînant un processus et un produit créatifs	les pratiques didactiques observées présentent une exploitation partielle de la dimension multilingue dans construction des concepts mais n'entraînent pas un processus ou un produit spécialement créatifs	les pratiques didactiques observées ne présentent pas d'exploitation de la dimension multilingue dans la construction des concepts
	créativité au niveau énonciatif	les pratiques didactiques observées présentent une forte exploitation de la dimension multilingue au niveau énonciatif entraînant un processus et un produit créatifs	les pratiques didactiques observées présentent une exploitation partielle de la dimension multilingue au niveau énonciatif mais n'entraînent pas un processus ou un produit spécialement créatifs	les pratiques didactiques observées ne présentent pas d'exploitation de la dimension multilingue au niveau énonciatif