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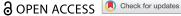
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ABSTRACT

Co-teaching is a common feature of language education in schools. It usually involves two adults holding different sets of expertise and working jointly with the same group of learners. Despite the prevalence of co-teaching in language educational settings, little is known as to how co-teaching is organised and negotiated in classroom talk. Drawing on Membership Categorisation Analysis, this paper aims to shed light on the interactional organisation of co-teaching in language educational settings. To do so, we differentiate the institutional label of "classroom teacher" from the practical social identity of "teacher-hood" and investigate who, in a co-teaching setting, performs "teacher-hood" (or in other words, who is "doing being" the teacher). We take the case of a Chinese student volunteer who teaches Mandarin alongside a classroom teacher in a Scottish primary school and present a series of ethnographic vignettes where the teacher and the student volunteer find multiple and creative ways of negotiating "teacher-hood."

"Collaborative teaching" or "co-teaching" (also known as team teaching) refers to the practice of having two or more educators working together to best support the same group of learners. Co-teaching can take many forms and can take place in different types of educational settings (e.g., Hargreaves, 2019) involving, for instance, a content teacher and a language teacher, a content teacher and a teaching assistant, or a language teacher and a language assistant. Due to the prevalence of co-teaching in educational settings, many studies have offered reviews and analyses of best practice (e.g., Karten & Murawski, 2020; Rexroat-Frazier & Chamberlin, 2019 to name but a few). However, little is known as to how co-teaching is organised and negotiated in classroom talk. Classroom talk is characterised traditionally by teacher-led talk, whereby the teacher initiates talk to which pupils respond. For instance, in Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) sequences typical of classroom talk (Mercer, 1995), the teacher typically performs the "Initiation move" and the "Feedback move" whilst the pupils perform the "Response move." However, in a co-teaching setting, the question arises as to who of the two teachers present in the classroom performs these Initiation and Feedback moves. Do the two adults take turns in leading IRF sequences? Or do both adults contribute to the same IRF sequences, one adult conducting Initiation moves for instance, whilst the other conducts Feedback moves? More generally then, how are the turns typically performed by "the teacher" distributed among the two teachers in classroom talk?

This paper aims to unravel how co-teaching is organised and negotiated in talk in language educational settings. The significance of this paper lies in the fact that it is the first paper to focus on the interactional organisation of co-teaching in language educational settings. It takes the view that the role of "teacher" is a social identity that is performed in interaction (see also Widdicombe, 1998).

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In this vein, Richards (2006) talks about "doing being" the teacher to present the identity of "teacher" as a set of social actions. This set of social actions includes for instance leading IRF sequences, doing classroom management, giving new input, writing on the white board, and so forth. Bonacina-Pugh proposed the notion of "teacher-hood" (2013a) to refer to the set of social actions associated with "doing being" the teacher. In this paper, our focus is therefore to identify how two adults involved in co-teaching jointly perform "teacher-hood" in classroom talk.

We take the case of Mandarin language teaching in a Scottish primary school classroom, where Mandarin is taught by a Mandarin speaking student volunteer alongside the classroom teacher. The originality of this setting lies in the fact that the student volunteer and the classroom teacher have a shared goal (i.e., teaching Mandarin) but they do not have a shared expertise. Co-teaching in language classrooms usually involve two adults who have a certain degree of shared expertise. For example, they can both have expertise in teaching. This is the case of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) classrooms, where the adult responsible for delivering content, and the adult responsible for delivering language input, both have expertise in teaching. In other cases where co-teaching involves a language teacher and a language assistant, both adults are seen to have a shared expertise in the target language. In the co-teaching setting under study however, the two adults have a complete asymmetry of knowledge: the student volunteer has expertise in the target language (Mandarin) but is not a qualified teacher, whereas the classroom teacher has no expertise in the target language but is a qualified teacher. The question arises therefore as to how these two adults organise and negotiate their respective expertise and identities in classroom talk to co-teach Mandarin lessons. Drawing on Membership Categorisation Analysis (Sacks, 1992a, 1992b) and more specifically on Bonacina-Pugh's (2013a) notion of "teacher-hood," we analyse a series of ethnographic vignettes to show how the classroom teacher and the Mandarin student volunteer manage to creatively negotiate "teacher-hood" in classroom interaction to offer children a supportive Mandarin learning environment.

Co-teaching and the analytical concept of "teacher-hood"

Co-teaching is perhaps most known in inclusive educational contexts where it has been present in British schools since the mid-1980s. In this context, it consists in having two teachers working together in the same classroom to address the needs of children with learning disabilities (for a review of co-teaching in inclusive education see for instance Iacono et al., 2021). Co-teaching became popular also in multilingual educational contexts in the United Kingdom, where a classroom teacher and a bilingual assistant work together in mainstream classrooms to provide language support for bilingual learners. Martin-Jones and Saxena (1996, 2003) published in this regard two insightful studies on the asymmetrical power relationships between bilingual assistants and predominantly monolingual class-room teachers in the United Kingdom Bilingual assistants were often marginalised and used simply as a resource, whilst "the class teachers retained control over the turn-taking and generally orchestrated the teaching/learning activities" (Martin-Jones & Saxena, 2003, p. 269). Bourne (2001) also pointed to a clear power asymmetry between bilingual teaching assistants and classroom teachers in the United Kingdom and noted that the four common roles undertaken by bilingual teaching assistants are "role model," "teacher's helper," "monitor of learning," and "bilingual resource" between the home and the school (Bourne, 2001, p. 262).

Co-teaching is also a common characteristic of language educational settings (e.g., Gelir, 2020; Sanders-Smith & Dávila, 2021 to name but a few) and English language education more specifically (e.g., Boland et al., 2019; Tajino et al., 2016; Yoon, 2022). One early example of co-teaching in the language classroom is Sturman's (1992) study (published in a seminal book on co-teaching edited by Nunan) of a British Council led programme in Japan where teachers of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) from the Cambridge English school in the United Kingdom were invited to work alongside ESOL teachers in Japan. This led to two qualified English teachers co-teaching in the same classes. Other studies of co-teaching in the language classroom feature situations where a language

teacher works alongside a language assistant. Dafouz and Hibler (2013), for instance, investigated the relationship between language assistants and primary classroom teachers in Content and Language Integrated Learning classes in Spain. They observed that language assistants were regarded as the "non-dominant teachers" offering linguistic help, whereas classroom teachers were seen as the "dominant teachers," with "more disciplinary knowledge, teaching experience, and classroom talk time" (Dafouz & Hibler, 2013, p. 657).

In the context of our paper, two adults are also present in the same language classroom: a classroom teacher and a Mandarin student volunteer. However, as mentioned above, the two adults offer two very different sets of expertise. The classroom teacher is a qualified teacher but has no expertise in the target language (Mandarin). The student volunteer does have, on the other hand, expertise in the target language but has no expertise or experience in teaching. Our focus in this paper is therefore to understand how these two adults negotiate their co-teaching relationship in practice and, more specifically, how co-teaching is organised and negotiated in classroom interaction. To do this, it is helpful to differentiate the institutional labels of "classroom teacher" and "student volunteer" from the actual social actions performed by these two adults in the classroom. Following Widdicombe's seminal work on identity performance, we understand identity as "something that people do which is embedded in some other social activity, and not something that they are" (1998, p. 191). In this regard, the identity of "teacher" is therefore a social activity, a set of social actions, that the adult—or anyone else in the classroom for that matter—can perform. In the same vein, Richards (2006) sees the categories of "teacher" and "student" not as analytically given but rather as practical social identities enacted by different interactional patterns (Richards, 2006, p. 59). Using the lens of Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) (Sacks, 1992a, 1992b) to analyse a corpus of spoken interaction audio-recorded in a French induction classroom for newly-arrived migrants, Bonacina-Pugh (2013a, p. 299) proposed the term "teacher-hood" to refer to "what it is to be 'doing being' the teacher and to differentiate this performance from the term 'teacher,' which is a label that commonly refers to the adult in the class and not to a set of actions." Bonacina-Pugh's (2013a) paper introduces Membership Categorisation Analysis to the study of language choice in multilingual classrooms. She argues that, in the classroom under study and perhaps in other multilingual classrooms, language choice is an activity bound to "teacher-hood," and that as a consequence, whoever performs "teacher-hood" in the classroom gets to use their preferred language as the "medium of classroom interaction" (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011); thus, legitimising languages other than French, the official language of instruction in the French educational system. Bonacina-Pugh (2013a) observes that "teacher-hood" in that classroom could be negotiated in two different ways: It could be *suspended* by the adult to enable a child to perform teacher-hood and use their first language; or it could be *switched*, when the adult deliberately acted as a pupil (i.e., performed pupil-hood) whilst a child performed teacher-hood, again with a view to legitimise the use of a child's language.

We argue that Bonacina-Pugh's (2013a) analytical concept of "teacher-hood" is useful in the present paper, not to analyse language choice as this is not the focus of this study, but rather to understand how the two adults co-present in the Mandarin classroom negotiate "teacher-hood" in interaction to best teach Mandarin to primary school children, given that one adult has expertise in teaching whilst the other has expertise in the target language. We argue that the notion of "teacher-hood" here enables us to understand what teacher-bound activities are performed by the classroom teacher (if any) and which ones are performed by the student volunteer (if any).

Context: Mandarin language teaching in Scottish primary schools

In the broader context of language education in the United Kingdom, Copland and McPake (2022) have recently exposed key misconceptions about multilingualism and language learning and argue that "far from being monolingual, lacking interest in other languages and incompetent language learners, much of the U.K. population is multilingual, and interested in expanding linguistic competence, but often hampered by limited provision, particularly in school" (2022, p. 124). Limited

provision in schools is indeed an issue that has affected Mandarin language education in particular. Scholars have, for instance, pointed to the significant lack of qualified Mandarin teachers in the United Kingdom (e.g., Hu, 2010; Ping, 2009; Wang & Higgins, 2008). In their report of teachers' and learners' views of Mandarin teaching in the United Kingdom, Wang and Higgins (2008) note that England faces a significant lack of qualified Mandarin language teachers. Similarly, Ping (2009) highlights the scarcity of qualified Mandarin language teachers in secondary schools in the United Kingdom and reports how Mandarin speaking foreign language assistants recruited by schools to overcome this gap, are, in fact, endorsing full teaching responsibilities in the classroom.

Scotland (United Kingdom) is facing similar issues and lacks, in particular, primary school teachers qualified to teach Mandarin or any other foreign languages. This issue is even more salient in Scotland than in the rest of the United Kingdom since the Scottish Government has adopted a language policy whereby foreign language education needs to start from the first year of primary school. Following the impetus of the European Union 1 + 2 model of language teaching (e.g., European Commission, 2002, p. 19), the Scottish Government launched in 2012 a strategy entitled "Language Learning in Scotland: A 1 + 2 Approach" (Scottish Government, 2012; henceforth referred to as the 1 + 2 Approach). This policy document states that Scottish pupils have to learn two additional languages in primary schools, one language from Primary 1 and a second language from Primary 5. These can be any languages, the aim being to better support Scottish primary school pupils becoming multilingual global citizens. The implementation of that language policy was made difficult due to a lack of existing primary school teachers qualified to teach languages (see also Christie et al., 2016, p. 5). However, the 1 + 2 Approach indicates that schools can resort to the use of Foreign Language Assistants (Scottish Government, 2012, p. 32). This enabled mainstream classroom teachers to work alongside foreign language adult speakers, thus creating co-teaching settings.

It is in this spirit that the *Early Learning of Chinese Project* was created in October 2013 by the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. This project consists in (a) training university students whose first language is Mandarin to give them foundational knowledge in language teaching and learning pedagogy, and the Scottish educational system; and (b) allocating these student volunteers to local primary schools to teach Mandarin. At the time of writing this paper, in the school year 2021–2022, this project is coordinated by the Scotland-China Education Network (SCEN) and its development is monitored by researchers affiliated to a social enterprise called *Bilingualism Matters*. Again, at the time of writing this paper, nine primary schools near Edinburgh (Scotland) welcome Mandarin speaking student volunteers. On the *Bilingualism Matters* website, one can read that these Mandarin speaking student volunteers are there to "tell the pupils about their home culture and playfully teach them Chinese characters, tones and words" (http://www.bilingualism-matters.ppls.ed.ac.uk/projects/early-learning-chinese-project/). In an interview, the organiser of the *Early Learning of Chinese Project* declared that Mandarin student volunteers are "cultural ambassadors" whose aim is to raise pupils' awareness of life in China as well as of the foundations of the Mandarin language. As indicated in one of the training documents available to Mandarin student volunteers, this project aims for pupils to "learn elements of the Chinese language and about the country where the language is spoken as a first language."[1] This same document further indicates the expected working relationship between Mandarin student volunteers and classroom teachers. It states that "leadership of the Project within each classroom is provided by the classroom teacher" and that student volunteers "will look ... for guidance and support from classroom teachers in all aspects of their work in schools."[2] At the level of text then, student volunteers are expected to work in close collaboration with classroom teachers but not much detail is given as to how this co-teaching relationship can be organised in practice, and especially in classroom interaction. It is also worth mentioning that classroom teachers receive no training as to how to best work in collaboration with student volunteers.

Methods of data collection and analysis

This paper is a case study of a Primary 5 class in a school based in East Lothian, an educational authority near Edinburgh, Scotland, where two student volunteers came on a weekly basis to teach Mandarin. This classroom was made of 20 pupils, aged 9 to 10, and of a mainstream teacher, a white female in her 40s, monolingual in English. The pupils and the teacher had no prior knowledge of Mandarin. The two volunteers spoke Mandarin as a first language. They were both in their early 20s and were international students at The University of Edinburgh. They usually divided the hour in two 30-minute sessions that they would both lead independently. We focus here on one of these two volunteers, a Chinese female to whom we gave the pseudonym *Yiya*.

Both authors of this paper are based in Scotland, United Kingdom The first author is an academic in her 40s who is bilingual in French and English. She works as a Lecturer in Education at The University of Edinburgh. The second author is an international student in his early 30s who is bilingual in Mandarin and English. He is conducting doctoral research at the University of Edinburgh and has extensive experience of teaching Mandarin as a foreign language. The data was collected by the second author.

This study is based on two data sets collected by another Mandarin student volunteer (also second author of this paper) during a semester prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. The first data set consists of a series of structured and semi-structured interviews conducted with the director of the *Early Chinese Learning Project* responsible for recruiting and training Mandarin student volunteers amongst the student population of the University of Edinburgh, the head teacher of the school under study, the mainstream teacher of the Primary 5 class under study, and the Mandarin student volunteer who taught Mandarin in that class. This data set was analysed using thematic analysis and has been used to gain a contextual understanding of how the Mandarin student volunteer was positioned in stakeholders' and teachers' discourses.

The second data set, which this paper focuses on, consists of field notes taken in the classroom, coupled with weekly audio-recordings of the Mandarin student volunteer's and the mainstream teacher's talk over a semester. Extracts from audio-recordings and field notes are jointly presented below in the form of ethnographic vignettes. This second data set was also collected by the second author of this paper.

For the purpose of this paper, these vignettes were analysed by both authors using the lens of Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) (Sacks, 1992a, 1992b), a method stemming from Ethnomethodology, which aims to understand how social actors categorise the world based on their social acts. According to MCA, and to put it briefly, to every social category pertains a series of "category-bound activities" observable in talk. Social actors perform certain category-bound activities to signal affiliation or disaffiliation to a particular social category (for a more developed explanation of MCA, please refer for instance to Lepper, 2000). In educational contexts, MCA has been a powerful lens to see the notion of "teacher" as a social category with a particular set of category-bound activities, as opposed to being simply an institutional label. As mentioned above, drawing on MCA, Bonacina-Pugh (2013a) proposed the category "teacher-hood" to refer to the set of social actions typical of doing being the teacher (that could be performed by anyone in the class), and to differentiate this from the label "teacher" usually given by the institution to the adult in the class. As Schegloff puts it, "among the items that compose category-based common-sense knowledge are kinds of activities or actions or forms of conduct taken by the common sense or vernacular culture to be especially characteristic of a category's members" (2007, p. 470). Activities taken by the common sense of vernacular culture as being especially characteristic of "teacher-hood" are for instance: correcting pupils' answers, giving feedback, selecting next speaker, asking known information questions, issuing instructions, giving explanations, and prompting pupils (e.g., He, 2004, p. 208; Kasper, 2009, p. 7; Richards, 2006, p. 61). Other common characteristics include the "asymmetry of knowledge" between teacher and pupils (Richards, 2006, p. 63) and the use of the Initiation—Response–Feedback sequence (IRF) as the "default" pattern of interaction between teacher and pupils (e.g., Mercer, 1995; see also Bonacina-Pugh, 2013a, p. 301).

Findings: Negotiating teacher-hood

In the classroom under study, activities typical of the category "teacher-hood" include standing in front of the class, writing on the whiteboard, using PowerPoint slides, giving new input, asking known information questions, giving feedback, giving explanations, and doing classroom management. In turn, "doing being" the pupils typically consists of sitting on the carpet or on round tables, repeating new input, replying to prompts and elicitations, and following instructions. In the sections below, we present three different ways in which the Mandarin student volunteer and the classroom teacher negotiate "teacher-hood" to create a supportive Mandarin learning environment for the children. We gave the Mandarin student volunteer the pseudonym Yiya and the classroom teacher the pseudonym Sarah, so as to avoid labelling participants with the institutional labels of "teacher" or "student volunteer."

A solo performance of teacher-hood

In our corpus of audio-recordings and field notes, we observe that Yiya (the Mandarin student volunteer) is at times performing teacher-hood on her own. This means that, despite the fact that the classroom teacher is present in the classroom, Yiya would stand in front of the children, have sole control of the whiteboard and the power-point slides and introduce new input on her own. All these teacher-bound activities indicate that the Yiya is "doing being" the teacher in the classroom, whilst Sarah (the classroom teacher) remains quiet at the back of the room. Consider Vignette 1, where the Yiya is reviewing body parts in Mandarin with the children.

Vignette 1

Yiya: "How to say legs?"

Yiya points at a picture of legs on her PowerPoint slides.

Children: "腿(Tui)."

Yiya: "Very good! How to say left leg?"

The children answer, Yiya praises them and then moves on to the next question.

In this vignette, Yiya reviews body parts in Mandarin previously taught in another lesson and conducts a series of "translation quests," that is, sequences where a translation is being elicited (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013b, p. 155). Yiya conducts full Initiation-Response-Feedback sequences, eliciting a translation ("How to say legs?") and giving feedback ("Very good!") after children's responses. This type of interactional episodes is typical of teacher-bound activities and illustrates how Yiya controls the floor on her own and gives feedback on her own. In our corpus, Yiya is also often seen to introduce new cultural or societal topics related to China. In Vignette 2, Yiya is again standing in front of the children who are sitting on the carpet, whilst Sarah (the "classroom teacher") is sitting at the back of the room.

Vignette 2

Yiya: "The language you are learning is called Mandarin, right?"

Children respond positively.

Yiya: "Yeah, but the thing is, besides Mandarin, we have many other language varieties .... And I come from the South, this is where I come from. The language variety I speak is called Wu, which is very different from Mandarin. I will show you a little bit later. In the southern part, except Wu, we have other language varieties, like Xiang, which is here. And Gan, here. Hakka, here. Min and Cantonese. Have you heard of Cantonese?"

Yiya shows a map of China on her slides and points to the different parts of China. Sarah remains silent and shows interest in the topic. She leans closer to the slides and nods her head.

Vignette 2 shows Yiya opening up a new topic of instruction, namely the different language varieties in China, and sharing new content. She holds the floor for a lengthy period of time whilst the rest of the class remains silent, listening to her. Holding the floor and introducing new topics are typical teacher-bound activities and confirm that Yiya is performing teacher-hood. Sarah is listening but does not seem to join in the performance of teacher-hood. On the contrary, she sits at the back and remains silent, letting Yiya performing teacher-hood on her own. At other times, however, when Yiya is performing teacher-hood on her own, Sarah explicitly performs "pupil-hood" with the rest of the children. Take Vignette 3 for example. Here, Yiya is still standing in front of the classroom, whilst the children and Sarah are sitting facing Yiya and the PowerPoint slides.

Vignette 3

Yiya: "And now we have yellow, the same second word. We only change this part. So it is 黄色 (Huang se).

"*The children and Sarah jointly repeat* "黄色 (Huang se)."

Yiya: "黄色 (Huang se). Well done. And these are all blue. Blue in Chinese is 蓝色 (Lan se)."

The children and Sarah jointly repeat "蓝色 (Lan se)."

Yiya: "We have an orange, and the colour orange is 橙色 (Cheng se)."

Here again, the children and Sarah repeat "橙色 (Cheng se)."

Yiya introduces new input in Mandarin, namely colours, whilst the children and Sarah repeat after her the new Mandarin vocabulary. Here, Yiya is seen to conduct teacher-bound activities such as controlling the floor, giving new input, and giving feedback ("well done"). Her solo performance of teacher-hood is reinforced by the fact that Sarah is no longer a silent observer but joins in with the children and repeats the new Mandarin words after Yiya. In doing so, Sarah positions herself as a learner and performs an activity typical of "pupil-hood" in a language class, namely repeating after the person "doing being" the teacher. This indicates that Yiya, despite "only" being a Mandarin student-volunteer, can at times take full ownership of the classroom and lead teaching episodes on her own. At other times, however, Sarah jointly performs teacher-hood with Yiya in what we propose to call cases of "sharing teacher-hood."

Sharing teacher-hood

In our corpus of audio-recordings and field notes, we observe that Yiya (the Mandarin student volunteer) and Sarah (the classroom teacher) can share teacher-hood. This means that they both perform activities bound to the category "teacher-hood," during the same Mandarin lesson. In other words, teacher-hood is no longer a solo performance as it was in Vignettes 1 to 3, but a joint performance. As the examples below show, Yiya and Sarah each perform different teacher-bound activities, thus properly "sharing teacher-hood." Consider first Vignette 4, which takes place shortly after Vignette 3. Here, Yiya continues to introduce colours in Mandarin and is showing children a new slide to show the colour "black."

Vignette 4

Yiya: "Okay, let's move on to another colour, which is black."

Yiya points at a picture on the slide, a cartoon character wearing all black. The children recognise that character. They get all excited and start chatting among themselves.

Sarah: "Shhhhh."

Children stop chatting and are quiet again.

In this vignette, Yiya is leading the lesson, in charge of the PowerPoint slides and introducing new content in Mandarin, thus clearly performing teacher-bound activities. Interestingly, however, Sarah

joins in this interactional sequence by engaging in classroom management and asking the children to remain quiet, which is also a typical teacher-bound activity in that class, as in many other educational settings. Both Yiya and Sarah are therefore jointly performing teacher-hood, that is, performing teacher-bound activities within the same interactional episode. Of interest also is the fact that Sarah who was performing "pupil-hood" in Vignette 3, seems to switch back to performing "teacher-hood" to manage the class shortly after in Vignette 4. This reminds us that identity performances are fluid and ever changing, and that the relationship between Sarah and Yiya is equally in constant flux.

In Vignette 5, Sarah and Yiya continue to share teacher-hood, this time in very close turns.

Vignette 5

Yiya: "Another pair? Who wants to try?"

Another two students volunteer to demonstrate the role play.

Sarah: "Well done!"

Yiya is asking if anybody else is willing to practise a short role play in front of the class and when two students volunteer, Sarah gives them praise. Here, Yiya still appears to be leading the interaction and controlling the floor. Despite sitting behind the children, Sarah joins in by giving praise and feedback to the children, showing that she is also performing "teacher-hood" jointly with Yiya, even if she is not partaking in delivering subject content. This vignette further shows how both Yiya and Sarah work jointly together, evolving in the lesson in a close *pas de deux*.

At other times in our corpus, Yiya and Sarah jointly perform "teacher-hood" not by sharing different teacher-bound activities as illustrated in Vignettes 4 and 5, but by performing together *the same* teacher-bound activity. For instance, in Vignette 6, Yiya and Sarah are seen to jointly give instructions to the children in the class.

Vignette 6

Yiya: "Shall we begin?"

Sarah: "And use each other. If there is someone at your desk—you know someone is struggling with Mandarin, you can give them a wee hand. That's okay. But don't say it too loud so that other teams can't hear you. Whisper."

The children start the group activity.

Here, Yiya has given specific instructions to the children for them to engage on a group task on their own and asks the children if they are ready to start. By giving instructions, she is therefore clearly performing a teacher-bound activity. Interestingly, Sarah quickly follows Yiya's turn and gives additional instructions to the children. She is thus performing the same teacher-bound activity than Yiya, in a turn that directly follows Yiya's turn. These two close turns are uttered by two different speakers performing the same teacher-bound activity and therefore the same teacher-hood identity as if they were one. Other instances of Sarah and Yiya jointly performing the same teacher-bound activity are often found in our data when the children in the class do not understand something that Yiya is explaining to them. In those cases, Sarah joins the interaction and provides additional explanations. Vignette 7 offers a clear example. Here, Yiya is in the middle of a Mandarin lesson and is asking the children to work with their "peers." She temporarily pauses to check children's understanding of the word "peer."

Vignette 7

Yiya: "Do you know the meaning of peers?"

Children whisper but do not offer a response.

Yiya: "Well ... it is someone around your age. And also, yeah ... someone of your age ...."

Children still do not show a sign of understanding. Yiya turns to Sarah for help.

Sarah: "Yeah, you are each other's peers. And my peers are the other teachers. People you work with. They are your peers. My peers are other teachers, because we are of a similar age."

Sarah talks to the children.

In this vignette, Yiya is checking children's understanding of the English word "peer." However, the children do not offer a sign of understanding and start whispering, so Yiya offers an explanation. This is still not met with any signs of understanding, so Yiya turns to Sarah for help. Sarah then joins in the interaction and offers additional explanations. She is seen here as a resource and jointly performs a teacher-bound activity with Yiya, namely giving explanations. Vignette 8 offers another example of Sarah and Yiya jointly giving explanations to the children, thus performing the same teacher-bound activity. Here, Yiya is presenting the Chinese flag and explaining the symbolism of its different elements.

Vignette 8

Yiya: "The biggest star, the one in the middle, represents communism. It is kinda like a society, ideology, yeah."

Children do not show a sign of understanding.

Sarah: "Okay .... Ermmm .... *Communism* is when somebody rules a country, and the way they believe-Ermmm .... Leave it to me. I will think about it and explain it to you."

Children are getting louder.

Sarah: "Yes, yes, everybody. Just—I will look it up in the dictionary and see how it explains it."

Sarah goes to the class bookshelves whilst Yiya resumes her explanations.

Yiya: "Okay, I will continue. One of the small stars represents literacy, the well-educated people. And officials in the government. This is the picture how they looked like in the ancient time. So people were dressed like this."

Yiya turns to her next slide.

Sarah: "Sorry—I got the answer. It actually says Communism is a political thing. We just had an election and that re-chooses who runs the government. So it is a political thing like that. And the dictionary says they believe that everyone should share the money in that country. But the people who are in charge, control everything. So everybody shares their money, but some people control everything."

Sarah is addressing the whole class.

This slightly longer vignette truly shows how both Sarah and Yiya are sharing teacher-hood, or in other words, how they are co-teaching. As soon as Yiya encounters a difficulty in explaining the notion of "communism" to the children, Sarah, who had until now remained silent, joins the interaction and offers additional information. She then offers to look for a definition in a dictionary and interrupts Yiya's talk to share that definition to the rest of the class. In Vignettes 6 to 8, it is clear that Yiya is the one who is performing teacher-hood, and that Sarah only occasionally joins in the interaction to provide additional support, such as additional instructions or additional explanations. In those instances, Yiya and Sarah are thus seen as working closely together as they perform the same teacher-bound activity (namely, giving explanations) in adjacent turns. Interaction goes smoothly and all classroom participants appear to perceive this joint performance of "teacher-hood" as acceptable and normal.

Guiding teacher-hood

In this last section, we turn to cases in our corpus where Sarah (the classroom teacher) appears to guide Yiya's (the Mandarin student volunteer) performance of teacher-hood. Whilst in Vignettes 4 to 8 Yiya and Sarah seemed to operate on a more or less equal footing, either sharing different

teacher-bound activities (Vignettes 4 and 5) or performing the same teacher-bound activities (Vignettes 6 to 8), in the following instances Sarah is seen to guide Yiya's performance of teacher-hood thus showing her teaching expertise. In Vignette 9, Yiya is comparing different cultural artefacts in Scotland and China and says that purple is a common colour for a kilt. However, she then pauses and asks for confirmation that purple is indeed a colour commonly found on kilts.

Vignette 9

Yiya: "Purple is a common colour for the kilt. Is it common?"

The children do not offer a response. Yiya turns to Sarah for help.

Sarah: "It depends. The kilts depend on the family ... that originally the way back to kilts were worn by Scottish clans. And each clan has a different colour, and each clan has a different kilt .... It really depends on the tartan your clan uses. But sometimes it is common to have purple ones .... We made our own tartan, that's right!"

Sarah addresses both Yiya and the children.

Of interest in this vignette is Yiya's question: "Is it common?" Her question is not a "known-information question" (Heath, 1986) typically used by those "doing being" the teacher but is rather a "real question" (Searle, 1969), to which Yiya does not know the answer. In asking a "real question," Yiya steps outside of teacher-bound activities and thus temporarily puts on hold her performance of "teacher-hood." As the children do not offer a response to Yiya's question, Yiya uses Sarah as a resource and turns to her to seek an answer to her question. In offering a response to Yiya's question, Sarah supports Yiya, and avoids a communication breakdown. It is clear that this vignette differs from Vignettes 7 and 8 where both Yiya and Sarah jointly gave explanations to the children in the class. Here, in Vignette 9, Sarah offers explanations to both Yiya and the children who are therefore seen as "doing-being" the learners.

At other times in our corpus, Sarah is seen to repair explicitly what Yiya is saying in front of the whole class, as illustrated in Vignette 10.

Vignette 10

Yiya: "Okay, I will explain this. At the age of three, we go to kindergarten"—

Sarah: —"Nursery"

Yiya: "We go to nursery"

Here, Yiya is holding the floor in front of the whole classroom and is in the middle of a teaching sequence. At some point before Vignette 10, the children have not understood what Yiya is talking about (i.e., the educational system in China) so Yiya pauses her lesson to focus on providing an explanation ("I will explain this"). She clearly performs the identity of teacher-hood by being the one who delivers new input and offers explanations to ensure children's understanding. Contrary to what happened in Vignettes 7 and 8 where both Yiya and Sarah provided joint explanations to the children, in Vignette 10, Yiya claims that she will be the one who will provide an explanation to the children ("I will explain this"). However, she is soon interrupted by Sarah who repairs Yiya's lexical choice of "kindergarten" and offers instead the British English equivalent, "nursery." This is then accepted by Yiya who self-repairs and resumes her explanation by incorporating the suggested word. Interestingly, Sarah's brief interruption changes the identity performances at play here. Whilst Yiya continues to perform "teacher-hood" insofar as she is the one who holds the floor and provides explanations to the children, she is positioned as someone who is still learning and receives feedback. By repairing Yiya's choice of word, Sarah reminds the classroom participants that Yiya is somewhat not a teacher in her own right and that the main authority remains in the hands of Sarah who is now seen to perform activities bound to the category "teacher trainer" or "teacher expert." This dynamic is even more salient in Vignette 11.

Vignette 11

Yiya: "Do you think it is better, like if we do this exercise first?"

Yiya has moved halfway across the room, closer to Sarah, who is sitting at the back of the room.

Sarah: "I think, maybe, I wonder, why don't we do this one first? And then, yeah the other one."

Yiya is not clear about the order in which the activities she prepared should be delivered. She pauses temporarily her Mandarin teaching to move closer to Sarah, asking her for guidance as to what activity should come first. In this regard, the Mandarin lesson is temporarily suspended. Yiya opens a side sequence where she asks Sarah for advice about her lesson planning. In this side sequence, Yiya performs an activity typical of a teacher-trainee, asking for the help of a more experienced teacher about lesson planning. In giving advice about lesson planning, Sarah performs an activity bound to the category "teacher-trainer," henceforth guiding Yiya's performance of teacher-hood. Interestingly, in her response to Yiya, Sarah uses the pronoun "we" and suggests: "why don't *we* do this one first" (our emphasis). This clearly indicates that Sarah and Yiya see the Mandarin lesson as being a joint venture, the fruit of a co-teaching relationship whereby Sarah shows expertise in matters relating to teaching and lesson planning, whilst Yiya shows expertise in matters related to the target language.

Discussion and concluding remarks

This paper aimed to investigate the interactional organisation of co-teaching in language educational contexts and took the case of Mandarin language classes in a Scottish primary school (United Kingdom). According to the 1 + 2 Language Strategy adopted by the Scottish government, a new foreign language ought to be introduced in the first and fifth year of Primary school. Given the significant shortage of qualified language teachers in Primary schools to implement this language policy, schools have often had to draw on the linguistic resources available in the wider community. This paper focused on a particular initiative from The University of Edinburgh, called the *Early Learning of Mandarin Project*, which provides Mandarin speaking student volunteers some foundational knowledge in language education. These student volunteers are then allocated to local Primary schools to teach Mandarin. This leads to situations of "co-teaching" where two adults are present in the same classroom, namely a classroom teacher and a Mandarin student volunteer. This paper took the case of a Mandarin student volunteer who taught Mandarin to a Primary 5 class in a Primary school near Edinburgh, Scotland. We have shown that, in the literature, co-teaching is often characterised by either two qualified teachers working alongside each other in the same classroom (this is the case of Content and Language Integrated Learning settings for instance) or by a classroom teacher and a language assistant (this was the case of bilingual language assistants in multilingual schools in the United Kingdom for instance). The originality of the co-teaching setting under study is that the two adults have a complete asymmetry of knowledge: The student volunteer has expertise in the target language (Mandarin) but is not a qualified teacher, whereas the classroom teacher has no expertise in the target language but is a qualified teacher.

In order to understand the organisation of co-teaching in these Mandarin classes, we tried to be as much as possible "identity blind." That is, we tried to forget about the labels of "teacher" and "volunteer" as given by the educational institution and focused instead solely on identity as performance, as something that people do. Using a Membership Categorisation Analytical lens, we asked ourselves: who, at this moment, is "doing being" the teacher? In this regard, we found Bonacina-Pugh's (2013a) concept of "teacher-hood" helpful insofar as it sees the identity "teacher" as a performance, that is, as a set of practical social actions. The question thus became: Who, at this moment, is performing "teacher-hood?"

We analysed in this paper 11 ethnographic vignettes that offered insights onto the interactional organisation of co-teaching in the Mandarin language lessons under study. These vignettes illustrated the many ways in which the classroom teacher (whom we called "Sarah" to avoid labelling her as

"classroom teacher") and the Mandarin student volunteer (whom we called "Yiya" to avoid labelling her as "student volunteer") negotiated "teacher-hood" in classroom talk. The first three vignettes showed how Yiya could, at times, perform "teacher-hood" on her own. She could lead full Initiation-Response-Feedback sequences by herself, stand in front of the classroom, be in charge of the whiteboard and the PowerPoint slides, introduce new linguistic and cultural input and so forth—all of which being activities that are typically associated with the category "teacher-hood" in this classroom, as well as in many other language educational settings. In those interactional episodes, Sarah would often sit at the back of the room, remaining silent or sometimes joining in with the children by repeating new input in Mandarin (see Vignette 3), thus performing "pupil-hood." These first three vignettes showed that, in a co-teaching setting like the one under study, the two adults need not necessarily be teaching at the same time. It is okay for one of the adults to take the lead whilst the other sits quietly or joins in with the children to learn new input in the target language. These vignettes also showed that Yiya is not simply a linguistic resource in the Mandarin class, as it is often the case with language assistants, but rather that she is able and allowed to fully perform teacher-hood on her own. Indeed, we recall Bourne's (2001, p. 262) study mentioned earlier, where bilingual teaching assistants in U.K. classrooms were often fulfilling the roles of "teacher's helper" and "bilingual resource." Our findings show a different co-teaching relationship, whereby the adult with the language expertise is not simply a bilingual resource in the classroom but is instead leading full teaching sequences. These instances of what we have proposed to call a "solo performance of teacher-hood" are particularly important because they give the status and power to student volunteers like Yiya.

Vignettes 4 to 8 illustrated a different type of co-teaching practice where we argued that Yiya and Sarah "shared teacher-hood." This means that they both performed activities bound to the category teacher-hood. In some instances, Yiya and Sarah were seen to perform different teacher-bound activities. In Vignette 4, Yiya introduced new lexical input whilst Sarah would engage in classroom management, and in Vignette 5, Yiya conducted an Initiation move whilst Sarah conducted the Feedback move of the same IRF sequence. Co-teaching here took place seamlessly as the two adults in the classroom both contributed to the performance of teacher-hood in close interactional turns. This symbiotic co-teaching relationship was even more salient when Yiya and Sarah performed the same teacher-bound activities in talk. In Vignette 6, both Yiya and Sarah provided instructions to the children for the same activity, in adjacent turns. In Vignettes 7 and 8, Yiya and Sarah both gave explanations to children on the same topics, again in the same interactional sequences. It was usually the case that Sarah's contribution followed Yiya's turn, and not the other way round, and this is perhaps due to the fact that Sarah consolidates Yiya's performance of teacher-hood. Yiya offered new input in the target language and culture whilst Sarah shaped and polished the ways in which this new input was presented and explained to the children in the class. Sarah's guiding role was made explicit in Vignettes 9 to 11, where she answered one of Yiya's real questions (in Vignette 9), repaired some aspects of Yiya's talk (in Vignette 10), and provided advice on Yiya's lesson planning (in Vignette 11). These last examples showed how Sarah is considered, at times, as a resource in the class, that is, as someone that Yiya can turn to when she has questions about her performance of "teacher-hood." Interestingly, this contrasts with previous findings in the literature on co-teaching, where it is often the language assistant who is considered as a resource in the language classroom and not the classroom teacher. Martin-Jones and Saxena (1996, 2003), for instance, found that it was the language assistants who were often marginalised and used as a resource. In our study, Yiya was performing "teacher-hood" in a safe and supportive environment, where she could focus on content, namely teaching the target language, whilst Sarah could help with other teacher-bound activities such as classroom management, or even advise on her lesson planning. It is becoming clear that identity performances in this classroom are dynamic and fluid, and constantly changing to better serve the smooth running of the Mandarin lessons. Yiya's identity performance ranged from "doing-being" the teacher on her own, to sharing teacher-hood with Sarah, and "doing being" the teacher trainee when asking Sarah for advice. Sarah's identity performance, on the other hand, ranged from "doing-being" a learner of Mandarin, to sharing teacher-hood with Yiya, and supervising Yiya's teaching practice. These shifts

further indicate a mutually respectful and equal relationship between the classroom teacher and the student volunteer. This differs from findings in previous studies where an asymmetrical power relationship is often observed in co-teaching settings. For instance, we saw how Dafouz and Hibler (2013, p. 657) mentioned that language assistants were regarded as the "non-dominant teachers" offering linguistic help, whereas classroom teachers were seen as the "dominant teachers." We suggest that, in our study, Yiya and Sarah managed to share the power associated with "doing being the teacher" because they often shared the performance of teacher-hood.

To conclude, the significance of this study lies in the fact that it focuses on the interactional organisation of co-teaching and shows the many ways in which co-teaching can be organised in talk, in a language educational setting. We have shown how, despite the absence of a qualified Mandarin teacher in the classroom, the two adults in the class managed to combine their respective expertise in teaching on the one hand (Sarah), and Mandarin on the other (Yiya), to jointly perform a *new* identity, namely that of "Mandarin teacher." The originality of this study lies therefore in the fact that it shows how a co-teaching performance can lead to the emergence of a third identity (in our case, that of "Mandarin teacher").

With regards to the Scottish context, co-teaching between classroom teachers and student volunteers appears to be a possible solution to mitigate against the lack of trained language teachers in Scottish Primary schools and we hope that this model can be extended to other languages as well as to other adults in the community such as parents. This said, we would advocate for the need to move beyond a voluntary arrangement and to offer instead appropriate status and recognition to adults from the community engaged in co-teaching. It is also hoped that the implementation of the 1 + 2 language policy in Scotland will soon lead to the inclusion of foreign and additional language teaching in in-service and pre-service primary teacher education, so that more primary teachers are trained to teach languages in schools—or at least trained to co-teach with other language experts—and thus respond to the policy.

Notes

1. This is taken from a training material written by Simon Macauley in 2015 for Mandarin student volunteers.
2. This is taken from a training material written by Simon Macauley in 2015 for Mandarin student volunteers.

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Disclosure statement

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Appendix: Vignette conventions

"Text": Double quotation markers indicate that text is transcribed from audio-recordings of classroom talk.

Italics: Italics indicate that the data comes from the set of field notes collected during classroom observations.

(Text): Parentheses indicate an English translation of talk uttered in Mandarin.