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Publisher: Routledge

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Classroom Discourse

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rcdi20>

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Published online: 29 Apr 2013.

To cite this article: Alia Amir & Nigel Musk (2013) Language policing: micro-level language policy-in-process in the foreign language classroom, *Classroom Discourse*, 4:2, 151-167, DOI: [10.1080/19463014.2013.783500](https://doi.org/10.1080/19463014.2013.783500)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19463014.2013.783500>

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Language policing: micro-level language policy-in-process in the foreign language classroom

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This article examines what we call *micro-level language policy-in-process* – that is, how a target-language-only policy emerges *in situ* in the foreign language classroom. More precisely, we investigate the role of *language policing*, the mechanism deployed by the teacher and/or pupils to (re-)establish the normatively prescribed target language as the *medium of classroom interaction* in the English as a foreign language classroom of an international school in Sweden. Using ethnomethodological conversation analysis, we have identified a regular three-step sequence for language policing: (1) a (perceived) breach of the target-language-only rule, (2) an act of language policing and (3) an orientation to the target-language-only rule, usually in the guise of medium switching to the target language. Focusing primarily on teacher-to-pupil policing, where the teacher polices pupils' (perceived) use of their L1 (Swedish), we identify three different categories of teacher-policing. These categories are based on particular configurations of features deployed in the three steps, such as initiator techniques (e.g. reminders, prompts, warnings and sanctions) and pupils' responses to being policed (e.g. compliance or contestation).

Keywords: conversation analysis; classroom interaction; practiced language policy; code-switching; language policing.

Introduction

We explore here the classroom practices that establish *micro-level language policy-in-process* – that is, the normative, situated enforcement of a target-language-only policy which we have termed *language policing*, by which we mean the mechanism deployed by the teacher and/or pupils to (re-)establish the target language as the *medium of classroom interaction*. More specifically, we examine the language-policing practices deployed by the teacher in the English as a foreign language (EFL) classroom of an international school in Sweden. These particular practices are to be understood as only one method among a family of methods for *doing language policy*. Although there are many other such methods, many subtle and implicit and some less easily observable in interaction, such as avoiding the L1, the very explicit nature of language policing deserves attention in its own right. Moreover, a fine-grained exploration of the trajectories of an English-only policy-in-process has resulted in a further sub-categorisation of language policing, which takes its point of departure in how the teacher and pupils display their orientations to the English-only rule in the sequential organisation of classroom interaction. This study

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draws heavily on recent work in the fields of both Language Policy and Planning (LPP) and Conversation Analysis for Second Language Acquisition (CA-for-SLA), as will shortly be made evident.

Since its inception as a scholarly field of investigation, Language Policy and Planning (LPP) has been conceptualised as either *language policy as text* or *language policy as discourse* (Ball 1993, 10). More recently, Spolsky (2004, 2007) proposed a third conceptualisation: *language policy as practice*. However, as Bonacina (2010) points out, Spolsky does not indicate how *practised language policies* can be investigated empirically. In order to fill this methodological gap, she argues (2010, 15) that conversation analysis (CA) is the most appropriate approach, as she also demonstrates in her case study of a French induction classroom in France. One of Bonacina's main arguments favouring CA is conversation analysts' principal interest in the organisation and order of social action in everyday interaction (Psathas 1995, 2), which matches Spolsky's recommendation for investigating language policy as practice: 'look at what people do and not at what they think should be done or what someone else wants them to do' (2004, 218). In the same vein, Spolsky and Shohamy's conceptualisation of language practices as 'sets of patterns' (2000, 29) resonates with the conversation analytic principle to investigate 'recurrent activities that have their own structures' (Young 2008, 61). This study also adheres to these core principles of CA¹ in order to examine how teacher and pupils actually co-construct language policy in situated interaction in the foreign language classroom.

Besides Bonacina's (2010) above-mentioned study, there have been some empirical studies that have investigated phenomena related to language policing in different classroom contexts. In two independent studies from Finnish primary schools, Slotte-Lüttge (2007) examines the maintenance of a monolingual classroom in a Swedish-language school in a predominantly Finnish-speaking area, whereas Copp Jinkerson (2011) investigates the management and contestation of the monolingual norm in an English-language stream of an otherwise regular Finnish school. At university level, Söderlundh (2012) studies language choices in the classroom of an English-medium business studies course in Sweden, whereas Üstünel and Seedhouse (2005) examine what they term 'teacher-induced' code-switching, highlighting its function for pedagogical purposes in the English as a foreign language classroom in Turkey.

Following Firth and Wagner's seminal call (1997) to broaden the field of second language acquisition (SLA) research, there have been many interactional studies in the second/foreign language classroom which have contributed to re-specifying the research field in conversation analytic terms (e.g. 2004 special issue of *Modern Language Journal*, No. 88; Musk 2011; Hellermann 2008; Markee 2008; Markee and Seo 2009; Pekarek Doehler 2010; Seedhouse 2004). Seedhouse (2004, 251) posits that the major contribution which a CA methodology can make to the SLA project is to shift its focus from the *task-as-workplan* to the *task-in-process*. In other words, the researcher needs to question the widely taken-for-granted premise that 'intended pedagogical aims and ideas translate directly into actual classroom practice as if the L2 classroom had no intervening level of interactional organisation' (Seedhouse 2004, 93). Building on Seedhouse, we introduce the term *micro-level language policy-in-process* in order to contribute to the study of *practised language policy* in the L2 classroom.

In keeping with the ethnomethodological roots of CA, we see rules and norms as generally ‘seen but unnoticed’ (Garfinkel 1967 [1994], 36), yet they may surface particularly when breached, for example if we fail to respond to a greeting (Heritage 1984, 106). Indeed, we are held morally accountable for such breaches, since the underlying norms serve as a *scheme of interpretation* (Heritage 1984, 106) or reference point for both the design and the interpretation of our actions. In the case of the English-only rule, its explicit expression surfaces more readily when it is violated. Nevertheless, the English-only rule does not profoundly define the range of contingencies that may or may not arise in the course of action, since ‘rules never completely or exhaustively define the character or “legally possible” range of conduct of an activity’ (Heritage 1984, 124). If we apply this to the English-only rule, it remains a matter of negotiation between participants whether or not the following empirical examples, for instance, constitute breaches of the rule in their local environments: private pupil-to-pupil talk in Swedish at the start of an English lesson (cf. Extract 1, lines 3–8) or occasional brief utterances in Swedish (cf. Extract 1, line 31).

The empirical data of this study comprise over 20 hours of video recordings of EFL classrooms in an international Swedish school. The data were collected in grade 8 and 9 classes (15–16 year olds) taught by one native English (American) speaker between the years 2007 and 2010. English-language teachers in this school prescribe a monolingual English-language policy in the EFL classroom, which is consolidated by means of a point system. Each lesson starts with a clean slate of 40 points, which are sometimes written on the board. For each word of Swedish spoken by the pupils, a point may be deducted, or in fact added if spoken by the teacher. When 1000 points have been accumulated, the pupils are rewarded with a free period to watch a movie. Here we should add the caveat that this is the policy-as-workplan as opposed to the policy-in-process, which we shall shortly be viewing in operation.

Central to CA methodology is the transcription of (preferably) video-recorded data to aid the search for recurrent interactional patterns (though the transcriptions do not replace the recordings as empirical data). To capture as much of the interaction as possible, multiple video cameras were used most of the time. The transcription conventions in this article are adopted from Jefferson (2004) and Musk (2011), although some modifications have been made to include more features relevant for this context, especially those pertaining to code-switching. A full list of these conventions can be found in the appendix.

Doing language policing

The sequential analysis of video recordings of the EFL classroom in an international Swedish school revealed *language policing practices*. These practices belong to a family of methods for doing a monolingual language policy. More specifically, language policing constitutes an explicit micro-level enactment of the target-language-only rule which is displayed by the participants’ orientation to using the ‘wrong’ *medium*. Since the concept of medium is central to understanding language policing, we digress at this point to explain the concept with reference to an organisational or conversation analytic approach to code-switching in bilingual talk (e.g. Auer 1988). Within an ethnomethodological framework, there is good reason to distinguish between *language* or *code*, as the analyst’s category, and *medium*, as a

member's or participant's category – 'that scheme of interpretation speakers themselves orient to while talking' (Gafaranga 2000, 329). As Gafaranga goes on to point out and show empirically, this medium may also be a bilingual one, that is, a *mixed medium* (see also Musk 2006, 51; cf. Auer's (1998) 'mixed code', 15–16). Extending this distinction to the bilingual classroom, Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011, 331) posit the notion of *medium of classroom interaction*, which can 'account both for normative language choices as well as deviance from them'. Simply taking the normative language choice, i.e. the policy-prescribed medium of instruction as a scheme of interpretation, they argue, fails to account for the observable mediums or linguistic codes – be they monolingual or bilingual – that participants actually orient to while talking in a bilingual classroom context (331–332).

To illustrate how different mediums of classroom interaction can operate in a foreign language classroom, let us consider Extract 1, from an English class in Sweden (set in the school's computer laboratory). In this extract, two pairs (Rebecka & Carina and Hanna & Malin) are about to work on a quiz with the help of the Internet. Where we join the class, the teacher is adjusting Rebecka and Carina's computer screen for recording purposes.

Extract 1

Participants: K= Karen (the teacher), C= Carina, R= Rebecka, H= Hanna, M= Malin

- 1 Karen: \$huh\$ can't we move the computer screen a wee bit to this
 2 wa_y maybe shall I put your (xxx)xx
 3 Rebecka: L_{okay ska vi sö}rka? |
 okay shall we search
 4 Carina: L_{vi kan vi kan} |sv_{vara på}:
 we can we can answer
 5 Malin: L_{ska vi börja sö}ka nu:
 shall we start searching now
 6 (.5)
 7 Carina: tr_{or de} r_{kan va} d_ä
 think it could be that
 8 Hanna: L_{nä:j}i |
 no
 9 (.) ((K starts passing behind pupils))
 10 Hanna: ((turns round)) r_{HALLÅ SKA NI SÅGA TILL NÄR VI::}, WE ARE
 excuse me are you gonna say when we
 11 Carina: L_(huvudsta:n x x x x) sexton (x x x)
 (capital city) sixteen
 12 Hanna: [GOING] TO START
 13 Karen: [I] (.7) YOU CAN START YUP | ((R looks up at K))
 14 Carina: (x x x x)
 15 (.)
 16 Karen: → GET BUSY YEP YOU CAN GET [BUSY] [NOW AN' [YOU'RE] S'POSED TO BE |
 17 Hanna: [oh::?] [yeah]
 18 Carina: L sexton ä bagdad |
 sixteen's baghdad
 19 Karen: → SPEAKING (.) ENGLISH WITH EACH OTHER ALL THE TIME TOO LIKE WE
 20 → A:LWAY[S DO:] ((adjusting R & C's computer screen))
 21 Malin: L_{okay} (.) hi [hann]a |
 22 Hanna: [awright] |
 23 (.3) ((R smiles at C #))
 24 Karen: → IF I HEAR # IF I [HEAR SWE:DISH I'M TAK]ING POINTS AWAY FROM YOU.
 25 Malin: [you going to start (xx)] ((H & M shake hands))

26 (.)
 27 Hanna: start \$hehehehe\$
 28 Malin: ((types randomly)) ~~xdjipfghil~~
 29 ?: .hhh
 30 (.4)
 31 Hanna: rnej ɿ
 no
 32 Malin: LsorryJ
 33 Malin: ((erases what she's typed)) ~~xdjipfghil~~
 34 mkayɿ
 35 (.8)
 36 Hanna: I'm (.) I tink I know who is amelia a- (.9) ((checks question
 37 sheet)) earhart (1.1) err[hart] [the first]
 38 Malin: [maybe] we [can take] de question (.3)
 39 eh::m (.9) last.

Here we find more than one medium of classroom interaction among the participants. Although it is unclear whether the lesson proper has started, the teacher is speaking only in English while adjusting the screens for the researchers. Likewise, when the teacher answers Hanna's question in lines 10 and 12 about whether they should start their task, she delivers her reply and ensuing turns in English. This reply not only serves as a direct response to Hanna's question, but also opens up a *procedural context* (Seedhouse 2004, 133), whereby the teacher provides procedural information about the classroom activities at hand. Here it signals publicly the commencement of the English lesson proper (for those who have not already started), at the same time as issuing instructions in English and thereby implicitly establishing English as the public medium of the classroom. Moreover, we consistently find the teacher speaking English both in matters directly to do with the English lesson itself and in the management of less directly related practical matters (helping the researchers). In fact, from all our recorded classroom data we can claim that English is the teacher's regular medium of interaction, not only here but with everyone in all English classes. Given that the teacher is originally American and English is also the policy-prescribed medium of instruction, this is no doubt unremarkable. However, this scheme of interpretation does not adequately account for all the mediums of interaction we find in this extract.

The two pairs of pupils (Rebecka and Carina and Hanna and Malin) are having parallel exchanges in lines 3–8 about starting the quiz. Starting with the medium used by the first pair of pupils in this extract, it is immediately apparent that Carina and Rebecka (in their private conversation) carry out all their interaction (lines 3–18) in Swedish. Furthermore, throughout their exchange there is no medium switching and no problem orientation to either their own or the other person's medium of talk. During this extract, therefore, both of them have monolingual Swedish as their medium of interaction.

Turning to the second pair of pupils' medium of interaction, Malin utters in line 5 a similar question to Rebecka's in line 3 about starting the task. This results in an initially negative response from Hanna (line 8), followed almost immediately by Hanna checking this loudly with the teacher, who happens to be passing (line 10). It is notable that up until halfway through line 10, the second pair (Hanna and Malin) are also using monolingual Swedish as their medium of interaction. However, Hanna initiates a switch to English, which is characterised by a prolonged vowel on the Swedish *VI*: 'WE::' before she substitutes it with the English pronoun and continues in English. Hence the medium of Hanna's turn up until the switch is

oriented to as a trouble source which needs rectifying.² Using Gafaranga and Torras's taxonomy (2002, 17), what we find here is *medium switching*, which can be accounted for 'in terms of practice-based preference', which in turn is rooted in the overall order of talk.³ In other words, by means of medium switching, Hanna is attending to the teacher's preference for English (cf. Auer's 'participant-related switching' 1988, 192). This preference⁴ is borne out by many interactions between Hanna and the teacher in the data. Furthermore, it is underpinned by a normative orientation towards English as the medium of instruction, which the teacher goes on to invoke in her act of language policing.

If we temporarily disregard the act of language policing and look at the remainder of their turns in this extract, English has now become Hanna and Malin's medium of interaction. The only Swedish word to be uttered here, *nej* 'no' in line 31, deviates from the monolingual medium and is as such an example of temporary *medium suspension*⁵ (Gafaranga and Torras 2002, 16), which signals local additional meaning, in this case to show disalignment with Malin's action (pretending to start by typing randomly in line 28). Malin's overlapping apology, her erasure of the randomly typed letters and her verbal signal that she is ready to start the activity seriously (line 34) restores interactional alignment, which is also achieved linguistically by Hanna's return to English from line 36. Unlike the two pairs' initial medium of interaction (monolingual Swedish), Hanna and Malin's medium in the second half of this extract (monolingual English) follows the prescribed language choice.

Now that we have established the kind of linguistic environment (in terms of mediums of interaction) in which language policing emerges, let us turn back to the primary focus of this paper – that is, language policing itself. In our definition, language policing constitutes the mechanism by which the teacher and/or the pupils switch or attempt to switch the medium of talk to the policy-prescribed medium (here English) in the foreign language classroom. Let us now examine the prototypical trajectory of language policing. As illustrated in Figure 1, language policing is typically carried out in a three-step sequence. The first step is the breach of the target-language-only rule, to which participants orient as a

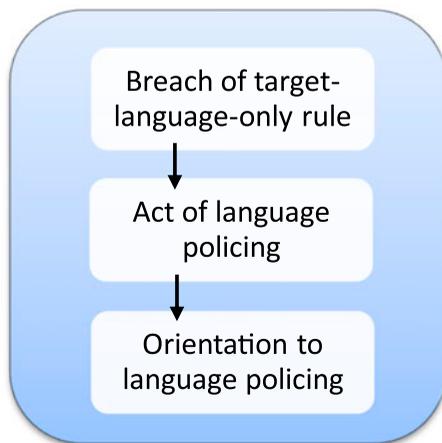


Figure 1. Prototypical three-step language policing sequence.

trouble source. The second step of language policing is the actual act of language policing. In this step there is an indication that someone's medium of interaction needs rectifying. The third step in the sequence involves an orientation to the language-policing act. In our data this is most frequently a medium-switch, whereby the normative medium of the L2 classroom (English in our data) is adopted or restored in the immediately preceding turns.

We now return to Extract 1 to see how a language-policing act plays out. First we have a breach of the English-only rule (step one). Here it is notable that Hanna has partly addressed the teacher in Swedish, before switching and thereby orienting to the teacher's preference for English (as well as the English-only rule). In addition, the teacher has been near the two pairs whose utterances are transcribed in this extract. Up until (and, in the case of Carina, during) the teacher's act of language policing, these pupils have all been speaking Swedish quite audibly. Both factors then occasion the teacher's reminder of the policy-prescribed medium of instruction (lines 16 and 19–20) and subsequent warning (line 24) that any breaches will be punished with the removal of points (step two). The pupils' immediate orientation to Karen's act of policing (step three) is that Malin and Hanna medium-switch and resume their interaction in English (as opposed to Swedish, as at the beginning of Extract 1). Although the teacher's reminder of the English-only rule is delivered in overlap with Carina's attempt to solve item 16 on the quiz sheet (line 18), it is still acknowledged by Rebecka's smile to Carina.

Let us now substantiate these claims further, while at the same time providing a more detailed and nuanced picture of language policing by examining more instances.

Sub-categories of language policing

Although our data reveal that the teacher is not the only party to initiate language policing, for reasons of space, in the remainder of this article we will focus exclusively on teacher-to-pupil policing, whereby the teacher initiates language policing to change the medium being used by a pupil/pupils. There are nine cases in all in our data, which can be sub-divided mainly according to whether the teacher addresses the whole class or specific individuals. However, in cases where language policing involves point deduction, i.e. when the punishment for violating the English-only rule is given, the matter of who is being addressed is less clear-cut, as will be explained below. Any additional features are dealt with under each sub-category below.

Teacher to pupil: general address

This sub-group of three cases has already been expounded upon to some extent in the analysis of Extract 1 above. To generalise the features of this sub-category, one can say that it is where the teacher issues a reminder of the English-only rule and/or a warning to the whole class (step two of the language-policing sequence). In Extract 1 we find both a reminder (lines 16, 19–20) and a subsequent warning (line 24), with a shift in pronoun from 'we' (line 19) to 'I' (line 24), which also establishes the teacher's sole authority to punish any breaches. Moreover, what characterises this sub-category as general address is the loudness of the verbal act of policing and the bodily orientation of the teacher towards the central space of the

room. This is of course clearest when the language policing is delivered from the front of the class as part of the procedural context (Seedhouse 2004, 79) when general instructions are issued. At the same time, the act of language policing may produce the procedural context. Indeed, establishing the English-only rule can constitute one of the ways in which to both initiate a procedural context and start the lesson, as in Extract 1.

As regards the linguistic form of this sub-category of language policing, there is evidence of formulaic language (Wray and Perkins 2000). In Extract 1 above, for example, the teacher's reminder of the English-only rule is expressed as 'and you're supposed to be speaking English with each other all the time too' (lines 16 and 19). With a different class over two years later, the teacher issues a remarkably similar reminder: 'and you're supposed to be speaking English all the time'. The same goes for her warning: 'if I hear Swedish I'm taking points away from you' (line 24), which on another occasion is expressed as: 'if I hear any Swedish I'm taking points away'.

Step three of the language-policing sequence, i.e. the outcome of the teacher's language policing, was illustrated at length in the initial analysis of Extract 1 above. To recap briefly, the upshot is that when Hanna and Malin resume their private interaction to start the quiz, the medium switching that started with Hanna's act of self-policing in line 10 is then fully implemented by both of them from line 21 for the remainder of the extract. Even so, it is notable that within two minutes Hanna switches back to Swedish over several turns, which occasions Malin to perform a discreet language-policing act, followed by Hanna's immediate (but again temporary) return to English.

Teacher to pupil: specific address

In contrast to the previous sub-category of teacher-initiated language policing, here the English-only rule is established with specific individuals who are accused (either explicitly or implicitly) by the teacher of having violated it. In two of the four cases belonging to this sub-category (including Extract 2), the teacher uses a formulaic question, 'are you speaking English?', which also allows the pupils to contest the teacher's implied accusation (and admonition). Since the teacher happens to be on the other side of the classroom, in both cases the teacher raises her voice and includes the addressee(s): 'you guys ... over there' and 'Mikael', respectively. In the third case, the teacher happens to be passing behind the pair who are speaking Swedish when she admonishes them. The accusation of breaking the English-only rule is then delivered as a whispered statement: 'I thought you were speaking English in the beginning but now I can hear you're not', which allows these two pupils little room for contestation. Both the question format and the whispered accusation can be seen as modulation of the potential face threat (Brown and Levinson 1978). Moreover, in three of the cases, the accusation is met by exchanged glances between the offending pupils, accompanied by smiles and suppressed giggling. The fourth case stands out from the others in that it is the only case in which an act of policing occurs without an initial breach. Because the pupil has left her English work at home, the teacher suggests she does her Swedish work instead. Since this suggestion projects a potential breach of the English-only rule, the teacher delivers a reminder to speak English in this class anyway.

Unlike the cases in which the teacher polices the whole class as part of the procedural context, specific address typically occurs in *task-oriented contexts*

(Seedhouse 2004, 153) – that is, while the pupils are engaged in carrying out the task at hand. The teacher’s act of policing temporarily interrupts the task and when the task is resumed again, there is an immediate medium-switch to English. In two of the cases, one of the pupils switches back to Swedish fairly soon after the teacher’s policing act, but – perhaps significantly – this switch results in language policing by the other pupil. In the third case, where the pupils are not working in pairs, there is no more talk for the rest of the activity. The fourth case stands out once again, since it involves re-opening a procedural context to give instructions to one individual.

Let us now look at the details of how the teacher’s specifically addressed language policing is co-constructed in Extract 2. This sequence takes place in the computer laboratory on a separate occasion to that of Extract 1 and involves a different web-based task. Approximately nine seconds before this extract starts, the teacher had issued a general reminder of the English-only rule, which is demonstrably acknowledged by Rebecka and Linda through their exchanged looks and sniggering in whispered tones (cf. Extract 1, line 23).

Extract 2

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

Failing to comply with the teacher’s reminder that they ‘are supposed to be

1. Linda: *vi skriver namnen*
let's write our names
2. (9) ((L misspells name '[Vinda]'))
3. Linda: *okej [vinda]*
okay [vinda]
4. Rebecka: \$hhuhuhu\$
5. (.4) ((L corrects first letter of her name))
6. Linda: [°sã dãr°]
there we go
7. Rebecka: [ʔuhhhh\$]
8. (.)
9. Linda: .hhh
10. Rebecka: \$huhuhu\$
11. (1.3)
12. Karen: → an' you gu- are you guys speaking english over there? ((L writes her name))
13. (.4)
14. Linda: yeah ((turns to face K))(.2) [I jus' sjaid my name so,
15. Karen: ↳(that woul-)<]
16. (.5)
17. Karen: oh::|
18. (.2)
19. Linda: mm: ((facing away from the teacher & smiling)) \$mhhh\$ ((R looks over at teacher & back at L))
20. (.8) ((L looks briefly with a smile at R))
21. Rebecka: \$.hhh\$
22. (7.4)
23. Linda: ts (1.1) ehm (2.8) hhh (.) hhh what sh'll we surf for?

speaking English all the time when [they] talk about these questions and answers’, in line 1, Linda suggests in Swedish that they write their names on the work sheet. In the process of doing so, she manages to misspell her own name,⁶ which gives rise to giggling while she corrects it. From her position on the other side of the

computer laboratory, the teacher then issues her language-policing turn in line 12, with an implicit accusation delivered in the form of a question as to whether Linda and Rebecka are speaking English.

Even though Karen addresses the pair as ‘you guys’ rather than by name, Linda turns towards the teacher and, after a brief pause, responds verbally to the teacher’s question in line 14. The fact that Linda responds rather than Rebecka may be explained by Linda talking most (and in Swedish) prior to the teacher’s language-policing act. Furthermore, as regards the form of the teacher’s language policing, Karen self-repairs the opening of her turn, transforming it from a statement to a question. By so doing, a bald accusation of violating the English-only rule is modulated to an enquiry as to whether they are breaking it. This transformation also opens up the possibility of denying the fact that they have broken the rule. In a creative bending of the facts, Linda says in line 14 that she has just said her name; in line 3 she has in fact said the misspelt form of her name. After the teacher’s slightly delayed and surprised news receipt (‘oh’) indicated by the prolonged vowel and falling intonation (in line 17), Linda turns away from the teacher, smiles, gives a slightly suppressed giggle and exchanges amused glances with Rebecka, who then also giggles (lines 19–21). After checking the instruction sheet and clearing her throat, Linda then continues her verbal exchange with Rebecka in English from line 23, thereby switching medium from Swedish to English in her private talk. What Rebecka says first, on the other hand (beyond the extract), is in Swedish. Although it is almost inaudible, we can infer that it is in Swedish because it is immediately policed by Linda.

Teacher to pupil: point deduction

In contrast to the previous sub-categories of teacher-to-pupil language policing, in the two cases of this sub-group it is less clear-cut who is being addressed. Although language policing is also delivered here in response to individuals breaching the English-only rule, it takes the guise of a collective punishment for the whole class, which is made public by the teacher deducting marks on the whiteboard. This public display establishes the English-only rule in its most extreme form – that is, the teacher moves beyond reminders of the rule and warnings of sanctions to actually carrying them out.

Rather than the examples of this sub-category sharing verbal features, step two centres on the whiteboard, where the teacher crosses out the previous score (40 points at the beginning of a new lesson) and writes up a new score. In Extract 3 below, the teacher says the new score (‘39’) aloud while writing it, but in the other case she simply writes ‘27’ on the whiteboard, adjusting the score from 34⁷ after overhearing Swedish being spoken and moving from one end of the classroom over to the whiteboard. However, in the latter case the teacher stays silent, and there is no verbal response from the pupils either. Another significant difference is that the point-deduction case in Extract 3 takes place after a pupil has breached the rule publicly (step one) in a newly established procedural context, whereas the other breach occurs in a task-oriented context, where there is no joint focus of the pupils’ attention. Moreover, the ‘guilty’ pupils are not only caught speaking Swedish, but are also engaged in off-task talk. There is also a difference in how the points are deducted on the two occasions. In the case below, one point is removed for a whole

utterance in Swedish, whereas seven points are removed in the other case, possibly on the basis of one minus point per word of Swedish.

Extract 3 serves as an illustration of point deduction on the whiteboard visible to the whole class. It is probably significant for this act of language policing (step two) that it is preceded by the teacher issuing the warning ‘an’ if I hear any Swedish I’m taking points’ in another language-policing sequence (general address) about 40 seconds earlier. After that, the pupils disperse in order to start working on a new project. However, the teacher subsequently interrupts the class to bring everyone’s attention to profitable ways of using their time.

Extract 3

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

- 1 Karen: U:H [MALIN] IS WRITING THIS DOW::N? ((*pointing at instructions on whiteboard*))
 2 SHE'S DOING A VERY GOOD JO::B?
 3 (.2)
 4 Hanna: JA HAR REDAN SKRIVIT KLART ((*K looks across at H*)) \$DÄ:¿ huh\$=
I've already finished writing that
 5 Rebecka: =\$heheheh\$
 6 (.4)
 7 ?: [karen?]
 8 (.9)
 9 Karen: - THIRTY-NI:NE ((*writing '39' next to '40'*))
 10 (.5) ((*K crosses out '40' - figure 2*))
 11 Hanna: o:~h sorry=
 12 Karen: =>an' I'M GONNA GO AN' LOOK [FOR MORE<
 13 Malin: =>an' I'M GONNA GO AN' LOOK [i[HANNA:::]! ((*narrows her eyes and glares at H; K looks briefly at M*))
 14 (.)(*R attracts K's attention*)
 15 Hanna: \$mheheh\$
 16 (.4)
 17 Hanna: \$HAHA\$ (.) \$aha\$
 18 (1.6) ((*M partly lifts two fingers but breaks into a big smile*))
 19 Hanna: \$.hh\$

In Extract 3 (as in the previous extracts), we can see that there is more than one medium of classroom interaction. In lines 1–2, Karen comments publicly in English on Malin’s praiseworthy act, copying the project instructions from the whiteboard. From the opposite corner of the classroom, Hanna claims loudly and provocatively in Swedish to have written them down already (line 4), giggling at the end of her turn. Hanna’s turn is provocative in that it marks interactional disalignment on at least two fronts: she says that Malin is not the only one to have copied down the instructions, implying that Malin’s act is less praiseworthy than the teacher suggests, while at the same time she displays linguistic disalignment through switching medium.⁸ Not only does Hanna signal disalignment with the teacher and speak out of turn; she also breaks the English-only rule (step one of the policing sequence). During Hanna’s out-of-turn talk, Karen briefly looks at her, suspends any possible further procedural talk and turns towards the whiteboard, ignoring the pupil who calls for her in line 7. She then writes ‘39’ next to the number ‘40’, which is already written on the whiteboard, while she rather undramatically announces ‘39’ in English (line 9). Finally, she crosses out the ‘40’ (line 10 – Figure 2), thereby completing the collective punishment of the whole class. Although this act of language policing (step two) is in direct response to Hanna’s breach (step one), it also



Figure 2. Crossing out '40' (Extract 3 line 9).

serves the double function of disciplining Hanna for loudly and publicly speaking out of turn while also undermining her praise.

The upshot of the teacher's language-policing act of deducting a point is that Hanna apologises in line 11, while at the same time switching medium to English (step three). Hanna thereby establishes alignment with the teacher through both the act of apology and medium switching. Nevertheless, Malin then shortly rebukes Hanna in line 13 by glaring at her and calling out her name in an abrupt and loud fashion, also interrupting Karen, who has subsequently become engaged in private conversation with Rebecka from line 14 onwards. Malin's rebuke can be seen as potentially addressing two issues: first, that Hanna has belittled the teacher's praise of Malin's actions and second that she has lost the class a point. However, Malin's rebuke is short-lived; after Hanna's repeated laughter (lines 15 and 17), Malin's expression turns to a big smile just as she seems to be attempting to show Hanna two fingers. About 13 seconds beyond the end of this extract, when Hanna talks again for the first time, she speaks English ('I am looking up the newspapers') in reply to Malin's question about what she is doing, even though her question is posed in Swedish and they are now out of the teacher's earshot.

Discussion and conclusions

This study has given a detailed account of the emergent *language-policing* practices that play a part in constituting the *micro-level language policy-in-process* in the EFL classroom. Thus language policing is to be seen as one particularly explicit way in which a monolingual language policy is talked into being. At the same time, our data reveals that pupils do not adhere to the English-only rule all the time, not least because the normal default medium of interaction of these pupils outside the English-language classroom is Swedish. The teacher therefore plays a key role in (re-)establishing English as the policy-prescribed *medium of classroom interaction*.

Hence the focus in this article on teacher-to-pupil language policing, though on occasion pupils also language-police each other and even – more rarely – the teacher.

In the following, we sum up and problematise our findings with regard to the three-step language-policing trajectory that is regularly used as a participants' mechanism for dealing with talk in the 'wrong' medium. These steps are: (1) a (perceived) breach of the target-language-only rule, (2) an act of language policing and (3) an orientation to the language policing act. We now revisit each step in turn and compare our findings with those of similar studies.

In our data, language-policing is almost always preceded by a breach of the target language rule (step one). The only exception is the fourth case of specific address, where the teacher seems to project a potential breach of the English-only rule because a pupil is going to do some Swedish revision in the English class. It is therefore an empirical challenge to discover whether reminders to speak English, for example, occur in more contexts without an initial violation of the rule. Moreover, in practice there is no watertight boundary between what is a violation and what may be a valid exception to the rule. Potential fuzziness may even be exploited or be subject to (sometimes creative) negotiation between pupils and the teacher (cf. Extract 2).

In step two, the initiation of other-policing is regularly explicit vis-à-vis the nature of the trouble source (always the 'wrong' medium). Nevertheless, the policing act may appear in different guises, such as reminders of the rule, warnings, accusations of having spoken in the L1, reprimands and even punitive measures (e.g. point removal), most of which are reserved for the teacher. Some of the initiator techniques are characterised by formulaic language, both for issuing reminders ('you're supposed to be speaking English') and warnings ('if I hear Swedish I'm taking points away'). Copp Jinkerson's extracts (2011, 31–32) also offer some evidence of a formulaic three-turn sequence initiated by the question 'what is the language (that we use)?' Although the vast majority of cases involve verbal responses, our point removal cases both include, or in one case comprises only, adjusting the points on the whiteboard.

The third step involves a pupil's/pupils' response to the act of policing. In our data this almost always entails a degree of immediate compliance with the target-language-only rule, in that pupils medium-switch to English either in their reply to the teacher or in their subsequent talk. Nevertheless, this compliance may also be short term. Furthermore, there may be contestation of the validity of the language-policing act, as in Extract 2, or more subtle resistance through giggling, whispering in Swedish or even silence. Copp Jinkerson (2011, 32–33) presents a more blatant example, in which one pupil in an English-language stream of a Finnish school contests the blanket requirement to stick to English in off-task talk with a peer. Yet even here, the exchange with the teacher takes place in English. In all the cases we have come across so far, there is some degree of orientation to the act of policing.

Although the above claims about the general trajectory of teacher-to-pupil language policing are empirically grounded, we also acknowledge that they are primarily based on the classes of one teacher in one particular Swedish school. We have also scanned candidate extracts of teachers' language policing in the studies mentioned in the introduction and the above three-step trajectory holds so far, but further research is needed to extend the data base to other contexts where a target-language-only

policy is practised. Moreover, there is a need to examine pupil-initiated language policing, as well as the many less explicit ways of doing language policy.

Notes

1. See e.g. Seedhouse (2004) for an elaborated account of the basic principles of CA.
2. We avoid the terms 'repair' and 'correction' here, partly because they are confusingly used in different ways even within the same research tradition (see Kelly Hall 2007 for a broader discussion of these terms). In CA, 'repair' is usually used to denote the 'practices for dealing with problems or troubles in speaking, hearing, and understanding the talk in conversation' (Schegloff 2000, 207). Thus 'repair' is essentially a mechanism for solving problems to do with achieving mutual understanding (intersubjectivity). The concept of repair has also been extended to instructional contexts in classrooms within CA (e.g. McHoul 1990, Seedhouse 2004), but there has also been critique of this extension of the term (e.g. Macbeth 2004, Kelly Hall 2007) on account of the special instructional nature and sequential organisation of these kinds of 'repairs'. One upshot of this critique is that Macbeth (2004) argues that a distinction should be drawn between 'repair' in everyday conversation and 'correction' in instructional correction sequences. However, in CA approaches to bilingual talk, 'repair' tends to be used for the corrective practices of establishing a mutually acceptable language/code (cf. *medium repair* in Gafaranga 2000; Gafaranga and Torras 2002; and an extended discussion of repair in Gafaranga 2013). Although language policing shares some features of 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.
3. As opposed to the local order of talk, where switching medium (*medium suspension*) is used as a *contextualisation cue* (Gumperz 1982, 131), i.e. as a local meaning-making device similar to prosodic features. This is what we find in line 31 of Extract 1.
4. Here *preference* is to be understood in CA terms, i.e. not as what the teacher would like or prefer in everyday terms, but rather as the default medium used in interactions with the teacher in English classes.
5. In contrast to *medium switching*, *medium suspension* constitutes a temporary suspension from the current medium to signal local meaning rather than a bid for a new medium (Gafaranga and Torras 2002, 16).
6. To maintain anonymity, the misspelling is based on the fictitious name Linda.
7. The video recording did not catch the beginning of the lesson, where there had evidently been another incidence of point deduction, since '40' had already been crossed out and replaced by '34'. Unfortunately, we therefore do not know whether both these cases of point deduction had been preceded by an act of language policing.
8. This case would correspond to *medium suspension* (Gafaranga and Torras, 2002, 17) in that it operates locally to signal interactional disalignment (cf. footnote 3).

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Appendix

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

(.5)	Pauses in speech of tenths of a second
(.)	Pause in speech of less than 0.2 seconds
yeah= =yeah	Equal sign: latching between utterances
[yeah mm	Opening square brackets between adjacent lines: opening of overlapping talk
yeah] mm]	Closing square brackets between adjacent lines: closure of overlapping talk
lis-	Dash: cut-off word
sh:::	Colon: prolonged previous sound
(swap)	Words in single brackets: uncertain words
(xx)	Crosses in single brackets: unclear fragment; each cross corresponds to one syllable
dä ju så	Words in italics: code alternation (Swedish)
<i>that's how it is</i>	Words in grey italics: translation of code alternation (in line above)
,	Comma: "continuing" intonation
.	Fullstop: a stopping fall in tone
Anne Frank	Text in bold: typed text appearing on the computer screen
Anne Frank	Text in bold with a line through: text erased on the computer screen
((slaps desk))	Double brackets: comments on contextual or other features, e.g. non-verbal activities
[katy]	Names in square brackets: changed for reasons of confidentiality
AND	Capitals: noticeably louder than surrounding speech
¡OH!	Encompassing exclamation marks: animated or emphatic tone
<u>really</u>	Underlining: speaker emphasis
°crap°	Encompassing degree signs: noticeably quieter than surrounding speech
\$hi\$	Encompassing dollar signs: smiley or chuckling voice
>what's this<	Encompassing more than & less than signs: Noticeably quicker than surrounding speech
no	Encompassing asterisks: other distinguishing voice quality
((<i>*croaky voice</i>))	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