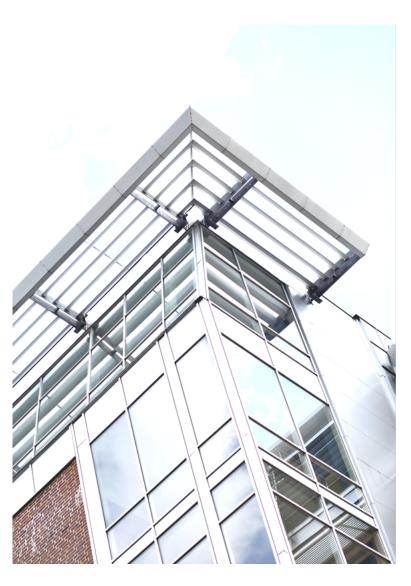# Teacher Code-Switching in Secondary ESL Classrooms in Sweden

A Study of One Teacher's Use of Code-Switching

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Term: Fall 2015

Course: ÄENC51 English IV

Individual Research Project (15 hp)

English Teacher Education

Abstract

This paper explores how and why one teacher's code-switching arises, as well as for what purpose, in upper secondary English as a second language (ESL) classrooms in Sweden. Code-switching is defined as a switch between different languages, between the first language (L1), and second language (L2) or target language (TL), within the same speech situation. To be able to understand and investigate the teacher's code-switching practices an outline of key terms such as language policy, code-switching and translanguaging are presented, along with previous studies made by other researchers. The data was collected through audio-recordings of one 45minute English 5 lesson, where 25 16-19year old students from a handicraft program participated. Relevant excerpts were teacher's code-switching arose were then transcribed with the help of Jefferson's transcript convention. Auer's Sequential approach with a Conversation analysis framework was then applied to illuminate what precedes and follows teacher's code-switching. The study showed that the teacher mainly code-switched when conducting classroom management by giving orders or explaining procedures, such as filling in the attendance list. Also, code-switching was used as a scaffold for learning where cognitively demanding concepts were explained, new words introduced or instructions were clarified. Lastly, code-switching was used to initiate a move to another discourse, for instance between a more formal school discourse and a less formal social discourse. The paper concludes with code-switching implication for practice and future research.

Keywords: bilingualism, code-switching, English, second language learning, Swedish

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1. Introduction

During the last decade, English as a second language (ESL) classrooms have been influenced by a communicative language approach, with a focus on exclusive target language (TL) use. This monolingual approach is used to maximize the exposure to the English language, due to the belief that first language (L1) use undermines second language (L2) acquisition (Cummins, 2007; Cook, 2008; Lightbown & Spada, 2006; Macaro & Jang Ho, 2013). One of the reasons for this mindset is connected to the belief that extensive language exposure to the TL will help learners achieve a native-like command of the language (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013, p. 593). As a result, an extensive use of the TL and the omission of the L1 are promoted, due to the possibility that the ESL classroom could be the students' primary source of English exposure (Littlewood & Yu, 2011). However, that the ESL classroom is the primary source of English exposure might or might not be true for a Swedish context, as students come from diverse sociocultural backgrounds with different opportunities to encounter English outside of the ESL classroom.

The official language in Sweden is Swedish, and as a result, it is also the dominant language spoken in Sweden. Swedish is therefore assumed to be the L1 of the majority of the population; however English as an L2 is taught in schools from an early age (Skolverket, 2011b). As English is viewed as a shared L2, it has come to surround Swedes in their daily lives, as it is encountered in various contexts and situations, both professionally and for entertainment. The National Syllabus for the English education in Sweden states "knowledge of English increases the individual's opportunities to participate in different social and cultural contexts, as well as in global studies and working life" (Skolverket, 2011a, p. 1). English is therefore seen as an essential tool for navigating societal life, and knowledge of- and a passing grade in English is necessary for higher education (Behörighet i engelska, 2013). Teachers are directed to produce high-quality English in English-only policy classrooms in order for the students to achieve a high level of English proficiency. This English-only policy is also reflected in the National syllabus, which states "Teaching should as far as possible be conducted in English" (Skolverket, 2011a, p. 1).

Nevertheless, it has been shown that teachers tend to sample from their L1 when teaching the TL (King & Chetty, 2014, p. 40). The occurrence where there the speaker is switching between different languages within the same speech situation is called code-switching (Auer, 1988; Kamwangamalu, 1989, p. 321). However, due to the perception of

code-switching as an impure linguistic behavior in the ESL classroom (Kamwangamalu, 1989), teacher's code-switch might result in feelings of guilt or shame (Butzkamm, 2003, p. 29). In contrast, Liu et al. (2004, p. 633) states the teacher should be allowed to switch between the L1 and the L2, where there should be a focus on strategies for optimal L1 and L2 use. However, there are no training currently offered to teachers on this matter, which leaves the teachers to their own devices (Liu et al., 2004). My experience as a teacher student, which is based on observations in upper secondary classrooms, is that most teachers tend to code-switch to some extent. However, different teachers also seemed to use code-switching for different purposes to serve their individual means and contexts. In turn, this could suggest that code-switching might be utilized as a tool for language learning and that it can be used for different reasons. With this in mind, the idea for my study emerged. The aim of this study is therefore to explore: How and why teacher's code-switching arises, as well as for what purpose, in upper secondary ESL classrooms in Sweden.

For the purpose of answering the aim of the study, there will be a short presentation of various key terms involving language policy, code-switching, and translanguaging. Thereafter follows some information of foundations for classroom code-switching, which includes current and previous research that has been made on this matter. The method is presented afterward, where there is an explanation of the aim of the study, who the participants are, how the data was collected, as well as a brief outline on how the theory will be applied for the purpose of analyzing the data, as well as what transcription convention will be used. Then the analysis and discussion of the data follows. The data has been divided into three subcategories: classroom management, scaffolding, and social discourse. The study concludes with a summary and implications for practice and future research.

1.1. Key Concepts

To be able to investigate why and how teacher code-switching arises, an overview of what influences the ESL teacher's practice, as well as fundamental concepts, must be presented; namely language policy and code-switching.

1.1.1 Language policy. Language policies can vary, but they are usually used to promote the official language in a country, or to protect minority languages from being neglected or going extinct. It can be used to encourage the utilization of a particular language while also discourages the use of other languages (Chaudron, 1988). Language policies that

promote one language over others are called monolingual language policies, and second and foreign language teaching instructional policies tend to be dominated by monolingual instructional principles (Cook, 2008). These monolingual policies have been implemented because of a shared value system, which is built on a presumed belief that successful L2 acquisition occurs when learners are exposed to comprehensible input in the TL (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 36). Moreover, there is a belief that comprehensible input in contexts of real communication will further promote L2 acquisition (Krashen, 1985). Hence, the use of code-switching might be discouraged, and instead viewed as something unwanted, and in some cases even shameful (King & Chetty, 2014).

Monolingual language policies can be used in ESL classrooms to promote the TL, effectively demoting the use of other languages, and as a result, restrict the use of code-switching in the classroom. The use of a language policy can be seen in the National Syllabus for English, where Skolverket (2011a, p. 1) states: "Teaching should as far as possible be conducted in English". However, the National syllabus also demands that the student is given "the opportunity to develop plurilingualism where skills in different languages interact and support each other" (Skolverket, 2011a, p. 1). Individual educators are left to their own devices of how to interpret this tension in the steering documents, and it is in their power to influence which languages to include or exclude in the ESL classroom. Hopkins (2011, p. 1-4) states that English-only policies shape the ESL education and effectively removes the support of native language instructions, as a result restricting the tools that can be used by the ESL educators to meet the learners' diverse academic and linguistic needs. In addition, these monolingual language policies have been contested by current research, and have shown to be unsupported by empirical evidence (Cummins, 2007, p. 222). Current research has therefore shown that the teachers' and students' use of code-switching might aid instead of hinder language learning (Cook, 2008).

Nevertheless, there exists a general belief that code-switching is an impure linguistic behavior (Kamwangamalu, 1989). This notion can be so powerful that those who code-switch might be unaware of doing so, and therefore also deny the fact that they do code-switch (Heller, 1988, p. 1). Butzkamm's (2003, p. 29) research has shown that feelings of guilt and shame often accompany teachers' use of code-switching. King & Chetty (2014, p. 41) explain that this guilt and shame might arise from the view that the use of code-switching is rooted in confusion and tension, between seeing code-switching as productive, and yet also

embarrassing. These different values, which are often reflected in language policies, have made educators hesitant to acknowledge their use of code-switching.

   1.1.2 Code-switching. The metalinguistic term 'code-switching' was introduced by Gumperz (1964), where he states that the 'code' means language and 'switching' refers to the use of at least two languages within the same exchange. Code-switching can, therefore, be seen as the altering and transfer between different languages in the same context, situation or discourse in spontaneous and non-spontaneous speech (Auer, 1988; Kamwangamalu, 1989, p. 321). Code-switching can arise on an intersentential level, which Gluszkowski (2012) explains as a complete switch between two or more languages between whole clauses or phrases. In addition, code-switching can also arise on a or intrasentential level, which is then called code-mixing, which occur when code-switching is used in simpler units (Gluszkowski, 2012). Heller (1988) explains that code-switching has been given a great deal of attention, due to that the concept disputes the traditional belief that only one language will be used at any given time. It is a part of our everyday lives and is a cross-cultural phenomenon, which is common in bicultural communities worldwide (Cook, 2001; Kamwangamalu, 1989).

   1.1.3 Translanguaging. Coyle et al. (2010, p. 16) explain that code-switching can have a systematic use in the classroom, where translanguaging leads to a dynamic form of bilingualism. Code-switching can be used for particular types of activities, which is planned in advance; "Translanguaging refers to a specific shift from one language to another for specific reason" (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 16). Cook (2001, p. 418) and Butzkamm (2003) explain that a systematic use of code-switching can be used as a scaffold to support learners, for example through instructions and explanations, so that they might understand more cognitively difficult or complicated concepts and assignments.

   However, translanguaging is restricted or limited because of monolingual language policies influencing the ESL classroom. Creese & Blackledge (2010) question these monolingual language principles whereas she stresses that the development of new languages occur alongside the development of already existing languages, and should, therefore, utilize a two-way cross-language transfer (p. 106). In turn, this implies that the pedagogic potential that code-switching can be utilized for are vast, and the use of translanguaging might enhance the inclusion and participation among those involved in the ESL classroom. Translanguaging can, therefore, be used to gain a deeper understanding of the learning process, as well as be

used as a scaffold to express and convey ideas and abstract concepts more easily. Furthermore, it can also be utilized as a tool to form less formal relationships among participants (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 106). Garcia & Sylvan (2011) refer to translanguaging as a process where bilingual students and teachers use code-switching to make sense of the communication that occur in a multilingual classroom, and the concept of translanguaging is, therefore, connected to how code-switching is used for social practices. However, translanguaging differs from code-switching as "it refers to the process in which bilingual students make sense and perform bilingually in the myriad ways of classrooms […] It is thus important to view translanguaging as complex discursive practices that enable bilingual students to also develop and enact standard academic ways of languaging" (Garcia & Sylvan, 2011, p. 389). With this in mind, one can come to understand the tension between the monolingual language policies and the great many uses code-switching and translanguaging can have as a pedagogical tool in the ESL classroom.

2. Foundations of Classroom Code-switching

Despite the frequent notion to implement monolingual language policies in ESL classrooms, recent studies have shown that these monolingual language policies are largely unsupported by empirical evidence (Cummins, 2007, p. 222). On the contrary, current research has shown that code-switching might benefit the second language acquisition and learning, as only a minority of commentators discuss the negative effect of code-switching (Cook, 2008; Macaro & Jang Ho, 2013, p. 717-718).

Simon (2001) have found that teachers can use code-switching as a scaffold when communicating in the target language, where it is used to maximize understanding as it can be used to support the comprehension of the language to keep the conversation ongoing. It has been shown that some ESL teachers code-switch, as they tend to sample from the L1 while teaching the TL (King & Chetty, 2014, p. 40). Furthermore, Coyle et al. (2010, p. 16) have found the L1 to be effective for explaining materials such as vocabulary and key terms. In a study by Liu et al. (2004, p. 632) both teachers and students stated that they would like the teacher to use around 60% of the TL, and the remaining 40% their shared L1; mainly for instructions to help comprehension of material that would had been too cognitively difficult to understand without instruction in another language. In addition, it has also been observed that interlocutors tend to prefer to use their L1; as a result switching from the TL to the L1 due to

better competence in that language (Auer, 1988, p. 210). However, Cook (2002) warns that code-switching might not be effective in a linguistic diverse classroom, as the code-switching might only benefit the students with a shared L1 while other languages and students are effectively being excluded. Even so, it has been shown that speech turns that receive no response from the recipients tend to be repeated in another language (Cromdal, 2003, p. 753). These findings might suggest that those involved in the classroom activity do not want to exclude other languages because it can be used as an effective scaffold for comprehension of otherwise too cognitively difficult concepts. However, the teacher's use of code-switching should be planned in advance for it to be effective when introducing new concepts (Cook, 2001; Coyle et al., 2010 p. 16).

Code-switching can also be part of an organization of discourse, as it can be used as a contextualized strategy, which can be compared to prosodic parameters such as intonation, loudness and pitch level (Auer, 1988, p. 210). Gardner-Cholros (2009) suggest that code-switching can be used as a device to create a dramatic or empathizing effect in a speech. Cromdal (2003, p. 753) support this idea as he explains that code-switching can be used to enhance the expression of affect, through for example an exclamation, where the code-switch stands alone in an isolated language unit in the midst of another language. This type of code-switching can be found in group management, where code-switching has been shown to be a focal point both for teachers and among students' group work (Cromdal, 2003). Cromdal (2003) have also found that the use of code-switching is an interactional resource, which can be used to accomplish a vast amount of different social actions (p. 751, 754). One being how code-switching is used as a tool of power, to distribute orders and control the actions among participants (Cromdal, 2003, p. 757). Code-switching is, therefore, a linguistic device dependent on the social context. Effectively, the teacher's code-switch also depends on the social context (Chaudron, 1988, p. 41) and Cook (2001, p. 411-413) states that if the teacher and learner were engaging in code-switching activities in the classroom, they would gain confidence in using both languages. This claim is supported by Macaro & Jang Ho (2013) as their research has shown that code-switching creates links between the L1 and TL.

3. The Study

The purpose of this study is to explore how and why teacher code-switching arises, as well as for what purpose, in upper secondary ESL classrooms in Sweden. This will be accomplished by looking at how one teacher uses code-switching in practice. *These questions will be dealt with:*

1) To what extent does the teacher use code-switching?
2) What function does the code-switching have in the classroom?

To be able to answer the research questions relevant data on teacher's code-switching has to be gathered. The data will be collected through audio-recordings, which will systematically document the interactions in the ESL classroom between the teacher and the students. To make sense of the verbal actions a Conversations Analysis framework will be used, with the applied theory of Auer's *sequential approach* to code-switching; that will make patterns in code-switching explicit and visible, as well as answer why and how code-switching arises. To be able to accomplish this the data will be transcribed with the help of Jefferson's transcription system. Lastly, categories of different types of code-switching will be created with the assistance of previous research, which will be used to guide the analyze of the fragments that contain teacher's code-switching. It is worth to mention that the Swedish principles of ethics were followed in the making of this essay, and that the missive containing information about the study, which was sent to the teacher, is included in the appendix.

3.1 Setting and Participants

This study focuses mainly on one teacher of English in upper secondary school and her oral interactions with one English 5 handicraft class, in a small city in the south of Sweden. The teacher is a bilingual speaker fluent in Swedish and English, and she has taught English in upper secondary school for 15years. There were 25 students, aged 16-19years who attended the English 5 class that was observed. However, the students were very heterogeneous, with a great linguistic and cultural diversity among them. The teacher stated that 16 students did not have Swedish as a first language, and English were a fourth or fifth language for at least eight students. All students had access to computers connected to the

Internet during the lessons, which might or might not influence the teacher's use of code-switching in the classroom.

3.2 Collecting the Data

The data for this study came from one 45minute lesson, which was audio-recorded with the help of four recording devices strategically placed in the classroom; one in front of the teacher and the other three in front of groups of students. The recordings amounted to 180 minutes of data. To be able to select relevant data for this study, 45minutes of recorded speech from the teacher's audio-recorder were transcribed, where speech that contained code-switching were identified and extracted. Code-switching was identified as a change of language in a speaker's utterance, on both intersentential and intrasentential levels. The relevant extractions, called excerpts, were supplemented with data collected from the other three audio-recorders. To be able to see the context as a whole and not as isolated utterances, a couple of turns were transcribed before and after the identified code-switching extract. Supplementary notes were taken of relevant actions that could not be captured with the audio-recorders, for example, the teacher's writings on the whiteboard. Lastly, relevant data were listened to again and re-transcribed with the help of Jefferson's transcription system to be further analyzed.

3.3 Applying Conversation Analysis with a Sequential Approach

The analysis is based on the theory of Auer's sequential approach (1984, 1998), which has a Conversation analysis framework as a methodological instrument. The sequential analysis approach was developed by Auer to show and analyze excerpts where code-switching arose in conversations, and to show patterns concerning the use of code-switching. It has later been adapted to various contexts and research projects involving code-switching, one being Hansen's *The Development of Bilingual Proficiency - A Sequential Analysis*.

Conversation analysis (CA), as a methodological tool, allows an analysis to be made from observable verbal and non-verbal actions during oral exchanges between interlocutors (Río, 2010, p. 10). Nunan (1992, p. 161) explains that CA concerns itself with social routines in naturalistic conversations. When doing an in-depth analysis of a small excerpt of a conversation one can illuminate, for instance, the turn-taking, repair strategies or topical relevance that are made by the interlocutors (Nunan, 1992, p. 160). In turn, by illuminating these CA patterns they can be used to distinguish code-switching patterns, as it

can be used to reveal what initiates, precedes or follows teacher's code-switching. Hence, different CA patterns carry various meanings, due to the fact that interlocutors navigate and construct conversations through different speech choices, where language chunks are connected together and are subsequently made comprehensible (Cook, 2008, p. 45-46; Nunan, 1992). One of the basic premises for analyzing the individual language choices are the assumption that the interlocutors want to keep the conversation in the same language as far as possible (Hansen, 2003, p. 383). Moreover, interlocutors modify and adapt their speech and interaction patterns in order for the content of the conversation to be comprehensible and to keep the conversation going (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 43). However, Auer (1988, p. 190) argues that there might be social and linguistic instability in data that comes from conversational analysis because it will be highly contextualized and in direct relation to the type of network in which the interaction are produced. The reason might be that different types of language alternation and code-switching occur in different networks, as well as being highly dependent on the members diverging speech preferences. The code-switching and diverging speech preferences in this paper might be influenced by the fact that the participants are within a predominantly 'Swedish' socialization in a Swedish school setting.

3.3.1 The contextualization cue of code-switching. Gumperz (1982) uses the term *contextualization cues* for linguistic devices that index what the activity is and how the semantic content relates to what precedes or follows (p. 131). The contextualization cue of code-switching is only one of many linguistic devices, and in the scope of this study, it is also the one being investigated. Therefore, the conversation analysis framework will serve as a means to distinguish and show patterns related to the teacher's use of code-switching. The patterns will be made transparent with the help of the microscopic study of verbal interaction called a *dialogic construction of meaning*, where code-switching is a resource for linguistic communication (Hansen, 2003). In addition, Río (2010, p. 12) explains that there might be certain principles that might not be observed directly, nevertheless, these principles might motivate the teacher's observable actions. Auer (1984) suggests that code-switching both reflect and create social situations and that we cannot answer why code-switching arise without asking how and why it occurs. "Auer defines context as a dynamic and negotiable part of a sociolinguistic situation" (Hansen, 2003, p. 382). Subsequently, the context is seen as a local product, and code-switching could be a part of defining a situation in a certain context (Auer, 1984, p. 4). As a result, the understanding of this social process is crucial for achieving

a plausible analysis, as any theory of conversational code-switching will fail if the meaning of why code-switching arises is not taken into account (Auer, 1995, p. 116).

The term *sequential environment* involves these social processes, and several researchers have been conducting research relating to how and why code-switching might arise (Hansen, 2003). Extensive research has been made on conversational space, which is created by interlocutors engaging in a conversation. It is also the center for the exchange of intentions and interpretations. This is defined as a *dialogic construction of meaning*, which is directly connected to the *sequential environment*. Interlocutors' conversation is not only dependent on the context but also creating it, and in turn, contextualization is also created (Auer, 1984, p. 17). As a result, there are no generic *functional categories*, as it is a dynamic and ever-changing process. Instead, in each context, one should aim for an understanding of how speakers comprehend code-switching; with the help the interaction between interlocutors on the one hand, and the contextualization on the other hand (Hansen, 2003, p. 383).

To summarize, this study focuses firstly on the *contextualization cue* of the linguistic device of code-switching. Therefore, the activity of code-switching, as well as what precedes and follows the code-switch, will be investigated. However, it should be noted that other contextualization cues might have been employed, such as intonation, loudness and pitch level, as well as nonverbal gestures or facial expressions. Secondly, on the *dialogic construction of meaning* that is highly interpretive and can be used to define a certain situation; it is also dependent on the *sequential environment*. Thirdly, the sequential environment that involves social processes, which relates to how and why code-switching arises in the classroom, because of a certain situation. One example of a dialogic construction of meaning could be when a student code-switch to another language to ask a question because the sequential environment included that the teacher had used cognitively challenging concepts or instructions. Lastly, *functional categories* will be created based on the context of this specific study. The categories will aid the answering of the research questions; to what extent the teacher uses code-switching, as well as what function it has. The categories will be created with the help of the collected data, by identifying what occurrences repeatedly or extendedly initiates the act of teacher's code-switching.

3.3.2 Transcribing as a process. Transcribing is a tool that can be used to study language, with the belief that language can be written down in an objective way and then analyzed (Green et al., 1997, p. 172). In addition, transcribing can also be seen as a representational and interpretative process, where a transcript is a text that re-presents an event and not the event itself; therefore it is a situated act dependent on its context (Green et al., 1997). For the purpose of this study, only the parts where teacher code-switching arises will be transcribed, which will reflect directly upon the objectivity of the study. It should be noted that the excerpts have been selected to illustrate relevant data, for the purpose of answering the aim of the study. Furthermore, Jefferson's transcription system will be used, because it can be used to show both what is said, as well as how or in which way it is said (Jefferson, 2004). Only symbols relevant for the purpose of this essay have been used, and further information can be found in the appendix and Jefferson's monograph *Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction*. Furthermore, an English translation of the Swedish utterances has been omitted because of the assumption that the reader is a participant in a Swedish school setting, with knowledge of both English and Swedish. The next section turns to the analysis of the transcribed data for the present study.

4. The Teacher's Code-switching in the Classroom

The data has been compiled into eight excerpts, which have been sorted into three functional categories, based on the most frequent occasions where teacher's code-switching arises in the classroom. The first category is classroom management, the second is scaffolding, and the third is social discourse. Firstly, code-switching can be used when the teacher is conducting classroom management, where it is used as a tool of power to distribute orders, as well as a means to emphasize important key terms. It is also used to signal the preferred language choice in the classroom, as it is used to mitigate the language preference to the TL. Secondly, the teacher also applies code-switching as a scaffold for learning, where she uses the L1 to explain cognitively difficult or new concepts. Code-switching can also be utilized to keep the conversation ongoing by translating new vocabulary or by repeating a whole sentence in the L1. Furthermore, code-switching was also used to enhance the expression of affect, which could encourage students to keep talking. Lastly, the teacher uses code-switching to mark the shift between a more formal school discourse and a less formal social discourse, or vice versa. The teacher also uses code-switching to bond with her students and as a means to form less formal relationships. The following sections will illuminate a

more in-depth analysis of the teacher's code-switching practices in the classroom.

4.1 Classroom Management

The most common reason for the teacher's use of code-switching is for the purpose of classroom management. One of the most prominent uses of code-switching is when distributing explicit orders in the classroom, as can be seen in Excerpt 1, line 02.

Excerpt 1.   ((One student has put his feet on the table))

01		Student	<I don't understand [why>
02	→	Teacher	[> ta ner fötterna från bordet<]
03		Student	((sighs loudly and slowly removes the feet from the table))

The student participates in a slow discussion with another student and has placed his feet on the table. The teacher intercepts the students' discussion and issues an order, which demands the student to remove their feet from the table. Cromdal (2003, p. 757) explains that code-switching can be used as a tool of power, and the teacher code-switches to Swedish for this purpose. The teachers use of code-switching can be compared to other *contextualization cues* such as prosodic parameters such as intonation, loudness, and pitch level (Auer, 1988, p. 210; Gumperz,1982), which could had been used in the same situation. However, the teacher decided to code-switch to Swedish instead, probably because of the student's higher proficiency in the Swedish language, as well as to initiate an immediate reaction. The code-switch strategy is successful, as in line 03 the student immediately reacts to the order with a loud sigh and complies by slowly removing his feet. Other uses of code-switching as a contextualization cue can be seen in Excerpt 2, line 08, where the teacher uses code-switching for the purpose of emphasizing the importance of signing the attendance list.

Excerpt 2.   ((The teacher is starting with a presentation of the lesson for the class))

01		Teacher	today we are going to talk about (0.2) colors (0.5) ehm (0.2)
02	→		and how colors are connected to (.) ehm (.) power (0.5) makt
03			
04		Student	( ) [kraft]
05		Teacher	((writes 'power = makt' on the whiteboard))
06		Student	åh (0.5) ma(h)kt
07		Teacher	but first I want you to sign the attendance list (0.5)
08	→		så ni får närvaro (0.5) väldigt viktigt (0.5)
09			attendance betyder närvaro

In excerpt 2 the teacher is using Swedish to inform the students of the theme of the lesson in line 02, as well as explaining the importance of the word attendance and attendance list in the lines 07, 08 and 09. Coyle et al. (2010, p. 16) are discussing the benefits of the use of code-switching in relation to making vocabulary and key terms accessible to all students. In line 02 the teacher is supporting the students to understand the theme of the lesson with the help of a direct translation of power, to the appropriate Swedish word 'makt'. In line 04 there is an example of how one student knew that power translates to 'kraft', as he might have associated power with strength. The teacher might have foreseen that the concept of power as means to control something or someone might be a new concept for the students. Therefore, she decided to give them the direct translation for them to understand the theme of the lesson, and thus also be able to avoid misunderstandings later on. Effectively, the teacher's use of code-switching is a strategy to make sure that everyone understand what power in this certain context means.

In line 08 the teacher emphasizes that it is crucial that all students understand the meaning of attendance, as well as what attendance mean. Hence, she is drawing the students' attention toward the attendance list, which can be seen in line 09. In lines 07, 08, 09 the teacher is asking the students to sign the list before they start with anything else. When the teacher switches to Swedish, the attention of the students is almost instantly drawn to the piece of paper. Auer (1988, p. 210) explains that code-switching can be a part of an

organizing discourse similar to loudness, pitch level and intonation, which might explain why the teacher is able to catch the students attention. Cromdal (2003, p. 757) explains that code-switching can be used as a tool of power, for example when distributing orders. This can also be seen in lines 07-09 where the teacher uses Swedish to tell the students to sign the attendance list while a different example of how the teacher uses English as means to distribute orders can be seen in Excerpt 3, line 04-05.

Excerpt 3.   ((students talking about different colors and their meanings))

01		Student #1	såatteh (0.2) rosa är ju (.) um (.) en tjejfärg
02		Student #2	JA (.) och blå är kil[ligt
03		Student #3	[vit är typ brudklänning]
04	→	Teacher	umm (.) det är bra att ni diskuterar (0.2) uhm (.)
05			but please speak english
06		Student #3	okej (.) so (.) black is (.)
07		Student #1	= death

In Excerpt 3 the students are engaging in a discussion about some content related to how different colors can carry different meanings, however, one student code-switches to Swedish in line 01, and the second and third student then also code-switches into Swedish to continue the conversation in line 02 and 03. Presumably, Student #1 is struggling with how to proceed with the discussion in the TL, so he switches to Swedish because of higher proficiency in that language (Auer 1988, p. 210). Consequently, on line 04 the teacher code-switches to Swedish and encourages the student to further discuss the topic, however, the teacher then also switches back to the TL English and finishes the sentence while prompting the students to speak English instead of Swedish. The strategy is successful as the students continue the discussion in English.

The teacher's use of code-switching is relevant when looking at how the teacher tries to change the student's choice of language, in relation to signal the language preference mitigating to the TL (Auer, 1988; Hansen, 2003). In line 01 one student begun to speak Swedish and the other students also code-switched as a result, presumably to keep the conversation in the same language. The teacher code-switches back to English, which can be seen as a strategy to make the students speak the TL instead. The teacher's choice of

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language, which is used to motivate student's code-switch, can be understood in relation to Hansen's (2003, p. 383) suggestion of that individuals want to keep the conversation in the same language as far as possible. If the teacher had used Swedish, there might have been a possibility that the students had continued to speak Swedish too. The strategical use of code-switching encourage the students to continue to try to express themselves in the TL, which is also successful as line 06 shows the students are continuing the conversation in English.

4.2 Scaffolding

The teacher's use of code-switching can also be used as a scaffold for learning, where it can be used as a tool to make explicit cognitively difficult concepts or instructions. This can be done with the help of translanguaging, or preplanned instruction where the teacher is employing a systematic use of code-switching (Cook, 2001; Butzkamm, 2003). One such example can be found in excerpt 4, where the teacher has foreseen that the English word 'dress' might carry a new meaning that the students might not have encountered before.

Excerpt 4.

01		Teacher	the old roman emperors had a purple
02			uhm (.) dress (.) named toga
03		Student #1	dress (.) hade de klänn(h)ing
04	→	Teacher	well (.) dress can also mean klänning (0.5)
05	→		but in this case it means klädnad
06		Teacher	((shows a picture of a toga on google))
07		Student #2	it look like a dress
08		Student #3	= det är ju en klänning ((laugh))
09		Teacher	yes it (0.5) uhm looks like a dress
10	→		((writes 'a toga looks like a dress' 'klädnad' and 'klänning'
11	→		on the board)) klädnad (.) klänning
12		Student #4	OH OH I'm dressed for SUC(h)CESS

The teacher is explaining that Roman emperors were dressed in a purple dress named toga, and the word choice makes Student #1, line 03, laugh and ask a question in Swedish about if Roman emperors wore dresses, implying that the meaning of dress is the

Swedish equivalent of 'klänning'. The student might find this funny enough to laugh, as dresses are associated with feminine features, and assumedly not with male Roman emperors and power. The word 'dress' is an ambiguous lexeme, which is polysemous as it can associate two or more different but related categories of meaning (Benom, 2008). The teacher has therefore foreseen that the word 'dress' might carry a new meaning, so in line 04 and 05 she makes an intersentential code-switch to Swedish to present the new meaning 'klädnad'. Simon (2001) explains that a code-switch can be performed to explain new concepts and words is a great way to scaffold learners and to keep the conversation ongoing. The teacher is code-switching to Swedish for the sole purpose of introducing new vocabulary, which is a form of translanguaging where the code-switch is used as a pedagogical tool for understanding (Coyle et al., 2010). Moreover, this preplanned strategy is effective, as Coyle et al. (2010, p. 16) have also found that L1 for instructional purposes have shown to benefit learners, especially with materials such as vocabulary.

The teacher is also employing multimodality, as she has prepared to display a picture of a purple toga with the help of Internet and Google. However, it seems like the image does not make the new meaning of dress clearer, as the students state that the toga looks like a dress with the meaning of 'klänning' instead of 'klädnad'. The teacher continues the conversation in English on line 09, and then uses multimodality along with a code-switch into Swedish on line 10 where she writes 'klänning' and 'klädnad' on the whiteboard. In line 12, Student #4 is making an exclamation quite loudly that he is dressed for success, which might imply that he is on his way to understand that the word 'dress' can have different meanings and be used for different purposes. Similarly, in excerpt 5 line 02 the teacher is code-switching to Swedish to help scaffold learning when introducing new vocabulary, however in this case the code-switch is probably not planned in advance as the teacher is continuing discussing a topic that some students started about octopuses.

Excerpt 5. ((the students are discussing colors, octopuses and shellfish))

01		Teacher	but you said octopus <u>right</u> ↑
02	→		an octopus uses <u>ink</u> (0.5) <u>bläck</u>
03			you know what it do (0.2) does (.) when its scared
04		Student #1	uh[m (0.5) black ink ( )]
05		Student #2	[>they change <u>color</u><]

06	→	Teacher	JA an octopus changes color (.) um (.) it's called camouflage
07			and the black (.) black (.) um (.) thing is ink (.)
08			it sprays ink when it's afraid (0.10)
09		Students	(10.0) ((silence))
10	→	Teacher	alltså den liksom (.) sprutar ut bläck när den blir rädd ↓
11			I can see why you thought of an octopus (.) but it would be
12			very difficult to find a hundred thousand of them for a toga

As the teacher has introduced the new vocabulary ink on line 02, the students are given a new word, which will help them to keep the conversation ongoing (Simon, 2001). This intrasentential code-switch is a great example of how the teacher sample from her L1 when teaching the TL, with the help of one simple unit 'bläck' (King & Chetty, 2014, p. 40; Gluszkowski, 2012). The teacher is still explaining what ink is on line 03, as she tries to express how octopuses spray ink when they are scared. On line 04 Student #1 is using the new word to continue the teacher's line of thoughts, but Student #2 is talking fast at the same time looking for yet another new word that is related to colors and octopuses. Student #2 seems to have associated octopuses and colors to the fact that an octopus can change color. The teacher is code-switching to Swedish at the beginning of line 06, exclaiming JA as an isolated code-switch unit, which Cromdal (2003 p. 753) explains could be used to enhance expression of affect. In this case, the expression of affect might be a positive one as the teacher continues to develop Student #2 sentence and introducing the word 'camouflage'. However, the teacher then proceeds to explain that octopuses spray ink when they are afraid, effectively returning to what they had been talking about earlier, which interrupts the flow of the conversation. In turn, this causes the students to remain silent, and they do not attempt to keep the conversation ongoing. When the teacher does not receive a response from the pupils, she code-switches into Swedish in line 10 and repeats what she had said earlier. Cromdal (2003) explain that this behavior is very common and that people tend to repeat the same sentence in another language if they do not receive a response from the recipients. The teacher switches back to English again and tries to reinitiate the conversation, as well as returning to the topic of the toga in lines 11-12. In excerpt 6, line 07, the teacher once again repeats the sentence in Swedish when the students are not responding.

Excerpt 6.   ((the students talk about how long it will take to collect 100
                                    000 shellfish))

01		Student #1	not if many (0.2) people collect it (.) tillsammans (10.0)
02	→	Teacher	<u>tillsammans</u> ↑
03		Student #1	ah (0.5) <u>together</u>
04		Teacher	yeah (.) if people collect it together it won't take very long
05			>that's why the purple color is a symbol for <u>power</u><
06		Students	(13.0) ((silence))
07	→	Teacher	det är därför lila betyder makt (.) man måste kunna härska
08			över många människor för att samla så många snäckor
09		Student #2	OH wo::::::::::w så många (0.4)
10			det måste ha tagit skitlång tid
11		Student #1	jag undra[r
12		Students	((students are talking and shouting at the same time))
13			([ )
14	→	Teacher	[eng]lish please och <u>LYSSNA NU</u>
15		Student #1	(20.0) I wonder if it took years or months to (.) uh (.) pick
16			them

The students are engaging in a conversation about how long it will take to collect one hundred thousand shellfish that is used to create one purple toga for the emperor. On line 01 Student #1 seems to have forgotten the English word 'together', thus saying it in Swedish instead. Moreover, she does not attempt to try circumventing the lexical gap. Instead the student remains silent for several seconds as if waiting for the teacher to fill in the correct word. Assumedly this occurrence might be a result of the teacher's frequent use of the L1 as a scaffold for learning, as an there is a belief that an overuse of the L1 will undermine the TL (Cummins, 2007; Cook, 2008; Lightbown & Spada, 2006; Macaro & Jang Ho, 2013). However, the teacher continues with a code-switch of her own, by repeating the Swedish word 'tillsammans' with an intonation and a raising pitch on 'ans', which might indicate that a question is connected to that specific word (Auer, 1988, p. 210; Gumperz,1982). The code-switch and raising intonation are two contextualization cues that are working together to show affect, and according to Gardner-Cholros (2009) code-switching can be used as a device to

create an empathizing effect. The teacher's choice to code-switch to Swedish and emphasize the word 'tillsammans' might be to convey that the word that the student is looking for is neither cognitively demanding nor a new concept or vocabulary, which is shown in line 03 as the student then remembers the correct word 'together'. The teacher is using a similar strategy in line 14, where she code-switches to Swedish and shouts over the ruckus in the classroom. The combination of the code-switch, loudness, and direct order might be the reason for why she is able to swiftly subdue the commotion. The class continues and Student #1 tries to develop her thoughts as the rest of the class listens.

4.3 Social Discourse

The teacher can also use code-switching to change the discourse from a formal setting to a less formal setting, where the language shift marks the mitigation from school topics to a more social and less formal setting. This can be seen when the teacher is trying to draw a shellfish on the board in excerpt 7.

Excerpt 7.

01		Teacher	one of these dresses needed (.)
02			one hundred thousand shellfish
03		All	((silence for several seconds and laughter among the
04			students))
05		Teacher	uh (0.5) en (.) uhm (.) klädnad (.) behö[vde (.) hundratusen
06		Student #1	[JA BLÄCKFISK]
07		Student #2	= JA
08	→	Teacher	((draws a shellfish on the board))
09		Student #1	O::::::H (0.5) <that is not> (.) a (.) u:::h
10		Student #3	musslor
11		Student #4	= >snig(h)el<
12		Student #5	= >snäc(h)ka<
13	→	Teacher	ojdå (.) eh (.) förlåt (0.5) >jag ritar in(h)te så bra<
14			((points at the drawing on the board))
15		Students	((laughter))
16		Teacher	but you got it RIGHT (.) that's a SHELLFISH

17		ehum (.) SNÄCKOR (.)

In line 08, the teacher is drawing something that should resemble a shellfish on the whiteboard, which leads to Student #3, #4, and #5 start guessing what the teacher is drawing on line 10-12. Student #4 and #5 is laughing while they guess, and on line 13 the teacher excuses herself in Swedish, as well as explains that she cannot draw very well. Then the teacher also joins in with the students' laughter and points at the whiteboard, that result in that more students start to laugh at the drawing. In this example, the teacher is using code-switching as a tool to form less formal relationships and to bond with her students (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 106). When the teacher switches back to English in line 16 it also marks a shift in the discourse as it returns to a more formal school discourse. Hansen (2003) explains that code-switching is strongly connected to the context in which it arises, and the context is a negotiable part of many different sociolinguistic situations. In this case, code-switching were used as a tool for social practice and a to navigate between the different discourses of a more formal school discourse and a more relaxed social discourse (Garcia & Sylvan, 2011). Auer (1984) explains that code-switching can be a part of defining a situation in a certain context, which explains why the teacher's choice of using Swedish. The use of the L1 in an otherwise TL-oriented formal school discourse, invites the students to participate in a less formal social discourse (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). This can also be seen in Excerpt 8, line 05, as the teacher's code-switch to Swedish seems to initiate laughter among the students.

Excerpt 8.

01		Teacher	you can ask me anything you want (.) in any language you
02	→		want (1.0) fråga mig på vilket språk ni vill (1.5)
03		Student #1	[tirgr(h)inska]
04		Teacher	or almost (0.5) you have to speak swedish or english (.)
05	→		för jag förstår inte tigrinska
06		Student #2	arabi(h)ska
07		Teacher	I don't under(h)stand arabic either
08		Students	((laugh))
09		Student #3	you know DARI

Firstly, the teacher code-switches to Swedish in line 02 to clarify that it is allowed to ask questions in any language, and that the questions are not restricted to be asked in the TL. The teacher might need to make this explicit for the students, to ensure that they do not hesitate to ask questions if they have any, as code-switching might be discouraged and seen as something unwanted among both teachers and students (King & Chetty, 2014). Rio (2010, p. 12) explains that certain unseen principles might motivate the teacher's actions in the classroom, and it might be necessary to explicitly inform the students of language preferences, due to ruling English-only policies. These monolingual language policies effectively restrict the use of code-switching in the classroom, in favor of English-only policies (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 36). However, when the teacher is code-switching to Swedish the students' might have interpreted it as a move to a less formal social discourse as well, as three students on line 03, 06 and 09 suggests they ask their questions in three different languages that the teacher does not understand. On line 05 the teacher clarifies that the questions must be asked in Swedish or English, because she does not know the languages that the students are suggesting. Cook (2002) cautions that code-switching might not be as useful in classrooms a linguistic diverse classroom, as it might only benefit those who share the teacher's L1. The students seem to have taken notice of this, as they presumably already knows that the teacher cannot answer their questions if they ask her in their native language. They still ask her while laughing at the same time, which might indicate that they are joking. Their languages may be excluded because the teacher's knowledge of language is limited to Swedish and English, but the students draw the attention, knowingly or unknowingly, to the linguistic diversity in the classroom.

5. Conclusion

The study of one teacher's code-switching in the classroom is too small to be able to generalize how, why and for what purpose code-switching arises. However, this one case study of a teacher and her students has shown that the teacher's code-switch occur both spontaneously, as well as a strategical device to circumvent language gaps. Code-switching can function as an effective tool for classroom management, and as a preplanned scaffold for second language learning. It has also been shown to mark the move between different discourses. Moreover, code-switching were applied both intersententially and intrasententially, with the purpose to keep the conversation ongoing. Examples of how code-switching were used on an intersentential level are the introduction of new concepts or

repeating a whole sentence in the L1, while on an intrasentential level code-mixing were used to introduce new vocabulary, or to fill in lexical gaps and meanings with the help of the L1.

The teacher exclusively and quite frequently code-switches to her L1, which is Swedish. In linguistic diverse classrooms this might only benefit the students that share the teacher's L1. One could argue that the fairest approach to teaching the TL would be to comply with the English-only policies, as the Swedish school system promotes equality among all participants (Skolverket, 2011c, p. 24). However, this could be argued against as the teacher uses multimodality and other strategies as well, and despite a frequent use of code-switching there is a constant focus on the TL. The National syllabus demands that "Teaching should as far as possible be conducted in English" (Skolverket, 2011a, p. 1), however, it allows teachers' to individually interpret what 'as far as possible' might mean. This study is thus limited to this upper secondary teacher and her situational context, which involves the individual students in the English 5 class.

Nevertheless, this study can be used to inform future research, as a large-scale study could be conducted to collect more data on teachers' code-switching practices in ESL classrooms in Sweden. This study, as well as current research, has demonstrated that ESL teachers tend to code-switch, and that is a natural phenomenon in bilingual and multilingual communities. Furthermore, current research has shown that teachers and students want to use different languages in the classroom, which was shown in this study as the L1 was used to bridge language gaps, which in turn helped to keep the conversations ongoing. However, the monolingual language policies influence steering documents and effectively teachers as well, which might result in a view where teachers' use of code-switching might be seen as shameful, and therefore accompanied by feelings of guilt. In contrast, this study has shown how code-switching could be used as a pedagogic tool for classroom management, a scaffold for learning and how it can be used to build relationships, which could benefit teachers and students alike. With more research made on this subject, efficient strategies for L1 use could be developed and taught to teacher students. As a result, a more unified use of the L1 would be conducted in ESL classrooms, which would promote an equal educational environment.

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Appendix 1

Jefferson's Transcript Convention

Symbol	Explanation
(.)	A full stop, denotes a micro pause or a notable pause of no significant length
(0.2)	A timed pause, which is long enough to time and show in transcription
[ ]	Overlapping speech occurs
> <	The speech has quickened when these arrows surround talk
< >	The speech has slowed down when these arrows surround talk
( )	The words were too unclear to be able to transcribe
(( ))	There is a description inside brackets, which contain contextual information where no symbol of representation was available.
Underline	A raise in volume or emphasis
↑	A raise in intonation

↓	A drop in intonation	
→	A sentence of particular interest to the analyst	
CAPITALS	Something was shouted or said loudly	
Lau(h)gh	There is laughter within the talk when a bracketed 'h' appears in a word	
=	A continuation of talk, close to overlapping speech in the same speech situation	
::	Elongated speech or a stretched sound	

Appendix 2

Missive

Helsingborg 2015-11-02

Hej! Jag är en lärarstudent som skriver ett fördjupningsarbete i Engelska på Lund universitet, Campus Helsingborg. Uppsatsen kommer att handla om interaktion i klassrummet och speciellt lärarens interaktion med eleverna.

Du har blivit tillfrågad om du vill vara delaktig i en klassrumsobservation. Detta innebär alltså att jag bara kommer att observera och spela in samtalen som sker i klassrummet. Du har möjlighet att avbryta observationen när som helst om du skulle känna dig obekväm. Datan som samlas in kommer att vara anonym, vilket innebär att allt material endast behandlas av mig och kommer inte visas för någon annan. Eventuella namn på deltagare kommer även att bli omskrivna för att göra deltagarna anonyma.

Studien kan ses i sin helhet i början på februari 2016. Om du är intresserad att ta del av den så är du välkommen att kontakta mig. Kontakta mig via e-post för att bekräfta ditt deltagande senast 07-11-2015.

Att Du deltar är värdefullt, tack på förhand!

Med vänlig hälsning, Camilla Edvinsson   E-post: edvinsson.camilla@gmail.com