

Doing Language Policy

A Micro-Interactional Study of Policy Practices in English as a
Foreign Language Classes.

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To *Ami, Abu*, Amir, Sidra, Muhammad, Abdullah & Hassan with love.

And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the diversity of your languages and your colours. Indeed in that are signs for those of knowledge. (Quran, 30: 22)

ABSTRACT

This study investigates foreign language classroom talk and micro-level language policy-in-process from an ethnomethodological conversation analytic perspective. The study is based on 20 hours of video recordings from 20 lessons in an English as a Foreign Language classroom (EFL) in grades 8 and 9 of an international compulsory school in Sweden between the years 2007 and 2010. The main purpose of the study is to shed light on some of the distinguishing features of how a target-language-only policy is materialised *in situ* in a foreign language classroom. The study demonstrates the relative ease with which teachers and pupils uphold a strict language policy in the classroom, but also the considerable interactional work that is done, by both teachers and pupils, in cases where upholding the policy becomes problematic. An interactional phenomenon which arises in such cases is language policing, where the teacher or pupils restore the policy-prescribed linguistic order. Such sequences are analysed in detail. The study increases our understanding of how language policy is lived out in practice, through interaction in the classroom.

Keywords: conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, language policy, practiced language policy, language policing, classroom discourse, EFL, TEFL, code-switching

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Linköping University, 22 October 2013

Alia

LIST OF PAPERS

This project is research conducted between the years 2009-2013, consisting of the following publications (besides eleven conference papers):

Amir, A. & Musk, N. (2013) "Language policing: micro-level language policy-in-process in the foreign language classroom." *Classroom Discourse*.

Amir, A. (2013) "Self-policing in the English as a Foreign Language classroom." *Novitas-ROYAL* 7, (2) 84-105

Amir, A. & Musk, N. (submitted) "Pupils doing language policy: Micro-interactional insights from the English as a foreign language classroom." *Journal of Applied Language Studies*

ABBREVIATIONS

CA	Conversation Analysis
CS	Code-switching
CA-for-SLA	Conversation Analysis for Second Language Acquisition
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
EM	Ethnomethodology
IRE	Initiation, Response and Evaluation
IRF	Initiation, Response and Feedback or Follow-up
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LIEP	Language in Education Policy
LINT	Learning, Interaction and the Development of Narrative Knowing and Remembering
LMT	Language Management Theory
LP	Language Policy
LPP	Language Policy and Planning
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TEFL	Teaching English as a Foreign Language

1 INTRODUCTION

When I moved to Sweden in the year 2008 for my PhD studies, one of the main issues was to find an appropriate school for my children. Two of my sons, Abdullah and Hassan joined the junior class of an English stream of a school. Even though the pupils' home languages vastly varied in this class, Hassan usually complained that the teacher did not allow the students to speak home languages in the class. With a big grin usually, he used to say that even though the teacher was in the class he managed to talk in Urdu. However, he also complained about the teachers' use of one of her home languages, i.e. Spanish with a student. As a researcher, I could not help looking into this informally as a new field of interest.

What I also came to know during the visits to this school was that in the playground, these kinds of restrictions were not upheld strictly and one could hear several languages in the playground as well as in the school corridors. These insights from Hassan's school provided a suitable point of departure when I embarked on an empirical study in the year 2009 in the English lessons of the Swedish stream of an international school. A similar kind of teacher versus pupils' language policy was being upheld in this class as well when I had a close look at the video recordings of the lessons.

The motivation for this thesis lies therefore in the pursuit of questions related to everyday language policy realities and problems in the life of a foreign language teacher/pupils. Since English is the most widely used foreign language in any compulsory school context, this study speaks to a wide range of questions related to English as a foreign language (EFL) policy worldwide. The issues addressed in this study are therefore not only of interest to foreign language teachers and language policy makers, but also to parents and second/foreign language students of any age group. The reason is that foreign/second language learning/teaching and bilingualism not only constitute an area of interest to a wide range of people, but we are in fact encountering language policy issues in our everyday lives when we make decisions about when and which language to speak, and whether languages should be mixed or not. In line with this, this study therefore presents the findings of an investigation in the intersecting fields of language in education policy, code-switching and English as a foreign language.

While this research could have been conducted in any classroom setting, a number of reasons led me to an EFL classroom in Sweden:

1. English is the most widely used foreign language at the compulsory school level in Swedish schools.
2. While there are many English as a second language (ESL) studies conducted in the US, EFL classrooms in Scandinavian schools constitute a relatively under-researched setting.
3. Since the Swedish EFL context was a completely new setting to me, I had no assumptions or pre-conceived ideas about Swedish schools, teachers or *Skolverket* (The Swedish National Agency for Education).

Given the Swedish school setting, this thesis is about different ways of *doing* language policy both by the teacher and the pupils in the English as a foreign language classroom. It is a study investigating how a target-language-only policy is upheld *in situ*. The main aim of the study is to develop a description of the classroom practices of doing language policy using a multi-modal Conversation Analysis (CA) methodology. This involves locating individual instances of a particular phenomenon, highlighting the features of this phenomenon, comparing it with other related phenomena and analysing it with a members' perspective. The family of methods of doing language policy are along a continuum of methods of doing language policy ranging from the most implicit to the most explicit. Implicit methods are indirect and tacit ways of doing language policy, whereas explicit ways of doing language policy are direct and visible in interaction. While this study highlights a few instances of implicitly doing language policy, the focus is mainly on one of the most explicit ways of doing language policy in interaction, which I term *language policing* (see chapters 3 & 5 for a fuller discussion). This is an umbrella term to explicate the mechanism deployed by classroom participants to establish and maintain English as the normatively prescribed medium of classroom interaction. This study also introduces the dynamic, situated, emergent nature of language policy continually changing moment by moment and turn by turn by turn, as enshrined in the term *micro-level language-policy-in-process* (Amir & Musk, 2013). The term itself is based on Seedhouse's (2004) call to focus on the task-in-process rather than the task-as-workplan. In the context of this study, the shift of focus from the workplan to the process, i.e. what actually happens in the classroom, aims to show how language policy is upheld and negotiated in interaction (Seedhouse, 2004: 93-95).

Previous work on language policy has focused on either policy as text or discourse, but more recently several studies have started focusing on *practiced language policy* (Bonacina, 2008, 2010: 11; Papageorgiou, 2009, 2011: 20). This orientation is based on Spolsky's call to "look at what people do and not at what they think should be done or what someone else wants them to do" (2004: 218). Although great strides have been made in recent years in the field of language policy research, it remains an unresolved question in teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL), whether the first language (L1) has a role to play or whether it should be taught monolingually. It is not a primary aim of this study to participate in this debate but instead this study adopts a sequential take on analysing actual classroom talk to uncover the methods of doing language policy and in turn be able to empirically show the implications of these practices. By specifically examining how language policy is lived out in practice, therefore, this study aims to make a contribution at the intersection of LP and TEFL.

The importance and implications of this work are both local and international, given the fact that English is the most widely taught language to school age children. In the Swedish context specifically, English as a foreign language has been taught in schools since the beginning of the last century. Currently, in the official school curriculum, English is taught as a core compulsory subject besides the Swedish language. It is the most commonly taught foreign language in Sweden in the *grundskola* (compulsory school). The privileged position of English has been reiterated in the Swedish educational policies from SOU 1992 to Skolverket 2011; for instance it was declared in the 1991 commission that "the position of English as the

first compulsory foreign language is self-evident” (SOU, 1992: 274, as cited in Malmberg, 2001: 9). The position of English has become even stronger in later national policy documents; for instance in the very latest curriculum (Skolverket, 2011: 32), it affirms that

The English language surrounds us in our daily lives and is used in such diverse areas as politics, education and economics. Knowledge of English thus increases the individual’s opportunities to participate in different social and cultural contexts, as well as in international studies and working life.

Further on, it states different goals for pupils at different levels (grades 7-9) with a view to “being able to formulate one’s thinking and interact with others in the spoken and written language” (Skolverket, 2011: 32). However, the national policies for the compulsory school do not state how thinking and interacting in English should be done in the classroom and whether or not there should be any use of other languages or code-switching. Despite this ambiguity, in the school where this study was carried out, the English language teachers for grades 7-9 follow an English-only rule enforced through a point system.

There are a number of studies that describe EFL classrooms (see Waer, 2012; Sert, 2011) and other contexts for learning English, but there are few that relate a restricted language policy to the actual classroom interaction itself. The findings of this investigation of classroom interaction indicated that micro-level policy-in-process is not only co-constructed but is an ongoing process where switching between mediums can go unnoticed as well as being challenged and negotiated. Each of the three studies in this thesis describes features of this kind in classroom interaction.

1.1 Aim of the Thesis

The over-arching aim of this project is to study the family of practices that shape micro-level language policy-in-process in the foreign language classroom, that is, the emergent nature of language policy *in situ* which changes moment by moment and turn by turn, and thereby expound participants’ methods of establishing, maintaining and (re-)enforcing the use of the second language (L2)/ foreign language in the English as a foreign language (EFL) classroom. In order to uncover the interactional and sequential organisation of the practices involved in building a micro-level language policy in process in the English as a foreign language classroom, Conversation Analysis has been used.

In particular, this study addresses the following questions:

1. What are the general language practices in the English as a foreign language classroom, especially in relation to medium and code-switching?
2. What are the types of practices or methods that do language policy?
3. Who does language policy in the EFL classroom?
4. When is language policy done, i.e. the contexts where doing language policy arises?
5. What are the effects of doing language policy?

In order to answer these questions the following three studies have been undertaken:

1. Language Policing: Micro-level language policy-in-process in the foreign language classroom,

2. Self-policing: How English-only is upheld in the foreign language classroom,
3. Pupils' doing language policy: Insights from Conversation Analysis.

The first study aims at introducing the situated enforcement of the L2 only. It examines teacher-initiated practices of doing language policy. The second study focuses on the participants' methods to self-initiate language policing and switch (back) to the target language. Here self-policing is studied as a special type of code-switching where the participants are orienting to the medium of talk-in-interaction (e.g. Gafaranga, 2000), that is, the speakers' own understandings of the communicative code. The third study aims at describing the methods of pupils doing language policy. This study analyses the sequences where the participants orient to unlicensed Swedish and attempt to (re-)establish English as the medium of classroom interaction. The first four research questions above are dealt with in all the three studies, whereas the last question is mainly addressed in the discussion chapter (5).

1.2 Thesis Overview

This thesis is divided into two parts:

PART 1 consists of 5 chapters. **Chapter 1** is the introduction, which is just about to end. **Chapter 2** will dip into previous research on the focus of the study, *language policy*. It also includes related areas that are not the main focus of this study like code-switching. The goal of this chapter is to provide an overview of language policy research, and present how the framework of language policy as practices has developed. **Chapter 3** introduces the main analytical approach used for this work. The main principles of **Ethnomethodology** are described and illustrated using excerpts. Core concepts of **Conversation Analysis** used in the sequential analyses of this study are discussed in detail, while the key area of L2 classroom studies where Conversation Analysis has also played a key role is also highlighted. **Chapter 4** describes the data (video recordings) examined and how they were collected. It also describes how the recordings were transcribed and analysed. **Chapter 5** discusses the key findings, its implications, limitations and what kind of future work is possible based on the current study. **PART II** consists of the **three empirical studies** carried out in order to address the goals of this work. It presents the analyses and results in the form of **three journal articles**. Finally, the **Appendices** list the transcripts and the letter of consent used.

2 LANGUAGE POLICY

The following overview will serve to situate this study within the field of language policy and planning (LP). Following a brief overview of terminological and conceptual frameworks of LP, a brief historical sketch of the field follows; the next section specifically covers language in education policy (LIEP). With each of these areas, key studies outlining important directions are discussed.

2.1 Towards a Definition

Since the onset of LP research in the 1960s, several definitions and terminologies have emerged, although there is no consensus on the definition of LP as well as “no prospect for a unified theory of LPP [Language Policy and Planning]” (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996: 402). For the current purposes of this dissertation, I will be employing the term “language policy”, although several terms like “language planning”, “language policy”, “language policy and planning” have been used interchangeably within LP scholarship. In addition to this terminological conundrum, LP has come to mean different things to different people. Not only have these terms been used interchangeably, but varying models have emerged which have used different approaches, conceptualisations and methodologies in order to study language policies. Ricento (2006b: 10) claims that there is no overarching theory of LP because of the complexity of the issues which involve language in society. He also points out that “after all, LP is not just an exercise in philosophical inquiry; it is interested in addressing social problems which often involve language, to one degree or another, and in proposing realistic remedies” (2006b:11). The fact that various approaches, models and conceptualisations have been brought forth by researchers makes it difficult to state a single clear-cut definition for the term “Language Policy”. In the following paragraphs, a few current definitions of LP have been selected on the basis of the goals of this dissertation. Spolsky, for instance, talks about the components of LP based on choice. The other relevant definition selected for this project is Kaplan’s who refers to the rules and regulations involved in LP. In addition, Shohamy talks about de facto practices as well as mechanisms or policy devices, which will be discussed further in the coming paragraphs.

According to Spolsky (2009: 4), LP is about choice, which has three components: practice, beliefs and management¹. Further on, he (2004: 217) argues that:

It may be the choice of a specific sound, or expression, or of a specific variety of language. It may be the choice regularly made by an individual, or a socially defined group of individuals, or a body with authority over a defined group of individuals.

Spolsky’s language management framework accounts for “language choices on the basis of internal forces, derived from language practices, language beliefs, and language management within the domain itself” (2009: 6). While the present study does not use any of the language

management models, it does focus on how Spolsky's language management is lived out in practice.

In order to augment Spolsky's definition I also base my understandings of LP on Kaplan's recent definition of macro-level language policy where he talks about rules as well: "A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system" (2011: 925). Even though Kaplan's definition provides a broader view of LP where there are rules and regulations to organise language use, for the purposes of the current study a discussion of the mechanisms of language policy must be included. For this purpose, I also base my understandings of LP on Shohamy (2003, 2006). In Shohamy's (2003) discussion of school policies at national and macro-level, she suggests that the de facto policies could be hidden and involve covert mechanisms of language in education policy imposition. Similarly in this regard, Shohamy (2006:53) also states that:

it is often the case that formal language documents become no more than declarations of intent that can easily be manipulated and contradicted. Yet, it is essential that these mechanisms, or policy devices, given their direct effect and consequences on de facto language policies and practice, must be included in the general picture for understanding and interpreting LP.

Shohamy's definition posits that when LPs and LIEPs are not stated explicitly they must be derived implicitly by examining a variety of de facto practices. Moreover, her stance on *mechanisms* or *policy devices* is quite close to the understanding of LP for this dissertation (58). Also, her understanding of "rules and regulations" as the "most commonly used devices that directly affect and create de facto language practices" shows that policy devices can involve a range of modalities (59). It will suffice to note briefly here, however, that for the purposes of the current study a more interactionist view of LP is necessary. Recently, many studies have contributed both theoretically and empirically in building up this line of research. In line with this trend, Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh (2009: 263) posit "language policy as an evolving, mundane phenomenon shaped and reshaped by discursive practices, which in turn are embedded in the multiple contextual and semiotic resources available in specific social activities and environments". This definition comes very close to the LP view presented in this work, especially the idea of LP as an "evolving", "shaped" and "reshaped" entity, which not only presents an up-to-date view of LP but also brings in key concepts of Conversation Analysis that have evolved over a period of several decades.

Therefore, this thesis uses the concept of *micro-level language-policy-in-process*² (Amir & Musk, 2013) to introduce the concept of LP as dynamic, situated, emergent and continually changing moment by moment and turn by turn. This also implies that the intended aims, ideas and rules about LP do not automatically map on to emergent practices, which can be either implicit or

¹ Neustupný (1978) & Jernudd & Neustupný (1987) introduced the concept of "language management" which differentiates between the generation of utterances and the management of utterances. Spolsky (2009) also built a parallel model of language management to the aforementioned language management model.

² See Seedhouse, 2004 for the distinction between the task-as-workplan and task-in-process and the need to shift the focus to the task-as-workplan. This distinction also works for LP as this study aims to focus on LP-in-process rather than the LP-as-workplan, i.e. language policy in actual interactions.

explicit. While intended aims and on-line practices do not necessarily align, LP is still being done if it is being followed, contested or modified.

2.2 Brief History and Overview of Language Policy Research

In this section I will summarise the LP research carried out within different eras, as well as attempt to provide an account for the different rationales for this research. However, here it is not possible, nor is it my ambition, to offer any kind of exhaustive presentation of the history of research on LP. Instead for more extensive reviews of LP, see for example, Baldauf (2012), Hornberger (2006), Hornberger and Johnson (2007), Jernudd and Nekvapil (2012), Ricento (2006a, 2006b), and Spolsky (2012).

While language planning and policy as an activity has been going on informally since antiquity (see for instance, Blommaert 1996: 206; Hornberger, 2006: 25; Nekvapil, 2011: 872), *Académie française* was founded in 1635 when European elites started using local vernacular languages instead of Latin. Similar institutions were formed in other European contexts (e.g. *Svenska akademien* ‘the Swedish Academy’). An even older institute is *Accademia della Crusca* in Italy. Other organised language planning activities included “language construction” in the former Soviet Union in 1920-1930s. Moreover, linguists of the Prague school carried out language planning during this period. Among several key terms that marked this approach, Swedish language cultivation of *ändamålsenlighet* “functionality” was also brought to play (See Spolsky (2012: 18) and Nekvapil (2011: 872) for more details). With all these language policy and planning activities going on in several European as well other contexts, the first book in the Library of Congress to include ‘language policy’ in the title is Cebollero (1945) (cf. Spolsky, 2008:11).

However, as a specific discipline, the field of Language Policy originated and emerged as a consequence of the “language problems” of post-colonial states with a view to describing those problems/issues and guiding the newly emerging states. After World War II and the collapse of the European colonial system, the subsequent new wave of nationalism and nationism (Fishman, 1968: 43-44) required “the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level” (Fishman, 1974: 79).

In this first phase of LP work³, decolonisation, structuralism and pragmatism contributed and shaped the field (Ricento, 2006). In this connection, “[l]anguage planning was understood as a branch of sociolinguistics, and sociolinguists aimed to test their theories and approaches in the social ‘laboratory’ of the Third World” (See Fishman, 1968, cited in Nekvapil, 2011: 875). This period was heavily influenced by the ideology of one-language-one-nation and the creation of the modern European nation-states with their national languages. This more or less translated as modernisation, success and unity through one language, particularly a western

³ Researchers in classical language planning were associated with American academia (e.g. Fishman, Ferguson; Haugen) or supported by the Ford Foundation. For a fuller discussion see Spolsky (2012: 22).

language. This first approach to LP is referred to as the traditional approach (e.g. Ricento, 2006a; Tollefson, 2002) or the classical approach (Ricento, 2000). It is also sometimes referred to as the positivist approach (e.g. Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 405; according to Pennycook (1989: 594), since social scientists appropriated positivist orientations from the physical sciences⁴, and this positivist trend in LP was adopted from other social planning approaches (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996: 405), e.g. Tollefson, 1991. In this period, the focus was on macro-planning processes often at national level, particularly “the allocation of languages or language varieties to given functions” (Cooper 1996: 32). Thus, during this period, the relationship between majority and minority language(s) was the main focus particularly as it was depicted in the policy documents. This is why Ball refers to the LP of this period this as *policy as text* (1993:10). The main methodology used to study language policy at this time was historical investigation. Some of the important and representative works during this period were, for instance, *Language Problems of Developing Nations* by Fishman, Ferguson and Das Guptas (1968), *Can Language be Planned?* by Rubin and Jernudd (1971). During this time, various typologies of language planning models also emerged, e.g. Haugen’s (1966a, 1966b) language planning model and Kloss’ (1966) typology of multilingualism. Another representative work during this period is that of Fishman (1968) who devised a typology of nations, language planning problems for each type of nation and solutions for each type. Indeed, this early period of LP treated language planning and policy as a problem-solving activity (Cooper, 1989: 34; Ricento, 2000: 206).

Language planning activities include “corpus planning”, “status planning” (Kloss, 1969: 81-83), and “acquisition planning”⁵ (Cooper, 1989: 33). Corpus planning refers to

those efforts directed toward the allocation of functions of languages/literacies, acquisition planning as efforts to influence the allocation of users or the distribution of languages/literacies, by means of creating or improving opportunity or incentive to learn them, or both. (Hornberger, 2006: 28)

Studies in status planning have been approached through ethnography by Schiffman (2003) and Jaffe (1999), while micro-ethnography has also been used by a few, like Heller & Martin-Jones (2001). Canagarajah (1993) and May (1997) have used critical ethnography to account for language policy practices.

The third component of language planning, i.e. acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989: 157), which is of interest for the topic of this dissertation as well, is defined as “organized efforts to promote the learning of a language”. Furthermore, Cooper argues that the goals of acquisition planning can be distinguished from one another on at least two bases: (1) the overt language planning goal and (2) the method employed to attain the goal (ibid.: 159). This study also shares an interest in Cooper’s overt goals of acquisition planning (159), one of which is the acquisition of a second or foreign language. In this regard, TEFL (teaching English as a foreign language) and the management of English-only fall under the banner of acquisition planning. Other scholars also consider language teaching as a form of language planning (Cooper, 1989:

⁴ These generally seek objective results through standardised quantitative techniques of analysis (Pennycook, 1989).

⁵ Spolsky calls this language education policy (2008: 27).

160) while also considering “a teacher’s decision to use a particular text-book” to be a “policy decision” (Markee, 1986, cited in Cooper, 1989: 160). Cooper’s work is influential in that “he explicitly incorporated applied linguistics dealing with the teaching of languages” in LP as well as a “successful case of building bridges across social divides in the language professions” (Spolsky, 2012: 29).

Alongside the classical approach, some scholars alternatively proposed that language planning could be approached through a management perspective (see Neustupny, 1978) but unlike the theories of language planning at that time, it did not deal with macro-language planning but instead focused on micro-language planning (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009: 182). Jernudd & Neustupny’s (1987) work provided a corner-stone for an approach which focuses on the “management of utterances (communicative acts)” and that this “takes place in concrete interactions (conversations) of individuals or in institutions of varying complexity [...]” (Nekvapil, 2011: 880-881). A bifurcation of sociolinguistic research also began to occur during this period, where even though mainstream research concentrated on language-contact situations, a critical approach emerged as well. The methodology used during this period was interviews, and ethnographic methods whereas the critical approaches dealt with “asymmetrical power [9] relations based on social structures and ideologies that position groups” (Ricento, 2006: 15). Subsequently, from the 1970s onwards, the orientation of language policy theories, models and frameworks has shifted its attention from the developing nations to the developed nations. Post-modern thinking in language planning has triggered a revisiting of variation and plurality. A number of scholars have problematized research approaches and analytical frameworks in applied linguistics research. A large number of studies have focused on the spread of European languages (above all English) and reacted to the positivist approach which is based on knowledge gained from a positive verification of observable experience. This has triggered a range of studies focusing on linguistic imperialism, reversing language shift, language endangerment, linguistic human rights, language ecology and human rights. The “critical perspective” on LP research (e.g. Hornberger & Johnson, 2007: 509; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996: 406) was initiated by Tollefson (1986) and others. Critical LP researchers conceptualised *[language] policy as discourse* (Ball 1993: 10). Here, discourse is understood in the Foucauldian sense⁷ as Ball puts it: “Discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority” (Ball 1993: 14). Critical scholars contended that language policies favoured dominant interests which were “often implicit and enmeshed in hegemonic ideologies” (Ricento, 2006: 15), and their aim was to uncover these ideologies (e.g. Lippi-Green, 1997; Moore, 1996; Wiley, 1996). A vast number of critical LP researchers have conducted studies on LIEP, for instance Corson (1999), Donahue (2002), Sook and Norton (2002). Other work in this line of research, focuses on language rights issues, for example Phillipson (2008) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2008). Within

⁶ Power means the ability to control language for personal interest (Bourdieu, 1991; Fairclough, 1992).

⁷ Critical LP research is influenced by critical social theory for example Bourdieu (1991), Foucault (1972), Habermas (1979), etc.

a critical LP perspective, both macro-discourse studies (e.g. Tollefson 1991) and micro-discourse studies (e.g. Pennycook, 2006) have been conducted.

While the classical period provided an important perspective on overall LP scholarship, the sole focus was on the macro-level of a state or institutions. With growing critical awareness it was suggested that actors should also be taken into account whereas they “only drew sporadic attention of researchers in the early days” (Zhao, 2011: 905), even though “who” is the first word in Cooper’s (1989) categorisation⁸. When actors were considered, they were addressed in rather general terms (Zhao, 2011: 907); for instance, a series of papers published in the classic work *Language Planning Processes* by Rubin, Jernudd, Das Gupta, Fishman and Ferguson (1977) discussed a range of issues including the roles, manner of working and duties found in various LPP organizations (Zhao, 2011: 906). However, the importance of actors was later substantiated through the work of Baldauf (1982). A new focus on agency and the

⁸ Cooper’s (1989: 88) complete formulation is as follows: “Who makes what decisions’, why, how, under what conditions, and with what effect?”

resulting anthropological and sociological approach to LP resulted in practice being examined as part of LP research.

2.2.1 Language in Education Policy

Since the 1990s, a new wave of research within LP research has surfaced which homes in on one key area: language policies in education. Cooper's expansion of Kloss' typology of language planning included language acquisition policy and planning (language education policy in Spolsky, 2004, or language-in-education policy (LIEP) in Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). This sub-group within LP has also been building up a small set of research thematically where both applied linguistics and LP merge. Similarly, within the field of applied linguistics there has been a growing interest in two areas. The first is critical linguistics, which covers the study of language democratically within its social, political, and historical context, with a primary concern for (in)equality, linguistic discrimination, and language rights (e.g. Fairclough, 1989; Phillipson, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008). For example Phillipson's model (1992) of language imperialism elucidates how the languages of the former empires are used in education in the former colonies. Even though the validity of his work has been questioned by some applied linguists, it has triggered and stimulated research that questions teaching English and French (Ricento, 2006: 16-17). Phillipson (2003) argues, for example, that English poses a threat to indigenous languages in developing countries as well as smaller European languages. Another growing area of language policy examines the role of governments and other powerful institutions in shaping language use and language acquisition (e.g. Cooper, 1989; Corson, 1990; Tollefson, 1991). These LIEP researchers generally share "a belief in the central role of language learning and language in educational institutions" (Tollefson, 2002: ix).

2.2.2 Practice vs. Policy Research

Within LIEP specifically and LP research generally, there has been a growing trend to study actual language practices (see for example Lin, 1996; Martin, 2005), although researchers continue to compare or analyse how LP as text (or prescribed policy) is being implemented. Moreover, previous studies of language policy in the school context do not capture the emergent nature of language policy. The early interactional studies of LP compare either the state or school policies to language practices, especially within bilingual education in minority language contexts (e.g. Heller, 1996, 2007; Martin, 2005; Musk, 2006). One representative example is Martin's (2005) study of minority groups in two schools in two separate states in the Malaysian context which shows how the classroom participants put policy into practice (2005: 94). Here, practices are interpreted vis-à-vis the schools' language policies where code-switching between English and minority languages (Sa'ben and Kelabit) created tensions but also provided a "safe" way to ensure that content was understood. Other representative examples of studies which belong to practice vs. policy research appeared in a special issue of the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (2009) edited by Li Wei and Martin.

Studies in this issue include Li Wei and Martin (2009b), McGlynn and Martin (2009), Probyn (2009), Raschka et al. (2009), Tien (2009) and Li Wei and Wu (2009) who interpret language practices with regard to policy as text or discourse. The following section will review the LP literature which comes close to the current study theoretically and methodologically.

2.2.3 *Language Policy as Practices*

A series of reconceptualisations of language policy in the last decade has led to a growing recognition of the language policy practices at the micro-level as opposed to the focus on macro-level policies in the classical period. The studies which look at the contrast between policy vs. practice oftentimes tend to have a prescriptivist tendency, whereas the framework of practiced language policy takes the stance that the *de facto* policies emerge at the practice level (Bonacina, 2010, Papageorgiou, 2009). This framework is based on Spolsky's policy as practices for which he recommends: "look at what people do and not at what they think should be done or what someone else wants them to do" (2004: 218). Indeed, his recommendation echoes the conversation-analytic methodology as Spolsky and Shohamy argue that language (choice) acts make "sets of patterns" (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 29) which are then said to be underpinned by a set of "deducible, implicit rules" (ibid.: 2; see also Spolsky, 2004: 9). However, he does not posit any methodology to study how language policy is lived out in practice. In this regard, Bonacina (2010) pioneered the trend which focuses on LP as it is lived out and suggested using Conversation Analysis to examine practiced language policy empirically. Even though Conversation Analysis has also been used by LP researchers to compare *LP as text* or *discourse* with the policy as lived out in interaction, mainstream researchers have been using other discourse-analytic methods. The group of researchers which look at LP through a management lens include those using Spolsky's language management model and Language Management Theory (LMT). Conversation Analysis has been used by LMT researchers who use the term "management" to denote meta-linguistic activity (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009: 2). They also distinguish between "simple management" and "organized management". In terms of structure, simple management⁹ bears similarities with self-initiated self-repair (Schegloff et al., 1977) in standard Conversation Analysis terminology. According to Nekvapil (2006: 6), with the help of simple management, "the speaker can manage individual features or aspects of his own or of his interlocutor's discourse 'here and now', i.e. in a particular interaction". Organised management means "directed" or "off-line" language management, which is not restricted to one particular interaction. While LMT theorists come close to the current study when they talk about simple management, there are substantial

⁹ This is also referred to as discourse-based management, or on-line management.

differences in terms of LP in both the concepts and methodology (see Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012:33; Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009: 182; Spolsky, 2009:5 for a fuller discussion of LMT).

2.3 LP and Classroom Code-Switching Studies

A large and growing body of literature has investigated code-switching which does not situate itself in the field of LP; however, their findings have made an impact in the field of LP. An example of the studies carried out in classroom code-switching is Üstünel (2004) who conducted one of the pioneering studies in an EFL context in a Turkish university. Her study highlights “teacher-initiated” vs. “teacher-induced” code-switching and its function for pedagogical purposes in the English as a foreign language classroom in Turkey. She takes a similar stance to Cook (2001) that a concurrent use of L1 and L2 is inevitable in L2 classrooms (17). Furthermore, she demonstrates that teachers provide definitions at word, phrase, and sentence level when it comes to clarifying classroom activities. Another strategy found in her data was that the teachers give the task instructions first in English, and then translate what has been said into Turkish. Another illustrative work was conducted during the same time period by Cromdal in a series of four studies, which are Cromdal (2000, 2001, and 2004) and Cromdal and Aronsson (2000). These studies were conducted in the school yard of a bilingual school in Sweden where Cromdal demonstrated for example how children use code-switching to negotiate play entry.

Another example of classroom code-switching studies is Ziegler et al. (2012: 200), who examined student-initiated use of multilingual resources, but an “orientation to the monolingual mode” in a form and accuracy context in English language classrooms in Luxembourg, where participants were all competent users of Luxembourgish, German and French. They demonstrated that the next turn management of student-initiated multilingual resources is done by the teacher in the following three ways: modified repetition, monolingual reformulation and meta-talk about language (7).

Some other current studies which fall in this category are Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005; Liebscher & Dailey-O’Cain, 2005; Sert, 2011; Ziegler et al., 2012, etc.

2.4 LP and Language Norms Studies

Some studies do not situate their work as language policy studies *per se* but focus on language norms, for instance Evaldsson and Cekaite (2010), Copp Jinkerson (2011), Cromdal (2004), Jørgensen (1998), Nevile and Wagner (2008), Slotte-Lüttge (2007) and Söderlundh (2012). All of these studies have been conducted in a Scandinavian context but focus on different types of education and at different levels. For example, in the Swedish context, Söderlundh’s (2012) study is conducted in a university whereas Cromdal’s (2004) study is conducted in a bilingual school. In the Finnish context, Slotte-Lüttge (2007) examines the maintenance of a monolingual classroom in a Swedish-language primary school in a predominantly Finnish-speaking area, whereas Copp Jinkerson (2011) investigates the management and contestation

of the monolingual norm in an English-language stream of a Finnish primary school. Söderlundh (2012) studies language choices in the classroom of an English-medium business studies course in a Swedish University. Let us look at three selective studies from the above mentioned list, which will serve to illustrate the studies which focus on language norms.

Evaldsson and Cekaite (2010), for example, explore the multilingual peer group interactions of minority schoolchildren in two primary monolingual school settings in Sweden. The study consists of ethnographies combined with recordings and shows that the children display their ideological orientation towards the majority language through mimicking, teasing and criticizing one another's language use, even when not under adult supervision.

Nevile and Wagner (2008) study an oral examination where German and English work as the official languages, while Danish is used occasionally by students. They demonstrate that this general rule is gradually replaced by a practice in which each of the students is assigned to use only one language in their oral presentations. Moreover, they also demonstrate that there are two competing practices for language choice, which were one-speaker-one-language and language consistency across turns (23).

In a Swedish-speaking school in a strongly Finnish dominated environment in the south of Finland, Slotte-Lüttge (2007) shows that through a problematic attitude to the use of Finnish in the classroom, the pupils make monolingualism relevant in the classroom.

2.5 Practiced Language Policy

Let us now turn to the studies which come close to the current study in terms of using Conversation Analysis to look at practiced language policy, e.g. Bonacina (2010), Papageorgiou (2011), Amir and Musk (2013), Amir (2013) and, Amir and Musk (submitted)¹⁰. These studies address language norms and situate themselves as LP studies. Bonacina (2010) has particularly pioneered the analysis of practiced language policy, an approach which uses Conversation Analysis to study language policy in interaction. Bringing the same methodology to foreign language classrooms, and specifically EFL classrooms, Amir and Musk (2013) focus on teacher-initiated language policing practices. Another aspect of language policing is highlighted in Amir and Musk (submitted), where the focus is on pupil-initiated language policing. While the afore-mentioned studies focus on other-initiated language policing, Amir (2013) focuses on self-policing by both the teacher and pupils. Papageorgiou (2011) studies the reception classes in an international school in Greece where “reception educators are expected to police the use of English in the kids’ play areas without undermining children’s autonomy and/or disrupting their ‘free interaction’” (4). The central finding is that adult school members and children respond to the school’s policy demands in different ways, i.e. by orienting to different “practiced language policies”. The adults’ medium request¹¹ (Gafaranga, 2010: 256) practices

¹⁰ The latter three appear in the section on the studies of this dissertation.

¹¹ Drawing on Auer’s language negotiation (Auer, 1984, 1995), Gafaranga introduced medium requests as he observed in the Rwandan community in Belgium, when children requested adults to medium-switch.

in the kids' play areas demonstrate that adults orient to a practiced language policy that is in line with the "declared" English monolingual language policy of the school (cf. Shohamy, 2006: 59), whereas children seem to have an alternative practiced language policy, whereby the interaction is not organised around the school's declared language policy but around their interlocutors' "linguistic identity"¹² (Gafaranga, 2001).

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have briefly highlighted major trends and directions in the field of LP while representative studies have also been briefly touched upon. The review of LP and specifically of LIEP has demonstrated that this multi-layered field has been observed both through LP as text and discourse in a wide range of settings, but by studying practiced language policy, actual interactional norms can be demonstrated. As touched upon in the previous sections, practiced language policy within an interactional LP paradigm is relatively new, but this study aims to make a contribution within this tradition.

¹² Gafaranga (2001) shows that linguistic identity is a "transportable identity" (Zimmerman, 1998) and interactionally achieved, not in terms of the identities society associates with the languages involved, but rather in terms of the locally relevant linguistic identities participants have adopted (Gafaranga, 2001: 1916), which means that in order to account for language alternation, language preference (Auer, 1998: 8; 1995: 125) must be viewed as a membership categorisation device (Gafaranga, 2001: 1901).

3 ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter begins with the main ethnomethodological principles used in this dissertation, which then leads us into a discussion of the fundamental assumptions informing Conversation Analysis. Conversation Analysis and ethnomethodology both share an interest in social actions which calls for an emic (participants') perspective of *micro-level language policy-in-process* (cf. Chapter 1) in classroom settings. The studies contained in this thesis thus take the standpoint of the classroom participants' analysis and methods, in and through which their interaction builds a micro-level language policy. The analyses of the studies are built by asking "how" and "why" of the local practices and by carefully examining participants' actions in the contexts of their activities. For this purpose, conversation analysis (cf. 3.2) has been used as an approach to investigate what is visible through the interactional business of participants' activities, while ethnomethodological underpinnings constitute the core principles. Another way of looking at this is that Conversation Analysis is the methodology of applying ethnomethodological principles (3.1) to naturally occurring talk (Seedhouse, 2004: 12), since Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis share many basic tenets.

3.1 Ethnomethodology

In *Studies on Ethnomethodology*, Garfinkel developed Ethnomethodology as an innovative form of sociology which sets out to investigate "*how* social phenomena, whatever their character, are *achieved* and *accountable*" (Garfinkel, 1967: 1). By accountable, he means observable-and-reportable, i.e. available to members as situated practices of looking-and-telling (Garfinkel, 1967:1). Garfinkel rejected the ideas of the dominant Parsonian "top-down" sociology (Parsons, 1937) of his times where members of a society are treated as "judgemental dopes". Garfinkel proposed that members' common sense knowledge should become a topic of study of sociology (see Heritage, 1984 for a fuller discussion). In the ethnomethodological sense then, to be a member means to have the social interactional competence necessary for participating in an activity (Garfield & Sacks, 1970). Hence, 'ethno-methods' "describe the methods that people use for accounting for their own actions and those of others" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1988: 27). Ethnomethods are thus not analysts' theoretical concepts and tools but methods to study social action or "socially organized activities" (Sidnell, 2010:3) in which members are engaged in.

The basic principles underlying ethnomethodology are generic principles which can be used to study any kind of human action (Seedhouse, 2004: 13). In examining doing language policy *in situ*, the most essential of the ethnomethodological principles that help in understanding this phenomenon, are discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

One of key concepts used in ethnomethodology is the *documentary method of interpretation*, which means that any actual appearance is treated as a "document" or as "'standing on behalf of' a presupposed underlying pattern" (Garfinkel, 1967: 78). To put it more precisely, the

underlying pattern can be identified through the individual concrete appearances so that both the individual appearance and the pattern mutually determine each other (Wilson, 1970: 68). In this regard, in social actions, rules and norms are generally “seen but unnoticed” (Garfinkel 1967 [1994]: 36) but they may surface when breached, for example, when we do not respond conventionally to a greeting or by giving an account of how we actually are if someone asks “how are you?” Thus these norms function as a “scheme of interpretation” (Heritage 1984: 106).

This principle of ethnomethodology is the basis for building a collection of a recurring pattern of social actions in Conversation Analysis (see section 3.2 for details on building a collection), and is a fundamental assumption informing Conversation Analysis. From an emic (i.e. participant-related) methodological perspective, there is a reflexive relationship between patterns and individual actions. The method entails treating an actual appearance as “the discovery from *within* the society” which could be the structural pattern of a social action (ten Have, 2004: 20). Since an emic perspective is a fundamental tenant of this research, it requires some more elaboration here. An emic perspective, as opposed to an analyst’s perspective requires that a social action or any unit under observation be considered through how the members are treating it and displaying it through their actions. For instance in the case of this project, code-switching was not categorised as an analyst’s category but the categorisation is based on the members’ orientation to whether code-switching is a norm or deviance (cf. 3.2.2).

According to Seedhouse (2004: 8) when the documentary method of interpretation is applied to sequential interaction, its power becomes extremely significant. In order to exemplify the emic perspective with its underlying foundation in the documentary method of interpretation, let us consider the following excerpt from an English class in the computer room where, in off-task talk, Sam is telling the teacher Karen that he thinks he got an English accent while being in England.

Excerpt 1 After one day I got a English accent! (Karen 1.1)

Participants: Sam, Karen and the rest of the class working on their task.

```

1   Sam:    I went to england an' then after one day I got a english accent on the
           (x)=
2   ?:      =$uhuhuh$
3           (1.6)
4   Karen:  you have an english accent now?
5           (1.2)
6   Sam:    °I dunno°=
7   Karen:  =no:?
8           (2.3)
9   Sam:    I hope it isn't (there)=
10  Karen:  =but you wanna know wha:t? (.4) when you're with english people
11  Sam:    [yeah]
12  Karen:  [you] will ada:pt an english aclcentJ; when you're with Americans
           you'l- (.) you'll adapt an [american accent.
13  Sam:    [you have american so that's (xx).=

```

With the help of sequential analyses, we can see that each turn projects the next turn, and we can observe key elements about the participants. Sam (line 1) claims that when he went to England he got an English accent after one day. This is approached by Karen in disbelief (line

4). The proof is that it is projected as a question followed by a pause. The next turns also show that Karen's question also makes Sam unsure at first (line 6) followed by a mitigated response "I hope it isn't (there)". Karen then presents a "theory" of how one might get accents by suggesting that one gets either an accent when they are among the people with that particular accent e.g. an English accent or an American one.

Another fundamental principle of ethnomethodology is *context-boundedness* (Seedhouse, 2004: 7) or indexicality which means that there is a reflexive relationship between context and talk, where those elements of context which participants orient to are made available through talk and other public behaviour. Indexicality also means that the social actors project and give more information in an utterance than is actually said (Seedhouse, 2004: 7). Therefore, the bedrock of this dissertation is to view context and meaning-making as displayed and made relevant by the participants through their actions and utterances. The justification for this approach is that an emic perspective deems it necessary that an analyst does not start with his/her understandings in the analyses but looks closely at the members of a society and their actions, which demonstrate how they themselves are treating a particular aspect.

Reciprocity of perspectives is another notion used in ethnomethodology, which means that social actors show that they are following the same norms and orient towards another person's perspective (Seedhouse, 2004: 7).

In the next excerpt, let us illustrate indexicality and reciprocity of perspectives and see how the participants understand and interpret information, and whether they follow the same norms or not. The excerpt is taken from a lesson where the teacher *Karen* is sitting with an overhead projector in the middle of the room and displaying a grammar exercise on the wall. She reads each question aloud publicly after which the pupils respond publicly with an answer.

Excerpt 2 I didn't say the whole thing.

Karen 7 (00039)

Participants: Karen, John, Mikael and the rest of the class working on their task.

1	K:	but wasn't is becoming more and more acceptable because of if: (1.1)
2		and in SWedish this is easy because you say like this don't you say
3		vo: oh o
		wer-
4	J:	ah:o
5	M:	yeah:
6	K:	I didn't say the whole thing
7	J:	\$haha\$ but not as a (xxx) I'm n-
8		(.)
9	K:	how do you spell it?
10	J:	with a v

In this excerpt, Karen breaks off a word in Swedish in the middle (line 3) in an EFL lesson, where both the teacher and pupils are forbidden to speak Swedish. Next, Karen comments that she did not say the whole word. John (line 10) interprets Karen's utterance (lines 1-3) and responds to her question (line 9) in line 10. Here John is following the same norm as Karen and orienting to her self-policing. If we consider the concept introduced before this excerpt, i.e. reciprocity of perspectives, we can see that both the teacher and John are following the same norms, which is visible especially in lines 4, 7 and 9. In line 4, John (and later Mikael in

line 5 as well) accepts and understands Karen's self-policing and her cutting off the word mid-way. Karen's explicit comment about her interruption of the word is also understood by John (line 7) without any explicit reference to why she did it (indexicality). This is because they are following the same norms.

For the purpose of the current studies, the aim is not to judge whether the teacher's language policing is 'morally' correct or not (see study 1). Similarly, it is also not the aim of this dissertation to see whether language policy is being done (see study 2) as a result of categorising Swedish as an 'inferior' language. Rather doing language policy and policing *in situ* is to be seen in the light of ethnomethodological principles shown by the participants themselves. The researcher's role is to show how the participants themselves understand the situations they are in. This means showing for instance how the classroom participants enforce the English-only rule on others, i.e. how the teacher does it and how the pupils do it. If there are any differences in how the two categories do language policing what 'methods' make them different?

One way of looking at the classroom participants' actions specifically in the context of their orientation to mediums (or languages) draws on Garfinkel's study of jurors' decision making. Garfinkel (1967: 115) suggests that in common sense situations of choice, "persons, in the *course of a carrier of actions* discover the nature of the situations in which they are acting". For the classroom participants as well, they discover the situations in the course of their actions. These classroom participants, just like the jurors, modify the rules in their manner of making decisions. For example, when the teacher is about to deduct points in a lesson because a pupil has spoken Swedish, she announces "39" (see excerpt 3 in Amir & Musk, 2013). The teacher gives a 'verdict' by means of this action and shows that the pupil's action falls short of the official policy. In the course of this action, the pupils realise what is going on.

3.2 Conversation Analysis

In this section, I will review the main method deployed to uncover the patterns of doing language policy by the classroom participants of this study. It is important to point out here that it is neither possible nor is it my intention to review the whole field of Conversation Analysis (CA) here, but just present the core conversation analytic principles mainly used for this project.

Conversation Analysis emerged in dialogue with a range of perspectives within the social and human sciences (Sidnell, 2010: 19) including sociology, anthropology, linguistics, philosophy and other disciplines. It is a set of methods for working with audio and video recordings of talk and social interaction (Sidnell, 2010: 34) which are concerned with "the norms, practices and competences underlying the practices of social interaction" (Drew & Heritage, 2006: xxii).

The position of Conversation Analysis (CA) has been established as an empirical methodology which has its principal interest in the "organisation of social action in everyday interaction" (Psathas, 1995: 2). Unlike the contemporary views of other linguists of his time,

e.g. Chomsky (1965), Sacks believed that talk is an orderly activity. In Sacks' own words, there is "order at all points" in talk-in-interaction (1984: 22)¹³. This means that if social actors don't follow certain norms, they will be seen to be breaking them. CA also emphasises the fact that this organisation is "available to members as situated practices of looking-and-telling" (Garfinkel, 1967: 1), but it is not available as a "pre-existing framework" (Liddicoat, 2007: 2). Simply put, CA involves "analysis of the competences which underlie ordinary social action" (Heritage, 1984: 241). To frame this in ethnomethodological terms, this order is brought through the "documentary method" (Garfinkel, 1967), which means that the members within a society, community or group can see it. This interactional order is produced on a turn-by-turn basis, which is why sequential organisation is given utmost importance in CA. In other words, sequentiality means that "some current conversational action proposes a here-and-now definition of the situation to which subsequent talk will be oriented" (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984: 5). Hence, each turn displays understandings of the prior turns. It is these understandings or intersubjectivity that are illuminated through sequential analyses. According to Heritage (1984: 241), the underlying aim is "to describe the *procedures* and *expectations* in terms of which speakers produce their own behaviour and interpret the behaviour of others". While sequential analyses are based on attending to the fine details available to the analyst through transcripts, a next-turn-proof procedure is a core device used to uncover members' own understandings of prior turns. By the next-turn-proof procedure, it is understood that a prior action has an effect on the next turn which is displayed by the participants to each other.

At this point it is important to emphasise that unlike conventional social theory where intersubjectivity is understood to be secured through internalisation of norms, it is built into the very fabric of social conduct (Sidnell, 2010: 20). A key mechanism which is an important part of the organisation of talk-in-interaction is repair, which also lays important foundations for several core concepts used in this dissertation like medium repair and language policing. Repair is a mechanism which is used for "practices for dealing with problems or troubles in speaking, hearing, and understanding the talk in conversation" (Schegloff, 2000: 207). Repair is a self-righting mechanism in social interaction (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977), which helps in solving problems to do with achieving mutual understanding (intersubjectivity), speaking and hearing. This means that participants can correct a trouble source by initiating self-repair, for example, as there is a preference for self-repair (ibid., 1977) over other-repair.

Another key assumption of Conversation Analysis is that turns-at-talk are contextually oriented (Heritage, 1984: 242). Both aspects of this assumption, that is, turns being context-shaped and context-renewing can be traced back to Garfinkel's remarks on the indexical and reflexive nature of talk and action. This means that a speaker's contribution cannot be fully understood except by reference to the sequential environment. In other words, a speaker's contribution is context-shaped in the sense that in an on-going sequence a turn cannot be understood without reference to context, which includes any prior "configuration of actions" (Heritage, 1984: 242). The second part of this assumption implies that all actions are context-

¹³ Sacks delivered this information in the form of lectures in 1966.

renewing in their sequential environment in the sense that every action renews and projects the forthcoming actions and has consequences for coming actions. Each action “maintains, alters and adjusts” the context (Heritage, 1984: 242).

Conversation Analysis relies on the video recordings of actual interactions, which emphasizes that social interaction is an autonomous reality *sui generis* (Armeninen 2006: 8). A CA study does not hypothesize *a priori* or design an experiment, but insists on naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. After acquiring naturally occurring data, the next step is to look for evidence of practices of conduct that evidence systematic design (Drew & Heritage, 2006: xxiii). To be identified as a practice, particular elements of conduct must be recurrent, specifically situated, and attract responses that discriminate them from related or similar practices (Drew & Heritage, 2006: xxiv). For this reason, a conversation-analytic methodology requires a collection of similar instances in the form of excerpts. The similar characteristics in a collection could be anything ranging from a particular type of turn to a noticeable kind of sequence (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 89). The popular way in any CA study is to approach the data without any hypothesis or a particular question. This important tenet of CA resonates with its ethnomethodological roots, in contrast to experimental methods and methodologies based on finding relationships between a cause and its effect. Finding a phenomenon in Conversation Analysis is similar to any other discourse analytic (DA) methodology and classroom coded scheme, but CA goes a step further in capturing the fluidity and dynamisms of interactions¹⁴ (Seedhouse, 2004: 57-66). As a result, CA inherits from DA an essential element in the shape of the question: “why that, in that way, right now?” (Seedhouse, 2004: 66). This principle has been used throughout the sequential analyses of the language policing collection (see appendix 2), especially in terms of the mediums (or languages) spoken in the classroom. Just like building any other conversation analytic collection, building a language policing collection has followed the following procedure (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Seedhouse, 2004; Sidnell, 2010):

1. Identify a phenomenon
2. Collect a number of similar instances.
3. Identify a criterion for the collection and test all instances against it.
4. Describe and identify differences between instances.

Even though audio and video recordings constitute the primary data, conversation analysts produce detailed transcriptions which, besides talk, include pauses, overlaps, prosody, laughter and gestures. Transcribing conventions have developed over several decades following Gail Jefferson’s (1984) ground-breaking work. In recent times, multi-modal aspects have also started to accompany regular transcribed material. The transcripts, therefore, provide an important resource for analyses, together with the original data in the shape of (preferably) video recordings.

¹⁴ See Seedhouse, 2004: 57-66 for a fuller discussion of a comparison between Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis in second language classrooms.

3.2.1 Classroom Studies and Conversation Analysis

In the area of classroom discourse, various studies have made an invaluable contribution to understanding the relationship between teaching, learning, language and the discourse structures of teacher-led classroom interaction (for instance Flanders and Havumaki, 1960; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). Nevertheless, a more dynamic approach offered by Conversation Analysis can help us understand more fully the interactional structure of the L2 classroom, i.e. that “the interaction is in fact dynamic, fluid, and locally managed on a turn-by-turn-basis” (Seedhouse 2004: 62). While using the same excerpts to analyse both by discourse analytic and conversation analytic methodologies, Seedhouse (2004: 63) demonstrates for instance that the DA approach misses that “the IRE/IRF [Initiation Response Evaluation/ Initiation Response Feedback] cycles perform different interactional and pedagogical work according to the context in which they are operating”. Moreover, he concludes that DA hides “the complexity of the interaction and homogenize[s] it” (ibid., 2004: 65).

More recently, a new reconceptualisation of SLA (Firth & Wagner, 1997) has directed the emergence of Conversation Analysis for SLA (Markee & Kasper, 2004). This reconceptualisation is a call for a holistic approach which includes the social dimension and emic perspectives (Seedhouse, 2004: 236). Many studies have by now followed Firth and Wagner’s seminal call (1997) to respecify the research field in conversation analytic terms (some of the foundational work includes Hellermann 2007; Kasper, 2004; Markee, 2000; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler 2004; Seedhouse 2004). This micro orientation has been explored from various angles, for instance from “interactional architecture” (Seedhouse, 2004) to “social actions” (Hellermann, 2008) in the foreign language classroom. In this regard, Seedhouse (2004) has made a major contribution by inviting the second language classroom researchers to shift their focus from the task-as-workplan to the task-in-process. In other words, the researcher needs to question the widely taken-for-granted premise that “intended pedagogical aims and ideas translate directly into actual classroom practice as if the L2 classroom had no intervening level of interactional organization” (Seedhouse 2004: 93). To put it in another way, instead of comparing the workplan with what actually happens in the classroom, if the classroom studies focus on “the process” they explicate the interactional norms *in situ*.

Another major contribution by Seedhouse (2004: 206) which is crucial for this study is the concept of the “L2 classroom contexts”. These contexts are sub-varieties of L2 classes (cf. ibid., 2004: 206) which are understood as “modes of interactional organization through which interactional business is accomplished”. Several L2 researchers in different traditions have made major contributions in discovering different sub-varieties of L2 classrooms, but the emic notion of classroom context demands that context is not understood as the analyst’s categorisation or a static one, but based on how it is “talked into being and out of being on a turn by turn basis through normative orientation to a pedagogical focus” (ibid., 2004: 203).

3.2.2 Code-switching Studies

This dissertation is situated within several overlapping fields, research on code-switching being one of them. This section will, therefore, deal with code-switching phenomena in some detail. Code-switching is a well-researched field of study albeit with varying approaches and frameworks. A full appraisal of approaches to code-switching is beyond the scope of this project, but a brief historical overview will set the scene for the conversation analytic turn within the field.

A pioneering work is that of George Barker's (1972) study of language choice and code-switching among Mexican Americans. Uriel Weinreich's (1953) *Languages in Contact* also has foundational value for code-switching research because of his challenge to sociolinguistics as enshrined in the following quotation: "The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.) but not in an unchanged speech situations, and certainly not within a single sentence" (Weinreich, 1953: 73). Ferguson's (2000 [1959]) work on diglossia focused on the use or compartmentalisation of different varieties of the same language in different domains. Fishman (1967) later refined and described similar functional divisions between unrelated languages. However their work does not account for alternation between varieties within a single interaction. Similarly, Erving Goffman (1979) described footing as a process in interaction similar to some functional descriptions of code-switching. Indeed, Goffman cites several of Gumperz's descriptions of code switching as examples of footing.

The above-mentioned works within interactional sociolinguistics made important contributions to understanding bilingualism and code-switching. These studies paved the way for Auer's seminal work and the organisational approach to code-switching. The organisational perspective on code-switching is essentially a CA perspective on code-switching as it looks beyond the macrostructural or societal contribution to the social meanings of code-switching, and instead looks at the meanings of code-switching as emerging from the sequential and negotiated development of conversational interaction (Stroud, 1998: 322). Since Conversation Analysis is the most apt tool to look at sequential environments of any kind, it also provides a more dynamic and fluid perspective of code-switching. As Auer (1995: 116) aptly argues, "any theory of conversational code-alternation is bound to fail if it does not take into account that the meaning of code-alternation depends in essential ways on its '*sequential environment*'" (original emphasis).

Adopting an organisational perspective on bilingual talk also takes on board the ethnomethodological "attitude of indifference" (Garfinkel, 1967) whereby it is shown that "switching between this set and another is employed in a meaningful way, in bilingual conversation" (Auer, 1998b: 13). Even within an organisational approach to code-switching, there are two models. Firstly, in Auer's seminal contribution, he argues for a "local order" perspective (1984) to the study of bilingual talk, which can focus on "*members'* procedures to arrive at local interpretations" (1984: 3; original italics). Auer's (1984) attempt to respecify the field of code-switching in conversation analytic terms has been followed by many other studies (e.g. Li Wei, 2002; Musk 2006; Gafaranga, 2009; Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2011). For example,

Auer argues that the notion of the base language (2000: 130) is a “matter of permanent concern for bilingual participants themselves who usually deal with it as part of the background business of making the conversation works [sic!], but sometimes move this issue into the foreground of conversational interaction as well”. In other words, Auer’s work shifted the focus of code-switching research from the analyst’s interpretation of “base language” to a members’ orientation to bilingual talk. Furthermore, Auer distinguishes between two main types of code-switching i.e. *discourse-related switching*, and *participant-related* [or *preference-related*] *switching*. In the former type of code-switching participants search for an account of “why that language now?” within the development of the conversation, while in the latter, they search for an account within the individual who performs this switching, or in his or her co-participants (Auer, 1998b: 8).

Auer has developed an account of language alternation on the local organisation of talk (see critique of local order by Gafaranga, 2012: 303). Although Auer’s code-switching model has been significant in studies of bilingual talk (e.g. Cromdal, 2004); Gafaranga (e.g. 1999), and Gafaranga and Torras (2001, 2002) have developed an alternative organisational account of language alternation based on the fact that talk-in-interaction has a significant overall organisation.

Since the notion of medium is central in understanding the “overall order perspective” within an organisational approach to code-switching, let us briefly touch upon the issue of language/ code/ medium in code-switching research. Gafaranga and Torras (2001: 215) raise a valid question in their study which is whether the concept of language is a useful one in describing bilinguals’ language choice. The concept of language only accounts for instances where the talk is monolingual. According to Gafaranga (e.g. 2000), language or code are the analyst’s categories, whereas medium could be used to distinguish the member’s or participant’s category. This contrasts with an etic perspective, whereby linguists typically see languages and codes as discreet entities. Auer explains this distinction thus:

If conversational code-switching is supposed to be the juxtaposition of two codes such that participants see it as such (which is a necessary condition for any kind of ‘emic’ approach to the interactional meaning in code alternation), the question of what counts as a code is not easily answered, for it must refer to participants’, not to linguists’ notion of ‘code A’ and ‘code B’.

Moreover, Gafaranga and Torras (2002) demonstrate (from an emic perspective) that “speakers select a norm for their conversation” and it is a “concern felt by speakers themselves” (ibid.: 215). By medium they mean participants’ “actually oriented to linguistic code” (2001:1) or put another way, a code underpinned by “that scheme of interpretation (Garfinkel, 1967) speakers themselves orient to while talking” (Gafaranga 2000: 329). The concept of order in social action and order in bilingual talk is central to this argument. This implies that a medium can be a monolingual or a bilingual one if it is normatively oriented to¹⁵. Hence Gafaranga (2007a: 306, 2007: 145) proposes a language alternation model where there are two possibilities: language alternation as a medium per se (i.e. a bilingual medium)

¹⁵ This has been demonstrated, for example, in Gafaranga and Torras’s (2001) study.

and the case of deviance from a medium. The major contribution of the overall order is thus that it can provide an account of the bilingual medium as well the monolingual medium.

3.2.3 *Conversation Analysis in Classroom Code-Switching Studies*

Several code-switching models have been developed by analysts looking at everyday conversations, which have also been used to some extent in classroom code-switching research (for a comprehensive review, see for instance Lin, 2008, 2013; Üstünel and Seedhouse, 2005). A number of early studies investigated code-switching and its uses in the classroom context, particularly the pedagogical functions of classroom talk, the amount of L1 and L2, etc. A conversation analytic turn in classroom code-switching studies (see for instance Cromdal, 2004; Üstünel, 2005) has not only broadened our understanding of bilingual talk, but it has provided us with a better understanding of how classroom participants manage and understand each other's monolingual and bilingual turns. In this regard, Martin-Jones (1995: 103) argues that "a conversation-analytic approach to code-switching in classroom discourse, grounded in ethnographic observation, can give us fine-grained descriptions of the ways in which teachers and learners get things done bilingually in the classroom". In other words, we need these fine-grained descriptions, especially in bilingual and multilingual contexts in classrooms to understand how, in different classrooms, pupils and the teacher show their own understandings *in situ*. In this regard, according to Auer (1998b: 3), "the macro-social aspects of the speech situation never determine completely language choice, including code-switching and the absence of it". In contrast to accounting for a macro-social aspect, a CA classroom code-switching study has the capability to show various aspects within the sequential and negotiated environment of bilingual/multilingual classroom talk. Moreover, Wei (2002: 64; 2005: 276) suggests that a conversation analytic approach has the following advantages in particular:

1. It gives priority to the sequential implicativeness (Auer, 1984: 6) of language choice in conversation.
2. It helps to limit the possible imposition of the analyst's interpretations on the meanings of code-switching.
3. It focuses on revealing the procedures used by the conversation participants themselves in arriving at their own understandings which, in turn, are evidenced in the data.

There is a growing body of classroom code-switching research; still, Seedhouse (2011: 354) considers that there is a lot more to be done in L2 classrooms' context:

Although there is a considerable literature on bilingual code-switching, relatively little CA research had been undertaken on code-switching in L2 classrooms until very recently. Code-switching as a methodical phenomenon in L2 classroom interaction is now starting to be researched using a CA methodology.

To conclude, this chapter has provided a comprehensive overview of the analytical perspectives used for this study by highlighting aspects of ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis. The important trends within conversation-analytic studies in

classroom research on bilingual talk have been highlighted as well as the conversation analytic tools deemed necessary for this study. A more thorough overview of recent studies of classroom code-switching, which are directly or indirectly related to LP, has been presented in Chapter 2.

4 DATA AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter I present the data and setting used for the study and apply the analytical approaches discussed in the previous chapters. The principal method of this study involves the recording and analysing of naturally occurring classroom interaction without *a priori* theorizing. Video recordings serve as the main data that have been collected in one Swedish school. The method of collecting and approaching the data aligns with Conversation Analysis (CA¹⁶), and also represents the stance taken in the present study.

4.1 Data, Setting and Participants

This section introduces and provides details about the data, setting of the school and participants of this project.

4.1.1 Data

The data collected in this study came from analog and digital video recordings of EFL lessons in an international school. In total, 20 lessons were recorded which comprise approximately 20 hours of recordings in the same school and with the same teacher, between the years 2007-2010. The data was also recorded in two different settings, *när* in the classroom and the computer lab (see figure 1).

The recordings were made in two different phases, i.e. the first in 2007-2008, and then in 2009-2010. In the second phase of recordings, the same set of pupils were first recorded when they were in grade 8, and then in grade 9. The lessons contain a wide range of activities and configurations of classroom participants. The recording time of each lesson varies as the recordings were made as and when the room was available for the equipment to be placed in the room.

¹⁶ A more elaborated description of CA is given in chapter 3.



Figure 1. The computer lab.

4.1.2 The School Setting

The video-recorded EFL (English as a Foreign Language) classes were held at a compulsory school in Sweden, which follows the Swedish National Curriculum. The nine year compulsory schooling is called *grundskola* in Sweden. The profile of the school is internationalisation and languages, as is evident from the welcome sign (see figure 2) of the school in the following languages i.e. English, Spanish and Swedish.



Figure 2. Welcome sign in the main corridor of the school

There are two sections of the school: Swedish-medium classes and English-medium classes. The English-medium classes are provided for children of families who are temporarily living in Sweden for work or study purposes. The latter are only offered between the grades 0-7. For this study, grades 8-9 of the Swedish-medium classes were recorded.

4.1.3 Participants

The classes featuring in this study were held by one teacher, *Karen*, who is an American and a native English speaker. She was a qualified and experienced EFL female teacher with a number of years teaching English in the upper secondary classes of compulsory schools (*grundskola*) in Sweden. She spoke both Swedish and English. The children in the classes were all proficient speakers of Swedish coming from different linguistic backgrounds. English is a compulsory subject in all Swedish schools from grade 3, but in this particular school English is taught from grade 1. The pupils were both girls and boys in grades 8 and 9, and between the ages 15-16. There were about 15-25 pupils in each class.

4.2 Collecting the Data

This section introduces the different steps involved in data collection. It begins with giving brief details about how the school was contacted and what ethical guidelines were deemed necessary for this study. Then it moves into the details of the recordings and activities involved.

4.2.1 Contact with the School

In order to gain access to suitable classrooms, I approached one teacher at the school and arranged a meeting with the school principal. I introduced myself as a Doctoral student of the Department of Culture and Communication, Linköping University, Sweden, under Professor Jan Anward's supervision. I explained my interest in interaction in the English language classrooms. I also declared that I had no primary interest in evaluating teaching, teachers or the students; rather my interest was in the interactional business of the language classroom. Once contact was established with the school, another teacher (*Karen*) was approached for recording her English lessons in grades 8-9. This teacher was provided with consent forms.

4.2.2 Ethical Considerations

The research project has followed the Swedish Research Council's ethical directions for collecting and handling data. This project also adheres to the research ethics guidelines listed on the CODEX website¹⁷. Accordingly, the school authorities were contacted and informed as well as all the participants. The teacher (*Karen*) helped in explaining the information concerning the study to the pupils. The pupils were introduced to the general aims of the

¹⁷ <http://codex.vr.se/>

study, and their consent along with their parents' was obtained using a consent form (attached as appendix 1). The consent form included the following points, which were also verbally communicated to all participants: (i) all participants' names and any other revealing information about the school will be kept anonymous; (ii) research ethics will be strictly adhered to; (iii) the participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time; (iv) The data will only be used for research purposes, such as scientific reports, conferences and presentations; (v) The video and audio tapes will be archived securely, and only I myself and other researchers will view the recordings.

There were no participants, in the second phase of recordings (2009-2010), who, after having read the form, objected to being part of the recordings and neither did their parents refuse to provide permission to their wards. In general, the participants showed a lack of concern for the ethical aspects of the recording process as often they were reminded by the teacher to bring back the consent forms. At their request the forms were provided again. The researcher's email address along with her postal address and phone numbers were distributed so that they could contact the researcher at any time. Later, the contract was renewed; when the pupils reached grade 9, the consent forms were distributed again.

As regards the anonymity of the participants, the students and teachers were informed that their names and identities would be kept anonymous. For this purpose the teacher was given a fictitious name, Karen, throughout the *kappa* (Part 1 of this dissertation) as well as in the articles in this study. The same goes for any transcripts used in data sessions, conference presentations, etc. As regards pupils' names, their names have also been changed. Videos were only used in data sessions and conferences where researchers were well aware of the issue of identifications of the participants but they were reminded nevertheless.

4.2.3 Recordings

The recordings were made with multiple video cameras, both fixed and hand held. For each lesson different numbers of cameras were used. The rest of the equipment, for instance external microphones, were also occasionally used, depending on the time and space available at the time of installing the equipment. Also, the classroom activity itself and the arrangement of the furniture on that particular day influenced the decision to use external microphones or a tripod.

4.2.4 Activities

As noted earlier the data was recorded in two different settings, the classroom and the computer lab. In the first phase of recordings i.e. between the years 2007-2008, one lesson was recorded in the classroom whereas the other two lessons are from the computer room. In the lesson conducted in the classroom, the teacher gives instructions about the "Ellis Island immigration project" where the classroom participants learn about immigration from Sweden to the US, whereas in the two lessons in the computer room, the pupils searched for information to solve an Internet quiz. Each pair of pupils used one computer and wrote

answers on their own quiz sheets. These lessons have been extensively used with about 8 cases of language policing found in this data.

The details about the lessons recorded during the second phase of recordings (i.e. between 2009-2010) follow. In spring 2009, only one lesson was recorded in the computer lab. The students worked on the “Ellis Island Project” in the computer lab where they used computers individually. In spring 2010, a variety of lessons were recorded but there were no computer lessons integrated with the English lessons. Several of the activities that were conducted in Spring 2010 included watching the movie *Romeo and Juliet*, *Shakespeare in Love*, group work about the play *Romeo and Juliet*, a group activity on the white board about *Romeo and Juliet*, grammar exercises, a discussion about the national exam, etc. One of the lessons also included an activity where they discussed the scrapbooks or the albums made by grade 8 during the spring of 2009.

4.3 Processing and Transcribing the Data

The recordings collected during the fieldwork were transformed in several steps into transcriptions. All video tapes were digitised using a programme called Pinnacle. Rough notes of participants’ activities were made in a log. These notes were not used for any analytical purposes. The videos were then watched for any possible interest for research purposes. More detailed transcriptions were made when some part of the recordings had been selected for further analysis. These transcriptions underwent the process of gradual refinement.

For other readers besides the researcher, the transcripts provide some basic information. The details in a transcription depend on the focus of the study, for instance phonetic notation, multimodal aspects, etc. For this study as well, the level of the detail of the transcript varies, e.g. pupils’ work at the computer has been represented in those transcripts when there was a need for it. According to Mondada, the skill of making transcriptions should be seen as a skilled practice developed from “enhanced professional vision (Goodwin, 1994) as well as the technical gestures of the transcriber on the other hand” (Mondada, 2007: 819). Keeping these important points in mind, the transcripts were also made while adding details as required by the focus of the study and nature of the setting.

Some of the transcripts were originally prepared by the co-author of Amir & Musk (2013) and Amir & Musk (submitted). This pertains to a collection of video recordings of 4 whole EFL lessons, which were recorded by Asta Cekaite during 2007-2008 for the LINT project¹⁸.

The transcription conventions have been adapted from Jefferson (2004) and Musk (2011) for the current purposes:

(.5)	Pauses in speech of tenths of a second
(.)	Pause in speech of less than 0.2 seconds
yeah=	Equal sign: latching between utterances

¹⁸ LINT stands for “Learning, Interaction and the development of narrative knowing and remembering.” It is a joint multidisciplinary project between Linköping University, Gothenburg University, Uppsala University & Stockholm University

=yeah	
[yeah	Opening square brackets between adjacent lines: opening of overlapping talk
mm]	Closing square brackets between adjacent lines: closure of overlapping talk
lis-	Dash: cut-off word
sh:::	Colon: prolonged previous sound
(swap)	Words in single brackets: uncertain words
(xx)	Crosses in single brackets: unclear fragment; each cross corresponds to one syllable
dä ju så	Words in italics: code alternation (Swedish)
that's how it is	Words in grey italics: translation of code alternation (in line above)
,	Comma: "continuing" intonation
.	Fullstop: a stopping fall in tone
Anne Frank	Text in bold: typed text appearing on the computer screen
Anne Frank	Text in bold with a line through: text erased on the computer screen
((slaps desk))	Double brackets: comments on contextual or other features, e.g. non-verbal activities
[katy]	Names in square brackets: changed for reasons of confidentiality
AND	Capitals: noticeably louder than surrounding speech
¡OH!	Encompassing exclamation marks: animated or emphatic tone
<u>really</u>	Underlining: speaker emphasis
°crap°	Encompassing degree signs: noticeably quieter than surrounding speech
\$hi\$	Encompassing dollar signs: smiley or chuckling voice
>what's this<	Encompassing more than & less than signs: Noticeably quicker than surrounding speech
no	Encompassing asterisks: other distinguishing voice quality
((*croaky voice))	Double brackets + asterisk: description of feature encompassed by asterisks
.nhhä	Initial full stop: inbreath
?	Question mark: rising intonation
¿	Upside-down question mark: partially rising inflection
↓norr↑land	Arrows: marked falling or rising intonational shift at these points, respectively

4.4 Analysing the Data

After having found an interesting sequence in the data where a pupil was explicitly doing language policy (see Amir & Musk, submitted), the database was explored for similar phenomena. As the data collection process was still in progress, the data was repeatedly explored for other similar phenomena. The main collection in this study is of language policing, which occurred in eight lessons out of 20 in all. Table 1 presents the distribution of language policing cases.

Lesson	Language Policing
1	3
2	3
3	3
4	5
7	1
10	1
12	2
18	3
Total	20 cases

Table 1. Overview of language policing collection in the video recordings

The transcripts for these cases were refined and the prominent features of each case were placed in a tabular form. After that, the cases were grouped together if they had similar characteristics. On the basis of the common features, a language policing taxonomy was constructed (see figure 4 in 5.3). This taxonomy was repeatedly revised but when some features did not hold true for a specific sub-category it was updated.

Besides the explicit cases of language policing, there were a number of other ways of doing language policy, for instance by implicitly doing language policy, or not doing it at all. Six cases which looked quite similar to the phenomenon that I have called “language policing”, were rejected on the basis of some missing features. These cases were categorised as “avoiding Swedish” and are discussed briefly in the Chapter 5.

5 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

This final chapter reviews the aims, summarises the key findings and situates them in a broader context. It also highlights the effects of doing language policy and briefly discusses the justification of a conversation analytic methodology. This section is followed by a section assessing the significance of this study. Finally, the limitations of this study are briefly discussed together with future directions which could be built on the current study.

5.2. Aims

This project was undertaken to study the classroom practices of doing language policy with the help of ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis. The research object has been the *classroom talk* of the participants in grades 8 & 9 of an international school in Sweden.

The overall questions that have guided me here are *what*, *who* and *when* questions: what are the general language practices in the English as a foreign language classroom, especially in relation to medium and code-switching?; what are the types of practices or methods that do language policy?; who does language policy in the EFL classroom?; when is the language policy done, i.e. the contexts where doing language policy arises?; and what are the effects of doing language policy?

In addressing these questions, this study has an overall order take on bilingual talk within an ethnomethodological conversational-analytic framework, i.e. i.e. as opposed to an analyst's categorisation of bilingual talk as language A and B, "language alternation should be explained with reference to the medium that participants have adopted for their interaction" (Gafaranga 2007: 149). This "medium" can be either monolingual or bilingual.

The aforementioned goals have been achieved by embarking on three distinct studies included in this dissertation (see Part II). The individual articles all seek to tell a story about the different ways and methods through which they do language policy. In the following sections, I will sum up what findings I deem to be the most interesting by revisiting each of the research questions in turn, and also point out what future studies might be carried out on these findings.

5.3 Summary of the Findings

In this section, I will address four of the aforementioned research questions one by one, but the last question which is to do with the implications of the English-only rule, will be dealt with in the next section (5.4). On the basis of empirical data presented in Chapter 4, the first research question to be addressed is **what are the general language practices of the EFL classroom in relation to medium and code-switching?**. The maintenance of English in

the EFL classroom of this study is demonstrated as a routine matter during different classroom activities, e.g. when addressing the teacher. The teacher speaks English all the time, and self-polices herself on one occasion, even when she speaks half a word of Swedish (see excerpt 6 in Amir, 2013). However, the pupils speak more Swedish than the teacher, but while they are talking in Swedish, they can abruptly stop and switch to English.

This brings us to our second question, i.e. **what are the types of practices or methods that do language policy?** The study has shown that if the sanctity of the English-only classroom was broken, several different practices of *doing language policy* emerged. These include a continuum of approaches from doing no language policing at all to doing explicit language policing. Between these two extremes, several implicit actions and formulations could also be used to uphold the English-only rule. While the three studies mainly focus on the explicit ways of doing language policy by the pupils and the teacher, both self-initiated and other-initiated, the studies also show a cross-section of implicit ways of doing language policy, e.g. when the teacher enters the classroom where only Swedish is being spoken, her greeting in English switches the medium of classroom interaction to English.

As stated, the main focus has been particularly on one explicit way of doing language policy, *language policing*, which is one of a family of practices that establish the *micro-level language policy-in-process*, that is, the normative, situated enforcement of a target-language-only policy. The term “micro-level language policy-in-process” aims to capture the dynamic, co-constructed and situated nature of language policy as opposed to an ideological top-down approach, in other words, language policy in the actual interactions between classroom participants, instead of the policy-as-workplan.

This study also attempts to categorise all types of language policing, i.e. both self-policing and other-policing, both by the teacher and the pupils, whereby the teacher plays an important role in (re-)establishing and maintaining the prescribed policy. In this study, I show that just like repair, a language-policing trajectory regularly consists of the following three steps as illustrated in figure 3: (1) a (perceived) breach of the target-language-only rule, (2) an act of language policing and (3) an orientation to the language policing act.

Language policing shares some features with repair but the repair source in language policing is always a normatively deviant medium. In common with repair, the principle distinction between self- and other-policing is one that members orient to with respect to their placement (in relation to the trouble source), initiator techniques, and trajectories (cf. Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977: 365-9). Further features of doing language policing include multimodal aspects of form ranging from prosody to gaze as well as the location of policing in the public, private or semi-public space of the classroom.

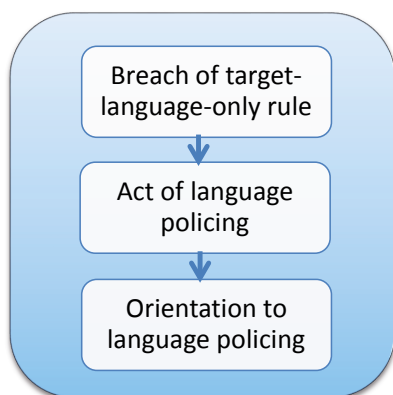


Figure 3. Three-step model of language policing

The third question that guided the current study is: **who does language policy in the EFL classroom?** Firstly, it should be pointed out that both pupils and the teacher were doing language policy mainly through implicit methods and by upholding the English-only rule. Besides these implicit methods of doing language policy, there are 20 cases when language policing, the most explicit method of doing language policy, occurred. The basic taxonomy of language policing is presented in figure 4.

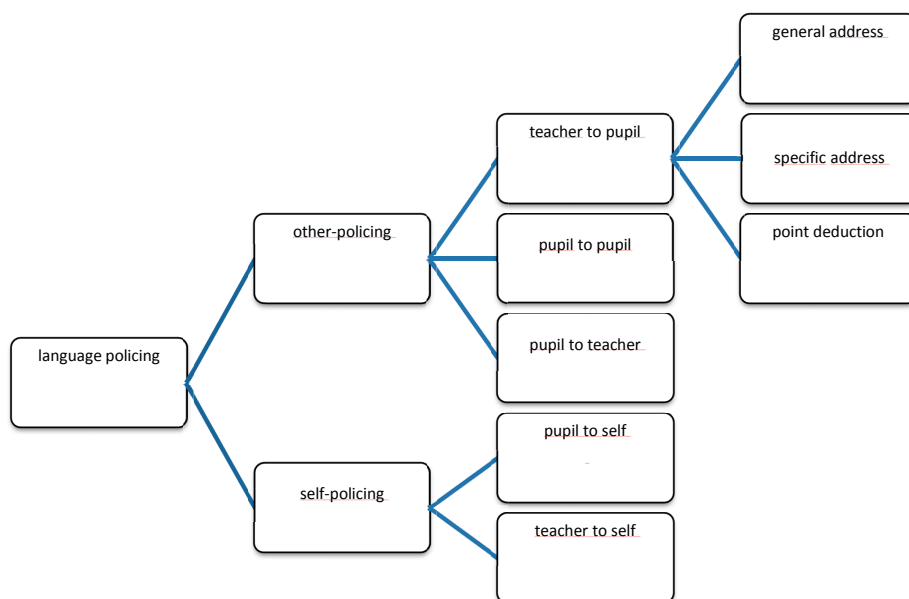


Figure 4. Taxonomy of language policing

The basic categorisation of language policing is based on who initiates policing whether it is the *self* or the *other* that is being policed (as illustrated by first level of sub-categories of figure 4). Further sub-categories are based on whether it is the teacher or the pupils (as illustrated by

the second level of sub-categories in figure 4). While both the teacher and the pupils were actively doing language policing in the data of this study, there are some differences between the teacher's way of doing language policy and the pupils' way of doing language policy. In order to illustrate the robustness of the language policing taxonomy, let us exemplify this using one sub-category of teacher to pupil policing, i.e. point deduction. While the teacher follows a teacher versus pupils' points system to monitor the English-only language policy, only the teacher could deduct points. She was the keeper of the point system as well as the sole person who decided when speaking Swedish could result in point removal. If policed by the pupils, she could make exceptions for herself. Moreover, she could police the whole class as well as individual pupils but on the other hand, pupils could also contest accusations.

Despite the fact that there are differences between members' ways of doing language policing, the classroom contexts where different sub-categories of language arises differ substantially too. This brings us to our fourth question i.e. **when is language policy done, i.e. the contexts where doing language policy arises?** By contexts I mean the "institutional subvarieties" or EFL classroom contexts which are understood as "modes of interactional organization through which interactional business is accomplished" (Seedhouse, 2004: 206). In the data, the different sub-categories of language policing (illustrated in figure 4 above) emerged in different classroom contexts, i.e. task-oriented contexts, procedural contexts and off-task contexts (cf. Seedhouse 2004: 204–222). The term "task-oriented contexts" is used by Seedhouse to refer to those sub-varieties where there is "empirical evidence in the task-in-process of an emic focus on the accomplishment of a task" (ibid.: 129). This is achieved when the teacher introduces a pedagogical focus and allocates "tasks to the learners and generally withdraws, allowing the learners to manage the interaction themselves" (ibid.: 153). In the same vein, Seedhouse (2004) uses the term "procedural context" to refer to those EFL classroom contexts where the teacher's aim is to "transmit procedural information to the students concerning the classroom activities which are to be accomplished in the lesson" (ibid: 133). The last relevant classroom context to be found in the data is the off-task context. Markee (2000:198) uses the term "off-task contexts" for those classroom contexts where the talk is generally not institutional and not oriented to the task as introduced by the teacher. Moreover, Seedhouse (2004: 129) also demonstrates that when the learners are unsupervised, occasionally there might be difficulties of task orientation as well as speaking in the L1.

Let us now turn to the afore-mentioned classroom contexts found in the data and the significant features of the corresponding sub-categories of language policing. Each type of language policing was found in a particular context, because of the constraints and possibilities it allowed the classroom participants. In the task-oriented context for instance, the following sub-categories were found: pupil-to-pupil policing and teacher-to-pupil specific address. For the task-oriented context, the nature and space of the tasks affects the participant framework. In this context particularly, there might be less individual supervision by the teacher and more interaction among the pupils. While the teacher could be in another corner of the room, it is still possible for her to address specific pupils and check if English is being spoken in the interaction.

The second classroom context to appear in the data is the procedural context. The language policing category that appears in this context in the data is teacher-to-pupil general address. This is a teacher-led context conducted in the public space of the classroom, which allows room for general address to the whole class. Here any language policing is regularly triggered by overhearing Swedish.

The third classroom context to appear in the data is the off-task context. The language policing category that appears in this context in the data is pupil-to-teacher policing and pupil-to-pupil policing. In other words, the off-task context allowed pupils more space to speak their L1 while being unsupervised or out of earshot of the teacher. This created a chance for them to police each other as well.

EFL classroom contexts are not static, but based on how they are “talked into being and out of being on a turn by turn basis through normative orientation to a pedagogical focus” (Seedhouse, 2004: 203). The foreign language classroom contexts in this study were also found to be dynamic, in that they could be generated both by the teacher and the pupils. The classroom contexts found in the data were also dynamic in the sense that each lesson could have several sub-varieties of L2 classroom contexts.

5.4 Effects of Doing Language Policy

This section answers the fifth research question of this project, i.e. “What effects does the doing of language policy have on teaching English as a foreign language practices?” The reason for allotting a separate section to this question is because the previous four questions reported the findings of the three studies, whereas the fifth question responds to the implications of these findings. This section provides some insights in relation to the English-only rule and specific types of language policing.

The English-only rule is a teacher strategy for providing foreign language learners with opportunities to speak in the foreign language, i.e. English in the case of the current study. In the case of learning a foreign language as opposed to a second language, there are relatively few opportunities to practice a foreign language in the environment outside the classroom. Therefore, it seems that theoretically speaking the English-only rule aligns with the overall pedagogical goal of Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL). To assess the pedagogical effects of this rule in practice, let us see how the rule is upheld and how it is lived out in practice in the data. For the most part establishing and maintaining the English-only rule “sufficient[ly] for all practical purposes” is a routine matter (cf. Zimmerman 1971: 227), for instance when addressing the teacher or when the lesson begins, etc. There is very little deviation in the public space of the classroom but there are occasions when there are requests to use Swedish or even language policing. Nevertheless, there are only 20 occasions of language policing in 20 lessons, which implies that language policy is upheld as a routine matter, mainly through various implicit methods of doing language policy.

However, there are some strange effects of a blanket ban on speaking no Swedish. For instance, the teacher’s self-policing gets silly when she speaks half a word of Swedish when

she is about to give an equivalent to an English word in a grammar lesson (see excerpt 6 in Amir, 2013). On other occasions, when the teacher utters a Swedish place name, a pupil polices her but this leads to the teacher's contestation that she is allowed to say a city in Swedish (see excerpt 6, Amir & Musk, 2013). This is followed by another pupil jumping into the interaction and giving an example of a Swedish city's name (Göteborg) which actually has an alternative in English (Gothenburg). This lengthy discussion disrupts the task the pupil (Sara) and others were assigned to do, and also disaligns with the pedagogical focus. On the other hand, even though this discussion leads to off-task talk, the interaction is being conducted in English.

Another way of doing language policy, which I call "avoiding Swedish" emerged in the data, but is not included in the language policing collection. This way of doing language policy is one example of how English is upheld subtly most of the time, both by the teacher and the pupils. To illustrate this, I refer to a presequence to excerpt 2 (Amir & Musk, 2013), where the teacher is talking about different waves of Swedish immigration to America in the 19th century. She cross-checks pupils' understanding by asking "So what do I mean by a wave of immigration?" after having uttered the word "waves". She keeps on asking further follow-up questions to make sure that the pupils have grasped what she means by "waves". The word wave is used in the expression "waves of immigration", but she does not ask "What does wave mean?" This could possibly be understood by the pupils as if the teacher is asking for the word in translation but it does not get taken up in Swedish. In the end, the teacher enacts the motions of a wave and at the same time, makes sounds of moving waves. With this elaborated trajectory, even though the classroom participants avoid a breach of the English-only rule, time-wise it does not seem to be an effective method. Neither does this circumlocution provide the exact meaning of the phrase "waves of immigration". For pupils with lower levels of English, it might be difficult to make a connection between the waves of an ocean and immigration. On the other hand, it seems to be a good exercise for the pupils to learn how to circumlocute or find synonyms for the same word. This would definitely seem to be aligning with the pedagogical goal of giving the pupils an opportunity to speak more English but here it seems to go off at a tangent to the task-in-hand. Yet if the teacher were to translate each and every word of English which she thinks is either a new word or a bit difficult for the pupils to understand, this might not be a useful approach either. What seems a balanced approach then is that after explaining a word either through synonyms and/or circumlocuting, the teacher could provide or ask for the word in the L1.

Another issue to be raised at this point is the effects of doing language policy and policing on the task at hand. The question then arises if the task or teaching gets disrupted, or does language policing generally align with different levels of pedagogical goals? Let us return to the example of avoidance where the teacher's main task is led into a side sequence of explaining the word "waves". The teacher's current pedagogical goal of checking the information the pupils have acquired about Swedish immigration gets interrupted, but the bigger pedagogical goal of TEFL does not, as there is an opportunity for the pupils to listen to what "waves" are in different possible ways. Nevertheless, the biggest flaw here seems to be that it does take a lot of time and energy on the teachers' part. Another implicit way of doing language policy, for instance the teachers' greeting in English at the start of the lesson

proper, is actually a good classroom management tool to “announce” that we are beginning an EFL lesson.

In the explicit form of doing language policy, i.e. language policing, the task interruption varies between different sub-categories. In case of the category of language policing called specific address, all language policing cases showed that the task in hand gets interrupted, just as in the case of corrections. It puts on hold the prior task until the language policing trajectory concludes. By way of exemplification, I refer to an episode (excerpt 2 in Amir, 2013) where Mikael and Sara are sitting next to each other in the computer lab. They are working on individual tasks where Mikael is using computer software to make an album related to the immigration project. Mikael seeks help from Sara several times for learning new techniques of the software related to his task. When he gets policed by the teacher, the task at hand not only gets interrupted but it leads off at a tangent where the pupils end up contesting that Mikael has been speaking Swedish (which he has). Even though the contestation is carried out in English, which aligns with the pedagogical goal of speaking English, prior to language policing Sara and Mikael were generally orienting to the task as well as helping each other to sort out small problems within the task. This illustrates that the task interruption varies in different sub-categories of language policing, i.e. when individuals are singled out their task is interrupted, but when the teacher is addressing the whole class there is less disruption of pupils’ interactional business.

Another important effect of doing language policing and one worth discussing concerns face-threats. When an act of language policing occurs in a procedural context addressed to the whole class, it is more or less like any regular act of classroom management, and there is no face threat. On the other hand, the sub-category of language policing called specific address, where individuals are singled out was tricky with respect to face-threats. By way of exemplification, let us consider the above-mentioned case once again, when the teacher polices Mikael when he is seeking Sara’s help for a task and has been speaking Swedish. When the teacher asks, “Mikael are you speaking English?” he turns and smiles sheepishly (excerpt 2, Amir, 2013). Sara responds instead of Mikael where she is saving him from possible shame and point removal. Here, the face-threat is quite evident with respect to the individual being pinpointed specifically.

Another important aspect which this project investigates is the effects of managing the English-only rule with the help of a point system. The point system becomes explicitly visible in some language-policing cases especially in case of point deduction. It is a teacher versus pupils point removal system where each lesson has 40 points. With each word of Swedish spoken by the pupils a point is supposed to be deducted, but when the teacher speaks a word of Swedish, a point is supposed to be added to the total number of points accumulated so far during the term. This is the rule-in-theory which is not the same as how it is lived out in practice. There are only two occasions in the data where the points are actually deducted. In one case (see excerpt ix of Appendix 1), the pupils receive a collective punishment when the pupils are speaking in Swedish after completing their task. The pupils do not comment on it, which means that the point deduction is not treated as a problem by the pupils. In the other case of point deduction (excerpt 3, Amir & Musk, 2013) a pupil breaches the English-only rule

quite loudly in the public space and in close vicinity of the teacher. Another pupil, Malin, seeks Hanna's eye contact in order to mockingly shame her for letting the whole class face collective punishment. The upshot of this is that maintaining the English-only rule is a routine matter, whereas point deduction comes up as a one-off event, which is not a regular feature of this data.

Let us now turn to some general problems with a teacher versus pupils' point system as the workplan. It gets a little absurd that if the breach is conducted by the teacher, the pupils get a point. This means speaking Swedish punishes them, but on the other hand, if the teacher speaks Swedish, the pupils are rewarded by gaining more points. Since the goal of a foreign language classroom is to provide the pupils with more chances of speaking English, this aspect of the rule does not align with the pedagogical focus. In fact on one occasion a pupil objects to the teacher's use of a Swedish place name, which could also be understood as the pupil's effort to gain a point. Another small absurdity of the rule is that a collective punishment is bestowed upon the whole class when one pupil speaks Swedish. Even though collective punishments are not necessarily a problem, there is at least one caveat. First, it discourages Swedish rather than rewarding pupils for speaking more English or good English e.g. using varied vocabulary, correct pronunciation, grammatically correct talk, etc.

To conclude, these findings suggest that in general the English-only rule was upheld implicitly most of the time as a routine matter without language policing. However, the rule itself does not provide enough information about the grey zones within a bilingual environment, e.g. concerning proper nouns. This is where the discussions about what constitutes a breach or not could appear. As regards, the point system we have seen that it also remains fairly invisible throughout the data except on two occasions within 20 lessons.

5.5 Justifications and Limitations of Using CA Methodology for Language Policy in Bilingual Talk

This section will highlight what insights Conversation Analysis provides in comparison to other methodologies specifically for this study.

The emic perspective that is central to CA means that the analyst looks at the participants' display of their actions but also their understandings of those actions (Seedhouse, 2004: 239). It provides a bottom-up understanding of what goes on in spoken discourse. An emic perspective has also guided the analyses of bilingual talk. In contrast to the regular analysis of bilingual talk where analysts typically differentiate between language A and language B, an emic perspective does not demand sorting out the bilingual talk in this fashion. Instead it looks at how the members themselves are orienting towards the juxtaposition of codes in talk-in-interaction. Uncovering the members' norms to these codes thus helped in building up a collection of a family of methods of doing language policy.

However, while Conversation Analysis is a useful tool to look at micro-level interaction, it does not offer the right tools to look at macro-level national policies or language policy as discourse in written texts. While this is a limitation of CA, i.e. working with media other than

talk-in-interaction, it is not a problem for the current study as the data of this study is classroom talk.

While a method like Discourse Analysis can also work with interactional data, Conversation Analysis is a better tool because, as Seedhouse (2004: 65) demonstrates, CA is able to portray “the participants’ interactional concerns” whereas “DA tends to conceal the complexity of the interaction and homogenize it”. Also, Conversation Analysis is “able to portray the reflexive relationship between pedagogy and interaction” (ibid.: 66). Furthermore, in contrast to other research methodologies, e.g. ethnography where the researchers give a first-hand account of the field, a conversation analyst does not talk about what he/she saw during the fieldwork. Video recordings of a conversation analytic study are a revolutionary and important tool in several respects. In contrast to methodologies which rely on diaries or notes, video recordings provide a first-hand account in themselves, even to a researcher who was not present at that time. Yet there are some limitations of video recordings, such as the effect of the researcher’s decision of certain camera angles, the selection of participants, etc.

5.6 Significance of the Study

This study has made the following contributions by:

1. presenting a three-step sequence of language policing.
2. presenting an empirically and inductively derived taxonomy of language policing,
3. investigating how the English-only rule is lived out in practice,
4. introducing the concept of “practiced language policy” to the EFL enterprise,
5. using ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis to describe a restrictive EFL classroom language policy.

The afore-mentioned list is not all-inclusive and some of the points overlap with each other, but for the purposes of clarity, it is useful to separate these contributions at this stage.

First of all, this study has presented both a robust taxonomy of language policing as well as a three-step sequence of language policing. These are discoveries built on empirical evidence. The study is a contribution to Conversation Analysis as well as questions of language policy, as it shows the structures of various types of practices of doing explicit language policy. The collection was mined to make sure how doing language policy occurred in the data, how the rule was lived out, by focusing on the *practiced language policy* instead of the prescribed language policy or the language policy of the workplan in the Swedish EFL classroom. This, in turn helped in contributing to the EFL enterprise by investigating a particular socio-linguistic context and educational level in Sweden. While there are several studies in other sociolinguistic contexts, e.g. the US, post-colonial states, etc., there are relatively very few studies in the EFL classroom in the compulsory school in Sweden. In other words, a new direction in the area of language policy has been introduced to a new context, i.e. EFL, while uncovering the practiced language policy of this classroom. As stated in Chapter 2, practiced language policy has been used in heritage language classrooms, but not in EFL classrooms. While many LP studies focus on the implementation of national/school policies at the micro-

level, few studies focus on policy in the interaction itself. What this orientation actually provides is a paradigm shift, because it gives an opportunity for us to “look at what people do, and not at what someone else wants them to do” (Spolsky, 2004 p.218). This perspective does not compare the interaction as deficient in any respect.

5.7 Limitations of the Present Study and Future Research

There are some limitations of the present study, which might be taken into consideration in future research. Therefore it makes sense to start with these to see the need for further research. The results of the present study are confined to a particular EFL classroom context in Sweden. Furthermore, the data consisted of recordings with only one teacher. It is not possible to speculate whether other teachers’ lived out policy differently from Karen’s, but Karen was a first-language speaker of English and therefore demonstrated no or few language difficulties in practising an English-only policy (only possibly sometimes when avoiding Swedish). Also, since the English-only rule in this particular school is introduced in grade 7 of this school, the pupils have also spent some time being socialised into this rule by the time they are in grades 8 and 9.

In order to cross-check or to compare results with other data, more data could be collected and analysed at different educational levels (e.g. primary classes, middle years, etc.) in the compulsory school. It could also be conducted in other classroom contexts where there are other methods for keeping the English-only rule, e.g. a reward system, etc. This study could also be conducted in different types of schools e.g. international schools, public schools, etc. This is also a call to look at practiced language policy in other sociolinguistic contexts to see if there are any comparable results.

Further studies are also needed to investigate whether the taxonomy of language policing¹⁹ holds true for other classroom contexts, as well as other institutional and non-institutional settings²⁰ to see how language policing sequences work in those settings.

To put the above suggestions in more concrete terms, further studies could examine the following specific questions:

- What are the different practices of doing language policy in dyadic interaction and group interaction in the classroom?
- What types of language policing sequences emerge from particular teaching methods?
- Do particular types of language policing in particular contexts facilitate speaking more English?
- What kind of teacher-policing occurs in specific grades?

¹⁹ Markee and Kunitz (2012) showed that there were some similar sub-categories of language policing in their data.

²⁰ A preliminary study on language policing has also been done on Pakistani breakfast television, which showed that a similar three-step sequence of language policing occurred (Amir, 2010).

- Are there pedagogical advantages/disadvantages of a long-term socialisation with the English-only rule?

SUMMARIES OF STUDIES

STUDY I: Language Policing: Micro-level language Policy-in-Process in the Foreign Language Classroom

Alia Amir & Nigel Musk (2013). *Classroom Discourse*.

This study presents a dynamic, situated, emergent view of language policy enshrined in the term *micro-level language policy-in-process*, that is, how a target-language-only policy is played out *in situ* moment by moment and turn by turn in the foreign language classroom. Among a family of methods for *doing language policy*, implicitly and explicitly, *language policing* was found to be the most explicit. Language policing is taken here to mean, the mechanism deployed by the teacher and/or pupils to (re-)establish the normatively prescribed target language as the *medium of classroom interaction*.

In particular, this study examines teacher-initiated language policing where three different sub-categories of teacher-initiated language policing are exemplified with the help of excerpts. This focus on teacher-initiated language policing is part of a bigger taxonomy of language policing. The basic categorisation of language policing is based on who initiates policing; whether it is the *self* or the *other* that is being policed. The sub-categories of language policing are based on particular configurations of features, such as initiator techniques (e.g. reminders, prompts, warnings and sanctions) and pupils' responses to being policed (e.g. compliance or contestation).

This study has also identified a regular three-step sequence for language policing: 1) a (perceived) breach of the target-language-only rule, 2) an act of language policing and 3) an orientation to the target-language-only rule, usually in the guise of medium (code) switching to the target language.

Using ethnomethodological conversation analysis, this study has focused on *practiced language policy* (Bonacina, 2010). This orientation is based on Spolsky's (2004, 2007) recently proposed conceptualisation of *language policy as practice* with the recommendation to: "look at what people do and not at what they think should be done or what someone else wants them to do" (2004: 218). His recommendation resonates with conversation analysts' principal interest in the organisation and order of social action in everyday interaction (Psathas, 1995: 2).

The empirical data of this study comprises over 20 hours of video recordings of EFL classrooms in an international Swedish school. The data was collected in grades 8 and 9 (15-16 year olds) taught by one native English (American) speaker between the years 2007-2010. The English language teachers of this school prescribe a monolingual English-language policy in the EFL classroom, which is consolidated by means of a point system.

STUDY II: Self-Policing in the English as a Foreign Language Classroom

Alia Amir (2013). *Novitas-ROYAL*, 7(2). 84-105.

This study sets out to examine one major sub-category (self-policing) of one of the most explicit ways of doing language policy, i.e. *language policing*. Language policing is taken here to mean the mechanism deployed by the teacher and/or pupils to (re-)establish the normatively prescribed target language as the *medium of classroom interaction*. Language policing shares some features with repair but the repair source in language policing is always a normatively deviant medium. A language-policing trajectory regularly consists of the following three steps: (1) a (perceived) breach of the target-language-only rule, (2) an act of language policing and (3) an orientation to the language policing act.

While focusing on one main method of doing language policy, *viz.* self-initiated language policing, this study also provides exemplification of an indirect and tacit way of doing language policy in the foreign language classroom, i.e. when the teacher enters the classroom and greets the pupils in English. The analysis also shows that self-policing is where the participants self-initiate the one-language-only policy (Wei & Wu, 2009: 193). Self-policing is a special type of language-alternation that can be defined as a mechanism whereby the classroom participants themselves switch back to the target language. Therefore, it can be claimed that the direction of this code-switching is always from the pupils' first language (in this case Swedish) to English. There is the use of a "variety of non-lexical speech perturbations" (Schegloff et al., 1977), such as cut-offs, sound stretches etc. in all cases of self-policing. In order to uncover the two main sub-categories of self-policing the following criteria have been followed: who is initiating self-policing and the addressee, the initiator techniques, prosodic cues, the classroom context, and the mediums spoken before and after self-policing.

There is a growing body of literature focusing on *language policy as practice*, for example Bonacina (2010). In common with this literature, this study also focuses on "what people do and not [...] what they think should be done or what someone else wants them to do" (Spolsky, 2004: 218). In line with this trend, this study operates within an organisational approach to code-switching which focusses on "members' procedures to arrive at local interpretations" (Auer, 1984: 3).

STUDY III: Pupils Doing Language Policy: Micro-Interactional Insights from the English as a Foreign Language Classroom

Alia Amir & Nigel Musk. Submitted to *Apples: Journal of Applied Language Studies*

The aim of this study is to examine in detail pupils' methods of doing language policy discovered in the data from the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classroom of an international school in Sweden. In particular, the focus is on the sequential organisation of pupils' *language policing*, whereby they initiate a corrective act to rectify what they perceive as talk by others in the "wrong" medium in accordance with the normatively prescribed medium of instruction, i.e. English. Although this study specifically examines how pupils explicitly do language policing, it also exemplifies how pupils do language policy in more implicit ways. Indeed, for the most part establishing and maintaining the English-only rule "sufficient[ly] for all practical purposes" is a routine matter (cf. Zimmerman 1971: 227).

In order to address the above aim, the interactional orientations of the participants (Seedhouse, 1998:101) have been analysed. For this purpose, Conversation Analysis has been used to capture how the practices of doing language policy are played out *in situ* turn by turn. This has been achieved by identifying and analysing naturally occurring cases of pupils doing language policing and comparing the general features with teacher policing. In this regard, the sub-categorisation is based on the following five criteria: the *language-policing trajectory*, *initiator techniques*, *modulation*, *the nature and distribution of members' policing methods*, and the *classroom context* of the language policing act (cf. Schegloff et al. 1977; Seedhouse 2004 on context).

Some implications of the English-only rule are also discussed here. Both the teacher and pupils jointly uphold the policy, and when policing does occur the pupils also play an active role in identifying and rectifying but also contesting the potential breaches.. Even though English-only is upheld most of the time without any explicit work, practical problems emerge when applying the rule, for instance how to deal with proper nouns. This effects negotiation sequences among the classroom participants, but the teacher has the final say.

The empirical data for this study consists of video-recordings of EFL lessons in an International Swedish school. This data was collected in grade 8 and 9 classes between the years 2007-2010.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I Language Policing Collection

i. You're s'posed to be speaking English all the time

Karen 2,20a&23a Duration:18:52

00:06-02:06

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), R = Rebecka, the rest of the class

1 K: you have to read this up here at the (.) the top (.3) to figure out
what you're gonna be doing ok? read it carefully
2 (1.4)
3 R: jaha uh \$huhuhu\$
aha uh huhuhu
4 (5.3)
5 ?: america
6 (.)
7 ?: \$huhuhu (.) .hhh\$
8 ?: (xx)
9 (.5)
10 ?: *du sa ju*
you did say
11 ?: (xxxx)
12 (3.9)
13 K: an you're s'posed to be speaking english A::LL the ti::me when you
14 talk about these,
15 R: \$°tihi°\$
16 K: ques[tions] an' answers,
17 R: \$°[yeah]°\$

ii. If I hear any Swedish I'm taking points away

Karen24-4b

17:39-19:10

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), H = Hanna , M = Malin , S = Sussie, the rest of the class

1 K: talk with your friends about what you're g- an' if I hear any
swe[dish I'm taking points away]
2 H: [can I have that comput[er there?
3 (.)
4 K: no because [sussie] already asked so [sussie] hurry over there
5 H: oh (xx) okay oh yes
6 M: can you space more?
7 ?: (xxx)
8 ?: *du behöver inte*
you don't need to
9 S: (a friend) oh yes
10 (1.3)
11 H: me love you (.) now (.8) \$me love\$
12 ?: but I don't love you

7 (.3)
8 K: <but not really 'cause you got lots of vocabulary [writing>
9 S: [<yeah yeah>
10 (.)
11 K: Yeah
12 S: I got it (.) at home it's this story about (we're creating) (.) like
13 (.3)
14 K: aha:
15 (.2)
16 S: (where would you xx) (.6) (<what we're gonna do xxxx> today as well>
17 K: what do you have to do
18 (.5)
19 K: so do your swedish
20 (.3)
21 S: yeah we got a test today (.6) like (.6) a::z (.9) (got/quite) (.2)
22 a big test (xxx swedish)
23 (.)
24 K: (this xxxx) jus' make sure that you're speaking english all the time

v. Mikael, are you speaking English?

Karen 1.1 39:12-40:07
Karen 1.2 21:54-22:48
My ears heard wrong 39:45- 40:01

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), M = Mikael, S = Sara, the rest of the class

1 M: °ha: trött°
tired
2 (.)
3 M: .h[h
4 ?: [\$hahaha\$
5 (1.1)
6 M: °hh° ((clicks on a paint brush))
7 ?: \$heheheh\$
8 M: ((clicks on save and saves the document in the computer))
se (om ja) kan spara de innan ja förstör de igen
see (if I) can save it before I ruin it again
9 (.3)
10 S: \$.hh\$
11 (2.1)
12 M: Ts
13 ?: \$hahaha\$
14 M: a: blaa ((types blaaaa and saves the document with this name))
15 ?: \$hahaha\$
16 M: °okay° ((makes a small text box in the document))
17 S: <what are you doing there>
18 (.)
19 M: the date
20 (3.1) ((Mikael continues working in the text box))
21 M: ö: va ska (de va för) datum (här)? ((types on the keyboard))
uh: what date should (it be here)?
22 ((printer starts printing))
23 (.)
24 S: nineteen twen'y three
25 (.)
26 M: sto' ju där ja;
said there of course
27 (1.1)
28 K: mikael are you speaking english
29 (.)
30 S: yes: ((smiles and turns towards the teacher))
31 (.)
32 K: yes?
33 (.)
34 M: Yes
35 K: oh then my ears:=
36 S: =<just heard [wrong]>
37 K: [just-]
38 (.)

39 K: [I: my h]earing actually I notice that=
 40 M: [heard wrong]
 41 K: = certain sounds:
 42 (1.1)
 43 S: Huhu
 44 K: sometimes get muffled
 45 (1.1)
 46 K: Ts
 47 (1.1)
 48 K: you need help with anythi[ng
 49 L\$hahuhahu\$
 50 (1.1)
 51 K: mikael?
 52 (.)
 53 M: no=
 54 K: =°no°

vi. Are you guys speaking English over there?

Karen 2,20a&23a

00:42-01:38

Karen 2,20a

00:44-01:40

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), R = Rebecka, L= Linda , the rest of the class

1. Linda: *vi ska skriva namnen (.) uh uh* ((*croaky voice)) \$hh\$
we have to write our names uh uh
 2. (.)
 3. Rebecka: \$mhmhhhh\$
 4. (.5)
 5. Linda: vi skriver namnen
we have to write our names
 6. (9) ((L misspells name "[Vinda]"))
 7. Linda: okej [vinda]
okay [vinda]
 8. Rebecka: \$hhuhuhuh\$
 9. (.4) ((L corrects first letter of her name))
 10. Linda: [°så där°]
there we go
 11. Rebecka: L\$uhhhh\$]
 12. (.)
 13. Linda: .hhh
 14. Rebecka: \$huhuhuh\$
 15. (1.3)
 16. → Karen: an' you gu- are you guys speaking english over there? ((L writes her name))
 17. (.4)
 18. Linda: yeah ((turns to face K))(.2) [I jus' s]aid my name so,
 19. Karen: [>(that woul-)<]
 20. (.5)
 21. Karen: oh::↓
 22. (.2)
 23. Linda: mm: ((facing away from the teacher & smiling)) \$mhhhh\$ ((R looks over at teacher & back at L))
 24. (.8) ((L looks briefly with a smile at R))
 25. Rebecka: \$.hhh\$
 26. (4.8) ((L & R look at instruction sheet & L points her pencil at the general instructions))
 27. Linda: ((clears throat puts down pencil & instr. sheet)) (2.6) ts (1.1)
 28. Linda: ehm (2.8) hhh (.) hhh what sh'll we surf for?
 29. (0.9) ((adjusts position at the computer))
 30. Linda: °so:° (.2) mm
 31. (12.7) ((L types in search words & then taps finger nails on keyboard))
 32. Linda: ((to R)) you have to help me,

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher); from left to right: S = Sussie, L = Leila, H = Hanna, M = Malin; the rest of the class

- 1 L: *en kvar då*
one left then
- 2 (.)
- 3 S: (kom [xx])
(come xx)
- 4 L: *eller hur sen har vi,*
isn't there then we've got
- 5 (par-) *parents (in) their own hands,*
- 6 H: *yeah I think so*
- 7 (.3)
- 8 yeah right [(xx) [julia] (an' I)] talked about
- 9 *de' fyra svar*
the're four answers
- 10 S: L a: J
yeah
- 11 (.3)
- 12 L: who s[aid] parents can [only give] you good advi[ce or put the]m
- 13 H: [her] [who is she]
- 14 S: *det finns en::*
there's one
- 15 (.5)
- 16 ?: (xx[xx xxx])
- 17 ?: (x)
- 18 S: *de finns bara en människa kvar å dä anne frank (.2) så måste de ju*
there's just one person left an' it's anne frank so it must
- 19 *va hon*
be her mustn' it
- 20 (1.8)
- 21 S: *alla andra ä upptagna*
all the others are taken
- 22 (.4)
- 23 L: *me- anne frank hon va ju så himla*
bu' anne frank she was so
- 24 (2.2)
- 25 H: a: (.6) (xx) här
yeah here
- 26
- 27 S: *de finns anne fra[nk] felicitous nånting*
there's anne frank felicitous or something
- 28 H: *an' this number three*
- 29 L: *loch eleonor shuman?*
and
- 30 (.2)
- 31 S: *nej de va ju hon me::'=*
no that was her with
- 32 L: =aha
oh
- 33 (1.4)
- 34 L: *fö' ja inte så*
'cause I'm not so
- 35 (.7)
- 36 S: *montenegro a dä måste va ju för*
montenegro yeah it must be mustn' it 'cause
- 37 (1.1)
- 38 S: *>v'nta få se va dä står< (.) parents [can only give]*
wait let's see what it says
- 39 L: *men vi kan frå- me' anne (.)*
but we can as- bu' anne frank
- 40 *frank va ju hon du vet (.4) ju::*
frank was her you know wasn't it
- 41 (.3)

42 S: som hitler tog
that hitler took
43 L: javisst
right
44 (.6)
45 S: nej men s- d'n dä juden så (.6) ka' ju inte va
no but s- that jew it can't be that
46 (1.1)
47 K: °I thought you were speaking english in the beginning but now I can
48 hear you're not so,° ((L turns towards K and then towards S with a
smile on her face))
49 (.9)
50 L: °okay \$huh\$°
51 (.7)
52 L: but ann frank was:::
53 (.2)
54 S: °don't write (this)°
55 (.2)
56 L: [parents]
57 M: [does she] (said),
58 (.3)
59 S: °skriv dä här°
write this
60 (.3)
61 H: speak English
62 (1.3)
63 H: Copenha-gen
64 S: [xxxxx] jus' write that
65 (1.2)
66 L: parents (.) can
67 S: parents

viii. **Thirty-nine**

Kristin24-4b

17:39-19:10

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), H = Hanna, R= Rebecka, M = Malin, the rest of the class

1 K: ;OH! YOU CAN BE SMA:RT AND LOOK AT THE:SE? 7 ((holds up a copy of
early immigrant letter))
2 R: ((standing next to K at front)) L\$huh\$J
3 (.3)
4 R: \$u\$huh\$7 ((lifts up copy of letters and then poses with her hand
behind her head))
5 L EAR-LY IMMIGRANT LETTERS [(BECAUSE OF WHAT'S X:?)
6 Class: [(loud general laughter)]
7 H: \$.hu:: [huh\$
8 M: [°xxx°] ((gestures to teacher to put pile down in front of
her))
9 K: U:H [MALIN] IS WRITING THIS DOW::N? ((pointing at instructions on
whiteboard))
10 SHE'S DOING A VERY GOOD JO::B?
11 (.2)
12 H: JA HAR REDAN SKRIVIT KLART ((K looks across at H)) \$DÄ:: heheheh\$
I've already finished writing that
13 (.4)
14 ?: [karen?]
15 (.9) ((K raises her pen to where "40" is written on whiteboard))
16 K: THIRTY-NI::NE ((K writes "39" next to "40"))
17 (.5) ((K crosses out "40"))
18 H: o::h sorry=
19 K: =>an' I'M GONNA GO AN' LOOK [FOR MORE<
20 M: [;[HANNA:::]! ((seeking H's attention &
gives her fierce look; K looks briefly at M))
21 (.) ((R attracts K's attention))
22 H: \$mhehe\$
23 (.4)
24 \$HAHA\$ (.) \$aha\$
25 (1.6) ((M lifts fingers to mouth but breaks into a big smile))

26 \$.hh\$
 27 (12.7) ((*M walks over to where H is*))
 28 M: (xx) (.) *va gör du?* ((*out of K's earshot*))
 what are you doing?
 29 (1.1)
 30 H: I am looking up the (1.3) the newspapers

ix. 27 38:37- 39:12

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), John, David, Emma

1 D: (xx *såsong xxx*)
 2 S: *tra ra ra:*
 3 (.)
 4 J: (xxx) ((*at this point Karen comes close and quickly looks while*
 turning her head where David is sitting))
 5 (3.2)
 6 J: *ta ta ta it's:your*
 7 (.)
 8 D: (running out of xxx)
 9 (2.3) ((*Karen reaches the left hand side of the whiteboard all the*
 way from where boys are sitting and strikes 34 with a diagonal
 stroke))
 10 E: [John] ((*turns towards where John is sitting*)) (.) *actually it isn't*
 11 *twenty one years old cos it doesn't say that in the Swedish text*
 12 (.)
 13 J: *you can say that*

x. 34
Other policing – teacher to pupil – point deduction 3

Not recorded as this point deduction occurred when the cameras were being set up. The only evidence for this case is that 34 are written on the white board when the class starts.

xi. **English speech**

Kristin 2,20a&23a 00:06-02:06

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), R = Rebecka, L = Linda, the rest of the class

1 L: hhh (.) hhh *what shall we surf for?*
 2 (0.9)
 3 R: °so:°
 4 (12.7) ((*L types in search words*))
 5 L: *you have to help me*
 6 (5.1)
 7 R: °(xxx)°
 8 L: *english (.6) speech*
 9 (.4)
 10 R: \$uhuhuhuhuhu .h.hhh (.)\$ *huh*
 11 (3.6)
 12 L: u::h (4.4) *how d' you say?* (1.3) *'m not sure, (.4) alright we'll*
 13 *try it (kanske)*
 (*perhaps*)

xii. **Engelska English**

Karen 1,8a&10a&11a

03:36-04:28

Karen 1,8abcd (wav)

05:48-06:40

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), H = Hanna, M = Malin, the rest of the class

- 1 Hanna: °pa capita capiti ba° ((H looks at first few paragraphs of entry for Afghanistan in Wikipedia))
 2 (4.7) ((M. also looks up at screen))
 3 Hanna: a men dä måste va afghanistan eller hu
 4 yeah but it must be afghanistan, isn't it?
 5 (8.5) ((H scrolls around in Afghanistan entry in Wikipedia; 6 secs later Malin looks down at q sheet))
 6 Hanna: (th-) islamic (o)?
 7 (5.6) ((H. returns to Google & then turns over to 2nd page in sheet))
 8 Hanna: måste va dä:n ((M briefly looks up))
 9 must be that
 10 (5.3) ((H. moves pencil to second column))
 11 Hanna: u:::m da,
 12 u:::hm duh,
 13 (.6)
 14 Hanna: var ä den dära the capital city (.6) of iraq dä måste va afgsk
 15 where is that it must be afgsk
 16 L° (prata) engel^l ska°
 17 (speak) english
 18 (.4)
 19 Hanna: yes (.6) wait
 20 (.4) ((H. starts writing "afghanistan" on q sheet))
 21 Hanna: it's afghan [ist-ɪ]
 22 Malin: [(en] xx)?
 23 (a xx)
 24 (1.8)
 25 Malin: ((leans over H's pen)) \$mh hu hu huu\$ ((H. finishes writing "afghanistan" & puts a mark against "Afghanistan" on 1st page))

xiii. **I thought you were speaking English**

1,9abc&1,11abcd

25:02-26:16

(1,8&10abcd

27:08-28:23)

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher); from left to right: S = Sussie, L = Leila, H = Hanna, M = Malin; the rest of the class

- 68 L: en kvar dä
 69 one left then
 70 S: (.)
 71 (kom [xx])
 72 (come xx)
 73 L: Leller hur sen har vi,
 74 isn't there then we've got
 75 (par-) [parents (in) their] own hands,
 76 H: [yeah I think so]
 77 (.3)
 78 yeah right [(xx) [julia] (an' I)] talked about
 79 [de' fyra svar
 80 the're four answers
 81 S: L a:]
 82 yeah
 83 (.3)
 84 who s [aid] parents can [only give] you good advi [ce or put the] m
 85 H: [her] [who is she]
 86 S: [det finns en::]
 87 there's one
 88 (.5)
 89 ? : (xx [xx] xxx)
 90 ? : [(x)
 91 S: de finns bara en människa kvar ä dä anne frank (.2) så måste de ju
 92 there's just one person left an' it's anne frank so it must
 93 va hon
 94 be her mustn' it
 95 (1.8)

88 S: alla andra ä upptagna
all the others are taken
89 (.4)
90 L: me- anne frank hon va ju så himla
bu' anne frank she was so
91 (2.2)
92 H: a: (.6) (xx) här
yeah here
93
94 S: de finns anne fra_{nk} felicitous nånting
there's anne frank felicitous or something
95 H: Lan' this number three
96 L: Loch eleanor shuman?
and
97 (.2)
98 S: nej de va ju hon me::'=
no that was her with
99 L: =aha
oh
100 (1.4)
101 L: fö' ja inte så
'cause I'm not so
102 (.7)
103 S: montenegro a dä måste va ju för
montenegro yeah it must be mustn' it 'cause
104 (1.1)
105 S: >v'nta få se va dä står< (.) parents ꞑcan only give ꞑ
wait let's see what it says
106 L: Lmen vi kan frå- me' anne (.)
but we can as- bu' anne frank
107 frank va ju hon du vet (.4) ju::
frank was her you know wasn't it
108 (.3)
109 S: som hitler tog
that hitler took
110 L: javisst
right
111 (.6)
112 S: nej men s- d'n dä juden så (.6) ka' ju inte va
no but s- that jew it can't be that
113 (1.1)
114 K: °I thought you were speaking english in the beginning but now I can
115 hear you're not so,° ((L turns towards K and then towards S with a
smile on her face))
116 (.9)
117 L: °okay \$huh\$°
118 (.7)
119 L: but ann frank was:::
120 (.2)
121 S: °don't write (this)°
122 (.2)
123 L: [parents
124 M: [does she] (said),
125 (.3)
126 S: °skriv dä här°
write this
127 (.3)
128 H: speak English
129 (1.3)
130 H: Copenha_{gen}
131 S: L(xxxxx) jus' write that
132 (1.2)
133 L: parents (.) can
134 S: parents

Participants: K= Karen (the teacher), Adam, Sara, Jess, Peter, Carl, Dexter, the rest of the class

1 Karen: you have an english accent now?
 2 (1.2) ((class goes quiet))
 3 A: °I dunno°=
 4 Karen: =no:?
 5 (2.3)
 6 Sam: I hope it isn't (there)=
 7 Karen: =but you wanna know wha:t? (.4) when you're with english people
 8 Sam: [yeah]
 9 K: [you] will ada:pt an english ac[cent] when you're with Americans
 10 you'll- (.) you'll adapt an [american accent].
 11 Sam: [you have american so that's (xx).=
 12 Karen: =exactly it's like my husband when he's with (.) people from
 13 norrland, (.4) he speaks like with a norrland's (.4)
 14 accent, =you know he's greek >I mean he does(n't xx this)< (.3)
 15 so i- (.) a:nd, ((S turns around))(.6) when he's with people=
 16 Sara: → =>YOU SAID A [SWEDISH WORD,< ((turning back to computer))
 17 Karen: [from SMÅland he spea]ks (.4) sm- a s::måland (.2)
 18 accent;
 19 Jess: ((to S)) °we're not [in the holy classroom.°
 20 Karen: [WHICH SWEDISH WORD DID I SA]Y
 21 (.) ((S turns back and moves her finger in the air))
 22 Sara: u[h] sing whatever.
 23 Peter: [karen?]
 24 (.7)
 25 Karen: sing:?
 26 Jess: what?
 27 Sara: NO WHAT; NO:T CITY.
 28 (.)
 29 Karen: a CIty? (.5) I'm alLOWed to say a CIty.
 30 (.3)
 31 Sara: not really (.) gotta say the swedish is [a city in
 32 Carl: ((to K)) [can we use the com]puter
 33 in your room.
 34 Sara: °engl[ish]°
 35 Dexter: ((to K)) [oh] [right now I remember
 36 Karen: ((to C)) [here there you go;
 37 (1.1)
 38 Jess: ((to S)) gothenburg
 39 (.)
 40 Sara: ((to J)) [yeah
 41 Dexter: ((to K)) [this might be [too late]but,
 42 Sara: [>just like that<]
 43 (.3)
 44 Karen: ((to D)) no it's not too late thank you and you'll be: sitting
 45 there next ti:me.
 46 (.2)
 47 Dexter: (>oh actually?<)
 48 Karen: okay?
 49 Dexter: ((to K)) >what's this?<
 50 (.4)
 51 Karen: ((to D)) a permission slip to be [fil:med
 52 Jess: ((to S)) [I don't know what] norrland
 53 Karen: [an'] participate in the study.
 54 Jess: i[s,]

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), H = Hanna, M = Malin, the rest of the class

14 M: *ska vi börja söka nu:*
shall we start searching now
 15 (.5)
 16 H: *nä::jɛ hallå ska ni säga till när vi::, we are rgoing to start*
no::ɛ excuse me are you gonna say when we::, L(I) J
 17 K: (.)
 18
 19 K: you can start yupɛ (.) get busy yep you can get [busy] now an'
 20 H: [oh::]

Participants: S = Sara, M = Mikael, J = Jay, the rest of the class

1 S: [jay] (.) [jay]
 2 (.)
 3 M: where's [jay]? (.) what's for food
 4 J: I don't know
 5 M: does anybody know what food it is today
 6 S: *fisk: fish fish*
fish
 7 ?: I do

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), John, Sara, Lily, Calvin, the rest of the class

1 ?: what
 2 John: this \$eh [h: \$=
 3 ?: [xxx
 4 John: =\$directly at me this isn't [fa:ir
 5 Sara: [(xxx you)
 6 ?: xx print
 7 John: no:
 8 ?: (capulet)
 9 Sara POse
 10 ?: pose for the camera
 11 Lily
 12 ?:
 13 Sara: [yeah pose for the camera
 14 [(great/grades about)
 15 ?: xxabove
 16 ?: ya:en
 17 John: WHY
 18 ?: Xx
 19 ?: I dun:no
 20 John: I don' know
 21 Sara: Xxx
 22 Calvin: maybe you know too much
 23 John: \$yes\$
 24 (.)
 25 Sara: *här nån en plåst- (xxx)aw wa) does somebody have a pla(xx)*
 26 John: \$a wa wa\$
 27 Several \$hhph\$
 students:
 28 ?: Lxx(band aid)
 29 Sara: +<does someone have+ (bandaid/bandage)>
 30 (.+)

31 Karen: a bandage?
 32 ? (nǎnting mera)
 33 John: Why
 34 Sara: °xxx°
 35 ? : \$(hey x to go)\$
 36 (1.7)
 37 ? : oh bandaid
 38 (.6)
 39 ? : bandage bandaid
 40 (.7)
 41 ? Bandaid
 42 (.4)
 43 Karen bandaid o::r an' I think the: british people call them plasters:

xviii. **Nej inte no**

Kristin 1,8a&10a&11a (01:49)
 Kristin 1,8abcd 03:49-04:18

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), H = Hanna, M = Malin, the rest of the class

1 H: oh I know who is first
 2 (.7)
 3 M: the first?
 4 (.)
 5 H yes (.2) there the second question (.9) it's:: her: (2.4) (it's) she
 6 (.3) amelia err- (.5) earhart
 7 (.7)
 8 M: amelia?
 9 (.3)
 10 H: mm: (1.7) uh: [KARe::n]?
 11 (.8)
 12 K: just a second,
 13 (2.4)
 14 H: NEJ INte (.) NO
 no not
 15 (.4)
 16 H: uh::m (.3) it's the second (.5) q- uh:: answer
 17 (1.4)
 18 M: ts (.) varför sa du inte de då.
 why didn't you say that then

xix. **Nu ve- now I know**

Kristin 1,8a&10a&11a 06:03-00:00
 Kristin 1,8abcd 08:23

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), H = Hanna, M = Malin, the rest of the class

18 M: °(kan du låna) sudd↑°
 (can you lend) the rubber
 19 (0.7)
 20 H: vänta
 wait
 21 (0.5) ((Hanna turning towards Flora on the left))
 22 H: <(hey) do you have a
 23 (.)
 24 H: eraser↑>
 25 (.)
 26 C: °no°((Malin leans forward to see Carina))
 27 M: [Carina]
 28 (0.1)
 29 F: a: ((leans forward towards the computer screen to see Malin))
 30 M: the rubber
 31 (0.3) ((Flora throws the rubber in front of Malin, which she misses.
 Malin erases the wrong answer))
 32 ? : i (.) he hi hehi:
 33 (.)

34 H: °here° (1.3) pen
 35 (0.2) ((Hanna writes on the quiz sheet while Malin erases))
 ((writes Islamic new year in the google search box))
 36 M: (°it's dere°)
 37 (4.8)
 38 H: ah↑::
 39 (.3) ((Hanna lifts her head up from the quiz and looks at the
 computer))
 40 H: nu: ve- (.) now I know
 oh now (I) kn-
 (6.6)
 41 uhp(.3) mm: (no/nå) yes: (.2) here (.8) this ((points with a
 42 a pencil on the screen))
 (.3)
 43 H: muharram
 44 (.3)
 45 H: migrates
 46 (.6)
 47 M: mm
 48 H: which is (there/that)

xx. In Swedish this is easy because you say like this, don't you?

Karen 7 (00039)

09:01-10:05

Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), O = Oscar, S = Simon, S = Sara, J = John, M = Mikael, the rest of the class

11 K: Number T:EN (.)if it=
 12 J: =wasn't
 13 S: wasn't
 14 ? right
 15 K: people say wasn't and wasn't is completely okay but weren't is
 16 actually correct=
 17 S: =ha::
 18 K: yup (.1) yeah
 19 S: (ahan xxx)
 20 K: but wasn't is becoming more and more acceptable because of if: (1.1)
 21 and in SWEdish this is easy because you say like this don't you say
 22 vo: oh o
 wer-
 23 J: ah:o
 24 M: yeah:
 25 K: I didn't say the whole thing
 26 J: \$haha\$ but not as a (resultant) I'm n-
 27 (.)
 28 K: how do you spell it?
 29 J: with a v
 30 K: ahaha \$right\$- okay so okaie you use that word in swedish don't you?
 31 J: yes
 32 K: and that's the same as our wer:e (3.0)if it if it wer-if it weren't
 33 too late you use that word in swedish okaie but wasn't is becoming
 34 more popular

APPENDIX II Letter of information and consent: Permission request regarding participation in the study

Linköping, April 2009



Dear Parent or Guardian,

My name is Alia Amir and I am a doctoral candidate at the Department of Culture and Communication (IKK), Linköping University. My area of research is second language learning.

I am writing to you, because I am interested in doing a study of when and which languages are used in the classrooms (and/ or kindergarten/preschool), both by the teacher and the pupils. The study involves following English classes (various age groups and schools) for several weeks during 2009 and 2010. The teaching will be recorded (on video and audio tape) to make the analysis easier.

Participation is based on full anonymity and research ethics will be strictly adhered to. The video and audio tapes will be archived securely, and only I myself and other researchers will view the recordings. The data will only be used for research purposes, such as scientific reports, conferences and presentations. No real names, the name of the school, or other revealing details will be used in presentations or publications of the research findings.

If you and your child agree to take part in this study, either you or your child may still withdraw from the study at any time.

Professor Jan Anward (Department of Culture and Communication), Linköping University, is supervising this research project.

I would be very grateful if your child could take part in this study, and I look forward to working with you and your child!

Sincerely
Alia Amir (alia.amir@liu.se)
<http://www.liu.se/ikk/medarbetare/alia-amir?l=en>

Institutionen för kultur och kommunikation
Alia Amir
Linköpings universitet
581 83 Linköping
013-282390

If you are willing to let your child participate in this study, kindly provide the name of your child, your name, signature and contact number below:

Name of the child:

.....

Parent/ Guardian’s name and signature:

.....

Date

The Studies

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