NOVITAS ROYAL
RESEARCH ON YOUTH AND LANGUAGE

SELF-POLICING IN THE ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Alia AMIR[1]

Abstract: The present study explores how classroom participants invoke a monolingual target-language policy in an English as a foreign language (EFL) classroom, specifically focusing on one method of doing language policy through self-initiated language policing sequences, which I have called *self-policing*. Language policing refers to the mechanism deployed by the teacher and/or the pupils to (re-)establish the normatively prescribed medium of classroom interaction (Amir & Musk, 2013; cf. Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011). The data comes from sequential analyses of 20 hours of video recordings in grades 8 & 9 of an international compulsory school in Sweden between the years 2007-2010. Drawing on Auer (1984) and Gafaranga's (1999) organisational code-switching framework, this study sheds light on how teachers and pupils self-initiate a switch to English in their interactions. As will be demonstrated, both teachers and pupils, while orienting to the English-only norm, use a three-step sequence for language policing.

Keywords: Classroom interaction, code-switching, conversation analysis, language policy, English as a Foreign Language (EFL), language in education policy (LIEP)

Özet: Bu çalışma, benim *kendini yönetme* olarak adlandırdığım bir öğrenci ya da öğretmenin kendisinin başlattığı dil politikası dizilişleri yoluyla dil politikası yapma yollarından özellikle bir tanesine odaklanarak, bir yabancı dil olarak İngilizce (EFL) sınıfında sınıf katılımcılarının nasıl tek dilli hedef dil politikasını kullandıklarını göstermektedir. Dil yönetimi, sınıf etkileşim dilini (yeniden) kurmak için öğretmen ve/veya öğrenciler tarafından kullanılan mekanizma olarak tanımlanabilir (Amir & Musk, 2013; Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011). Veri, 2007-2010 yılları arasında İsveç'te uluslararası bir okulun 8. ve 9. sınıflarında kayıt altına alınmış olan videoların dizisel çözümlemesinden oluşmaktadır. Auer (1984) ve Gafaranga'nın (1999) organizasyonel dil değiştirme yapısından yola çıkarak, bu çalışma öğretmenlerin ve öğrencilerin etkileşimlerinde kendi kendilerine İngilizce'ye nasıl geçtiklerine ışık tutmaktadır. Gösterileceği üzere, sadece İngilizce kuralına uyarlarken, hem öğretmenler hem de öğrenciler dil politikası için üç-basamaklı bir dizilişi kullanmaktadırlar.

Anahtar sözcükler: Sınıf etkileşimi, dil değiştirme, Konuşma Çözümlemesi, dil politikası, Yabancı Dil olarak İngilizce (EFL), eğitim politikasında dil

1. Introduction
Ricento & Hornberger (1996) use the metaphor of an onion to describe language policy (LP). The reason becomes clear when considering language in education policy (hereafter LIEP); this onion not only has various layers but different shapes and sizes, for instance different levels of education like pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary education, etc. Similarly, different types of education involve different types of language policy and planning, for instance mainstream monolingual education, bilingual education, heritage language programs, second/foreign language teaching and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning).

Furthermore, in LIEP a vast number of quantitative as well as qualitative studies have been conducted with various frameworks. Recently the trend has been shifting towards more ethnographic and practice-based approaches with a growing number of studies dealing with

---

[1] PhD Candidate, Department of Culture and Communication, Linköping University, Sweden, alia.amir@liu.se

language policy in a wider range of settings. This shift stands in marked contrast to the classical language planning period, where much of the work was on the macro-level or state level (Kaplan, 2011; Ricento, 2000). Building on current discussions on an emerging research paradigm of LP (Ricento, 2000, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004; Spolsky & Shohamy, 2000), there have been many interactional studies approaching language policy and language norms at the micro-level.

In line with this trend, Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh 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" (2009: 263). In other words, practiced language policy (Bonacina, 2010) is situated, emergent and continually changing moment by moment. Specifically in the language classroom and educational settings, the contours of the language policy onion are affected by language policy at each level and by both implicit and explicit norms. Nevertheless, when it comes to actually 'doing language policy' it is the people 'here and now' who shape and co-construct a language policy.

Previous studies of language policy at the school level (see for example, Corson, 1990[2] for a fuller picture) do not capture the aforementioned emergent nature of language policy, while the early interactional studies compare either the state policies or the school policies with the practiced language policy, especially within bilingual education in minority language contexts (e.g. Heller, 1996; Musk, 2006). Recently, however, there has been a call to "look at what people do, and not at what someone else wants them to do" (Spolsky, 2004: 218). While Spolsky does argue that there is a need to conceptualise language policy as practices, he does not state how to do it. Therefore, his argument stays programmatic (see Bonacina, 2010).

Now whereas we have briefly touched upon language policies in schools generally, the question is where they exist, how are they formulated and where are they enforced. According to Corson "Every school already has an implicit policy for language and learning. This unwritten policy [[3]] exists in the tacit practices of its teachers, administrators and it can be inferred from their interactions with students" (1999: 3). It is these practices within the interactions inside the classroom which this study will focus upon. Similarly, in the field of LIEP[4], Shohamy (2003) posits that when LPs and LIEPs are not stated explicitly they must be derived implicitly by examining a variety of de facto practices. Shohamy's (2003) discussion involves school, national and macro-level policies, whereas she suggests that these de facto policies are hidden and involve covert mechanisms of LIEP 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.

---

[2] Corson was influential in initiating school-based language policy research.
[3] Note, however, that the data of this study consists of a very explicit – but unwritten – policy, that is, a punitive point-based system designed to produce/maintain a monolingual L2 classroom.
[4] Just like the broader field of LP, several different acronyms are used for LIEP. Shohamy uses the term language education policy (LEP), rather than LIEP.

This study, on the other hand, suggests that even though there are both implicit and explicit language policies, the interaction and sequential analyses expose the de facto practices enshrined in the term *micro-level language policy-in-process* (Amir & Musk, 2013), that is, how a monolingual policy is played out *in situ* in the foreign language classroom. The term "micro-level language policy-in-process" aims to capture the dynamic, co-constructed and situated nature of language policy as opposed to the workplan conceived by the policy makers. This perspective contrasts with a more fixed and static conceptualisation of LP, whereby a prescribed set of norms are readily available for interaction. In line with the more dynamic policy-in-process approach adopted here, a number of studies in the second/ foreign language classroom literature have shifted their focus from the task-as-workplan to the task-in-process, i.e. what actually happens in the classroom (see Seedhouse, 2004; Jenks, 2006 for a fuller discussion).

When participants code-switch between their L1 (first language) and L2 (second language), they adopt various interactional devices whereby the language policy is displayed either implicitly or explicitly. One explicit way of doing language policy is language policing, that is, the mechanism deployed by the teacher and/or pupils to (re-)establish the normatively prescribed target language as the medium of classroom interaction (Amir & Musk, 2013; cf. Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2012).This paper specifically examines one method of doing language policy that I have called *self-policing* as well as its sub-categories with close reference to the mediums (or codes) spoken before and after self-policing. These language policing practices are an orientation to the medium of interaction whereby the interaction is put on hold, during which the participants take care of switching to the target language (L2).

Studies that address language norms and situate themselves as LP studies, to name but a few include Amir & Musk (2013), Bonacina (2010, 2012, 2013) and Asker & Martin-Jones (2013). Bonacina (2010) has particularly pioneered the analysis of practiced language policy, an approach which uses CA to study language policy in interaction. Bringing the same methodology to foreign language classrooms, and specifically EFL classrooms, Amir & Musk (2013) focus on teacher-initiated language policing practices. Another aspect of language policing is highlighted in Amir & Musk (forthcoming), where the focus is on pupil-initiated language policing. Although Asker & Martin-Jones (2013) do not use CA, they do look at an Arabic-only policy and mention language policing in the analysis of one excerpt, but their main focus is on language beliefs and ideologies.

Some studies focus on language norms, but do not situate their work as language policy studies *per se*. This is the case, for instance in Evaldsson & Cekaite, (2010) where they look at minority school children's learning in Sweden. Other studies with a focus on language norms include Cekaite & Evaldsson (2008), Copp Jinkerson (2011), Cromdal (2004), Jørgensen (1998), Slottge-Lüttge (2007) and Söderlundh (2012). All of these studies have been conducted in Scandinavian countries but in different types of education and at different levels. For example, in the Swedish context, Söderlundh's study is conducted in a university whereas Cromdal's study is conducted in a bilingual school.

Other work related to language policy has been done in the field of code-switching, but without explicitly focusing on language norms or language policy. For example, while some studies focus on "teacher-initiated" vs. "teacher-induced" code-switching (Üstünel, 2004; Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005), Ziegler et al. (2012) examine student-initiated use of multilingual resources in

English language classroom management in Luxembourg. However, the current study does not focus on other-initiated (either teacher-initiated or pupil-initiated) language policing, the focus being on self-initiated switches to the monolingual norm (but note Ziegler et al.'s "orientation to the monolingual mode" in a form and accuracy context, 2012, p. 200).

Coming back to the studies conducted in ESL/EFL context, a number of studies researching code-switching were carried out in ESL classrooms in the 1970s and 80s (see Lin, 2013 for a fuller review). Some empirical studies have been conducted more recently in EFL classrooms (e.g. Üstünel, 2004; Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005; Waer, 2012), which – like this study – subscribe to a conversation-analytic methodology. However, none of these focus on the English-only rule in EFL classrooms or language policy (but see aforementioned Amir & Musk, 2013, Amir & Musk, forthcoming). Indeed, it is the precise aim of this study to bridge this gap and extend our knowledge of monolingual norms in EFL classrooms by describing what is actually going on.

As regards the organisation of this article, after this introduction follows a section on code-switching and the medium of classroom interaction, which is pivotal for exploring self-policing and its further sub-categories. This is followed by the data and the methodological framework. The next section, entitled 'Doing language policy', presents the results in the form of different ways of doing language policy with the help of sequential analyses of representative examples. The last section draws on these analyses by showing, for example, that both teacher and pupils while orienting to the English-only norm use a three-step sequence for language policing.

2. Code-switching and the medium of classroom interaction

This study operates within an organisational approach to code-switching which focuses on "*members'* procedures to arrive at local interpretations" (Auer, 1984: 3; original italics). Adopting an "organisational perspective" on bilingual talk takes on board the ethnomethodological "attitude of indifference" (Garfinkel, 1967), whereby meaning is brought about by speakers themselves (Auer, 1992; see also Li Wei 2002, p. 167). Before we examine self-policing in detail, let us briefly consider the notion of code choice (medium) and medium of classroom interaction, which are central concepts of this study.

2. 1. The notion of medium in the organisational perspective

To explore what the notion of "medium" (Gafaranga, 2007a: 303, 2007b: 135, 2009: 124) is within an organisational approach to code-switching (Auer, 1984; Gafaranga 2009; Li Wei & Milroy, 1995; Li Wei, 2002; Musk, 2006; Musk, 2010; Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011, etc.), let us briefly touch upon the issue of code/language/medium in code-switching research. The term "code" has come to be understood as an umbrella term for languages, dialects, styles, registers etc. (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 11). In this regard, Gafaranga & Torras (2001: 215) raise a valid question in their study, which is whether the concept of "language" is a useful one in describing the language choice acts of bilinguals. The concept of language only accounts for instances where the talk is monolingual. According to Gafaranga (e.g. 2000), language or code is the analyst's category, and medium is the member's or participant's category. Gafaranga & Torras (2002) demonstrate (from an emic perspective) that "speakers select a norm, for their conversation" and this is a "concern felt by speakers themselves" (ibid.: 215). This perspective behoves us to examine participants' medium as an "actually oriented-to linguistic code" (Gafaranga, 2001: 196).

According to the perspective of 'order in social action', norms are taken-for-granted background expectancies" (Garfinkel, 1967: 36). In Garfinkel's terms, a member of a setting is "responsive to [everyday norms] while at the same time, he is at a loss to tell us specifically of what the expectancies consist" (ibid.: 36-37). From this perspective, bilingual talk and code-alternation are assumed to be orderly as well (Torras & Gafaranga, 1998). Similarly, the medium of classroom interaction as a type of social norm in a bilingual classroom interaction accounts for "that scheme of interpretation (Garfinkel1967, p.36) speakers themselves orient to while talking" (Gafaranga, 2000: 329).

2. 2. Medium of Classroom interaction

Bonacina (2005) and Bonacina & Gafaranga (2011) have applied the notion of medium to the study of bilingual classroom talk and have adopted the notion of 'medium of classroom interaction' to account for language-alternation phenomena in the classroom. In contrast to the strands of study where the medium of instruction is assumed to be the default choice, Bonacina & Gafaranga's pioneering case study (2011) proposes the notion of medium of classroom interaction as 'the linguistic code' that classroom participants actually orient to while talking, as opposed to the policy-prescribed medium of instruction. In some current studies, a more or less explicit distinction is made between the declared medium of instruction and the other language(s) in contact in the classroom (Bonacina, 2010; Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011; Amir & Musk, 2013).

3. Data and methodological framework

3. 1. The data

The empirical data of this study comprises of over 20 hours of video recordings of EFL classrooms in an International Swedish school. The data was collected in grade 8 and 9 classes (15-16 year olds) between the years 2007-2010. For the present study the data comes from the Swedish section of the school. In the Swedish section, English is taught as a compulsory subject from grade 4. These lessons were conducted both in the classroom as well as the computer lab. On each occasion of data collection, different numbers of cameras were used ranging from one to four. In the computer lab, the cameras were focused on the computer screens as well as the pupils. For the recordings of excerpts 1, 5 & 6 of this paper, only one camera was used whereas for excerpt 2, four cameras were used, three fixed and one hand held. For excerpts 3 and 4 (taken from the same classroom) four cameras were also used, two for each pair with one focusing on their computer screens.

The recordings feature the English classes of one teacher *Karen* who is an American and a native speaker of English. She is an experienced teacher with a number of years teaching English in the upper secondary classes of a compulsory school (*grundskola*) in Sweden. As English is taught as a compulsory subject in all Swedish schools, all children in these classes had been learning English since grade 4 as a compulsory subject.

A monolingual policy is prescribed for English classes by the English language teachers of the school. Each lesson starts with 40 points, where a single word of Swedish spoken by the pupils may result in the deduction of a point, whereas if the teacher speaks Swedish a point may be added. The pupils are rewarded with a free lesson to watch a movie when they reach the ceiling of 1000 points. Needless to say, this does not mean that in the data the classroom participants speak only English. As regards the frequency of language policing, the data consists of 21 cases of

language policing found in 18 lessons in all. Nevertheless, the point system was never explicitly invoked in the cases of self-policing in the data.

3. 2. Method
In this paper I take the perspective of the classroom participants' analysis and methods, in and through which their interaction builds a micro-level language policy. The analyses are built by asking "how" and "why" of the local practices and by carefully examining participants' actions in the contexts of their activities. This perspective obligates us to look at people's methods, which are "observable and reportable in the first place" (Garfinkel, 1967: 1). These are not provided by anything outside of those actions but are "available to members as situated practices of looking-and-telling" (ibid.: 1).

This interest in an emic (participants') perspective has called for an ethnomethodology of micro-level language policy-in-process in classroom settings. For this purpose, conversation analysis (hereafter CA; cf. Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 27), has been used as a research tool to investigate what is visible through the interactional business of this activity.

A rigorous method of making transcriptions is essential in Conversation Analysis to aid the data analysis and to make the analysis available to the scrutiny of others, even though the transcriptions do not replace the primary data, i.e. the video recordings. The transcription conventions in this article are adopted from Gail Jefferson (2004) and Musk (2006), especially those pertaining to code-switching. A detailed list of these conventions can be found in the appendix.

4. Doing Language Policy
The data from one native English speaker teacher's lessons during the year 2007-2010 and the results of analyses showed particular practices of the classroom participants, *viz.* if the sanctity of the English-only classroom was broken, several different practices of *doing language policy* emerged. For example, they could carry out no language policing at all, do language policy through other implicit actions and formulations or do explicit language policing either through other-policing or self-policing. This study mainly focuses on those moments when the participants uphold and maintain the English-only policy in the classroom through self-policing. Yet before we move on to the section on self-policing and examine its further sub-categories in detail, the following sub-sections will first give a brief account of those moments when participants do language policy through means other than self-policing.

4. 1. Doing implicit language policy
Even a brief look at the data revealed that the English-only policy did not work all the time and code-alternation to Swedish was frequent. It is also important to point out that outside this EFL classroom; when the lesson proper has not officially started, the pupils' default medium is Swedish. In the same vein, there are many instances when code-alternation to Swedish can be unproblematic and where language policing is not practiced explicitly. Yet there are many ways of doing language policy *implicitly*, and some of these will be demonstrated in the example to come.

The following excerpt is taken from a recording where the camera was placed in the classroom when the lesson had not started and the teacher had not yet arrived. Unfortunately, this recording has some sound problems but it is still clearly audible that the pupils are initially using Swedish.

Excerpt 1. Hi, Good morning.
((Before the teacher enters the classroom, several students are talking in Swedish))
Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), M = Mia, L = Linda, J = Jenny, the rest of the class

```
1.     L:      xxx (som pratar engelska och sen xxx)
               xxx (who speaks english and then xxx)
2.     M:      xx (tell me where you've been) xxx tack xx (vi ska köra ettan och
                                       xxx thanks xx (we'll do one and
3.             sedan läsa)
               then read)
4.     K:      ((teacher enters the classroom))°hi,good morning° does everybody have
5.             their blue books with them- their reading books
6.     J:      xx
7.     M:      please
8.     K:      let's yeah let's do that to⌐day
9.     ?                              L°yeah:°
10.    M:      what
11.    K:      you read your book and you write the best answers you ca::n in the
12.            little blue book
```


Figure 1. *Hi, Good morning (line 4)*

In this extract, two mediums are being used, English and Swedish. We can also see that the default medium of interaction of the pupils is Swedish before line 4. The teacher's (K) entrance into the classroom and her officially inaugurating the English lesson with a greeting in English (line 4) shifts the medium of interaction in the subsequent turns. Here the teacher is doing language policy implicitly and without language policing. Although the medium of interaction for most students switched to English after the teacher's greeting in English, it did not stay stable for all the participants for the remainder of the lesson.

4. 2. Doing explicit language policy
Now, I would like to show that the classroom participants also do language policy explicitly, which can also be done in various ways. This is the case in excerpt 2 below. Mikael and Sara are Grade 8 students. They are sitting next to each other but working individually with their computers in the computer lab. In this excerpt, Sara is looking at Mikael's computer screen and asking in English what he is doing in the text box (line 1).

Excerpt 2. Mikael, are you speaking English?
Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), S= Sara, M= Mikael

```
1.    S:      <what are you doing there>
2.            (.)
3.    M:      the date
4.            (3.1)((Mikael continues working in the text box))
5.    M:      ö: va ska (de va för) datum (här)? ((types on the keyboard))
              uh: what date should (it be here)?
6.            (.)
7.    S:      nineteen twen'y three
8.            (.)
9.    M:      sto' ju där ja¿
              said there of course
10.           (1.1)
11.   K:      Mi↑kael: are you speaking english
12.           (.)
13.   S:      yes: ((smiles and turns towards the teacher))
```

Taking a global view of this sequence we can see that both English and Swedish are being used here. From lines 1-3 both Mikael and Sara are using English but after a pause (line 4) Mikael switches to Swedish and asks what the date is while he types in the text box. Sara tells him the required year in English. Mikael in his next turn (line 9) responds in Swedish.

Let us briefly comment on the nature and different ways of *doing language policy* by the participants in this excerpt. From lines 5-9, both Sara and Mikael are using different mediums and this illustrates Sara's orientation to the language policy. By speaking English she upholds the language policy implicitly, even in response to Mikael's utterances in Swedish. On the other hand, Mikael is not orienting to the language policy, but rather he is implicitly resisting it by making an unreciprocal language choice. Another way of doing language policy is by Karen (in line 11). This time it is explicit language policy, in the form of teacher-to-pupil language policing (Amir &

Musk, 2013). This brings us to a brief introduction to language policing followed by a section on self-policing and its sub-categories.

4. 3. Language Policing
The results of analyses from an English as a foreign language classroom showed a number of particular practices of doing explicit language policy by the classroom participants. In the light of those analyses, language policing is defined as the explicit orientation vis-à-vis participants' medium(s) of interaction whereby they (re-)establish (or attempt to (re-)establish) the monolingual policy (Amir & Musk, 2013). Different types of language policing occurred in a dynamic context between varying constellations of participants. The basic categorisation of language policing is based on whether it is the *self* or the *other* that is being policed.

4. 4. Self-policing
In excerpt 1 I showed that the default medium of interaction of these participants before the English class starts is Swedish. Ethnographic notes from this school also confirm that English-only is not a default medium of interaction for these pupils outside the EFL classroom. Here the focus is on the patterns of self-policing, which involves a special kind of language-alternation. This paper introduces a taxonomy of self-policing based on who is initiating self-policing and the addressee, as well as the initiator techniques, prosodic cues, the classroom context, the spatial configuration of the classroom, and the mediums spoken before and after self-policing.

Self-policing is where the participants are self-initiating the one-language-only policy (Wei & Wu 2009: 193). Likewise, self-policing as a special type of language-alternation can be defined as a mechanism whereby the classroom participants themselves switch back to the target language; thus in my data the direction of this language-alternation is always from 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.

Let us look at one example where Hanna self-polices in line 21. Where we join the scene in this *task-oriented context* [5] (Seedhouse, 2004: 153), Hanna & Malin have been doing a quiz with the help of the Internet. Both have a separate quiz sheet. Immediately before this sequence they have erased an answer on the sheet where Hanna has written Afghanistan as the capital of Iraq.

Excerpt 3. Nu ve- now I know.
Participants: K = Karen (the teacher); from left to right: C= Carina R= Rebecka, H = Hanna, M=Malin

```
1.  M:        °(kan du låna) sudd↑°

              (can you lend) a rubber

2.            (0.7)

3.  H:        vänta

              wait
```

---

[5] According to Seedhouse, L2 classroom contexts acknowledge "the reflexive relationship between pedagogical focus and the interactional organization" (2004, 205). Context in CA in general is a dynamic concept and from an emic perspective something which the "participants talk […] into being" (ibid.: 42).

```
4.                (0.5) ((Hanna turning towards Flora on the left))

5.   H:           <(hey) do you have a (.) eraser↑>

6.                (.)

7.   C:           °no°((Malin leans forward to see Carina))
```

Figure 2. *Malin leans forward to see Carina* (line 7)

```
8.   M:           [Carina]

9.                (0.1)

10.  F:           a: ((leans forward to see Malin))
                  yeah
11.  M:           the rubber

12.               (0.3)((Flora throws the rubber in front of Malin, which she misses.

                  Malin erases the wrong answer))

13.  ?:           i (.) he hi hehi:

14.               (.)

15.  H:           °here° (1.3) pen

16.               (0.2) ((Hanna writes on the quiz sheet while Malin erases))

17.  M:           (°it's dere°)

18.               (4.8)

19.  H:           ah↑::

20.               (.3) ((Hanna lifts her head up from the quiz and looks at the
                  computer))
21.  H:           nu: ve- (.) now I know

                  oh now (I) kn-

22.               (6.6)
23.  H:           uhp (.3) mm: (no) yes: (.2) here (.8) this ((points with a
```

```
           pencil at the screen))
24.        (.3)
25.  H:    muharram
26.        (.3)
27.  H:    migrates
28.        (.6)
29.  M:    mm
30.  H:    which is (there/that)
```

In line 1, Malin whispers to Hanna. Her turn is not completely audible but towards the end of her turn, "°*sudd*°" ("°rubber°") is uttered in Swedish. Hanna is busy working on her quiz sheet and after a long pause she utters "wait" in Swedish (line 3). After a short pause, Hanna then turns to Flora and asks in English for an eraser. In the next turn Carina responds negatively (line 7) in English to her request for a rubber. The rest of the turns (up until line 20) are in English.

In line 21, Hanna utters "*nu: ve-*" ("now I kn-") in Swedish and stops abruptly. With this epistemic marker, the medium switch is initiated and the previous medium is temporarily suspended[6]. Let us now look at the steps of language policing. Language policing has three steps (Amir & Musk 2013), i.e. a breach of the English-only rule and an act of policing frequently followed by switching to the target language. If we examine the steps of self-policing here, we find the breach in line 21. The act of self-policing is prosodically marked accompanied by a cut-off and a pause. This act switches the medium back to English, as can be seen in the subsequent turns (line 23 onwards).

4. 4. 1. Sub-categories of self-policing
This leads us to the sub-categorisation of self-policing and the conspicuous features of each sub-category, which are based on who initiates self-policing, the teacher or the pupil.

4. 4. 1. 1. Pupil-initiated self-policing
This type of policing is the second largest sub-group in the whole language policing collection. There are five cases in this sub-category where the pupil switches back to the policy-prescribed medium. There are no references to the point system. What characterizes this sub-category as pupil self-policing is that it does not involve any prompts from the other participants but the pupil finds his/her own medium to be the *wrong medium*.

As regards the linguistic form, there is a switch in the medium in all cases of pupils' self-policing. This is always preceded by Swedish accompanied by prosodic features such as stretched vowels,

---

[6] Language policing shares some features with repair (like the cut-off here and the replacement of the 'wrong' item), although it also diverges with repair not least regarding the nature of the trouble source, which in the case of language policing is always a normatively deviant medium. Both 'repair' and 'correction' have been used differently within the same research tradition. In CA, 'repair' is understood to be the 'practices for dealing with problems or troubles in speaking, hearing, and understanding the talk in conversation' (Schegloff, 2000: 207). Therefore 'repair' is a way to solve problems to achieve mutual understanding (intersubjectivity). In the classroom context, the concept of repair has also been used (e.g. McHoul, 1990; Seedhouse, 2004), but there has also been a critique of using this term when correction would be more appropriate (e.g. Macbeth, 2004; Kelly Hall 2007). However, in CA approaches to code-alternation, 'repair' tends to be used for the corrective practices of establishing a mutually acceptable language/code. Although language policing shares some features with repair and instructional correction, the source of the trouble is always a (perceived) wrong medium. Yet unlike the concept of medium repair, which says nothing about which medium is to be preferred *a priori*, language policing always involves an orientation to the prescribed medium of instruction.

cut-offs and pauses after the last syllable in Swedish. In excerpt 4 below, Hanna's self-polices and switches to English. With this switch, a new medium is established. Another aspect of this excerpt is that it includes other-policing too (from line 9 onwards; cf. Amir & Musk, 2013 for an analysis of the teacher-initiated policing).

All cases but one of pupil-initiated self-policing have the trouble source and initiation by the pupil in the same turn. The next example of pupils' self-policing in excerpt 4 includes prolongation of the last syllable in Swedish prior to self-policing as well as switching to English.

Excerpt 4. Ska vi börja söka (Shall we start searching now)?
Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), H = Hanna, M = Malin

```
1.   M:          ska vi börja söka nu:
                 shall we start searching now
2.               (.5)

3.   H:          nä:j¿
                 no
4.               (.) ((Karen starts passing behind pupils))

5.   → H:        ((turns around)) HALLÅ  SKA  NI SÄGA TILL NÄR VI::,   WE ARE
                                  excuse me are you gonna say when we
```



```
                 Figure 3. Hanna turns around (line 5)
6.   H:          ⌈GOING⌉ TO START

7.   K:          ⌊I   ⌋ (.7)      YOU CAN START YUP¿ ((R. looks up at Karen))

8.               (.)

9.   K:          GET BUSY YEP YOU CAN GET ⌈BUSY ⌉ NOW AN' ⌈YOU'RE⌉ S'POSED TO BE

10.  H:                                    ⌊oh::?⌋         ⌊yeah ⌋

11.  K:          SPEAKING (.) ENGLISH WITH EACH OTHER ALL THE TIME TOO LIKE WE

12.              A:LWAY⌈S DO:⌉ ((adjusting computer screen of the pair sitting next
                 to Hanna))
13.  M:               ⌊okay ⌋ (.) hi ⌈  [hann⌉a]
14.  H:                              ⌊awright¿⌋
```

Malin's question (line1) about starting the quiz results in a negative reply from Hanna (line 3). Immediately after this exchange, Karen is on the move in order to adjust the computer screens for the researchers' cameras and passes behind the pupils (line 4). Finding Karen in her close vicinity Hanna turns and tries to catch her attention by a very loud "*hallå*" ("excuse me") in the public space of the classroom. It is a characteristic of all categories of language policing that the English-only rule has been breached first. It is the question in Swedish which Hanna partially repeats in English by replacing "*vi::*" in Swedish with "we" (line 6). Prosodically, the vowel in "*vi*" gets stretched while the rest of the sentence is delivered in one seamless intonation unit. Hanna's turn up until the medium switch (line 5) reveals no obvious error but finding an error in the medium, she suspends her query in Swedish and switches to English. Both the *initiation* and *outcome* are in the same turn (line 5) as the *initiation indicator* (vi::).

The next example of self-policing, also from pupils' self-policing, is a deviant case where the medium gets rectified, but this leads to a new trouble source, *viz.* ascertaining the word for plaster/bandaid in English. Where we join the pupils, they are engaged in a group activity about "Romeo and Juliet" where one representative of each group is writing answers on the board. Prior to where the excerpt begins, Sara has just returned from writing on the board and jests about John's position, which happens to be right next to the camera.

Excerpt 5. Band aid.
Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), John=J, Sara=S, Lily=L, Calvin=C, SS=Several students

```
1.   S:      POSE

2.   ?:      pose for the camera

3.   S:      ⌐yeah pose for the camera

4.   ?:      └(great/grades about)

5.   ?:      (xx) above

6.   ?:      xx

7.   J:      WHY

8.           (.)

9.   ?:      I dun:no

10.  J:      I don' know

11.  S:      (xxx)

12.  C:      maybe you know too much

13.  J:      $yes$

14.          (.)

15.  S:      har nån en plåst- (xxx aw wa) does somebody have a pla(xx)
             does anyone have a plast-
16.  J:      $a wa wa$

17.  SS:     $hh ⌐h$
```

```
18.  ?:          └(xx band aid)

19.  S:          +<does someone have+ (bandaid/bandage)>

20.              (.)

21.  K:          a bandage?

22.  ?:          (nånting mera)
                 (something else)
23.  J:          why

24.  S:          °(xxx)°

25.  ?:          $(hey x to go)$

26.              (1.7)

27.  ?:          oh bandaid

28.              (.6)

29.  ?:          bandage bandaid

30.              (.7)

31.  ?:          bandaid

32.              (.4)

33.  K:          bandaid o::r an' I think the: british people call them plasters:
```

In excerpt 5 (as in the last two excerpts) we can see that there is more than one medium of classroom interaction. In lines 1-13 Sara and John have a monolingual exchange in English where Sara suggests amongst other things that he pose for the camera. Other unrecognizable pupils (lines 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 18, and 22) are also having parallel conversations or contributing to the exchange between Sara and John but the main point to be noted here is that this is all being carried out in English. After the initial exchange, Sara, who at this point has a minor cut on her fingers, switches topic and medium to ask publicly for a plaster in Swedish (line 15). She then interrupts her question mid-way with a cut-off in the last word of her question, followed by an uninterpretable utterance ("$a wa wa$") by John. Here, the policing mechanism is highlighted by the trouble-markers, i.e. the cut-off of the last word in Swedish. However, the switch becomes complicated in that it leads to an extended public word search, in order to find a suitable word in English for plaster/band aid. This is indicated by the uncompleted "pla" in English (line 15) and therefore the act of self-policing is not completed in the same turn as the trouble source. It is precisely the complication of Sara not knowing the English word, which makes this example a deviant case.

4. 4. 1. 2. Teacher initiated self-policing
There are two cases of this sub-category in the data where the teacher polices herself. Both cases have a common feature that the teacher polices herself without any other initiation but both cases are delivered differently. In the first case (excerpt 6) self-policing is done through cutting off a cited word in Swedish without any initial prompt from anyone. There are no explicit references to the point system and no reminders about speaking English appear either in Swedish or English.

Another main feature is that there is a vocal display of hesitation in delivering these kinds of utterances.

Where excerpt 6 begins, 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 6. In Swedish this is easy.
Participants: K = Karen (the teacher), S = Sara, J = John, M = Mikael, the rest of the class

```
1.  K:          Number T:EN (.)if it=

2.  J:          = wasn't

3.  S:          wasn't

4.  ?:          right

5.  K:          people say wasn't and wasn't is completely okay but weren't is

6.              actually correct=

7.  S:          =ha::

8.  K:          yup (.1) yeah

9.  S:          (xxx)

10. K:          but wasn't is becoming more and more acceptable because of if: (1.1)

11.             and in SWEdish this is easy because you say like this don't you say

12.             vo: oh o
                wer-
13. J:          ah:o

14. M:          yeah:

15. K:          I didn't say the whole thing

16. J:          $haha$ but not as a (resultant) I'm n-

17.             (.)

18. K:          how do you spell it?

19. J:          with a v

20. K:          ahaha $right$ okay so okaie you use that word in swedish don't you?
                ((writes vore on the transparency))
21. J:          yes

22. K:          and that's the same as our wer:e (3.0)if it if it wer-if it weren't

23.             too late you use that word in swedish okaie but wasn't is becoming

24.             more popular
```

In line 1, Karen reads aloud in English the number of the grammar quiz question while at the same time displaying it on the wall with the help of an overhead projector. This grammar question is about the use of past subjunctive of the verb 'to be' in an 'if clause'. When she starts reading the question and reaches the blank, John provides her with an answer latched on to Karen's utterance (lines 1-2). John's answer in English is endorsed by Sara's response in English (line 3). In line 5

Karen gives an assessment in English of the pupil's responses (lines 2 & 3) by telling them that although "wasn't" is "completely okay", "weren't" is actually the correct response. Karen announces that "wasn't" is becoming more and more acceptable (line 10) and continues her utterance to begin comparing the construction with Swedish, which appears in line 12: "*vo: oh o*". *Vore* in Swedish is the past subjunctive of the Swedish verb 'to be'. Karen (line 12) medium switches here in order to bring out the similarity between Swedish and English. However, this does not completely happen as she breaks off in the middle. Neither does she reproduce the offending term in English, at least not verbally. Instead, she announces that she has not said the whole word (line 15). However, she then asks a question (line 18) about its spelling. John only utters the first letter "v", after which Karen acknowledges John's avoidance of Swedish with the acknowledgement token "ahaha right" (line 20) and laughing. While writing "vore" she says again that "you use that word in Swedish" (line 20). Even though Karen avoids saying the whole Swedish word, she cannot just drop the Swedish word without totally abandoning an explicit comparison with Swedish. By writing "vore" on the transparency, she is able to "bend" the monolingual rule and still complete her pedagogical point.
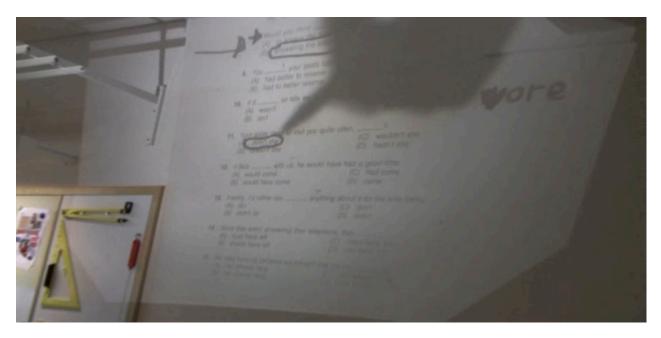

Figure 4. *Karen has written vore on the transparency*

5. Discussion and Conclusions
In order to explore the language in education policy onion, a growing number of articles and books at the theoretical level have requested a shift in focus to "what people do and not at what they think should be done or what someone else wants them to do" (2004: 218). Accordingly, Shohamy (2003) argues that language policies (and LIEPs) can be derived "by examining a variety of de facto practices" (2003: 279). Recently several studies in classroom research have looked at monolingual, bilingual or multilingual norms in a variety of contexts (see, for example, Cromdal, 2004, Ziegler et al., 2012). In line with this trend, the present study has investigated one particular tacit method by which classroom participants invoke an English-only policy in an English as a foreign language classroom, specifically focusing on one method of doing language policy through self-initiated language policing sequences, that I have called *self-policing*.

Consequently, each trajectory of self-policing was visited through detailed sequential analyses. For the study of this phenomenon, this paper not only imports the notion of medium of classroom interaction from a bilingual context to a foreign language classroom context but also explores the language policing acts through which the micro-level policy-in-process is enacted. Within an overall order perspective, Bonacina (2010) has shown in her study of a bilingual classroom that the classroom participants do orient to a practiced language policy. This is displayed too in the present study, which homes in on the enforcement of an English-only language policy without any prompting from anyone else.

The basic common feature of self-policing and other-policing is that both involve the three prototypical steps: a breach of the target-language-only rule, an act of language policing and an orientation to language policing, usually a medium switch to the target language. In the data, the category of other-policing has more cases than self-policing. Self and other-policing also show different trajectories depending on whose turn contains the language breach, the language policing act and the medium switch. A stark contrast at this point between the two categories is that in comparison with the different categories of other-policing, self-policing involves only one person.

Another distinguishing feature of self-policing which sets it apart from other-policing is that unlike other-policing, in cases of self-policing there is no formulation of the English-only rule or any reminder of the sanctions involved if there is a breach of the rule, either by the teacher or the pupil/s (cf. the teacher-initiated policing in lines 9, 11-12 of excerpt 4). Almost all cases of other-policing serve as surveillance or punishment whereas self-policing serves as a demonstration of "law-abiding" participants without any prompting from others.

In all 8 cases of self-policing, monolingual L2 is established through self-initiation in the same turn as the trouble source, accompanied by a "variety of non-lexical speech perturbations" (Schegloff et al., 1977), such as cut-offs and sound stretches. Similarly, in another study, cut-offs and pauses were found to precede alternations from English to Luxemburgish in EFL classrooms (Ziegler et al., 2012). Regarding the language policing trajectory, all cases of self-policing were self-initiated in the same turn as the trouble-source, both for pupil-initiated and teacher-initiated self-policing. In terms of the length of the language policing trajectory, there are considerable differences. The shortest and least disruptive trajectories are found in pupil-initiated self-policing apart from one case, i.e. excerpt 5, where the trajectory is extended by a word search. The longest and the most disruptive trajectory in the teacher's self-policing in terms of turns is excerpt 6, where the "offending" Swedish word is necessary for a grammatical comparison between English and Swedish. As regards the initiator techniques in pupil initiated self-policing, apart from one case all cases had speech perturbations like cut-offs and repetition of the same word in English and Swedish. On the other hand, there were no clear patterns as to the classroom contexts of self-policing; they arose in procedural contexts, task-based contexts and off-task contexts (cf. Seedhouse, 2004).

The current findings add to a growing body of literature on code-alternation with an organisational approach. They enhance our understanding of the level of organisation of the mechanism of language-policing as an explicit way of doing language policy in the foreign language classroom. These findings also provide insights for future research in the field of Applied Linguistics where the continuous debate about the role of L1 in the EFL classroom has

attracted several studies either for or against using the L1. There is a dearth of studies dealing with the L1/ L2 debate from a conversation analytic perspective, and especially of empirical research which can capture the actual set of practices. The L1/ L2 debate and the English-only rule calls for researchers to look at cases of language policing in order to assess the implications of the English-only rule in language classrooms. Indeed, examining more cases of language policing from different classroom contexts can help to determine the generalisability of the claims made in this study.

References

Amir, A. & Musk, N. (2013). Language policing: micro-level language policy-in-process in the foreign language classroom. *Classroom Discourse*. DOI:10.1080/19463014.2013.783500 http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19463014.2013.783500

Auer, J. C. P. (1984). *Bilingual conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Auer, J. C. P. (1992). Introduction: John Gumperz' approach to contextualization. In J. C. P. Auer & A. D. Luzio (Eds.), *The Contextualisation of Language,* (pp. 1-38). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Bonacina, F. (2010). *A conversation analytic approach to practiced language policies: The example of an induction classroom for newly-arrived immigrant children in France*. PhD diss., University of Edinburgh.

Bonacina, F. and 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.

Bonacina-Pugh, F. (2012). Researching 'practiced language policies': Insights from Conversation Analysis. *Language Policy*, 11 (3), 213-234.

Cekaite, A., & Evaldsson, A.-C. (2008). Staging linguistic identities and negotiating monolingual norms in multiethnic school settings. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5, 177–196.

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.

Corson, David. (1999). *Language policy in schools: A resource for teachers and administrators*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Cromdal, J. (2004). Building bilingual oppositions: Code-Switching in children's disputes. *Language in Society*, 33, 33-58.

Evaldsson, A.-C., & Cekaite, A. (2010). 'Schwedis. He can't even say Swedish': Subverting and reproducing institutionalized norms for language use in multilingual peer groups. *Pragmatics*, 20, 587–604.

Gafaranga, J. (1998). *Elements of order in bilingual talk: Kinyarwanda-French language alternation*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Lancaster University.

Gafaranga, J. (1999). Language choice as a significant aspect of talk organization: The orderliness of language alternation. *Text*, 19 (2), 201-225.

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. (2005). Demythologising language alternation studies: Conversational structure vs. social structure in bilingual interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37, 281-300.

Gafaranga, J. (2007a). Code-switching as a conversational strategy. In P. W. Auer and L. Wei (Eds.), *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*, (pp. 279-314). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gafaranga, J. (2007b). *Talk in two languages*. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gafaranga, J. (2009). The conversation analytic model of code-switching. In B. E. Bullock and A. J. Toribio (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic code-switching*, (pp. 114-126). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gafaranga, J. and Torras, M.-C. (2001). Language versus Medium in the study of bilingual conversation. *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, 5 (2), 195-219.

Gafaranga, J. & Torras, M-C. (2002). Interactional otherness: Towards a redefinition of codeswitching. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 6, 1-22.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009). *Code-switching*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Heller, M. (1996). Legitimate language in a multilingual school. *Linguistics and Education,* 8, 139-157.

Hutchby, I. & Wooffitt, R. (2008). *Conversation analysis: Principles, practices and applications*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Jenks, C. (2006). *Task-based interaction : the interactional and sequential organization of task-as-workplan and task-in-process*. PhD diss., Newcastle University.

Jørgensen, N. (1998). Children's acquisition of code-switching for power-wielding. In P. Auer (Ed.), *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity,* (pp. 237–258). London, UK: Routledge.

Kaplan, R. (2011). Macro language planning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.) *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning, Volume 2*, (pp. 924-935). New York: Routledge.

Kelly Hall, J. (2007). Redressing the Roles of Correction and Repair in Research on Second and Foreign Language Learning. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91, 511–526.

Leppänen, S. S., & Piirainen-Marsh, A. A. (2009). Language policy in the making: An analysis of bilingual gaming activities. *Language Policy*, 8(3), 261-284.

Macbeth, D. (2004). The relevance of repair for classroom correction. *Language in Society*, 33, 703–736.

McHoul, A.W. (1990). The organization of repair in classroom talk. *Language in Society*, 19, 349-377.

Musk, N. (2006). *Performing bilingualism in Wales with the spotlight on Welsh: A study of the language practices of young people in bilingual education*. PhD diss., Linköping University, Linköping, Sweden.

Musk, N. (2010). Code-switching and code-mixing in Welsh bilinguals' talk: Confirming or refuting the maintenance of language boundaries? *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 23(3), 179-197.

Musk, N. & Amir, A. (2010). *November. 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), Aalborg University, Denmark, 17-19 November, 2010.

Ricento, T. (2000). Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4(2): 196-213.

Ricento, T. (2006a). Theoretical perspectives in language policy: An overview. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*, (pp. 3-9). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Ricento, T. (2006b). Language policy: Theory and practice – An introduction. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*, (pp. 10-23). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Ricento, T. & Hornberger, N. H. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30 (3): 401-427.

Schegloff, E. A. (2000). When 'others' initiate repair. *Applied Linguistics*, 21, 205–243.

Seedhouse, P. (2004). *The interactional architecture of the language classroom: A conversation analysis perspective*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Shohamy, E. (2003). Implications of Language Education Policies for Language Study in Schools and Universities. *The Modern Language Journal*, 87(2), 278-286.

Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language Policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. New York: Routledge.

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. & Shohamy, E. (2000). Language practice, language ideology, and language policy. In R. D. Lambert & E. Shohamy (Eds.), *Language Policy and Pedagogy: Essays in Honour of A. Ronald Walton*, (pp. 1-41). Amsterdam John Benjamins Publishing Company.

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.

Torras, M-C. & Gafaranga, J. (2002). Interactional otherness: Towards a redefinition of codeswitching. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 6 (1), 1-22.

Torras, M-C. (2005). Social identity and language choice in bilingual service talk. In K. Richards, & P. Seedhouse (Eds.), *Applying Conversation Analysis*, (pp. 107-123). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Üstünel, E. (2004). *The sequential organisation of teacher-initiated and teacher-induced code-switching in a Turkish university EFL setting*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, UK.

Üstünel, E. and Seedhouse, P. (2005). Why that, in that language, right now? Codeswitching and pedagogical focus. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 15(3), 302-325.

Waer, H. H. E. (2012). *Why that language, in that context, right now? The use of the L1 in L2 classroom setting in an Egyptian setting*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, UK.

Wei, L. (2002). 'What do you want me to say?' On the Conversation Analysis approach to bilingual interaction. *Language in Society*, 31, 159-180.

Wei, L. & Milroy, L. (1995). Conversational code-switching in a Chinese community in Britain: a sequential analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 23, 281-99.

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

Ziegler, G., Sert, O., & Durus, N. (2012). Student-initiated use of multilingual resources in English-language classroom interaction: next-turn management. Classroom Discourse, 3(2), 187-204.

APPENDIX

Transcription conventions (adapted from Jefferson, 2004; Musk, 2006).

`(1.3)`	Pauses in speech of tenths of a second
`(.)`	Pause in speech of less than 0.2 seconds
`gone=` `=gone`	Equal sign: latching between utterances
`⌐writing` `Lyeah`	Opening square brackets between adjacent lines: opening of overlapping talk
`yeah⌐` `mm ⌐`	Closing square brackets between adjacent lines: closure of overlapping talk
`-`	Dash: cut-off word
`vi:::`	a colon indicates an extension of the sound or syllable it follows (more colons prolong the stretch)
`(what)`	Words in single brackets: uncertain words
`(xx)`	Crosses in single brackets: unclear fragment; each cross corresponds to one syllable
måste va afgsk	Words in italics: code alternation (Swedish)
must be afghsk	Words in grey italics: translation of code alternation (in line above)
`,`	Comma: "continuing" intonation
`.`	Fullstop: a stopping fall in tone
Iraq	Text in bold: typed text appearing on the computer screen
`((`*slaps desk*`))`	Double brackets: comments on contextual or other features, e.g. non-verbal activities
`[lina]`	Names in square brackets: changed for reasons of confidentiality
`LOOK`	Capitals: noticeably louder than surrounding speech
`¡OH!`	Encompassing exclamation marks: animated or emphatic tone
re<u>al</u>ly	Underlining: speaker emphasis
→	Analyst's signal of a significant line
`°holy classroom°`	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
`*what*`	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