

Pupils Doing Language Policy: Micro-interactional insights from the English as a foreign language classroom

Alia Amir & Nigel Musk, Linköping University

In this paper, we examine instances of the methods pupils deploy to do language policy in an English as a foreign language classroom in Sweden, where there is a locally practised English-only rule. Although we exemplify some more tacit methods of constructing a monolingual classroom (Slotte-Lüttge 2007), we focus primarily on instances where pupils police other pupils and on occasion even the teacher, when they are perceived not to be upholding the rule. This blatantly explicit method of pupils doing language policy, which we term language policing, generally serves to (re-)establish and maintain English as the medium of interaction and instruction. The data for this study consists of video-recordings of 18 EFL lessons in an International Swedish school and was collected in grade 8 and 9 classes (15-16 year olds) between the years 2007-2010. In order to reveal the interactional orientations of the participants in situ (Seedhouse, 1998:101), conversation analysis has been used to identify and analyse naturally occurring cases of pupils doing language policy. By discussing the analyses with reference to different policing trajectories, how participants employ a range of initiator techniques, and the nature and distribution of their policing methods, for example, we elucidate the empirical basis for our subcategories of pupil-initiated policing. We also relate language policing practices to the maintenance of a monolingual classroom and conclude that establishing and maintaining the English-only rule “sufficient[ly] for all practical purposes” is a routine matter (cf. Zimmerman 1971: 227), since little language policing is needed to maintain it. In cases where the language rule is breached, both pupils and teacher play an active role in (re-)establishing the monolingual classroom.

Keywords: Conversation Analysis, practiced language policy, language policing, English as a Foreign Language (EFL), codeswitching.

1 Introduction

As suggested by the earlier term, language planning, language policy and planning (LPP) was readily conceived of as an ideologically neutral top-down process to solve practical language problems, e.g. those of post-colonial states (Ricento 2000: 198; Nevkapil 2011: 875). The early focus was on macro-planning processes often at national level, particularly “the allocation of languages or

Corresponding author's email: alia.amir@liu.se

ISSN: 1457-9863

Publisher: Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Jyväskylä

© 2014: The authors

<http://apples.jyu.fi>

language varieties to given functions” (Cooper 1996: 32), including what medium(s) of instruction to be used in education. Accordingly, the attention of early LPP researchers frequently focused on the relationship between the majority and minority language(s) as enshrined in policy documents, which Ball calls [language] policy as text (Ball, 1993: 10).

From the 1970s onwards, there was an increasing critical awareness of the ideological baggage which accompanied the practices of early language planners (Blommaert 1996, Ricento 2000: 200–3; Nevkapil 2011: 876–8). This critical turn tended to see [language] policy as discourse (Ball 1993: 10). This conceptualisation of policy draws on Foucault’s writings (e.g. 1977) whereby “[d]iscourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority” (Ball 1993: 14). Much of the work in this vein has adopted some form of discourse analysis either at macro-discourse or micro-discourse level (cf. Bonacina 2010: 28).

More recently a shift in focus has emerged highlighting how language policy (LP) is lived out in practice, i.e. language policy as practice (Bonacina 2010: 41; cf. Spolsky 2004, 2009). In other words, the spotlight is directed at language practices¹, that is, “the observable [language] behaviors and choices – what people actually do” (2009: 4). In fact, even in 1993 Ball remarked that “we cannot predict or assume how they will be acted on, what their immediate effect will be, what room for manoeuvre actors will find for themselves” (12), which in itself justifies the need for a new focus. At the same time, this shift entails bringing together top-down policy and planning decisions with accounts of bottom-up processes at play in the classroom (Martin 2005: 74). Indeed, any examination of policy in an institutional setting needs to take into consideration the interactional architecture of that institution, e.g. that of the classroom, in order to properly understand how it operates (cf. Seedhouse 2004; Jenks 2004). With this understanding of language policy as (re-)enacted and locally adjusted (Hellermann, 2008: 30), a growing body of literature has been emerging in recent years. Such studies which have focussed on the classroom context (e.g. Slotte-Lüttge 2005, 2007; Bonacina 2010; Bonacina & Gafaranga 2011; Amir & Musk 2013) have contributed towards our understanding of the grassroots nature of language policy, by examining how policy is actually enacted in situated interaction between pupils and between pupils and the teacher, which we have previously termed micro-level language policy-in-process (Amir & Musk 2013).

The aim of this study is thus to examine in detail pupils’ methods of doing language policy discovered in the data from the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classroom in grades 8–9 of a Swedish compulsory school. One way in which classroom participants could do language policy was simply maintaining English as the medium of interaction. Another method of doing language policy involved a (perceived) use of Swedish, followed by what we have called an act of language policing (Amir & Musk 2013; Amir 2013a). In this paper it is pupil-initiated language policing that receives particular attention. It is through this mechanism that pupils (re-)establish the target language as the medium of classroom interaction, for instance by reminding the pupil sitting next to them to speak English.

In addressing the above aim, we have used Conversation Analysis to capture how the practices of doing language policy emerge *in situ* turn by turn. Young defines a practice as “recurrent activities that have their own structures” (2008: 61). In order to uncover the practice level of talk organisation and practiced

language policy, in particular, we establish the “pattern of a sequence of acts” where pupils do language policy (Bonacina 2010: 85). For this reason, Conversation Analysis is the most empirically grounded and robust methodology available for investigating “the organisation and order of social action in interaction” (Psathas 1995).

By way of organisation, the next section briefly situates this study within the recently established branch of practiced language policy. Section 3 presents the data and the methodological framework. Section 4 is where two subcategories of examples of pupils doing language policy will be analysed sequentially. Finally, section 5 provides conclusions and a discussion of the findings in the light of previous studies with particular reference to five criteria.

2 Practiced Language Policy in Classroom Settings

As indicated above in the brief survey of historical developments within the field of LP, a new focus has been emerging recently where the focus is on actual language practices². Whereas one strand within this orientation has examined language policy with reference to text and/or discourse (Bonacina 2010: 38; e.g. Martin 2005; Musk 2006; Heller 2007; the 2009 special issue of *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 12(2), edited by Li Wei and P. Martin), a second strand has examined the enactment of policy in classroom interaction (e.g. Üstünel and Seedhouse 2005; Slotte-Lüttge 2007; Bonacina 2010; Copp Jinkerson 2011; Bonacina & Gafaranga 2011; Söderlundh 2012; Amir & Musk 2013; Amir 2013a). However, not all of the studies within the latter orientation have dealt in depth with pupils’ methods of doing language policy. Neither have they all framed their studies primarily in terms of language policy. Moreover, language policy in the EFL context has largely been neglected within the second strand.

As noted, to the extent that studies of language policy that have exploited the notion of ‘policy within practices’ (Spolsky 2004), they have largely focused on those instances where the teacher initiates language policy in varying ways (Amir & Musk 2013) or where classroom participants police their own use of the L1 (Amir 2013b). In a study carried out in a complimentary school in France, among other findings, Bonacina (2010) shows how pupils orient to different “norms of interaction” in their language (medium) choices, such as when they do or do not have a shared preferred language other than French, or when a pupil is “doing being the language teacher”.

This said, some other studies, which even though they do not subscribe to the notion of practiced language policy, have also contributed to language-policy-as-practice research by looking at monolingual norms in bilingual contexts with a conversation-analytic methodology. For instance, Slotte-Lüttge (2007) from a Finnish context examines how a Swedish monolingual classroom is talked into being by both teacher and pupils in an otherwise mainly Finnish-speaking community. Similarly, Copp Jinkerson (2011) investigates the management of a monolingual norm in an English-medium stream of a Finnish school where both the teacher and pupils do language policing, but where pupils also challenge the English-only language policy. Drawing on Musk & Amir’s language policing taxonomy (2010), Markee & Kunitz (2012) examine the instances of the teacher and Italian engineering ESL students ‘doing being a language cop’ in an

American university context. They find that the few cases of language policing are mostly other-policing (by the teacher or a peer), which occur mainly in procedural (instruction) or task-oriented contexts. On the other hand, there are many instances of unproblematic code-switching to the L2 in the pre-task phase.

With this review as a backdrop, the present investigation attempts to highlight some relevant features of pupils' orientation to the English-only rule in the EFL classroom. With this aim, fine-grained analyses of the organisation of the pupils' actions will be the main focus in order to account for the members' methods demonstrated and visible in the interaction.

3 Data and methodological framework

3.1 *The data*

The data was obtained from over 20 hours of video recordings of 18 regularly scheduled EFL (English as a Foreign Language) classes held at a compulsory school (*grundskola*) in Sweden³. This particular school is an independent one with an international profile⁴. The pupils recorded were both girls and boys in grades 8 and 9 (aged 15-16). In each lesson, a varying number of pupils attended the classes ranging between 15-25.

The classes were held by one teacher, *Karen*, who is an American and a native English speaker as well as a fluent speaker of Swedish. She is a qualified and experienced EFL teacher with a number of years teaching English in the upper secondary classes of the compulsory school in Sweden.

Besides a general English-only policy in operation in the English classes of this school, there was a point system, whereby pupils gained or lost points depending on how much English they spoke. Each class started out with 40 points and if a pupil was heard to be speaking Swedish, the teacher could remove points. Conversely, if the teacher spoke Swedish the class could potentially gain points.

3.2 *Method*

The aim of this section is to explicate the methodological framework of the present study. Bonacina (2010: 42-44) argues that Conversation Analysis (CA) is an efficient tool for the study of practiced language policy. Furthermore, she shows that "this claim is grounded in Spolsky's arguments for the existence of a policy at the level of language use" (2010: 8). Since the main premise of the study is to look at 'policy within practices', this study has looked at participants' methods visible in interaction with the help of CA as the main analytical tool. In accordance with current CA practice, video recordings of *naturally occurring* lessons, i.e. ones which would have taken place anyway without the interference of the researcher, serve as the primary data. In order to approach an emic (participant) perspective, the conversation analyst tries to exploit to the full how participants display their understandings of each other in their turns at talk. It is this display of understanding that is also available to the analyst. This is termed as the next-turn proof procedure (e.g. Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998: 15). With the help of this proof procedure, it is possible to shed light on why participants switch from one code to another ("why that, in that language, right now?" -

Üstünel & Seedhouse 2005) as well as why, how and when they police each other's use of the L1.

A meticulous method of transcribing and transcription conventions has developed over a period of time (Hellermann 2008: 30) which is central to CA methodology. The transcription of (preferably) video-recorded data aids the search for recurrent interactional patterns (though the transcriptions do not replace the recordings as empirical data). To capture as much of the interaction as possible, most of the time multiple video cameras were used. The transcription conventions in this article are adopted from Gail Jefferson (2004), although some modifications have been made to include more features relevant for this context, especially those pertaining to code-switching (cf. Musk 2006). A full list of these conventions can be found in the appendix.

4 Analyses of practiced language policy

4.1 Doing language policy

The maintenance of English as the main medium of the English as a second language classroom in the school of this study is characterised by being a routine matter. Particularly in conversations addressed to their teacher, pupils regularly speak English; on the very rare occasion when a pupil selects the 'wrong' medium⁵, this is corrected and self-policed within the same turn (Amir 2013b). Among the pupils themselves, more Swedish is spoken, and there are many cases of medium suspension (Gafaranga & Torras 2002; Amir & Musk 2013), whereby they make brief switches to Swedish that operate as *contextualisation cues* (Gumperz 1982: 131), i.e. the switches operate as additional meaning-making devices similar to prosodic cues (emphasis, pitch, etc.). Even though medium switches to English are sometimes maintained over many turns (e.g. by dyads or in parallel mode (by one party only) - Gafaranga & Torras 2002: 205), sooner or later these switches tend to be subject to what we have called *language policing*, either by the teacher or the pupils themselves. We will shortly be returning to this members' mechanism of restoring the policy-prescribed linguistic order (in §4.2). The main point here is that for most of the time establishing and maintaining the English-only rule "sufficient[ly] for all practical purposes" is a routine matter, to appropriate Zimmerman's (1971) wording referring to the routine orientations to policy by reception personnel:

Sufficient for all practical purposes' may be taken to mean the judgment by competent and entitled persons in the setting that the work was acceptably done, forgiving what may be forgiven, ignoring what may be ignored, allowing what may be allowed based on both tacit and explicit understandings of such matters *in light of* 'what anyone knows' about the practical circumstances of work in general and on particular occasions. (p. 227)

In our EFL classroom context, "work" can be taken to mean responding appropriately to the teacher's instructions and carrying out the tasks set in accordance with the established rules and routines of the classroom, which also includes adhering to the English-only rule sufficiently for all practical purposes.

Frequently it is the teacher that plays an active role in establishing and maintaining the English-only policy, yet most of the time it is done in tacit ways. For example, when the teacher comes into the classroom and greets the class in English, she contributes to establishing English as the appropriate language of interaction; following a greeting in English, pupils respond in English, after which the teacher and pupils typically interact in English in the public space of the classroom. Another example of how the English-only rule is tacitly upheld by both teacher and pupils is played out in excerpt 1 (a presequence to excerpt 2), where the teacher is going through what pupils have found out from different sources about waves of Swedish immigration to America in the 19th century.

Excerpt 1. Wave of immigration. Participants: Karen (K, the teacher), Mia

- 1 Karen: so what do I mean by a wa::ve of immigration <what's>
 2 (4.5)
 3 K: where di- YEAH
 4 (.)
 5 ? when the most people immigrate;
 6 (.4)
 7 K: when most people emigrated. (.3) mm (.9) yeah? (.3) in what kind of
 8 K: way=>have you ever seen a wa:ve< (.) befo:re?
 9 (1.3)
 10 M?: mm
 11 (1.8)
 12 K: where d'you see a wa:ve?
 13 (1.5)
 14 M: the ocean?
 15 (.3)
 16 K: in the ocean:. (.3) yea::h so this is like using um:: (.7)
 17 a pic|tu::re ((draws a figure in the air with both hands)) (.) to
 18 describe something >something like< kh::::: ((produces a prolonged
 guttural sound while pushing her hands forwards and parting them))
 19 (.) a::ll the people coming (.) a big wa:ve of people.

After having used the metaphor “wave of immigration” in her written question, the teacher checks pupil’s understanding of the item in line 1. Notably the answer she receives in line 5, after an extended pause (and an aborted attempt to rephrase her question), does not receive a gloss in Swedish, but rather an explanation in English (cf. Slotte-Lüttge 2007⁶). The teacher’s follow-up questions (lines 7-8, 12) reveal that she wants further confirmation that the pupils have understood “wave”. The teacher does not single out the item “wave” by asking “What does wave mean?”, which could potentially have invited a Swedish translation, but instead her question, “where d’you see a wa:ve?”, is one which can more easily be answered in English (rather than requiring a definition in English). Indeed, a pupil answers “the ocean” (line 14). Yet this does not suffice in pinpointing the precise meaning of the word either, because the teacher then goes on to produce a bodily enactment of the movement of a wave using her arms while simultaneously producing guttural sounds of rushing water (line 18). Thus both the teacher and pupils embark on an elaborate trajectory stretching over several turns to deal with this “learning object” (Markee 2008; Musk 2011; Majlesi & Broth 2012) without any recourse to the Swedish word, which might otherwise have been a time-effective way to check the meaning. By doing so all parties avoid a breach of the English-only rule, or

Excerpt 3. English! Participants: Karen (the teacher), Sara, David, ? (unidentifiable) pupil

1 Karen: oka:y (1.2) yeah looks like >we're gonna be able to see it okay now<
 2 (.2) thing i:s:
 3 (.7)
 4 w're need to make a decision: r̄are we gonna have
 5 Sara: L>move it closer< L>move it closer<
 6 (1.1)
 7 Karen: the subtitles in english or the subtitles in ↑swedish=
 8 Sara: =>english<
 9 David: Lswedish
 10?: Lenglish
 11 (.2)
 12 Karen: r̄ENGlish:=
 13 David: L↑swedish
 14?: =yeah=
 15 David: =no r̄(xxxx we used to)
 16 Karen: |OKA:Y an' they're talking NOT in the on:e, the version that you
 17 Sara: L>you're still good at (x)<
 18 Karen: READ they're talking they're gonna say those exact words on the
 19 OTHER pa:g:e(.4) >with the old-↑FASHioned< ↓language.=
 20?: =↓oh
 21 (.4)
 22 Karen: but since you're ↑VERY familiar with the story you're still >gonna
 23 know everything that's going< r̄o:n̄
 24 Sara: Lkaren (.3) °move it closer°

Since the language of the film is constructed here as being Shakespeare's "old-fashioned language" (line 19), the teacher prompts the class to make a decision between English or Swedish subtitles (lines 5 & 7). The immediate response from Sara (line 12), which the teacher takes up (line 12), favours English, even though she does not signal a preferred response; indeed the potential comprehension problems (albeit modulated in lines 22-23) are not presented until afterwards. Thus pupils play an important role in upholding English as the favoured medium of the English classroom even in the written mode (subtitles), albeit with one (overridden) persistent voice in favour of Swedish (lines 9, 13 & 15).

Besides practical problems in working out the scope of the English-only rule, such as deciding the language of film subtitles and whether a pupil may read aloud a text supplied by the teacher written in Swedish, there are rather rare but nevertheless routine ways in which order is restored when participants perceive a breach in the English-only rule. We have termed these *language policing* (Amir & Musk 2013; Amir 2013a).

4.2 Language Policing

By *language policing* we mean the mechanism deployed by the teacher or pupils to (re-)establish the normatively prescribed target language as the *medium of classroom interaction* in the English as a foreign language classroom. Unlike

medium switching (Gafaranga & Torras 2002; Musk 2006), where the switch can go in either direction between mediums and be maintained over an extended stretch of turns, an act of language policing results in a switch to the target language only, though both may be preceded by a (re)negotiation of which medium to use. Moreover, like repair, language policing regularly follows a three-step sequence: 1) a (perceived) breach of the target-language-only rule (the trouble source), 2) an act of language policing (an initiation of the need to switch medium) and 3) an orientation to the target-language-only rule (the outcome), usually a switch to the target language (Amir & Musk 2013; cf. Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). Yet unlike the common conception of repair in CA, where repair tends to be seen as a participants' mechanism for solving problems of understanding, in the case of language policing the trouble source is always talk in the "wrong" medium. The special nature of the trouble source therefore warrants a separate term⁹.

According to the full taxonomy of language policing (Musk & Amir 2010), policing can be categorised as being initiated by oneself (self-policing) or by someone else (other-policing). These categories can be divided further according to who is being policed, as can be seen in Figure 1, but since the focus here is on pupils doing language policy, the remainder of this article is devoted primarily to pupil-initiated language policing¹⁰.

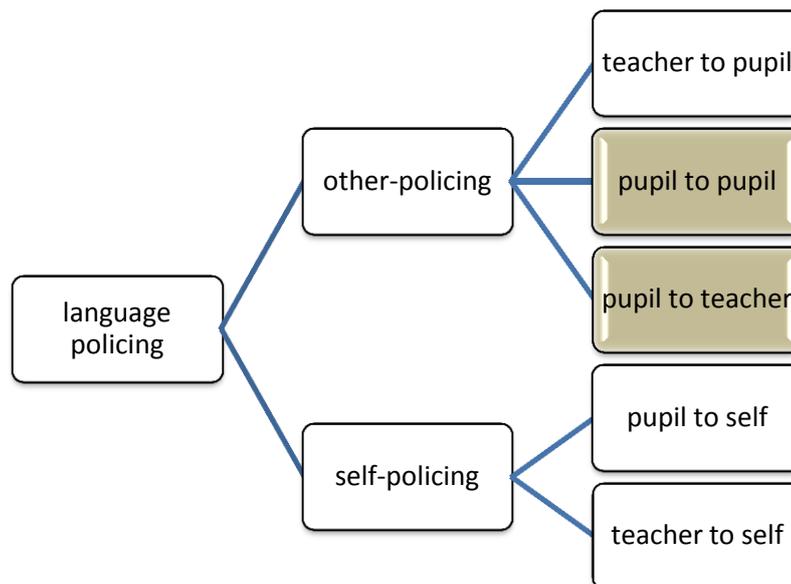


Figure 1. A taxonomy of language policing

4.3 Pupil-initiated language policing

Language policing initiated by pupils can be divided into two main sub-categories depending on who is the target of the policing act – another pupil or the teacher – each with its own distinguishing features. These are represented by the shaded boxes in the taxonomy in Figure 1.

4.3.1 Pupil-to-pupil language policing

This category of language policing is where the pupil initiates language policing to change the medium used by another pupil. In all, there are 3 cases in this sub-category. The main characteristic of this group is that the act of policing (step 2 of the sequence) is delivered between peers and leads to a normative switch in medium to English (step 3). What also characterises this sub-category is the relative discreetness of the verbal policing act, as well as the brevity of the initiation and policing trajectory. In all three cases, the peer initiation of the policing act (step 2) consists of a two-word imperative (e.g. “speak English”). In two of the cases, there is modulation of the initiation in that it is either delivered softly and/or followed by mitigating giggling¹¹ (as in line 17 of excerpt 4 below). In pupil-to-pupil language policing cases, the policing trajectories show little disruption of the on-going activity in that apart from possible giggling, the following turn resumes the activity from before the language-policing act, though always in the policy-prescribed medium of English (step 3).

It is also a recurrent feature of this sub-category that it is located in task-oriented contexts where the pupils are orienting to a task to be completed in pairs. Furthermore, in our data it appears that recent teacher-initiated policing necessarily precedes pupil-to-pupil policing.

Excerpt 4 includes a short prompt by one pupil to another. It comes from an English class in the computer laboratory, where Hanna and Malin are doing a quiz, which involves matching a fixed set of questions and answers by looking for information on the Internet. This excerpt begins 2 minutes 15 seconds after teacher-initiated policing addressed to the class as a whole, where the teacher reminds the class that they should be speaking English all the time and warns them that she will deduct points if she hears Swedish (cf. Musk & Amir 2013: 154-155). Where we join the pair, Hanna is looking at the entry for Afghanistan in Wikipedia to check whether it could be the capital of Iraq.

Excerpt 4. Speak English. Participants: Karen (K, the teacher), Hanna (H), Malin (M)

- 1 Hanna: *a men dä måste va afghanistan eller hu?*
yeah but it must be afghanistan isn't it?
- 2 (8.5) ((H scrolls around Wikipedia entry for Afghanistan))
- 3 Hanna: (th-) islamic (o-)?
- 4 (5.6) ((H returns to Google & then turns over to 2nd page in sheet))
- 5 Hanna: *måste va dä:::n* ((M briefly looks up))
must be that
- 6 (5.3) ((H moves pencil to second column))
- 7 Hanna: *u:::m da,*
u:::hm duh,
- 8 (.6)
- 9 Hanna: *var ä den dära the capital city (.6) of iraq dä* *fmåste va afgsk*
where is that *it must be afgsk*
- 10 Malin: *L°(prata) engel^lska°*
→ *(speak) english*
- 11 (.4)
- 12 Hanna: *yes (.6) wait*
- 13 (.4) ((H starts writing 'afghanistan' on q sheet))
- 14 Hanna: *it's afghan^list-^l?*
- 15 Malin: *L(x ^lx)?*
- 16 (1.8)
- 17 Malin: ((leans over H's pen)) *\$mh hu hu huu\$*

For reasons of space, it is not possible to show that prior to this excerpt Hanna has switched medium from English to Swedish, whereas Malin (who has spoken far less) has continued in the normatively prescribed medium of English. Although some of Hanna's turns up until line 10 are Swedish mixed with English (line 9) or even English (line 3), the medium (or base code) appears to be Swedish¹², since the English words and phrases all come from the webpage or question sheet. More significantly, the medium of Hanna's talk is treated as normatively deviant, in that it occasions Malin's act of language policing (line 10).

Let us now examine this excerpt in greater detail. Firstly, while Hanna scrolls around in the Wikipedia entry and checks her quiz sheet, she states her guess three times in Swedish (lines 1, 5 & 9). Even though her turn in line 1 ends with a tag question, there is no response from Malin. The related question as to where on the page she can find "the capital city of Iraq" occasions no help from Malin either. Instead, almost immediately after a string of English words from the question sheet, syntactically embedded in a question in Swedish, Malin initiates language policing (step 2 of the sequence) in overlap with Hanna's second repetition of her guess (lines 9-10). This is delivered as a two-word imperative audible only to Hanna. Unlike the other cases of pupil-to-pupil policing (and indeed all the other cases of self- or other-policing), Malin's policing turn (step 2) is delivered in Swedish. The irony here is that while asking Hanna to speak English, Malin herself violates the English-only rule, although the whispered quality of her turn precludes its detection by the teacher.

The outcome of Malin's modulated act of policing in Swedish is that, after a pause, Hanna switches to English (line 12). Despite modulation (whispering and linguistic alignment), not only is Malin's turn in line 10 disaffiliative in that it fails to address Hanna's immediate concern, it is also disaffiliative on account of it initiating language policing. Although Hanna immediately addresses the issue of speaking in the "wrong" language by saying "yes (.6) wait", her response is otherwise disaffiliative insofar as it signals that Malin's concerns are to be put on hold, while she deals with the matter at hand, i.e. writing down her (incorrect) conclusion that Afghanistan is the capital of Iraq. This is then followed in line 14 by Hanna's fourth (albeit incomplete) utterance of her conclusion of what she deems the right answer to be, only this time in English. Hanna's po-faced response to being policed is then proceeded by Malin's affiliative and mitigating moves, both physically by her leaning towards Hanna and audibly by her giggling in line 17.

4.3.2 Pupil-to-teacher language policing

The most prominent feature of this final sub-group of only one case is that the pupil challenges the teacher and initiates language policing (step 2 of the policing sequence) to point out a perceived breach of the English-only rule (step 1). Nevertheless, it is the teacher who has the final say in what actually constitutes a breach. Indeed, in our only example (excerpt 5), the pupil's challenge is publicly contested and rejected.

Excerpt 5 is also set in the computer laboratory. Sara, Peter, and Jess are seated in a row at their computers carrying out individual classwork. Karen (the teacher) and Adam, who is sitting behind the afore-mentioned pupils and off-camera, have been having a semi-private chat about English accents and how

people adapt their accents, which the teacher exemplifies with reference to her Greek husband.

Excerpt 5. You said a Swedish word! Participants: Karen (K, teacher), Sara (S), Jess (J), Peter, Carl (C), Dexter (D), Adam

1 Karen: it's like my husband when he's with (.) people from
 2 ↓norrrland, (.4) he speaks like with a norrrland's (.4)
 3 accent, =you know he's greek >I mean he does(n't xx this)< (.3)
 4 so i- (.) a:nd, ((S turns around))(.6) when he's with people=
 5 Sara: → =>YOU SAID A ΓSWEDISH WORD,< Γ ((turning back to computer))
 6 Karen: Λfrom SMÅland he speaΛks (.4) sm- a s::måland (.2)
 7 accentε
 8 Jess: ((to S)) °we're not Γin the holy classroom.°
 9 Karen: ΛWHICH SWEDISH WORD DID I SΛAY
 10 (.) ((S turns back and moves her finger in the air))
 11 Sara: uΓ:h Γ sing whatever.
 12 Peter: Λkaren?Λ
 13 (.7)
 14 Karen: sing:?
 15 Jess: what?
 16 Sara: NO WHATε NO:T CITY.
 17 (.)
 18 Karen: a CItY? (.5) I'm aLLOWed to say a CItY.
 19 (.3)
 20 Sara: not really (.) gotta say the swedish is Γa city in Γ
 21 Carl: ((to K)) Λcan we use the comΛputer
 22 in your room.
 23 Sara: °enΓlΓishΓ°
 24 Dexter: ((to K)) Λoh ΛΓright now I remember
 25 Karen: ((to C)) Λhere there you goε
 26 (1.1)
 27 Jess: ((to S)) gothenburg
 28 (.)
 29 Sara: ((to J)) Γyeah
 30 Dexter: ((to K)) Λthis might be Γ too late Γbut,
 31 Sara: Λ>just like thatΛ
 32 (.3)
 33 Karen: ((to D)) no it's not too late thank you and you'll be: sitting
 34 there next ti:me.
 35 (.2)
 36 Dexter: (>oh actually?<)
 37 Karen: okay?
 38 Dexter: ((to K)) >what's this?<
 39 (.4)
 40 Karen: ((to D)) a permission slip to be Γfil:med Γ
 41 Jess: ((to S)) ΛI don't know whatΛ norrrland
 42 Karen: Γan'Γ participate in the study.
 43 Jess: iΛs, Λ

Karen's exemplification of her Greek husband's accents (lines 1–4 & 6–7) turns into a potential breach of the English-only rule (step 1 of the sequence), when she utters "Norrland" and "Norrland's accent" (lines 2–3). It is in response to uttering this word twice that the only case of a pupil-initiated language policing act (step 2) occurs in our data (line 5). This policing act is projected in line 4 by Sara's turning around before she interrupts Karen's semi-private conversation with Adam. Furthermore, Sara's accusation is delivered quickly and very loudly (in English) while turning back towards her computer. In overlap with Sara's accusatory language-policing act (line 5), Karen continues her turn in English (line 6) while producing the name of another Swedish region "Småland" more loudly. Although Karen continues beyond the overlap and returns to her normal volume, clearly her flow has been disrupted as can be seen by the two pauses and the restarts in producing "a Småland accent" (notably around the name of the second Swedish province/region).

The direct upshot is that Jess undermines Sara's verdict (also in English) by innovating an exception to the rule that it is only applicable "in the holy classroom" (line 8). Jess's quip is also delivered in overlap with Karen's contrastingly loud and very public challenge in line 9, which unequivocally demands a clarification from Sara. Sara embodies language policing by turning round again and writing in the air with her finger, at the same time as refraining from uttering and repeating any perceived offending name of a Swedish geographical region (line 10). Instead Sara produces a rather incoherent turn containing the word "sing" (line 11) which is subjected to other-repair initiations after a 0.7 second pause, first by Karen and then by Jess (lines 14–15). Despite Sara's self-repair substituting the erroneous "sing" with "city" (line 16) after a slight pause, it is met by even more astonishment from Karen (line 18). First she foreshadows her dismissal of Sara's accusation by loudly reiterating the word "city" with rising intonation before issuing a complete dismissal of the grounds of Sara's act of language policing by categorically stating that she is "allowed to say a city".

Whereas Karen's rejection of Sara's strict application of the English-only rule has reached its climax and she subsequently becomes engaged with classroom management issues (line 21 onwards), for Sara the matter has not been brought to a satisfactory close. In line 27 Jess now aligns with Sara by providing the name of a Swedish city which has different names in Swedish and English: "Gothenburg" (Göteborg in Swedish). This gains Sara's approval in lines 29 and 31, though when Jess (and Sara) are unable to find an anglicised version of Norrland (lines 41 & 43), the matter is pursued no further.

Here the teacher maintains that she has only spoken the normatively prescribed medium, whereas the pupil maintains that Karen temporarily switched medium, thereby justifying her act of language policing. At the same time, the fact that Sara initiates an language-policing act in the first place underscores the game-like nature of language policing that arises from the point-deduction system; Sara's move can be seen as an (albeit unsuccessful) bid to catch the teacher out and gain the class a point, though the matter of fairness and reciprocity is also implicit in the rule. Moreover, since the pupil does not succeed in validating the basis for her language policing act (step 2), i.e. establishing a breach (step 1), the occurrence of a third step with a switch to the policy-prescribed medium is absent; indeed, the teacher maintains that there was no switch in the first place. In this boundary case involving the use of

proper nouns, the teacher defends herself from any potential breach of the English-only rule by renegotiating the conditions. Indeed, these negotiations highlight the incompleteness and dynamic nature of the English-only rule in the EFL classroom, whereby the teacher can maintain that she has been adhering to the rule sufficiently for all practical purposes (cf. Zimmerman 1991: 227).

5 Discussion and Conclusions

In this paper, we have attempted to give a detailed account of the various ways in which pupils engage in doing language policy in the EFL classroom of one school in Sweden. In particular, the focus has been on the sequential organisation of what we call *language policing*, whereby pupils 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 (English, in this case). Similar to repair, this corrective mechanism regularly follows a three-step sequence: 1) a trouble source, which is always a (perceived) breach of the English-only rule, 2) a corrective act of language policing, and 3) a response by the author of the trouble source to the act of other-policing, usually a switch to English (Amir & Musk 2013).

By examining the cases of pupil-policing, two main subcategories emerged, which differed in their participant structure as well as in their general trajectories. In order to recapitulate and clarify the empirical grounds of our categorisation, we compare and contrast these subcategories with reference to 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). In this discussion we also compare our findings with those of related studies.

Firstly, regarding the language-policing trajectory (cf. Schegloff et al. 1977: 369), there are marked differences in length (number of turns) and disruptiveness. The shortest and least disruptive trajectories with respect to business prior to the language-policing act are found in pupil-to-pupil policing (which always follows the teacher’s policing of breaches by the same pair). The longest and most disruptive trajectory is the one case of pupil-to-teacher policing, which results in a long negotiation sequence, where the teacher dismisses the validity of the alleged breach. Copp Jinkerson also takes up one case of pupil-to-teacher policing, where another teacher enters a monolingual English-stream classroom and talks to the regular teacher in Finnish, which occasions one pupil (who has recently been policed by the teacher for speaking Finnish) to interrupt and say “speak in English!” (2011: 33). Although the teachers actually switch to English to conclude their conversation, the pupil also questions why the teacher didn’t speak English in the first place, which prolongs the sequence even further. Four other excerpts from Copp Jinkerson include pupil-to-pupil policing by one girl who the teacher calls a “language policeman” (2011: 36–41). Unlike our findings, in all of these cases, the act of pupil-to-pupil policing is challenged (even though the “offending” pupil(s) then switch to English), which then leads to longer policing trajectories. However, one difference in Copp Jinkerson’s data is that not all the pupils are Finnish speaking, which is a justification that the teacher otherwise repeatedly recycles

when doing language policing. There are other differences that will be raised below. Otherwise, the main finding from comparing all these cases is that if the grounds of the breach are contested in some way, which is evidently possible, a lengthy policing trajectory ensues. This, in turn, puts the prior business on hold until the language-policing side sequence has been concluded.

There is one notable feature as regards the second issue of initiator techniques (cf. Schegloff et al. 1977: 367): the use of formulaic language (Wray et al. 2000) in the language policing turn. All of our cases of pupil-to-pupil policing comprise a two-word imperative (e.g. “speak English”). Copp Jinkerson’s cited examples of pupil-to-pupil policing are also regularly formulated as “speak in English” (2011: 36–41).

Thirdly, language policing is frequently characterised by the presence of modulation, which also characterises other-repairs in ordinary conversation (cf. Schegloff et al. 1977: 378), and serves partly to reduce the potential face threat. In pupil-to-pupil policing the policing act is thus delivered quietly and is often accompanied by mitigating giggling, as in excerpt 4. As noted above, in Copp Jinkerson’s data there was however one pupil who “repeatedly” policed other pupils in an unmodulated fashion (“sharply and loudly”), but it may be significant that in all of the examples, the “policeman” interrupted others’ private talk (2011: 36–41) – in fact, just as in the single unmodulated case of pupil-to-teacher policing in our data (excerpt 5). The grounds for language policing were also contested in all of the latter cases, which may also suggest that pupils’ unmodulated policing (interrupting private talk moreover) constitutes a dispreferred action.

Fourthly, making an accusation (and a challenge), as in the pupil-to-teacher policing case in excerpt 5, constitutes one of the policing methods deployed by members (participants). As regards the distribution of members’ methods, accusations may thus be delivered by pupils (but more commonly by the teacher, cf. Amir & Musk 2013). In the case of pupil-to-pupil policing, the two-word imperatives act more like prompts to switch medium (though Copp Jinkerson’s unmodulated – and contested – cases by the class “language policeman” mentioned above appear to be more accusatory, 2011: 36–41). Yet, since the point system in operation in EFL classrooms of the school investigated also allows for pupils to potentially catch out their teacher speaking any Swedish to gain points (cf. excerpt 5), the normally corrective prompt of pupil-to-pupil policing to switch back to English can apparently be backgrounded. Instead, pupils can foreground scoring points vis-à-vis the teacher by means of a ‘successful’ policing act, which means that language policing then takes on a game-like quality. We have no cases of successful point scoring in our data, but by contrast the aforementioned pupil-to-teacher policing case in Copp Jinkerson (in a school without a point system) actually occasions the teachers’ switch from Finnish to English (2011: 33).

Fifthly, differences in the classroom context (cf. Seedhouse 2004: 204–222) appear to be reflected in the sub-categories of language policing. All the cases in our collection of pupil-to-pupil policing occur in task-oriented contexts (Seedhouse 2004: 153–8), where the pupils are working together on a task set by the teacher. This is also what Markee and Kunitz find in their study (2010), but yet again this diverges with the cases involving Copp Jinkerson’s “language policeman”, who polices pupils when they are involved in private off-task talk (2011: 36–41). As already noted, the outcome of the latter is also contestation.

The same applies, in fact, to the single case of pupil-to-teacher policing in excerpt 5.

By relating the five criteria considered above to language policing, we have described many of the structural features of pupils' language policing. It is, however, important to relate these features of language policing to the pedagogical practices of the foreign language classroom.

The main purpose of the English-only policy that underlies language policing is to provide learners with opportunities to practice the target language, especially in EFL contexts where there are fewer opportunities to communicate in the foreign language outside the classroom. The question then arises whether a monolingual policy can help to achieve this aim in an efficient way and how *inter alia* language-policing practices can shed light on this issue. As we have previously claimed in this article (in §4.1), 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 the public space of the classroom there is in fact very little deviation from the rule. Moreover, deviant cases are characterised by requests to use Swedish (e.g. excerpt 2) or they are regularly subject to language policing (cf. Amir & Musk 2013, Amir 2013a). In interactions between peers, we have found far more deviation from the monolingual rule, but usually brief code-switching (medium suspension) is tolerated, whereas extended stretches of speaking Swedish across several or many turns are frequently subject to language policing (e.g. excerpt 4). Here too, there are deviant cases, e.g. when pupils can potentially score points against the teacher (excerpt 5), and when there has already been a very recent act of language policing (by the teacher). Yet on the whole, there are relatively few cases of language policing (20 cases in over 20 hours or 18 EFL classes), which therefore suggests that the language policy requires relatively little explicit work to maintain. Moreover, both the teacher and pupils jointly uphold the policy (e.g. excerpt 3), and when policing does occur, the pupils also play an active role in identifying potential breaches (e.g. excerpts 4 & 5). Furthermore, unlike CLIL contexts (as in Copp Jinkerson's 2011 study), in this EFL context the monolingual rule itself is not contested, only whether there has actually been a breach (e.g. excerpt 5). Indeed, practical problems emerge from applying the rule, for instance how to deal with proper nouns (excerpt 5), since a rule inexorably fails to cover all contingencies (Heritage 1984: 128). Inevitably, these contingencies occasion negotiation sequences, where the teacher has the final say.

If we consider the specific effects of the point-deduction system in operation in the school of this study, there are further complications. Pupils have a joint vested interest in not being detected by the teacher, who is the only legitimised person to remove points. Since the whole class stands to lose by being "punished", the point system probably accounts for much of the pupil policing. At the same time, the point system is not treated so seriously. This is borne out by the fact that catching the teacher out and scoring points adds a game-like quality to language policing practices. Even on the rare occasion that point deductions are made by the teacher (Amir & Musk 2013), they have no immediate punitive consequences; they mainly serve to restore the English-only rule.

Although the above claims are empirically grounded, there is one main caveat, which needs raising here, *viz.* the data is limited to the classes of one teacher in one particular Swedish school. To partially offset this limitation, we have

brought in language policing from other settings in the discussion above, which also show similarities to our findings. Nevertheless, more empirical studies are needed to compare these results with language-policing, particularly in other EFL contexts. Finally, despite the inevitable limitations, we believe that the findings of this study with regard to the micro-level implementation of language policy may be used to inform the debate by researchers, educationists, and practitioners on the potential virtues and quandaries of teaching a foreign language solely through the target language.

Endnotes

¹ For Spolsky's theory of language policy, language choices depend on "three interrelated but independently describable components": language practices, language beliefs (ideologies) and language management, i.e. "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs" (2009: 4). Bonacina also notes the similarity between language beliefs and policy as discourse and language management and policy as text (2010: 41). However, our interest is very much in how Spolsky's language management is lived out in practice, rather than the language practices per se, i.e. mainly when the language management surfaces in and through the language practices of the classroom.

² See Bonacina (2010) for a detailed review of this strand of research in language policy.

³ Fuller details of the video recordings can be found in Amir (2013b: 37-41). As regards ethics, we have followed the recommendations of the Swedish Research Council (2002), e.g. informing participants about the study, receiving their consent, guaranteeing confidentiality and restricting the use of the data to research purposes.

⁴ Independent schools (*friskolor*) in Sweden, like this one, are publicly funded and are obliged to follow the Swedish National Curriculum. At the time of data collection the school was working towards becoming an IB (International Baccalaureate) profile school. It also portrays itself as having an international and multicultural perspective, though apart from the subject English, teaching is given through the medium of Swedish.

⁵ We use *medium* rather than *code*, in order to distinguish between what participants treat as the base language (which can be a bilingual medium) and what analysts identify as belonging to different languages (or codes), respectively (Amir & Musk 2013; cf. Gafaranga 2000).

⁶ In Slotte-Lüttge's (2007) article about the co-construction of a Swedish monolingual classroom in a bilingual Swedish-Finnish context in Finland, she exemplifies how a pupil rejects the teacher's suggestion that she switch to Finnish in order to solve a word-search problem (2007: 11). Here too then, there is no recourse made to the pupils' first language, though unlike in our Swedish setting, in the Finnish setting the teacher opens up the possibility of using Finnish as a linguistic resource.

⁷ In Slotte-Lüttge's example, a pupil signals a potential problem in keeping to Swedish by saying "Well, I don't know what it's called in Swedish" and looking at the teacher to gauge her reaction, before proceeding to use a Finnish place name (Kotka).

⁸ The reference to Karl Oskar and Kristina is based on Vilhelm Moberg's classic tetralogy about the emigration of these fictitious characters from Sweden and their new lives in America.

⁹ Yet despite the term repair being reserved for problems of maintaining mutual understanding within CA in general, within CA-based code-switching research, "repair" is nevertheless also used for the corrective practices of establishing a mutually acceptable language/code (cf. *medium repair* in Gafaranga 2000; Gafaranga & Torras 2002; and an extended discussion of repair in Gafaranga 2013).

¹⁰ Since self-policing has already been described in detail in Amir (2013a), only the policing of others will be examined below.

¹¹ Malin's giggling is reminiscent of the modulating and softening effect of "laugh particles" in potentially problematic actions described by Potter and Hepburn (2010: 1552).

¹² Medium is taken to mean the unmarked or default choice, which could potentially be bilingual, but here the words in English are all quoted from/supplied by the English language sources, and therefore do not belong to the base code (cf. extract 5 in Bonacina & Gafaranga 2011: 327-328).

References

- Amir, A. 2013a. Self-policing: How English-only is upheld in the foreign language classroom. *Novitas-ROYAL*, 7 (2), 84–105.
- Amir, A. 2013b. *Doing language policy: A micro-interactional study of policy practices in English as a foreign language classes*. Published doctoral dissertation. Linköping University.
- Amir, A. & Musk, N. 2013. Language policing: Micro-level language policy-in-process in the foreign language classroom. *Classroom Discourse*, 4 (2), 151–167.
- Ball, S.J. 1993. What is policy? Texts, trajectories and toolboxes. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 13 (2), 10–17.
- Blommaert, J. 1996. Language planning as a discourse on language and society: The linguistic ideology of a scholarly tradition. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 20 (3), 199–222.
- Bonacina, F. 2010. *A conversation analytic approach to practiced language policies: The example of an induction classroom for newly-arrived immigrant children in France*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Edinburgh.
- Bonacina, F. & J. Gafaranga. 2011. 'Medium of instruction' vs. 'medium of classroom interaction': Language choice in a French complementary school classroom in Scotland. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 14, 319–334.
- Copp Jinkerson, A. 2011. Interpreting and managing a monolingual norm in an English-speaking class in Finland: When first and second graders contest the norm. *Journal of Applied Language Studies*, 5, 27–48.
- Cooper, R. L. 1996 [1989]. *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gafaranga, J. 2000. Medium repair vs. other-language repair: Telling the medium of a bilingual conversation. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 4, 327–350.
- Gafaranga, J. 2013. Language alternation and conversational repair in bilingual conversation. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 16, 501–527.
- Gafaranga, J. & M-C. Torras. 2002. Interactional otherness: Towards a redefinition of codeswitching. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 6, 1–22.
- Gumperz, J.J. 1982. *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hellermann, J. 2008. *Social actions for classroom language learning*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Heritage, J. 1984. *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Jefferson, G. 2004. Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G.H. Lerner (ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 13–31.
- Foucault, M. 1977. *The archaeology of knowledge*. London: Tavistock.
- Heller, M. 2007. Bilingualism as ideology and practice. In M. Heller (ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1–22.
- Hutchby, I. & R. Wooffitt. 2008. *Conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Jenks, C. (2006). *Task-based interaction: The interactional and sequential organization of task-as-workplan and task-in-process*. Doctoral dissertation. Newcastle University
- Li Wei & P. Martin. 2009. Conflicts and tensions in classroom codeswitching: An introduction. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 12 (2), 117–122.
- Majlesi, A.R. & Broth, M. 2012. Emergent learnables in second language classroom interaction. *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction*, 1, 193–207.
- Martin, P. 2005. 'Safe' language practices in two rural schools in Malaysia: Tensions between policy and practice. In A.M.Y. Lin & P. Martin (eds.), *Decolonisation, globalisation: Language-in-education policy and practice*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 74–97.

- Markee, N. 2008. Toward a learning behavior tracking methodology for CA-for-SLA. *Applied Linguistics*, 29, 404–427.
- Markee, N. & S. Kunitz. 2012. Doing being a language cop: Paper presented at American Association of Applied Linguistics Conference, March 24–27 in Boston.
- Musk, N. 2006. *Performing bilingualism in Wales with the spotlight on Welsh: A study of the language practices of young people in bilingual education*. Studies in Language and Culture No 8. Published doctoral dissertation. Linköping University.
- Musk, N. 2011. Att spåra andraspråkslärande i en internetstödd frågesport [Tracking second language learning in an Internet quiz].” In R. Säljö (ed), *Lärande och minnande som social praktik* [Learning and remembering as social practice]. Stockholm: Norstedts, 181–206.
- Musk, N. & A. Amir 2010. Language policing: The co-construction of micro-level language policy in the English as a second language classroom: Paper presented at NORDISCO (Nordic Interdisciplinary Conference on Discourse and Interaction), November 17–19 in Aalborg, Denmark.
- Nekvapil, Jiří. 2011. The history and theory of language planning. In E. Hinkel (ed.), *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning (Volume 2)*. [online]. London: Routledge, 871–887. [Retrieved 18 July 2013] Available at <http://lib.myilibrary.com?ID=304260>
- Potter, J. & A. Hepburn 2010. Putting aspiration into words: ‘Laugh particles’, managing descriptive trouble and modulating action. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42 (6), 1543–1555.
- Psathas, G. 1995. *Conversation analysis: The study of talk-in-interaction*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ricento, T. 2000. Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4 (2), 196–213.
- Schegloff, E.A., G. Jefferson & H. Sacks. 1977. The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language*, 53 (2), 361–82.
- Seedhouse, P. 2004. *The interactional architecture of the language classroom: A conversation analysis perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Slotte-Lüttge, A. 2005. *Ja vet int va de heter på svenska: Interaktion mellan tvåspråkiga elever och deras lärare i en enspråkig klassrumsdiskurs* [I don’t know what it’s called in Swedish: Interaction between bilingual pupils and their teacher in monolingual classroom discourse]. Published doctoral dissertation. Åbo Akademi University, Finland.
- Slotte-Lüttge, A. 2007. Making use of bilingualism: The construction of a monolingual classroom, and its consequences. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 187/188, 103–128.
- Spolsky, B. 2004. *Language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spolsky, B. 2009. *Language management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Swedish Research Council. 2002. *Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning* [Ethical Principles in Research in the Arts and Social Sciences]. [online]. Vällingby: Elanders Gotab. [Retrieved 7 April 2014] Available at <http://www.codex.vr.se/texts/HSFR.pdf>
- Söderlundh, H. 2012. Global policies and local norms: Sociolinguistic awareness and language choice at an international university. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 216, 87–109.
- Üstünel, E. & P. Seedhouse. 2005. Why that, in that language, right now? Code-switching and pedagogical focus. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 15, 302–325.
- Wray, A. & M.R. Perkins. 2000. The functions of formulaic language: An integrated model. *Language and Communication*, 20, 1–28.
- Young, R.F. 2008. *Language and interaction: An advanced resource book*. London: Routledge.
- Zimmerman, D.H. 1971. The practicalities of rule use. In J.D. Douglas (ed.), *Understanding everyday life: Toward the reconstruction of sociological knowledge*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 221–238.

Appendix: Transcription conventions (adapted from Jefferson 2004 and Musk 2011).

(.5)	Pauses in speech of tenths of a second
(.)	Pause in speech of less than 0.2 seconds
yeah= =yeah	Equal sign: latching between or within utterances
[yeah mm	Opening square brackets between adjacent lines: opening of overlapping talk
yeah] 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
<i>dä ju så</i>	Words in italics: code alternation (Swedish)
<i>that's how it is</i>	Words in grey italics: translation of code alternation (in line above)
,	Comma: "continuing" intonation
.	Fullstop: a stopping fall in tone
((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
.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

Received September 2, 2013
Revision received May 13, 2014
Accepted May 27, 2014