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**A Conversation Analytic approach to practiced  
language policies:**

**The example of an induction classroom for newly-arrived immigrant  
children in France.**

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## **Signed declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me and that the work is my own. This work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed

Florence Bonacina  
26 September 2010.

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## Abstract

Traditionally, language policy (LP) has been conceptualised as a notion separate from that of practice. That is, language practices have usually been studied with a view to evaluate the extent to which a LP is (or is not) implemented (e.g. Martin, 2005; Johnson, 2009). Recently, however, Spolsky (2004, 2007, 2008a) has argued that policy and practice need not be seen as distinct and that, in fact, there is policy in language practices themselves (I use the term ‘practiced language policy’). Therefore, Spolsky’s claim represents a decisive development in the field of LP research. However, this proposal remains essentially programmatic since Spolsky does not indicate how practiced language policies can be investigated. The aim of this thesis is to address this methodological gap. The main claim of the thesis is that Conversation Analysis (CA) – a method specifically developed to describe conversational practices – can be used to investigate practiced language policies. In order to support this claim, a case study has been conducted on the language practices of an induction classroom for newly-arrived immigrant children in France.

In the thesis, a broad view of CA is adopted, incorporating both sequential and categorisation analysis (Membership Categorisation Analysis). More specifically, I have used the conversation analytic approach to code-switching (as developed over the last few years by researchers such as Auer, 1984; Li Wei, 2002; Gafaranga, 2009; Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010) and investigated a corpus of audio-recorded classroom interactions I collected in the above mentioned setting. Observation of these interactions revealed a number of “norms of interaction” (Hymes, 1972) the classroom participants orient to in order to go about the routine business of talking in an orderly fashion. For example, it was observed that each of the languages available can potentially be adopted as the “medium of classroom interaction” (Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010) depending on who is doing being the language teacher. When no one is doing being the language teacher, it was observed, a key determinant of language choice is participants’ language preference. Finally, in the absence of any shared preferred language, French was adopted. The practiced language policy of this induction classroom consists of the set of such interactional norms. It is because CA can be used to discover and describe such interactional norms that this thesis claims it can be used to investigate practiced language policies in this induction classroom and in other settings as well.

In summary, this thesis is primarily a contribution to the field of LP research. It starts from recent proposals in the field, especially by Spolsky (2004, 2007, 2008a), that there is policy in practices and shows how this programmatically formulated proposal can be implemented. More specifically the thesis shows that and how CA can be used to discover a practiced language policy. The research reported here has adopted a case study methodology, investigating language choice practices in a multilingual educational setting. It therefore contributes to the study of bilingual classroom talk, albeit indirectly. This is particularly the case as there has been very few, if any, studies of bilingual classroom talk which combine both sequential and categorisation analysis.

89 637 words including references.

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# - Chapter 1 -

## Introduction

### 1.1. Introduction

Since its emergence as a research field, language policy has generated many studies, models and publications and has been conceptualised in various ways. The recent inauguration of a new academic journal (*Language Policy*) and the publication of several books all entitled *Language Policy* (Baker, 2002; Ricento, 2006; Shohamy, 2006a; Spolsky, 2004) indicate that this research field is flourishing. Among these recent developments, Spolsky (2004) probably offers the most comprehensive conceptualisation of language policy. According to him, language policy can be viewed as comprising three elements: language management (i.e. “direct efforts to manipulate a language situation”, Spolsky, 2004: 8), language beliefs or ideology (i.e. “what people think should be done”, Spolsky, 2004: 14) and language practices (i.e. “what people actually do”, Spolsky, 2004: 14). Furthermore, he argues that there is a language policy at each of these three levels and, since “language practices, beliefs and management are not necessarily congruent, [each] may reveal a different language policy” (Spolsky, 2004: 217). In this respect, Spolsky’s significant contribution is his claim that there is a policy in practices, which I propose to call a ‘practiced language policy’ (see also Bonacina 2008). However, this new conceptualisation of language policy remains essentially programmatic since Spolsky does not indicate how practiced language policies can be investigated. It is this methodological gap that I aim to address in this thesis. Indeed, my primary aim is to propose an approach to the investigation of practiced language policies. And my main claim is that a practiced language policy can be investigated using Conversation Analysis, a method specifically developed to describe conversational practices.

## 1.2. Language policy defined

Scholars frequently discuss what language policy *deals with*. For instance, in his *Introduction to Language Policy*, Ricento (2006c) lists the topics that fall under the purview of language policy (e.g. language shift, linguistic human rights, education of linguistic minorities etc.). Similarly, in their renowned models of language policy and planning, Kloss (1969) and Cooper (1989) state that language policy deals with the status of languages (which Kloss calls ‘status planning’, 1969: 81-83), their form (which Kloss calls ‘corpus planning’, 1969: 81-83) and their acquisition (which Spolsky and others call ‘language education policy’ or ‘language-in-education policy’; Spolsky, 2008a: 27). However, scholars often fail to explain their understanding of the notion of language policy itself. As Ball (1993: 10) notes, “more often than not analysts fail to define conceptually what they mean by policy”. To give an example, the term ‘language policy’ has often been related to that of ‘language planning’; both terms have been used either interchangeably, hand in hand (such as in the hyphenated “language planning-policy”, Tollefson, 1991: 17), or with one being a superordinate term subsuming the other (e.g. language policy subsuming language planning as in Ricento, 2000: 209). At other times, the two have been seen as different (e.g. Tollefson, 1991: 16). Thus, ‘language policy’ has been used to mean various things.

Admittedly, a few researchers have defined language policy. This is the case, for instance, with Tollefson, who defines it as “the institutionalisation of language as a basis for distinctions among social groups” (1991: 17). However, this definition is clearly intertwined with Tollefson’s own epistemological views. Being a strong advocate of a critical approach to the study of language policy, he assumes that language policies are affected by power relationships in wider society. In this sense, there exist as many definitions of language policy as there are approaches to language policy research. In other words, the concepts of language policy are “observer dependent” (Spolsky, 2004: 41). This is probably one of the reasons why, as many researchers have noted (Spolsky, 2004: ix; Ricento, 2006c: 10, Johnson, 2009: 139), there is no consensus about the theory and nature of language policy.

In the absence of a consensus on the definition of language policy, I propose my own working definition building on Spolsky's (2004, 2007, 2008a) LP model. He writes the following:

“The theory I am exploring will hold that each of these three components [i.e. language management, language beliefs and language practices] within (and, as we shall see, others outside) the domain produces forces that account for language choices by participants” (Spolsky, 2007: 4).

In this thesis, I understand language policy as being what regulates speakers' language choice and alternation acts.

### **1.3. Focus of the study**

Although there is no consensus on the definition of language policy, scholars have conceptualised language policy in (one or all of) three different ways (for a critical review of the research literature on language policy see Chapter Two). Ball (1993) provides an important insight in this regard. He argues that one way in which language policy has been conceptualised is language policy as *text* (Ball, 1993: 10). This conceptualisation refers to the understanding that what influences language choice is a text; to be understood as *an authoritative statement, either verbal or written, of what should be done*. Examples of policy as text are constitutional clauses, laws, verbal declarations and so forth. From this perspective, textual analysis presents itself as a useful method.

A second way in which language policy has been conceptualised is as *discourse* (Ball, 1993: 10). Here, the notion of 'discourse' is to be understood in line with Foucault (1971) as being more than just language and speech and to refer to a set of beliefs and ideologies. As Ball puts it, discourse is “what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority” (1993: 14). Conceptualising policy as discourse means that what influences language choice acts is *a set of beliefs and ideologies about what should be done*. Scholars studying language policy as discourse (e.g. Pennycook, 2002) adopt various methods, including Critical Discourse Analysis.

The third and most recent addition to the above two – an addition we owe to Spolsky (2004) – is policy as practice (here after referred to as 'practiced language

policy’). Spolsky’s claim must be understood in its proper context. Traditionally, policy and practice have been seen as distinct and often mismatching. A policy is or is not put into practice and policy and practice may or may not match. Spolsky rejects this view, claiming that the two need not be seen as distinct. Instead he claims that there is policy in practices. While, as indicated above, it is relatively easy to see what methods can be – and indeed have been – used to investigate language policy as text and as discourse, Spolsky does not indicate how a practiced language policy can be investigated. However, some of his statements seem to point towards what that methodology should be. For instance, he writes that there is a policy in language practices insofar as they are “regular and predictable” (Spolsky, 2007: 3) and that we can derive from them “a set of descriptive and explanatory rules that would somehow capture the idea that members of the community have of appropriate behaviour” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 29). One of the most robust methodologies for investigating the organisation of language practices currently available is Conversation Analysis. Therefore, my main claim is that Conversation Analysis can be used to investigate practiced language policies. This thesis is a demonstration, based on a case study, of this claim.

#### **1.4. The case study**

While this research could have been based in any institutional or non-institutional context, a combination of factors led me to base it in a specific sociolinguistic setting, namely an induction classroom for newly-arrived immigrant children in France. First of all, through previous research (Bonacina, 2005), I had developed a familiarity with bilingual classroom research and I wanted to build on this experience. Secondly, I made the hypothesis that language policy issues would be more salient in a bi/multilingual context. Induction classrooms for newly-arrived immigrant children thus presented an ideal research site since they are linguistically heterogeneous contexts. Thirdly, as I was born and grew up in France, I thought my familiarity with French society and the French education system would help in data collection and interpretation. Lastly, I anticipated that, since France is well-known

for having an explicit French monolingual language policy (policy as text) and a long-lasting monolingual ideology (policy as discourse), it would be possible to investigate the practiced language policy in the specific sociolinguistic context against the backdrop of these other two.

The main research question that I pursue in this case study is: ‘what is the practiced language-in-education policy of the target induction classroom?’. I aim to address this question using Conversation Analysis – a method developed independently in order to investigate language use as social practice (e.g. Sacks, 1992a, 1992b; Schegloff, 2007a) – in order to demonstrate that it is the most suitable approach for the investigation of practiced language policies. More specifically, given that induction classrooms are multilingual educational contexts, I adopt a Conversation Analytic approach to bilingual talk, which has been developed over the last few years by researchers such as Auer (1984), Li Wei (2002), Gafaranga (2009) and Bonacina and Gafaranga (2010).

At this point, it is important to emphasise that the aim of this case study is *not* to provide a full account of the language-in-education policy in France’s induction classrooms or in the target classroom. Rather, the aim is to develop and illustrate the claim that Conversation Analysis is the most appropriate approach to the study of practiced language policies. As a result, the case study focuses on a specific aspect of the language-in-education policy of the target classroom, namely, the *practiced* language-in-education policy. In this sense, language choice and alternation acts are analysed not with a view to evaluating the implementation of language policy as text or as discourse (as is the case in most studies of language policy that focus on the mismatch between ‘policy’ and ‘practice’) but rather with a view to identifying the underlying practiced language policy.

### **1.5. Outline of thesis**

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. In the next chapter, I review the phases of development of language policy research. This review highlights the need for a methodology to investigate practiced language policies and suggests Conversation



Analysis as a potential candidate approach. Chapter Three introduces the sociological, political and linguistic context of the case study; describing the French monolingual language policy in general and in education in particular; the educational programmes for newly-arrived children and more particularly the functioning of induction classrooms at primary level; and the specific induction classroom I studied. In Chapter Four, I present the theoretical framework I draw upon in the analysis of the language choice and alternation practices observed in the target classroom. In Chapter Five, I give an account of the methods I used to collect a corpus of classroom interaction.

After these background chapters, I present the practiced language-in-education policy of the induction classroom under study. In Chapter Six, I describe the different language choice and alternation practices observed in the corpus of classroom interaction. More specifically, I identify the different “medium(s)<sup>1</sup> of classroom interaction” (Bonacina, 2005; Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010) used in classroom talk, as well as the different types of language alternation practices.

In Chapter Seven, I move on to accounting for the practiced language-in-education policy of the target classroom. In this chapter, I focus on language choice practices and aim to identify the “deducible and implicit rules” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 2) oriented to by the classroom participants in their language choice acts. Drawing on a broad view of Conversation Analysis that incorporates both sequential and categorisation analysis (Membership Categorisation Analysis), I argue that the mediums of classroom interaction can be accounted for with reference to whoever is ‘doing being the language teacher’. I also show that when no-one is making membership to what I propose to call ‘teacher-hood’, the classroom participants orient to each other’s language preference when interpreting and engaging in their language choice acts.

In Chapter Eight, I focus on language alternation practices and aim to identify the “deducible and implicit rules” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 2) oriented to by the classroom participants in their language alternation acts. I focus especially on the most salient type of language alternation practices, namely, what I

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<sup>1</sup> For the plural of ‘medium’, I choose to use the English plural form ‘mediums’ rather than the accurate yet less frequent form ‘media’.

propose to call *licensed* language alternation practices. Drawing on Schegloff's (2007a) framework of sequence organisation, I show three examples of interactional sequences in which language alternation is licensed – namely, word searches, meaning quests and multilingual label quests.

Finally, in Chapter Nine, I draw the thesis to a conclusion, summarising the key findings of the case study, the implications and limitations of the proposed Conversation Analytic approach to the study of practiced language policies, and suggesting avenues for future research.

## - Chapter 2 -

# Focuses in language policy and language-in-education policy research

### 2.1. Introduction

Language policy emerged as a research field in the 1960s and has since interested a wide range of researchers including sociolinguists, political scientists, educationalists and educational linguists. As I discussed in Chapter One (§1.2), language policy research has engaged with a wide range of issues and the notion itself has been defined in various ways. It has been associated with that of language planning in the expression ‘language policy and planning’ or the expression ‘language planning and policy’ (both abbreviated as LPP), and later on with the notion of language practice in the expression ‘language policy and practice’ (unfortunately also abbreviated as LPP). However, it is not the aim of this chapter to provide an overarching theory of language policy (LP)<sup>2</sup>. Rather, this chapter provides a critical reading of the LP research literature, building on the existing reviews found in Hornberger (2006), Hornberger and Johnson (2007), Johnson (2009, 2010), Ricento (2000, 2006a), Ricento and Hornberger (1996), and Tollefson (1991, 2002a, 2008). It reviews (more or less chronologically) the different research focuses<sup>3</sup> that emerged in the development of LP research and its subfield, language-in-education policy (LIEP) research, along with the three conceptualisations of language policy (i.e. language policy as text, as discourse and as practice) and their respective approaches. Ultimately, the aim of this chapter is to reveal a methodological gap in the LP literature and to propose a relevant approach.

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<sup>2</sup> To overcome any confusion, I will talk in terms of language policy research and use the simpler abbreviation LP.

<sup>3</sup> For the plural of ‘focus’, I choose to use the English plural form ‘focuses’ rather than the accurate yet less frequent form ‘foci’.

Four central focuses emerge in the research literature on LP, namely language planning models (§2.2), ideologies, power and inequality (§2.3), agency (§2.4), and language practices (§2.5). I review each of these focuses in separate sections, where I also present in more detail the reasons for these shifts of focus, the conceptualisation of language policy entailed, the research approaches adopted, and some representative work.

## **2.2. A focus on language planning models**

The first studies of language policy emerged in the 1960s with a view to reporting, and eventually guiding, the planning of languages co-present in post-colonial countries. Indeed, the use of the umbrella notion of ‘language policy and planning’ (LPP) attests to the close association between language policy and language planning. In fact, scholars focused on language planning processes, conceptualising language policy as text; that is, as a (verbal or written) statement that informs language planning processes.

### **2.2.1. Language planning in the “new developing nations”**

The first LP studies were primarily concerned with language planning issues arising in post-colonial countries, or what Fishman called the “new developing nations” (1968: 491). Scholars focused on the macro-processes of language planning, developing a number of language planning models with a view to providing cost-effective methods and strategies to plan languages. In this regard, language planning was understood to be “the authoritative allocation of resources to language” (Fishman, 1979a: 11) and “the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level” (Fishman, 1974a: 79). And language policy usually referred to a (verbal or written) statement that informed language planning processes. Language planning activities involved “corpus planning”, “status planning” (Kloss, 1969: 81-83) and “acquisition planning” (Cooper, 1989: 33) or what Spolsky (2008a: 27) and others call “language education policy”. Corpus planning refers to the development of a language variety and the

determination of the linguistic characteristics of this language variety. It includes questions concerning the adequate pronunciation, syntactic structures and morphological forms, as well as strategies to expand the existing vocabulary (Trudgill, 2003: 29). Status planning refers to the selection of functions for particular language varieties. One important status planning issue is the selection of an official language for an institution or a state (Trudgill, 2003: 128-9). Language education policy refers to who should learn what language varieties (Spolsky, 2008a: 27). As Cooper notes, “the planning of language instruction accounts for the lion’s share of acquisition planning” (1989: 160). Status and corpus planning are usually envisaged together, insofar as a language variety may not have the structures to deal with its allocated functions. As Fishman notes, “status planning without concomitant corpus planning runs into a blind alley. Conversely, corpus planning without status planning is a linguistic game, a technical exercise without social consequence” (1979a: 12). Language education policy is also closely linked with status and corpus planning (Spolsky, 2008a: 27). For instance, a language that has been given an official status (status planning) will most likely be used as a medium of instruction in schools (language in education) and will thus need to have appropriate terminologies (corpus planning).

In the literature itself, this first approach to LP research is usually referred to as “the traditional approach” (e.g. Ricento, 2006c: 12; Tollefson, 2002b: 5, 2008: 3). It is also sometimes called the “neoclassical approach” (e.g. Tollefson, 1991: 35; Hornberger and Johnson, 2007: 510), the “classical approach” (e.g. Ricento, 2000: 206) or the “positivist approach” (e.g. Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 405).

### **2.2.2. A traditional approach to LP and LIEP research**

A traditional approach to LP and LIEP research was influenced by the ideology of ‘one-language-one-nation’. According to this, monolingualism guarantees unity and monolingualism in a western language guarantees modernisation. From this perspective, the goal of language planning was one of unifying, modernising, and subsequently, westernising emerging nation-states. This ideology was linked to the belief that language diversity is a problem – that is, a threat to the unity of nations

and an obstacle to modernisation that states have to solve through planning (Mühlhäusler, 1996: 311; Ricento, 2000: 198; Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 405). This belief is salient, for instance, in a key volume of studies conducted in the traditional approach entitled *Language Problems of Developing Nations* (Fishman, Ferguson and Das Guptas, 1968). It is also found in Neustupný's (1970) paper, in which careful correspondences between a language problem and a stage of language planning are provided. In short, language policy and planning was first conceptualised as a problem-solving activity (Cooper, 1989: 34; Ricento, 2000: 206); 'language policy' was the proposed solution to a language problem and 'language planning' the process involved to implement that solution.

In this sense, language planning was approached in the same way as any other kind of planning, or as Fishman puts it, as any "other-than-language planning" (1974a: 81). Researchers were influenced by economic planning – and particularly by modernisation and development theory (Rostow, 1960). Tollefson (2008: 4) argues that three key assumptions of modernisation and development theory are found in the traditional approach to LP research. These are the assumptions that language policy and planning benefits ethnolinguistic minorities, that language planning should be carried out by technical experts and that the nation-state should be the focus of the research. Indeed, most of the early LP scholars assumed that language policy and planning was a neutral process, scientifically designed by experts for the modernisation – and therefore the benefit – of ethno-linguistic minorities, and that it ought to be studied at the macro-level.

### **2.2.3. Macro-level studies**

In the traditional approach to LP and LIEP, language policy and planning was understood essentially to be a top-down process and was thus studied at the macro-level. Researchers provided empirical and descriptive accounts of language policy and planning processes in various emerging nation-states (for representative examples see the volumes edited by Fishman, Ferguson and Das Guptas, 1968; Rubin and Jernudd, 1971). They also designed various typologies of language and language planning models (e.g. Kloss, 1966, 1968; Fishman, 1968). For instance,

Fishman (1968) proposed a typology of nations, identifying language planning problems and solutions for each nation type. When discussing the “new developing nations” (1968: 491) such as those in Sub-Saharan Africa, he suggests that they should use regional and local languages only for transitional and short-term purposes, until they acquire a “foreign tongue” for a successful transition into modernity (Fishman, 1968: 492). However, he states that the “old developing nations” (1968: 493) such as the ones found in North Africa and South-East Asia, should adopt a westernised language for transitional purposes and use subsequently a modernised and simplified local or regional language (1968: 494).

Although most of the studies conducted within a traditional approach dealt with issues of national language planning, researchers soon started to investigate LIEP issues, since, as Tollefson pertinently notes, “corpus-planning issues such as language standardisation and script reform necessarily involve educational institutions” (2008: 4). A collection of studies edited by Spolsky (1972) on the language education of minority children illustrates this growing interest in LIEP research. Another example is Fishman’s interest in bilingual education programmes, which, he argues, are one of the major instances of language planning (1979a: 11).

#### **2.2.4. The work of Rubin, Haugen, Ferguson and Fishman**

Within the traditional approach to LP and LIEP research, some scholars devised models of language policy and planning; the most influential being Rubin (e.g. 1971), Haugen (e.g. 1966a, 1966b, 1983), Ferguson (e.g. 1968), and Fishman (e.g. 1968, 1979a, 1974a and 1974b).

Haugen (1966a, 1966b) offers a four-fold model of language planning, divided into the following sections: ‘selection of norm’, ‘codification of norm’, ‘implementation of function’ and ‘elaboration of function’. In a later publication, Haugen (1983) proposes a revised version of this model, taking into account Rubin’s (1971) notion of “evaluation” in language planning and Kloss’s (1969) distinction of status and corpus planning.

Also noteworthy is Fishman’s (1979a) model, which takes the form of a flow-chart that summarises the contributions of his predecessors. Fishman identifies

six common stages to status planning and corpus planning processes. To take the example of status planning, the first stage is “decision making” (1979a: 13), carrying out the negotiations on a “model of the good language” (1979a: 19). The second is “codification” (1979a: 14), the third, “elaboration” (1979a: 14) and the fourth, “implementation”, which Fishman describes as “the authoritative allocation of resources” (1979a: 15). The fifth stage is that of “evaluation” (1979a: 17) and the sixth is that of “iteration” (1979a: 18), which corresponds to a return to the decision-making process, while taking into consideration findings from the evaluation. Language policy and planning processes are thus understood here to be cyclical.

These two models of language planning have formed the basis for many studies and for further elaboration. As I have already described, Cooper (1989: 33), for instance, adds the notion of “acquisition planning” to the notions of status and corpus planning. Other examples of development are Hornberger’s (1994, 2006) and Ricento and Hornberger’s (1996) integrative framework of LPP processes where Haugen’s (1983) fourfold matrix model is combined with Cooper’s (1989: 33) notion of ‘acquisition planning’.

### **2.3. A focus on ideology and discourses of power and inequality**

Confronted with the mismatch between LP models and their implementations, as well as with the failure of new nations to ‘modernise’, LP scholars shifted their research focus from devising models to unravelling ideologies and discourses at play in language policy and planning processes. During the 1990s, the traditional approach to LP research was superseded by what is commonly referred to as the ‘critical approach’ to LP. In this section, I present this second stage in the development of LP research, reviewing the limits of the traditional approach (§2.3.1), presenting the critical approach to LP and the conceptualisation of language policy involved (§2.3.2), as well as the two strands of studies conducted within this perspective, namely macro-discourse studies (§2.3.3) and micro-discourse studies (§2.3.4).



### 2.3.1. Limits of the traditional approach

From the 1980s onwards, LP researchers moved away from the initial focus on language planning as they came to realise that developing nations had failed to modernise despite elaborate language planning models and strategies. In fact, LP researchers increasingly claimed that language planning was in great part responsible for preventing developing nations from modernising. For example, Tollefson criticises traditional LP scholars' "optimistic belief" (2008: 4) that language policy and planning enhances the economic and political mobility of ethno-linguistic minorities by giving them access to a dominant language. On the contrary, he argues that language planning processes have allocated more resources to dominant languages in order to retain economic and political power in the hands of dominant countries (e.g. Tollefson, 1991). In brief, Tollefson (e.g. 1991 and 2008) along with other scholars (e.g. Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 405) criticised the view held within the traditional approach to LP that language policy and planning was an apolitical and ideologically neutral process. These writers showed that language policy and planning processes were indeed highly political and ideological.

A second criticism made of early LP studies was that researchers assumed that a simple and straightforward relationship existed between the processes of language policy and planning and their outcomes, overlooking the complex socio-political systems and colonial history of the nation-states under study (Tollefson, 2008: 4; Ricento, 2000: 201). Furthermore, Pennycook (2002) argued that discourses play a key role in shaping the form and use of language varieties.

Lastly, the ideology of one-language-one-nation that underpinned language planning in the traditional approach became increasingly irrelevant as the increase in migration meant that nation-states could no longer be envisaged as linguistically and ethnically homogenous. Furthermore, the very act of planning language became questionable. Rubin and Jernudd had already raised the question within a traditional approach to LP in an edited volume aptly entitled *Can Language Be Planned?* (1971). Then, LP scholars gradually moved away from an understanding of

language as a defined and bounded code to conceptualise it as having “multiple and numerous discourses, functions, and statuses” (Ricento, 2006b: 4). As a result, early language planning attempts to establish diglossia between majority and minority languages were criticised for being based on a fictive demarcation between majority and minority languages (e.g. May, 2006: 257). Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the contribution of LP studies conducted within a traditional approach was (and is still) very much acknowledged. In this respect, Tollefson writes that “the major achievement of early LPP research was an understanding of the relationship between language structure and language function on the one hand, and various forms of social organisation (ethnic groups, nation-states) on the other” (2008: 5).

In short, the focus of LP studies shifted from devising typologies and models of language planning to investigating the influences of ideology and power in language policy and planning processes and the role of these processes in perpetuating social inequality. This shift was initiated mainly by Tollefson (1986, 1991), Luke, McHoul and Mey (1990) and Wolfson and Manes (1985). It gave rise to what is known both as the “critical perspective” on LP research (e.g. Hornberger and Johnson, 2007: 509; Ricento, 2000: 202; Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 406; Tollefson, 2002b: 3) and “critical language policy” (e.g. Tollefson, 2006b: 44; Johnson, 2009: 140; Johnson, 2010: 62).

### **2.3.2. A critical approach to LP and LIEP research**

As Tollefson explains (2002b: 4-5; 2006b: 42-44), an approach to LP and LIEP is said to be ‘critical’ for three reasons: firstly, because it challenges traditional approaches to LP research; secondly, because it is aimed at social change (and especially, at reducing social inequality); and thirdly, because it is influenced by critical social theory (e.g. Bourdieu, 1991; Foucault, 1972; Habermas, 1979, 1985 etc.). Scholars adopting a critical perspective to LP research include Tollefson (e.g. 1991, 2002c), Pennycook (e.g. 1989), Ricento (e.g. 1995, 2006a), Sonntag (1995), Street (1984) and Wiley (e.g. 1996, 2002). LP research conducted within this approach focuses on the connections between language policy and notions of power, ideology and inequality. These three focuses are developed hereafter.

One focus of critical LP research is to investigate the role that language policy could be said to play in maintaining unequal power relationships between majority and minority language groups (e.g. Tollefson, 1991: 11). Power, which Tollefson defines as “the ability to control events in order to achieve one’s aims” (2006b: 46), is seen as underlying all language policies. Language policy is thus conceptualised as a “mechanism for locating language within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power and economic resources” (Tollefson, 1991: 17).

A second focus of critical LP research is the investigation of the ideologies that underlie language policies. As Ricento and Hornberger explain, critical LP research is grounded in the assumption that “all language policies are ideological, although the ideology may not be apparent or acknowledged by practitioners or theorists” (1996: 406). Here, the notion of ‘ideology’ is understood from the perspective of critical social theory and refers to “implicit or unstated (‘common sense’) notions about the nature of language and communication that position individuals and groups within a social order” (Tollefson, 2008: 5). Recently, Johnson has acknowledged that “critical language policy scholarship has helped illuminate ideologies enmeshed in language policies” (2010: 62).

A third focus of critical LP research is the role that language policy plays in structuring and sustaining unequal social and economic relationships (Tollefson, 1991: 8). Tollefson (1991: 2) argues that “the mechanism of language policy arbitrarily gives importance to language in the organisation of human societies” and that policy-makers usually support the interests of dominant groups (2006b: 42). Therefore, another aim of critical LP research consists of unravelling the multiple ways in which language policies are connected to social inequalities in order to develop more democratic language policies and subsequently contribute towards social justice (e.g. Freeman, 1998; Hornberger, 1998). In this sense, most scholars working within a critical perspective on LP are influenced by the language rights movement (see especially Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994), which claims that speakers of minority and indigenous languages should be given the institutional protection and support that already help speakers of majority languages. Critical LP

scholars argue that language policies usually flout the language rights of ethnolinguistic minority groups in order to maintain the language – and by implication the power – of the dominant group. As a result, they propose a “human-rights-oriented language policy” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008: 107). Hornberger aptly describes this new focus as being a result of a shift from an ideology of “language-as-problem” (e.g. Rubin, 1971) – which underlined the traditional approach to LP – to an ideology of “language-as-right” (2002: 32).

Critical LP researchers have conducted a vast number of studies on language-in-education policies. Representative examples are Corson (e.g. 1999), Donahue (2002), and Sook and Norton (2002); the latter two are part of a volume aptly entitled *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues* (Tollefson, 2002a). These studies address questions such as: “how do language policies in schools create inequalities among learners? How do policies marginalise some students while granting privilege to others? How do language policies in education help to create, sustain, or reduce political conflict among different ethnolinguistic groups?” (Tollefson, 2002b: 3 and 13-4). Most of them aim to unravel the ideologies that underlie language-in-education policies (e.g. Lippi-Green, 1997; Moore, 1996; Wiley, 1996). Such ideologies include the standard language ideology (i.e. the belief that the use of non-standard varieties in education prevents the acquisition of a standard variety) and the monolingual approach to education (i.e. the belief that the use of a language other than the target language prevents language or subject-matter learning) (for a full discussion see Tollefson, 2008: 6-9). Wiley (1996), for example, successfully unravels the ways in which English-only and standard-English ideologies influenced language-in-education policies in the US. Language rights issues have also been addressed in critical LIEP studies (e.g. Phillipson, 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008; Wiley, 2002). For instance, Skutnabb-Kangas argues that examples of the violation of linguistic human rights are usually found in educational contexts in which children are being denied the right to mother-tongue medium education (2008: 109). Clearly then, critical LP and LIEP scholars have conceptualised language policy as discourse. In this vein, they have conducted macro- and micro-discourse studies of LP and LIEP.

### **2.3.3. Macro-discourse studies: the work of Tollefson**

Within a critical perspective to LP and LIEP, most scholars conduct critical discourse analysis at the macro-level of a state or an institution. An important body of critical LP research that focuses on what is usually referred to as ‘macro-discourses’ has been carried out by Tollefson, using what he calls the ‘historical-structural approach’ (1991, 2002b, 2002c, 2006a, and 2008). Two key tenets of the historical-structural approach to LP are that wider historical and societal forces are at play in language policies and that language policies are created at the level of the state, which uses them to maintain the power of dominant language groups (Tollefson, 1991: 10). Therefore, Tollefson focuses exclusively on the discourses at the macro-level of the state, international organisations and multinational corporations. For example, in his LIEP study in Slovenia, he (2002c) examines how a shift of ideology from linguistic pluralism to Serbian centralism encouraged Slovenia to seek independence from Serbia in order to preserve its ethnolinguistic capital. The historical-structural approach has largely influenced critical LP research and has been taken up by other critical scholars such as May (2006), McCarty (2004), and Street (1993). May’s (2006) study is a good example as he stresses the need to explore the “historical antecedents” (2006: 268) that shaped language policies, as well as our categorisation of languages into the minority/majority dichotomy.

### **2.3.4. Micro-discourse studies: the work of Pennycook**

While Tollefson has approached LP research by focusing on the study of discourses at the macro-level of the state, Pennycook has explored the study of discourses at the micro-level of a local context. Among other things, he has published detailed analyses of micro-discursive practices in Hong Kong (e.g. 2002). Influenced by postmodern theory, Pennycook has proposed investigating LP as processes of governance. He explains Foucault’s (1991) notion of ‘governmentality’ as the ways in which “power operates at the micro-level of diverse practices, rather than in the macro-regulations of the state” (Pennycook, 2006: 64; see also 2002: 92).

Importantly, by investigating “how governance is achieved through language” (2006: 64), Pennycook shifts attention from the macro-level of the state to the micro-level of actual practices of governance. Indeed, he states that his main focus is “on the multiplicity of ways in which practices of governance may be realised” (2006: 65).

In brief, critical LP researchers have moved away from devising typologies and models of language policy, instead turning towards investigating the ideologies and discourses of power and inequality at play in language policies. To use Ball’s (1993) words, critical LP researchers have conceptualised language policy as discourse; that is, as being a set of beliefs and ideologies that influence language choice and alternation acts (see also §1.3 for a definition of language policy as discourse). In this regard, they have mainly conducted critical discourse analyses at either a macro-level (e.g. Tollefson 1991, 2002c) or a micro-level (e.g. Pennycook, 2002, 2006).

#### **2.4. A focus on agency**

Increasingly, strong reservations have been expressed towards critical LP researchers for adopting the hegemonic view that ideologies and discourses regulate the form and use of language varieties. From this criticism emerged a new focus on ‘agency’ in LP research. In this third phase of development, researchers still conceptualise language policy as text and discourse. However, they focus on speakers’ agency in challenging these texts and discourses. In what follows, I consider the limits of a critical approach to LP research (§2.4.1), the new focus on agency (§2.4.2), and the resulting anthropological and sociological approach to LP and LIEP research (§2.4.3), before closing with a discussion of the important work of Ricento, Hornberger and Johnson (§2.4.4).

### **2.4.1. Limits of the critical approach**

In the research literature on LP, two criticisms are regularly raised against LP studies that focus on ideologies and discourses of power and inequality (e.g. Johnson, 2009, 2010; Hornberger and Johnson, 2007; Ricento and Hornberger, 1996 for full reviews of the limits of critical LP studies). The first criticism is that critical LP researchers overemphasise the importance of the state or other supranational organisations in LP processes while, in fact, state actors and other heads of supranational organisations are rarely involved in language policy (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 413). The second criticism targets researchers' deterministic view of language policy and the fact that they overlook the power of human agency (e.g. Hornberger and Johnson, 2007: 510). For instance, Bowe and Ball (1992) refer to this view of LP as the "state control model". Similarly, Ricento and Hornberger note that, in studies where LP is conceptualised as ideology and discourse, it looks as if "individuals are not free to choose the language(s) that they will be educated in or be able to use in specific domains, as all choices are constrained by systems that reinforce and reproduce the existing social order" (1996: 407). Johnson (2009) summarises this criticism in these terms:

"Critical language policy approaches have enriched our conceptualisation of language policy but by focusing primarily on the power invested in policy, they obfuscate agency and perpetuate the reification of policy as necessarily monolithic, intentional, and fascistic. Besides the acknowledgment that CLP [Critical Language Policy] should promote more democratic policies, there is not much room in these frameworks for local practices which challenge dominant discourses, engender alternative discourses and radical practices, and potentially effect social change" (2009: 155).

Interestingly, Tollefson had foreseen this criticism, stating that his historical-structural model could not explain individuality in language policy and planning processes – as it was not designed for that specific purpose (1991: 35-6). In trying to address this gap, some LP researchers have focused on speakers' agency in language policy and planning processes.

### **2.4.2. Agency and language policy**

To counteract an earlier focus on ideologies and discourses of power and inequality in language policy and planning processes, LP researchers began to focus on

agency, which was understood as “the role(s) of individuals and collectivities in the processes of language use, attitudes, and ultimately policies” (Ricento, 2000: 208). The main line of argument is that, during the implementation process of a language policy (also referred to as ‘appropriation process’), speakers have the choice to follow, change or challenge top-down policies.

This focus on agency in LP research is often attributed to a shift from materialistic to post-materialistic positions. McGroarty describes this as a loss of confidence in governmental institutions, a loss of willingness to accept elite authority, and a growing disposition to engage in political processes (2002: 21). However, it should be pointed out that speakers’ agency in LP processes had already been acknowledged by Fishman (1979a), who wrote:

“Having learned about the sociology of language in general and about language planning in particular teachers should be readier than heretofore to join with each other and with other community members to more effectively *engage in* language planning both in the status-planning and in the corpus-planning realms. Teachers in private and ethnic community schools [...] can hope thereby to become more useful *leaders on behalf of their languages*, schools, communities and on behalf of the revision of bilingual education as a whole” (Fishman, 1979a: 22, my emphasis).

This extract clearly indicates that Fishman already viewed teachers as actors in the policy process (or planning in this case) at the local level of a school. It also shows that teachers’ agency was viewed as being used in favour of “their languages”. In fact, the notion of agency has very much been linked with the concepts of ‘language shift’ and ‘language revitalisation’ (e.g. Fishman, 2006). Often, agency is seen as a way to resist language policies that threaten indigenous or minority languages. In this regard, Hornberger (2002) proposes the notions of “implementational spaces” and “ideological spaces” to refer to the interstices, in policy texts and discourses, where agency can be exerted for the support of indigenous and minority languages. These notions have subsequently been used in studies focusing on agency and LP (e.g. Freeman, 2004; Hornberger, 2005; Hornberger and Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2010). Furthermore, the notion of agency is also linked to the ideology that linguistic diversity is an asset (e.g. Mühlhäusler, 1996: 311). In short, LP researchers argue that speakers use their agency in language policy and planning processes to protect or revitalise their languages,



which are perceived as valuable resources. LP research has thus shifted from an ideology of language-as-problem underlying traditional approaches to an ideology of language-as-right underlying critical approaches; and, lastly, to an ideology of language-as-resource (Hornberger, 2002: 32).

Studies that focus on agency are mostly found in LIEP research (e.g. Ramanathan, 2005 and Stritikus, 2002). Scholars argue that classroom participants are not “afterthought[s] who implement what ‘experts in the government’ have already decided” (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 417) or “unwitting reproducer[s] of social reality” (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 418). On the contrary, they are policy-makers, insofar as they are agents in the implementation of (or resistance to) school language policies (e.g. Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 417; Skilton-Sylvester, 2003: 170). As Johnson (2010) puts it: “educators make choices – they are not helplessly caught in the ebb and flow of language policies, no matter how strong policy ‘discourses’ might be” (2010: 76). Their agency can be seen in the way(s) they try to maintain endangered local languages. Although the idea that teachers can reverse language shift and maintain endangered languages seems somehow paradoxical – insofar as educational institutions have traditionally been used to impose monolingualism in dominant languages (see Spolsky, 2008b for a detailed discussion) – LIEP researchers claim that schools are a key site in which indigenous languages may be saved (e.g. Hornberger, 2008).

### **2.4.3. An anthropological and sociological approach to LP and LIEP research**

This new focus on agency has led LP scholars to adopt an anthropological and sociological approach to language policy. Within this approach, LP scholars have conducted ethnographic studies in local contexts – and especially institutional contexts such as schools – to investigate “varying local interpretations, implementations and perhaps resistance” (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007: 510); in other words, to investigate agency. Proponents of this approach include Canagarajah (2006), Johnson (2009), Ramanathan (2005) and Stritikus and Wiese (2006). Significant LIEP studies conducted within this perspective are Ramanathan

(2005), Skilton-Sylvester (2003), Stritikus (2002) and Valdez (2001). Skilton-Sylvester's (2003) study of primary-school teachers in the United States is a good example. She shows examples of teacher-policymakers who support and value the use of Khmer in their classroom, despite surrounding English monolingual ideologies and policies. In this regard, she argues that "much of language teaching can also be seen as language policymaking" (2003: 174). Her study also testifies to the influence of the language maintenance paradigm and the ideology of language-as-resource, which are typical of an anthropological and sociological approach to LP research. Indeed, she argues that, although the classes under study did not include instruction in the heritage language (i.e. Khmer), teachers were able to support additive bilingualism in classrooms by valuing children's first languages (2003: 173). Also noteworthy is that Skilton-Sylvester's stated aim is to explore the relationship between teachers' ideologies and policies at the micro-level with ideologies and policies held at the macro-level of the school and society (2003: 170). In this vein, many LP and LIEP studies conducted within a sociological and anthropological perspective attempt to articulate agency within macro-level discourses in order to avoid the pitfall of considering exclusively one aspect of language policy, that is, either the state's power to impose language policies or the educators' power to (re)interpret these policies. As Johnson puts it, "the sociological and anthropological work on educational policy attempts to strike a balance between critical analyses of policy power and educator agency" (2009: 143). A convincing illustration of this balance is Ball's attempts to study LIEP by looking at agency in relation to "the big picture" (1993: 14), that is, "within a moving discursive frame which articulates and constrains the possibilities and probabilities of interpretation and enactment" (1993: 15). Similarly, taken together, the work of Ricento, Hornberger and Johnson proposes a method in the realm of the anthropological and sociological approach to investigate connections between macro and micro discourses at play in language policy.

#### 2.4.4. The work of Ricento, Hornberger and Johnson

Following Ricento's (2000: 208) call for a conceptual framework that would link the macro and micro levels of LP, Ricento, Hornberger and Johnson have proposed the 'ethnography of language policy' in a series of single- and co-authored publications (see especially Hornberger and Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2009, 2010; Ricento and Hornberger, 1996). The 'ethnography of language policy' aims to investigate language policy interpretation and appropriation, by linking macro and micro analysis and combining critical discourse analysis with an ethnography of a local context or institution (Johnson, 2009: 140). As a result, for the most part, these studies use interviews and surveys. For instance, in his study of bilingual education language policy in the school district of Philadelphia (US), Johnson (2010) investigates how a group of educators uses a space left in the current LP for bilingual developmental education to create their own local language policy. To do so, he conducts a critical discourse analysis of policy texts at the local, federal and national levels (2010: 64), and of the educators' discourses that he collected during interviews (2010: 72-3).

In this sense, Johnson defines the purview of the ethnography of language policy as including "both critical analyses of local, state, and national policy *texts* and *discourses* as well as data collection on how such policy texts and discourses are interpreted and appropriated by agents in a local context" (2009: 142, my emphasis). This quotation indicates that, in this approach, language policy is still conceptualised as text and discourse. As he puts it, language policy is "an interconnected process generated and negotiated through policy *texts* and *discourse*" (Johnson, 2009: 156, my emphasis). In brief, Ricento, Hornberger and Johnson view texts, discourses and agency as being an interconnected part of a whole, which they refer to as the "LPP [language policy and planning] onion" (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 402). They argue that implicit and overt discourses should be investigated at each layer of the 'LPP onion' insofar as "each context – federal, state, district, school, classroom etc. – carries its own set of dominant and alternative discourses about language education and language policy" (Johnson, 2009: 154).

## **2.5. A focus on language practices**

So far, I have shown that LP scholars focused first on the macro-processes of language policy and planning (the traditional approach). They then turned to consider the ideologies and discourses at play, both at the macro- and the micro-level of a local context (the critical approach). Thirdly they began to explore speakers' agency (the anthropological and sociological approach). I now turn to the fourth and most recent focus in LP research, namely *actual language practices*. In what follows, I present a shift of focus – from discursive practices to language practices (§2.5.1.). Next, I discuss the inter-disciplinary perspective within which this shift takes place (§2.5.2.). After that, I examine the emergence of two strands of LP research that focus on language practices and show how they entail different conceptualisations of LP (§2.5.3 and §2.5.4.). Lastly, I emphasise the lack of a research method in the second strand of research and propose a relevant approach (§2.5.5).

### **2.5.1. A shift of focus to language practices**

The precursors to a shift of focus towards language practices are observable in those LP studies in which researchers testify to an interest towards actual language use, without yet studying language practices. This is the case, for instance, in Skilton-Sylvester's (2003) study discussed above (see section §2.4.3). Here, the author demonstrates an interest in the study of language choice practices in a classroom context in the United States. More specifically, she claims to be interested in whether Cambodian pupils use Khmer in their English medium classrooms; and, if Cambodian is used, how and why (2003: 174). However, in her paper, she does not give any examples of actual classroom talk. Instead, she discusses teachers' *discourses* about L1 use in the classroom. Similarly, in his study of language-in-education policies in the Catalan language area, Vila i Moreno (2008) acknowledges the need to study classroom language practices in order to evaluate the impact of recent language policies. However, he considers the study of actual classroom talk to be beyond the purview of his field. Rather than conducting his

own research of language use in classrooms in the Catalan language area, he simply refers to existing studies (Vila i Moreno, 2008: 42).

Interestingly, other LP researchers have crossed this line and started to include the study of actual language practices (e.g. Martin, 2005). Indeed, a new focus on language practices emerged in LP, and especially LIEP, research. This new focus has resulted in a convergence between the field of LP research and that of code-switching research. Although this is not the place to review the literature on code-switching research (for a review see Chapter Four), it should be noted that studies of language choice and alternation phenomena have also taken into account the LP of the context under investigation. For example, Lin (1996) has produced a study of classroom interaction, collected in an English-medium classroom in Hong Kong. She shows that the classroom participants' language choice strategies are a pragmatic response to the English-only policy of the school. In short, researchers interested in language policy issues and language choice issues now meet at the intersection of policy and practice in studies that claim to investigate 'language policy and practice' (LPP) (e.g. Lin and Martin, 2005; Muthwii, 2002; Nunan, 2003). Consequently, the traditional notion of 'language policy and planning' (LPP) is now superseded by the notion of 'language policy and practice' (LPP)<sup>4</sup>. Martin aptly summarises this shift in these words:

“‘Top-down’ approaches, focusing on policy and planning decisions, have been brought together with ‘bottom-up’ accounts of what is actually happening at the classroom level.” (2005: 74).

This new focus on language practices is taken up in two different ways, which are detailed in the later sections of this chapter (§2.5.3 and §2.5.4.). For the moment, I will turn to the inter-disciplinary perspective on LP and LIEP research, in which this new focus has emerged.

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<sup>4</sup> As I indicated at the start of this chapter, because of the ambivalence of the abbreviation LPP (which could refer to either 'language policy and planning' or 'language policy and practice'), I use the more neutral and general term 'language policy' research (LP).

### **2.5.2. An inter-disciplinary approach to LP and LIEP research**

Increasingly, LP scholars have conducted inter-disciplinary research. Indeed, in order to address more than one of the focuses discussed above in a single study, scholars have had to combine various theoretical and methodological approaches, such as textual analysis, critical discourse analysis and ethnographic approaches. This is a consequence of LP researchers' efforts to situate LP research in the broader field of sociolinguistics and to make it more and more permeable to other research fields in the social sciences and humanities (see Ricento, 2006a: x).

In fact, an inter-disciplinary perspective on LP research can be found as early as the seminal work of Ball (e.g. 1990, 1993). In conceptualising LP as both text and discourse, Ball declares that “what we need in policy analysis is a toolbox of diverse concepts and theories” (1993: 10). He illustrates this kind of “composite theory approach” (1993: 15) in his study of the politics of educational reform in the UK (Ball, 1990). Later, focusing on texts, discourse and agency, Ricento defines LP research as “a multidisciplinary and an interdisciplinary activity” (2006b: 9). In turn, LP scholars focusing on texts, discourse, agency and language practices all conduct inter-disciplinary research. For instance, Lin argues that researchers need to adopt “transdisciplinary perspectives on language-in-education policy and practice” (2005: 39). She highlights the case of LIEP studies conducted in Hong Kong and notes that, depending on researchers' conceptualisation of ‘policy’, various approaches have been used, such as critical discourse analysis (e.g. Pennycook, 2002) and critical ethnographies (e.g. Lin, 1996). In order to overcome the potential compartmentalisation and fragmentation of LP and LIEP research, Lin suggests “travel[ling] between different disciplinary perspectives” (Lin, 2005: 51) and being “both pragmatic and flexible in research paradigms and approaches” (Lin, 2008: 284).

Indeed, more inter-disciplinary studies are being conducted, especially studies of language-in-education policy and practice. A good example is the collection of papers in an issue of the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* edited by Li Wei and Martin (2009a). Every study in this volume draws on a number of epistemological and theoretical approaches, including

ethnography of communication, critical social theory and interactional sociolinguistics (Li Wei and Martin, 2009b: 118). Within an inter-disciplinary approach to LP research, the question arises as to what specific approach can be best used to investigate language practices in LP and LIEP studies. In what follows, I show how the study of language practices in LP research has been tackled in two different ways.

### **2.5.3. Strand 1: Language policy *vis-à-vis* language practices**

In the first strand of research, language practices are investigated *vis-à-vis* language policy, which is still conceptualised as text and/or discourse. More specifically, LP scholars investigate actual language practices against the backdrop of language policies in order to evaluate whether policies are implemented or challenged. Language practices are considered, therefore, as a site in which tensions between policy and speakers' agency are best observed.

A significant example of this first strand of language policy and practice research is Martin's (2005) study of two classrooms in two rural schools in Malaysia. As Martin puts it, this study "purposely gives emphasis to the actual language practices in the schools, as many studies that purport to consider policy and practice together actually give pre-eminence to the former and neglect the latter" (2005: 93). He conducts a "discourse-analytic study" (2005: 93) of classroom language practices to see how the classroom participants put policy into practice (2005: 94). In this respect, language choice practices are interpreted *vis-à-vis* the schools' language policies. Findings demonstrate the existence of tensions between policy and practice insofar as the classroom participants disengage with the school language policy by using a language other than the prescribed language of instruction. The notion of a tension existing between policy and practice has since become a common thread in LIEP studies conducted within this first strand of research. As Canagarajah notes, "the field of LPP [language policy and practice] is now moving towards a more localised orientation that takes these tensions, ambiguities, and paradoxes seriously" (2005: 195).

Heller's work (see for instance 1996, 2001, 2007) is also representative of this body of research, which analyses classroom language practices with regards to the language policy stated by a school. In her ethnographic study of L'École Champlain, a French medium high-school in Ontario (Canada), Heller has thoroughly investigated how pupils' language choice practices reflect the way different groups within the school – that is, the English and French bilinguals, the monolingual Quebecois and the Francophone immigrant students mainly from Africa – position themselves socially. This very complex and rich situation enables Heller to reflect on the multiple tensions existing between the English-speaking majority group and the French-speaking minority group, as well as between the Canadian French-speaking minority group and the immigrant French-speaking minority group. In taking the position that “language is so often explicitly a terrain of social struggle” (2001: 117), Heller interprets language choice acts in the school with regards to the school language policy. In this sense, since the school explicitly adopts a French monolingual language policy, Heller interprets the use of English (and any languages other than French) as being a deviance from the policy and, therefore, as an act of ‘rebellion’ against the monolingual identity that the school is trying to impose on its pupils. This is a clear example of the first strand of research according to which practices are interpreted vis-à-vis a top-down policy.

Other significant examples of LIEP studies that have been conducted within this first strand of language policy and practice research can be found in the special issue of the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* mentioned above, entitled ‘Conflicts and tensions in classroom codeswitching’ (Li Wei and Martin, 2009a). Particularly noteworthy contributions are Rashka *et al.* (2009), Tien (2009) and Li Wei and Wu (2009). The last explores tensions between policy and practice in Chinese complementary school classrooms in the UK. Their main argument is that bilingual children switch creatively between English and Chinese in order to challenge, on the one hand, the teacher's authority and, on the other hand, the school's monolingual policy. A key finding is that “Chinese pupils used their language skills to simultaneously follow and flout the rules and norms of behaviour in the school” (2009: 208). This indicates that language practices are



indeed investigated with reference to the “rules and norms of behaviour of the school” – in other words, the school language policy. Similarly, Rashka *et al.* (2009) and Tien (2009) examine conflicts and tensions between the multilingual practices in Taiwanese EFL classrooms and the pressures of English-only ideologies. In these studies, language practices are also investigated in relation to language policies, which are mainly conceptualised here as discourses, that is, as monolingual ideologies of language teaching and learning. In brief, whether LP scholars conceptualise language policy as either text or discourse or both, language practices are systematically interpreted with regard to a language policy determined *outside* interaction. This is the main difference between this first strand of research and the second strand of research, in which LP is argued to exist *within* language practices.

#### **2.5.4. Strand 2: language policy in practices. The work of Spolsky**

In the second strand of research, it is suggested that language practices can be analysed with reference to a language policy, not only at the level of texts or discourses, but also at the level of practices themselves. A third conceptualisation of language policy is thus entailed; one whereby language policy is conceptualised as being within practices. This conceptualisation has been proposed by Spolsky (2004, 2007, 2008a).

In his first step towards a theory of LP, Spolsky (2007) follows Fishman’s (1972) domain analysis, arguing that each of the identified domains of a specific community – such as school, home and church – “has its own policy, with some features controlled internally and others under the influence or control of external forces” (2007: 2). Furthermore, he contends that the LP within a specific domain has three main components: (1) *language management* (i.e. “the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document, about language use”, Spolsky, 2004: 11); (2) *language beliefs or ideology* (i.e. “what people think should be done”, Spolsky, 2004: 14); and (3) *language practices* (i.e. “what people actually do”, Spolsky, 2004: 14) (see also

Spolsky, 2007 and 2008a). Crucially, he writes that there is a policy at the level of each of these three components and that the LP observed at each of these three levels may differ (2004: 217):

“It [i.e. a language policy] may be discovered in the linguistic behaviour (language practices) of the individual or group. It may also be discovered in the ideology or beliefs about language of the individual or group. Finally, it may be made explicit in the formal language management or planning decisions of an authorised body” (Spolsky, 2004: 217).

To a large extent, the first two components of Spolsky’s (2004) model of LP echo the first two conceptualisations of LP discussed so far (language policy as text and as discourse). However, Spolsky’s statement that there is a language policy in language practices represents a decisive development in the field. In the first strand of research, LP has been conceptualised as a notion separate from that of practice. However, in the second strand, Spolsky argues that policy and practice need not be seen as distinct. In fact, he claims that there is policy in language practices themselves. In a key statement, he explains that practices “constitute a policy to the extent that they are regular and predictable” (2007: 3).

The idea that language practices are regular and predictable can be traced in some of Spolsky’s earlier publications. Indeed, Spolsky and Shohamy have observed that “practice forms a recognisable and analysable *set of patterns*” (2000: 29, my emphasis). They have also stated that “practice refers to the *deducible, implicit rules* that seem to underlie the language use of a defined community” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 2, my emphasis; see also Spolsky, 2004: 9). For them, the term ‘practice’ does not only refer to language use but also to a policy underlying language use. This is later confirmed by Spolsky, who writes that “language policy may refer to all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity” (2004: 9). In order to refer to Spolsky’s conceptualisation of practice as policy, I propose the term *practiced language policy*. The study of a practiced language policy thus involves the identification of these “deducible, implicit rules” underlying language use. As Spolsky and Shohamy put it:

“It assumes that we could derive from a study of language use in the community a set of descriptive and explanatory rules that would somehow capture the idea that

members of the community have of appropriate behaviour” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 29).

In addition, Spolsky argues that the policy at the level of language use – and not at the level of management or beliefs – is the “real language policy”: “the real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than [sic] its management” (Spolsky, 2004: 222; see also Spolsky, 2007: 3). It is also the most influential, as the following passage explains:

“The theory I am exploring will hold that each of these three components [i.e. management, beliefs and practices] within (and, as we shall see, others outside) the domain produces forces that account for language choices by participants. *Strongest of all is language practice*” (Spolsky, 2007: 4, my emphasis).

At this point, it is necessary to reiterate the difference between the first strand of research on language policy and practice (see for instance Heller, 1996, 2001, 2007; Martin, 2005; or Li Wei and Martin 2009a) and the second strand of research proposed by Spolsky (e.g. 2004, 2007) and developed in this thesis. Namely, the former invites the analyst to interpret language choice practices with regards to a policy situated *outside* interaction (for example a policy stated by a head of school or written in a constitution) while the latter invites the analyst to interpret language choice practices with regards to a policy situated *within* interaction. However, as I pointed out in Chapter One, Spolsky’s conceptualisation of a practiced language policy remains essentially programmatic since he does not indicate how practiced language policies can be investigated. The aim of this thesis is thus to address this methodological gap, and the main claim is that Conversation Analysis can be used to investigate practiced language policies.

### **2.5.5. A proposed Conversation Analytic approach**

To start with, it should be noted that Conversation Analysis (CA) has been proposed for the investigation of other aspects of LP research, most notably by Jernudd (1991), who has suggested using CA in language planning. For him, the aim of language planning is to solve language problems. In this respect, he claims that “a theory of language problems must reveal how language problems occur in communicative acts” (1991: 31). Since CA and language planning share a common

interest in trouble and repair in conversation, he suggests using CA as a starting point for the planning of languages (1991: 32). In what follows, I explain why CA presents itself as a possible approach to the investigation of practiced language policies.

Although Spolsky did not indicate how to study practiced language policies, some of his statements seem to echo key CA principles (discussed in detail in Chapter Four, section §4.3; for introductory texts on CA see also Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998; Liddicoat, 2007; Psathas, 1995; ten Have, 2007). First, Spolsky writes that, to investigate a language policy at the level of language use, one should “look at what people do and not at what they think should be done or what someone else wants them to do” (2004: 218). This central focus on actual language interaction is shared by Conversation Analysts, who study “the everyday nature of talk” (Liddicoat, 2007: 2) in naturally occurring interaction.

Secondly, as I described earlier, Spolsky argues that there is a policy at the level of language practices insofar as they are “regular and predictable” (2007: 3). He explains that language practices form “sets of patterns” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 29). The assumption that language acts are regular is also shared by CA practitioners, whose principal aim is to study the “order/organisation/orderliness of social action” (Psathas, 1995: 2) and especially of talk activities. Likewise, Spolsky’s acknowledgment of “patterns” of language acts echoes Conversation Analysts’ interest in describing “interactional practices”, that is, “recurrent activities that have their own structures” (Young, 2008: 61).

Thirdly, Spolsky states that what he calls “language practice” is the strongest force accounting for language choices by participants (2007: 4). He uses the term “practice” to refer to “the deducible, implicit rules that seem to underlie the language use of a defined community” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 2). This understanding of practice echoes CA’s understanding of “interactional norms” (Hymes, 1972). From an Ethnomethodological/Conversation Analytic perspective, interactional norms are understood as “a point of reference or action template for interpretation” (Seedhouse, 2004: 10). They are what speakers use to know whether

a practice is appropriate in a given context. In other words, norms are used by speakers as “schemes” (Garfinkel, 1967) to interpret each other’s language acts. In this respect, it should be stressed that Spolsky’s understanding of ‘practice’ corresponds to CA’s understanding of ‘norms’ and that CA’s understanding of ‘practice’ corresponds to Spolsky’s understanding of ‘patterns of language use’.

Fourthly, Spolsky and Shohamy state that in order to discover these “deducible and implicit rules” one needs to study their “nonobservance” (2000: 29). They write that these rules “are not always observable, but [...] their nonobservance is noticeable, in the way that a car driving faster than the speed limit is noticeable but does not disprove the existence of a law controlling speed” (2000: 29). The study of the nonobservance of rules evokes Conversation Analysts’ “deviant cases analyses” (Heritage, 1984a, 1988), a method that studies “any case that seems to depart from a previously formulated rule or pattern” (ten Have, 1999: 136).

All in all, there are enough pointers in Spolsky’s (2004, 2007; Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000) LP model to CA as an appropriate method to study what I call a practiced language policy. It is on these grounds that I claim that CA is an efficient approach to the investigation of practiced language policies.

## **2.6. Summary**

In this chapter, I have reviewed the four different focuses of LP research since its development as a research field in the 1960s; namely, language planning models, language ideologies and discourses, agency, and language practices. I have also shown that these four focuses entail three different ways of conceptualising language policy. Language policy has been, and still is today, conceptualised as (1) text (i.e. an authoritative statement, either verbal or written, of what should be done), (2) discourse (i.e. a set of beliefs and ideologies of what should be done) or (3) practice (i.e. a set of norms about what is usually done) – or as a combination of the three. That is, texts, discourses or practices (or a combination of the three) are understood to be what influences language choice and alternation acts. As Spolsky puts it, they produce “forces that account for language choices by participants”

(2007: 4). Furthermore, I have highlighted the fact that, while LP researchers have adopted various approaches to investigate policy as text and policy as discourse, no approach has yet been suggested to investigate policy in practices. I have thus proposed a Conversation Analytic approach to the study of practiced language policies. The remaining chapters of this thesis report a case study I have conducted by way of investigating this claim.

## - Chapter 3 -

### From France to La Plaine

#### **3.1. Introduction**

In the previous chapter, I have identified a methodological gap in the LP research literature and have claimed that Conversation Analysis can be used to study practiced language policies. I have also said how, in order to support this claim, I conducted a case study of an induction classroom for newly-arrived immigrant children in France, investigating its practiced language policy. As already explained above (see Chapter One, §1.4), I have chosen to base the case study in a multilingual classroom context in order to build on my previous research experience in a similar context (Bonacina, 2005). I also made the hypothesis that language policy issues would be more salient in an environment in which more than one language was available. Furthermore, I chose to conduct the case study in France – where I was born and raised – as I thought my familiarity with French society and the French education system would facilitate data collection and interpretation. In this chapter, I present France’s monolingual language management and ideology, moving from the macro-level of the state to the micro-level of the target induction classroom. In the first place, I present France’s monolingual language policy (LP) (§3.2). I then examine France’s monolingual language-in-education policy (LIEP) in the specific domain of French state schools (§3.3). Next, I introduce France’s educational provisions for newly-arrived immigrant children, detailing the policy of induction classrooms at primary level (§3.4). Lastly, I move to the micro-level of the target induction classroom, describing the primary school in which it is located (which I refer to as La Plaine) and the profiles of its participants (§3.5).

### **3.2. France's monolingual language policy**

As Spolsky puts it, “France is the paradigmatic case for strong ideology and management” (2004: 63). In what follows, I describe these two aspects of France's monolingual policy, namely, “language management” and “language ideologies”.

#### **3.2.1. The management of the French language**

The variety of French promoted and protected in France's language policy is, historically, the dialect of Ile de France (Francien), which has undergone processes of standardisation (for a full review of the standardisation of French see, for instance, Ager, 1996: 29-39). France's monolingual LP has been (and still is) stated and protected by numerous language management processes. For example, many laws have been passed to establish and maintain French as the official language of France. By way of illustration, three can be mentioned (for a full review of France's language management see Ager, 1996: 40-45 and Spolsky, 2004: 66-67. See also Salhi, 2002 for a review of France's language management outside France). Firstly, the *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts*,<sup>5</sup> signed by François I in 1539, stated that French had to be used in legal documents and in French courts. Secondly, the 1794 decree following the French Revolution imposed the use of French throughout French territory. Thirdly and more recently, in 1992, the French Parliament changed the 1958 Constitution to give French the constitutional status of the official language of the Republic: “[t]he language of the Republic shall be French”<sup>6</sup> (Constitution de la République Française, 1958: Article 2, my translation). In addition, many institutions have been created to regulate and protect the French language, including the well known *Académie Française*<sup>7</sup> and the lesser known *Conseil Supérieur de la Langue Française*<sup>8</sup> and *Délégation Générale à la Langue Française*<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> ‘The edicts of Villers-Cotterêts’.

<sup>6</sup> “La langue de la République est le français” (Conseil Constitutionnel, original version).

<sup>7</sup> ‘The French Academy’.

<sup>8</sup> ‘The High Council of the French Language’.

<sup>9</sup> ‘The General Delegation to the French Language’.



This monolingual language management has rarely been challenged. One example is the debate over what is commonly referred to as the ‘Toubon Law’<sup>10</sup> (Loi n°94-665) (for a full discussion, see Ager, 1996: 156-168). Proposed and passed in 1994, the Toubon Law made the use of French compulsory in four domains – consumer protection, employment, education, and audio-visual communication – and initially forbade the use of foreign words. However, the Constitutional Council stopped the Senate ratifying it on the basis that it did not conform to Article eleven of the ‘Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen’, which states:

“The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious rights of Man. Any citizen may therefore *speak, write and publish freely*, except when this is tantamount to the abuse of this liberty in the cases determined by Law”<sup>11</sup> (*Déclaration des Droits de l’Homme et du Citoyen*, my translation, my emphasis).

Thus far, the notion that any citizen can “speak, write and publish freely” had been understood as a freedom of content and not of linguistic means (Encrevé, 2005). Therefore, in addition to causing the amendment of the Toubon Law, the decision of the Constitutional Council raised a new awareness of constitutional linguistic rights, which has been drawn upon in later initiatives to support the use of languages other than French (see section §3.2.3 and §3.2.4).

### **3.2.2. The French linguistic ideology**

France’s monolingual language management is based on two ideological principles: national unity and Equality for All. The first one refers to the belief that the French language unifies the French nation; that is, that one language makes one nation (‘one-nation-one-language’). This belief was a driving force in the construction of France as a nation-state. Indeed, the propagation of French as the one and only language of the nation was thought to bring cohesion. For instance, after the French Revolution, Deputy Bertrand Barère and Abbot Grégoire promoted the ideas that a republican nation was intrinsically monolingual and that ignoring the state language

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<sup>10</sup> Named after the Minister of Culture and Francophone Affairs of the time, Jacques Toubon.

<sup>11</sup> “La libre communication des pensées et des opinions est un des droits les plus précieux de l’homme: tout citoyen peut donc parler, écrire, imprimer librement, sauf à répondre de l’abus de cette liberté dans les cas déterminés par la loi” (*Déclaration des Droits de l’Homme et du Citoyen*, original version).

was betraying one's country (Encrevé, 2005). Similarly, as early as the seventeenth century, French was the policy-prescribed language of all state institutions, which served the unification and centralisation of France. In this respect, it has often been argued persuasively that the French language has been used as a national emblem, alongside the French flag and the national anthem (e.g. Ager, 1999: 192; Spolsky, 2004: 65). The belief that the unity of France lies in linguistic homogeneity is often referred to as 'the French linguistic ideology'<sup>12</sup> (Encrevé, 2005) and still informs today's language management in France; with the exception that the notion of 'social cohesion' has now largely replaced that of 'national unity' (Ager, 1996: 204).

The second ideology underlying the language management of French is the republican principle of 'Equality for All'<sup>13</sup>, according to which all citizens are equal and should therefore be treated the same. Equality of opportunity is thought to be best provided in a linguistically uniform state (Spolsky, 2004: 65). In this sense, French citizens have the right to use French and, as Ager puts it, "immigrants have rights (to use French, rather than their own language)" (1996: 206). Clearly influenced by communitarian philosophy, this ideology results in the belief that "difference is [...] a disadvantage to the individual" (Wright, 2004: 185). Given that the principle of 'Equality for All' emerged during the French Revolution, it has often been thought that France's monolingual language policy stemmed from the Revolution. However, it is worth mentioning here that, immediately after the Revolution, the French republic proclaimed a multilingual policy, in which policy documents had to be translated into the various regional languages of France. As Encrevé sums up, "during the democratic times of the Revolution, all the languages of France were languages of the Republic"<sup>14</sup> (2005, my translation). It was a few years later, when the Jacobins took power in a time referred to as '*la Terreur*'<sup>15</sup> (1793-1794), that the state enforced a French monolingual policy.

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<sup>12</sup> In French, 'l'Idéologie Linguistique Française'.

<sup>13</sup> In French, 'l'Égalité pour tous'.

<sup>14</sup> "Durant les temps démocratiques de la Révolution, toutes les langues de France étaient langues de la République" (Encrevé, 2005, original version).

<sup>15</sup> Literally, 'the Terror'.

### 3.2.3. The place of regional languages

The French linguistic ideology is further seen in the way that language diversity has been treated. Indeed, the establishment of French as the language of the French republic has been pursued at the expense of France's regional languages. In the name of unification, regional languages were erased from the public sphere. The famous quotation from Barère in his 1794 *Rapport sur les Idioms*<sup>16</sup> testifies to early negative attitudes towards the use of languages other than French:

“Federalism and superstition speak bas-Breton; immigration and hatred of the Republic speak German; counter-Revolution speaks Italian and fanaticism speaks Basque. Let us break these instruments of damage and error”<sup>17</sup> (in Schiffman, 1996: 294, my translation).

Multilingualism being associated with federalism, regional languages and linguistic difference were suppressed and individual language rights disappeared (see also Wright, 2004: 181). For instance, in order to provide equal treatment for all French citizens, representatives from state institutions increasingly used French and refused to interact in other languages. As Spolsky puts it, “equality emerged as of higher value than liberty” (2004: 65). A good case in point is the French debate over the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (Council of Europe, 1992). France was asked to join the *Charter* and thereby to promote the use of regional or minority languages in education, media, administrative and judicial settings, economic and social life, and cultural activities. However, due to Article 1 of the French constitution – which states that all citizens should be treated equally, regardless of their origin, race or religion – the French Constitutional Council forbade ratification of the *Charter* (see Conseil Constitutionnel, 1999: Decision Number 99-412). Therefore, constitutionally, regional languages cannot receive any institutional support.

Although this may look as if France's *de facto* multilingualism has not been recognised, the debate over the *Charter* led to the acknowledgment of regional languages. Indeed, at the time of the debate, the French government made a list of the languages that would receive support, should the *Charter* be ratified. Taking

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<sup>16</sup> Literally, ‘Report on Languages’.

<sup>17</sup> “Le fédéralisme et la superstition parlent bas-breton; l’émigration et la haine de la République parlent allemand; la contre-révolution parle l’italien et le fanatisme parle le basque. Cassons ces instruments de dommage et d’erreur” (Schiffman, 1996: 294, original version).

into account that dialects of the official language and the languages of immigrants do not fall under the *Charter*, seventy-five ‘languages of France’ spoken by ‘nationals’ were listed (Cerquiglini, 1999). As a result, the former *Délégation Générale à la Langue Française* became the *Délégation Générale à la Langue Française et aux Langues de France*<sup>18</sup> (DGLFLF) in 2001. Nevertheless, on the homepage of the DGLFLF website, French is still promoted as the sole language that gives “a sense of belonging to a community”<sup>19</sup> (see <http://www.dglf.culture.gouv.fr/>). In brief, French monolingualism still holds sway in France’s language policy.

### 3.2.4. The place of immigrant languages

As early as the end of the nineteenth century, immigration shaped the French nation. Immigration from Eastern Europe, Southern Europe and Belgium was encouraged, so as to increase the population. Since then, immigrants have arrived from Italy in the 1920s, from Spain fleeing the civil war in the 1930s, from other European countries fleeing the rise of fascism, and from Africa and Portugal in the 1970s (for a full review of France’s history of immigration see for instance Noiriel, 2006 and Schor, 1996). According to the latest statistics, 5.1 million immigrants<sup>20</sup> live in mainland France (see [http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau.asp?reg\\_id=0&ref\\_id=NATTEF02162](http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau.asp?reg_id=0&ref_id=NATTEF02162)).

Immigration from Europe is decreasing (41% in 2004 against 46% in 1999); while immigration from Asia (14% in 2004 against 12% in 1999) and Africa (42% in 2004 against 39% in 1999) is increasing (INSEE, 2005: 4). Unfortunately, to date there are no questions in the French census about language. As a consequence, few statistics are available about what languages are spoken by immigrants in France. One exception is a recent language survey (INSEE, 2002) that reveals that the

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<sup>18</sup> Literally, ‘General Delegation to the French Language and the Languages of France’.

<sup>19</sup> In the original text: “un sentiment d’appartenance à une communauté”.

<sup>20</sup> According to the definition imposed by the Higher Council of Integration in 1991, an ‘immigrant’ is a person born abroad who does not possess French nationality and who has entered France with the intention of settling there permanently - while a ‘foreigner’ is a person who does not have French nationality but who lives in France (INSEE, 2005: 3). It implies that not all immigrants are foreigners (i.e. some immigrants have acquired the French nationality – but remain immigrants as they were born in a foreign country) and, conversely, that not all foreigners are immigrants (i.e. some foreigners are born in France) (Noiriel, 2006: iii).

languages immigrants use most often at home are first Arabic (all varieties), then Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German, Polish and Turkish.

In a nation that has been built around an ideology of sameness, linguistic diversity (immigrant and regional languages) is seen as a “problem” (Mühläusler, 1996) and as a challenge to the unity of France. In fact, to a large extent, immigration has been dealt with in the same way as regionalism. That is, immigrants have been asked to assimilate to the French nation. Unlike Britain’s multicultural model of integration – in which immigrant communities are recognised – France operates what can be called a ‘monocultural’ model of integration. In France, communities are not recognised. Instead, they are linguistically and culturally assimilated. In this respect, it has been noted that the notion of ‘community’ itself is absent from French political discourse (Laparra, 1993: 55) and those of ‘community rights’ and ‘multiculturalism’ are dismissed as “the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ approach” (Ager, 1996: 99). In brief, in France, individual particularities are disregarded in favour of a homogenisation process (see also Abdallah-Preteuille, 1998: 95). Speaking an immigrant (or a regional) language is not perceived as a sign of belonging to a specific community, but rather as an indicator of individual difference. Since all individuals should be treated equally regardless of their differences, individual particularities (and, in this case, speaking an immigrant language) are not supported, or even acknowledged, by state institutions. While this model of integration is now widely criticised among French scholars, on the basis that it ignores France’s *de facto* multiculturalism and multilingualism (e.g. Abdallah-Preteuille, 1998; Galligani, 2008; Lorcerie, 2002), it has often been seen as a necessary means of preserving the unity of the French nation and France’s social cohesion (e.g. Schnapper, 1991: 102).

The French language plays a major role in France’s integration policy. This is underpinned by the belief that knowing French is the “motor”, the “first asset” (DGLFLF, 2006: 55), and the “essential condition” (Boyzon-Fradet, 1997: 93) for the integration of newly-arrived immigrants. Just as French was used as a catalyst for the unification of the nation, it is used today as the vector of integration policies (see also Ager, 1996: 98). Indeed, mastering the French language has recently

become a key requirement for being granted either French nationality or a residence permit (see Loi n°2003-1119; Loi n°2006-911; Loi n°2007-1631). More specifically, immigrants have had to sign a *Contrat d'Accueil et d'Intégration*<sup>21</sup> (Loi n°2005-32, 18 January 2005: Article 146, Chapter VII), which compels them to attend French language classes (between 200 and 500 hours) and to pass a language test. Should the latter be unsuccessful, residence permits and French nationality are not granted. For example, in 2005, 85000 contracts (90% of immigrants) were signed (Chiss, 2007: 386) and around 3000 requests for French naturalisation were rejected on the basis that candidates had failed their 'linguistic integration' (DGLFLF, 2006: 56). As for immigrants' languages, they are not mentioned at any point in policy texts regulating integration processes, as if, as Galligani puts it, "immigrants accepted in this country have to forget their language(s) in order to be better absorbed by the official language"<sup>22</sup> (2007: 290, my translation). In this regard, France's model of assimilation has had a profound impact on the linguistic repertoire of the French population, leading, in some cases, to language death and loss of identity and, in other cases, to the creation of new languages (such as French-based creoles) and new hybrid identities.

### **3.3. France's monolingual language-in-education policy**

So far, I have presented France's monolingual language policy. I now turn to France's monolingual language-in-education policy, focusing on state primary schools where I have been given access in order to conduct a case study of an induction classroom. In this third section, I first present the role of French in state schools (§3.3.1) and then discuss the unequal provisions for the teaching of other languages, especially immigrant languages (§3.3.2).

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<sup>21</sup> Literally, a 'Contract of Welcome and Integration'.

<sup>22</sup> "Tout porte à croire que l'étranger admis sur cette terre d'accueil se doit d'oublier sa ou ses langues pour être mieux absorbé par la langue officielle" (Galligani, 2007: 290, original version).

### 3.3.1. French and school

Since the era of nation-state building in France, state schools have been a key tool for the spread of French and subsequently for the unification of France around a single language. Indeed, since their creation in the Falloux Law (1851), state schools have been using French as the sole language of instruction. After the Ferry Laws in the 1880s state schools became free, secular and compulsory. Every child received instruction in French; a highly efficient way of promoting the use of French across the territory. In fact, state schools have become the main tool of linguistic standardisation and homogenisation (Pooley, 2000: 132) and the main channel to promote a sense of national identity (of which the French language is a key symbol). As Wright puts it, “French education was education to be a French national” (2004: 63).

Nowadays, the French language still plays a fundamental role in state schools, especially primary schools. Still charged with the responsibility to inculcate Republican values, state primary schools are required “to remain the guarantor of the Republican ideal: allowing every child to become, through teaching, a free and enlightened citizen”<sup>23</sup> (Darcos, 2008; Minister of Education and Culture). Being closely tied to Republican values, the French language thus remains at the core of the state education system. This is illustrated, for instance, by the fact that French gained the status of official language of instruction in 1994:

“The language of teaching, exams, entrance examinations, as well as theses and dissertations in public and private education institutions is French, except for the teaching of foreign and regional languages and cultures or, when teachers are visiting professors or foreign guests”<sup>24</sup> (Code de l’Education: Article L-121-3: II, my translation).

Another example of the importance of French is that, in the latest educational programmes for state primary schools, the teaching of the French language takes up most of the teaching hours in the year; the aim being that pupils “master the French

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<sup>23</sup> “L’école primaire doit rester garante de l’idéal républicain : permettre à chaque enfant de devenir, par l’instruction, un citoyen libre et éclairé” (Darcos, 2008, original version).

<sup>24</sup> “La langue de l’enseignement, des examens et concours, ainsi que des thèses et mémoires dans les établissements publics et privés d’enseignement est le français, sauf exceptions justifiées par les nécessités de l’enseignement des langues et cultures régionales ou étrangères, ou lorsque les enseignants sont des professeurs associés ou invités étrangers” (Code de l’Education, Article L-121-3: II, original version).

language”<sup>25</sup> (MEN, 2008: 3, 9, 13). In short, state primary schools are ingrained in a “traditional monolingual *habitus*” (Hélot and Young, 2006: 69). This is illustrated further by the limited educational provisions for languages other than French in state primary schools.

### 3.3.2. Other languages and school

For a long time, primary schools have been impervious to languages other than French (Boulot and Boizon-Fradet, 1987: 163; see also Ager, 1996: 43). In 1951, the Deixonne Law gave limited status to four regional languages: Basque, Breton, Occitan, and Catalan. This status was subsequently extended to other regional languages such as Corsican. Since 2000, all regional languages can be taught in schools and their use in classroom talk is allowed to support the teaching of French (Code de l’Education: Article L312-11). Since 2002, the teaching of foreign and regional languages have been introduced as an integral part of primary school programmes, marking the end of the exclusivity of French in primary schools (MEN, 2002d). Presently, primary school pupils can choose, in theory, between: classes of ‘modern foreign languages’ (including English, German, Arabic, Chinese, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and Russian), ‘regional languages’ (including Alsatian, Corsican, Provençal, Basque and Breton) and ‘languages of origin’, that is, immigrant languages<sup>26</sup> (including Arabic<sup>27</sup>, Moroccan, Turkish, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian) (MEN, 2007). However, in practice, 89.65% of state primary school pupils choose to learn English (DGESCO, 2009).

In fact, this tri-partite categorisation reflects (and feeds into) a hierarchy among languages other than French, at the top of which is English (Falip and Deslandes, 1990: 89; Hélot and Young, 2002: 96; Hélot and Young, 2006: 73). This hierarchy is also reflected in the fact that each category of languages receives unequal support. Foreign and regional language classes are fully integrated into the primary school curriculum (MEN, 2008: 16), while immigrant language classes are

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<sup>25</sup> “Maîtrisent la langue française” in the original version.

<sup>26</sup> Throughout this thesis, I refer to the French ‘langue d’origine’ as ‘immigrant languages’.

<sup>27</sup> Some languages are present in more than one category because classes of ‘languages of origin’ are open only to speakers of these languages, while ‘modern foreign language’ classes are open to beginners.



not. Bilingual programmes have developed in regional languages (in the form of partial immersion education<sup>28</sup>; see MEN, 2001), and have recently emerged in main European languages (in the form of Content and Language Integrated Learning<sup>29</sup>). However, no such programme exists in immigrant languages. In brief, more support is given to monolingual children to learn an additional language than to existing bilingual children to maintain their home language (see also Hélot, 2003: 274; Hélot and Young, 2006: 75). Bilingualism in French and an immigrant language is “left in limbo” (Hélot and Young, 2006: 76). As Hélot writes, “it is also clear that linguistic and cultural diversity is seen as providing resources for the individual and the society in the case of dominant endogenous languages but not when it concerns immigrant languages” (2003: 272).

The lack of policy support for immigrant languages indicates that they are not as highly valued as regional and foreign languages. This is confirmed by some French scholars who claim that bilingualism in an immigrant language is perceived negatively in France’s education system. For instance, they report that it is perceived by education practitioners as “an obstacle” to learning French (Hélot, 2003: 258; Hélot and Young, 2002: 100; Varro, 1990: 6), as a source of learning difficulties and of education failure (Hélot and Young, 2002: 97; Hélot and Young, 2006: 73; Varro, 1994: 117), and as slowing down integration (Hélot, 2003: 258; Hélot and Young, 2006: 71). In the specific case of newly-arrived immigrant children, bilingualism in an immigrant language is perceived as “a handicap” rather than an asset (Abdallah-Preteuille, 1982: 13; Auger, 2009; Boizon-Fradet, 1997: 95; Hélot and Young, 2006: 76; Laparra, 1990: 9); so much so that newly-arrived children speaking an immigrant language apparently do not consider themselves to be bilingual (Auger, 2008a: 127; 2008b: 201). Varro’s interviews with Parisian induction teachers also show that the notion of ‘bilingualism’ is not used when referring to newly-arrived immigrant children’s linguistic repertoire (1990: 6). It is only used to refer to that of children speaking an ‘elite language’, that is, a major

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<sup>28</sup> In the model of ‘Partial Immersion Education’, children are taught half of the school curriculum in a regional language and the other half through French.

<sup>29</sup> In the model of ‘Content and Language Integrated Learning’, one or two school subjects are taught in the medium of a foreign language.

European language. Likewise, negative attitudes are to be found among mainstream teachers, who perceive learners of French as an additional language as speaking a “hybrid language” that is neither French nor their home language (Mazurkiewicz and Varro, 2001: 45). In short, children’s bilingualism in an immigrant language has either a “mauvaise réputation” (i.e. literally ‘bad reputation’; Tabouret-Keller, 1990) or simply goes unnoticed (Hélot, 2003: 258; Varro, 1990: 5). This belief is reflected in educational provisions for newly-arrived immigrant children, which adopt a “compensatory” view of education; in which teaching aims to “overcome the ‘problem’ of lack of language proficiency among language minority students” (Mora *et al.*, 2001: 412).

### **3.4. France’s educational provision for newly-arrived immigrant children**

In the French education system, second generation immigrant children and newly-arrived immigrant children do not receive the same school-based support. The former receive the same treatment as other French pupils, while the latter attend induction programmes. This third section focuses on the educational provision for newly-arrived immigrant children. Firstly, I examine the target population (§3.4.1), before providing an overview of school-based support (§3.4.2) and a description of the functioning of induction classrooms at primary level (§3.4.3).

#### **3.4.1. The target population defined**

Since the implementation of induction programmes in the 1970s, the target learning population has been defined in various ways (for a full discussion see Galligani, 2008). In some policy documents (e.g. MEN 1970, 1978, 2002a), induction programmes are said to be designed for “foreign children” and in others for “immigrant children” (e.g. MEN, 1975, 1976, 1977). Given that the terms ‘foreigner’ and ‘immigrant’ refer to children with different statuses,<sup>30</sup> the use of one or the other term has had important implications in terms of demarcating whom

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<sup>30</sup> See note 20.

induction programmes are for. In fact, this inconsistency has led to the misunderstanding that induction programmes are meant to provide support for second generation immigrants (Hélot, 2003: 268). In order to overcome this confusion, the latest policy documents state that they are designed exclusively for “newly-arrived immigrant children”<sup>31</sup> (MEN, 2002b). This new term means that these programmes can now admit “French immigrants”<sup>32</sup>: children born abroad who have obtained French nationality before entering France.

A specific definition of the target learning population of induction programmes can be found in the latest official instructions given by the French Ministry of Education (MEN, 2002b):

“These programmes provide temporary educational provisions only to pupils recently arrived in France who can neither sufficiently master the French language nor display the appropriate learning to benefit immediately from the totality of teaching taking place in mainstream classrooms”<sup>33</sup> (MEN, 2002b: 8, my translation).

This definition implies that French-speaking newly-arrived immigrant children can attend mainstream education immediately upon arrival – although the required level of French competence is not specified. A later note from the Ministry of Education specifies that induction programmes are created exclusively for children who are at least six years old and who have entered France less than a year prior to their registration (MEN, 2006: 1). It is also stated that immigrant children’s ‘newly-arrived’ status lasts for one year after registration. This means that they can attend induction programmes for a maximum of twelve months (MEN, 2006: 2). It should be added that newly-arrived immigrant children do not have to be in France legally to attend these programmes, since all children living in France are required to go to school by law (MEN, 2002a: 3-4).

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<sup>31</sup> In French, “les enfants nouveaux arrivants”. In this thesis, I use the term ‘newly-arrived immigrant children’ instead of the literal translation ‘newcomers’ to make clear that I am referring to children who have recently arrived in France and not to children who have recently started school.

<sup>32</sup> French immigrants represent an important part of the newly-arrived immigrant children population, numbering 25.7% in 2004 (MEN, 2006: 4).

<sup>33</sup> “Ces structures scolarisent de façon temporaire les seuls élèves nouvellement arrivés en France pour lesquels la maîtrise insuffisante de la langue française ou des apprentissages scolaires ne permet pas de tirer profit immédiatement de tous les enseignements des classes du cursus ordinaire” (MEN, 2002b: 8, original version).

Based on this definition, when this study was conducted (in 2007-2008), there were 34, 907 newly-arrived immigrant children in the French education system, which represented 3.7% of the total population of pupils (MEN, 2009: 29). 17, 280 of them were registered in primary schools and 1774 attended a school in the local education district under study (namely, the *Académie* of Versailles). Among these 1774 children, 93.9% attended an induction programme (MEN, 2009: 29).

### **3.4.2. School-based support for learners of French as an additional language**

Different educational provisions for newly-arrived immigrant children have been implemented in various socio-linguistic contexts. These provisions range from, on the one hand, ‘withdrawal policies’ (also called ‘submersion policies’ or ‘pull-out policies’) in which children are withdrawn from mainstream classrooms to be taught the target language, and on the other hand, ‘mainstreaming policies’ in which children attend mainstream classes with no language support. Combinations of these two types are also found, such as in ‘structured immersion programmes’ in which minority students attend special classes until they are bilingual and then transferred to mainstream classes (Garcia, 1997). Since withdrawal policies are now frequently regarded as “segregationist” among scholars (e.g. Garcia, 1997: 412; Ellis, 1985: 2), other types of bilingual education programmes are being promoted. These include “two-way/dual language” programmes, in which minority and majority students learn both languages; “maintenance” programmes in which both dominant and minority languages are taught separately; and “two/multi-way mainstream bi/multilingual” programmes in which more than two languages are considered majority and are given equal value in the curriculum (for a review see, for example, Fishman, 1979b; Garcia, 1997; Garcia *et al.*, 2006). In the UK, for instance, a strong mainstreaming policy was implemented in the mid-1980s, while nowadays, learners of English as a second language receive various types of support such as content through adapted English, English teaching and some kind of English sheltered immersion (see Leung, 2002: 96; Eurydice, 2005a: 4).

The school-based support provided to newly-arrived immigrant children in France (as well as in Belgium and Luxembourg; for a full review, see Eurydice, 2005c, d and Baetens Beardsmore, 1991) is of the withdrawal kind. Although the term ‘withdrawal policy’ is never used in policy documents – the term ‘structures d’accueil’<sup>34</sup> is used instead (MEN, 2002a: 8) – children are withdrawn from mainstream classrooms to attend induction classrooms for up to twelve months. In early policy documents, a full-time withdrawal programme was proposed in (MEN, 1986a and b). However, a part-time withdrawal programme is now advocated (MEN, 2002a and b, 2006) in order to avoid the frequently observed situation in which induction classrooms are cut off from the rest of the school and become “ghetto classes” (Berque, 1985: 11; Goï, 2005: 17). In this part-time or semi-withdrawal programme, children attend an induction classroom intensively at the outset. This support is then gradually reduced, while children increasingly attend their mainstream classroom.

The origin of induction programmes lies in the 1950s when informal education initiatives were implemented to support the numerous Algerian children entering France (de Miras, 2002: 44-46). Induction classrooms were then instituted in 1970 (MEN, 1970) and further regulated in 1986 (MEN, 1986a, 1986b). These latter policy documents have now been repealed and replaced by MEN 2002a and 2002b, which state clearly the options and procedures for school-based support for learners of French as a second language (see also Eurydice, 2005b: 5 where part of MEN 2002b is translated into English). Upon arrival into their local school, newly-arrived immigrant children are registered to a class of their age group. They are then tested on their French proficiency and their content subject skills in the language in which they previously received instruction. If the test results indicate that a child needs specific language or subject content support, he or she will then be sent to the school induction programme. As a result, children attending an induction programme are registered both in a mainstream classroom (their ‘administrative registration’) and an induction classroom (their ‘pedagogical registration’) (MEN, 2002b: 10).

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<sup>34</sup> Literally, ‘welcoming structures’.

The school-based support provided to newly-arrived immigrant children in France's state education system varies according to their age and needs. At a pre-primary level, they receive no specific support. However, they can attend induction classrooms called *Classes d'Initiation*<sup>35</sup> (or CLIN) at primary level (that is, between six and thirteen), and *Classes d'Accueil*<sup>36</sup> (or CLA) at secondary level (between eleven and sixteen). Children who had never attended a school in their previous country of residence go to induction classrooms called *Classe d'Accueil pour Enfants Non Scolarisés Antérieurement*<sup>37</sup> (or CLA-NSA). Those aged sixteen or over attend classes called *Cycle d'Insertion Pre-Professionnel spécialisé en Français Langue Etrangère et en Alphabétisation*<sup>38</sup> (or CIPPA FLE-ALPHA) in which they learn French and vocational skills. These four types of classes are not found in all schools but only in education districts where there is a high concentration of newly-arrived immigrant children. It should be added that each class contains a maximum of fifteen children and a minimum of six. In cases in which the minimum number is not reached, children receive what is called *Cours de Rattrapage Intégré*<sup>39</sup> (or CRI), that is, occasional support from an induction teacher who visits them in their mainstream classrooms. All these measures are provided for a maximum of twelve months, or twenty-four months if a child arrived with low or no literacy skills (MEN, 2002b: 8 and 11). Once children attend their mainstream classroom on a fulltime basis, they can still receive occasional support from their induction teacher (MEN, 2002b: 11).

Lastly, at primary level, newly-arrived immigrant children, along with immigrant children, receive heritage language classes called *Enseignement des Langues et Cultures d'Origine*<sup>40</sup> (or ELCO). ELCO classes<sup>41</sup> are a type of language

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<sup>35</sup> 'Initiation classes'.

<sup>36</sup> 'Welcoming classes'.

<sup>37</sup> 'Welcoming classes for children who have not been to school before'.

<sup>38</sup> 'Pre-vocational insertion classes of French as a foreign language and literacy'.

<sup>39</sup> 'Integrated remedial lessons'.

<sup>40</sup> Literally, teaching of languages and cultures of origin.

<sup>41</sup> ELCO classes are different from the immigrant language classes mentioned above. ELCO classes are designed for children who already speak the language, while immigrant language classes are designed for beginners. Also, they differ from the classes found in complementary schools insofar as they are part of the French education system.

maintenance provision. Instruction is provided in the language used in the state schools of the children's home country (for a full review see, for instance, Ager, 1996: 87; Chiss, 1997; Hélot, 2003: 267). At the time of writing (2010), France has agreed to ELCO classes being taught by teachers from Portugal, Italy, Tunisia, Morocco, Serbia, Montenegro, Turkey, Tunisia and Algeria. While it would seem that the French education system is opening to diversity, it should be stressed that ELCO classes are open only to speakers of the relevant languages and are therefore inaccessible to monolingual French pupils. Furthermore, they are marginalised. They take place out of school hours and their programme is not integrated into the French examination system (e.g. Berque, 1985; Boizon-Fradet, 1993).

### **3.4.3. Induction classrooms at primary level**

This thesis focuses on induction classrooms at primary level<sup>42</sup>. As a result, I present in this section a more detailed discussion of the learning population of these classes (§3.4.3.1), their functioning (§3.4.3.2) and the teacher training, teaching materials and programmes recommended in policy documents (§3.4.3.3).

#### **3.4.3.1. A diverse learning population**

The criteria used to decide whether a child is entitled to – or has to – attend an induction classroom have been discussed above (§3.4.1). Here, I would like to emphasise the considerable heterogeneity of inducted children<sup>43</sup> (see also Abdallah-Pretceille, 1982: 12 and Chiss, 2007: 388-9). Indeed, in the same induction classroom, children belong to different age groups (ranging from seven to thirteen), they come from different parts of the world and already speak one or more languages. Although no statistics are available about the languages spoken by newly-arrived immigrant children, statistics on their nationality indicate that induction classrooms are indeed multilingual contexts. Table 1 below shows the latest statistics about the nationality of inducted children across France (MEN,

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<sup>42</sup> For practical purposes, from now on I use the term 'induction classroom' to refer to induction classrooms at primary level (CLIN).

<sup>43</sup> By 'inducted children', I refer to newly-arrived immigrant children who are attending induction classrooms. As we have seen, not all newly-arrived immigrant children are inducted children. Some children may be proficient enough in French to attend mainstream classrooms upon arrival.

2006: 4). It should be noted that a large percentage of inducted children come from Africa (27.7% from the Maghreb countries<sup>44</sup> and 9.4% from other African countries) and Asia (4.9% from China and 9.1% from other Asian countries). However, this distribution differs in each local educational district (called *Académie*). For instance, in the school year 2008-2009, ninety-four nationalities were represented in the induction classrooms of the *Académie* of Paris (see Table 2 below for more detailed information): 51.8% of inducted children came from eight countries: China, Russia, Algeria, Romania, Portugal, Korea, Bangladesh and Brazil. The rest (48.2%) came from the other eighty-five countries.

In addition to the linguistic heterogeneity of induction classrooms, inducted children have various levels of proficiency in French. Some of them may already have been exposed to French, as is the case with most newly-arrived immigrant children from North African countries. Others may have had none. Similarly, some may not have attended school in their previous country of residence and may thus have poor literacy skills. Furthermore, inducted children come from different socio-economic backgrounds. Some of them have been sent by their family to live with a tutor, while others may have entered France with their parents, who migrated for economic reasons. Lastly, inducted children do not all have the same 'life plans'. Some have the intention of settling permanently to pursue the rest of their education in France, while others are sojourners and plan to leave France after a more or less definite period.

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<sup>44</sup> Maghreb countries are Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania.

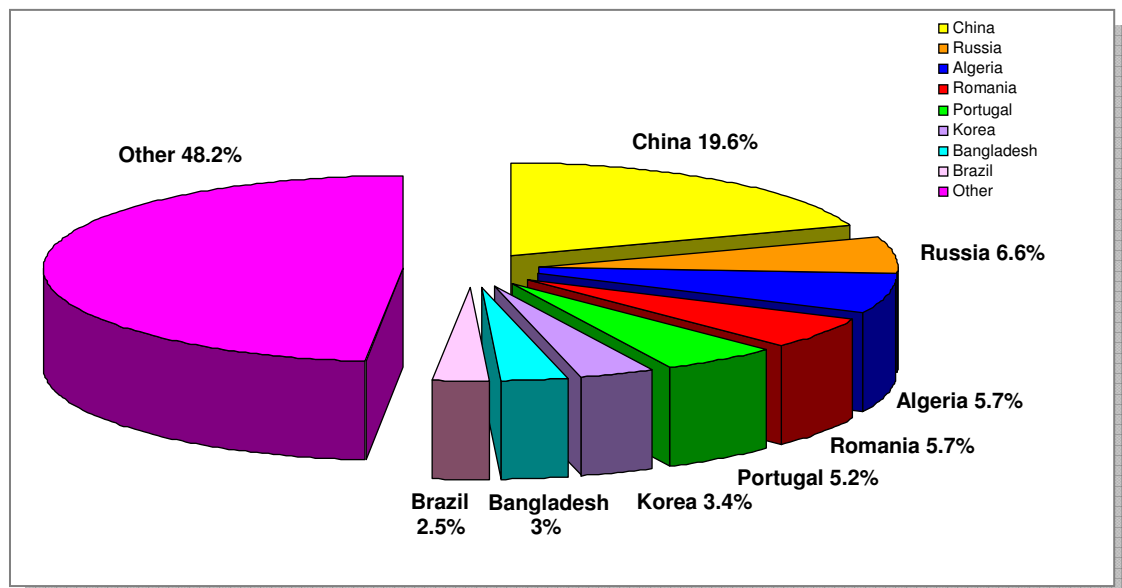


**Table 1.** Distribution of inducted children's nationality in 2004 in France.

Distribution of inducted children in France in 2004 according to their nationality (in %)	
Maghreb countries	27.7
France	25.7
Other African countries	9.4
Asian countries (excluding China)	9.1
European countries outside the EU	9.0
Turkey	5.8
European Union	5.0
China	4.9
America/Caribbean	3.3
Oceania	0.1
Total	100

Source: MEN, 2006: 4, my translation.

**Table 2.** Breakdown of inducted children in the Académie of Paris (2008-2009) by country of origin



Source: CASNAV, 2009: 9, my translation.

### **3.4.3.2. There and back again: living between two classrooms**

As I described earlier (§3.4.2), initially, children attend an induction classroom on a full-time basis. As their level of French improves, they spend progressively more time in their mainstream classroom (MEN, 2002b: 11), finally moving there full-time. In policy documents, it is recommended that inducted children attend lessons in mainstream classes, such as sport, music and art – where mastery of the French language is thought to be less necessary (MEN, 2002b: 11). In practice, this means that children spend some parts of the school day in their induction classroom and others in their mainstream classroom; walking in and out of their induction classroom all day long. Furthermore, each child does so at different times of the day according to the time-table of his or her mainstream classroom. As a result, induction teachers rarely teach the whole class at the same time and children have sometimes to put aside an activity they are conducting in the induction classroom to attend a lesson in the mainstream one.

### **3.4.3.3. Teacher training, curriculum and teaching materials**

Despite repeated calls from French researchers to create a teaching diploma specific to induction programmes, teachers do not receive any training prior to their allocation to an induction classroom (de Miras, 2002: 98). It has often been argued that this lack of a specific teaching qualification allows the Ministry of Education to remain flexible in regard to the number of induction classrooms. Should an induction classroom close down, the induction teacher could then easily be re-allocated to a mainstream classroom (e.g. de Miras, 2002: 98).

At present, mainstream teachers become induction teachers on a voluntary basis. They receive training and ongoing support in the form of workshops, which are organised by the Ministry of Education in academic centres called *Centre Académique pour la Scolarisation des Enfants Nouveaux Arrivant et des Enfants du Voyage*<sup>45</sup> (or CASNAV) (MEN, 2002b: 14). CASNAV representatives coordinate all induction classrooms in their *Académie* and provide teaching materials, training

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<sup>45</sup> Literally, ‘Academic Centre for the education of newly-arrived children and travellers’.

and academic expertise for induction teachers, without evaluating their performance (MEN, 2002c: 22-3).

Similarly, no specific educational programme is set out in policy documents regulating induction classrooms (MEN, 2002a, b, 2006). It is only written that a minimum of twelve hours per week should be dedicated to the teaching of the French language and that subject content should also be taught (MEN, 2002b: 12). In this respect, induction classrooms are both language and subject content classes; although the exact content of these subjects is unclear. Though educational programmes are not mentioned, the aim of induction classrooms is clearly and frequently stated. The objective is “to help [newly-arrived immigrant children] to be *rapidly* integrated into a successful mainstream curriculum”<sup>46</sup> (MEN, 2002b: 9, my translation, my emphasis; see also MEN, 2002b: 10-11). This integration is thought to be facilitated by the teaching of French: “The essential objective is mastering the French language used as the medium of instruction”<sup>47</sup> (MEN, 2002b: 12, my translation).

Also noteworthy is the lack of precision regarding the level of language competence considered to be necessary for a child to attend a mainstream classroom on a full-time basis. Consider the following extract:

“An inducted child can be integrated into a mainstream classroom when he/she has acquired a *sufficient* level of French, both in speaking and in writing, and when he/she has been *sufficiently* familiarised with the rules and functioning of school life or school institution”<sup>48</sup> (MEN, 2002b: 13, my translation, my emphasis).

In fact, what this ‘sufficient’ level refers to is not specified. It is therefore up to induction and mainstream teachers to evaluate and decide whether an inducted child is ready to move on to full-time mainstream education. Lastly, no indication is given of which teaching materials induction teachers can use. These gaps are also present in earlier policy documents (MEN, 1970; 1986a and b). Scholars have

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<sup>46</sup> L’objectif est “d’aider [les enfants nouveaux arrivants] à leur rapide intégration dans un cursus de réussite” (MEN, 2002b: 9, original version).

<sup>47</sup> “L’objectif essentiel est la maîtrise du français envisagé comme langue de scolarisation” (MEN, 2002b: 12, original version).

<sup>48</sup> “Un élève accueilli dans une classe d’initiation ou une classe d’accueil peut intégrer une classe du cursus ordinaire quand il a acquis une maîtrise suffisante du français, à l’oral et à l’écrit, qu’il a été suffisamment familiarisé avec les conditions de fonctionnement et les règles de vie de l’école ou de l’établissement” (MEN, 2002b: 13, original version).

pointed this out, arguing that specific measures would reinforce the fact that induction classrooms are at odds with the Republican principle of Equality for All (e.g. Boyzon-Fradet, 1997: 93).

#### **3.4.3.4. The lack of a declared language policy**

In the policy documents that regulate induction classrooms (MEN 2002a, 2002b, 2006), there is also a conspicuous lack of any mention of language use, although they are, as noted earlier, multilingual contexts. No mention is made of which language(s) should be used as the medium of instruction and what place should be given, if any, to inducted children's first languages (L1). Although the aim of induction classrooms is clearly "mastering French used as the medium of instruction"<sup>49</sup> (MEN, 2002b: 12), no indication is given as to how this aim should be realised; whether French should be taught solely in the target language or also in children's L1.

Two interpretations can be made of this lack of overt statements on language use. Firstly, the emphasis on the French language can be understood as an oblique way of stating that only French has a legitimate place in the classroom. Second, it has often been said that induction programmes are a breach of the principle of Equality for All as they provide for the specific treatment of a small number of the pupil population<sup>50</sup> (for a discussion, see Lazaridis, 2001: 199). In this light, the lack of a declared language policy for induction classrooms can also be understood as a reminder that induction programmes are part of the wider French education system. They are therefore subject to the wider monolingual language policy discussed above (Code de l'Éducation: Article L-121-3: II; see also §3.3.1).

In addition to the fact that policy documents do not mention language use in induction classrooms, it should be noted that, in the policy documents regulating induction classrooms (MEN, 2002a, 2002b, 2006), inducted children's bilingualism

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<sup>49</sup> In French, "l'objectif essentiel est la maîtrise du français envisagé comme langue de scolarisation" (MEN, 2002b: 12, original version).

<sup>50</sup> In this respect, it should be noted (along with Hélot, 2003: 266) that bilingual provisions in regional and major European languages are, to the same extent, specific educational provisions for a minority of the pupil population. Nevertheless, it is rarely mentioned that this contradicts the Republican principle of Equality for All.

appears to not be valued and their language repertoire appears to be seen as being deficient. Inducted children's L1 are not referred to as "heritage" or "community" languages – as, for instance, in the UK – but rather as "languages of origin"<sup>51</sup> (MEN, 2002a, 2002b, 2006). This indicates that they are perceived as belonging to the children's past and not to the linguistic ecology of France's education system (see also Hélot, 2003: 258). Similarly, inducted children are referred to as "non-French speaking children"<sup>52</sup> and not as "learners of an Additional Language" or "speakers of Other Languages". This shows that they are defined by 'what they lack of' (i.e. French competence) as opposed to 'what they already have' (i.e. competence in one or more languages). This echoes the fact that, as we have seen, inducted children's bilingualism in an immigrant language is either ignored or perceived negatively among educational practitioners (see section §3.3.2).

Interestingly, scholars have addressed neither the lack of a declared language policy nor the issue of language choice in induction classrooms. For the most part, they debate the 'kind of French' that should be taught in induction classrooms, offering competing labels such as *Français Langue Seconde*, *Français de Scolarisation* and *Français Langue Étrangère*<sup>53</sup> (e.g. Boyzon-Fradet, 1997: 107; Chiss, 2007: 388; Verdelhan, 2002). The only way in which the use of inducted children's L1 in school is envisaged in the literature is when researchers suggest bilingual programmes in which ELCO classes would be integrated into mainstream education (e.g. Berque, 1985: 45; Billiez, 1990: 45; Boulot and Boizon-Fradet, 1987: 179). Likewise, some researchers advocate intercultural teaching activities in order to raise awareness of multiculturalism in the French education system (e.g. Abdallah-Pretceille, 1982: 160; Hélot, 2003; Hélot and Young, 2002 and 2006; Laparra, 1993: 62; Lorcerie, 2002: 170), leaving the issue of language choice in classrooms unaddressed. Few researchers propose actual linguistic activities with a view to creating space for inducted children's L1 (e.g. Auger, 2005, 2008a, 2008b;

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<sup>51</sup> 'Langues d'origine'.

<sup>52</sup> In French, 'enfants non-francophones'.

<sup>53</sup> Respectively, 'French as a Second Language', 'French as a Language of Instruction' and 'French as a Foreign Language'.

Galligani, 2007; Little, 2003). Therefore, the present case study of the practiced language policy in one of France's induction classrooms will also provide an insight into actual language choice practices in these contexts.

### **3.5. The case study: an induction classroom at primary level**

In the last section of this chapter, I describe the immediate socio-linguistic context of the case-study. Given the diversity of the learning population from one induction classroom to the next, it is fair to say that each induction classroom is a unique educational context. It should therefore be stressed at this point that the case study does not claim to be representative of all induction classrooms. Similarly, the practiced language policy of this induction classroom cannot be claimed to be representative of the practiced language policy of all induction classrooms especially since, as I explain in my trajectory of access (see Chapter 5, section §5.2.1), not all induction teachers allow the use of languages other than French in their classrooms.

#### **3.5.1. The *Académie***

The induction classroom under study is based in a primary school, for which I use the pseudonym La Plaine, situated in the *Académie* of Versailles (see picture 1). This *Académie* is one of the largest in France, containing around 1,100,000 pupils or around 9% of pupils attending French primary and secondary state schools (see [http://www.ac-versailles.fr/public/jcms/c\\_5013/l-academie](http://www.ac-versailles.fr/public/jcms/c_5013/l-academie), accessed on 21.02.10.). It is divided into four sub-districts called *Inspections Académiques*, which correspond to the four departments of Essone, Yvelines, Val d'Oise and the Hauts-de-Seine (see picture 2). La Plaine is located in the *Inspection Académique* of Hauts-de-Seine. This contains six-hundred state primary schools and thirty-one induction classrooms at primary level<sup>54</sup> (MEN, 2009: 2). All mainstream and induction teachers are accountable to the inspector, who is himself accountable to

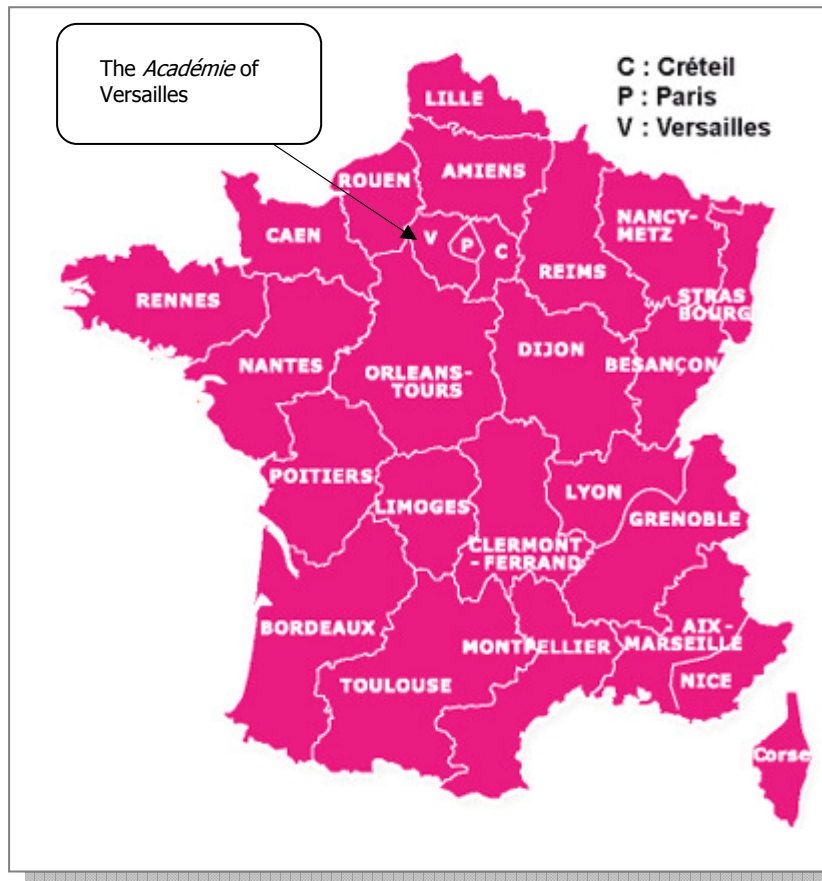
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<sup>54</sup>As I mentioned earlier, not all primary schools run an induction programme. There is only one induction classroom in a primary school – hence the fact that it admits children of all age groups.

the *recteur* heading the *Académie*. The hierarchy of the French education system is well summarised by Hélot and Young:

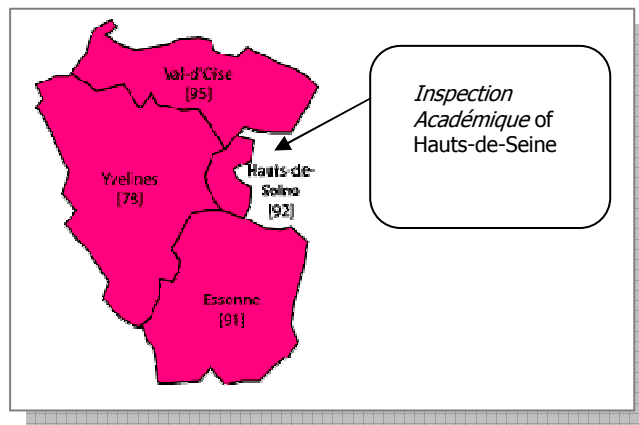
“The French education system is very centralised and hierarchical. Decisions are taken at ministerial level in Paris and circulated down to teachers through a monthly official bulletin. General and regional inspectors are responsible for the implementation of new policies. While teachers do have pedagogical freedom in their classrooms, the very ambitious curriculum leaves little room for innovation. Pedagogical innovations at grass root level tend to remain confidential, and State-funded innovative programmes are often bogged down by bureaucracy. Most teachers are used to implementing top-down policies since they work under the authority of inspectors whose job it is to make sure such policies are put into practice” (Hélot and Young, 2006: 72).

**Picture 1.** *Académies* in mainland France.



Source: Adapted from <http://www.education.gouv.fr/pid167/les-academies-et-les-inspections-academiques.html>.

**Picture 2.** The four Inspections in the Académie of Versailles.



Source: Adapted from <http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid2507/versailles.html>.

### **3.5.2. The primary school: 'La Plaine'**

In December 2007 (the date when I first entered the induction classroom), La Plaine had two-hundred and eighty-three pupils aged between six and twelve. There were twelve mainstream classes covering the five primary school levels, one induction classroom and one ELCO class in Moroccan. In addition to these fourteen teachers, other staff members included an educational psychologist and two teachers who specialised in supporting pupils with learning disabilities. Until 2002, La Plaine was classified as an 'Educational Priority Area'<sup>55</sup>.

Thanks to the induction teacher having positive relationships with most of the school teaching staff, the induction classroom was usually integrated in school activities. For example, inducted children performed a play ('Little Red Riding Hood') in front of the rest of the school in their own languages. Similarly, inducted children were asked to teach songs in their own languages to their mainstream peers during an inter-class choir. A last example is that the induction classroom contributed to the school's 'Olympic Games' where, interestingly, inducted children

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<sup>55</sup> In French, 'zone d'éducation prioritaire'. These schools are recognised as being located in socially and economically deprived areas. They therefore receive special financial and educational support from the Ministry of Education.



decided to represent France. These examples show that the staff at La Plaine had positive attitudes towards the use of inducted children's first language(s) during school games and cultural events. However, within their classrooms, mainstream teachers seemed to hold monolingual beliefs about language teaching and learning, only allowing the use of French. As one of the mainstream teachers said in an interview I conducted: "Here we speak French. The objective is that they learn French<sup>56</sup>" (see Chapter Five for the methods of data collection used). In Spolsky's (2004) terms, the language policy at the level of mainstream teachers' language beliefs (language policy as discourse) seemed to be French monolingual.

### **3.5.3. The induction teacher**

The induction teacher is a white French female in her late thirties, whom I refer to in my corpus with the pseudonym 'Miss Lo'. French is her first language, although she also studied Russian and Hindi at a university level, used English when living and working in India for a year, and Malgash when living and working in Madagascar for five years. She has been a primary school teacher in France for the past ten years and has been teaching in this induction classroom since 2004, obtaining a permanent post at La Plaine in 2007. In recent personal communications, she said that she was now teaching in an induction classroom in Guadeloupe.

It should be noted that, during the school year before this study was conducted, Miss Lo returned to university to complete a post-graduate degree in teaching French as a foreign language at La Sorbonne Paris 3. There, she encountered the work of the French researcher Auger, who advocates the use of inducted children's L1 in the classroom (especially Auger, 2005). As she later confirmed during one of our informal interviews, Auger's work has very much shaped her teaching practices. A semi-structured interview with Miss Lo (see Chapter Five for details of methods of data collection) further revealed that she seemed to hold positive beliefs about inducted children's L1. The following extract is a good example:

"[...] I'm not the kind of person who is going to tell one of my pupils:  
'right, my dear, you are in France and it's to learn French. And you know,

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<sup>56</sup> The original quotation is: "Ici, on parle français. Le but est qu'ils apprennent le français".

you're ok, but Senegal...' They know that I represent the institution, but that, at the same time, I don't endorse that stuff about 'we're here to learn French, and that's the only thing that matters and all the rest it's a private issue'. Me, I say: 'we're here to learn French but you are Senegalese, and this interests me a lot'<sup>57</sup>.

Clearly, she had an inclusive policy that respected inducted children's multilingual and multicultural background.

#### **3.5.4. The inducted children**

In the school year 2007-2008, twenty children attended the induction classroom under study. Five of them left in December 2007 to attend their mainstream classroom on a full-time basis and thereafter came back once a week for an hour of language support. Three of the twenty arrived in mid-June 2008. Table 3 shows the biographical information collected from the twenty children. All names have been changed for ethical reasons.

Seven inducted children arrived in the induction classroom at the start of the school year in September 2007. Hakim and Cristina had already been there during the previous school year and, in fact, exceeded the authorised twelve months. However, since they both had literacy difficulties, they were allowed to stay for another year. Eight children were nine years old or over. Most children were registered in a mainstream classroom that corresponded to their age group – except for Hakim, Amkoulel, Samba and Cristina, who were registered in the mainstream classroom of an age group two years younger than theirs.

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<sup>57</sup> The original quotation is: "c'est pas moi qui vais lui tenir le discours : 'ah non mon vieux, t'es en France, et puis c'est pour apprendre le français. Et puis écoute t'es bien gentil mais le Sénégal ...'. Ils savent que moi je suis l'institution mais qu'en même temps je renvoie pas ce truc de 'on est ici pour apprendre le français, c'est la seule chose qui existe et le reste c'est de l'ordre du privé'. Moi je dis : 'on est ici pour apprendre le français, mais t'es sénégalais, et ça ça m'intéresse énormément parce que voilà'.

**Table 3.** Inducted children’s biographical information

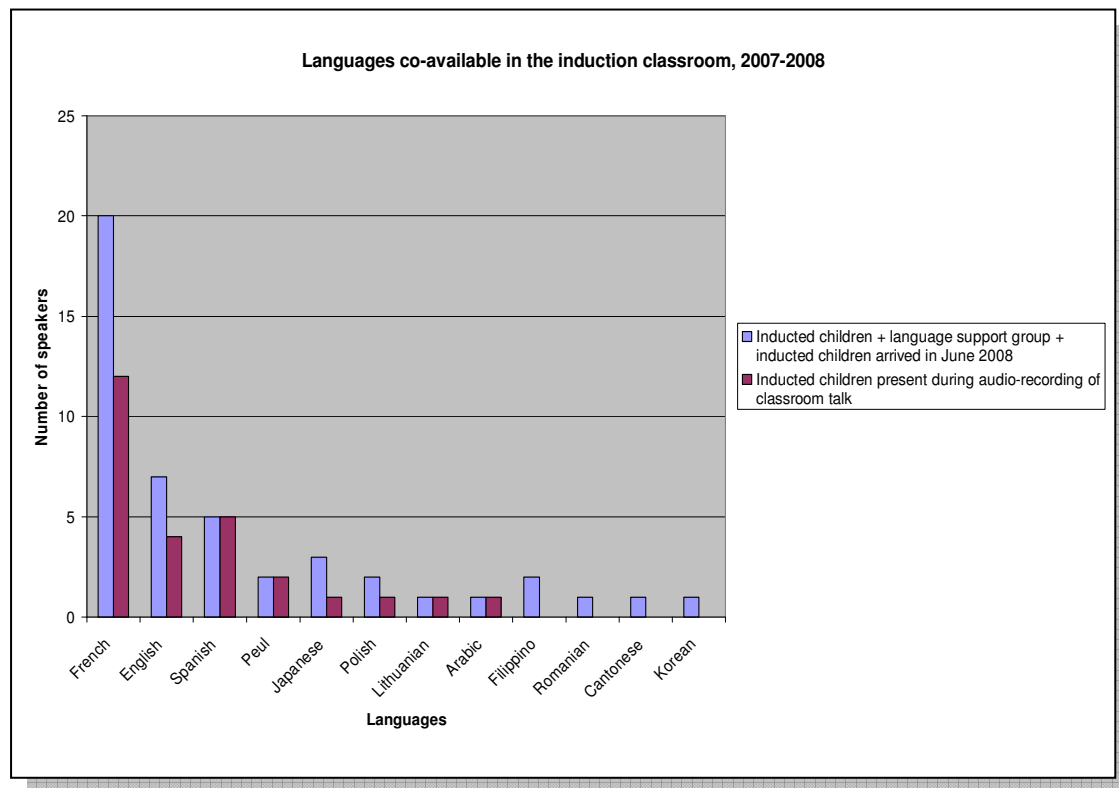
	First name	Nationality	Languages spoken	Date of arrival in the induction classroom	Age
Children in the induction classroom between December 2007 and June 2008	Maya	Mexican	Spanish English	27/09/2007	6
	Talia	Mexican	Spanish English	27/09/2007	10
	Leila	Argentinean	Spanish	07/05/2007	11
	Samba	Senegal	Peul	26/10/2007	11
	Amkoulel	Senegal	Peul	28/09/2007	13
	Kenji	Japanese	Japanese	14/09/2007	10
	Karen	American	English	28/09/2007	9
	Andrea	Ecuadorian	Spanish	13/09/2007	10
	Hakim	Algerian	Arabic	22/01/2007	10
	Matilda	Lithuanian	Lithuanian English	29/09/2007	6
	Cristina	Columbia	Spanish	13/11/2006	10
	Piotr	Polish	Polish	06/10/2007	10
Children visiting the induction classroom for language support	Amelia	Japanese	Japanese	09/09/2006	7
	Julia	Polish	Polish	09/09/2006	7
	Anika	Romanian	Romanian	12/01/2007	7
	Kathleen	Philippine	Filipino English	10/10/2006	9
	Rosy	Philippine	Filipino English	10/10/2006	7
Children arrived in June 2008	Kyon	South-Korea	Korean English	15/06/2008	6
	Mei	China	Cantonese	15/06/2008	6
	Ken	Japan	Japanese	15/06/2008	7

A wide range of literacy skills was found in this classroom. All children had attended a school in their previous country of residence, except for Samba who went to school for only two years and Amkoulel who never went to school and was thus illiterate upon arrival. Maya, Talia and Martina had attended an English medium school before coming to France. The induction teacher also said that inducted children’s families had different ‘life plans’. While most of them had the intention to settle permanently in France, Kenji’s and Leila’s parents planned to return to their previous country of residence. Moreover, these twenty children came from different socio-economic backgrounds. For instance, Kenji’s and Leila’s

parents migrated to France for their job, while most of the other children's parents migrated in the hope of finding employment. Amkoulel and Samba migrated to France without their parents and were living with older members of their family.

Lastly, this induction classroom was linguistically heterogeneous (see Table 3 above). Twelve languages, including French, were co-available when, in addition to the twelve inducted children, the children receiving occasional language support were present and the last three children had arrived. The rest of the time (i.e. when the children receiving occasional language support were not present and the last three children had not yet arrived) eight languages were co-available. These were French, Spanish, English, Japanese, Peul (a language from West Africa also called Pulaar), Arabic, Lithuanian, and Polish (see Table 4 for an overview of the languages available and their respective number of speakers). Three semi-structured interviews with a total of eight of these inducted children revealed that two of the languages co-available were perceived as being allowed and appropriate in classroom talk. These were French and English. It also appeared that Spanish, Polish, Peul, Lithuanian, and Japanese were perceived as being allowed for specific purposes such as giving or asking for explanation. Arabic was said to be never used (see Chapter Five for details of methods of data collection). In brief, inducted children's ideological policy was not strictly French monolingual.

**Table 4.** Languages co-available in the classroom and their number of speakers



### 3.5.5. Organisation of the induction classroom

These inducted children had different teaching needs, literacy skills and subject knowledge. As a result, the induction teacher divided them into three groups (see Table 5). The less advanced group (Group 1) consisted of the youngest children as well as those who needed to improve their literacy skills. In the middle group (Group 2) were children of roughly the same age group and the same competence in subject knowledge. In the more advanced group (Group 3) were the eldest children, who shared the same level of subject knowledge. Table 5 shows the distribution of the twelve inducted children in these three groups<sup>58</sup>.

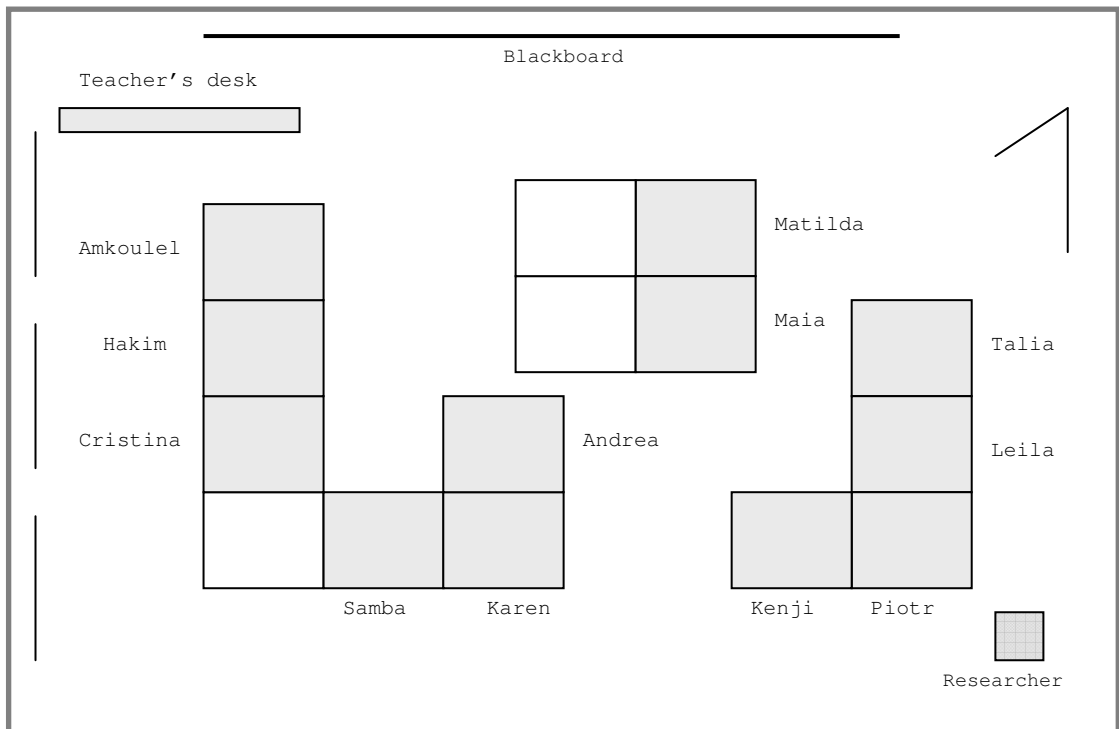
<sup>58</sup> The five children attending a mainstream classroom on a full-time basis but who benefited from language support formed a group of its own an hour a week. The three children who arrived at the end of the school year (and thus at the end of the data collection process) joined Group 1.

**Table 5.** Distribution of the inducted children in groups.

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Maya	Karen	Talia
Martina	Andrea	Leila
Hakim	Samba	Piotr
Amkoulel	Cristina	Kenji

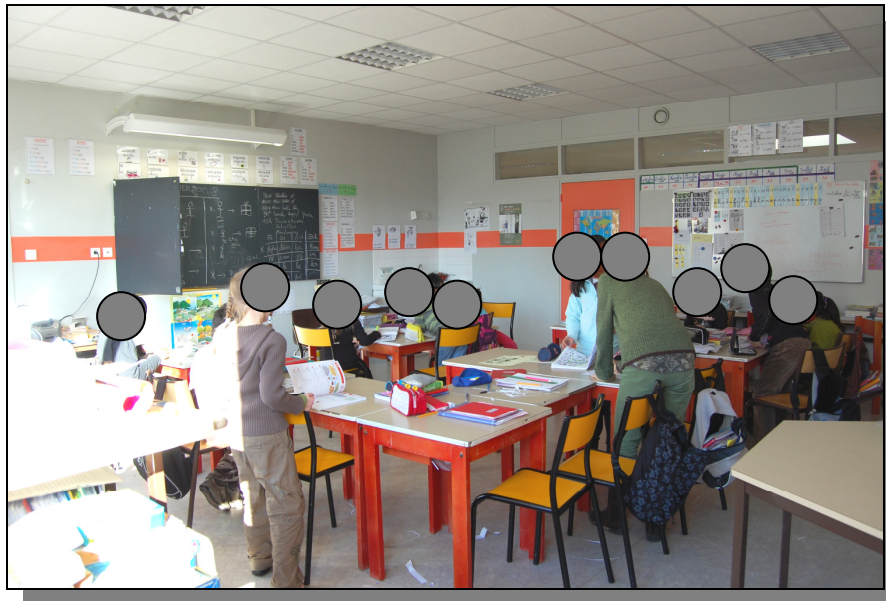
The classroom was organised around this group distribution. Children within the same group sat next to each other to facilitate group work, as the following sitting plan (see picture 3) and photo (see picture 4) show.

**Picture 3.** Seating arrangement in the induction classroom



**Picture 4.** Photo<sup>59</sup> of the layout of the induction classroom

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All inducted children attended physical education lessons with their mainstream peers. If they had sufficient proficiency in French, they attended Maths, History and Geography lessons. For instance, in January 2008, children from group 3 as well as Hakim, Andrea, Karen and Samba attended Maths lessons twice a week in their mainstream classrooms. Leila and Piotr also went to their mainstream classrooms for history and geography in addition to Maths. In short, each inducted child had their own daily schedule. As a consequence, children were continually going back and forth between their induction and mainstream classroom during the day. To give an idea of the integration schedule in this induction classroom, I reproduce in Table 6 the Monday timetable from the second semester (January-June).

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<sup>59</sup> Faces have been hidden for ethical reasons.

**Table 6.** Integration schedule. The example of Mondays

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
8.30 – 10.00			
Morning break			
10.15 – 11.15		Karen Samba <i>Maths</i>	Leila Talia Piotr <i>Maths</i>
11.15 – 12.00	Maya Martina <i>Sport</i>		
Lunch break			
13.30 – 14.45	Hakim <i>Sport</i>	Andrea <i>Sport</i>	Talia Piotr Kenji <i>Maths</i>
Aft. Break			
15.00 – 16.00		Karen Samba <i>Sport</i>	Talia Piotr <i>Hist/Geography</i>

In practice then, the twelve inducted children were only together at the same time at the first hour of the morning. For the rest of the day, due to children's different schedules in their mainstream classroom, only six children, on average, were present at any given time in the classroom.

### **3.6. Summary**

In this chapter, I have introduced France's monolingual language policy and language-in-education policy, discussing the available policy documents (policy as text) and the beliefs about language reported in the literature (policy as discourse). I have then introduced France's educational provision for newly-arrived immigrant children, focusing in more detail on induction classrooms at primary level. In this regard, I have emphasised the lack of an overt LP in policy documents regulating induction classrooms and examined the beliefs about the use of inducted children's first languages in the classroom as collected in previous research and as revealed in existing policy documents. Lastly, I have presented La Plaine and the *Académie* in



which it is located. More specifically, I have provided a detailed profile of the induction classroom participants, mentioning the language policy at the level of what Spolsky calls “language beliefs” (2004) held in the school at large and in the induction classroom in particular.

## - Chapter 4 -

# Theoretical framework

### **4.1. Introduction**

The main claim of this thesis, as already indicated, is that Conversation Analysis (CA) is an efficient approach to the study of ‘practiced language policies’. To substantiate this claim, I conducted a case study of a practiced language-in-education policy in an induction classroom in France, which I have described in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I present the proposed theoretical framework for the study of practiced language policies, that is, a broad view of Conversation Analysis incorporating both sequential and categorisation analysis (Membership Categorisation Analysis). In adopting a broad view of CA, I hope to provide “an integrated analysis of talk” (Housley and Fitzgerald, 2002: 61). I also present the more specific theoretical framework adopted for the case study. Since I have investigated a practiced language-in-education policy in a multilingual educational context, I have used the CA approach to code-switching and classroom code-switching (e.g. Auer, 1984; Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010; Gafaranga, 2001, 2009; Li Wei, 2002).

### **4.2. Some Conversation Analytic principles**

It is important to stress at the outset that a full review of CA is impossible because “there is no fixed CA theory” but rather a “body of CA knowledge consist[ing] of a variety of research findings that have not been put together into one coherent whole” (Gafaranga, 2009: 115). For this reason, CA is usually referred to as a “mentality” (Schenkein, 1978; Gafaranga, 2009), a “cast of mind, or a way of seeing” (Seedhouse, 2004: 14). Therefore, following previous scholars, who focused their review of CA principles on those important for their object of

investigation (e.g. Gafaranga, 2009), I will review those that have been important for the study of the practiced language-in-education policy in the target classroom (more detailed reviews of CA can be found in Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998; Psathas, 1995; Seedhouse, 2004 and ten Have, 2007).

#### **4.2.1. Principle 1: talk as social action**

Influenced by Goffman's (1959) seminal study of everyday interactions in the Shetland Islands and Garfinkel's (1964, 1967, and 1988) Ethnomethodological approach to sociology, Sacks set the methodological orientation of CA as being the description of the "methods persons use in doing social life" (1984a: 21). More specifically, Sacks took from Goffman (1959) the idea that the study of speaking is not simply a matter of studying the linguistic features used by speakers but also, and more importantly, a matter of studying the structures of language-in-use. From this viewpoint, the study of speaking thus requires analysis of actual instances of talk as opposed to idealised and hypothetical sentences. From Garfinkel (1964, 1967, and 1988), Sacks took the idea that talk is social action; a "normal everyday human activity" (Liddicoat, 2007: 1). To explain the relationship between CA and Ethnomethodology, Seedhouse writes:

"Ethnomethodology studies the principles on which people base their social actions, whereas CA focuses more narrowly on the principles which people use to interact with each other by means of language" (Seedhouse, 2004: 3).

CA deals with social acts, and especially with talk as social action. In this respect, it is assumed that talk is a series of interconnected social actions between conversational participants. For this reason, CA practitioners are said to study talk-in-interaction and base their analysis on 'everyday naturally occurring talk'.

It should be noted that, although CA was initially used to study talk as social action in everyday social settings ('mundane talk'), it has also been used to study talk taking place in institutional settings ('institutional talk'), such as classrooms (e.g. McHoul 1978, 1990; Macbeth, 2004; Markee, 2005; see also Mori and Zuengler, 2008 for a review of CA studies of classroom talk), courtrooms (e.g. Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Manyard, 1984), medical practices (ten Have, 1991;

Gafaranga and Britten, 2003) and emergency services (Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987; Zimmerman, 1994). In fact, as Liddicoat puts it:

“Conversation analysts do not see an inherent distinction between the formal and the informal, the everyday and the institutional; rather they see talk in interaction as a social process which is deployed to realise and understand the social situations in which talk is used” (2007: 6).

It is in accordance with this argument that I have used a CA approach to the study of a practiced language policy in the institutional context of a classroom.

#### **4.2.2. Principle 2: talk as an orderly activity**

A second principle underlying the CA mentality is that talk, as any other social activity, is an *orderly* activity. Contrary to Chomsky’s (1965) view that talk is too disorderly to be used for the study of language (for a discussion see for instance Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 22), Sacks wrote that in conversation, as in any other social activity, “there is order at all points” (1984a: 22); or again, that “there is overwhelming order” (1984a: 23). Order is assumed since, otherwise, social action would be impossible. Indeed, social actors engage in social action – including that of talking – methodically. To put it differently, the social activity of talking is accomplished methodically by participants. In this sense, rather than seeing order as being a “pre-existing framework” (Liddicoat, 2007: 2) that is externally imposed on social actors, Sacks saw order as being co-accomplished *by* participants and *in* talk-in-interaction.

Social actors, and therefore conversational participants, bring order through a psychological process that Garfinkel (1967) calls the ‘documentary method’. This term refers to the fact that social actors make sense of social encounters by categorising them into patterns, which they use subsequently to interpret similar or new social encounters. It is because conversational participants orient to such patterns (referred to as ‘practice’ in CA) that they are able to make sense of each other’s actions and, consequently, to “produce orderliness” (Psathas, 1995).

In brief, as Liddicoat puts it, CA is an approach “to the study of social action which sought to investigate social order as it was produced through the practices of everyday talk” (2007: 4). Precisely, the aim of CA is to describe “the intrinsic orderliness of interactional phenomena” (Psathas, 1995: 8), that is, the orderliness

produced by conversational participants in talk-in-interaction. Order is said to be produced on a turn-by-turn basis and, as a consequence, Conversation Analysts conduct ‘sequential analyses’ of talk-in-interaction. Conversation Analysts thus describe the set of procedures that conversational participants have identified through the documentary method and deployed to engage in, and make sense of, their talk activities. In the process, they identify the sequential organisation of talk-in-interaction (e.g. Schegloff, 2007).

#### **4.2.3. Principle 3: Conversational structure and conversational practice**

A third principle is that Conversation Analysts identify two levels of talk organisation, namely the structural level and the practice level. A *conversational structure* is what can be observed when looking at the sequentiality of acts; it is ‘*what is done on an occasion*’. When describing the structural level of talk organisation, CA practitioners describe the “context-free mechanisms” (e.g. Sacks et al, 1974), the “machinery” (Seedhouse, 2004: 252) of a talk-in-interaction. A typical structure CA practitioners have observed in talk-in-interaction is the adjacency pair (e.g. Schegloff and Sacks, 1973); whereby a first utterance (e.g. question), known as a first pair part, calls for a second utterance (e.g. an answer), known as a second pair part. Adjacency pairs are ‘context free mechanisms’ insofar as they are observed in a variety of interactional contexts and across different speakers.

A *conversational practice* is a pattern of a sequence of acts that happens repeatedly in a given context; it is ‘*what is usually done*’. When describing the practice level of talk organisation, CA practitioners describe interactional routines speakers engage in in talk-in-interaction; routines which may vary from community to community and from one context to the next. Such routines are also referred to as “interactive practices”, “communicative practices” and “discursive practices” (e.g. Young, 2008). In turn, practices are defined as “*recurrent* activities that have their own structures” (Young, 2008: 61, my emphasis). A typical practice is the greeting routine as found in many communities. Structurally, it is organised in the form of an

adjacency pair whereby a first greeting calls for a return greeting. As the exchange of such pairs is a recurrent activity, it can be seen as a practice in the communities in which it is observed. As an example, consider the following fictive extract:

Example 1: in the bus in the morning

1. Bus driver: good morning
2. Pete: good morning

Here, the conversational structure is that of an adjacency pair. Because this structure happens repeatedly every morning in the bus, it becomes a conversational practice, namely that of ‘greeting’.

As a last example of the difference between the structural and the practice level of talk organisation, consider the preference organisation in the act of ‘offers’ as discussed by Schegloff (1988, 2007). Schegloff differentiates two “alternative groundings of preference” (2007: 62): “sequence-structure-based preference” and “practice-based preference” (1988: 454). At the structural level, he shows how the conversational structure of ‘offers’ is that of an adjacency pair, and how a second pair part is a preferred response to a first pair part. At the practice level, he shows how, in most cases, the practice is that of a ‘preference for acceptance’ after an offer has been made in a first pair part. He further shows that, in some other cases, such as in the case of initial offers of second helpings of dessert, a ‘decline’ rather than an ‘acceptance’ is preferred (1988: 454).

The notion of ‘conversational practice’ is important in a CA approach to practiced language policies because it echoes Spolsky’s observation that language (choice) acts form “sets of patterns” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 29), which are then said to be underlined by a set of “deducible, implicit rules” (ibid: 2) – what Conversation Analysts call ‘interactional norms’.

#### **4.2.4. Principle 4: Interactional norms**

A fourth assumption in CA is that speakers have an implicit understanding (i.e. ‘common sense knowledge’) of whether an act is appropriate in a given context or not. In CA terms, this understanding is referred to as “interactional norms” (Hymes, 1972). Drawing on Ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysts understand norms “as a point of reference or action template for interpretation” (Seedhouse, 2004: 10).

That is, speakers use norms as “schemes” (Garfinkel, 1967) or “grids” (Heritage, 1984a) of interpretation of each other’s (language) acts. In this regard, the following passage from Seedhouse (2004: 10) is helpful:

“This does not mean that interactants have to slavishly follow these norms, but rather that these are points of reference through which we can design and perform our social actions, analyse and evaluate the conduct of another, draw conclusions, and hold the other accountable. So, for example, interactants can and do deviate from the norms, interrupt others, or fail to provide the second part to an adjacency pair, and fellow interactants can evaluate these actions as noticeable and accountable *by reference to the norms*” (Seedhouse, 2004: 10, his emphasis).

The assumption that norms are used for the interpretation and production of acts is grounded in the Ethnomethodological principles of the ‘reciprocity of perspectives’ and the ‘documentary method of interpretation’. The former implies that social actors hold each other to have the same perspective, while the latter implies that “any actual real-world action is a ‘document’ or an example of a previously known pattern” (Seedhouse, 2004: 7) and can thus be interpreted with reference to that pattern. To go back to example 1 above, I have said that since this particular event has been taking place repeatedly every morning in the bus, Pete has identified it as a conversational practice (documentary method). Therefore, next time Pete takes the bus in the morning and that the bus driver greets him, he will assume that the bus driver orients to the same practice (reciprocity of perspective) and will greet him back. In this sense, Pete will use his knowledge of the practice of greeting being appropriate with the bus driver as a norm of interaction, to which he will orient in order to interpret language acts. It is with reference to this norm that if, one day, Pete does not greet the bus driver back, Pete’s lack of greeting will be noticed and interpreted.

One important aim of CA is to uncover and make explicit these interactional norms, since, as Silverman puts it, “social life, unlike foreign films, does not come with subtitles attached” (1998: 85). As I have claimed earlier (see section §2.5.5), CA’s understanding of ‘norm’ is central to approaching practiced language policies. Indeed, CA’s notion of ‘norm’ is what Spolsky calls alternately “the idea that members of the community have of appropriate behaviour” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 29), “the deducible, implicit rules that seem to underlie the language use of a defined community” (ibid: 2), or the “force that accounts for language choice by

participants” (Spolsky, 2007: 4); what I have proposed to call ‘a practiced language policy’. In the same way as Conversation Analysts are concerned with making explicit the interactional norms speakers orient to in talk-in-interaction, Spolsky calls for deriving from the study of language use “a set of descriptive and explanatory rules that would somehow capture the idea that members of the community have of appropriate behaviour [i.e. the norms in CA terms]” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 29). In this regard, I claim that a CA approach to practiced language policies consists in stating and describing the norms speakers orient to in their language acts.

#### **4.2.5. Principle 5: An emic approach to context**

Another key principle that needs to be introduced for investigating practiced language policies is the CA understanding of ‘context’. Two understandings of context emerge in the CA literature. A first sense of context is proximal and endogenous (e.g. Heritage, 1984a, 2004) insofar as a speaker’s turn provides the context for the second speaker’s turn, which in turn provides the context for the first speakers’ second turn. In this regard, contributions are “context-shaped” and “context-renewing” (e.g. Heritage, 1984a, 2004; Seedhouse, 2004). An interactional act is “context shaped” in the sense that its meaning can only be interpreted with regard to “what happens before” (Psathas, 1995: 48). It is ‘context-renewing’ in the sense that it provides the background for the interpretation of the next turn – that is, “what comes next” (Psathas, 1995: 48). Similarly, Heritage explains that “the context of a next action is repeatedly renewed with every current action” (1984a: 242). In short, context is *actively* co-constructed by conversational participants and *dynamic* insofar as it is renewed with each turn. For this reason, Conversation Analysts undertake *sequential analyses* of talk-in-interaction, that is, a turn-by-turn analysis of speaker’s acts. Sequential analysis is one of CA’s central methods to investigate the organisation of talk-in-interaction.

In addition to this first understanding of context, Conversation Analysts also acknowledge the ‘exogenous’ sense of context, that is, the situatedness of talk. Aspects of the situatedness of talk include speakers’ age, gender, identity, power



relations and, where relevant, institutional roles. However, these aspects of the context of talk are not taken for granted; they are not assumed to exert a deterministic or causal force on speakers' interactional acts. As opposed to the 'bucket view' (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Sidnell, 2010) of context whereby context is "a container for action" (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 171), Conversation Analysts adopt instead an "active perspective" (Seedhouse, 2004: 42) to context whereby participants are seen to talk context into being. This means that aspects of the situatedness of talk such as social structures and institutional roles are co-constructed *within* talk-in-interaction. As a result, Conversation Analysts adopt an "emic" approach (Pike, 1967) – as opposed to an "etic" approach (i.e. the analyst's perspective) – to context. Pike defines an emic perspective as the study of "behaviour as from inside the system" (1967: 37). An emic approach to context means that Conversation Analysts determine which elements of the situatedness of talk are relevant for speakers themselves. This issue of "relevance" (Schegloff, 1992) involves the need for analysts to show which aspects of context speakers demonstrably orient to while talking. As Psathas explains, "the matters selected for study are those that persons in the setting are themselves demonstrably aware of and/or oriented to in the course of their actions" (1995: 46). For example, in CA studies of talk in institutional settings (see for instance the seminal volumes edited by Drew and Heritage, 1992 and 2006), Conversation Analysts solely take into account the social structures and speakers' characteristics that are demonstrably relevant to speakers themselves (for a full discussion on CA and talk in institutional setting see for instance Drew and Heritage, 1992; Heritage, 2004; Sidnell, 2010). Schegloff further adds that Conversation Analysts have not only to study aspects of contexts that are relevant for speakers but also show the "procedural consequentiality" of these specific aspects of contexts; that is, "how does the talk is being conducted in some setting (say, 'the hospital') issue in any consequences for the shape, form, trajectory, content, or character of the interaction that the parties conduct" (Schegloff, 1992: 111). In other words, the analyst has to show whether an aspect of context that has been identified as being *relevant* by participants is also *consequential* for the ongoing interaction.

#### 4.2.6. A discussion of some common criticisms made of CA

I would now like to discuss briefly some common criticisms made of CA found in the literature. This will help highlighting the specificity of CA in examining talk-in-interaction compared to other discourse analytic methods. To do so, I will draw on debates between Schegloff (1997, 1999a, 1999b) and Billig (1999a, 1999b) in the first place and Schegloff (1997) and Wetherell (1998) in the second place, all published in the journal *Discourse and Society*.

As a response to Schegloff's (1997) attempt to explain the differences between Conversation Analysis (CA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Billig (1999a) enumerates a series of criticisms against CA. Importantly, Billig criticises Conversation Analysts' claim of what he calls "epistemological naivety" (1999a: 546; 1999b: 573); that is, of examining "participants' talk in 'their own terms'" (1999a: 543). He argues that, in fact, Conversation Analysts use their own rhetoric, which conveys a view of the world that is not always that of the participants' themselves (1999a: 544). This criticism had also been made by Segerdahl (1984), for instance, who was concerned with the relevance of the technical terms of CA to the participants. In my opinion, this criticism shows an important misunderstanding of one of CA key principle. When Conversation Analysts claim to study participants' talk in their own terms, they do not mean using participants' *words* to describe talk but rather using participants' own *acts*; that is, what participants take to be relevant in talk. As Wooffitt points out, this criticism is based on a misreading of CA (2005: 161). Furthermore, Schegloff argues that "there is no ideological veil in CA that precludes analysts finding in a strip of interaction what is going on there" (1999a: 567).

Another recurrent criticism made of CA is that in focusing on the technical aspect of talk it fails to address its argumentative and oppositional character (see for instance Billig, 1999a: 551). While it is true that CA gives primer importance to the unfolding of interaction, this does not mean that it cannot account for unequal power relationships and argumentative talk. In fact, a detailed analysis of talk can reveal the multiple ways in which arguments and conflicts are constructed in

interaction. For instance, as Schegloff highlights (1999a), a fundamental paper in CA (Sacks et al., 1974) explicitly demonstrates how the study of turn-taking reveals unequal participation rights among participants. Similarly, Kitzinger (2000) has efficiently used CA to conduct socially engaged research, addressing mainly feminist issues. In turn, Wooffitt (2005) points that rhetorical psychologists such as Billig run the danger to seek an argumentative basis for the way people talk rather than looking at what is really going on in interaction. As he puts it:

“The claim that discourse is essentially argumentative imposes an unnecessarily restricting focus for research, thus leading analytic attention away from more mundane interactional practices in everyday communication, and, paradoxically, away from the subtle argumentative and persuasive resources which are used in building controversial or contested accounts” (2005: 167).

The last common criticism made to CA is that it ignores the notions of agency and discourse, which are thought to be shaping talk. Wetherell’s (1998) reply to Schegloff (1997) is a significant example of this kind of criticism; what Wooffitt calls the “Foucauldian criticism of CA” (2005: 184). In brief, she argues that CA is too narrow and should therefore be combined with CDA to account for the discourses at play in talk, and more generally, to account for the broader historical, political and ideological influences affecting talk. In his reply to Wetherell, Schegloff (1998) reiterates that CA is able to link talk with broader social issues should these issues be demonstrably relevant to participants themselves (1998: 416). In his comparative and critical introduction to *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis*, Wooffitt (2005) takes the discussion further. He raises methodological questions and asks what exactly constitutes ‘discourses’ and what method should be used to identify them (2005: 182). He also claims that utterances are not produced in “an interactional vacuum” (2005: 173). Analysing them with a view to identify discourses invites researchers to disattend to the interactional circumstances in which these utterances were produced, which, as a consequence, leads to a kind of analysis that “does not illuminate the subtle organisation of talk-in-interaction, but which merely reflects

the theoretical perspective of the analyst and the immediate concerns of their project” (2005: 182).

Thus far, I have presented the key principles of CA necessary for the study of practiced language policies and discussed the common criticisms made of CA. I have developed the claim made in this thesis that CA is a possible approach to the study of practiced language policies. More specifically, I have claimed that a practiced language policy is what Conversation Analysts refer to as ‘norms of interaction’. Consequently, I have claimed that a CA approach to the study of a practiced language policy involves the identification of language practices (i.e. recurrent language acts) and the identification of the interactional norms speakers orient to in the interpretation of each other’s language acts. A CA approach to the study of practiced language policy results in the statement of the norms speakers orient to in their language acts. In this regard, I would like to reformulate the research question driving the case study as follows:

- 1) What are the language choice and alternation practices observed in the target induction classroom?
- 2) What are the norms of language choice and alternation practices that the classroom participants orient to in the interpretation and production of language choice and alternation acts?

In the remainder of this chapter, I present the CA approach to code-switching (§4.3) and classroom code-switching (§4.4) that I have used to specifically investigate the practiced language-in-education policy in the target classroom. Finally, since I have adopted a broad view of CA, incorporating both a sequential and categorisation analysis to classroom talk, I describe the salient features of Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) as well as the specific MCA approach to code-switching (§4.5).

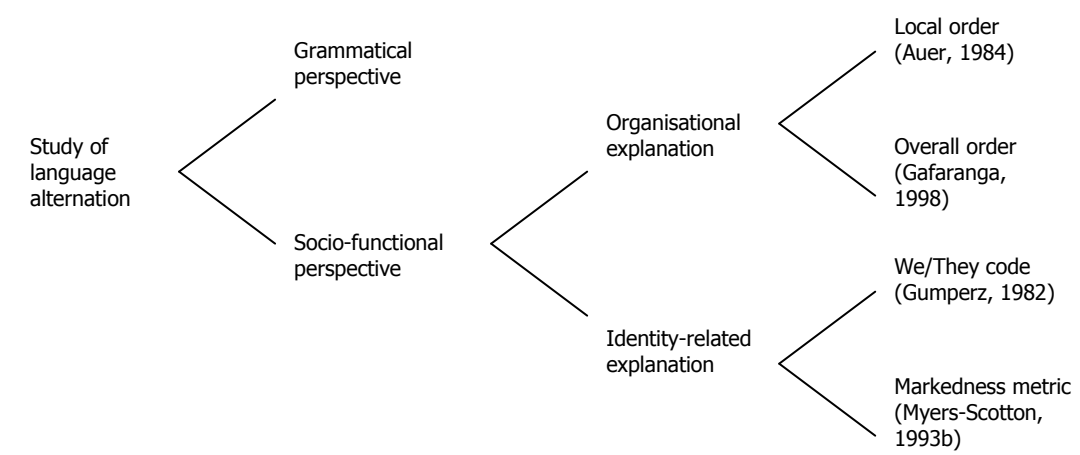
### 4.3. Conversation Analysis (CA) and bilingual talk

The central concern of research on bilingual talk is to explain the alternate use of two or more languages in interaction. This phenomenon is commonly called ‘code-switching’ (CS) or ‘language alternation’ (for a discussion of what counts and what does not count as ‘code-switching’ see Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998; Auer, 1984; Gafaranga and Torras, 2002). Given that the present case study involves the investigation of bi/multilingual talk, I now turn to the field of ‘code-switching research’ with a view to exploring why CA has been used to study bilingual talk (§4.3.1), what CA models of bilingual talk are available (§4.3.2, §4.3.3), and whether CA has been used to describe interactional norms in terms of policy.

#### 4.3.1. **Situating a CA approach to bilingual talk**

Language choice and alternation phenomena in bilingual talk at the community level have been widely researched from a variety of perspectives, the most recent of which being CA. Although a full review of approaches to code-switching (CS) research is beyond the scope of this section (for detailed reviews see for instance Li Wei, 1998, 2002, 2005; Gafaranga, 2007b), it should be noted that researchers adopting CA to the study of bilingual talk wanted to move away from the “identity-related perspective” to code-switching research (see Table 7 from Gafaranga, 2007b: 35).

**Table 7.** Approaches to the study of language alternation at the community level



Source: Gafaranga, 2007b: 35

To put it briefly, researchers working within a “grammatical perspective” to bilingual talk aimed to describe the “structural constraints that are said to determine where and how code-switching could occur” (Li Wei, 2005: 375). This was the case of Poplack (1980) and Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b, 1995, 2001, 2002, 2006, etc.). As illustrated in Table 7, research within a “socio-functional perspective” can be divided into two strands, namely an “identity-related perspective” and an “organisational perspective”. Researchers working within an “identity-related perspective” to bilingual talk conducted macro-level sociolinguistic analyses to account for the meaning of language choice and alternation phenomena; they argued that speakers’ language choice was based on the societal values of languages, and consequently, set out to explain the meaning of CS with regard to the societal categories of the speakers’ speech communities. As Li Wei (1998) puts it, they aimed to explain the ‘why’ of CS. A good example is Gumperz (1982; Blom and Gumperz, 1972) who argues that in a specific speech community language choice indexes either a ‘we code’ or a ‘they code’. Likewise, in her markedness model of CS, later referred as the ‘rational choice model’ (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001), Myers-Scotton (e.g. 1993a, 1993b) attempts to account for speakers’ motivations to use a marked language over an unmarked one (for a detailed review of this model see for instance Gafaranga, 2007a: 289-297).

It was in reaction against this “overwhelming tendency” to attribute a meaning to CS and to claim that this meaning was intended by the speaker (Li Wei, 2002: 164 and 2005b: 381) that some scholars moved away from ‘identity-related’ explanations of CS. These researchers started to leave aside the ‘why’ of CS to focus on the ‘how’ of CS (Li Wei, 1998). In this sense, they began to see CS first and foremost as a conversational activity and to study its organisation (e.g. Auer, 1984, 1998; Sebba, 1993; Gafaranga, 2007a; Li Wei and Milroy, 1995). In this respect, this shift of perspective can be referred to as the “organisational

perspective” to bilingual talk (see Table 7 and Gafaranga, 2007b). Li Wei summarises the key tenet of this perspective as follows:

Previous models of CS “seem to have drawn many researchers away from the fact that code-switching is essentially a conversational activity; it takes place within specific conversational contexts; it is structured in accordance with the general conversational organisation. The starting point of any meaningful analysis of bilingual code-switching must therefore be its location in the conversational context in which it actually occurs” (Li Wei, 2005a: 276).

From this standpoint, language choice was understood as a significant aspect of talk organisation. Since CA is the study of talk organisation, it presented itself as the most appropriate approach to this new perspective on CS research. Furthermore, CA allows an analysis of language choice in its sequential environment and invites the analyst to adopt the Ethnomethodological ‘attitude of indifference’ (Garfinkel, 1967), taking into account solely the meaning “brought about” by speakers themselves (Auer, 1992; see also Li Wei 2002: 167).

To summarise, a CA approach to CS research represents a move away from interpreting language choice with regard to social factors external to interaction itself and aims “to reveal the underlying procedural apparatus by which conversation participants themselves arrive at local interpretations of language choice” (Li Wei, 2005b: 381; see also Li Wei, 2002: 167). Proponents of a CA approach to bilingual talk at the community level include Auer (e.g. 1984, 1988, 1995, and 1998), Li Wei (e.g. 1998, 2002, and 2005) and Gafaranga (e.g. 2007a, 2007b, and 2009).

#### **4.3.2. Auer’s CA model of code-switching**

As illustrated in Table 7, two strands of research have developed in organisational accounts of bilingual talk at the community level, namely one that accounts for language choice practices vis-à-vis the local order of talk-in-interaction and one which does so vis-à-vis the overall order of talk-in-interaction. I first present the former approach developed by Auer (1984, 1988, 1995, 1998, 2000, etc.). Auer is the first scholar to have introduced a CA approach to the study of bilingual talk and is thus one of the first to see CS as a ‘language choice act’. In a seminal contribution, he writes that his aim is to investigate “*members’ procedures to arrive*

*at local interpretations of language alternation*” (1984: 3, his emphasis). Clearly, the terms “members’ procedures” and “local interpretation” indicate an emic perspective to analysis typical of an Ethnomethodological/Conversation Analytic frame of mind (see section §4.2.5).

More specifically, in his model of code-switching, Auer draws on two CA concepts. First, he uses Sacks *et al.*’s idea that talk is sequentially organised in a series of “turn-constructive units” (TCU) (Sacks et al, 1978). Second, he uses the notion of ‘preference’ (e.g. Pomerantz, 1984 and Schegloff, 1988) – to be understood as “a structural property of the organisation of talk” (Gafaranga, 2007a: 298) – whereby a specific act calls for another specific act, which will be a ‘preferred’ act. Building on these two concepts, Auer argues that language alternation is orderly with reference to a “preference for same-language talk” (1984: 23). That is, according to him, the norm against which speakers orient their language choice acts is that talk should be conducted in the same language as the one used in the preceding turn or TCU. In this view, instances of language alternation are interpreted as ‘dispreferred’ acts, that is, as deviant from the norm. It is because Auer analyses language choice on a turn-by-turn basis that his model is said to be based on the ‘local order’ of bilingual conversation (Gafaranga, 2007a and 2007b). In his model, Auer proposes two types of language alternation: one that he calls “code-switching” – when language alternation concerns a particular point in conversation – and another one that he calls “transfer” – when language alternation concerns a particular conversational structure. He further states that both are “contextualisation cues” (Gumperz, 1982) that signal something either about participants (language alternation is then said to be ‘participant-related’) or the organisation of talk (it is then said to be ‘discourse-related’).

Although Auer’s model has been highly influential in studies of bilingual talk (e.g. Li Wei and Milroy, 1995; Cromdal, 2004 to name but a few), some limitations of this model have recently been noted; most consistently by Gafaranga (1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2007a, 2007b, 2009) and Gafaranga and Torras (2001, 2002), who have in turn proposed an alternative CA model of code-switching.



### 4.3.3. Gafaranga's CA model of code-switching

In a series of publications, Gafaranga (1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2007a, 2007b, 2009) and Gafaranga and Torras (2001, 2002) have developed an alternative CA model of code-switching building mainly on two limitations they have noted in Auer's model. The first limitation concerns the assumption that language alternation is orderly at the local level of the turn or TCU. Indeed, Gafaranga stresses that Auer's assumption that speakers organise their language choice acts with reference to the language used in the preceding turn or TCU leaves instances of language alternation within a turn or TCU unaccounted for (2007b: 133). Furthermore, taking the example of what Auer (1995) calls 'language negotiation sequences' – that is, sequences where speakers more or less explicitly negotiate, at the start of a conversation, the language in which they will interact – he convincingly argues that these sequences would be "meaningless" (2007b: 134) if language choice acts were accountable only at the level of individual turns and TCUs. Building on these observations, Gafaranga (1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2007a, 2007b, 2009) and Gafaranga and Torras (2001, 2002) suggest taking into consideration an aspect of talk organisation other than turns and TCU, namely the *overall order* of conversation. They argue that language alternation is orderly at the overall level of talk organisation. In this sense, Gafaranga calls his approach the 'overall order perspective' to the study of bilingual talk (see Table 7 and also Gafaranga, 2007b: 135; 2007a: 303; 2009: 124).

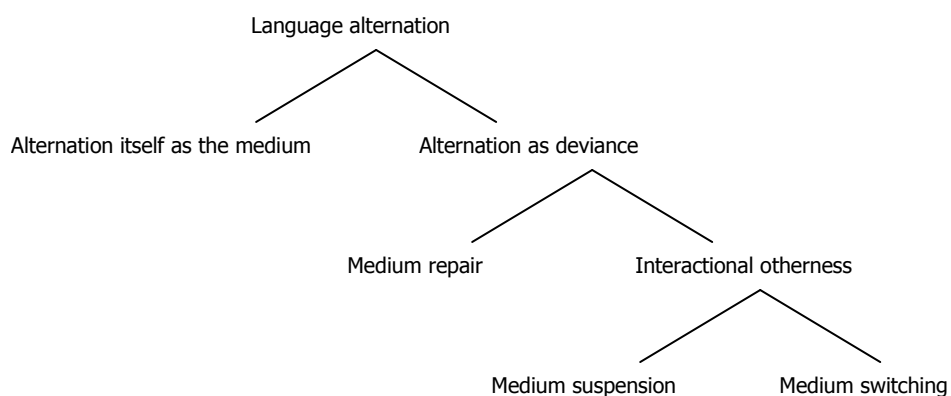
A key premise in this alternative model is the notion of 'medium', developed against that of 'language' in Auer's notion of 'preference for same language talk' (for a full discussion see Gafaranga, 2007b: 143-145; 2007a: 304; Gafaranga and Torras, 2001). In this respect, the second limitation that Gafaranga raises about Auer's model is the assumption that talk is conducted in a 'language of interaction', that is, in a 'base language'. Auer (2000) uses the notion of the 'base language' as a "scheme" of interpretation (Garfinkel, 1967) and claims that speakers orient to it for their language choice acts. However, he also acknowledges that, in some cases, it is impossible to identify what is the base language of a

conversation insofar as the languages in use are too closely intertwined. Auer (1984, 1997) therefore tentatively suggests that, in such cases, language alternation itself must be the code. Building on this observation, researchers such as Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998) propose differentiating the notion of ‘language’ from that of a ‘communicative code’ to account for the fact that, in some bilingual conversations, speakers may be using more than one language as one code. In a similar vein, Gafaranga suggests the notion of ‘*medium of interaction*’ to refer to speakers’ understanding of the communicative code and to differentiate it from the analyst’s understanding of language (see mainly Gafaranga and Torras, 2001). ‘Medium’ is thus defined as “‘the actually oriented-to linguistic code’ that is, the ‘communicative code’ (Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998) in which bilingual conversationalists themselves perceive their talk to be conducted” (Gafaranga and Torras, 2001: 196). To put it differently, the notion of ‘medium’ is to be defined “not in terms of linguistic items, but rather in terms of speakers’ own orientation to their language choice acts” (Gafaranga and Torras, 2001: 204). As a result, the medium of a bilingual conversation is the norm – that is, the “scheme” (Garfinkel, 1967) of interpretation – against which speakers organise their language choice acts. Gafaranga phrases this new organisational principle as ‘preference for same medium talk’ (e.g. 2007b: 145; 2007a: 305; 2009: 124).

In this model, a medium can be either monolingual or bilingual if two languages are oriented to normatively. Gafaranga and Torras (2001) further specify the notion of bilingual medium, saying that it exists firstly, in the form of a ‘parallel mode’ “when one speaker consistently uses language A while the other consistently uses language B without any orientation to the other party’s choice as divergent” (2001: 205); secondly, in the form of a ‘mixed mode’ “when all participants alternate between their languages, both between turns and within turns, without attending to the linguistic origin of the various elements they are using” (2001: 206); and thirdly, in the form of a ‘halfway-between mode’ “while one participant consistently uses one language, the other participant consistently alternates between the two languages in his/her repertoire” (2001: 207).

Insofar as the ‘medium’ is a type of social norm, any instances of language alternation must therefore be interpreted as being either a case of direct application of the norm or a case of deviance from it (Gafaranga and Torras, 2001: 204). On this basis, Gafaranga proposes a classification of different types of language choice and alternation phenomena (see mainly Gafaranga, 2007a: 306; 2007b: 145 and also Table 8). As illustrated in Table 8, in Gafaranga’s CA model of code-switching, language alternation is either, on the one hand, a medium per se (this is the case of a ‘bilingual medium’) or, on the other hand, a case of deviance from a medium (whether it be monolingual or bilingual). In the latter case, language alternation is an instance of ‘medium repair’ if it is oriented to by speakers as a repairable matter. Deviance from a medium can also be functional, what is termed ‘interactional otherness’ in Table 8. In turn, functional deviance can be either a case of ‘medium suspension’ or a case of ‘medium switching’; the former consisting of “a momentary deviance from the medium which is not repaired” (Gafaranga, 2007b: 146) and the latter consisting of participants that “stop using one medium and negotiate to use a different one for whatever reason” (Gafaranga, 2007b: 147).

**Table 8.** Gafaranga’s model of language alternation



*Source: Gafaranga, 2007a: 306*

To summarise, language choice and alternation phenomena have recently been studied at the community level from a CA perspective. In this perspective, two models have been proposed, namely Auer's and Gafaranga's. Although both share a CA mentality, I have shown that Auer's model is based on the norm of 'preference for same language talk' while Gafaranga's is based on that of 'preference for same medium talk'. It should be stressed at this point that none of the above CA models of bilingual talk formulate norms of interaction in terms of 'policy'; a step that I will undertake in the present thesis. In the next section, I discuss how studies of bilingual classroom talk have built on CA models of bilingual talk.

#### **4.4. Conversation Analysis and bilingual classroom talk**

Given that the investigation of the practiced language-in-education policy in the target classroom involves the investigation of bilingual *classroom* talk, I now turn to the research field commonly referred to as 'classroom code-switching (CS) research' with a view to exploring why CA has been used to study bilingual classroom talk and whether it has been used to describe interactional norms in terms of policy. In this section, I first describe briefly how CS models developed at the community level have been used in classroom CS research (for a full review see for instance Lin, 2008; Martin-Jones, 1995; Ferguson, 2003) (§4.4.1). Next, I review significant studies that have used a CA approach to classroom CS (§4.4.2), and then discuss the ways in which language policy is explored in classroom CS studies (§4.4.3).

##### **4.4.1. Situating a CA approach to bilingual classroom talk**

In the same way as language choice and alternation phenomena are observed in bilingual talk at the community level, they are also observed in talk taking place in bilingual classrooms. The term 'classroom code-switching' is usually used to refer to "the alternating use of more than one linguistic code in the classroom by any of the classroom participants (e.g. teacher, students, teacher aide)" (Lin, 2008: 273). Since its emergence in the 1970s, the study of bilingual classroom talk, more

commonly referred to as ‘classroom code-switching research’, has been cross-disciplinary. In fact, classroom CS research has followed, on the whole, the CS models discussed above which were developed at the community level (Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain, 2005; Martin, 1999; Martin-Jones, 1995). CA is thus one of the main approaches to the study of bilingual classroom talk. A brief overview of the different perspectives on the study of classroom CS will enable me to situate a CA approach to bilingual classroom talk, which I will detail in the next section.

As discussed in Martin-Jones (1995, 2000), Ferguson (2003) and Lin (2008), early studies of classroom code-switching in the 1970s were conducted in the US in bilingual programmes for ethnic minority children, and aimed at comparing the use of their first language (L1) with the use of the target language (e.g. Frohlich et al, 1985). These studies relied on quantitative methods and provided percentages of talk in both languages (for detailed reviews see Ovando and Collier, 1985; Ramirez, 1980; Wong Fillmore and Valadez, 1986). Then researchers started combining quantitative methods with qualitative ones, with a view to investigating the values and attitudes conveyed by classroom participants’ language choice (e.g. Milk, 1981, 1982 and Guthrie, 1984). In this tradition, classroom discourse<sup>60</sup> was still analysed as a series of individual acts that researchers would code into pre-existing and static categories. It was under the influence of interactional sociolinguistic and Conversation Analytic studies of bilingual talk that scholars started approaching bilingual classroom talk in its “sequential flow” (Martin-Jones, 1995: 95). At the same time, scholars broadened their investigation to post-colonial classroom contexts where the language of instruction is usually children’s second language (e.g. Pennington, 1995; Canagarajah, 1993, 1995; Ndayipukamiye, 1994, 1996; Merritt *et al.* 1992; for a detailed account see Ferguson, 2003).

From this point onwards, studies of classroom code-switching have drawn on CS models developed at the community level (Martin-Jones, 1995; Martin, 1999; Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain, 2005). This said, it should be noted that grammatical approaches to the study of bilingual classroom talk have occasionally

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<sup>60</sup> In this chapter, the use of the term ‘discourse’ refers to ‘language use’ or ‘interaction’. It does not refer to Ball’s (1993) understanding of discourse as a set of beliefs and ideologies.

been used (e.g., Shin, 2002); and so has Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b) markedness model (e.g. Hancock, 1997; Taylor, 2002). However, Gumperz's (1982; Blom and Gumperz, 1972) 'sociolinguistic' and 'contextualising' accounts of language alternation, as Cromdal (2000) describes them, have influenced two separate strands of research.

On the one hand, researchers drawing on Gumperz's sociolinguistic account used his notion of 'we/they code', along with Goffman's (1974) ethnography of communication, to account for language alternation vis-à-vis the macro-societal values of languages in speakers' speech community. To name but a few, researchers like Camilleri (1996; Grima-Camilleri, 2001), Lin (1996), Heller (1996), and Liang (2006) have adopted Gumperz's framework to account for language alternation in bilingual classrooms. For instance, in her study of code-switching in Maltese classrooms, Camilleri (1996) argues that Maltese is used to "convey friendliness and warmth and to reduce the distance between the teacher and the learners" while English is used "to increase the social distance between the participants" (1996: 85). This first strand of research further developed to take into account the asymmetrical social relations conveyed by classroom participants' code-switching practices. Martin-Jones and Saxena (1995, 1996, and 2003) have pioneered the analysis of classroom code-switching in light of social relations "in the classroom, in the school and beyond" (Martin-Jones, 1995); an approach which has been taken up by many researchers (see for instance the special issue of *Linguistics and Education* edited by Martin-Jones and Heller in 1996). Recently, influenced by critical social theory (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) and critical research paradigms, scholars in this first strand of research have developed critical approaches to the study of classroom code-switching (see for instance Heller and Martin-Jones's 2001 edited volume), showing the relationship between local discourse practices and the wider social and ideological order (Martin-Jones, 2007: 171).

On the other hand, a second strand of research drew on Gumperz's (1982) 'contextualisation' account of language alternation (Cromdal, 2000) and analysed CS as a contextualisation cue in talk-in-interaction, following at first Auer's model and, more recently, Gafaranga's model of CS. This second strand of research being

of greater interest to the study at hand, as it uses a CA approach to CS, is reviewed in more detail in the next section.

#### **4.4.2. CA models in classroom code-switching studies**

As I stated earlier, Auer (1984, 1988, 1995, 1998 etc.) has laid the ground for interpreting language alternation from an organisational perspective. Building on Gumperz's (1982) notion of code-switching as a "contextualisation cue", he has argued that language alternation contextualises interactional activities on a turn-by-turn basis. Drawing on insights from Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, he has thus adopted a pragmatic approach to CS research and claimed that language alternation is a conversational activity that should thus be studied in its sequential environment (sequential analysis). One feature of Auer's model that has been frequently used in classroom CS studies is the distinction between "participant-related" and "discourse-related" code-switching. More specifically, as Martin-Jones (1995, 2000) argues, the notion of 'participant-related' CS can account for most language choice and alternation phenomena in bilingual classrooms where learners have a low competence in the medium of instruction.

Auer's framework has been adopted to explain language alternation across a very wide range of classroom contexts such as primary classes in Botswana (Arthur, 1996), Brunei (Martin, 1999, 2003), and the United States (Shin and Milroy, 2000). Recently, it has also been used to study talk in higher-educational contexts such as a foreign language class in a Canadian University (Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain, 2005) and a class of English as a Foreign Language in a Turkish university (Üstünel and Seedhouse, 2005). As an illustration, let us consider two of these studies. In their study of learners' code-switching in a German as a foreign language classroom, Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2005) claim the need to "tie" the analysis of code-switching in non-institutionalised context to that of institutionalised contexts such as classrooms (2005: 235). Using Auer's model, their main argument is that learners – and not only teachers, as previously argued – use code-switching for discourse-related functions. Shin and Milroy (2000) also use Auer's sequential approach to CS in their study of young Korean-English bilingual schoolchildren in

New York City. They demonstrate how CS is used by classroom participants to serve specific functions such as negotiating the language of an interactional episode or accommodating other participants' language competences and preferences (2000: 381). They further show how it contributes to the organisation of conversational tasks including repair and turn-taking (2000: 351).

However, as discussed above, one major criticism of Auer's framework is its inability to account for frequent language alternation in bilingual talk. In this regard, Auer concedes that in some cases, "it is impossible to decide if language A or B is the 'base language'" (1995: 126). This difficulty has also been encountered in studies of classroom code-switching. For instance, in his investigation of classroom talk in Brunei classrooms, Martin notices that the two languages co-available, namely English and Malay, are "woven together" (1999: 138). Similarly, Bonacina (2005) observed in a French complementary school classroom in Scotland that some instances of language alternation, where the two languages at hand (namely French and English) are alternately used within and across turns, cannot be accounted for by reference to the notion of 'language'. Examples such as these, where two languages are closely knit, contradict Auer's assumption that bilingual speakers organise their language choice acts with reference to a 'base language'. In fact, as has been argued by Gafaranga and Torras (2001), the grammarian's notion of 'language' itself cannot account for instances where bilingual speakers use two languages as one code. It is in recognition of this argument that, as explained above (see section §4.3.3) researchers have recently adopted the notion of "medium of interaction" (Gafaranga 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Gafaranga and Torras, 2001, 2002).

Torras (2005; Torras and Gafaranga, 2002) was the first scholar to apply Gafaranga's notion of 'medium of interaction' to the study of bilingual talk in an institutional context, namely service encounters in Barcelona, Spain. The notion has since been used in the study of bilingual classroom talk, mainly by Cromdal (2005), Slotte-Lüttge (2007), and Bonacina (2005; Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010).



Cromdal (2005) describes how two students engage in the production of a written text in an English medium school in Sweden using an English and Swedish bilingual medium (2005: 339). Slotte-Lüttge (2007) focuses on teacher-learner talk in a Swedish medium school in a Finnish speaking area in Finland. She shows how pupils make language alternation relevant by orienting to its “other-languageness” (Gafaranga, 2000) in talk-in-interaction (Slotte-Lüttge, 2007: 106). She further argues that, by orienting to the other-languageness of Finnish, pupils orient to a monolingual norm, namely a Swedish monolingual medium. Bonacina (2005) and Bonacina and Gafaranga (2010; see also a copy in Appendix 8) have re-specified the notion of ‘medium’ for the study of bilingual classroom talk and have suggested the notion of ‘*medium of classroom interaction*’ as being the most appropriate ‘scheme’ (Garfinkel, 1967) for the interpretation of language choice and alternation phenomena in bilingual classroom talk. In the investigation of the practiced language-in-education policy, I will follow this recent development and adopt the notion of ‘medium of classroom interaction’ to study language choice and alternation practices in the target classroom.

I have reviewed thus far the different approaches to the study of bilingual classroom talk and discussed in more detail the Conversation Analytic one, focusing on how the two main CA models of code-switching, namely Auer’s one and Gafaranga’s one, have been drawn upon in studies of classroom code-switching. A last point that needs to be addressed is to what extent classroom code-switching research, and especially those studies using a CA mentality, relates to issues of language-in-education policy and whether anyone has attempted to describe what, building on Spolsky (2004, 2007, 2008), I have called a ‘practiced language-in-education policy’.

#### **4.4.3. Classroom code-switching studies and language policy**

Regardless of the approach used, the main body of classroom code-switching studies has focused on educational settings where there is an ongoing debate about language-in-education policy, such as bilingual programmes in the United States or

schools in post-colonial countries (Martin-Jones, 1995: 90). More specifically, debates on the use of children's first languages in the classroom are often intertwined with monolingual teaching ideologies whereby it is thought that learning is best achieved through a maximum of exposure to the target language, that is, the language of instruction prescribed by the school language policy (Lin, 2008: 281). Against this background of monolingual teaching ideologies and monolingual language-in-education policies, researchers studying classroom talk in bilingual contexts have more or less pursued one single objective, namely that of showing the functionality of language alternation practices in the classroom (e.g. Pennington, 1995; Arthur, 1994, 1996; Addendorff, 1993; Martin, 1996; 1999). In this sense, findings of classroom code-switching studies converge to show that language alternation is a potential resource in content-based classes taught through a foreign language of instruction (Ferguson, 2003: 48). Specifically, it has been observed in a variety of settings that classroom CS is used for facilitating "curriculum access" or "transmitting knowledge" to pupils with low competences in the language of instruction; for "classroom management discourse", and lastly for "interpersonal relations" (Ferguson, 2003: 39; see also Ferguson, 2009). In short, the aim of the majority of classroom CS studies has been to challenge monolingual language teaching ideologies and language-in-education policies by showing that language alternation is orderly and useful for classroom participants (see Lin, 2008: 282 for a critique of what she calls a "limited research agenda"). In this sense, the first and most common link between classroom CS studies and language-in-education policies lies in the fact that the latter usually triggers the former; that is, language-in-education policies that are monolingual prompt researchers to show the functional use of more than one language in the classroom.

A second link between classroom CS research and language-in-education policy is that, in many studies, the language of instruction prescribed by the school language policy is used as a benchmark against which language alternation is analysed (e.g. Heller, 1996; Martin, 1999; Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain, 2005). This second link flows from the first one since it is because researchers aim to show

the functionality of code-switching that they focus solely on the use of languages other than the language of instruction prescribed by the school language policy. In fact, as I have argued elsewhere (Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010), language choice and alternation phenomena in bilingual classroom interaction is either analysed from a ‘local order’ perspective – that is, focusing on the local contrast between the alternative use of two languages – or from an ‘overall order’ perspective. In the latter, it is assumed that the language of instruction – also referred to as the ‘medium of instruction’ – prescribed by the school language policy are systematically the language of classroom interaction. From this perspective, the use of languages other than the language of instruction is seen as deviance. In other words, the ‘base language’ of classroom interaction is assumed to be the language of instruction and ‘code-switching’ is thought to be a unidirectional phenomenon, from the language of instruction to another language. This is the case, for instance, in McGlynn and Martin (2009), Probyn (2009), Butzkamm (1998), Heller (1996), Martin (1999) and, Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain (2005). In McGlynn and Martin (2009), for example, the use of Wolof and Mandinka is seen as a ‘break of the rule’, because it deviates from the normative use of English, the prescribed language of instruction. To take an example of a study conducted within a CA perspective, Martin (1999) stresses “the need to consider codeswitching in the classroom in the wider context of language policy implementation” (1999: 131). In his study of teacher-learner talk in an upper primary classroom in Brunei, he takes as the base language the “institutionally-sanctioned language” (1999: 127), that is, the language of instruction of the classroom.

Researchers adopting an overall order perspective on the organisation of bilingual classroom talk have explicitly emphasised the potential mismatch between monolingual language-in-education policies and actual multilingual classroom practices (see for instance the special issue of the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* edited by Li Wei and Martin, 2009 and also Lin and Martin, 2005). As already discussed in Chapter Two (see section §2.5.3), in this strand of research, scholars focus on the use of languages other than the language of

instruction to stress the ‘conflicts and tensions’ between policy and practice (Li Wei, 2008: 147; Li Wei and Martin, 2009). Recently, however, Bonacina and Gafaranga (2010) have demonstrated that not all cases of language choice and alternation phenomena in bilingual classroom talk can be interpreted vis-à-vis the language of instruction. In a study of a French complementary school classroom in Scotland, we first acknowledge that some instances of talk can indeed be interpreted vis-à-vis the policy-prescribed language of instruction: these were instances of talk conducted in French, the policy-prescribed language of instruction. Then, however, we move on to instances of talk conducted in English and in both English and French and show that, in these cases, the language of instruction (i.e. French) can not be used as an analytic framework. Therefore, with a view to accounting for the totality of our data, we draw on Gafaranga’s overall order model of language alternation and adopt the notion of ‘medium of classroom interaction’ as an alternative ‘scheme’ (Garfinkel, 1967) of interpretation to that of ‘language of instruction’. This alternative approach entails that bilingual classroom practices are no longer analysed with reference to the policy-prescribed language of instruction, but rather with reference to the ‘medium’ which speakers orient to while talking. In CA terms, the medium of classroom interaction is the “scheme” (Garfinkel, 1967) of interpretation, which speakers orient to in order to make sense of their language choice acts.

At this point, it is necessary to stress that, while the shift of perspective introduced by Bonacina and Gafaranga (2010) brings us closer to Spolsky’s (2004, 2007, and 2008) idea of a language policy at the level of language practices, interactional norms have never, to my knowledge, been formulated in terms of policy in previous studies of classroom code-switching. That is, bilingual language practices have not yet been analysed with regard to a language policy inherent to these same practices. In this sense, the present study continues to explore the ongoing relationship between classroom code-switching studies and language policy issues by investigating the practiced language policy speakers orient to in their sense-making activities. To do so, I have analysed the corpus of classroom interaction, audio-recorded in the target classroom, using Bonacina’s (2005) and

Bonacina and Gafaranga's (2010) notion of 'medium of classroom interaction', insofar as it refers to the interactional norm classroom participants use to interpret their language choice acts.

#### **4.5. Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA)**

As I have shown, Conversation Analysts study the organisation of talk-in-interaction, as well as the organisation of language choice and alternation in bilingual talk, in its sequential environment. *Sequential analysis* is thus one of CA's central methods. Another central aspect of speakers' way of producing activities is to generate categories in order to make sense of particular events. The study of categorisation (i.e. *categorisation analysis* or Membership Categorisation Analysis; MCA) also originates from Ethnomethodology and Sacks's (1972a, 1972b) work. MCA consists of analysing "the methodology and relevance of Members' activities of categorising Members" (Sacks, 1972c). In the analysis of the language-in-education policy of the target classroom, I have adopted a broad view of CA, incorporating both sequential and categorisation analysis. I thus present here an overview of the salient properties of MCA that have been useful for the study of the corpus at hand (§4.5.1). Next, I turn to key findings of MCA studies of bilingual talk (§4.5.2) and classroom talk (§4.5.3).

##### **4.5.1. Salient properties of MCA**

Sacks (1972a, 1972b, 1992a, 1992b) laid down the key principles of Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA), which has subsequently been developed mainly by Drew (1978), Hester and Eglin (1997), Jayyusi (1984), McHoul and Watson (1984), and Watson (1978, 1983, and 1997). Full reviews of MCA are already available in Antaki and Widdicombe (1998), Kasper (2009), Lepper (2000), Psathas (1999), Schegloff (2007), and Silverman (1998). I will thus focus here on the salient features of MCA that are particularly useful for the analysis of the corpus at hand.

A first feature of MCA is the view that social actors organise their social world into “categories”, that is, “collections of things”. Sacks proposed the notion “membership categorisation device” (Sacks, 1972a, 1972b) to describe a collection of categories. For example, the terms ‘teacher’ and ‘pupil’ can be heard as part of a more general category collection that can be described as ‘school members’. Categories are not simply labels but a “doing being”. This term reveals MCA’s Ethnomethodological roots. Indeed, MCA’s main concern is “how categories are discursively produced on particular occasions and what members accomplish by using or invoking them” (Kasper, 2009: 6). In this regard, MCA entails identifying what categories members are orienting to and for what purpose. Silverman writes that “membership categorisation devices are local members’ devices, actively employed by speakers and hearers to formulate and reformulate the meanings of activities and identities” (1998: 97).

A second key notion of MCA is that membership to a categorisation device corresponds to doing specific “category-bound activities”. That is, in doing an activity bound to a certain category, a social actor makes membership to that particular category. Conversely, a social actor who claims membership to a certain category is normatively expected to perform activities bound to that category. To give an example relevant to the case at hand, a classroom participant performing the activity of ‘giving instructions’ makes membership to the category ‘teacher’. Conversely, if a classroom participant claims membership to the category ‘teacher’, he or she is expected to perform teacher-like activities such as giving instructions. As Schegloff puts it, “among the items that compose category-based common-sense knowledge are kinds of activities or actions or forms of conduct taken by the common-sense or vernacular culture to be especially characteristic of a category’s members” (2007: 470). For that reason, categories are said to be “inference rich” insofar as what is known about the category is presumed to be known about a member of that category (Schegloff, 2007: 469). Such category-bound activities are, for instance, features, predications, and rights and obligations.

A third significant aspect of MCA is that each person has a multitude of identities and can therefore have membership of many categories. However, not all identities/categories are relevant in an instance of social action. For participants to know when a category is relevant, Sacks states that they follow what he calls the “*hearer’s maxim*” (1974: 221). According to this maxim, if there seems to be a bound relationship between an activity and a category, participants “hear it that way” (1974: 221). Furthermore, Sacks argue that there is an “*economy rule*” which contributes to the fact that participants recognise what category is relevant in a given social event. This rule holds that although participants may have many categories, one category is enough to identify a person (Sacks, 1974: 219). Sacks also postulates that there exists a maxim and a rule of application through which speakers display their affiliation to a category. The “*consistency rule*” holds that “if one person has been described by a category from a collection, then the next person may be described by the same or another category from the same collection” (Sacks, 1995a: 246). That is, if a person is seen as making membership to a category, the other participants will orient to the same category or to a category that belongs to the same categorisation device. The “*viewer’s maxim*” holds that, since categories and activities are co-selective, the activity tells the category and the category tells the activity. As Sacks puts it, “if a member sees a category-bound activity being done, then, if one can see it being done by a member of a category to which the activity is bound, then: see it that way” (Sacks, 1972b: 338).

In short, MCA takes into account only the categories that are demonstrably and locally relevant and consequential (see the notion of procedural consequentiality discussed in §4.2.5) for social actors themselves. A category is relevant if, and only if, it is possible to show that it has accomplished a work in talk-in-interaction. And, conversely, aspects of talk organisation can be shaped by categories (e.g. Watson’s 1994, 1997 notion of ‘turn-generated categories’). This shows that, although MCA and CA have for long been considered two competing approaches (e.g. Schegloff, 2007; for a discussion see Carlin, 2010), they are indeed “two sides of the same coin” (Silverman, 1998: 152) (e.g. Hester and Eglin, 1997;

Housley, 1999, 2000a, 2000b; Watson, 1997 for a discussion). In this respect, Hester and Eglin write that “in practice, these aspects (the sequential and the categorisational) are so closely intertwined as to be separable only for the purposes of analysis” (1997: 2). Therefore, in the analysis of the language-in-education policy of the target classroom, both aspects of talk organisation (sequential and categorisational) will be drawn upon when relevant, pursuing what Housley and Fitzgerald call “an integrated analysis of talk” (2002: 61).

#### **4.5.2. MCA studies of bilingual talk**

I have shown above that studies of bilingual talk have been conducted initially from an identity perspective wherein language alternation was mainly considered as a *symbolic action*, that of reflecting society (see Gumperz, 1982 and Myers-Scotton, 1993 discussed in §4.3.1). This is what Cameron (1990) calls the “language-reflects-society” approach. A Conversation Analytic perspective on language alternation (see Auer, 1984; Li Wei, 1998 and Gafaranga, 2000, discussed in §4.3.2 and §4.3.3) represented a move away from this approach, in the sense that social structure is mentioned in CA if, and only if, it is demonstrably relevant for participants themselves. A CA approach to language alternation was indeed a turning point in the study of bilingual talk, for it apprehended it not as symbolic action but as *practical social action*. This standpoint has recently had major implications in the study of language alternation and identity. A significant contribution in this regard is Gafaranga’s (2001) study of language alternation from an MCA perspective. He (2001, 2005) argues that, insofar as language alternation is a social activity, it indexes a category. In other words, language alternation is a category-bound activity. He further argues that language alternation is an activity bound to a “language-based categorisation device”, which he calls “language preference” (Gafaranga, 2001: 1916; see also Gafaranga, 2005: 294). The notion of ‘language preference’ was introduced by Auer (1995, 1998) and defined as “interactional processes of displaying and ascribing (language-related) predicates” (1998: 8 in Gafaranga, 2001: 1916). In this sense, speakers “ascribe co-participants language preference and display their language preference” through their language



choice and alternation activities (Gafaranga, 2001: 1928). Crucially, Gafaranga argues that “in order to talk, bilingual speakers categorise themselves and one another either as monolingual or as bilingual and in which language(s)” (2001: 1921).

Since then, an MCA approach to language alternation has been taken up by other researchers such as Cashman (2005), Curc6 (2005), Greer (2003), Higgins (2009), Kasper (2009), Mondada (2007), and Torras and Gafaranga (2002). To take an example, Torras and Gafaranga (2002) investigated tri-lingual service encounters in Spain following Gafaranga’s (2001) MCA approach to bilingual talk. One of their main findings was that in ‘medium repair’, when speakers suspend the medium they are currently interacting in to solve an interactional difficulty they also suspend one identity in favour of another (2002: 543). In ‘medium suspension’, however, speakers were found to “depart temporarily from the identity they have adopted so far, not because of any difficulty on the level of current medium but rather to enhance expressivity” (2002: 543). Similarly, Cashman (2005) studied language alternation from an MCA perspective at a senior citizens’ day program at a social service agency in an urban Latino community in the Midwestern United States. Following Gafaranga (2001, 2005), he showed how speakers “do social identities” using language alternation and language preference as a resource (2005: 302). More specifically, he showed how participants’ language choice and alternation acts are a resource for them to ascribe, accept or reject group memberships (2005: 307). A last example is Higgins’s (2009) study of a Swahili-English conversation recorded between two journalists in a newspaper office in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Extending Gafaranga (2001, 2005), Higgins examined how these two journalists used language alternation to resist and disaffiliate from categories they had been ascribed to by their interlocutor. One of her main observations was that “language alternation co-occurs with the disjunction in MCDs (Membership Categorisation Devices)” (2009: 132). These three examples show that MCA has recently proven to be a useful method for investigating identities in bilingual talk as a practical social action.

### 4.5.3. MCA studies of bilingual classroom talk

Membership Categorisation Analysis offers itself as a key tool for the study of talk in institutional contexts such as classrooms insofar as it aims to show the relevance of institutional roles and other social structures in the unfolding of talk-in-interaction. As Kasper argues, MCA provides “a systematic link between talk and social structure as it examines how participants invoke and use their commonsense knowledge of social context through membership categorisation” (2009: 12). Categorisation analysis – along with sequential analysis – thus enables one to see how an institutional context or identity is “talked into being” (Heritage, 1984: 290).

For these reasons, a number of researchers have studied everyday life in classrooms from an MCA perspective, focusing on how the relational pair ‘teacher’ and ‘student’ is constructed in interaction and in turn, contributes to classroom management. These include Dashwood (2005), Freebody and Herschell (2000), Green and Dixon (1994), Payne and Cuff (1982), Richards (2006), Talmy (2009), and Weiyun He (2004). Baker and Freebody (1987, 1996) have also applied MCA to the study of textbooks. I present two recent studies as a way of illustrating how MCA is currently applied to the study of classroom talk (full reviews of MCA studies of classroom talk can be found in Watson, 1992 and Baker, 1997). A first important study is He’s (2004) investigation of identity construction in two Chinese heritage language schools in the US. Using both a sequential and categorisation analysis, she showed how, through the interactional mechanism of repair (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977), the classroom identities were “expressed and negotiated on a moment-by-moment basis” (2004: 203). More specifically, she demonstrated that students of these Chinese heritage language classes challenged the teacher’s categorisation as the ‘expert’. Furthermore, students were seen to make membership to both the categories of ‘Chinese learner’ and ‘American pupil’, moving in and out of these group identities principally through the use of personal pronouns (2004: 212). A second influential MCA study of classroom talk is Richards (2006). In his study of classroom extracts from a variety of educational contexts, Richards’s primary aim

was to show that ‘conversation’ was possible in classroom interaction when the teacher was not ‘doing being’ the teacher and related to the other classroom participants on an equal footing. Of interest in his study is his call to see the category ‘teacher’ and ‘student’ not as analytically given but rather as being constructed and oriented to in interaction (2006: 59). Drawing on Zimmerman’s (1998) categories of identity – namely, discourse, situated and transportable identity – he stated that the “default position” in classroom talk was characterised by “orientation to situated identities, realised through their characteristic discourse identities and with no evidence of transportable identity” (2006: 61). That is, the default position was when the adult was doing being the teacher by relying on discourse features bound to the category teacher, such as controlling the floor, asking questions and issuing instructions. In short, these two examples of MCA studies of classroom talk show that researchers adopting an MCA approach to classroom interaction consider the roles of ‘teacher’ and ‘student’ to be practical social identities enacted by different interactional patterns in talk-in-interaction. They further show that CA and MCA are related approaches that can fruitfully be combined.

Last but not least, this brief overview of MCA of classroom talk indicates that, although some of the studies mentioned above were conducted in bi/multilingual educational contexts (e.g. Dashwood, 2005; He, 2004), it seems that very little attention has yet been given to the relationship between categories and language choice and alternation phenomena in the classroom. The only exception is Talmy’s (2009) study of ESL learners resisting ‘ESL categories’ in Hawaii classrooms. Conducting what he calls an “M/CA” approach to classroom interaction (2009: 183), Talmy observed that a teacher switches from English to the local Pidgin in order to induce a ‘bad’ student to comply with his directives. He writes that by switching, the teacher talked “into relevance his membership in a new candidate category in which standardised English and Pidgin, the language of Local identity and culture, are spoken” (2009: 198). In Chapter Seven, I will show how categories play an important role in participants’ language choice practices.

#### **4.6. Summary**

In this chapter, I have presented the key principles of Conversation Analysis and Membership Categorisation Analysis useful for the present study. I have also introduced CA models of bilingual talk and bilingual classroom talk, emphasising principally the notion of “medium of classroom interaction” (Bonacina, 2005; Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010) – built on the notion of “medium of interaction” (Gafaranga, 2007a etc.) – which represents the ‘scheme’ (Garfinkel, 1967) of interpretation that classroom participants use in their language choice activities.

## - Chapter Five -

### Data and methods

#### **5.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, I present the methods I adopted to collect the data. I present the rationale behind methodological decisions (§5.2) and explain the specific set of data I focused on and the steps of data analysis I undertook (§5.3). Lastly, I discuss some practical and ethical issues I encountered, focusing especially on ethical issues in access negotiations with gatekeepers, issues of self-presentation with a variety of research participants, issues linked to the observer's paradox and issues in transcribing multilingual talk (§5.4).

#### **5.2. Methods of data collection**

In designing a methodology for the present case study, a number of constraints needed to be taken into consideration. First, I made the hypothesis that language policy issues would be more salient in contexts where more than one language would be used in interaction. It was therefore essential to conduct a case study in a bi/multilingual educational context. In this regard, induction classrooms for newly-arrived immigrant children seemed an ideal context to illustrate a Conversation Analytic approach to the study of a practiced language policy, so long as bi/multilingual practices were occurring. Thus, a first consideration while designing the methodology was to find a way to access an induction classroom where newly-arrived immigrant children's first languages were used in interaction. A second key aspect for consideration was the methods to be used to collect good quality and naturally occurring classroom talk, as this is a basic requirement for conducting a Conversation Analysis. This needed to be considered carefully given that classroom contexts are usually noisy environments. A third point that necessitated careful

planning was the design of a method to collect contextual information on the classroom participants, and especially on their beliefs about language use. Indeed, while previous studies provide contextual information on the language ideologies held in French society as well as in the French educational system (see section §3.2 and 3.3), information needed to be collected regarding language ideologies in the target classroom to provide an enriched context. However, eliciting language ideologies from inducted children with a low proficiency in French would potentially be difficult. The last aspect of the methodology design concerned ways of providing accessible feedback to the researched community.

Based on these requirements and building on Holmes and Stubbe's (2003: 21-23) four-fold model of data collection in the workplace, I designed a methodology that would be carried out in five stages, namely (1) gaining access, (2) semi-participant preliminary observation, (3) semi-participant observation and audio-recording, (4) collecting additional information, and (5) feedback. These five stages are discussed in the sections below. Ethical considerations are discussed in §5.4.1.

### **5.2.1. Trajectory of access**

For data collection to be possible as well as useful for the purpose of the study, I needed to obtain access to an induction classroom, and more specifically to its potential bi/multilingual language practices. Based on my experience as a pupil in a French state school and on explanations available on the official website of the French Ministry of Education (see <http://www.education.gouv.fr/>), I came to understand that the inspector of an *Inspection Académique*<sup>61</sup> grants permission to enter schools provided that informal consent has first been given by the head-teacher of a school and by the teachers who are targeted by the study (see Table 9 for a graphic representation of the hierarchy of the French state educational system). Obtaining this informal consent was the first difficulty I encountered in my “trajectory of access” (Bruni, 2006) insofar as I did not have informal contacts in schools. A further and related issue that soon arose was that, as an outsider to

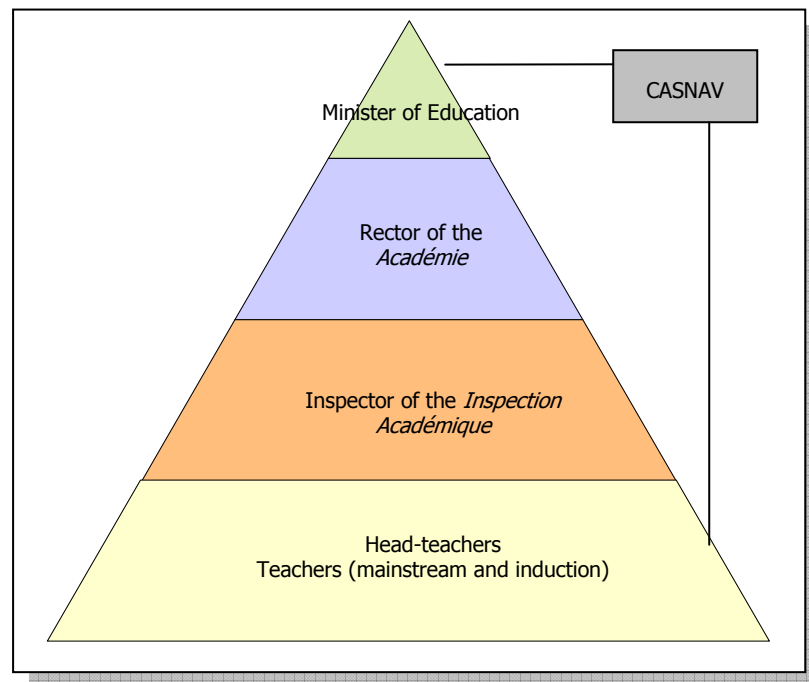
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<sup>61</sup> To recall, *Inspection Académiques* are local educational authorities.

French state schools, I did not have access to the list of primary schools running an induction programme for newly-arrived migrant children. In brief, I could not approach induction teachers informally because I did not know in which schools they were working.

As a consequence, I decided to contact the CASNAV of Paris, which, as explained above (see section §3.4.3.3), is an academic centre that provides training to induction teachers and coordinates induction programmes in their *Académie*. Although each CASNAV is directly attached to the Ministry of Education (see Table 9), their representatives do not evaluate teaching practices. In this sense, they initially represented the ideal “intermediate gatekeeper” (Wanat, 2008: 199), who could act as my “guarantor” (Gobo, 2008: 121) and introduce me informally to head-teachers and induction teachers. Indeed, following access negotiations initiated in January 2007 and reported in more detail in section §5.4.2 as well as in Bonacina (forthcoming; see also Appendix 6), CASNAV representatives introduced me to two induction teachers in the *Académie* of Paris in April 2006.

**Table 9.** The hierarchy of the French state educational system.



These two induction teachers invited me to their classroom for a short period of preliminary observations. The inspector gave his permission after close examination of my application, which consisted of: a letter explaining my motivation for the study, proof of studentship and an agreement letter signed by the head of my department, my supervisor and the head teacher for him to sign also. I visited the first induction classroom for two weeks in May 2007 to conduct the second stage of my research, namely semi-participant observation. There I observed that the classroom participants interacted in the many languages co-available. I thus arranged to conduct a longer period of actual data collection; moving to the third stage of my research and explicitly stating to the induction teacher my research interest in multilingual practices. However, on my return to this classroom in September 2007, I observed that the teacher interacted with the pupils strictly in French and systematically interrupted or discouraged the use of children's first languages. One of the explanations I posit for such a change in behaviour is that the teacher became aware of her multilingual practices through my own observations and subsequently adjusted her teaching method to be in line with either her own monolingual ideology of language teaching and learning, or with that of the CASNAV representatives. The point here is that the practiced language policy was immediately identifiable as being one where French was the sole language allowed in the classroom, and thus rendered data collection and analysis pointless. As a consequence, I decided to turn to another classroom where language choice practices would be more complex.

Based on this first experience, I visited the second induction classroom in October 2007, stating the focus of my research to the induction teacher from the outset. However, this upfront explanation led the teacher to conduct what can be called a 'demonstration class'. Despite my best efforts to explain that I was interested in observing naturally occurring classroom talk, she kept suspending interactions to explain why a language other than French had been used. At the end of the arranged two weeks of preliminary observation, she said she had shown me all the practices in her classroom and refused to take part in the actual process of



data collection. It is most likely that she refused to give me access to un-staged classroom practices because she perceived me as an evaluator associated with the CASNAV rather than an independent researcher.

In fact, it was only by approaching induction teachers without the direct mediation of the CASNAV that I finally gained access to teachers willing to grant me both entry to their classroom and access to their “*de facto* language policy” (Shohamy, 2006). Adopting a “bottom-up approach to access” (Silverman, 2000), I sent, in November 2007, a call for participation to induction teachers via an internal mailing list given to me by the CASNAV of the Hauts-de-Seine department, which had been recommended by the CASNAV of Paris. This mailing list was used and read only by induction teachers, which gave me the opportunity to introduce myself as someone with internal access to the educational system (and, therefore, as trustworthy) while dissociating myself from gatekeepers. In the call for participation, I explicitly stated my interest in multilingual classroom practices, which allowed induction teachers to self-select for participation according to their ideologies of language teaching and learning. It was through this call that I met, in December 2007, the induction teacher of the target classroom who, as described earlier (see section §3.5.4), held positive ideologies towards the use of children’s first languages in the classroom.

My “route of access” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) has thus been a circuitous and lengthy one, which started in January 2007 and led me to the target classroom in December 2007. It clearly shows that, although all induction classrooms are linguistically heterogeneous, not all of them display multilingual practices. In this regard, the induction classroom where I chose to undertake the proposed study cannot be said to be representative of all induction classrooms in France. It was chosen because multilingual practices were observed and that I made the hypothesis that language policy issues would be more salient in contexts where more than one language would be used in interaction.

### 5.2.2. Preliminary semi-participant observation

Once the Inspector of the *Inspection Académique* of the Hauts-de-Seine department had granted me access to the target primary school (which I call by the pseudonym La Plaine), I was able to move on to the second stage of my project and to conduct a two week period of preliminary observation in December 2007 both in the school at large and in the induction classroom. The objectives were:

- i. to familiarise myself with the context to be studied
- ii. to build rapport with children and staff
- iii. to find the least obtrusive place to sit in the classroom and role to play in the school in order to reduce the “observer’s paradox” (Labov, 1972)
- iv. and to assess the type of recording equipment needed for the third phase of the methodology design.

In line with objective (i), I chose to conduct these preliminary observations myself and thought it best to conduct ‘semi-participant observation’; that is when the researcher engages only partially with activities in the community observed (e.g. Martin *et al.*, 2003: 5), as opposed to the more traditional ‘participant observation’ when the researcher fully engages with activities in the community observed (e.g. DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002: 1). This meant that I was engaging only partly in classroom and school activities, which gave me the necessary time and space to test out the recording material. This strategy also helped me maintain a more or less ‘neutral’ status in the school, avoiding being associated with trainee teachers to whom a ‘positive image’ of the school and of teaching is usually presented. It further helped dissociate me from the role of ‘teacher’ that inducted children first allocated me (for a full discussion see §5.4.2 below), in the hope of later eliciting language beliefs and ideologies that they may not have disclosed to a teacher.

At the end of these two weeks of preliminary semi-participant observations, I had gained a better understanding of the organisation of the school and the induction classroom. I had also developed solid foundations on which to build a trusting and collaborative relationship with the staff of La Plaine and the induction teacher. Furthermore, I found that the least intrusive place to sit in the induction classroom – which Duranti aptly calls the “blind spot” (1997: 101) – was the right

hand corner at the back of the classroom (see Picture 3 in Chapter Three for a seating plan in the induction classroom). It also happened to be the best place to record classroom talk as it was away from the windows, which were usually open and thus let in outside noise in the classroom. Assessment of the recording equipment indicated that I would need to use an external bi-directional soundcatcher microphone in order to be able to audio-record both teacher-led and peer-led talk. On the whole, the induction classroom participants seemed to have adjusted to my presence as well as to the audio-recorder (for a full discussion see §5.4.3 below), which meant that I could now move on to the third phase of the methodology, which consisted in undertaking classroom audio-recording and further semi-participant observation.

### **5.2.3. Audio-recording and semi-participant observation**

The third phase of the research I designed for the present study consisted of an extensive period of semi-participant observation along with audio-recording of interaction in the target induction classroom. This phase was carried out over the second term of the school year, during the eight weeks between January and the winter break. In this period, I visited the induction classroom three and a half days a week on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays and left the classroom participants to ‘rest’ from my presence on the Friday afternoon and Saturday morning (see Appendix 3 for a list of the days I visited the induction classroom). Note that the school was closed on Wednesdays.

The rationale for recording classroom talk lies in the fact that Conversation Analysis, being the study of talk-in-interaction, requires a minute analysis of actual occurrences of talk. This involves repeated listening to interaction, which is only possible if talk has been recorded. Another key requirement is to be able to collect naturally occurring classroom talk. With this in mind, I continued to conduct semi-participant observations, which allowed me to reduce to a minimal level any effects of the “observer’s paradox” (Labov, 1972; see also section §5.4.3 below). Furthermore, the recording needed to be of good quality so that the data collected could be accurately transcribed and shared during dissemination activities within

the academic community. To overcome the background noise of the classroom, I chose to use a digital audio-recorder (Iriver solid state recorder) in combination with an external bi-directional soundcatcher microphone (Sony MS907 Electret Stereo microphone) and to record sound as WAV files (which have a better resolution than Mp3 files). One advantage of using an external microphone was that it could record sounds produced on the other side of the classroom, which was not possible with the built-in microphone. Moreover, its bi-directionality meant that I could record both dyadic talk and multi-partied talk. This was crucial since, as already reported (section §3.5.5), inducted children were usually asked to work in pairs or small groups. A bi-directional microphone also meant that the background noise was reduced when recording dyadic talk. This was highly useful since, given the semi-withdrawal principle of the target induction classroom, children were moving chairs around and chatting as they moved in and out of the classroom. It should also be noted that the digital audio-recorder was small and portable (which meant that I was able to carry it around the school and the induction classroom), protected from any potential accidents in the classroom by a leather padded pocket, and equipped with a long life battery and ample memory space (which meant that I could use it all day long without having to recharge it or download files). I was thus able to record good quality, naturally occurring classroom talk, and the full spectrum from teacher-led interaction to peer-led interaction.

Decisions also had to be made regarding the amount of audio-recording I was going to make, when I would record, and what small group I would record if not all three small groups. Based on preliminary observations conducted during the second stage of the methodology design, I noticed that the induction teacher organised her lessons around a topic, a story or a cultural event over several consecutive days, if not weeks. For this reason, I decided to record a series of consecutive days in order to collect large amount of data where the classroom participants would most likely be engaging in a limited range of tasks or topics. The motivation for this decision was to facilitate and limit the collection of contextual information relating to the recorded talk. I thus chose to conduct 11 days of audio-

recording in the second half of my visit, recording all day (from 8.30am to 4.15pm) on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays and half a day on Fridays (see Appendix 3 for a calendar where the days I conducted audio-recordings are noted). The day being divided into five sessions (see Table 6 in Chapter Three for an example), I tried, on the whole, to open a new sound file only at the start of each of them. In total, I audio-recorded 30 hours of classroom talk, divided into 46 sound files. These 30 hours seemed enough as they covered a wide range of classroom activities and included both teacher-led and peer-led interaction. Lastly, it should be noted that I chose to focus audio-recordings of peer-led interaction on the advanced group (i.e. Group 3; for a description see section §3.5.5) where children were given tasks that required intensive collaborative work (and therefore talking), as opposed to the other two groups where children were asked to work mainly individually on their literacy skills.

The fact that I conducted audio-recordings of classroom talk invites two questions: first, why conduct only audio-recording and not video-recording; second, why only within the induction classroom and not outside the classroom? Although video-recording would have provided more contextual and non-verbal information, I chose to solely conduct audio-recording because the induction teacher stated at the start of the preliminary observation period that she would feel more comfortable being audio-recorded than video-recorded. Second, although it would have been interesting to collect interaction taking place outside the classroom walls, it was not necessary in order to investigate the practiced language-in-education policy of the target classroom. Therefore, due to time constraints and the focus set for this study, I decided to limit the audio-recording process to talk taking place within the inducted classroom. One potential issue I foresaw in using only audio-recording was that it would probably be difficult to identify speakers' voices and retrospectively to understand what activity speakers were engaging in. For this reason, I pursued semi-participant observations in the induction classroom while audio-recordings were made. Furthermore, being in the classroom allowed me to move the microphone according to whether the classroom participants were

interacting as a whole class or in small groups. Most importantly, it enabled me to make “contextual notes” (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003: 23) in a fieldwork notebook regarding the type of activity speakers were engaging in, the number and identity of children present at the time of a specific recording and where they were seated. I also noted the digital time showing on the audio-recorder when I observed language choice issues, in order to have a first indication of where and when to find language alternation phenomena in the corpus. Other contextual information was collected to supplement the audio-recorded data, including photographs of the blackboard when the induction teacher used it and photocopies or photographs of exercise sheets and other teaching materials used by the classroom participants while being recorded. These have been included in the transcripts when necessary (see Appendix 9).

#### **5.2.4. Collecting additional information**

The fourth stage of the research consisted in collecting additional information to supplement the recorded data, or as Aberbach and Rockman (2002: 673) put it, “to fill in pieces of a puzzle or confirm the proper alignment of pieces already in place”. One aspect of this process involved collecting all written documents available in La Plaine regarding the functioning of the school (such as the number of registered pupils and the number of school staff). Likewise, the induction teacher consented to let me photocopy her paperwork regarding the organisation of her classroom (such as time tables and lesson plans) and biographical information on the inducted children (such as their age and nationality). To recall, ethical considerations are discussed in section §5.4.1.

Another aspect of this process involved eliciting background information from the school staff involved with the education of inducted children as well as from the inducted children themselves. The aim was to elicit two different types of data; on the one hand, “factual information” (Codó, 2008: 161) about educational provisions for inducted children and on the other hand, “perspective information” (ibid.) about language beliefs and ideologies. This second type of data was necessary in order to be able to relate the practiced language policy observed in the target induction classroom to the policy at the level of language beliefs and

ideology, as well as the one at the level of language management (Spolsky, 2004; see also section §2.5.4 for a full discussion of Spolsky's model of language policy). To recall, the aim of this study was not to provide a full picture of the language policy of the target induction classroom, but rather an account of its practiced language policy using a Conversation Analysis approach. Nevertheless, it was felt that the value of investigating a practiced language policy would be best appreciated if one was able to relate it to the other two levels of language policy (i.e. language beliefs and language management). Given that overt language management is absent in the specific context of induction classrooms (as already mentioned in section §3.4.3.4), only language beliefs and ideologies needed to be elicited.

Therefore, in order to elicit participants' "frame of reference" (Drever, 1995: 15), I chose to visit La Plaine a third time for a week (in June 2008) to conduct interviews with the head-teacher, three mainstream teachers who welcomed inducted children on a part time basis, the induction teacher and the inducted children. Following the model of the 'elite interview' (e.g. Aberbach and Rockman, 2002), I conducted with the head-teacher a semi-structured interview with a majority of open-ended questions. Such open questions were of the following type: what language policy do you think you have to implement? What language policy would you rather implement? What language policy do you think is actually practiced in your school? The interview took place in her office towards the start of my third visit, lasted for forty five minutes and was not recorded as she expressed a strong preference for me taking notes rather than audio-recording her. I conducted similar semi-structured interviews with the three mainstream teachers individually, asking a similar set of questions. Each interview lasted for about twenty minutes, was audio-recorded and took place in the school library, which is a more neutral (and quieter) place than classrooms or staff rooms. With the induction teacher, I conducted one audio-recorded semi-structured interview, which was an hour and a half in length. This took place in her classroom after school hours and towards the end of my third visit. It should also be mentioned that more informal 'open-ended

interviews' were conducted during my second visit as the induction teacher and I spent many of our lunch breaks together. Due to the spontaneous and unplanned character of these conversations, they were not audio-recorded. However, information was noted in a field notebook soon after.

With the inducted children, the issue arose as to how to elicit beliefs and ideologies about language given their young age and low proficiency in French. As has already been noted, “the types of aspects researchers on bilingualism seek details on, like values, attitudes, beliefs, and motivations, tend to be difficult to verbalize” (Codó, 2008: 162). This is all the more true when trying to elicit them from young language learners. With this in mind, I organised semi-structured group interviews with the inducted children around a card game I designed for that specific purpose. This card game was “something [for children] to do” during the interviews, which is a recommended practice in interviews with children (Keats, 2000: 92). Furthermore, it created a playful atmosphere, which contrasted with the usual classroom tasks and encouraged the children to reflect upon their language choice practices without feeling the pressure to provide ‘the right answer’. The informal character of the interviews was reinforced by the fact that they were held in a room different from the children’s usual classroom and that the card game was played on the floor as opposed to desks. In addition to facilitating communication, this card game served as the point of departure for more open discussions within each group. I chose to interview two or three children together in order to elicit divergent perceptions among the inducted children as well as to put them at ease in the interviewing process. Children self-selected to participate in these interviews and a total of eight children volunteered. I grouped children who were used to working or playing together in order to facilitate conversation and collaboration in the accomplishment of the task given to support the interview. The eight children were thus allocated to three groups. The first group consisted of:

- Amkouel<sup>62</sup> (Peul speaker),
- Andrea (Spanish speaker) and

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<sup>62</sup> These names are pseudonyms.



- Hakim (Arabic speaker).

The second group was made up of:

- Talia (Spanish and English speaker),
- Leila (Spanish speaker) and
- Karen (English speaker).

The third group was made up of:

- Kenji (Japanese speaker) and
- Piotr (Polish speaker).

The three interviews lasted approximately twenty minutes each and were all audio-recorded. The outcomes of the game were photographed.

The card game itself consisted of a board and a set of cards (see Appendix 4 for the set of cards). Using pictograms, the cards represented a total of twelve actions such as ‘eating and drinking’ along with language actions such as ‘speaking in Arabic’ or ‘speaking in French’. The eight languages co-present in the classroom<sup>63</sup> (i.e. French, English, Spanish, Peul<sup>64</sup>, Japanese, Polish, Lithuanian and Arabic; see also Table 3 and 4) were included in the card set. To represent the action of speaking in a particular language, I used the flag of the children’s home countries, grouping the British and American flags for English and the Ecuadorian, Mexican, Argentinean and Columbian flags for Spanish. Although representing a language by a flag is a debatable procedure, it appeared to be the most intelligible way to indicate to the children what languages were being discussed in the interview. The card game had two objectives. The first was to investigate the children’s “set of beliefs about *appropriate* language practices” (Spolsky, 2004: 14, my emphasis). To this end, children had to classify the twelve actions in two columns: one for actions they ‘had the right to do’ (column entitled in French “on a le droit”) and one for actions they ‘didn’t have the right to do’ (column entitled in French “on n’a pas le droit”). I chose these two French expressions based on ethnographic observations of the classroom where I noticed that children were

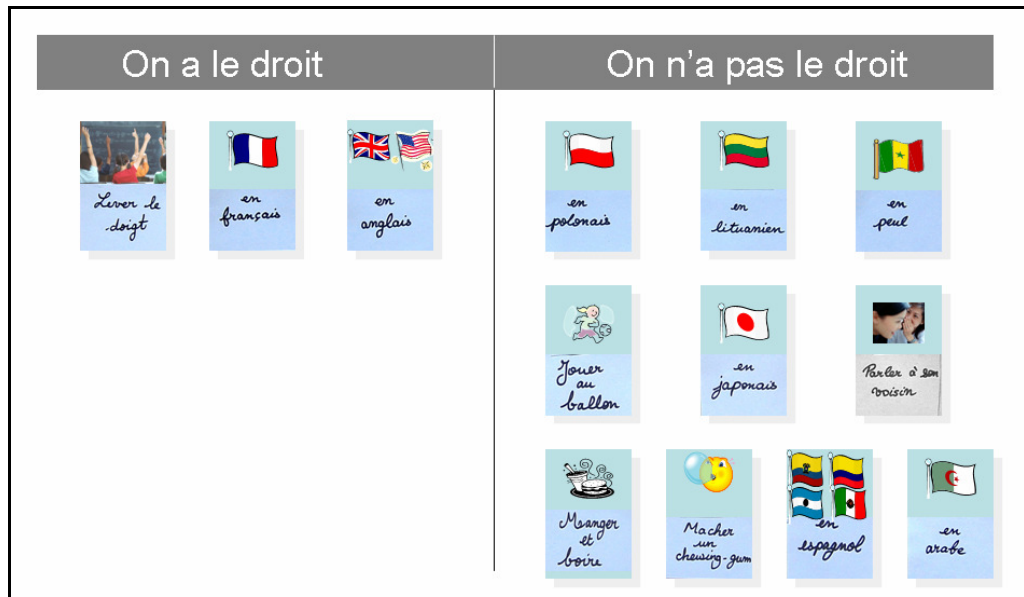
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<sup>63</sup> Taking into account only the languages co-available when the inducted children were present and excluding the languages of the children benefiting from one hour support as well as those of the three children who arrived towards the end of the school year.

<sup>64</sup> Peul is a language from West Africa. It is also called Pulaar or the Fula language.

familiar with the teacher’s set phrase “non, tu n’as pas le droit” (no, you’re not allowed). Picture 5 gives an example of what an outcome of the first task looked like.

**Picture 5.** Example of an outcome from task 1



The second objective was to investigate the children’s set of beliefs about *actual* language practices, that is, what languages children said they were using in specific domains of their induction classroom. To this end, children had to classify the eight language actions in four columns: ‘Avec la maîtresse’ (with the teacher), ‘avec un ami’ (with a friend), ‘en petits groupes’ (in small groups) and ‘à l’écrit’ (in writing). These four domains had been identified prior to the interviews and correspond to the way in which classroom activities were organised. Picture 6 gives an example of what an outcome of the second task looked like.

**Picture 6.** Example of an outcome from task 2



Given that the central focus of this thesis is to investigate a practiced language-in-education policy from a CA perspective to support the claim that CA is an efficient approach for the study of practiced language policies, I have included findings from interviews in Chapter Three as a way to give a richer context to the study.

### 5.2.5. Providing feedback

The last stage of the methodology designed for the present study consisted of finding ways to provide accessible feedback to the school staff. Given the time scale necessary to complete the analysis of the data collected, it was felt important to provide at least some general feedback at the end of each of my three visits. I thus gave brief and informal oral presentations to the head-teacher and all interested school staff on the research activities I conducted. More detailed feedback was given to the induction teacher, who asked to see samples of transcriptions of audio-recordings in order to improve her own teaching techniques, and also copies of audio files of specific teaching sequences.

Liaison with the head-teacher and the induction teacher continued well beyond the actual data collection process, which gave me an opportunity to inform them regularly about the progress of my study and my various dissemination activities in the academic community. Further dissemination activities targeted for induction teachers and inducted children of the *Académie* have been planned and will be conducted during a Post-Doctoral Fellowship funded by the ESRC. Such activities include a workshop for induction teachers and one for inducted children based on the interactional data I collected and a hopefully accessible summary of my research to be uploaded on the CASNAV website of Paris and the Hauts-de-Seine department.

### **5.3. Data and steps for data analysis**

An early question that arose at the start of the data analysis process concerned the selection of the data to be analysed and the way in which I would integrate the multiple types of data I collected. In answer to that question, I decided to focus principally on the corpus of audio-recorded classroom interaction, as the investigation of a practiced language policy from a CA perspective necessitated mainly a sequential and categorisation analysis of classroom talk. That said, the ethnographic data I collected in the target classroom as well as in the school at large has informed to a certain extent the analysis. More specifically, ethnographic information has been used cautiously and sparingly, following Mori and Zuengler's (2008) advice:

“While ethnographic information can help researchers emulate the ways in which the participants themselves interpret or construct each turn at talk, it is only through the careful explication of the detailed manner in which each turn is delivered and each sequence of talk is developed that researchers can ground their characterisations of participants or settings” (2008: 24).

In this sense, ethnographic data has been used to throw light on particular aspects of identities or in-house terms that the classroom participants were referring to. Otherwise, as I have already said, it has mainly been used as background information in Chapter Three and as a way to relate the observed practiced

language-in-education policy to the other levels of language policy in the classroom and beyond in Chapter Nine.

In this section, I describe step by step how I undertook the analysis of the corpus of interaction. The first step in the data analysis process consisted of organising the 30 hours of audio-recordings. To do so, I used a labelling system indicating the visit number in which the recording took place (e.g. T1), the school (e.g. S1), the day of recording (e.g. D1) and the voice file number (e.g. V1). At a later stage, when I organised voice files into extracts, I added to this labelling system the extract number (e.g. E1). To give an example, an extract labelled “T2S1D1V1E1” indicates that it is the first extract from voice file 1, which was audio-recorded on day 1, in school 1 during the second visit. To recall, data audio-recorded during the first visit were not included in analysis as they were conducted to test the recording equipment and to familiarise the classroom participants with being audio-recorded (see also section §4.4.3). A full list of voice files made during the 11 days of audio-recording along with their respective length and labelling can be found in Appendix 2.

The second step of the data analysis process consisted of transcribing the audio-recorded data. I transcribed twenty-five out of the thirty hours of audio-recordings and inserted, when necessary, photographs of textual material as well as a seating plan of the classroom (see Appendix 9 for a copy of the transcripts). Decisions on what to transcribe were based on the quality of the recording and the amount of talk taking place during the recording. For instance, in small-group interaction, I only transcribed sequences where pupils were interacting audibly with each other. Furthermore, field notes taken during semi-participant observation helped localise sequences when more than one language was used in interaction. Although the totality of the data has not been transcribed, efforts have been made to transcribe full interactional sequences. As for the transcription process itself, I played repeatedly a stretch of talk using a foot pedal and typed its transcription in a Word document. At the start and the end of each extract, I have indicated the timing

of the audio-recordings in order to facilitate future listening to the transcribed passage. Furthermore, in order to provide what seemed the best “trade-off between readability and comprehensiveness” (Seedhouse, 2004: 15), I used a set of transcription conventions based on Jefferson (1985, 2004) and McHoul (1978) (see Appendix 1 for a list of transcription conventions).

To transcribe talk conducted in languages other than the two languages I am fluent in – that is, French and English – I used the services of native speakers. For most languages, the translation process was limited to a few occurrences of talk. However, for Spanish and Japanese, which are frequently used in my data, I trained two translators of Spanish and one translator of Japanese in transcribing techniques and hired them to transcribe talk in these two languages. Issues linked to the transcription of multilingual talk are discussed in more detail in section §5.4.4.

Once the audio-recordings had largely been transcribed, the next step consisted of repeated listening to the audio-recordings in conjunction with close inspection of the transcripts, as recommended by most CA practitioners (e.g. ten Have, 1999: 155). The aim was to identify practices of language choice and alternation phenomena by conducting sequential analysis of the transcribed interaction. With this in mind, I aimed to answer the CA question ‘why that, in that way, right now?’; which, as Seedhouse writes, “encapsulates the perspective of interaction as action (why that) which is expressed by means of linguistic forms (in that way) in a developing sequence (right now)” (2004: 16).

Initially, structures were identified, noted in the margins of transcripts and entered in a content log of transcriptions. The main structure I focused on was the identification of the ‘medium of classroom interaction’ (Bonacina, 2005; Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010) that the participants oriented to. Due to the lack of many ‘medium negotiation sequences’, identification of the medium was undertaken by examination of repair sequences, deviant cases and word searches. As noted by Gafaranga, ‘medium repairs’ are “crucial, for analysts can use [them] to tell the medium as participants themselves view it” (2007b: 146). Indeed, repair sequences were of interest insofar as, while repairing a language choice act, speakers indicate

to the other speakers as well as to the analyst what medium they are orienting to. Likewise, deviant case analyses (Heritage, 1984a) were helpful in order to discover what language choice speakers oriented to as being normative. Lastly, word searches were particularly helpful to examine whether or not speakers decided to rely on their bi/multilingual linguistic repertoire to overcome the fact that they were lacking a ‘mot juste’. Next, frequent structures led to the identification of regularities, that is, practices. However, as Liddicoat (2007) puts it, I did not stop at a description of regularities but sought to show “that regularities are methodically produced and oriented to by participants” (2007: 11). Further examination of the corpus enabled me to see whether new instances of language choice and alternation phenomena were instances of deviance from an existing practice or a first occurrence of a practice yet to be discovered.

Next, I aimed to account for the norms of these observed language choice and alternation practices, that is, the reference points that the classroom participants drew upon to organise and make sense of their language acts. In order to unravel these points of reference (i.e. the commonsense knowledge of the appropriateness of language choice and alternation acts in this particular classroom), I set out to identify what aspects of the talk – either sequential or categorisational – occasioned certain language choice and alternation practices. To do so, I analysed the classroom participants’ orientations to sequential or categorisational aspects of interaction and examined to what extent they were linked to language choice and alternation practices. The main aim was to determine a set of norms for language choice and alternation practices; what Spolsky and Shohamy call “the idea that members of a community have of appropriate behaviour” (2000: 29). As a result, the set of identified norms of language choice and alternation practices *is* part of the practiced language-in-education policy of the target classroom.

#### **5.4. Practical and ethical issues**

In this last section, I report and discuss some of the practical and ethical issues encountered during the data collection and data analysis processes described above.

I first give an account of ethical considerations (§5.4.1), then discuss issues of self-presentation (§5.4.2). I finally turn to the solutions adopted to overcome initial signs of an observer's paradox (§5.4.3) and problems in transcribing a multilingual corpus (§5.4.4).

#### **5.4.1. Ethical considerations**

Ethical issues linked with the processes of data collection and data analysis described above were carefully considered before and during the study, as well as during the dissemination of findings. I have adhered to the codes of ethics of the ESRC (2005) and BAAL (2007). This project also obtained approval from the ethics committee of the Linguistics and English Language Department of the University of Edinburgh. It also conforms to the ethical requirements for applied linguistics research conducted in France (Baude, 2006).

More specifically, before entering La Plaine, I sought written consent from the inspector of the *Inspection Académique* of the Hauts-de-Seine department, the head-teacher and the induction teacher to conduct ethnographic research. Once in the school, I obtained written consent from parents or carers of inducted children to conduct audio-recordings of classroom interaction and to use biographical data (such as age, sex, nationality and languages spoken) in this thesis and in any other disseminating activities (see Appendix 5 for a copy of a consent form for parents and carers). Similarly, the induction teacher, the three mainstream teachers and the head-teacher signed a consent form prior to their interviews. I also asked permission to use information collected during informal conversations I had with the induction teacher over our lunch breaks.

On each occasion, I gave participants the option of non-participation and stressed that they could withdraw from the research at any point. I further explained that they could ask me to delete any stretches of recorded talk they did not want me to include in my data. With all participants, it also was agreed that anonymity would be preserved in the thesis and in any other disseminating activities. To this end, I have changed participants' names, disguised their faces on photos and deleted



any information (such as the name and the location of the school) that could reveal participants' identity.

Obtaining informed consent from the school staff and the induction classroom participants was a straightforward matter because their language ideologies converged with the research focus of the study. This was not the case in access negotiations with representatives of the Parisian CASNAV during the first stage of the methodology design (see section §5.2.1). Aware of possible monolingual language ideologies in the French educational system, and therefore of a potential “conflict of interest” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 52) between my object of enquiry and their perceptions of such enquiry, the question arose as to how I could provide CASNAV representatives with enough information so that they could give me an ‘informed consent’ as required by codes of practice, while at the same time not jeopardising access to schools. During initial conversations, I indeed observed that the use of inducted children’s first languages in the classroom was a “taboo area” (Gray, 1980: 320) that was best avoided when establishing and maintaining a positive relationship with CASNAV representatives. Indeed, subsequent meetings confirmed that these representatives held negative attitudes towards the use of induction children’s first languages in the classroom (for a full discussion see Bonacina, forthcoming, reproduced in Appendix 6). It thus became clear that I would not be able to disclose the specificity of my research topic, as we did not share the same basic assumptions in this area. As a result, I presented it in broad terms, saying that I would investigate ‘classroom interactions – teacher-led interactions as well as peer-led interactions’. In avoiding stating the specific focus of *multilingual* interactions, I maintained the rapport established with gatekeepers while conforming to the ethical requirements of displaying research aims.

#### **5.4.2. Issues of self-presentation**

Access being a “relational process” (Feldman *et al.*, 2003: vii), self-presentation issues were most acute during access negotiations with Parisian CASNAV representatives. In order to build a common ground of understanding on which we could relate, I tried to emphasise in my self-presentation certain social categories

within my “portfolio of identities” (Harrington, 2003: 607) that I thought would be shared by Parisian CASNAV representatives. These were the fact of being French, of having been a teacher of French as a foreign language, and of being a researcher. However, these identity claims were all challenged. Indeed, CASNAV representatives categorised me as an “outsider” with a “British mindset”, expressed suspicions about my real motives as a researcher, and argued that my experience of teaching French as a foreign language had no relevance to the teaching goals in induction classrooms (for a full discussion see Bonacina, forthcoming). In this sense, the fact that I was French did not facilitate access as initially hoped (see §1.4). It was only once CASNAV representatives had redefined the identity of their group membership, mainly specifying their monolingual ideologies of language teaching and learning, that they granted me access to two induction classrooms.

Similar misalignment in the bilateral process of self-presentation (Goffman, 1959) occurred in the period of preliminary observation in the first two induction classrooms I visited. As explained above (section §5.2.1), the two teachers refused to grant me access to their de facto language policy; one refused to participate in a long period of observation and the other monitored and changed classroom language practices once she knew of my specific research focus on language choice. I believe that this was the result of them perceiving me as an evaluator affiliated to the CASNAV rather than as a researcher. This self-presentation issue led me to contact induction teachers without the direct mediation of the CASNAV by sending a call for participation, as reported in §5.2.1.

A last self-presentation issue that arose was at the start of my observation in the target induction classroom. Although I had explained to the children that I was not another teacher but, rather, “one of them” – insofar as I also had migrated from my home country to live and work in Scotland – they initially viewed me as “the other teacher” as the following extract shows.

Extract 1: (T2S1D1V1E10)

46. Talia: [...] maîtresse!

47. Miss Lo: oui  
 48. Talia: c'est [ça↑  
 →49. Leila: [non l'autre [maîtresse
- 
46. Talia: [...] miss!  
 47. Miss Lo: yes  
 48. Talia: is it [this↑  
 49. Leila: [no the other [teacher

Being perceived as a teacher could have affected the naturalness of the talk collected. Indeed, one of my aims was to collect peer-led interaction, that is, small group talk when the teacher (Miss Lo) is not around. If children had continued to perceive me as a teacher, it is most likely that they would not have interacted freely in my nearby presence. I thus decided to change as much as possible my perceived status of 'teacher' to that of 'observer'. This was one of the reasons why I decided to conduct *semi*-participant observation, engaging in classroom activities only occasionally and never as an evaluator. I also decided to engage in children's play during break times, which is something that the teachers never did. In the same vein, when conducting interviews with inducted children, I decided to establish an atmosphere that was not classroom-like. To do so, I chose to conduct interviews in a room other than their classroom and asked them to sit on the floor as opposed to sitting at a desk.

### 5.4.3. Reducing the observer's paradox

A key tenet of Conversation Analysis is to work on naturally occurring data, that is, "interactional phenomena that would have occurred regardless of whether the researcher had come upon the scene" (Psathas, 1995: 45). However, it is common to encounter during the data collection process indications of 'the observer's paradox' (see mainly Labov, 1972), that is, the fact that we cannot observe something without changing it. For a discussion of the observer's paradox in classroom based research see Mori and Zuengler (2008: 23). Such indications were noticed during preliminary observation in my first visit to the target induction classroom. By way of example, consider extract 2 below, where children discontinue language alternation practices when remembering that they are being recorded (64-5).

Extract 2: (T2 S1 D1 V1 E3)

58. Talia: digo atashi (.) yo  
59. Leila: konichua  
60. Talia: anatano kaban (.) tu mochila  
61. (.)  
62. Leila: konichua  
63. Talia: c'est (.) que es konichua  
→64. Leila: [nos están grabando (.) no  
65. hablemos más!

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58. Talia: I say I (.) I  
59. Leila: hello  
60. Talia: your bag (.) your bag  
61. (.)  
62. Leila: hello  
63. Talia: it's (.) what is hello  
64. Leila: [they're recording us (.) let's  
65. not talk anymore!

This excerpt shows that the presence of the audio-recorder affected the naturalness of children's interaction because it seemed that it was perceived as an authority figure close to that of the teacher. In order to overcome this problem, I decided to add an external microphone to the digital recorder I was using. This meant that the recorder could now catch interaction from afar, without needing to be placed right in front of the children. As a result, the inducted children seemed to gradually forget that they were being recorded. Because of this, I disregarded the audio-recordings conducted during my first visit and during the first three weeks of my second visit. I started using the audio-recorded data for analytical purposes when episodes like the one illustrated in extract 2 became rare. In fact, extract 2, which is from the first day of recording that I transcribed and analysed, is the last occurrence of such a phenomenon in my data.

#### **5.4.4. Issues in transcribing multilingual talk**

The issue of how to translate data in the language of a thesis or publication (i.e. in my case, translating instances of French talk in the language of this thesis) has been addressed in several textbooks on Conversation Analysis (e.g. ten Have, 1999: 93; Liddicoat, 2007: 46). There is a consensus in studies of bilingual talk and bilingual classroom talk that language contrast should be represented in transcription by a bold font. However, such a transcription convention is not sufficient in cases where

more than two languages are used in interaction. In fact, researchers do not yet seem to have reached a consensus on a convention to represent language contrast in transcriptions of multilingual talk. Given the focus of this study on language choice and alternation phenomena, I felt it important to represent language contrast as clearly as possible. To do so, I adopted a colour coding system whereby a different colour is allocated to each of the languages used in the corpus (see transcription conventions in Appendix 1). It should be noted that at the time of audio-recording, twelve children were attending the induction classroom and eight languages were co-available. To recall, these were French, Spanish, English, Japanese, Peul<sup>65</sup>, Arabic, Lithuanian, and Polish (see also Table 3 and 4). However, identifying a language in the corpus of audio-recording was not always a straightforward matter. As I already stated, I used translators to transcribe and translate talk in languages other than French and English, but the translators and I both faced the following transcription issues.

First, we encountered the issue of transcribing stretches of talk where children use a lexical item from one language and the pronunciation from another language. In extract 3, for instance, Miss Lo is trying to explain to Spanish speaking child Talia how to spell the sound /œ/ in French; a sound spelt ‘eu’ as in words like ‘peur’ (fear) and ‘fleur’ (flower). Since Talia remains silent (43), the Spanish speaking child Leila decides to help Talia and pronounces the French lexical item ‘fleur’ with a Spanish pronunciation, namely /fleure/. By uttering the word ‘fleur’ with a Spanish pronunciation, Leila pronounces the two letters ‘e’ and ‘u’ and thus conveys to her peer Talia that the sound /œ/ in French can be spelt ‘eu’.

Extract 3: (T2 S1 D1 V1 E8)

41. Miss Lo: [...] voilà (.) peur! (.) tu te rappelles  
 42. pas comment on écrit peur↑  
 43. Talia : (.2)  
 44. Miss Lo: fleur euh: (.) comme euh:  
 →45. Leila: /fleure/

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<sup>65</sup> To recall, Peul is a language from West Africa. It is also called Pulaar.

41. Miss Lo: [...] there you go (.) fear! (.) you don't  
 42. remember how to write fear↑  
 43. (.2)  
 44. Miss Lo: flower erm: (.) like erm:  
 45. Leila: /fleure/

To signal that the item /fleure/ (45) is pronounced with a Spanish pronunciation, I have used a red font. However, to signal that, despite its Spanish-like pronunciation, it is not a Spanish lexical item, I have transcribed it using a broad IPA transcription. In the English translation following the original transcription, the lexical item is kept in IPA symbols. This system has been used for similar instances of talk, such as in T2S1D1V1E7 lines 7 and 18, T2S1D1V1E8 line 26, and T2S1D1V1E10 lines 67, 76, 78, and 80 (see Appendix 9).

A second issue that the translators and I encountered concerns the transcription of stretches of talk that do not belong to any existing lexicon but that are, nevertheless, attempts to utter a lexical item in a specific language – usually a child's foreign language. Consider extract 4 by way of illustration. Miss Lo asks the Japanese speaking child Kenji how to say 'dictionary' in Japanese (198-200).

Extract 4: (T2 S1 D10 V38 E3)

198. Miss Lo: comment il s'appelle- comment on dit  
 199. dictionnaire en:: (.) comment on appelle  
 200. ça en japonais↑ (.) ça là↓  
 201. Kenji: ça↑  
 202. Miss Lo: ouais  
 →203. Talia: /dɪksʰonədə/  
 204. Kenji: ça c'est::  
 →205. Talia: /dɪksʰonədə/  
 206. Kenji: non
- 
198. Miss Lo: how is it called- how do you say  
 199. dictionary in:: (.) how do you call this  
 200. in Japanese↑ (.) this here↓  
 201. Kenji: this↑  
 202. Miss Lo: yeah  
 203. Talia: /dɪksʰonədə/  
 204. Kenji: this it's::  
 205. Talia: /dɪksʰonədə/  
 206. Kenji: no

Since Kenji does not provide a second pair part to Miss Lo's summons (200), the Spanish speaking child Talia proposes a second pair part by making up a Japanese word with what she perceives as being a Japanese pronunciation (203 and 205); a suggestion that is not ratified by Kenji (206). The transcription issue arising here is that the word /dɪksʰonædæ/ does not belong to the Japanese lexicon. It is nevertheless intended to be a Japanese word by Talia since it occurs as a second pair part to Miss Lo's call for a Japanese word. To deal with this issue, I have used a broad IPA transcription to signal that the item does not belong to any lexicon and a blue font to signal that it is intended to be a Japanese word.

A third and related transcription issue was how to transcribe long stretches of non-lexical vocalisation such as in extract 5. In this example, the Polish speaking child Piotr and the Japanese speaking child Kenji are imitating the Spanish speaking child Leila speaking in Spanish (lines 163-167) with Talia while the four of them are engaged in a shared activity.

Extract 5: (T2 S1 D4 V13 E5)

160.	Leila:	[...] <i>no quiero saber más nada del</i>
161.		<i>colegio! (.) cállate un poco (.) no</i>
162.		<i>quiero que ( )</i>
163.	Piotr:	<i>cállate (.) tais-toi (.)cállate (.)</i>
164.		<i>cállate cálla /tæ/</i>
→165.	Kenji:	<i>/kontʃinæ/ /kontʃinæ/!</i>
→166.	Piotr:	<i>/peræ/ /kæɾæ/ /turæ/ /tʃæ/ /tʃu/ /kæɾætʃæ/</i>
→167.		<i>/me/ /tʃæ/ /mi/ /tʃutʃ/ /kæɾæ/ /tuæɾ/!</i>
168.	Talia:	<i>ils parlent en italien</i>
169.		<i>((all children laughing))</i>

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160.	Leila:	[...] I don't want to hear anything more
161.		about college! (.) shut up for a bit (.)
162.		I don't want that ( )
163.	Piotr:	<i>shut up (.) shut up (.) shut up (.) shut</i>
164.		<i>up shut up up</i>
165.	Kenji:	<i>/kontʃinæ/ /kontʃinæ/!</i>
166.	Piotr:	<i>/peræ/ /kæɾæ/ /turæ/ /tʃæ/ /tʃu/ /kæɾætʃæ/</i>
167.		<i>/me/ /tʃæ/ /mi/ /tʃutʃ/ /kæɾæ/ /tuæɾ/!</i>
168.	Talia:	<i>they're speaking in Italian</i>
169.		<i>((all children laughing))</i>

Piotr starts imitating Leila by repeating what she has just said, ‘cállate’ (163), and then translating it into French. He then transforms the Spanish word into ‘calla /tæ/’ (164). Next, Kenji and Piotr continue the imitation and mimicry of Spanish by using sounds that they seem to perceive as being Spanish-like (165-167). Here again, to signal that these sounds are supposed to sound like Spanish items, I have used a red font. However, I have transcribed them using a broad IPA translation to differentiate mimicry of Spanish from actual talk in Spanish. This system has been used for transcribing other instances of mimicry such as in T2S1D3V8E1 line 843, T2S1D9V36 E3 lines 83, 86, 98, 100, 104, 114, and T2S1D1V1E3 line 93 (see Appendix 9).

### **5.5. Summary**

In this chapter I have discussed the five stages of the data collection in the present study, namely:

- 1) Obtaining access to an induction classroom with multilingual practices
- 2) Undertaking preliminary semi-participant observation in the three induction classrooms to which I was given access
- 3) Conducting audio-recordings and further semi-participant observation in the target induction classroom
- 4) Collecting additional information in the target school
- 5) Giving feedback to the researched community.

I have also argued that the investigation of a practiced language policy (and in the present case, a practiced language-in-education policy) involves principally the analysis of a corpus of interaction, and explained that the other types of data collected have been used in this thesis as background information (presented in Chapter Three) and as a way to relate the observed practiced language policy with the policy at the level of language beliefs and language management (discussed in Chapter Nine). In the last part of this chapter, I have discussed the solutions I adopted to overcome certain practical and ethical issues encountered during both data collection and data analysis.



In the remainder of this thesis, I turn to the analysis of the corpus of interaction collected in the target induction classroom. In Chapter Six, I present an overview of the language choice and alternation practices observed in the target classroom. In Chapter Seven, I account for language choice practices and present the three norms classroom participants draw upon in talk-in-interaction. In Chapter Eight, I account for language alternation practices, especially those that are licensed by the teacher, and present the norm(s) that classroom participants used in such cases.

## - Chapter 6 -

# An overview of language choice and alternation practices

### **6.1. Introduction**

Chapter Six is the first of three chapters devoted to a Conversation Analytic investigation of the practiced language-in-education policy of the target induction classroom. Across the three chapters, analysis is conducted using the tools and following the analytical steps described in Chapter Five (see section §5.3). The present chapter, then, aims to describe the types of language choice and alternation acts frequently observed in the target induction classroom. Because they occur frequently in the data, they are thought to be practices; that is, to represent ‘what is usually done’. As I mentioned earlier, I observed in this classroom that eight languages were used in talk-in-interaction. These were French, English, Spanish, Peul (also called Pulaar), Japanese, Polish, Lithuanian, and Arabic. In section §6.2, I show how talk in this classroom is conducted either in French, English or Spanish, or in both French and English or French and Spanish. In section §6.3, I show how that, while talk is conducted in one or other of these three languages, certain patterns of language alternation occur.

### **6.2. Language choice practices**

In this section, I describe the language choice practices of the target induction classroom. I show how, in this classroom, talk is conducted either in French (a language common to all classroom participants), in English (a language common to four pupils), in Spanish (a language common to five pupils), or in both French and English or French and Spanish. More specifically, I adopt an emic perspective,

characteristic to a CA approach to talk-in-interaction and show how speakers use one or more of the co-available languages as their “communicative codes” (Alvarrez-Cáccamo, 1998). I call these codes “mediums of classroom interaction” (Bonacina, 2005; Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010). Building on Gafaranga’s (e.g. 2009) CA model of language alternation at the community level, Bonacina and Gafaranga define a ‘medium of classroom interaction’ as the “‘linguistic code’ that classroom participants actually orient-to while talking, as opposed to the policy-prescribed medium of instruction” (Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010: 12-3; see also a copy in Appendix 8 and Chapter Four section §4.4.2 for a discussion of the notion). Mediums of classroom interaction will be identified by doing sequential analyses of the corpus of classroom interaction. Special attention will be paid to instances of talk where language choice acts are oriented to by speakers as deviant – what Heritage (e.g. 1984a) calls “deviant case analyses” – since “dispreference markers” (Pomerantz, 1984) are a clear indication of what medium speakers orient to. In total, three monolingual mediums and two bilingual mediums of classroom interaction have been identified. These are a French monolingual medium (§6.2.1), an English monolingual medium (§6.2.2), a Spanish monolingual medium (§6.2.3), a French and English bilingual medium (§6.2.4) and a French and Spanish bilingual medium (§6.2.5).

### **6.2.1. A French monolingual medium**

In the corpus of interaction audio-recorded in the target induction classroom, talk is often conducted in a French monolingual medium. That is, classroom participants orient to French as being the default choice against which the use of other languages is seen as deviant. Clear evidence is found in word searches, namely when a child is lacking a *mot juste* to express him/herself (see also Gafaranga, 2000b and Cromdal, 2005 for discussions of the use of word searches to tell the medium of an interaction). By way of illustration, consider extract 6 below. Matilda is telling the teacher what she did over the weekend. The extract starts when she is saying that she watched a movie. To recall, transcription conventions can be found in Appendix 1.

Extract 6: (T2 S1 D5 V15 E3)

77. Matilda: samedi on (.2) samedi on voit (.1) euh  
78. (.3) on voit un film à la maison je- je  
79. sais pas comment on dit en français (.)  
80. j'ai oublié comment on dit (.) moi je sais  
81. comment on dit en anglais  
82. Miss Lo: mais quoi↑ (.) on dit quoi↑ le titre↑  
83. Matilda: oui  
84. Miss Lo: c'est quoi alors↑  
85. Matilda: euh (.) je- je sais pas comment on dit en  
86. français  
87. Miss Lo: ben dis-le en anglais moi ça ne me pose  
88. pas de problème Ma- Matilda  
89. Matilda: hahaha ((laughing)) (.) lord of the ring  
90. (.2)  
91. Matilda: c'est comme euh (.) comme euh (.) comment  
92. on dit::  
93. Miss Lo: c'est quoi (.) ah ben tiens Karen tu vas  
94. nous traduire le titre là

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77. Matilda: saturday we (.) we see (.1) ehm (.3)  
78. we see a movie at home I- I don't  
79. know how to say it in French (.) I  
80. forgot how to say it (.) me I know how to  
81. say it in English  
82. Miss Lo: but what↑ (.) to say what↑ the title↑  
83. Matilda: yes  
84. Miss Lo: what is it then↑  
85. Matilda: ehm (.) I- I don't know how to say it  
86. in French  
87. Miss Lo: well say it in English it's not a  
88. problem with me Ma- Matilda  
89. Matilda: hahaha ((laughing)) (.) lord of the ring  
90. (.2)  
91. Matilda: it is like ehm (.) like ehm (.) how  
92. to say::  
93. Miss Lo: what is it (.) ah see Karen you're going to  
94. translate the title there

In keeping with previous talk, Matilda starts her turn in French (77). However, she soon runs into difficulty finding the *mot juste*, as evidenced by various “trouble markers” (Gafaranga, 2000b) (pauses, euh, self-interruptions). She then says that she is lacking the word in French (79) but that she knows it in English (81), asking in this sense permission to switch to English. These first few lines of the extract show that Matilda is orienting to a French monolingual medium where the use of English is seen as deviant and not allowed. Note that the teacher does not immediately allow Matilda to switch to English, instead checking first of all what

she is trying to say (82-84). At this point, Matilda reiterates that she does not know the title of the movie in French, leaving room for the teacher to license a switch to English (85-86); which she does in the following turn (87-88). However, even though the teacher has licensed a switch to English, Matilda first laughs, pauses, and finally switches to English (89). The laughter and the pause signal that Matilda is not comfortable switching to English as she orients to it as being a deviance from the French monolingual medium, even though the teacher has licensed it. These dispreference markers indicate the deviant character of an upcoming switch. Going back to the extract, it should be noted that the switch to English is an initiation of repair. Indeed, in the following turn, speakers conduct what Gafaranga (e.g. 2000b) calls a “medium repair”. The pause (90) following the switch shows that the teacher does not repair it, allowing Matilda to self-repair (a preference for self-repair in conversation was noted by Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977); which she attempts in the next turn (91-92). However, the numerous ‘trouble markers’ (euh, pauses, elongation of vowels and reformulations) signal that Matilda is still lacking the French word and is thus unable to self-repair. As a consequence, the teacher turns to the rest of the class and selects Karen, an English native speaker, to ask her to conduct other-repair (93). The English item is finally repaired a few lines later (110), as can be seen in Appendix 9. Clearly, the fact that English is repaired shows that it is deviant from the medium, which is thus monolingual in French.

A more striking example can be found in extract 7 below. Here, Matilda is telling the teacher that her mother invited one of her male friends, who came with his daughter. As shown in the extract, she is lacking the word for daughter (i.e. ‘fille’).

Extract 7: (T2 S1 D5 V15 E3)

47.	Matilda:	et après il a- (.) il vient avec le- le-
48.		le- le::
49.		(.2)
50.	Miss Lo:	avec le gâteau↑
51.	Matilda:	non! pas (.) il- il vient avec le- (.2) le-
52.		(.2) comment on dit↑ ((laughing)) je sais
53.		pas comment on dit
54.	Miss Lo:	oui mais moi je sais pas ce que c'est

55.                                   alors tu vois soit tu le dis en anglais  
56.                                   [soit-  
57.       Matilda:                   [c'est le enfant de- de l'ami de  
58.                                   ma mère  
59.       Miss Lo:                   avec son fils↑  
60.       (.3)  
61.       Miss Lo:                   son↑  
62.       (.2)  
63.       Matilda:                   no!  
64.       Miss Lo:                   ah  
65.       Matilda:                   daughter  
66.       (.)  
67.       Miss Lo:                   sa fille!  
68.       Matilda:                   oui avec sa fille

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47.       Matilda:                   and then he has- (.) he comes with the-  
48.                                   the- the- the::  
49.       (.2)  
50.       Miss Lo:                   with the cake↑  
51.       Matilda:                   no! not (.) he- he comes with the- (.2)  
52.                                   the- (.2) how do you say↑ ((laughing)) I  
53.                                   don't know how to say it  
54.       Miss Lo:                   yes but me I don't know what it is  
55.                                   so either you say it in English  
56.                                   [or-  
57.       Matilda:                   [it is the child of- of my mother's  
58.                                   friend  
59.       Miss Lo:                   with his son↑  
60.       (.3)  
61.       Miss Lo:                   son↑  
62.       (.2)  
63.       Matilda:                   no!  
64.       Miss Lo:                   ah  
65.       Matilda:                   daughter  
66.       (.)  
67.       Miss Lo:                   his daughter  
68.       Matilda:                   yes with his daughter

This extract is another example of a word search where a switch to English is conducted to initiate repair. As in the previous extract, Matilda is talking in French when she encounters a difficulty finding the *mot juste*. This is signalled by a series of “trouble markers” (Gafaranga, 2000b) such as interruptions, pauses, recycles and elongation of vowels (47-48). After a two-second pause (49), the teacher suggests a word (50), which is rejected by Matilda (51), who then formulates her problem by saying explicitly that she does not know how to say it (52-53). That is, she initiates repair. However, given that the teacher does not know which word Matilda is lacking, she is unable to help her. She thus asks her to say it in English (55); a suggestion that Matilda rejects, as she embarks in defining, in French, the word she

is lacking (57-8). In other words, she reiterates an initiation of repair, but using French. The teacher repairs it, suggesting the French word ‘fils’ (58). However, the three-second pause (59) shows that Matilda is unable to ratify the repair. As a consequence, the teacher switches to English (61) to translate the French word she suggested as a repair and to check that it is the word Matilda is lacking. After a two-second pause (62), Matilda rejects the English suggestion using English (63) and finally names the English word that she is lacking in French (65), namely ‘daughter’. In 67, the teacher repairs the English word by providing the French translation and, in 68, Matilda ratifies it by repeating it. Clearly, the fact that Matilda does not use English when she is lacking a word in French – and even when the teacher asks her to switch – indicates that English is deviant from the current medium. Interestingly, it is the teacher who initiates a switch to English, to check understanding. It is only once the teacher has switched to English that Matilda uses English too. Matilda’s reluctance to use English and the translation process that follows the switch show that the use of English is a repairable matter and, by implication, deviant from the current medium. Therefore, speakers are orienting to a French monolingual medium.

Another way of illustrating the fact that speakers orient to a French monolingual medium is by showing instances of language alternation that are interrupted by the teacher. Consider extract 8 below. Maia is describing her weekend to the teacher in French and lacks a specific word. The start of this word search is inaudible, due to background noise. We thus join the interaction when the teacher is suggesting words in French to help Maia.

Extract 8: (T2 S1 D7 V25 E3)

03.	Miss Lo:	je suis allée↑ (.) alors (.) où ça↑
04.		(.10)
05.	Miss Lo:	je sais pas moi (.) au parc (.) au magasin↑
06.		(.) [au cinéma↑
07.	Leila:	[à la forêt↑
08.	Miss Lo:	chez une copine↑
→09.	Maia:	mais (.) no se como se dice [(al cinema)
→10.	Miss Lo:	[tatatatata (.)
11.		pas de traduction!
12.	Talia:	cinéma

13. Miss Lo: non! (.) Talia  
14. Talia: cinéma  
15. Miss Lo: elle me- elle me (.) c'est moi qui lui dis  
16. (.) Maia! (.) tu es allée où↑ (.) au  
17. cinéma↑  
18. Maia: oui  
19. Miss Lo: voilà au cinéma (.) je suis allée au  
20. cinéma ((writes on the blackboard))

-----

03. Miss Lo: I went↑ (.) so (.) where↑  
04. (.10)  
05. Miss Lo: I don't know (.) to the park↑ (.) to a  
06. shop↑ (.) [to the cinema↑  
07. Leila: [to the forest↑  
08. Miss Lo: to a friend's↑  
09. Maia: but (.) I don't know how to say [(al cinema)  
10. Miss Lo: [tatatatata  
11. (.) no translating!  
12. Talia: cinema  
13. Miss Lo: no! (.) Talia  
14. Talia: cinema  
15. Miss Lo: she- she- (.) it's for me to tell  
16. her (.) Maia! (.) where did you go/ (.) to  
17. the cinema/  
18. Maia: yes  
19. Miss Lo: there you go to the cinema (.) I went to  
20. the cinema ((writes on the blackboard))

At the start of the extract, the teacher is trying to solve the word search in French and guess the word Maia is lacking (03-06; 08). Leila joins in and suggests a word too (07). The long pause (04) and the multiple short pauses between suggestions of words (03-08) show that Maia does not recognise the word she is lacking. Therefore, in 09, she turns to her Spanish speaking peer Talia and addresses her in Spanish. She thus opens a side sequence, in which she switches from a French monolingual medium to a Spanish monolingual medium to solve her problem. According to Gafaranga (2007a, b), this is an instance of “medium switching”. The fact that this switch takes place in a side sequence shows that the children orient to the use of Spanish as being deviant in the teacher-led interactional episode. However, the teacher interrupts Maia’s switch of medium and side sequence by overlapping her turn (10) and by explicitly forbidding translations (11). In this sense, the teacher asks the children to interact solely in a French monolingual medium and to remain in the interactional episode they are currently engaging in. Nevertheless, Talia managed to hear Maia’s call for help and provides the French translation in 12,



namely ‘cinéma’. At this point, the teacher asks Talia not to provide the translation (13) but she repeats it anyway (14). As a result, the problem is solved in a side sequence despite the teacher’s attempts to interrupt it. In the end, the teacher resumes the word search she was engaging in with Maia (16-17). She suggests the word ‘cinéma’ (17), which Maia ratifies in 18, and closes the sequence by repeating the full sentence ‘je suis allée au cinéma’ (19-20). Clearly, the teacher’s interruption of children speaking in Spanish shows that she orients to a French monolingual medium. A similar situation can be found in extract 9 below. Maia wants to ask a question to the teacher but she is lacking a particular word.

Extract 9: (T2 S1 D1 V5 E3)

01.	Maia:	maîtresse!
02.	Miss Lo:	oui Maia
03.	Maia:	euh (.) °( )°
04.	(.2)	
05.	Talia:	que quieres decir↑
06.	Miss Lo:	non non non Talia (.) elle- elle
07.		essaye de le dire en français
08.	Maia:	un show
09.	(.3)	
10.	Talia:	show↑ (.) show↑
11.	Maia:	es el de caperucita roja
12.	(.3)	
13.	Talia:	que↑
14.	(.2)	
15.	Maia:	el de todos los idiomas
16.	Talia:	que si lo vamos a hacer
17.	Miss Lo:	Maia!
18.	Talia:	elle a dit que si on va faire le- (.)
19.		le show (.) le petit chaperon rouge↑
20.	(.1)	
21.	Miss Lo:	non mais (.) après (.) pas tout de suite

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01.	Maia:	miss!
02.	Miss Lo:	yes Maia
03.	Maia:	euh (.) °( )°
04.	(.2)	
05.	Talia:	what do you want to say/
06.	Miss Lo:	no no no Talia (.) she- she tries to say it
07.		in French
08.	Maia:	un show
09.	(.3)	
10.	Talia:	show↑ (.) show↑
11.	Maia:	that of Little Red Riding Hood
12.	(.3)	
13.	Talia:	what↑
14.	(.2)	

15. Maia: that of all the languages  
 16. Talia: yes we're going to do it  
 17. Miss Lo: Maia!  
 18. Talia: she said that whether we're going to do the-  
 19. (.) the show (.) the Little Red Riding hood↑  
 20. (.1)  
 21. Miss Lo: no but (.) after (.) not just now

As the transcript shows, talk is initially conducted in French. Maia asks for the teacher's attention in French (01), which she gets in the following turn (02). However, the hesitation marker 'euh', the pause, and the inaudible stretch of talk uttered in a low voice (03) show that Maia is encountering a difficulty expressing herself in French. After a two-second pause (04), the problem remains unsolved. As a consequence, Talia steps in and addresses Maia in Spanish (05), their shared language. She offers to translate what she wants to say into French. That is, she opens a side sequence to solve the problem in a different medium. However, as in extract 8 above, the teacher forbids this medium switch (06) and asks Maia to try and solve her problem in French (07). In 08, Maia gives a clue to what she is trying to say by uttering the word 'un show'. Since Maia's turn is followed by a three-second pause (09), Talia reiterates her offer to open a side sequence in 10. This time, Maia accepts and interacts with Talia in a Spanish medium over a few turns (10-15). She asks Talia the question she wanted to ask the teacher, that is, whether they were going to rehearse the play based on Little Red Riding Hood. In 16, Talia replies to Maia's question and says that they will be doing the play later. At this point, the teacher interrupts them (17); which triggers Talia to translate back to the teacher what Maia was asking (18-19). In 21, the teacher replies to Maia and says that they will not be rehearsing the play right now. In doing so, she re-establishes a teacher-led interaction. This translation process and the fact that the children open a side sequence to use Spanish show that speakers orient to a French monolingual medium in the current teacher-led interactional episode. In short, these four extracts indicate that a first pattern of language choice in the target induction classroom is the choice of French as a monolingual medium. When this pattern has been selected, the children's other languages may be used with the teacher's permission (extracts 6

and 7) and side sequences in languages other than French may be blocked (extracts 8 and 9).

The four extracts above illustrate a French monolingual medium in teacher-learner talk, but children can also orient to a French monolingual medium in small-group interaction. As extract 10 below illustrates, children can use French as their medium of interaction. The children from the advanced group (namely, Talia, Leila, Kenji and Piotr) are doing a written exercise in which they have to fill in sentences using verbs in the present tense.

Extract 10: (T2 S1 D4 V14 E5)

109.	Kenji:	Piotr (.) 'couche' aussi↑
110.	(.1)	
111.	Piotr:	non::!
112.	Kenji:	il lui dit 'couche'
113.	Leila:	'couche' aussi↑
114.	(.2)	
115.	Piotr:	'coucher'!
116.	Leila:	oui c'est bien
117.	Kenji:	'couche' aussi↑
118.	Leila:	non! mais pas (.) parce que ça c'est
119.		couche (.) c'est pas 'coucher'
120.	Piotr:	ah!
121.	Leila:	pour dire 'coucher' c'est avec un 'r' à la
122.		fin (.) c'est pas 'coucher'

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109.	Kenji:	Piotr (.) 'sleep' too↑
110.	(.1)	
111.	Piotr:	no::!
112.	Kenji:	he tells him 'sleep'
113.	Leila:	'sleep' too↑
114.	(.2)	
115.	Piotr:	'to sleep'!
116.	Leila:	yes that's right
117.	Kenji:	'sleep' too↑
118.	Leila:	no! but not- (.) because this it's 'sleep'
119.		(.) it's not 'to sleep'
120.	Piotr:	ah!
121.	Leila:	to say 'to sleep' it's with an 'r' at the
122.		end (.) it's not 'to sleep'

In this extract, talk is conducted in French. More specifically, the text which the children are working on (indicated by inverted comas) is referred to in French, which is also the language used to talk around the text. An even more interesting

example is extract 11 below, where Kenji signals to his peers that Spanish is deviant from the current medium he is orienting to. The children from the advanced group are working together on an exercise about pronouns.

Extract 11: (T2 S1 D4 V14 E1)

03.	Talia:	Leila! <i>que cara de animal me ves</i> ↑
→04.	Kenji:	Talia tu fais ça::!
05.	Leila:	<i>no se</i>
06.	Piotr:	c'est quoi ça↑ (.) 'je' vous 'regarde' (.)
07.		j'ai fini ça ici
08.	Kenji:	ici
-----		
03.	Talia:	Leila! <i>what animal do you think I look like</i> ↑
04.	Kenji:	Talia you do this::!
05.	Leila:	<i>don't know</i>
06.	Piotr:	what is this↑ (.) 'I' 'look at' you (.)
07.		I've finished this here
08.	Kenji:	here

In 03, Talia opens a side sequence in Spanish to chat with her Spanish peer Leila. Kenji attempts to interrupt this side sequence and asks Talia, in French, to come back to the task at hand (04). However, in 05, Leila replies to Talia. In the rest of the extract, Kenji and Piotr continue working on the exercise in French. What attracts my attention is that Kenji asks Talia to come back to the task. By doing so in French, he signals that the use of Spanish is deviant from the current medium of their small-group interactional episode.

In summary, the six extracts discussed thus far show that, in the target induction classroom, talk can be conducted in a French monolingual medium – either within a teacher-led interaction or in small-group interaction.

### 6.2.2. An English monolingual medium

As the following extracts illustrate, a second pattern of language choice that I have observed in the data is the use of English as a monolingual medium. In extract 12, the teacher is showing to the class the front page of a new book and asks children to read its title, namely “John Chaterton”. We join the sequence when the teacher calls on the children to read the last name of the character.

Extract 12: (T2 S1 D2 V6 E7)

11. Miss Lo: John↑  
12. (.)  
13. Talia: Johnny Depp↑!  
14. (.)  
15. Miss Lo: c'est marqué- (.) c'est Johnny Depp là↑  
16. ((children laughing))  
17. Class: non::  
18. Miss Lo: [il ressemble à Johnny Depp↑  
19. Leila: [maîtresse je vois pas  
20. (.)  
21. Leila: chur-↑ ((trying to read the title of the  
22. book))  
→23. Matilda: do you like Johnny Depp↑  
→24. Talia: I love him!  
25. Matilda: ah! ((laughing))  
26. Karen: ah c'est John Chater- [...]

---

11. Miss Lo: John↑  
12. (.)  
13. Talia: Johnny Depp↑!  
14. (.)  
15. Miss Lo: is it written- (.) is it written Johnny Depp  
16. there↑ ((children laughing))  
17. Class: no::  
18. Miss Lo: [does he look like Johnny Depp↑  
19. Leila: [miss I can't see  
20. (.)  
21. Leila: chur-↑ ((trying to read the title of the  
22. book))  
23. Matilda: do you like Johnny Depp↑  
24. Talia: I love him!  
25. Matilda: ah! ((laughing))  
26. Karen: ah it's John Chater- [...]

As the transcript shows, talk between the teacher and the pupils is conducted in French. In 13, Talia suggests the name “Johnny Depp” as a second pair part to the teacher’s summons (11). Although it is rejected by the teacher (15), it triggers a side sequence involving Matilda and Talia (23 and 24), in which English is used. Matilda and Talia thus switch from a French monolingual medium in a teacher-led episode to an English monolingual medium in a peer-led side sequence.

This second pattern of language choice is also observed in small-group interaction. This is the case in extract 13, where Matilda and Talia talk in English while engaging in a drawing activity next to each other.

Extract 13: (T2 S1 D7 V28 E1)

309. (.19)  
310. Matilda: tu fais pour moi↑  
311. Talia: no because now you're not my best friend  
312. (.5)  
313. Talia: because I did that for you! (.) and that's  
314. really- and you said no!  
315. (.)  
316. Matilda: because (.) I didn't want it (.) you could  
317. keep it if you want  
318. (.9)

---

309. (.19)  
310. Matilda: are you doing for me↑  
311. Talia: no because now you're not my best friend  
312. (.5)  
313. Talia: because I did that for you! (.) and that's  
314. really- and you said no!  
315. (.)  
316. Matilda: because (.) I didn't want it (.) you could  
317. keep it if you want  
318. (.9)

After a silence of nineteen seconds (309), Matilda proposes to interact in French (310), while Talia proposes to interact in English (311). Following this “medium negotiation sequence” (Gafaranga and Torras, 2001; Gafaranga, 2009; called “language negotiation sequences” in Auer, 1984, 1995), Matilda converges to Talia’s choice of English – resulting in the talk being conducted in an English monolingual medium. Extract 14 below is another example of peer-led interaction conducted in an English monolingual medium. Matilda and Talia are arguing over who took the glue that was lying on their table.

Extract 14: (T2 S1 D11 V46 E6)

17. (.20)  
18. Matilda: c'est pas moi qui (a la colle)  
19. Talia: yeah it's you!  
20. Matilda: c'est- c'est-  
21. Talia: you (.) c'est toi (.) and you do  
22. everything  
23. Matilda: but I didn't do that!  
24. Talia: yeah  
25. Matilda: and you-  
26. Talia: yeah you do  
27. Matilda: no it was Piotr  
28. Talia: no he don't use that glue  
29. (.15)

-----

17. (.20)  
 18. Matilda: it's not me who (has the glue)  
 19. Talia: yeah it's you!  
 20. Matilda: it's- it's-  
 21. Talia: you (.) it's you (.) and you do  
 22. everything  
 23. Matilda: but I didn't do that!  
 24. Talia: yeah  
 25. Matilda: and you-  
 26. Talia: yeah you do  
 27. Matilda: no it was Piotr  
 28. Talia: no he don't use that glue  
 29. (.15)

In 18, Matilda uses French and claims that she does not have the glue that Talia was looking for during the twenty seconds of silence (17). In 19, Talia uses English and accuses Matilda of having stolen the glue. In 20, Matilda still uses French and makes an attempt to justify herself – unsuccessfully however, as she is interrupted by Talia in 21, who reasserts her accusation in English. After a short pause, Talia reiterates her accusation a third time but this time in French, departing in this sense from her previous choice of English. Here, French is not oriented to as being deviant, but has the function of emphasising Talia's point that she already stated twice in English. In Gafaranga's model, this instance of French is a "medium suspension" (e.g. Gafaranga and Torras, 2002; Gafaranga, 2007a, 2007b), that is, a "momentary deviance from the current medium which is not oriented to as repairable" (Gafaranga, 2007a). Since Matilda does not insist on her position – as the short pause shows in 21 – Talia returns to her previous choice of English and widens her accusation against Matilda, saying that she is responsible for 'everything' (22). Interestingly, at this point, Matilda uses English to reply to Talia's accusation (23). In so doing, she converges to Talia's choice of medium. In the rest of the extract, Matilda and Talia are talking in an English monolingual medium.

In summary, extracts 12, 13, and 14 show a second practice of language choice in the target induction classroom, namely the choice of English as a monolingual medium, either in side sequences within teacher-led interaction or in small-group interaction.

### 6.2.3. A Spanish monolingual medium

As I mentioned earlier, five children spoke Spanish as a first language: Talia and Maia spoke Mexican Spanish, Cristina Colombian Spanish, Andrea Ecuadorian Spanish, and Leila Argentinean Spanish (see Chapter Three, §3.5.4). Talia and Leila were in the advanced group, where most of the audio-recording of small-group interaction was conducted. Therefore, they appear in the corpus more often than the other Spanish-speaking children. In what follows, four extracts are analysed to demonstrate that talk in the target induction classroom can also be conducted in a Spanish monolingual medium. Consider extract 15 below as a first example. Here, the teacher is conducting a “label quest” (Heath, 1986) and trying to elicit the label for ‘films policiers’ (i.e. ‘detective films’).

Extract 15: (T2 S1 D1 V6 E8)

25.	Miss Lo:	donc c'est quoi ce genre de films
26.	(.)	
27.	Miss Lo:	[des films policiers::
28.	Talia:	[como se dice de misterio↑
29.	Miss Lo:	vous ne [connaissez pas les films
30.		policiers↑
31.	Leila:	[yo no se Talia
-----		
25.	Miss Lo:	so what is that type of movie
26.	(.)	
27.	Miss Lo:	[detective films::
28.	Talia:	[how do you say those that are fantastic↑
29.	Miss Lo:	you don't [know detective
30.		films↑
31.	Leila:	[I don't know Talia

In keeping with previous talk, the teacher uses French and reiterates the attempt to elicit the label ‘films policiers’ that she had already tried a few turns before (see 17 in T2 S1 D1 V6 E8, Appendix 9). However, the pause in 26 indicates that the children are not able to provide the requested label. As a consequence, the teacher gives it herself in 27. Simultaneously, in a turn overlapping with that of the teacher, Talia turns to her peer Leila and asks her to translate in French what she thinks is the Spanish equivalent of the requested label (28). In so doing, Talia opens a side sequence parallel to the teacher-led interaction, in which she uses a Spanish monolingual medium. In 29, as no-one provides an indication of “new information



receipt” (Schegloff, 2007a: 118), the teacher goes on to check the pupils’ understanding of the new label. In an overlapping turn, Leila replies to Talia’s request in Spanish and says that she does not know the requested translation (31). Therefore, while, at first sight, talk seems to be conducted in both French and Spanish, a sequential analysis of the extract shows that the teacher is talking to the class in a French monolingual medium, while Talia and Leila are talking to each other in a side sequence in a Spanish monolingual medium. Extract 16 below is a similar example. The teacher is interrupting her teaching sequence to send Hakim and Andrea to their mainstream class, where they will be attending a Maths lesson.

Extract 16: (T2 S1 D1 V6 E3)

01. Miss Lo: allez-y Hakim et Andrea (.) vous allez en  
 02. mathématiques (.) à toute à l’heure  
 03. ((noises of chairs being pushed on the floor))  
 04. Leila: Andrea! *cuaderno te falta!*  
 05. Talia: *si ella lo tiene*  
 06. Miss Lo: euh (.) Amkoulel (.) est-ce que tu peux [...]
- 
01. Miss Lo: off you go Hakim and Andrea (.) you go to  
 02. your Maths lesson (.) see you later  
 03. ((noises of chairs being pushed on the floor))  
 04. Leila: Andrea! *you forgot your notebook!*  
 05. Talia: *no she’s got it*  
 06. Miss Lo: ehm (.) Amkoulel (.) can you [...]

In 01-02, the teacher sends Hakim and Andrea to a Maths lesson in their respective mainstream classroom. As Andrea is about to leave the room, her Spanish peer Leila reminds her, in Spanish and in a loud voice, not to forget her notebook (04). In the following turn, Talia reassures Leila and states that Andrea remembered to take it with her. In 06, the teacher moves on to continue the activity she was conducting with the pupils. Andrea, Leila and Talia thus use a Spanish monolingual medium across the classroom, and in front of the teacher and the rest of their peer, in a side sequence to the teacher-led interactional episode.

Extracts 15 and 16 contain examples of a Spanish monolingual medium used in side sequences while the teacher is talking to the whole class. Talk in a

Spanish monolingual medium is also found in small-group interaction, as extracts 17 and 18 illustrate. Leila is telling a story to her peer Talia.

Extract 17: (T2 S1 D9 V36 E3)

226. Leila: Amanda elle me dit (.) tiens ça c'est  
227. mexicain mais c'est pas avec- (.) /ʃile/  
228. (.5)  
229. Talia: que te dijo Amanda↑  
230. Leila: me dijo (.) toma esto no tiene chile (.)  
231. (me disimulo) (.) lo probé y casi lo  
232. vomito  
233. (.1)  
234. Talia: que tenía↑  
235. (.)  
236. Leila: chile

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226. Leila: Amanda she told me (.) take this it's Mexican  
227. but it does not have- (.) /ʃile/  
228. (.5)  
229. Talia: what did she tell you Amanda↑  
230. Leila: she told me (.) eat this it doesn't have chilli  
231. (.) (she lied to me) (.) I tried it and I  
232. almost vomited it  
233. (.1)  
234. Talia: what did it have↑  
235. (.)  
236. Leila: chilli

In 226-227, Leila starts her story in French. This is about her friend Amanda, who made her taste Mexican food, which was allegedly chilli-free. Leila uses French and only French, even when she runs into a difficulty at the end of her turn. Indeed, in 227, Leila interrupts herself and pauses, as she is lacking the French word for 'chilli' (i.e. 'piment'). However, rather than switching to the language that she shares with her interlocutor, Leila uses what she thinks might be the French word for 'chilli', basing herself on the Spanish item 'chile'. That is, as she is lacking the *mot juste* in French, she uses the Spanish equivalent and tries to insert it in her French talk by pronouncing it with a French accent (/ʃile/). In so doing, she indicates to Talia (and, as a corollary, to the analyst) that she is orienting to a French monolingual medium. Therefore, Leila proposes to Talia that they interact in a French monolingual medium. However, the five-second pause that follows Leila's turn (228) shows that Talia is encountering a problem; it is most likely that either

she has not heard Leila or she has not understood her. In fact, in 229, Talia asks Leila to repeat what she just said but she does so using Spanish. This is less a request for repetition than a request for a change of medium; what Gafaranga (2010) calls a “medium request”. At the start of this extract, Talia and Leila engage in a “medium negotiation sequence” (e.g. Gafaranga, 2007a, 2007b) whereby Leila suggests interacting in a French monolingual medium and Talia suggests interacting in a Spanish monolingual medium. In 230, Leila converges to Talia’s choice of a Spanish monolingual medium. She repeats the start of her story and then finishes it, using Spanish throughout. A further example of a Spanish monolingual medium in small-group interaction is extract 18 below. Here, Talia and Leila are working together on a written exercise about how to form the plural in French.

Extract 18: (T2 S1 D1 V1 E8)

66.	Talia:	le pluriel (.) como dice↑
67.	Leila:	con un s al final
68.	Talia:	/fleurs/
69.	Leila:	(si)
-----		
66.	Talia:	the plural (.) how do you say↑
67.	Leila:	with an s at the end
68.	Talia:	/fleurs/
69.	Leila:	(yes)

In this extract, Talia and Leila are interacting in Spanish and use French to refer to the exercise on which they are working (66). Here, French is deviant from the choice of Spanish adopted in the rest of the talk but it is functional insofar as it is used to refer to text. It is a ‘functional deviance’ or what Gafaranga calls a “medium suspension” (e.g. Gafaranga and Torras, 2001; Gafaranga 2007a, 2007b). It can be noted in passing that examples of functional language alternation to refer to text have been widely observed in other bilingual classroom contexts by Cromdal (2005), Martin (1999, 2003), and Tien (2009) to name but a few. In 68, Talia shows understanding of how to construct the plural of nouns in French, by giving the example ‘fleurs/’; which is the French lexical item ‘fleur’ (i.e. ‘flower’ in English)

at the plural form but pronounced with a Spanish accent<sup>66</sup>. To build on Gafaranga's framework, I propose to refer to this switch in terms of a 'medium *semi-suspension*'. This term indicates that any aspect of a medium can be suspended for functional purposes. In this case, it is the Spanish lexicon that has been suspended to switch to the French lexicon. Yet, other aspects of the Spanish medium have not been suspended, such as pronunciation (the item is pronounced with a quasi-Spanish accent) and morphology (the item undergoes morphological transformation, in line with the plural formation in Spanish). In brief, Talia and Leila talk here in a Spanish monolingual medium and deviate from it for functional purposes.

Thus far, I have shown how talk in the target induction classroom can be conducted either in a French monolingual medium, in an English monolingual medium and in a Spanish monolingual medium, and that different types of language alternation can occur from these mediums. In the following two sections, I show how talk can also be conducted in a bilingual medium, namely a French and English bilingual medium, and a French and Spanish bilingual medium.

#### **6.2.4. A French and English bilingual medium**

When orienting to a bilingual medium, the classroom participants use two languages without any of them being functional or repaired. As Gafaranga puts it, in a bilingual medium "alternation itself is the medium" (Gafaranga, 2007a: 306). A first type of bilingual medium is therefore a French and English bilingual medium, where both French and English are used without being oriented to as functional or repairable. Extract 19 below gives an example of such a pattern of language choice. Matilda and Talia are seated next to each other (as well as next to Maia). This exceptional situation is caused by many of their peers being away in their mainstream classrooms. They are painting and drawing what they saw at their last visit to the *Quai Branly* museum. Matilda is explaining that she is drawing a woman (167).

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<sup>66</sup> Strictly speaking, this plural marker is in fact a Spanish one, since not only an 's' is added but also an intermediary 'e' – whereas in French, only the marker 's' would be required.

Extract 19: (T2 S1 D7 V28 E1)

161. Maia: c'est quoi ça↑  
162. (.)  
163. Matilda: [mais attends! (.) tu vas voir après!  
164. Talia: [I don't know what it is  
165. Matilda: parce que je vois ça à le musée  
166. Talia: tout est (différent) (.) like this  
167. Matilda: c'est femme  
168. Talia: ah (.) look (.) this (.) and after (.) you  
169. do this  
170. (.)  
171. Matilda: avec le pinceau (je fais) cheveux  
172. ((laughing))  
173. Talia: yeah (.) that's it ((laughing))  
174. Matilda: hahahaha ((laughing))

-----  
161. Maia: what is this↑  
162. (.)  
163. Matilda: [but wait! (.) you're going to see after!  
164. Talia: [I don't know what it is  
165. Matilda: because I see that at the museum  
166. Talia: all is (different) (.) like this  
167. Matilda: it's woman  
168. Talia: ah (.) look (.) this (.) and after (.) you  
169. do this  
170. (.)  
171. Matilda: with the brush (I do) hair  
172. ((laughing))  
173. Talia: yeah (.) that's it ((laughing))  
174. Matilda: hahahaha ((laughing))

In 161, Maia asks Matilda what she is drawing and, after a short pause (162), Matilda and Talia reply to her in overlapping turns. Matilda replies in French (163) and Talia in English (164). In the rest of the extract, Matilda keeps using French (165 and 167) while Talia uses either English (168 and 173) or both French and English within the same turn (166). However, the use of either language is not functional or repairable. No signalling devices are displayed to indicate that the use of one language or another is a problem. Since the use of English or French is not pointed at as being deviant, it indicates that the children orient to both as being part and parcel of the current medium, namely a French and English bilingual medium. More specifically, it is what Gafaranga and Torras (2001: 207) call the “halfway-between mode” of the bilingual medium since Matilda consistently uses one language, while Talia alternates languages between and within turns.

Another example of an English and French bilingual medium can be found in extract 20 below. This extract is taken from the same situation as extract 19, only a few minutes earlier.

Extract 20: (T2 S1 D7 V28 E1)

87. Maia: que es eso↑  
 88. (.)  
 89. Matilda: c'est une- (.) [robe  
 90. Talia: [c'est- that's an Indian  
 91. (.)  
 92. Matilda: that's a- (.) une robe  
 93. (.2)  
 94. Matilda: tu connais↑  
 95. (.1)  
 96. Talia: but- we want (.) an Indian (.) [we-  
 97. Matilda: [yeah (.)  
 98. I'll draw it (.) le premier↑  
 99. Talia: in- in the-  
 100. Matilda: oui (.) je dessine après

---

87. Maia: what is this↑  
 88. (.)  
 89. Matilda: it is a- (.) [dress  
 90. Talia: [it's- that's an Indian  
 91. (.)  
 92. Matilda: that's a- (.) a dress  
 93. (.2)  
 94. Matilda: do you know↑  
 95. (.1)  
 96. Talia: but- we want (.) an Indian (.) [we-  
 97. Matilda: [yeah (.)  
 98. I'll draw it (.) the first one↑  
 99. Talia: in- in the-  
 100. Matilda: yes (.) I draw after

At the start of the extract, Maia asks in Spanish what Matilda is drawing (87). Given that Matilda does not speak Spanish, her choice of Spanish suggests that she wants to interact with Talia. That is, by using Spanish, Maia selects the speaker who shares that language. However, in 89, Matilda self-selects and replies to Maia's question using French. Although Matilda does not speak Spanish, she is able to guess what Matilda's question is based on the rising intonation and perhaps on a gesture of pointing at her drawing. Talia, who was initially selected by Maia's turn in Spanish, replies in a turn overlapping that of Matilda's. She starts her reply in French, then interrupts herself, and recycles it in English (90). However, while

Matilda says that she is drawing a dress, Talia says Matilda’s drawing is an Indian. Faced with those two contradictory answers, Maia remains silent. Matilda resolves this problem by re-asserting that what she has drawn is a dress, thus completing the sequence (92). What is interesting here is that the sequence is complete without any conclusion to the negotiation of the medium. Maia uses Spanish (87), Matilda uses French (89), Talia uses English (90); and Matilda starts in English, but completes her utterance in French. Interestingly also, in 96, Talia says that they want to draw an Indian (and not a dress). From then on, Matilda and Talia discuss what Matilda should be drawing and Matilda explains that she will draw an Indian after having drawn a dress. They use both French and English across (99-100) and within turns (98), without orienting towards these language alternation acts as being functional or deviant. In other words, “talk goes on smoothly” (Gafaranga and Torras, 2001: 208) in two languages, indicating that speakers are orienting towards a bilingual medium. More specifically, Talia consistently uses English (96, 99) while Matilda uses both French (100) and French and English (97-98). This is another instance of what Gafaranga and Torras call the “halfway-between mode” of a bilingual medium, insofar as “while one participant consistently uses one language, the other participant consistently alternates between the two languages in his/her repertoire” (2001: 207).

### 6.2.5. A French and Spanish bilingual medium

A fifth pattern of language choice observed in the target induction classroom is a French and Spanish bilingual medium. An example of this pattern is provided in extract 21 below. Andrea and Cristina are engaged in a painting activity. For this activity, the teacher had brought together a few tables, around which the small number of children present at that time in the classroom could gather. Here, Andrea shows Cristina that one can create the shape of a butterfly by splashing a bulb of paint on a piece of paper then folding it in two.

Extract 21: (T2 S1 D7 V28 E4)

02.       Andrea:       Cristina tu has visto las pinturas↑ (.) yo  
03.                         la- yo las metí en un papel (.) y la

04. cerraba y después yo las hacía /rrrr/(.) y  
05. de que las abría y me salía una mariposa  
06. (.) ya me salía cualquier dibujo  
07. Cristina: moi aussi je sais faire ça  
08. Andrea: acaso que te pregunte!  
09. Cristina: mais moi j'ai à la maison ça  
10. Andrea: se ( ) te pregunte  
11. (.)  
12. Cristina: ça vient de Chine  
13. (.)  
14. Maia: (mas grande!)

---

02. Andrea: Cristina did you see the paint<sup>↑</sup> (.) I put  
03. it- I put it on a paper (.) and I close it  
04. and after I do /rrrr/(.) and when I open it  
05. (.) a butterfly comes out of it (.) or any  
06. other drawing can come out of it  
07. Cristina: me too I know how to do this  
08. Andrea: I asked you just in case!  
09. Cristina: but me I have this at home  
10. Andrea: I know ( ) I asked you  
11. (.)  
12. Cristina: it comes from China  
13. (.)  
14. Maia: (bigger!)

As the transcript shows, here talk is conducted in both French and Spanish. Andrea consistently uses Spanish (02-06, 08, 10, 14) while Cristina consistently uses French (07, 09, 12). Despite these “unreciprocal language choices” (e.g. Zentella, 1997) talk goes on as if nothing takes place that is unusual or worthy of being repaired. More specifically, it is a case of what Gafaranga and Torras (2001) call a “parallel mode” of a bilingual medium, where “one speaker consistently uses language A while the other consistently uses language B without any orientation to the other party’s choice as divergent” (2001: 205). Another example of a French and Spanish bilingual medium is extract 22 below. All the children have to colour in red the clothes that the main character of the cartoon they are working on has left behind after being kidnapped. Here, Talia asks her peers to tell her again what she has to colour in.

Extract 22: (T2 S1 D2 V6 E13)

01. Talia: que tengo que dibujar<sup>↑</sup>  
02. (.)  
03. Leila: tene- tenemos que pintar todas las cosas



04. de:: la nenita<sup>67</sup> en-

05. Talia: ah

06. Cristina: la niña

07. (.)

08. Talia: ça aussi c'est de la petite fille↑

09. Cristina: oui

10. Talia: et ça↑

11. Cristina: y ya cayó esto

12. (.)

13. Leila: esto (.) esto (.) esto (.) esto (.) esto

14. Matilda: esto (.) esto ((copying Leila))

15. (.)

16. Leila: bueno

17. Cristina: el otro que cayó (.) y este

18. (.) esto

---

01. Talia: what do I have to draw↑

02. (.)

03. Leila: we hav- we have to colour all the things

04. that belong to:: the little girl<sup>68</sup> in-

05. Talia: ah

06. Cristina: the little girl

07. (.)

08. Talia: does this also belong to the little girl↑

09. Cristina: yes

10. Talia: and this↑

11. Cristina: and this also fell

12. (.)

13. Leila: this (.) this (.) this (.) this (.) this

14. Matilda: this (.) this

15. (.)

16. Leila: good

17. Cristina: the other one that fell (.) and this one (.)

18. that one

Here also, talk is conducted both in French and in Spanish. More specifically, Leila consistently uses Spanish (03-04, 13, 16), while Cristina and Talia use both Spanish and French. For instance, in 08, Talia asks a question in French, which is answered in French by Cristina in 09, but in 10, Talia's question in French is answered in Spanish by Cristina. Nevertheless, talk goes smoothly and the participants' language choice and alternation are not oriented to as being a problem or as needing repair. Indeed, Talia's use of French in 08 is not preceded by any hesitation or delaying markers, which would have indicated that it is a dispreferred act. Furthermore, French is not translated back into Spanish, which shows that it belongs to the current medium in the same way as Spanish does. In this regard, the

<sup>67</sup> South American term.

<sup>68</sup> Here, a term from South American Spanish is used.

three children are using a French and Spanish bilingual medium. More precisely, they are using the “halfway-between mode” of a bilingual medium (Gafaranga and Torras, 2001: 207) insofar as Leila consistently uses Spanish, while Talia and Cristina use both Spanish and French. It should also be noted that Leila’s South American term ‘nenita’ (04) is repaired by Cristina, who provides the more common form ‘niña’ (06). This indicates that, although French and Spanish are both part of the medium of this classroom interactional episode, alternation to South-American Spanish is pointed at as being deviant.

To summarise the argument thus far, I have shown that, in the target classroom, talk can be conducted in five different mediums. These are a French monolingual medium, an English monolingual medium, a Spanish monolingual medium, a French and English bilingual medium, and a French and Spanish bilingual medium. Furthermore, I have shown that speakers can then switch from these mediums to interact in another medium (see, for instance, extracts 8 and 9) or depart temporarily from these mediums and alternate languages (see, for instance, extracts 6, 7, 14 and 18). In the second half of this chapter, I turn to the description of language alternation practices, that is, language alternation acts that occur frequently in the corpus under study.

### **6.3. Language alternation practices**

Language alternation acts have already been touched upon in the section above. Indeed, I have described two patterns of language choice where language alternation itself is the medium. These were a French and English bilingual medium (§6.2.4.) and a French and Spanish bilingual medium (§6.2.5). In this section, I focus on cases in which language alternation is seen not as part of the medium, but rather as a deviance from it. A close observation of deviant language alternation acts reveal a salient practice; namely, the licensing of language alternation. In order to account for this specific language alternation practice, I had to respecify the existing broad categorisation of ‘deviant language alternation’ into two sub-

categories: *licensed* language alternation and its counterpart, *unlicensed* language alternation. I describe these two language alternation practices in what follows.

### **6.3.1. Unlicensed language alternation**

Unlicensed language alternation refers to all language alternation acts that are not licensed by the teacher. Following Gafaranga's (e.g. 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Gafaranga and Torras 2001) model, language alternation acts that are deviant are either functional ("medium suspension") or a repairable matter ("medium repair"). Two instances of medium suspension have been mentioned earlier, in extracts 14 and 18. As we have seen, in extract 14, Matilda and Talia are interacting in an English monolingual medium in an interactional episode in which Talia accuses Matilda of having stolen her glue. While, after a short medium negotiation sequence, the whole of the interaction is conducted in English, we have seen that Talia momentarily switches to French (21) in order to emphasise the accusation she previously stated in English (19). This alternation is not oriented to as being a repairable matter, but is nevertheless charged with the symbolic function of emphasising the child's claim. Similarly, as I have shown, in extract 18, Talia and Leila interact in a Spanish monolingual medium. However, Talia switches to French (66) to refer to the French text they are working on. This alternation is deviant from the medium, insofar as it is used for a specific function – namely that of referring to a text. In the same extract, I have also shown that Talia does what I proposed to call a 'medium semi-suspension' (68) where she suspended the Spanish lexicon to use a French lexicon, but still used a Spanish pronunciation and morphology. This lexical suspension is a functional deviance insofar as it is aimed at showing understanding of the formation of plurals in French. Research literature on bilingual talk refers to language alternation acts as "code-switching" (see mainly Gafaranga and Torras, 2001; Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010). However, I will not dwell further on instances of language alternation acts that are deviant and functional – for the simple reason that they rarely occur in my data and are not, as a consequence, a practice of the target classroom.

Instances of “medium repair” (Gafaranga and Torras, 2001; Gafaranga, 2007a, 2007b, 2009) – that is, language alternation acts that are oriented to as deviant and repairable – are frequently observed in my data. Consider, for example, extract 23 below. Here, the teacher reads a storybook (Ross and Willis, 2001) to the whole class, asks the children to describe the image below (picture 7), in which the main character is presented as playing outside in a rubbish dump.

**Picture 7:** Playing outside.



Extract 23: (T2 S1 D3 V8 E2)

17. Miss Lo: ouais elle aime jouer (.) mais donc c'est  
 18. où! là (.) c'est où↑ (.) c'est pas à la  
 19. maison c'est où↑  
 20. ?: dans la poubelle!  
 21. Miss Lo: non pas dans la poubelle  
 22. Piotr: non c'est (.) c'est une place spéciale  
 23. pour (.) pour euh-  
 24. Karen: junkyard (.) junkyard!  
 25. Piotr: c'est une place spéciale pour-  
 26. Matilda: junkyard!  
 27. Piotr: pour tous les-  
 28. Cristina: ah pourquoi tu répètes  
 29. Miss Lo: chut chut chut!  
 30. Leila: pour tout le qu'on met dans la poubelle  
 31. Karen: [euh en anglais on dit  
 32. Miss Lo: [oui  
 33. Karen: elle est dans le junkyard  
 34. Miss Lo: oui mais en français on dit quoi↑

35. (.1)  
36. Miss Lo: si tu connais pas la traduction du mot  
37. c'est pas grave tu trouves un autre mot  
38. (.) [elle aime pas jouer  
39. Cristina: [( )  
40. Miss Lo: écoutez ce que je dis (.) elle n'aime pas  
41. jouer à la maison (.) elle aime jouer↑  
42. Karen: dehors!  
43. Leila: dehors  
44. Miss Lo: dehors

---

17. Miss Lo: yeah she likes playing (.) but so where! is  
18. it there (.) where is it↑ (.) it's not in  
19. the house it's where↑  
20. ?: in the bin!  
21. Miss Lo: no not in the bin  
22. Piotr: no it's (.) it's a special place for (.) for  
23. erm-  
24. Karen: junkyard (.) junkyard!  
25. Piotr: it's a special place for-  
26. Matilda: junkyard!  
27. Piotr: for all the-  
28. Cristina: ah why do you repeat  
29. Miss Lo: shush shush shush!  
30. Leila: for all that we put in the bin  
31. Karen: [erm in English we say  
32. Miss Lo: [yes  
33. Karen: she is in the junkyard  
34. Miss Lo: yes but in French what do we say↑  
35. (.1)  
36. Miss Lo: if you don't know the translation of the  
37. word it doesn't matter you find another  
38. word (.) [she doesn't like playing  
39. Cristina: [( )  
40. Miss Lo: listen to what I'm saying (.) she doesn't  
41. like playing at home (.) she likes playing↑  
42. Karen: outside!  
43. Leila: outside  
44. Miss Lo: outside

In the first pair part of this “label quest” (Heath, 1986), the teacher asks children where the little girl is sitting (18-19), in order to elicit the French label ‘dehors’ (i.e. ‘outside’). In 20, a child proposes an answer that is rejected by the teacher, as an inappropriate second pair part (21). Next, two children attempt to provide another second pair part for the teacher’s question. Piotr starts a paraphrase of the word he is lacking (22-23, 25, 27), while Karen switches to English and provides the English gloss of what she identifies as being the expected label (24). This gloss is repeated by another English speaking peer, Matilda (26). Since this suggestion does not receive any feedback from the teacher, Karen announces her switch (“en anglais on

dit”, 31) and reiterates it (33). This time, the teacher replies to Karen, but refuses to take into account her switch as an appropriate second pair part to her question on the basis that the label is provided in English (34). Following a one-second pause (35), the teacher then explicitly asks Karen to repair her English utterance by providing the French translation or a French paraphrase for it (36-37). In the end, the teacher reiterates the first pair part of the label quest by opening a ‘sentence completion’ (40-41). In a sentence completion, “the teacher prompts the word or phrase needed to complete her utterance, cueing this completion at times by vowel lengthening” (Arthur and Martin, 2006: 182). Once the children are given the opposite of the label they are searching for (‘à la maison’, 41), they are able to provide the second pair part ‘dehors’ (42, 43), which is followed by the teacher’s ratification (44) in a sequence-closing third. Of interest here is that language alternation (24, 26, and 33) has not been licensed by the teacher and is thus oriented to as deviant and repairable. English is deviant from the current medium, which therefore can be deduced to be French monolingual. This orientation to a French monolingual medium is shared by other children, such as Piotr, who does not switch to Polish in spite of not having the requested label (as shown by his numerous pauses, hesitations and false starts). Extract 24 is a similar example. In this extract, language alternation is deviant and repaired by the teacher. The teacher is showing a cartoon to the whole class and asks the children where the main character is portrayed.

Extract 24: (T2 S1 D2 V6 E10)

19.	Miss Lo:	voilà (.) le détective il est
20.		où↑
21.	(.)	
22.	Leila:	il est tout dans la (.) dans la:: (.)
→23.		oficina!
24.	Miss Lo:	dans son bureau
25.	(.)	
26.	Miss Lo:	hein↑
27.	(.)	
28.	Miss Lo:	il est dans son bureau (.) et puis [...]
-----		
19.	Miss Lo:	that’s right (.) the investigator where is
20.		he↑
21.	(.)	
22.	Leila:	he is all in the (.) in the:: (.)

23. office!  
 24. Miss Lo: in his office  
 25. (.)  
 26. Miss Lo: hu↑  
 27. (.)  
 28. Miss Lo: he is in his office (.) and then [...]

Here also, the teacher is conducting a “label quest” (Heath, 1986). In 19-20, the teacher elicits the label ‘bureau’ (i.e. office) by asking where the main character is sitting. After a short pause (21), Leila tries to provide a second pair part to the teacher’s elicitation. However, she lacks the expected label in French and switches to Spanish to give the Spanish label instead (23). Leila orients to this language alternation as an instance of deviance from the current medium – as signalled by her ‘deviant markers’ such as the pauses, a delaying device (the elongation of a vowel) and a recycle (22). This orientation is confirmed by the teacher, who repairs the Spanish label by providing the French equivalent. In short, although talk is conducted both in French and Spanish, the two languages do not have the same status. Speakers orient to French as the current medium of their interactional episode, while they orient to Spanish as an instance of deviance that needs repair. Yet, unlike in extract 23 where alternation was not acknowledged by the teacher, here it is acknowledged and repaired. Therefore, the label quest in extract 24 is accomplished bilingually. It is an example of what Martin – building on Heath (1986) – calls a “bilingual label quest” (1999, 2003; see also Arthur and Martin, 2006; Martin *et al.*, 2006).

### 6.3.2. Licensed language alternation

A second type of language alternation act that I have frequently observed in my data is one that is licensed by the teacher. Since the existing category ‘deviant language alternation acts’ does not reflect the specificity of this practice, I propose the sub-category ‘licensed language alternation’. This pattern of language alternation has already been observed in two of the extracts above, namely extracts 6 and 7. To recall, in extract 6, Matilda is describing her weekend to the teacher in French but is lacking a word. However, she does not switch to English until she is allowed to do so by the teacher (87-88). The use of English is thus oriented to as

being deviant and a dispreferred choice, until it is licensed by the teacher. A similar example discussed earlier is extract 7. Here also, Matilda is conducting a word search as she is lacking a French word. In 54-56, the teacher licenses a switch to Matilda's preferred language, namely English. However, Matilda does not depart from a French monolingual medium until the teacher herself suggests a word in English (61).

Two further examples can be given at this stage to show that licensing language alternation is a common practice in the target classroom. Firstly, consider extract 25 below. The teacher is introducing the use of object pronouns in French and asks children to reflect on the example "je lui donne un cadeau" (i.e. I give him/her a present) by comparing it with its translation in their first language(s). At the point at which we join this interactional episode, the teacher is asking Matilda to give the translation of the French example in Lithuanian.

Extract 25: (T2 S1 D3 V8 E1)

- 538. Miss Lo: donc comment tu vas dire en lithuanien↑ (.)  
 539. je lui donne un cadeau  
 540. Matilda: aš  
 541. Miss Lo: ouais  
 542. (.2)  
 543. Matilda: jam duodu dovana  
 544. Miss Lo: alors attends (.) /jaʃ/ c'est je↑  
 545. (.2)  
 546. Miss Lo: c'est ça↑  
 547. Matilda: aš!  
 548. Miss Lo: aš c'est toi (.) d'accord (.) jam c'est  
 549. quoi↑ (.) c'est lui↑  
 550. Matilda: oui  
 551. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) /dæʃ/↑ (.) c'est donne↑  
 552. Matilda: dovana  
 553. (.)  
 554. Piotr: dovana  
 555. (.2)  
 556. Matilda: duodu c'est donne  
 557. Miss Lo: ouais (.) duodu c'est donne (.) et dovana  
 558. c'est un cadeau  
 559. Matilda: ouais  
 560. Miss Lo: t'as vu je suis forte en lithuanien hein  
 561. (.) ça y est  
 562. Matilda: hahaha ((laughing))
- 
538. Miss Lo: so how are you going to say it in  
 539. Lithuanian↑ (.) I give him a present  
 540. Matilda: I



541. Miss Lo: yeah  
 542. (.2)  
 543. Matilda: give him a present  
 544. Miss Lo: so wait (.) /jaʃ/ it's I↑  
 545. (.2)  
 546. Miss Lo: is that right↑  
 547. Matilda: I!  
 548. Miss Lo: I is you (.) alright (.) him is  
 549. what↑ (.) is it him↑  
 550. Matilda: yes  
 551. Miss Lo: ah alright (.) /dæʃ/↑ (.) it's give↑  
 552. Matilda: present  
 553. (.)  
 554. Piotr: present  
 555. (.2)  
 556. Matilda: give it's give  
 557. Miss Lo: yeah (.) give it's give (.) and present  
 558. it's a present  
 559. Matilda: yeah  
 560. Miss Lo: see I'm good in Lithuanian hey (.) that's  
 561. it  
 562. Matilda: hahaha ((laughing))

In 538-539, the teacher asks Matilda to translate the French sentence in Lithuanian, in order to later on conduct a contrastive analysis between French and the other languages provided by the inducted children. I propose to call this request a *translation quest*, building on Heath's (1986) notion of "label quest". The main difference between a label quest and a translation quest is that the former is opened by a "known information question" – that is, "one for which the teacher already knows the answer" (Heath, 1986: 148) – while the latter is opened by a genuine question, that is, one for which the teacher does not already know the answer. In the remainder of the extract, Matilda provides the Lithuanian translation and the teacher tries to identify the location of the subject, verb and complement. Of interest here is that this translation quest functions as a license to language alternation.

Lastly, it should be noted that, although language alternation is licensed in extracts 6 and 7 in the same way as it is in extract 25, it has a different status in each case. In fact, in extracts 6 and 7, language alternation is licensed to repair the medium speakers are orienting to. It is a variant of what Gafaranga (2007a, 2007b; Gafaranga and Torras, 2001) calls "medium repair", since his model of language alternation does not account for licensing. I thus propose to call it a *licensed medium repair*. In extract 25, however, licensing is used to allow a functional

alternation to Lithuanian. Indeed, speakers are still interacting in a French monolingual medium but talk about Lithuanian lexical items. Here, language alternation is a variant of what Gafaranga (2007a, 2007b; Gafaranga and Torras, 2001) calls a “medium suspension”, which I propose to call a *licensed medium suspension*. A similar example to extract 25 is extract 26 below. Kenji is using his electronic dictionary to check the translation of a French word he does not understand. Here, the teacher wants to find a name for Kenji’s dictionary.

Extract 26: (T2 S1 D10 V38 E3)

213. Miss Lo: ordinateur en japonais c’est comment↑  
 214. Kenji: ordinateur (.) est (.) konpyuta  
 215. Miss Lo: computer (.) bon ben voilà (.) hein

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 213. Miss Lo: computer in Japanese how is it↑  
 214. Kenji: computer (.) is (.) computer  
 215. Miss Lo: computer (.) oh well that’s it (.) hu

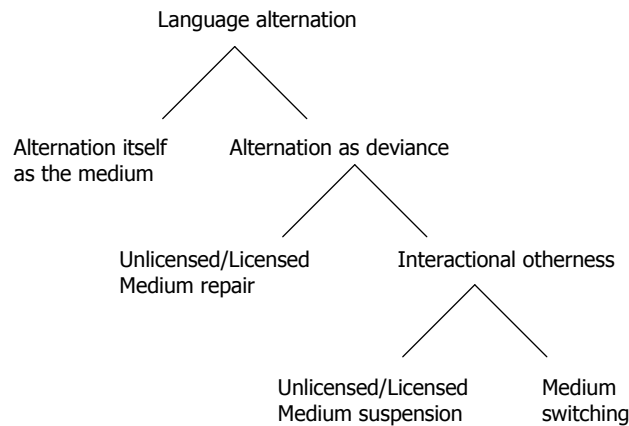
In this extract, the teacher is also conducting what I have proposed to call a ‘translation quest’ (see extract above), eliciting in a first pair part the Japanese translation of ‘ordinateur’ (i.e. ‘computer’) to Kenji (213). In 214, Kenji provides the translation in a second pair part. It is accepted by the teacher, who repeats it in 215 as a sequence-closing third. Note, however, that the teacher mis-hears Kenji’s translation and repeats it with an English accent. Here also, the translation quest licenses language alternation to Japanese. Alternation to Japanese is not used to repair the medium but rather to translate a French item into a child’s first language. It is thus an instance of ‘licensed medium suspension’.

As we have seen in this section, language alternation practices that are licensed call for a re-specification of Gafaranga’s (2007a, 2007b, 2009; Gafaranga and Torras, 2001) model of language alternation. As discussed in Chapter Four (see section §4.3.3), Gafaranga’s model accounts for two types of language alternation: ‘language alternation as the medium’ and ‘language alternation as deviance’. In the corpus of classroom interaction under study, I observed that deviant language alternation acts can be either licensed or unlicensed. In order to account for these practices and to be able, subsequently, to identify the specific norms underlying

these practices, I have proposed to respecify the notion of ‘deviant act’ into ‘unlicensed acts’ and ‘licensed acts’. Consequently, to differentiate instances of ‘medium repair’ that are unlicensed from those that are licensed, I propose to call the former ‘unlicensed medium repair’ and the latter ‘licensed medium repair’. Building on Gafaranga (e.g. 2007b: 146), ‘licensed medium repair’ refers to a departure from the current medium that is licensed and that aims to solve an interactional difficulty. Likewise, to differentiate instances of ‘medium suspension’ that are unlicensed from those that are licensed, I propose to call the former ‘unlicensed medium suspension’ and the latter ‘licensed medium suspension’. Building on Gafaranga (e.g. 2007b: 146), I define a ‘licensed medium suspension’ as a momentary deviance from the medium which is licensed and not repaired. Examples of a licensed medium repair can be found in extracts 6 and 7 and examples of a licensed medium suspension can be found in extracts 25 and 26. An overview of language alternation acts identified in the target classroom is presented in table 10 below, which builds on Gafaranga’s (2007a: 306) model of language alternation (also reproduced in table 8 in Chapter Four). Licensed language alternation, being a salient and regular practice of the target classroom, will be accounted for in Chapter Eight.

**Table 10.** Language alternation practices in the target classroom

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#### **6.4. Summary**

In this chapter, I have presented the language choice and alternation practices observed in the target classroom. More specifically, I have identified five “mediums of classroom interaction” (Bonacina, 2005; Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010):

- a French monolingual medium
- an English monolingual medium
- a Spanish monolingual medium
- a French and English bilingual medium
- a French and Spanish bilingual medium.

Two types of language alternation practices have been identified:

- unlicensed language alternation
- licensed language alternation.

To account for these language alternation practices observed in my data and, subsequently, to be able to identify their respective underlying norms, it was necessary to re-specify Gafaranga’s (2007a, 2007b; Gafaranga and Torras, 2001) model of language alternation. I proposed the terms ‘unlicensed medium suspension’ and ‘licensed medium suspension’, as well as ‘unlicensed medium repair’ and ‘licensed medium repair’. Earlier in the chapter, I also proposed new terms to account for the data at hand. These are:

- 'Medium semi-suspension': building on Gafaranga's (e.g. 2007a, b) notion of "medium suspension". It is used to refer to the fact that any aspect of a medium can be suspended for functional purposes (see extract 18).
- 'Translation quest': building on Heath's (1986) notion of "label quest". While the first turn of a label quest is a known information question (Heath, 1986: 148), the first turn of a translation quest is a question for which the teacher does not know the answer.

In Chapter Seven, I account for the norms speakers orient to when engaging in the language choice practices presented in this chapter. In Chapter Eight, I account for the norms speakers orient to when engaging in the most salient language alternation practices, namely licensed language alternation practices.

## - Chapter 7 -

### Norms of language choice practices

#### 7.1. Introduction

As I have shown in Chapter Six, five patterns of language choice have been identified in the target classroom (see §6.2). Talk can be conducted in a French monolingual medium, an English monolingual medium, a Spanish monolingual medium, a French and English bilingual medium or a French and Spanish bilingual medium. In Chapter Seven, I account for the norms underlying these language choice practices. As stated earlier (see §2.5.5), norms are to be understood from an Ethnomethodological/Conversation Analytic perspective; that is, as being what speakers use to make sense of each other's language acts. In other words, norms are a reference point – or benchmark – speakers refer to in order to know whether a certain language act is normative or deviant. They are what Spolsky calls “the idea that members of the community have of appropriate behaviour” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 29). In brief, it is because a practiced language policy can be conceptualised in the Conversation Analytic terms of ‘a set of norms of language choice and alternation’ that I claim CA can be used to study practiced language policies (see also §4.2.4). The identification of the norms underlying language choice acts is therefore a central task in discovering the practiced language policy of the target classroom.

I make two claims in this chapter. Firstly, drawing on a categorisation and sequential analysis, I argue that language choice practices are activities bound to two categories, namely that of ‘teacher’ (what I propose to call ‘teacher-hood’) and that of ‘language preference’. More specifically, I show that the category ‘teacher-hood’ has more “procedural relevance” (Schegloff, 1992) than that of ‘language preference’, insofar as language choice is first and foremost an activity bound to ‘teacher-hood’. Secondly, I argue that the classroom participants use their implicit

knowledge of the co-selective relationships between categories and language choice practices as the norms<sup>69</sup> against which they make sense of their language choice acts. In what follows, I first define in more detail the notions of ‘teacher-hood’ and ‘language preference’ (§7.2). I then turn to the set of norms that underlie language choice practices (§7.3 and §7.4), and finish by discussing examples of conflicting norms (§7.5).

## **7.2. Defining ‘language preference’ and ‘teacher-hood’**

A first significant insight from Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) studies of bilingual talk is that language choice and language alternation are category-bound activities. More specifically, they are bound to the membership categorisation device of ‘language preference’ (Gafaranga, 2001, 2005; Torras and Gafaranga, 2002; Cashman, 2005). The notion of ‘language preference’ was introduced by Auer (1984, 1988, 1995, and 1998b) to refer to “preference-related switching” (1995: 125). Auer argues that speakers may switch to a language because they are more comfortable or competent in that language (‘competence-related preference’) or due to ideological factors (‘ideology-related preference’) (see also Gafaranga, 2001: 1916). As Torras and Gafaranga (2002) emphasise, language preference is “an interactional process [...], not something set in stone. It consists of negotiated claims and attributes” (2002: 541). In this sense, participants ascribe each other to language preference categories in order to accomplish the activity of talking in two or more languages. For instance, it is because a speaker has been ascribed to the category ‘language preference in French’ that his interlocutors will use French when interacting with them.

The second significant finding of MCA studies of bilingual talk is that participants use their linguistic resources to resist and contest categories to which they have been ascribed. In this respect, language choice and alternation is

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<sup>69</sup> As has already been stated, the notion of ‘norm’ here is to be understood from an Ethnomethodological/Conversation Analytic perspective as “a point of reference or action template for interpretation” (Seedhouse, 2004: 10) (see also §2.5.5 and §4.2.4).

understood to contribute to participants' construction of their social identities in talk-in-interaction (e.g. Talmy, 2009 and Higgins, 2009).

To a certain extent, these findings will find an echo in this chapter. I will also show how language choice practices in the target classroom (and possibly in other bilingual classroom contexts) are occasioned by certain categories. I will show how – as Gafaranga puts it – “the social structure ‘occasions’ the conversational structure” (2005: 294); that is, how categories occasion language choice practices. More specifically, I will show how ‘language preference’ is a membership categorisation device that is procedurally consequential in language choice practices in the target classroom. I will also demonstrate that the category of ‘teacher’ is more consequential than that of ‘language preference’. The idea that ‘doing being the teacher’ triggers certain types of category-bound activities has been developed elegantly by Richards (2006). He illustrates how “shifts in the orientation to different aspects of identity produce distinctively different interactional patterns” (2006: 52). Building on Richards, I argue that, in bilingual classroom talk, orientation to the category ‘teacher’ produces distinctively different language choice practices.

Before moving on to the data analysis, it is necessary to explain in more detail what is meant by the category ‘teacher’. An MCA perspective on classroom talk implies that the institutional roles of ‘teacher’ and ‘pupil’ are not simply labels but rather, and most importantly, a performance, a ‘doing being’ or a set of interactional practices that correspond to what it is to do ‘being the teacher’ or ‘being the pupil’. In this sense, the identities of ‘teacher’ and ‘pupil’ are “something that people do which is embedded in some other social activity, and not something that they ‘are’” (Widdicombe, 1998: 191). Therefore, I propose the term ‘teacher-hood’ to refer to what it is to do being a teacher and to differentiate this from the institutionally prescribed role of ‘teacher’. Insofar as ‘teacher-hood’ is a category, it is associated with certain activities. Such activities include assessing or correcting pupils’ answers (Kasper, 2009: 7; see also Lee, 2007; Rylander, 2009); controlling



the floor, asking questions, issuing instructions, and prompting (Richards, 2006: 61; He, 2004: 208). Another characteristic of the classroom is the “asymmetry of knowledge” between the teacher and the pupil (Richards, 2006: 63). Certain types of interactional sequences can also be bound to the “standardised relational pair” (Sacks, 1972a, b) of teacher/pupil. For instance, the Initiation-Response-Feedback sequence (IRF) – identified by Bellack et al (1966) and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) – is often said to be the “default” pattern of interaction between teacher and pupils (Cazden, 1986: 53). McHoul (1978) also described in detail the organisation of turn-taking in classroom contexts. In this vein, I argue that, in my data, choosing the “medium of classroom interaction” (Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010) is an activity bound to the category of teacher-hood.

### **7.3. When someone is doing being a language teacher**

As I described in Chapter Three (§3.4.3.3), induction classrooms are both language and subject content classes; although emphasis is given on the teaching of the French language (see also MEN, 2002b: 12). In this section, I argue that, in my data, language choice is primarily an activity bound to the category ‘teacher-hood’ and, more specifically, to whoever is ‘doing being a language teacher’. The classroom participants use the relationship between teacher-hood and language choice as a norm to make sense of their language choice acts. In fact, a first norm of language choice that emerges from the data is as follows:

*When someone is ‘doing being the teacher of language X’, that language is adopted as the medium of classroom interaction.*

This norm is oriented to by classroom participants whether it is the adult or a child who is ‘doing being the language teacher’.

As we might expect, the adult who has been entrusted by the school to be the teacher is the classroom participant that is most often seen to be ‘doing being the language teacher’ in the corpus. If we take a look back at the extracts discussed in Chapter Six, it is clear that Miss Lo is the one who children call ‘maîtresse’ (i.e.

teacher) (see extract 9, line 01, and extract 12, line 19), the one who gives instructions (see extract 16, line 01-02), who prompts children to talk (extract 6) and asks known information questions (for example when initiating a label quest; see extracts 23 and 24). When Miss Lo is ‘doing being the teacher of French’, French is adopted as the medium of classroom interaction. Examples of Miss Lo ‘doing being the teacher of French’ in a French monolingual medium can be found in previous extracts analysed in Chapter Six. In extracts 23 and 24, for instance, Miss Lo is conducting a “label quest” (Heath, 1986) and thus introduces new French lexical items. In asking a ‘known information question’, she is indeed ‘doing being the teacher’. Furthermore, instances of language alternation to English (extract 23) and Spanish (extract 24) are oriented to by speakers as deviant. This indicates that, in this classroom interactional episode in which Miss Lo is ‘doing being the teacher of French’, French is adopted as a monolingual medium. Another example is extract 27 below. Miss Lo is teaching pupils how to tell stories in French and is asking Kenji to tell her the story of Little Red Riding Hood.

Extract 27: (T2 S1 D1 V1 E3)

01. Miss Lo: Kenji  
02. Kenji: mm  
03. Miss Lo: est-ce que tu arriverais (.) puisqu'on va  
04. terminer sur l'histoire du Petit Chaperon  
05. Rouge (.) aujourd'hui (.) et un petit peu  
06. demain (.) est-ce que tu arriverais à me  
07. raconter (.) l'histoire du Petit Chaperon  
08. Rouge  
09. Kenji: euh  
10. (.)  
11. Cristina: moi maîtresse! (.) moi je sais  
12. Kenji: euh::  
13. Cristina: ( )  
14. Talia: en ja[ponais  
15. Leila: [il était [une fois  
16. Miss Lo: [non c'est Kenji c'est  
17. Kenji (.) oui  
18. Kenji: japonais↑  
19. Miss Lo: ah non pas en japonais parce que je  
20. ne vais pas trop comprendre  
21. ((children laughing))  
22. Kenji: ah  
23. Miss Lo: mais (.) en français  
24. (.)  
25. Kenji: oui et-  
26. Talia: après en japonais

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01. Miss Lo: Kenji  
02. Kenji: mm  
03. Miss Lo: would you manage (.1)  
04. since we're going to finish working on the  
05. story of Little Red Riding Hood (.)  
06. today (.) and a little bit tomorrow  
07. (.) would you manage to tell me (.) the story  
08. of Little Red Riding Hood  
09. Kenji: erm  
10. (.)  
11. Cristina: me miss! (.) me I know  
12. Kenji: erm::  
13. Cristina: ( )  
14. Talia: in Ja[panese  
15. Leila: [once [upon a time  
16. Miss Lo: [no it's Kenji it's  
17. Kenji (.) yes  
18. Kenji: Japanese↑  
19. Miss Lo: ah no not in Japanese because I'm not going  
20. to understand  
21. ((children laughing))  
22. Kenji: ah  
23. Miss Lo: but (.) in French  
24. (.)  
25. Kenji: yes and-  
26. Talia: after in Japanese

In 01, Miss Lo selects Kenji and, in 03 to 08, she asks him to tell her the story of Little Red Riding Hood, on which they have been working for the past few days. Since Kenji seems to hesitate – as the ‘euh’ (09) and the pause (10) indicate – other children self-select to reply to Miss Lo’s summons (11, 13, and 15). However, in 16-17, Miss Lo reiterates her choice of speaker and insists on selecting Kenji. Meanwhile, in 14, Talia carries out a “medium request” (Gafaranga, 2010) and asks that Kenji tells the story in Japanese. This is picked up by Kenji himself, who asks Miss Lo whether he should be telling the story in Japanese (18). To this Miss Lo replies in 19-20 that he cannot use Japanese, as she would not be able to understand, and that he should use French instead (23). Here, Miss Lo is ‘doing being the teacher’. This is evidenced by the fact that it is her who selects the next speaker (01) (see McHoul, 1978 for a discussion of turn-taking in classroom talk), who controls the floor (16-17) and who gives instructions (06-08). Furthermore, Cristina is “labeling” (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998b) Miss Lo as ‘maîtresse’ (i.e. teacher) (11). As the transcript shows, only French is used in this interactional episode. Interestingly, Talia’s request for a Japanese medium triggers laughter (21). That is,

it is seen as deviant. Clearly, this indicates that, in this interactional episode in which Miss Lo is ‘doing being the teacher of French’, the classroom participants are orienting to a French monolingual medium.

This first norm of language choice is also oriented to in small-group interaction. When Miss Lo is away from the small group, one or more of the children are seen to be ‘doing being the language teacher’. This echoes previous studies of classroom talk where children are found to imitate the teacher. For instance, in her study of standard 1 and 4 classrooms in Kenyan schools, Bunyi (2005) reports that children are found to “play the game” of ‘doing being the teacher’. She writes:

“Before Mrs Wambaa entered the classroom in the morning, or even when she was in class but busy with something else at her table, the children could be heard imitating the Gikĩyũ reading lessons by chanting the letters and syllables. Sometimes, one self-appointed child would take the role of the teacher by taking Mrs Wambaa’s stick and pointing to the syllables on the charts on the walls while she/he (and sometimes with the others joining in role) played the reading game” (2005: 137).

In a similar manner, in the classroom I have observed, the children can be seen ‘doing being the teacher’ by performing acts bound to the category ‘teacher-hood’ such as giving instructions, evaluations, introducing new information and conducting drills. These category-bound acts include language choice. More specifically, when a child is ‘doing being a language teacher’, that language is adopted as the medium of classroom interaction. As a first example, consider extract 28 below. Talia, Leila, Kenji and Piotr are working in a small group, and Maia, who is also a Spanish-speaker, is sitting nearby. We join the talk at the point at which Talia states that Kenji was born to be Spanish (and not Japanese).

Extract 28: (T2 S1 D1 V2 E1)

219. Talia:           nació- (.) nació para ser español  
220. Leila:           pero es japonés  
221. Kenji:           yo vengo japonés ((imitating Leila))  
222. ((girls laughing))  
223. Leila:           yo vengo japonés↑  
224. ((girls laughing))  
225. Maia:           yo vengo japonés ((imitating Kenji))  
226. (.)  
227. Leila:           yo vengo de Japón!

228. Kenji: mm  
 229. (.)  
 230. Talia: Kenji (.) d'òu viens-tu↑  
 231. (.)  
 232. Kenji: yo vengo de Japón  
 233. ((girls laughing))  
 234. Maia: yo vengo de Japón  
 235. Talia: de donde vienes Kenji↑  
 236. (.2)  
 237. Kenji: yo vengo de Japón  
 238. ((girls laughing))

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219. Talia: he was born- (.) he was born to be Spanish  
 220. Leila: but he is Japanese  
 221. Kenji: I come from Japanese  
 222. ((girls laughing))  
 223. Leila: I come from Japanese↑  
 224. ((girls laughing))  
 225. Maia: I come from Japanese ((laughing))  
 226. (.)  
 227. Leila: I come from Japan!  
 228. Kenji: mm  
 229. (.)  
 230. Talia: Kenji (.) where are you from↑  
 231. (.)  
 232. Kenji: I come from Japan  
 233. ((girls laughing))  
 234. Maia: I come from Japan  
 235. Talia: where are you from Kenji↑  
 236. (.2)  
 237. Kenji: I come from Japan  
 238. ((girls laughing))

This extract can be divided into three sequences. First, in 219 and 220, Talia and Leila talk in a side sequence in Spanish about Kenji, discussing whether or not he was born to be Spanish instead of Japanese. In 221, Kenji states *in Spanish* that he is Japanese. In asserting his identity in Spanish, he opens the side sequence and signals that he understands what is being talked about. In so doing, he rejects Talia and Leila's "ascription of incompetence" (Auer, 1984: 18) in Spanish. However, his Spanish sentence is not grammatically correct and this is picked up by his Spanish-speaking peers. From then on, a second sequence starts, wherein the three Spanish-speaking children Talia, Leila and Maia make membership to the category 'teacherhood' and correct Kenji's Spanish utterance. Rather than commenting on Kenji's identity claim, they position themselves as language teachers and open a repair sequence. In 223, Leila starts by repeating Kenji's Spanish utterance to initiate

repair; she “withholds other-correction” (Schegloff *et al.*, 1977: 378-9) in order to leave space for Kenji to self-repair. Withholding of other-correction is a feature of repair organisation that is typical of classroom talk (McHoul, 1990: 364). It therefore shows that Leila is making membership to ‘teacher-hood’. However, since Kenji does not self-repair, Leila provides the correct utterance (227), which is followed by Kenji’s ratification (228). In short, a teacher-pupil categorisation is constructed through the turn organisation of this repair trajectory. This construction of teacher-hood is reinforced by the fact that the children ‘doing being the language teacher’ are native speakers of Spanish – the experts – while Kenji is a learner of Spanish – in other words, a novice. This expert/novice relationship is also typical of the “asymmetry of knowledge” that characterises teacher-learner talk (Richards, 2006: 63). After the repair sequence, a third sequence starts, in which Talia conducts a drill, also typical of teacher-learner talk. By responding to Talia’s elicitations (in 230 and 235), Kenji makes membership to the category ‘pupil’. Of particular interest in this extract is that, although not all children are speakers of Spanish, talk is conducted in Spanish. I suggest that this language choice can be accounted for by the fact that Talia, Maia and Leila are ‘doing being the teacher of Spanish’.

A similar example can be found in extract 29 below, which is taken from the same small-group interaction as the above extract 28.

Extract 29: (T2 S1 D1 V2 E1)

252.	Maia:	Kenji como se dice español↑
253.		((pointing to an eraser))
254.	(.2)	
255.	Leila:	comment s’appelle ça en espagnol
256.		((pointing to an eraser))
257.	Kenji:	/gæmæ/
258.	Talia:	goma
259.	(.)	
260.	Leila:	goma
261.	Miss Lo:	ça y est c’est fini↑

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252.	Maia:	Kenji how do you say in Spanish↑
253.		((pointing to an eraser))
254.	(.2)	
255.	Leila:	what is it called this in Spanish
256.		((pointing to an eraser))

257. Kenji: /gæmæ/  
 258. Talia: rubber  
 259. (.)  
 260. Leila: rubber  
 261. Miss Lo: that's it are you done↑

Maia, Leila and Talia are still 'doing being the teacher of Spanish' and, in 252, Maia asks Kenji how to say 'rubber' in Spanish. The two-second pause (254) indicates that Kenji is encountering a problem with the question asked. Therefore, Leila reiterates the question using French this time (255). This alternation to French is functional, and is an instance of what Gafaranga calls a "medium suspension" (e.g. 2007a, b). In 257, Kenji provides the lexical item in Spanish but is corrected by Talia (258). As Kenji does not seem to ratify the correction, Leila repeats the correct Spanish word (260). In brief, the Spanish-speaking children Maia, Leila and Talia are still 'doing being the teacher of Spanish', as they initiate a "label quest" (Heath, 1986) in Spanish and correct Kenji's output. Similarly, by engaging in the label quest and attempting to provide a second pair part to Maia's summons, Kenji is 'doing being the pupil'. Here also, I suggest that Spanish is adopted as the medium because the children who are 'doing being the language teacher' are teaching Spanish.

As a last example of the classroom participants orienting to this first norm of language choice, consider extract 30 below. This extract presents a deviant case; that is, a case where someone is 'doing being a language teacher' but does not adopt that language as the medium. More specifically, a child (Talia) is 'doing being the teacher of French' and interacts with Cristina in Spanish. Interestingly, this language choice is difficult to maintain and speakers switch back to a French monolingual medium. Cristina has to complete sentences of a text that relates the story of a chocolate hen who hides from children. Talia is 'doing being the teacher' and helping her completing the sentence 'elle se cache derrière la porte pour que...' (i.e. 'she [the hen] is hiding behind the door so that...').

Extract 30: (T2 S1 D11 V45 E3)

02. Cristina: 'elle (.) se cache derrière la porte'

03. Talia: **porque**↑  
 04. (.2)  
 05. Talia: **para que la- para que los niños no la**  
 06. **encuentran** (.) ( ) (.1) **escribe** (.3)  
 07. parce que (.) les enfants ne trouvent pas elle  
 08. (.14)  
 09. ((children in other groups are talking with the teacher))  
 10. Cristina: parce que↑  
 11. Talia: non  
 12. (.3)  
 13. Cristina: **como se hace**↑ (.2) parce que↑  
 14. Talia: qui c'est 'elle'↑  
 15. (.1)  
 16. Cristina: oui  
 17. Talia: que fait-elle↑  
 18. (.1)  
 19. Cristina: mm  
 20. Talia: **que hace**↑  
 21. Cristina: **se esconde**  
 22. (.3)  
 23. Talia: elle se (.3) elle (.2) elle se↑  
 24. Cristina: cache derrière la porte  
 25. Talia: de↑  
 26. Cristina: de (.) nichoir  
 27. Talia: de nichoir (.) pourquoi↑  
 28. (.2)  
 29. Cristina: parce que les enfants la trouvent=  
 30. Talia: =parce que les enfants la trouvent pas!

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02. Cristina: 'she (.) is hiding behind the door'  
 03. Talia: **why**↑  
 04. (.2)  
 05. Talia: **so that the- so that the children do not**  
 06. **find her** (.) ( ) (.1) **write** (.3) so  
 07. that (.) the children do not find her  
 08. (.14)  
 09. ((children in other groups are talking with the teacher))  
 10. Cristina: so that↑  
 11. Talia: no  
 12. (.3)  
 13. Cristina: **how does it go**↑ (.2) so that↑  
 14. Talia: who is it 'her'↑  
 15. (.1)  
 16. Cristina: yes  
 17. Talia: what is she doing↑  
 18. (.1)  
 19. Cristina: mm  
 20. Talia: **what is she doing**↑  
 21. Cristina: **she is hiding**  
 22. (.3)  
 23. Talia: she is (.3) she (.2) she is↑  
 24. Cristina: hiding behind the door  
 25. Talia: of↑  
 26. Cristina: of (.) nest box



27. Talia: of nest box (.) why↑  
 28. (.2)  
 29. Cristina: so that the children find her=  
 30. Talia: =so that the children do not! find her

This extract can be divided into two parts. In the first part, from 02 to 07, Talia and Cristina are interacting in Spanish, but French is used to refer to the text Cristina is working on. Talia is ‘doing being the teacher of French’ by helping her peer to complete the French sentence. This is evidenced by the fact that she does not give the answer directly to Cristina – as a peer would usually do with another peer. Instead, she tries to elicit the answer from her (03). Furthermore, since Cristina is not able to complete her sentence (as the two-second pause shows in 04), Talia gives the answer in Spanish, instructing Cristina to write its translation under her dictation (05-07). Then, a fourteen-second pause follows, during which Cristina and Talia work individually (08). In the second part of this extract, Cristina still encounters difficulties completing that same sentence and asks Talia to repeat the answer she gave her earlier (10 and 13). In doing so, Cristina still orients to a Spanish monolingual medium. However, Talia operates a switch of medium and uses French to pursue ‘doing being the teacher of French’. She provides “clueing” (17, 20, 23, 25, and 27), a practice in which “teachers attempt to lead students to correct answers by small steps” (McHoul, 1990: 355). For instance, in 17, Talia is trying to elicit from Cristina the verb of the sentence she has to write. However, the one-second pause (18) and the hesitation marker (mm, in 19) indicate that Cristina does not know the answer. As a result, Talia reiterates her question in Spanish (20) and Cristina provides an answer using Spanish too (21). Of particular interest is that Cristina waited for Talia to initiate a switch in Spanish to alternate language. This shows that she orients to the use of Spanish as deviant and to French as being the current medium. The speaker’s orientation to a French monolingual medium is further demonstrated by Talia’s asking for Cristina’s answer in Spanish to be repaired and translated into French (23). In withholding other-repair, Talia also shows that she is ‘doing being the teacher’ (see McHoul, 1990). Clearly, as Talia is ‘doing being the teacher of French’, the initial choice of Spanish as a medium is difficult to maintain, and French is soon adopted. This last example thus confirms

the relevance of the first norm of language choice, namely that when someone is ‘doing being the teacher of language X’, that language is adopted as the medium of classroom interaction.

#### **7.4. When no-one is ‘doing being a language teacher’**

When no-one is ‘doing being a language teacher’, the classroom participants seem to orient to their “language preference” (Auer, 1984, 1988, 1995, and 1998b) to interpret each other’s language choice acts. More specifically, it is because children categorise themselves to the same “language preference categorisation device” (Gafaranga, 2001, 2005) that talk can be conducted in their shared preferred language. In fact, two main situations emerge: either speakers share a preferred language, or they do not. In light of this dichotomy, I first account for instances of language choice practices in interactional episodes in which no-one is ‘doing being the language teacher’ and there is a shared preferred language (§7.4.1), and then turn to interactional episodes in which no-one is ‘doing being the language teacher’ and there is no shared preferred language (§7.4.2).

##### **7.4.1. And there is a shared preferred language**

In my data, I observe a second norm of language choice, which can be stated as follows:

*When no-one is ‘doing being a language teacher’ and there is a shared preferred language, that language is adopted as the medium of classroom interaction.*

This norm is oriented to by the classroom participants in two cases, namely, when someone is ‘doing being a content teacher’ and when no-one is ‘doing being the teacher’.

### 7.4.1.1. Interactional episodes in which someone is ‘doing being a content teacher’

In my data, examples of interactional episodes in which someone is ‘doing being a content teacher’ and speakers share a preferred language are found in child-child talk. Consider, for instance, extract 31 below. Leila is ‘doing being the teacher of Maths’ and explaining fractions to her Spanish-speaking peer Talia.

Extract 31: (T2 S1 D5 V15 E5)

01. Leila: bueno (.) empecemos  
02. Talia: a ver  
03. (.)  
04. Leila: eso es una fracción!  
05. (.1)  
06. Leila: mira (.) aquí tenés (.) una torta no↑  
07. (.2)  
08. Leila: tenés dividido en cuatro=  
09. Talia: =cuatro (.) por eso (.) por eso son (.) y  
10. como están rallados  
11. Leila: un cuarto! (.) bueno entonces te voy a  
12. hacer fracciones y ahora me las vas a  
13. hacer  
14. Talia: ay pero hacelos bien Leila!  
15. ((laughing))  
16. Leila: oye Talia!  
17. (.3)  
18. Leila: no soy dibujadora profesional (.) no me  
19. salen los círculos  
20. ((noises of a pen on a piece of paper))  
21. (.5)  
22. Leila: hazme fracción  
23. (.9)  
24. Talia: son (.) cuatro octavos  
25. Leila: okay (.) bueno bueno

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01. Leila: so (.) let's start  
02. Talia: let's see  
03. (.)  
04. Leila: this is a fraction!  
05. (.1)  
06. Leila: look (.) here you have (.) a pie right↑  
07. (.2)  
08. Leila: you have to divide it in four=  
09. Talia: =four (.) that's why (.) that's why they  
10. are- (.) and as if they were stripy  
11. Leila: a quarter! (.) okay so I'm going to give  
12. you some fractions and you're going to do  
13. them for me  
14. Talia: ah but do them well Leila!  
15. ((laughing))  
16. Leila: oye Talia!  
17. (.3)

18. Leila: I'm not a professional artist (.) I can't  
 19. make circles very well  
 20. ((noises of a pen on a piece of paper))  
 21. (.5)  
 22. Leila: do this fraction for me  
 23. (.9)  
 24. Talia: it's (.) four eighth  
 25. Leila: okay (.) that's good that's good

In this extract, Leila is 'doing being the teacher of Maths'. This is evidenced by various facts: she controls the floor and opens the interaction (01), introduces new information about fractions (04, 11), and gives explanations (06, 08), instructions (22) and evaluation (25). The last few turns presented in the extract are, in this regard, quite explicit. In 22, Leila gives an instruction to Talia. After a nine-second pause (23), during which Talia is assumed to be thinking of her answer – which McHoul (1978) calls time for “due consideration” – she responds to Leila (24); and in 25, Leila gives her feedback. These three turns correspond to the Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) sequence (Bellack *et al.*, 1966; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) that has frequently been observed in classroom talk between teacher and pupils (e.g. Allwright and Bailey, 1991; Mehan, 1979b; Mercer, 1995). Therefore, in following an IRF sequence, both Talia and Leila demonstrate that they orient to teacher-learner categories. I suggest that Talia and Leila are orienting to the second norm of language choice, namely, that when no-one is 'doing being a language teacher' and there is a shared preferred language, that language is adopted as the medium. In short, I suggest that it is because Leila is 'doing being the teacher of Maths' (and not of French) that Spanish, the preferred language shared with Talia, is adopted as the medium.

#### **7.4.1.2. Interactional episodes in which no-one is 'doing being the teacher'**

Some even more salient examples of the classroom participants' orientation to the second norm of language choice can be found in interactional episodes in which no-one is 'doing being the teacher'.

In the corpus under study, teacher-hood is not always enacted. There are classroom interactional episodes in which no-one is 'doing being the teacher'.

These types of episode are found exclusively in child-child talk. As we have seen, among the twelve children who attended the target induction classroom during the period of data collection, only English, Spanish and Peul were shared between two or more children (see table 3 and 4). More specifically, five children spoke Spanish (Talia, Leila, Maia, Cristina, and Andrea), four spoke English (Karen, Talia, Maia, and Matilda) and two spoke Peul (Amkoulel and Samba). As a result, when interacting among themselves, these children are seen to make membership to their preferred language category. However, it should be noted from the outset that no instances of child-child talk were found to be conducted in Peul. This is confirmed by my observations of classroom interaction. Indeed, I never witnessed Amkoulel and Samba talking to each other in Peul in the classroom<sup>70</sup>. Therefore, any child-child talk that takes place when no-one is 'doing being the teacher' is conducted either in an English monolingual medium, a Spanish monolingual medium, a French and English bilingual medium or a French and Spanish bilingual medium. This is illustrated by the examples hereafter.

The second norm of language choice accounts for the choice of an English monolingual medium where no-one is 'doing being the teacher' and English is the children's preferred language. Examples of such talk have already been discussed in Chapter Six (see §6.2.2). Extracts 13 and 14 gave an example of two children (Matilda and Talia) who first negotiated the medium, then converged on one of the children's (Talia) choice of medium, namely English. Extract 12 showed the same two children interacting in a side sequence in an English monolingual medium, while the teacher was addressing the whole class. A similar case is extract 32 below, which is the continuation of the talk presented in extract 6. Miss Lo is helping Matilda find the French translation of the title of the movie that she saw at the weekend, and is asking another English speaking peer for her translation expertise. Meanwhile, Matilda and Talia open a side sequence in English.

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<sup>70</sup> In fact, Amkoulel and Samba were in general very quiet and thus do not appear to talk very often in the corpus. I hypothesise that they never used Peul in the classroom because they perceived their language to be less prestigious than Spanish, English or Japanese. Further research would be needed to confirm this hypothesis.

Extract 32: (T2 S1 D5 V15 E3)

96. Miss Lo: c'est quoi (.) ah ben tiens Karen tu vas  
97. nous traduire le titre là  
98. parce que::  
99. Matilda: lord of the ring!  
100. Talia: ouh::! I love  
101. Miss Lo: le sei[gneur  
102. Matilda: [you know↑  
103. Talia: yeah:: I've seen it  
104. Karen: mm  
105. Miss Lo: ring c'est quoi↑

---

96. Miss Lo: what is it (.) ah well then Karen you're  
97. going to translate the title for us here  
98. because::  
99. Matilda: lord of the ring!  
100. Talia: ouh::! I love  
101. Miss Lo: the Lo[rd  
102. Matilda: [you know↑  
103. Talia: yeah:: I've seen it  
104. Karen: mm  
105. Miss Lo: ring what is it↑

In 99, Matilda gives the English title of the movie she saw over the weekend, so that one of her English-speaking peers can provide the French translation. Matilda's reference to an English movie title triggers a side sequence between her and Talia in English. In 99-100 and 102-103, the two children leave the teacher-led interactional episode and interact in a side sequence, in which no-one is 'doing being the teacher'. As a consequence, they orient to the second norm of language choice and adopt their preferred language as the medium.

When Spanish-speaking children interact together and none of them is 'doing being the teacher', they orient to their preferred category 'Spanish-speaker' and use a Spanish monolingual medium. Some examples of a Spanish monolingual medium have been discussed in Chapter Six (see section §6.2.3). To recall, extracts 15 and 16 showed Talia and Leila interacting in Spanish in a side sequence to a teacher-led interactional episode. A similar example is extract 33 below. Miss Lo is introducing the notion of 'fairy tales', asking children if they have fairy tales in their home country in order to check their understanding of the notion. Here, she turns to Kenji and asks him if there are fairy tales in Japan.

Extract 33: (T2 S1 D1 V1 E2)

650. Miss Lo: chut (.) et Kenji en japonais ya ça  
651. aussi↑  
652. (.2)  
653. Kenji: non  
654. (.)  
655. Miss Lo: est-ce qu'il y a des histoires avec  
656. des fées comme ça (.) qui font (.)  
657. ding! (.) et puis (.) ça- il y a  
658. quelque chose qui-  
659. Leila: comme *la cenicienta!*  
660. ?: ( )  
661. Talia: *así no se dicen*  
662. Leila: *como se dicen*  
663. Talia: *no se (.) [que en ingles se dice*  
664. *cinderella*  
665. Miss Lo: [c'est quelqu'un qui a des  
666. pouvoirs magiques et qui fait (.) ting!  
667. (.) comme ça sur ta tête et hop tu  
668. deviens autre chose

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650. Miss Lo: shush (.) and Kenji in Japanese there is  
651. that also↑  
652. (.2)  
653. Kenji: no  
654. (.)  
655. Miss Lo: are there some stories with fairies  
656. like that (.) who do (.) ding! (.) and  
657. then (.) this- there is something  
658. that-  
659. Leila: like *cinderella!*  
660. ?: ( )  
661. Talia: *it's not how you say it*  
662. Leila: *how do you say it*↑  
663. Talia: *don't know (.) [like in English you say*  
664. *cinderella*  
665. Miss Lo: [it's someone who has  
666. magic powers and who does (.) ting! (.)  
667. like that on your head and hop you become  
668. something else

In 659, Leila deviates from the French monolingual medium of the teacher-led interaction to give an example of a fairy tale that she knows in Spanish. It is uttered in a loud voice and is thus addressed to the teacher. This language alternation is an instance of what Gafaranga (e.g. 2007a, 2007b) calls a “medium suspension”, insofar as it is a temporary departure from the medium that serves the function of signalling understanding to Miss Lo. Interestingly, in 661, Talia proposes to interpret Leila’s switch into Spanish as the opening of a side sequence, and

responds to it in Spanish. From 661 to 664, Talia and Leila are talking to each other in a side sequence, while Miss Lo is interacting with Kenji and the rest of the class. Since, in this side sequence, no-one is ‘doing being the teacher’ and there is a shared preferred language, the children can orient to the second norm of language choice and adopt Spanish as the medium. Talia’s alternation to English (664) is a functional deviance (i.e. a “medium suspension” in Gafaranga’s model) from the Spanish monolingual medium they are orienting to.

A Spanish monolingual medium is also found in small-group interaction, in which children orient to their preferred language category ‘Spanish-speaker’. This is illustrated in extracts 17 and 18 (discussed in Chapter Six), in which Talia and Leila are talking in Spanish. Extract 34 below gives a further example of speakers orienting to the second norm of language choice. Talia and Leila have to complete the story of Little Red Riding Hood by giving the gerundive form of verbs provided in parentheses.

Extract 34: (T2 S1 D1 V1 E10)

01.	Leila:	Talia levanta la mano
02.	Talia:	por qué↑
03.	Leila:	porque no entiendo (.) levanta de la
04.		mano (.) si no se me [acalambra
05.	Talia:	[sería (.) 'le
06.		loup part' (.) 'en' cou[rir↑
07.	Leila:	[eso no sé
08.	(.3)	
09.	Talia:	'vers la maison de la grand-mère'

---

01.	Leila:	Talia put your hand up
02.	Talia:	why↑
03.	Leila:	because I don't understand (.) put your hand
04.		up (.) cause it gives me [pins and needles
05.	Talia:	[it should be (.)
06.		'the wolf leaves' (.) 'in' [run↑
07.	Leila:	[this I don't know
08.	(.3)	
09.	Talia:	'towards the granny's house'

As the transcript shows, Talia and Leila use Spanish to talk about their exercise. French (06 and 09) is a temporary departure from a Spanish medium to refer to the exercise they are working on (which Gafaranga calls a “medium suspension”; e.g.



2007b). The children’s choice of a Spanish monolingual medium can be accounted for with reference to the second norm of language choice, namely the fact that no-one is ‘doing being the teacher’ and that the children share Spanish as a preferred language.

Thus far, I have shown that, when no-one is ‘doing being the teacher’ (which is found in child-child talk in my data) and there is a shared preferred language among speakers, they make membership to this category and use that language as the medium of their classroom interactional episode. At times, each child is found to be using their preferred language in the same interactional episode, without it being oriented to as a problem to be repaired. In Chapter Six, I demonstrated that these language choice acts are instances of bilingual mediums (see section §6.2.4 and §6.2.5). More specifically, I identified instances of the “parallel mode” (Gafaranga and Torras, 2001) of a French and Spanish bilingual medium (e.g. extract 21), the “halfway-between mode” (Gafaranga and Torras, 2001) of a French and English bilingual medium (e.g. extract 19) and a French and Spanish bilingual medium (e.g. extract 22). These choices of bilingual mediums can be accounted for by reference to the fact that children categorise themselves and each other as “doing being bilinguals” (Gafaranga, 2001: 1922). Another example of the children ‘doing being bilingual’ is extract 35 below. Matilda and Talia are next to each other, engaged in a drawing activity.

Extract 35: (T2 S1 D9 V37 E1)

168.	Talia:	j’ai fini!
169.	Matilda:	ah bon! (.) t’as huit pages!
170.	Talia:	this (.) hey (.) that’s not easy (.)
171.		no
172.		(.3)
173.	Talia:	it’s [so so-
174.	Matilda:	[if I think ehm::
175.	Talia:	it’s so so- (.) oh! Matilda::
176.	Matilda:	quoi↑ (.) qu’est-ce que j’ai fait↑
177.	Talia:	t’as fait ça
-----		
168.	Talia:	I’ve finished!
169.	Matilda:	oh really! (.) you have eight pages!
170.	Talia:	this (.) hey (.) that’s not easy (.)
171.		no

172. (.3)  
 173. Talia: it's [so so-  
 174. Matilda: [if I think eh::  
 175. Talia: it's so so- (.) oh! Matilda::  
 176. Matilda: what↑ (.) what have I done↑  
 177. Talia: you did this

Here, Talia and Matilda are interacting both in French and English, without it being functional or oriented to as a repairable matter. More specifically, Talia uses French in 168 and 177, but uses English in 170-1, 173, 175, and Matilda uses French in 169 and 176, but uses English in 174. In Gafaranga's (e.g. 2007a, b) model, this extract presents an instance of the "mixed mode" of a bilingual medium as both speakers are seen to alternate languages. In short, since no-one is 'doing being the teacher' in this interactional episode, Matilda and Talia are orienting to their preferred language category 'French and English bilingual speaker', and are thus using a French and English bilingual medium.

#### 7.4.2. And there is no shared preferred language

The second norm of language choice discussed earlier accounts for language choice acts in interactional episodes in which no-one is 'doing being the language teacher' (for instance, when someone is 'doing being the content teacher' or when no-one is 'doing being the teacher') and there is a shared preferred language among speakers. However, it does not account for instances of interactional episodes in which no-one is 'doing being the language teacher' and there is no shared preferred language among speakers. In this case, I have observed that the following norm is oriented to:

*When no-one is 'doing being the language teacher' and there is no shared preferred language, the language common to all speakers (namely, French) is adopted as the medium.*

This third norm of language choice is oriented to by the classroom participants when no-one is 'doing being the language teacher': for example when someone is 'doing being a content teacher', or when no-one is 'doing being the teacher'.

### 7.4.2.1. Interactional episodes in which someone is ‘doing being a content teacher’

A first example of an interactional episode in which this third norm of language choice is oriented to by the classroom participants is when someone is ‘doing being a content teacher’ and there is no shared preferred language. In my data, this type of situation is often found in adult-child talk, since Miss Lo does not share a preferred language with any of her pupils and is seen at times to teach subjects other than language, such as Maths. By way of illustration, consider extract 36 below. Miss Lo is checking Leila’s Maths exercise and realises that Leila gave the wrong answer.

Extract 36: (T2 S1 D9 V36 E3)

01. Miss Lo: ‘combien de sandwichs différents fait-  
02. elle’↑ (.) ‘elle fait trente sandwichs’  
03. (.) non (.) haha! (.) ‘différents’  
04. (.2)  
05. Miss Lo: elle en fait pas trente différents  
06. (.2)  
07. Miss Lo: elle fait des sandwichs d’un certain  
08. style et des sandwichs d’un autre style  
09. (.)  
10. Leila: ha! (.) soixante dix-huit!  
11. (.2)  
12. Kenji: quoi↑ (.) trente euh (.) plus grand  
13. (.4)  
14. Leila: je sais pas maîtresse c’est trop difficile!  
15. Miss Lo: elle fait des sandwichs (.) elle fait des  
16. sandwichs qu’elle appelle (.1)  
17. ‘petits sacs de santé’  
18. Talia: **bueno** (.) regarde (.) [ça  
19. Leila: [ça fait (.) dix-  
20. huit!  
21. Talia: ça (.) et ça  
22. (.3)  
23. Miss Lo: non  
24. Piotr: [non!  
25. Talia: [non!

---

01. Miss Lo: ‘how many different sandwiches does she  
02. make’↑ (.) ‘she makes thirty sandwiches’  
03. (.) no (.) haha! (.) ‘different’  
04. (.2)  
05. Miss Lo: she doesn’t make thirty sandwiches  
06. (.2)  
07. Miss Lo: she makes sandwiches of a certain style  
08. and sandwiches from another style  
09. (.)  
10. Leila: ha! (.) seventy-eight!  
11. (.2)

12. Kenji: what↑ (.) thirty ehm (.) bigger  
 13. (.4)  
 14. Leila: I don't know Miss it's too difficult!  
 15. Miss Lo: she makes sandwiches (.) she makes  
 16. sandwiches that she calls (.1) 'little  
 17. healthy bags'  
 18. Talia: **alright** (.) look (.) [this  
 19. Leila: [it adds up to this  
 20. (.) eighteen!  
 21. Talia: this (.) and this  
 22. (.3)  
 23. Miss Lo: no  
 24. Piotr: [no!  
 25. Talia: [no!

Miss Lo is 'doing being the teacher of Maths' as evidenced by the facts that she reads Leila's answer (02), evaluates it (03, 05 and 23) and provides explanations on how to count the number of different types of sandwiches (07-8). Leila is 'doing being the pupil' as evidenced by the fact that she orients to Miss Lo's negative feedback, tries to provide another answer (10) and is "labeling" (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998b) Miss Lo as 'maîtresse' (14). As the transcript shows, talk is conducted in French. I suggest that this choice of a French monolingual medium can be accounted for with reference to the third norm of language choice, that is, with reference to the facts that no-one is 'doing being the language teacher' (but, instead, someone is 'doing being the content teacher') and that there is no shared preferred language between the speaker 'doing being the teacher' and the speaker 'doing being the pupil'.

#### **7.4.2.2. Interactional episodes in which no-one is 'doing being the teacher'**

Orientation to this third norm of language choice is further illustrated by examples of interactional episodes in which no-one is 'doing being the teacher'. In my data, this type of situation is usually found in child-child talk. When children from the same group do not share a preferred language, French – the language common to all the classroom participants – is adopted as the medium. An example of child-child talk, in which no-one is 'doing being the teacher' and there is no shared preferred language is extract 11 discussed in Chapter Six (see section §6.2.1). Another

example is extract 37 below. Kenji, Leila and Talia are working together on a written exercise. Kenji does not understand the word ‘route’ (i.e. road).

Extract 37: (T2 S1 D1 V2 E1)

60. Kenji: c'est quoi ça↑  
61. Leila: regarde Kenji  
62. Talia: regarde Kenji  
63. (.)  
64. Kenji: une ['route' ↑  
65. Talia: [ici c'est [en rouge  
66. Leila: [oui c'est-  
67. Talia: [regarde c'est en rouge  
68. Kenji: ['route' (.) c'est quoi 'route' ↑  
69. Talia: ça ((pointing to the drawing))  
70. Kenji: attends ((Sh opens his digital dictionary))  
[...]  
76. Kenji: route!  
77. Talia: oui  
78. Leila: hahaha  
79. Talia: hahaha  
80. Kenji: d'accord d'accord d'accord (.) 'marcher  
81. une route'

---

60. Kenji: what is this↑  
61. Leila: look Kenji  
62. Talia: look Kenji  
63. (.)  
64. Kenji: a ['road' ↑  
65. Talia: [here it's [in red  
66. Leila: [yes it's-  
67. Talia: [look it's in red  
68. Kenji: ['road' (.) what is 'road' ↑  
69. Talia: ça ((pointing to the drawing))  
70. Kenji: wait ((Kenji opens his digital dictionary))  
[...]  
76. Kenji: road!  
77. Talia: yes  
78. Leila: hahaha  
79. Talia: hahaha  
80. Kenji: alright alright alright (.) 'walking a  
81. road'

Kenji asks twice for help from his peers (60 and 64) but the explanations he is given do not help. He therefore asks a third time (68). In 69, Talia points to a drawing of what a ‘road’ looks like. However, Kenji does not show understanding, turning instead to his electronic dictionary to look for the Japanese translation (70). In 76, he repeats the French word ‘route’ to show that he has now understood its meaning. The sequence is closed in 80-81, when Kenji uses the agreement token ‘d’accord’

and repeats the sentence in the exercise in which the word ‘route’ was used. Here, no-one is ‘doing being the teacher’ and the children are categorising each other and themselves as ‘peers’. This is mainly evidenced by the facts that they jointly accomplish the task at hand and help each other to understand the exercise (64-65) without evaluating each other’s responses. Although Kenji does not understand a specific French word, no alternation to another language is possible to solve the problem. We recall that Talia and Leila share Spanish as a preferred language, but the three children talking in this extract do not have a shared preferred language. As a result, and since no-one is ‘doing being the teacher’, talk is conducted in French throughout, the language common to the three children.

As a final example consider extract 38 below, in which both the second and the third norm are illustrated. Talia, Piotr, Leila, and Kenji are working together on a written exercise. The aim of this exercise is to match a profession with the place in which people doing that profession are found. The four children are doing the exercise aloud, moving from one sentence to the next together. Here, they are arguing as to whether they should be matching ‘hospital’ with ‘doctor’ or ‘nurse’.

Extract 38: (T2 S1 D6 V20 E3)

126. (.6)  
 127. Talia: c'est 'infirmière' qui travaille dans le  
 128. hôpital  
 129. (.)  
 130. Piotr: c'est 'docteur' aussi!  
 131. Leila: **el doctor también**  
 132. Talia: c'est 'infirmière'=  
 133. Kenji: ='docteur'  
 134. Piotr: 'docteur' aussi!  
 135. Leila: **Talia dónde trabaja (el doctor) (.) en el**  
 136. **hospital también**  
 137. Kenji: c'est quoi ça (.) 'docteur'-  
 138. Talia: oui je sais  
 139. ((a whole segment is inaudible))

-----  
 126. (.6)  
 127. Talia: its 'nurse' that works in a  
 128. hospital  
 129. (.)  
 130. Piotr: it's 'doctor' too!  
 131. Leila: **the doctor too**  
 132. Talia: it's 'nurse'=  
 133. Kenji: ='doctor'

134. Piotr: 'doctor' too!  
 135. Leila: Talia where does the doctor work (.) in the  
 136. hospital too  
 137. Kenji: what is this (.) 'doctor'-  
 138. Talia: yes I know  
 139. ((a whole segment is inaudible))

In 127-8, Talia moves to a new sentence in the exercise and suggests matching the profession of 'nursing' with 'hospital'. After a short pause (129), Piotr gives another possible answer, saying that doctors also work in hospitals (130). This answer is supported by Leila, who reiterates it using Spanish (131). However, Talia maintains her answer to be correct and repeats that it is nurses who work in hospitals (132). In a latching turn, Kenji joins in, and supports the assertion that the correct answer should be 'doctor' (133). In 134, Piotr reasserts his position in French. In 135-6, Leila explains to Talia in Spanish that doctors also work in hospitals. In 137, Kenji attempts to justify his position using French, but is interrupted by Talia, who uses French, in 138, to say that she knows that doctors also work in hospitals. At first, in keeping with previous talk, Talia uses French. This choice can be accounted for by the fact that it is the language common to all four members of the small group and that no-one is 'doing being the teacher'. As a result, it can be accounted for by reference to the third norm of language choice. Kenji and Piotr also orient to this third norm and use French. However, Leila uses Spanish (131 and 135-6) as she is addressing Talia. In doing so, Leila opens a side sequence that runs in parallel with the interaction Piotr and Kenji are having with Talia. Since Leila's turn is in Spanish, it is specifically designed to be addressed to Talia – the only other Spanish-speaking child of the small group. In this regard, Leila orients to the second norm of language choice. Since she shares a preferred language with Talia and no-one is 'doing being the teacher', she chooses to use this language as the medium to talk with her peer. Nevertheless, both of interactions that run parallel to each other aim at convincing Talia that doctors also work in hospitals; they are topically related. In 138, Talia finally replies to all the counter-arguments to her answer and uses French. In doing so, she orients to the group interaction. By using the language common to all speakers engaged in the interactional episode, she responds to all three children, including Leila. Talia thus

orients to the third norm of language choice, that is, to the fact that, when there is no shared preferred language among speakers and no-one is ‘doing being the teacher’, the language common to all is used as the medium.

To summarise the argument thus far, in §7.4, I showed that when no-one is ‘doing being a language teacher’ (that is, for instance, someone is ‘doing being a content teacher’ or ‘no-one is doing being the teacher’), two norms account for language choice practices. The first norm is that when there is a shared preferred language, it is adopted as the medium. The second is that, when there is no shared preferred language, the language common to all speakers is adopted as the medium. In the next section, I will turn to cases in which the classroom participants orient to different norms in the same classroom interactional episode.

## **7.5. Cases of conflicting norms**

In the extracts discussed earlier, the classroom participants clearly orient to the same norms of language choice. In contrast, in the extracts discussed in this section, speakers orient to different norms.

### **7.5.1. Case One**

The first case of conflicting norms observed in the corpus is one in which some classroom participants orient to the first norm of language choice, while others orient to the second. Indeed, situations are observed in which, although someone is ‘doing being the language teacher’ – and that, as a consequence, the first norm of language choice is oriented to – some speakers open a dyadic talk to solve a problem in their shared preferred language. These speakers orient to the second norm of language choice. These medium switches are pointed to by the person ‘doing being the language teacher’ as being inappropriate as they represent a “schism” (Sacks *et al.*, 1974) from the teacher-led interactional episode. Extracts 8 and 9 (discussed in Chapter Six) are examples of cases of conflicting norms (see section §6.2.1). For instance, let us consider extract 8 again, reproduced as extract



39 below for convenience. Maia is telling Miss Lo what she did over the weekend, but she is lacking the French word for ‘cinema’.

Extract 39: (T2 S1 D7 V25 E3)

03. Miss Lo: je suis allée↑ (.) alors (.) où ça↑  
 04. (.10)  
 05. Miss Lo: je sais pas moi (.) au parc (.) au  
 06. magasin↑ (.) [au cinéma↑  
 07. Leila: [à la forêt↑  
 08. Miss Lo: chez une copine↑  
 →09. Maia: mais (.) **no se como se dice** [(al cinema)  
 →10. Miss Lo: [tatatatata  
 11. (.) pas de traduction!  
 12. Talia: cinéma  
 13. Miss Lo: non! (.) Talia  
 14. Talia: cinéma  
 15. Miss Lo: elle me- elle me (.) c’est moi qui lui  
 16. dis (.) Maia! (.) tu es allée où↑ (.) au  
 17. cinéma↑  
 18. Maia: oui  
 19. Miss Lo: voilà au cinéma (.) je suis allée au  
 20. cinéma ((writes on the blackboard))

-----

03. Miss Lo: I went↑ (.) so (.) where↑  
 04. (.10)  
 05. Miss Lo: I don’t know (.) to the park↑ (.) to a  
 06. shop↑ (.) [to the cinema↑  
 07. Leila: [to the forest↑  
 08. Miss Lo: to a friend’s↑  
 09. Maia: but (.) **I don’t know how to say** [(al cinema)  
 10. Miss Lo: [tatatatata  
 11. (.) no translating!  
 12. Talia: cinema  
 13. Miss Lo: no! (.) Talia  
 14. Talia: cinema  
 15. Miss Lo: she- she- (.) it’s for me to tell  
 16. her (.) Maia! (.) where did you go/ (.)  
 17. to the cinema/  
 18. Maia: yes  
 19. Miss Lo: there you go to the cinema (.) I went to  
 20. the cinema ((writes on the blackboard))

During Maia’s word search, Miss Lo and the other children in the class are trying to conduct other-repair by suggesting some French words (05-08). Since none of the suggested words seem to be the one that Maia is lacking, she opens a side sequence with Talia, in which both children orient to the second norm of language choice and use Spanish, their preferred language (09). At this point, Miss Lo interrupts Maia in

an overlapping turn and asks explicitly for no translation (10-11). Interestingly, Maia moves from one interactional episode (teacher-led) to the next (peer-led) and orients to different norms of language choice without signalling it as being a problem. However, Miss Lo sees Maia’s orientation to the second norm of language choice as inappropriate because she perceives Maia as still interacting in a teacher-led episode. In other words, Miss Lo interprets Maia’s talk with Talia as an insertion and not as a side sequence – and thus expects orientation to the first norm of language choice. This indicates that Miss Lo sees categorisation to the relational pair ‘teacher/pupil’ as prevailing against a child’s categorisation to a ‘learner/learner’ relationship. To put it differently, Miss Lo sees categorisation to the “team” (Sacks, 1972b) of ‘teacher-pupil’ as prevailing against a child’s categorisation to the “togetherness” (Ryave and Schenkein, 1974) of ‘learner/learner’. By implication, she sees orientation to the first norm of language choice as prevailing against orientation to the second norm of language choice. This point is further illustrated by extract 40 below. Miss Lo is reprimanding Maia for chatting too much, and asks her to leave the class and work in the corridor.

Extract 40: (T2 S1 D7 V26 E2)

06.		ça suffit (.) je rigole pas hein (.)
07.		tu vas là-bas (.) tu t’assoies (.) tu
08.		travailles dans le couloir
09.	(.2)	
10.	Talia:	j’ex-
11.	Miss Lo:	comme ça tu vas pouvoir euh:: parler avec
12.		le mur
13.	(.)	
14.	Maia:	no entiendo nada
15.	Talia:	que te- (.) que te vayas allá donde está-
16.	Miss Lo:	elle a compris! euh:: Talia elle sait
17.		très bien (.) ça fait trois fois que je
18.		lui dis de se taire et:: elle arrête pas
19.		de discuter
20.	Talia:	elle a dit qu’elle comprend pas qu’est-ce
21.		que tu veux
22.	Miss Lo:	elle a très bien compris (.) la preuve
23.		elle s’est levée avec son livre de Maths
24.		et son stylo (.) hein <sup>↑</sup> (.) alors ça va

---

06.	Miss Lo:	enough! (.) I’m not joking uh (.) you go
07.		over there (.) you sit down (.) you go
08.		and work in the hall
09.	(.2)	

10. Talia: I ex-  
11. Miss Lo: like this you can erm:: talk with  
12. the wall  
13. (.)  
14. Maia: I don't understand a thing  
15. Talia: that you- (.) you have to go over there  
16. where there is-  
17. Miss Lo: she understood! erm:: Talia she knows  
18. very well (.) I've asked her three times  
19. to be quiet and:: she keeps chatting  
20. Talia: she said she doesn't understand  
21. what you want  
22. Miss Lo: she understood perfectly fine (.) the  
23. proof is that she got up with her Maths  
24. book and her pen (.) uh↑ (.) so it's fine

From 06 to 12, Miss Lo asks Maia to leave the classroom. The two pauses in 09 and 13 are interpreted by Talia as a sign that Maia does not understand what Miss Lo is telling her. Consequently, she offers to explain to Maia what Miss Lo is telling her (10) but she is interrupted by Miss Lo (11). In 14, Maia turns to her Spanish-speaking peer Talia and tells her in Spanish that she does not understand what is happening. Next, in 15, Talia translates to Maia in Spanish what Miss Lo was just saying. However, she is interrupted by Miss Lo, in 17, who claims that Maia did understand. Therefore, this extract is another example of a child (Maia) who orients to the second norm of language choice as she turns to one of her peers, while she was previously interacting with the adult 'doing being the teacher' and orienting to the first norm of language choice. This switch of medium is perceived as inappropriate by Miss Lo because she perceives Talia and Maia's talk as an insertion to a teacher-led episode, while Talia and Maia seem to perceive their talk as a side sequence in which orientation to the second norm of language choice is possible.

### 7.5.2. Case Two

The second case in which I have observed that the classroom participants orient to different norms is in small-group interactions in which no-one is 'doing being the teacher' and when at least two children share a preferred language. In that case, the speakers who do not have a shared preferred language with another member of the group orient to the third norm of language choice – that is, to the use of a language

common to all members of the group as the medium. In contrast, the speakers who *do* share a preferred language tend to orient to the second norm of language choice and use that language as their medium. This has already been observed in extract 38 (discussed above), in which Piotr and Kenji address Talia in French, while Leila addresses her in Spanish. These diverging medium choices are not seen as a problem, insofar as both parallel interactions are topic-related, on-task, and contribute on the whole to create a group interaction. However, diverging medium choices can be seen as a problem when they lead to a “schism” (Sacks *et al.*, 1974) of the group interaction, that is, when speakers no longer interact as a small group but instead with speakers with whom they share a preferred language. “Schismick talk” (Sacks *et al.*, 1974) refers to interactional sequences that split off from the main talk within an event. An example of such a situation can be found in extract 11 (discussed in Chapter Six). As we saw, Talia and Leila were talking in Spanish about what animal they looked like and were therefore off-task. Kenji, who is not a Spanish-speaker, called for a return to both a focus on-task and a French monolingual medium. A similar situation is found in extract 41 below. Andrea, Matilda and Maia are engaged in a drawing activity and are seated next to each other. Andrea and Maia are interacting with each other in Spanish (03-04) – their shared preferred language – until Matilda interrupts them and asks them to ‘draw in French’ (05).

Extract 41: (T2 S1 D7 V28 E2)

03.	Andrea:	ah yo se como dibujar
04.	Maia:	coloreo:: un::-
→05.	Matilda:	dessine en française!
06.		(.3)
07.	Maia:	( ) frances=
→08.	Matilda:	=fr::ances!
09.		(.2)
10.	Maia:	pas cool
11.		(.3)
12.	Matilda:	je sais pas comment on dessine!
13.	Andrea:	moi je suis forte et ça marche pas
14.		(.19)

-----

03.	Andrea:	ah I don't know how to draw
04.	Maia:	I'm drawing:: a::-
05.	Matilda:	draw in French!
06.		(.3)

07. Maia: ( ) French=  
 08. Matilda: =Fr::ench!  
 09. (.2)  
 10. Maia: not cool  
 11. (.3)  
 12. Matilda: I don't know how to draw!  
 13. Andrea: me I'm good but it doesn't work  
 14. (.19)

Here, no-one is 'doing being the teacher'. In 03 and 04, Andrea and Maia are talking to each other in Spanish and thus orient to the second norm of language choice. However, in 05, Matilda asks her peers to conduct the drawing activity in French. After a three-second pause (06), Maia resumes her conversation in Spanish (07). However, her turn is latched by Matilda, who imitates the Spanish word for 'French' to repeat her call for talk to be conducted in French (08). In asking her peers to speak French (05 and 08), Matilda shows that she orients to the third norm of language choice, according to which when no-one is 'doing being the language teacher' and there is no shared preferred language, the language common to all speakers of the group is adopted as the medium. She thus sees Andrea's and Maia's categorisation as 'Spanish-speaker', and their subsequent choice of a Spanish monolingual medium as inappropriate. Furthermore, Matilda's orientation to the third norm of language choice indicates that she orients to the group interaction, and sees talk in a medium other than the one shared by all members of the group as being a "schism" (Sacks *et al.*, 1974) from group interaction. By contrast, in choosing to talk in their shared preferred language, Maia and Andrea indicate that their affiliation to their preferred language category is stronger than their affiliation to the category 'members of a small group'. By implication, they signal that the second norm of language choice prevails against the third norm. In the last turns of the extract, talk is conducted in French. In this sense, the conflict is solved as all speakers orient to the small-group interaction and therefore to the third norm of language choice.

Many other examples of the second norm of language choice conflicting with the third norm are found in my data. An indication of these conflicting norms is children's use of mimicry. Consider extract 42 below. Talia, Leila, Kenji and

Piotr are supposed to be working together on a Maths exercise. However, Talia and Leila interact in Spanish, their shared preferred language, which is not understood by Kenji and Piotr.

Extract 42: (T2 S1 D9 V36 E3)

```
81. Talia: son las tres recetas! (.) ahora
82. escribelas aquí!
→83. Piotr: /trtrtr/
84. Talia: y por qué es tan fácil (.) treinta!
85. veinticuatro veintisiete!
→86. Piotr: /trtrtrtrtrtr/
→87. Kenji: cuatro↑ (.) cinco↑
88. ((children laughing))
-----
81. Talia: so there are three recipes! (.) now write
82. them here!
83. Piotr: /trtrtr/
84. Talia: and that's why it's so easy (.) thirty!
85. twenty four twenty seven!
86. Piotr: /trtrtrtrtrtr/
87. Kenji: four↑ (.) five↑
88. ((all laughing))
```

In this extract, no-one is 'doing being the language teacher'. More specifically, Talia is 'doing being the content teacher' and explaining a Maths exercise to her peer Leila. This is evidenced by the fact that she gives an instruction to Leila (81-2). Of interest here is that Talia and Leila orient to the second norm of language choice and interact in Spanish, as it is their shared preferred language. However, Piotr and Kenji mimic Spanish to indicate that its use is inappropriate in a small group in which Spanish is not shared by all members. In 83 and 86, Piotr produces a series of trills that he regards as being typical of Spanish talk, and, in 87, Kenji uses the small amount of Spanish he knows to mimic his peers. Mimicry is here a marker of deviance, and demonstrates that Kenji and Piotr are orienting to the third norm of language choice and thus to group interaction. In the end, all four children laugh together (88), which shows that the schism to dyadic talk is overcome and the group membership re-established. A last and even more interesting example is extract 43 below. Piotr and Kenji mimic Spanish words to ask Leila and Talia to orient to a French monolingual medium.

Extract 43: (T2 S1 D4 V14 E5)

158. Piotr: regarde (.) 'heureux' (.) 'heureux' (.)  
 159. [troisième groupe  
 160. Leila: [( ) no me impor::ta! (.) me tienes  
 161. podrida! (.) no quiero saber más nada del  
 162. colegio! (.) cállate un poco (.) no  
 163. quiero que [( )  
 164. Piotr: [cállate (.) tais-toi (.)  
 →165. cállate (.) /kæjætə/ /kæjætə/ /kæjætə tæ/  
 →166. Kenji: /kontʃinæ/ /kontʃinæ/!  
 →167. Piotr: /peræ/ /kæræ/ /turæ/ /tʃæ/ /tʃu/ /kærætʃæ/  
 →168. /me/ /tʃæ/ /mi/ /tʃutʃ/ /kæræ/ /tuær/!  
 169. Talia: ils parlent en italien  
 170. ((all children laughing))

---

158. Piotr: [look (.) 'happy' (.) 'happy' (.)  
 159. third group  
 160. Leila: [( ) I don't ca::re! (.) you drive me  
 161. crazy! (.) I don't want to hear anymore  
 162. about college! (.) shut up for a bit (.)  
 163. I don't want [( )  
 164. Piotr: [shut up (.) shut up(.)  
 165. shut-up (.) /kæjætə/ /kæjætə/ /kæjætə tæ/  
 166. Kenji: /kontʃinæ/ /kontʃinæ/!  
 167. Piotr: /peræ/ /kæræ/ /turæ/ /tʃæ/ /tʃu/ /kærætʃæ/  
 168. /me/ /tʃæ/ /mi/ /tʃutʃ/ /kæræ/ /tuær/!  
 169. Talia: they're speaking in Italian  
 170. ((all children laughing))

In 158-159, Piotr is seen to orient to the third norm of language choice, trying to accomplish the assigned task in French. However, the transcript shows that Leila and Talia are orienting to the second norm of language choice, using Spanish in a parallel conversation about their impending entry to college (160-163). Therefore, Piotr and Kenji mimic Leila and Talia talking in Spanish to indicate that the use of Spanish is inappropriate in small-group interaction in which Spanish is not shared by all speakers. More specifically, Piotr starts mimicking Leila speaking in Spanish by repeating and transforming in a playful manner her injunction 'cállate' into '/kæjætə tæ/' (165). Next, Kenji joins in the mimicry by imitating what he perceives to be a Spanish intonation and pronunciation in uttering a long stretch of non-lexical vocalisation (167-168). As a response, Talia pretends to identify this mimicry as an imitation of Italian and not Spanish (169); joining, in this sense, the playful tone of this reprimand. By refusing to acknowledge that the mimicry is addressed to the language they are using – namely, Spanish – Talia avoids

acknowledging that the reprimand is directed towards her and her Spanish-speaking peer. In the end, joking and laughter reunite the four children in a joint interactional activity and to group membership.

## **7.6. Summary**

In this chapter, I have accounted for the norms underlying the language choice practices described in Chapter Six. I have demonstrated that, in order to make sense of each other's language choice acts, the classroom participants use as a reference point the co-selective relationship between categories and language choice practices. The category that has the most procedural relevance is that of 'teacher-hood'. More specifically, a first norm of language choice that is oriented to by the classroom participants is as follows:

1. When someone is 'doing being the teacher of language X', that language is adopted as the medium of classroom interaction.

When no-one is 'doing being the language teacher', two situations can emerge: either someone is 'doing being the content teacher' or no-one is 'doing being the teacher'. In both cases, speakers' language preference becomes relevant. Two norms of language choice are oriented to. These can be stated as follows:

2. When no-one is 'doing being the language teacher' and there is a shared preferred language, that language is adopted as the medium.
3. When no-one is 'doing being the language teacher' and there is no shared preferred language, the language common to all speakers (namely, French) is adopted as the medium.

Based on a sequential and categorisation analysis of sixteen extracts, I argue that these three norms account for all language choice practices identified in my data.

Lastly, I have presented two cases of conflicting norms. The first is that, when the adult is 'doing being the language teacher', some children may temporarily make membership to the "togetherness" (Ryave and Schenkein, 1974) 'learner/learner' and use their shared preferred language as the medium. In contrast, the adult 'doing being the teacher' expects all children to make membership solely



to the “team” (Sacks, 1972b) ‘teacher/pupil’ and thus orient to the first norm of language choice. The second is that, in small-group talk, some children may orient to the second norm of language choice and make membership to a preferred language category they share with another member of the group, while other members of the group orient to the third norm of language choice whereby the language common to all members is used as the medium.

In brief, I argue that these norms of language choice are part of the practiced language-in-education policy of the target induction classroom. It is because CA can be used to identify such norms that I have claimed that it can be used to study practiced language policies.

## - Chapter 8 -

### Norms of licensed language alternation

#### 8.1. Introduction

In this last chapter on data analysis, I account for the norms of language alternation practices presented in Chapter Six (§6.3). We recall that two types of language alternation practices were identified. These are what I have termed ‘unlicensed language alternation’ and ‘licensed language alternation’. The focus of this chapter is on *licensed language alternation* practices as they are the most frequent and regular in the target classroom. Moreover, it is a practice that has not been reported in previous studies of classroom or mundane talk.

In the data, the licensing of language alternation is observed exclusively in adult-child talk when the adult is ‘doing being the teacher’. In accordance with the first norm of language choice described in Chapter 7, since the adult is ‘doing being the teacher’ of French, French is the medium of classroom interaction adopted in all episodes that will be analysed in this chapter. It is also the adult who licenses language alternation (see extracts 25 and 26). It is precisely this practice of licensing that I will account for in more detail in the present chapter. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, one norm accounts for all instances of licensed language alternation:

*When there is a problem, language alternation may be licensed by way of attending to it.*

In what follows, I begin by summarising aspects of the sequence organisation of talk as stated by Schegloff (mainly 2007a), as this is central to my account of licensed language alternation (§8.2). I then show three types of interactional sequences where the norm of licensed language alternation is oriented to. These are word searches (§8.3), “meaning quests” (Heath, 1986) (§8.4), and what I propose to

call ‘multilingual label quests’ based on Heath’s (1986) notion of “label quests” (§8.5).

## **8.2. Sequence organisation in talk-in-interaction**

Interactional sequences in classroom talk, such as the ones discussed in this chapter (namely word searches, meaning quests and label quests), are usually analysed using the Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) framework (Bellack *et al.*, 1966; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; see also Mehan, 1979a who proposes the term ‘Evaluation’ instead of Feedback). This is the case, for instance, of Martin (1999) who writes that the label quests he observes in a primary classroom in Brunei Darussalam follow the IRF sequence. Although the IRF sequence has undoubtedly been useful in previous studies of classroom talk, it is limited for the purpose at hand because it accounts only for interactional sequences that are accomplished over three turns. However, in my data, when problems arise, interactional sequences such as word searches, label quests and meaning quests can be accomplished over a large number of turns. Therefore, as an alternative, I have turned to Schegloff’s (mainly 2007a) framework of sequence organisation in interaction, which follows a CA approach to talk-in-interaction.

At the core of Schegloff’s framework is the notion of “adjacency pair”, which he says is “the unit for sequence construction” (2007a: 13). The main features of an adjacency pair is that it is composed of two turns that are adjacently placed and uttered by different speakers (2007a: 13). The first turn is called a “first pair part” and the second turn a “second pair part” (*ibid.*). This structure echoes that of Initiation and Response in the IRF framework. As for the Evaluation move, it echoes what Schegloff calls the “sequence-closing third” or “minimal post-expansion” (2007a: 118). Minimal post-expansions refer to the addition of a turn to a sequence after its second pair part. As Schegloff puts it, “the turn which is added is designed not to project any further within-sequence talk beyond itself” (2007a: 118). Types of sequence-closing thirds include “oh”, “okay” and assessments or

repeats; the latter two being used frequently by those ‘doing being the teacher’ in classroom talk.

Of interest here, Schegloff’s (2007a) framework further accounts for expansions of the adjacency pair, namely “pre-expansions”, “insert expansions”, and “non-minimal post-expansions”. Pre-expansions expand the base sequence of an adjacency pair before its first pair part and are there to “project the contingent possibility” that a first pair part will be produced (Schegloff, 2007a: 28). Pre-sequences are often found as preliminaries to invitations, offers, requests and announcements.

Insert-expansions take the form of insertion sequences and expand the base sequence of an adjacency pair between its first and second pair part. It is initiated by the “recipient” of the preceding first pair part (Schegloff, 2007a: 97). Two types of insert-expansions are identified. These are “post-first insert expansions” (ibid: 100) and “pre-second insert expansions” (ibid: 106). Post-first insert expansions are repair sequences that target a problem in hearing or understanding what has been uttered in the first pair part. While post-first insertions “look backward”, pre-second insert expansions “look forward” as they are aimed at getting the information needed to implement a second pair part (ibid: 106).

Similarly to minimal post-expansions, non-minimal post-expansions occur after an adjacency pair and still belong to the same sequence. However, while minimal post-expansions are aimed at closing the sequence in a single turn, non-minimal post-expansions “are different in that the turn following that second pair part is itself a first pair part” which thus calls for a second pair part (Schegloff, 2007a: 149). Such non-minimal post-expansion sequences can be reworkings of the first pair part, disagreements with the second pair parts, other-initiated repair etc. (see Schegloff, 2007a: 149-168 for a full discussion).

In short, Schegloff’s framework presents itself as a useful framework to account for the sequence organisation of complex sequences.

### 8.3. The example of word searches

Word searches are interactional sequences where a speaker is lacking a *mot juste*. McHoul (1990: 353) observed in his data of classroom talk that word searches usually follow the pattern of repair organisation of ‘self-initiation self-repair’; that is, the classroom participant who is lacking a *mot juste* is the one who initiates repair as well as the one who provides a solution for their problem. In this respect, word searches are thus conducted within one single turn or turn constructional unit. A clear example is extract 44 below. Kenji is saying that, according to him, Japanese is not taught in French primary schools because not many people speak Japanese in France.

Extract 44: (T2 S1 D1 V1 E2)

```
167. Kenji:      il n'y a pas de:: (.3) euh:: (.) personne
-----
167. Kenji:      there is not many:: (.3) ehm:: (.) people
```

To signal that he is lacking a *mot juste*, Kenji stretches two vowels, pauses and thus initiates repair. He is then able to self-repair and provides the searched item, namely the word ‘personne’ (i.e. people). In bilingual classroom talk, it has often been observed that word searches may involve language alternation. In this case, the repair is organised as follows:

- (1) The first pair part is the initiation of repair where language alternation occurs,
- (2) The second pair part is the repair (i.e. translation)
- (3) The sequence-closing third is a ratification.

As an example, consider the following extract from Bonacina and Gafaranga (2010: 8).

Extract 45:

```
06. Colin:      c'est du peinture qui est- (.) qui est
07.             très:: (.) euh:: (.) liquid
[...]
10. Teacher:    liquide
11. Colin:      liquide
-----
06. Colin:      it is a paint that is- (.) that is very::
```

07. (.) erm:: (.) **liquid**  
[...]  
10. Teacher: liquid  
11. Colin: liquid

As Colin is lacking the *mot juste* in French and cannot self-repair, he alternates to English to name the word he is lacking (07). The initiation of repair is thus the first pair part of the word search, where language alternation occurs without being licensed (what I propose to call ‘unlicensed medium repair’). In 10, Teacher provides the second pair part of the word search and gives the French translation and, in 11, Colin repeats the French word he was lacking, in what is a sequence-closing third of the word search. This example shows a typical organisation of a word search in bilingual classroom talk.

In my data, I have observed that when a child is lacking a *mot juste*, they initiate repair using “trouble markers” (Gafaranga, 2000b) such as the sound stretches observed in extracts 44 and 45, but do not usually switch to their preferred language as in extract 45. As a consequence, a problem arises. On the one hand, the child cannot self-repair, but on the other hand, the other classroom participants cannot conduct other-repair as they do not know what word the child is lacking. As a result, Miss Lo is repeatedly found to license language alternation in the child’s preferred language.

Word searches where language alternation is licensed have already been discussed in Chapter Six (extracts 6 and 7). Another example is extract 46 below (which is the full sequence of which parts have already been included in extracts 6 and 32). Matilda is describing her weekend to Miss Lo and is lacking the French title for the movie she watched.

Extract 46: (T2 S1 D5 V15 E3)

95. Matilda: samedi on (.2) samedi on voit (.1) euh  
96. (.3) on voit un film à la maison je- je  
97. sais pas comment on dit en français (.)  
98. j’ai oublié comment on dit (.) moi je  
99. sais comment on dit en anglais  
100. Miss Lo: mais quoi↑ (.) on dit quoi↑ le titre↑  
101. Matilda: oui

102. Miss Lo: c'est quoi alors↑  
 103. Matilda: euh (.) je- je sais pas comment on dit en  
 104. français  
 →105. Miss Lo: ben dis-le en anglais moi ça ne me pose  
 106. pas de problème Ma- Matilda  
 107. Matilda: hahaha ((laughing)) (.) lord of the ring  
 108. (.2)  
 109. Matilda: c'est comme euh (.) comme euh (.) comment  
 110. on dit::  
 111. Miss Lo: c'est quoi (.) ah ben tiens Karen tu vas  
 112. nous traduire le titre là parce que::  
 113. Matilda: lord of the ring!  
 114. Talia: ouh::! I love  
 115. Miss Lo: le sei[gneur  
 116. Matilda: [you know↑  
 117. Talia: yeah:: I've seen it  
 118. Karen: mm  
 119. Miss Lo: ring c'est quoi↑  
 120. Karen: [ring c'est::  
 121. Leila: [rey león↑  
 122. Karen: c'est::  
 123. Talia: el rey león  
 124. Miss Lo: chut! attendez attendez!  
 125. Leila: le roi de les- de (.) ça ((showing a ring  
 126. on her finger))  
 127. Miss Lo: ah! (.) le seigneur des anneaux!  
 128. Leila: [oui c'est ça  
 129. Matilda: [oui!  
 130. Piotr: oui  
 131. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) le seigneur des anneaux

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95. Matilda: saturday we (.) we see (.1) ehm (.3)  
 96. we see a movie at home I- I don't  
 97. know how to say it in French (.) I  
 98. forgot how to say it (.) me I know how to  
 99. say it in English  
 100. Miss Lo: but what↑ (.) to say what↑ the title↑  
 101. Matilda: yes  
 102. Miss Lo: what is it then↑  
 103. Matilda: ehm (.) I- I don't know how to say it  
 104. in French  
 105. Miss Lo: well say it in English it's not a  
 106. problem with me Ma- Matilda  
 107. Matilda: hahaha ((laughing)) (.) lord of the ring  
 108. (.2)  
 109. Matilda: it's like ehm (.) like ehm (.) like  
 110. how do we say::  
 111. Miss Lo: it's what (.) ah there Karen you're going  
 112. to translate us the title here because::  
 113. Matilda: lord of the ring!  
 114. Talia: ouh::! I love  
 115. Miss Lo: the [lord  
 116. Matilda: [you know↑  
 117. Talia: yeah:: I've seen it  
 118. Karen: mm  
 119. Miss Lo: ring what is it↑

120. Karen: [ring it's::  
 121. Leila: [the lion king↑  
 122. Karen: it's::  
 123. Talia: the lion king  
 124. Miss Lo: shush! wait wait!  
 125. Leila: the king of the- of (.) this ((showing a  
 126. ring on her finger))  
 127. Miss Lo: ah! (.) the lord of the rings!  
 128. Leila: [yes that's it  
 129. Matilda: [yes!  
 130. Piotr: yes  
 131. Miss Lo: alright (.) the lord of the rings

Here, Matilda is lacking the French title of the movie she saw over the weekend. She signals that she is encountering a difficulty by using two long pauses (77), by recycling her utterance ('on voit' is repeated twice, in 77 and 78), and then by stating the nature of the trouble, namely that she is lacking a word in French (79) or, more precisely, that she forgot it (80). Thus, the problem here is that Matilda is unable to self-repair. Furthermore, she is unable to initiate repair in a way that would allow other classroom participants to conduct other-repair since the source of her difficulty (that is, the word that she is lacking) is unknown to them. Even after the negotiation of the object of the problem, Miss Lo is unable to help, and, therefore, licenses language alternation in 87-88. This is followed by Matilda's laughter, which indicates that English is a dispreferred choice, and by her switch to English (89). In the remainder of the extract, participants work towards repairing this use of English. In 109, Miss Lo is then able (or pretends to then be able) to translate the English title and gives the French title. The translation is ratified by Leila, Talia and Piotr (110-112). Lastly, in 113, Miss Lo repeats the translation, which closes the word search. Extract 46 is thus an example of what I have proposed to term 'licensed medium repair' (see Chapter Six section §6.3.2) since Matilda's language alternation is both licensed and a repairable matter. Clearly, language alternation is licensed as an attempt to overcome the fact that the speaker initiating repair cannot self-repair and the other classroom participants cannot conduct other-repair.

Another example of licensed language alternation in word searches is extract 47 below. Anika is telling Miss Lo what she ate the night before. In the turns



preceding this extract, she said that she had meat with green beans. We join the conversation when Anika is looking for a word in French to describe what else she had with meat and green beans.

Extract 47: (T2 S1 D5 V18 E1)

35. Anika: quelque chose comme euh::  
 36. (.3)  
 37. Miss Lo: ben dis et les autres ils vont pouvoir  
 38. t'aider peut-être (.) dis qu'est-ce que  
 39. tu cherches↑  
 40. Anika: je sais pas comment ça-  
 41. (.)  
 42. Miss Lo: mais c'est quoi↑  
 43. (.3)  
 44. Matilda: c'est un raclette euh↑  
 45. (.6)  
 46. Anika: euh:: (.) en français je sais pas-  
 47. Miss Lo: mais c'est de la nourriture↑  
 48. Anika: oui  
 49. Miss Lo: c'est de la nourriture↑  
 50. Anika: mm  
 51. Miss Lo: ah non mais c'est quoi alors↑  
 52. (.6)  
 →53. Miss Lo: en roumain c'est comment alors (.) dis-  
 54. moi en roumain  
 55. Anika: euh: (.) **usturoi** et c'est  
 56. ( )  
 57. Miss Lo: comment c'est en roumain↑  
 58. Anika: **usturoi**  
 59. Miss Lo: **usturoi** (.) et **usturoi** ça se mange↑  
 60. Anika: euh (.) ouais  
 61. Miss Lo: ah  
 62. Anika: et c'est (.) c'est comme ça ((gets up  
 63. from her chair to draw on the blackboard))  
 64. Miss Lo: ah ben voilà! (.) tu nous fais un dessin  
 65. (.) **usturoi** ça vous dit quelque chose  
 66. les autres non↑ (.)**usturoi** non↑  
 67. (.8)  
 68. ((Anika draws on the blackboard))  
 69. Miss Lo: ah! (.2) c'est des oignons↑  
 70. (.2)  
 71. Anika: non::  
 72. Miss Lo: c'est un légume↑  
 73. Anika: oui  
 74. Miss Lo: ah (.) je vais te montrer alors attends  
 75. ((T goes and look for a picture book))  
 76. Anika: c'est (.) avec des tomates!  
 77. (.6)  
 78. Miss Lo: est-ce que c'est (.) est-ce que c'est::  
 79. (.) est-ce que c'est  
 80. (.18)  
 81. ((children chatting in the background))

82. Miss Lo: alors (.) quarante et un (.) quarante  
83. quatre (.) quarante cinq (.2) voilà (.)  
84. alors attendez (.) non non non restez  
85. assis restez assis! (.) est-ce que c'est  
86. ça↑  
87. (.2)  
88. Anika: euh:: oui  
89. Miss Lo: c'est ça↑ (.) des oignons  
90. (.2)  
91. Miss Lo: c'est ça hein↑  
92. ((pointing to the picture book))  
93. (.2)  
94. Miss Lo: et quand on coupe qu- (.) on pleure  
95. Anika: non c'est ça! (.) c'est ça ((pointing to  
96. another picture on the book))  
97. Miss Lo: ah! (.) de l'ail! (.) de l'ail!  
98. Anika: de l'ail  
99. Miss Lo: d'accord c'est de l'ail (.) avec des  
100. tomates↑  
101. Anika: ouais

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35. Anika: something like ehm::  
36. (.3)  
37. Miss Lo: well say and the others will be able  
38. to help you maybe (.) say what you're  
39. looking for↑  
40. Anika: I don't know how it-  
41. (.)  
42. Miss Lo: but what is it↑  
43. (.3)  
44. Matilda: is it a raclette ehm↑  
45. (.6)  
46. Anika: ehm:: (.) in French I don't know-  
47. Miss Lo: but is it food↑  
48. Anika: yes  
49. Miss Lo: is it food↑  
50. Anika: mm  
51. Miss Lo: ah no but what is it then↑  
52. (.6)  
53. Miss Lo: in Romanian how is it then (.) tell me in  
54. Romanian  
55. Anika: ehm: (.) *usturoi* and it's  
56. ( )  
57. Miss Lo: how is it in Romanian↑  
58. Anika: *usturoi*  
59. Miss Lo: *usturoi* (.) and can you eat *usturoi*↑  
60. Anika: ehm (.) yeah  
61. Miss Lo: ah  
62. Anika: and it's (,) it's like this ((gets up  
63. from to draw on the blackboard))  
64. Miss Lo: ah there you go! (.) you're drawing for  
65. us (.) *usturoi* does it ring a bell to  
66. anybody no↑ (.) *usturoi* no↑  
67. (.8)  
68. ((Anika draws on the blackboard))

69. Miss Lo: ah! (.) are they onions↑  
70. (.2)  
71. Anika: no::  
72. Miss Lo: is it a vegetable↑  
73. Anika: yes  
74. Miss Lo: ah (.) I'm going to show you then wait  
75. ((Miss Lo goes and look for a picture book))  
76. Anika: it's (.) with tomatoes!  
77. (.6)  
78. Miss Lo: what is it (.) is it:: (.) is  
79. it  
80. (.18)  
81. ((child chatting in the background))  
82. Miss Lo: so (.) forty one (.) forty four (.)  
83. forty five (.2) there you go (.) so  
84. wait (.) no no no you all  
85. stay sitting stay sitting! (.) is  
86. it this↑  
87. (.2)  
88. Anika: ehm :: yes  
89. Miss Lo: it's this↑ (.) onions  
90. (.2)  
91. Miss Lo: it's this huh↑  
92. ((pointing to the picture book))  
93. (.2)  
94. Miss Lo: and you cut wh- (.) you cry  
95. Anika: no it's this! (.) it's this ((pointing to  
96. another picture on the book))  
97. Miss Lo: ah! (.) garlic! (.) garlic!  
98. Anika: garlic  
99. Miss Lo: okay it's garlic (.) with  
100. tomatoes↑  
101. Anika: yeah

Similarly to extract 46, this word search follows the structural organisation of repair trajectories. The initiation of repair takes place from 35 to 58, other-repair is accomplished from 59 to 97 by Miss Lo since Anika does not share a common preferred language with another peer in the classroom, and in 98, Anika ratifies the teacher-led other-repair by repeating the French word. From 99 onwards, the sequence is closed and the conversation resumed. This extract thus shows a 'licensed medium repair' that is conducted over many turns. The point to be emphasised is that Anika seems unable to self-repair. Miss Lo asks her to explain what she is lacking so that the other classroom participants can help her (37-39); that is, she orients to "teacher-initiated peer-repair" (Seedhouse, 2004: 147). In 42, she asks about the nature of the trouble source and, in 44, Matilda offers a candidate to repair Anika's problem. However, the numerous and long pauses (in 36, 43 and

45) indicate that Anika is still encountering a problem. Nevertheless, Miss Lo pursues the identification of the nature of the trouble from 47 to 51. After a six-second pause (52), she realises that Anika will not be able to give more precise information regarding the nature of the trouble source and thus licenses language alternation in Romanian, Anika's first language (53-54). Clearly, language alternation is licensed to overcome the fact that, on the one hand, Anika cannot self-repair, and, on the other hand, the classroom participants cannot identify the nature of the trouble and provide other-repair.

The structure of word searches observed in these two examples differs from the repair organisation of 'self-initiation self-repair' (as illustrated in extract 44), which was said to be typical of word searches in classroom talk (McHoul, 1990: 353). It also differs from the repair organisation of word searches observed in bilingual classroom talk (see extract 45). In the corpus of interaction collected in the target classroom, this three-step structure is expanded; that is, another turn is added between the first and the second pair part. Between the initiation of repair and the repair of the trouble source, a pre-second insertion sequence (Schegloff, 2007a) is added where (1), in a first pair part, Miss Lo licenses language alternation and (2), in a second pair part, the child alternates language. This pre-second insertion sequence occurs because there is a problem; namely, the speaker lacking a word cannot self-repair and Miss Lo cannot identify the nature of the trouble source. In brief, the examples of word searches discussed here have illustrated an orientation to the norm of licensed language alternation, namely that when there is a problem, language alternation may be licensed.

#### **8.4. The example of meaning quests**

In this section, I present a second example of an interactional sequence in which language alternation is licensed, namely meaning quests. The notion of "meaning quest" comes from Heath (1986), who uses it to refer to sequences where "*adults* either infer for the young child what he or she means, interpret their own behaviour

or that of others, or ask for explanations of what is meant or intended” (Heath, 1986: 168, my emphasis). I suggest extending Heath’s original definition to encompass instances of interactional sequences observed in my data where meaning is also elicited by a child and not solely by the adult. Structurally speaking, meaning quests are typically organised in three turns:

- (1) The first pair part consists of speaker A asking for the meaning of a lexical item,
- (2) The second pair part consists of speaker B giving explanations, and
- (3) The sequence-closing third consists of speaker A ratifying the explanations.

This typical structure can be found, for instance, in extract 48 below. Miss Lo is reading a story to the whole class and stops from time to time to check whether everyone has understood. Here, she asks for the meaning of the French expression ‘dormir à la belle étoile’ (i.e. to sleep out).

Extract 48: (T2 S1 D4 V12 E1)

73. Miss Lo : elle dit qu’elle va dormir à la belle  
 74. étoile (.) ça veut dire quoi dormir à la  
 75. belle étoile↑  
 76. Cristina: elle veut dormir::  
 77. Leila: qu’elle va dormir à la plaine  
 78. Talia: elle va dormir seule  
 79. ( )  
 80. ((many children talking at the same time))  
 81. Leila: dehors  
 82. Miss Lo: dehors (.) voilà (.) à la belle étoile  
 83. c’est↑ (.) [dehors  
 84. Cristina: [dehors  
 85. Kenji: oui je vois

-----  
 73. Miss Lo : she says that she is going to  
 74. sleep out (.) what does it mean sleeping  
 75. out↑  
 76. Cristina: she wants to sleep::  
 77. Leila: that she will sleep in the field  
 78. Talia: she is going to sleep alone  
 79. ( )  
 80. ((many children talking at the same time))  
 81. Leila: outside  
 82. Miss Lo: outside (.) that’s it (.) to sleep out  
 83. it’s↑ (.) [outside  
 84. Cristina: [outside  
 85. Kenji: yes I get it

In 74-5, Miss Lo produces the first pair part of a meaning quest. From 76 to 82, the children propose second pair parts to the teacher's first pair part; none of which are acceptable except for Leila's one (81). In 82, Miss Lo acknowledges Leila's second pair part as being the appropriate one and ratifies it ('voilà'). She then checks understanding with the rest of the children.

In the data, meaning quests elicited by children are not always as straightforward as those elicited by the teacher. In fact, it is frequent that a problem occurs at the level of the second pair part when a child does not show understanding of the meaning they have requested. As a consequence, language alternation is licensed to encourage peers to provide explanation in the child's preferred language. By way of an example, consider extract 49 below. Matilda is asking Miss Lo the meaning of the French 'le bal' (i.e. the ball).

Extract 49: (T2 S1 D8 V29 E2)

05. Matilda: c'est quoi le bal↑  
 06. Miss Lo: le bal c'est quand on danse (.) la la la  
 07. la la ((singing and imitating someone  
 08. dancing)) (.) on danse à plusieurs (.) il  
 09. y a plusieurs personnes et puis on  
 10. danse  
 11. (.1)  
 12. Miss Lo : c'est comme une fête mais euh:: mm  
 13. (.2)  
 14. Miss Lo: c'est une fête où les gens dansent  
 15. (.6)  
 16. Miss Lo: Matil- et comment on dit bal en anglais  
 17. euh:: Karen↑  
 18. Karen: a (.) ball  
 19. Miss Lo: ah (.2) oui tu connais↑ (.) ok
- 
05. Matilda: what is the ball↑  
 06. Miss Lo: the ball it's when we dance (.) la la la  
 07. la la ((singing and imitating someone  
 08. dancing)) (.) a lot of people dance  
 09. together (.) there is a lot of people and  
 10. they're dancing  
 11. (.1)  
 12. Miss Lo: it's like a party but ehm:: mm  
 13. (.2)  
 14. Miss Lo: it's a party where people dance  
 15. (.6)  
 16. Miss Lo: Matil- and how do you say ball in English

17.                                   ehm:: Karen↑  
18.       Karen:           a (.) ball  
19.       Miss Lo:       ah (.2) yes you know↑ (.) ok

In 05, Matilda produces the first pair part of a meaning quest by asking for the meaning of the French word 'le bal'. In a second pair part, Miss Lo provides a definition, sings and imitates people dancing (a functional switch to a non-verbal medium) (06-10). However, a one-second pause occurs in the third position (11). This silence is interpreted by Miss Lo as being an other-initiation of repair; that is, as being an indication that Matilda has not understood the explanation she gave in the second pair part. Therefore, in 12, Miss Lo provides repair and reformulates her explanation. However, a two-second pause occurs (13), which is interpreted as an other-initiation of repair. Therefore, Miss Lo reformulates again her explanation in 14, providing repair. This repair is again followed by a six-second pause (15), which is also interpreted by Miss Lo as a sign that Matilda has not understood; that is, as an other-initiation of repair. As the problem is not solved in the current medium, Miss Lo changes strategy and licenses language alternation as a last resource. To resume, following the initiation of repair (15), Miss Lo opens a side sequence where she licenses language alternation and draws on the expertise of another peer. In 16, she conducts a translation quest and asks Karen to translate the French word in Matilda's preferred language, namely English. Karen's switch to English in 18 is then acknowledged by Miss Lo in 19 ('ah'). Then, Miss Lo turns back to Matilda and checks her understanding ('oui tu connais', 19). Although Matilda is not heard to verbally ratify Karen's translation, her ratification is assumed since Miss Lo closes the meaning quest ('ok'). Clearly, language alternation is licensed because Matilda did not ratify Miss Lo's explanations.

Another example of a meaning quest where language alternation is licensed is extract 50 below. Maia asks Miss Lo the meaning of the French verb 'mimer' (i.e. to mime) (04).

Extract 50: (T2 S1 D8 V29 E1)

01.       Miss Lo:       quels sont les mots que vous avez pas

02.                   compris dans la lecture (.) après on va  
03.                   revenir dessus mais là je voudrais savoir  
04.       Maia:           mimer  
05.       Miss Lo:       hein↑  
06.       Maia:           ça  
07.       Miss Lo:       ah oui (.) elle (.) zoé mime une statue  
08.                   c'est comme ça (.) il y a une statue (.)  
09.                   vous savez ce que c'est qu'une statue (.)  
10.                   voilà une statue (.2) hein (.) voilà une  
11.                   statue ((pointing at the book)) (.) Zoé  
12.                   mime une statue (.) elle fait comme ça  
13.                   ((Miss Lo imitates the character in the book))  
14.                   (.4)  
15.       Miss Lo:       zoé (.) hein↑ (.) Alex et Zoé (.) zoé là  
16.                   elle mime (.) elle imite (.) mime  
17.                   (.5)  
18.       Miss Lo:       d'accord↑  
19.                   (.2)  
20.       Miss Lo:       je mime par exemple si je veux mimer euh::  
21.                   (.) un éléphant (.3) ((Miss Lo imitates  
22.                   an elephant)) mimer c'est imiter (.) elle  
23.                   fait comme si elle était une statue  
24.                   (.)  
→25.       Miss Lo:       comment on dit en espagnol mimer euh:: Leila  
26.                   (.1)  
27.       Miss Lo:       elle mime une statue (.) ça veut dire  
28.                   [elle imite une statue en fait  
29.       Talia:           [imitar (.) esta posando=  
30.       Leila:           =imita  
31.       Talia:           esta imitando Leila=  
32.       Miss Lo:       =[d'accord (.) elle mime (.) elle fait  
33.                   comme si elle était une statue d'accord↑  
34.       Kenji:           [imita aussi (.) imita  
35.       Miss Lo:       d'accord↑ (.) ok↑ (.1) alors (.) voilà  
36.                   une salle avec des statues

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01.       Miss Lo:       what are the words that you did not understand  
02.                   in the reading (.) after we will come back  
03.                   to it but now I would like to know  
04.       Maia:           to mime  
05.       Miss Lo:       huh↑  
06.       Maia:           this  
07.       Miss Lo:       ah yes (.) she (.) Zoé mimes a statue  
08.                   it's like this (.) there is a statue (.)  
09.                   you know what a statue is (.) here is a  
10.                   statue (.2) huh (.) here is a statue  
11.                   ((pointing at the book)) (.) Zoé mimes a  
12.                   statue (.) she does like that ((T  
13.                   imitates the character in the book))  
14.                   (.4)  
15.       Miss Lo:       Zoé (.) huh↑ (.) Alex and Zoé (.) Zoé  
16.                   there she mimes (.) she imitates (.)  
17.                   mimes  
18.                   (.5)  
19.       Miss Lo:       alright↑  
20.                   (.2)



21. Miss Lo: I mime for example if I want to mime ehm::  
 22. (.) an elephant (.3) ((Miss Lo imitates  
 23. an elephant)) miming it's imitating (.)  
 24. she acts as if she was a sculpture  
 25. (.)  
 26. Miss Lo: how do you say in Spanish to mime ehm:: Leila  
 27. (.1)  
 28. Miss Lo: she mimes a sculpture (.) it means  
 29. [she imitates a sculpture in fact  
 30. Talia: [to imitate (.) she is posing=  
 31. Leila: =she imitates  
 32. Talia: she is imitating Leila=  
 33. Miss Lo: =[alright (.) she mimes (.) she acts as  
 34. if she was a sculpture alright↑  
 35. Kenji: [imitates too (.) imitates  
 36. Miss Lo: alright↑ (.) ok↑ (.1) so (.) here is a  
 37. room with sculptures

In 04, Maia produces the first pair part of a meaning quest. From 05 to 07, a “post-first insert expansion” (Schegloff, 2007a) occurs where Miss Lo initiates repair with the “open class repair initiator” (Drew, 1997) ‘hein’ and asks for the object of the meaning quest to be repeated. Next, Miss Lo produces a second pair part to Maia’s first pair part and tries explaining the verb ‘mimer’ (i.e. ‘to mime’) to Maia (07-13). This is followed by a four-second pause (14), which is interpreted by Miss Lo as an other-initiation of repair; that is, as Maia not understanding the explanations she provided. Following this first pair part of a repair sequence, Miss Lo produces a second pair part and reformulates her explanations; which are still met by a silence (17). Miss Lo thus pursues giving explanations. Following another pause in 24, Miss Lo realises that the problem cannot be solved in the current medium. The pause in 24 functions as an initiation of repair. It is followed by an insertion sequence, where Miss Lo turns to a peer who shares Maia’s preferred language (Spanish) and licenses language alternation. More specifically, Miss Lo produces the first pair part of a translation quest and asks Leila to translate the French verb (25). She thus licenses language alternation. In 28-30, Spanish speaking children jointly provide second pair parts to Miss Lo’s first pair part and, in 31, Miss Lo acknowledges the switch to Spanish in a sequence-closing third ‘d’accord’. Then, in the same turn, Miss Lo restates her second pair part of the meaning quest. Lastly, a closing sequence occurs, where Miss Lo checks understanding with Maia (32, 34). Although Maia is not heard to show understanding, her ratification is assumed as

Miss Lo moves to a different topic with the marker ‘alors’ (34). Clearly, language alternation is licensed as the child who initiated the meaning quest does not understand the explanations given to her.

I have shown in this section that the classroom participants orient to the norm of licensed language alternation when there is a problem in meaning quests. More specifically, when the speaker who initiated a meaning quest does not acknowledge receipt of new information, a third speaker is drawn into the interaction and language alternation is licensed. The licensing of language alternation thus takes place in an expanded version of the initial three-partite structure of meaning quests.

### **8.5. The example of multilingual label quests**

In this section, I turn to a third and final example of interactional sequences in which the classroom participants are seen to orient to the norm of licensed language alternation; namely, what I propose to call *multilingual label quests* building on Heath’s (1986) notion of “label quests”. The notion of “label quest” refers to interactional sequences where “adults either name items or ask for their names” (Heath, 1986: 168).<sup>71</sup>

As Heath argues, label quests are typical classroom “language activities” or in other words, typical of the school’s “ways of using language” (1986: 158). They have since been observed in a variety of educational contexts such as in the United States (Zecker *et al.*, 2001), Burundi (Ndayipfukamiye, 1993), and Botswana (Arthur, 1996). Martin has also observed that label quests can be conducted bilingually; what he calls “bilingual label quests” (1999, 2003; see also Arthur and Martin, 2006; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Martin *et al.*, 2006). In my data, I have observed that label quests are a recurrent interactional practice (see extracts 15, 23, 24 and 29). Furthermore, I have observed that speakers can draw on the languages co-available in the classroom to accomplish a label quest multilingually. Therefore,

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<sup>71</sup> Note that the notion of ‘label’ is used here to refer to simple vocabulary items to be learned by children.

building on Heath's (1986) notion of "label quest" and Martin's (1999) notion of "bilingual label quest", I propose the notion of *multilingual label quest* to refer to label quests that are accomplished multilingually (see also Bonacina, 2010 reproduced in Appendix 7). More specifically, I have identified two types of multilingual label quests: Type 1 refers to label quests where language alternation is licensed because children do not know the requested label; Type 2 refers to label quests where language alternation is licensed because children do not show understanding of the new label. In both cases, language alternation is licensed as a problem occurs in the accomplishment of the label quest.

### **8.5.1. The structural organisation of label quests**

Before moving to the two types of multilingual label quests where language alternation is licensed, it is necessary to describe the typical structural organisation of label quests. Martin (1999: 134) has already touched upon the interactional accomplishment of label quests, describing it within an Initiation-Response-Feedback sequence (IRF; Bellack *et al.*, 1966; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). In this respect, label quests are said to be typically organised as follows: the teacher asks for a label in what corresponds to the Initiation move, pupil(s) provide the expected label in what corresponds to the Response move, and the teacher ratifies the response in what corresponds to the Feedback move, also called the Evaluation move (Mehan, 1979a). While this framework accounts for label quests that are realised in three turns, it does not account for more complex ones such as the multilingual label quests observed in my data. For this reason, I account for the structural organisation of multilingual label quests using Schegloff's (2007a) framework described above, which allows for the description of expanded sequences. Using Schegloff's (2007a) framework, the sequence organisation of a typical label quest can be described again as follows:

- (1) The teacher elicits a label in a first pair part
- (2) The pupil(s) provides the elicited label in a second pair part
- (3) The teacher ratifies the child's answer in a sequence-closing third.

As an example, consider extract 23 discussed above, that I reproduce as extract 51 below for convenience. Miss Lo is reading a storybook to the whole class and is asking the children to describe where the main character is sitting (see picture 7 in Chapter 6). In this extract, Miss Lo is eliciting the label ‘dehors’ (i.e. outside).

Extract 51: (T2 S1 D3 V8 E2)

40.	Miss Lo:	écoutez ce que je dis (.) elle n’aime pas
41.		jouer à la maison (.) elle aime jouer↑
42.	Karen:	dehors!
43.	Leila:	dehors
44.	Miss Lo:	dehors

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40.	Miss Lo:	listen to what I’m saying (.) she doesn’t
41.		like playing at home (.) she likes playing↑
42.	Karen:	outside!
43.	Leila:	outside
44.	Miss Lo:	outside

In 41, Miss Lo produces the first pair part of a label quest by starting a sentence and expecting children to complete it with the requested label. In 42 and 43, both Karen and Leila provide a second pair part to Miss Lo’s first pair part, which are ratified in 44 by Miss Lo in what is a sequence-closing third. It should be added that, frequently, the second pair part is followed by a post-expansion where Miss Lo repeats a first time the correct label in order to give positive feedback, the rest of the class acknowledge receipt of new information, and Miss Lo repeats the new label. An example is 52 below. Miss Lo is eliciting the label ‘gueule’ (i.e. maw).

Extract 52: (T2 S1 D2 V5 E4)

08.	Miss Lo:	il a une grande bouche (.) vous savez
09.		comment on dit la bouche pour un animal↑
10.	(.1)	
11.	Talia:	ah euh (.) en espagnol c’est <b>hocico</b>
→12.	Miss Lo:	et en français c’est la gueule!
13.	Class:	gueule!
14.	Miss Lo:	la gueule du loup

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08.	Miss Lo:	he has a big mouth (.) do you know how to
09.		say the mouth for an animal↑
10.	(.1)	
11.	Talia:	ah ehm (.) in Spanish it’s <b>maw</b>
12.	Miss Lo:	and in French it’s maw!
13.	Class:	maw!
14.	Miss Lo:	the wolf’s maw

Of interest here is that in 12, Miss Lo repairs the Spanish item and gives the French label. Then, the whole group repeats the label to show understanding and to acknowledge receipt of new information, and in 14, Miss Lo repeats the new label. In the following two sections, I show that when a problem occurs, the typical structural organisation of label quests is expanded.

### 8.5.2. Multilingual label quests of Type 1

In my data, when a problem occurs in the interactional accomplishment of a label quest, language alternation is licensed in multiple languages. In multilingual label quests of Type 1, language alternation is licensed in post-expansions as a way of attending to the fact that the children do not know the requested French label. An example is extract 53 below. To highlight the structural organisation of this extract, I divide it into five extracts (the totality of the multilingual label quest can be accessed in the Appendix 9 in T2 S1 D1 V6 E9). In extract 53a, Miss Lo initiates a label quest and asks the whole class for the French name of the type of book she is holding ('une bande dessinée'; i.e. a cartoon).

Extract 53a: (T2 S1 D1 V6 E9)

- |      |          |   |
|------|----------|---|
| 13.  | Miss Lo: | [...] avec des petites                    |
| 14.  |          | flèches qui partent de la bouche des      |
| 15.  |          | personnages (.) ça s'appelle comment↑     |
| 16.  | Talia:   | ah! (.) <b>es un historieta!</b>          |
| 17.  | Leila:   | que (.) com[me (.) qui parle              |
| 18.  | Karen:   | [en anglais on dit [comics                |
| 19.  | Miss Lo: | [voilà                                    |
| 20.  | Leila:   | que les personnages parlent-              |
| →21. | Miss Lo: | voilà (.) voilà (.) en anglais on dit↑    |
| 22.  | Karen:   | comics                                    |
| 23.  | Miss Lo: | comics                                    |
| 24.  | Leila:   | car on fait comme ça (.) le cercle c'est  |
| 25.  |          | pour qu'ils parlent (.) quand on fait     |
| 26.  |          | comme (.) euh (.) tout comme ça ((drawing |
| 27.  |          | in the air)) c'est comme qu'elles pensent |
| 28.  | Miss Lo: | voilà (.) en anglais elle dit Karen (.)   |
| 29.  |          | ah en anglais on dit comics               |
- 
- |     |          |   |
|-----|----------|---|
| 13. | Miss Lo: | it's written here (.) with little       |
| 14. |          | arrows that come out of the characters' |
| 15. |          | mouth (.) what is it called↑            |
| 16. | Talia:   | ah! (.) <b>it's a cartoon!</b>          |

17. Leila: that (.) li[ke (.) that speaks  
 18. Karen: [in English we say [comics  
 19. Miss Lo: [there you go  
 20. Leila: that the characters are speaking-  
 21. Miss Lo: exactly (.) exactly (.) in English one says↑  
 22. Karen: comics  
 23. Miss Lo: comics  
 24. Leila: because we do like that (.) the circle is  
 25. for them to speak (.) when we do like (.)  
 26. ehm (.) all like that ((drawing in the  
 27. air)) it's like they're thinking  
 28. Miss Lo: exactly (.) in English she says Karen (.)  
 29. ah in English one says comics

In 15, Miss Lo produces the first pair part of a label quest by eliciting the label ‘bande dessinée’ in French (i.e. cartoon). However, the children do not seem to know the requested label in French and thus deviate from the current French monolingual medium to name the label in their respective preferred language. Second pair parts are thus conducted by Talia, Leila and Karen (in 16-18). In 16, Talia gives the label in Spanish; in 17, Leila tries to provide a definition in French and in 18, Karen gives the label in English. These instances of alternation are deviant and unlicensed (what I have proposed to call ‘unlicensed medium suspension’). Miss Lo acknowledges these alternations in a minimal post-expansion (‘voilà’; in 19 and 21). In 21, Miss Lo then opens a non-minimal post-expansion and produces the first pair part of a translation quest asking for the English label. The English label is provided by Karen in 22. Then, Miss Lo repeats the English label in a sequence-closing third (23). It is also repeated in 28-9 to the whole class. In brief, the translation quest in the non-minimal post-expansion of the label quest functions as a license to language alternation and takes place because children have not provided the French label. It is the first of a series of translation quests where language alternation is licensed. In extract 53b, Miss Lo turns to Kenji and asks him the Japanese label (45-6), which Kenji gives in 47.

Extract 53b:

- 45. Miss Lo: [et en japonais↑ (.) Kenji↑  
 46. (.) en japonais↑  
 47. Kenji: manga  
 48. (.)  
 49. Miss Lo: hein↑



[...](side-sequence))  
 74. Miss Lo: [like ehm (.) what is it called↑ (.)  
 75. you know Samba the name of newspapers  
 76. with stories for children↑  
 77. Talia: [write here!  
 78. Kenji: [no  
 79. Miss Lo: no you never saw some↓  
 [...](side-sequence))  
 84. Miss Lo: alright (.) shush!

In extract 53d, Miss Lo continues the series of translation quests and turns to Matilda. In 85-86, she asks her for the Lithuanian label. In 89, Matilda says that this type of books does not exist in Lithuania. Even though Matilda does not give the Lithuanian label, what is interesting is that Lithuanian was licensed.

Extract 53d:

→85. Miss Lo: Matilda (.) est-ce que en Lituanie vous  
 86. avez des histoires comme ça là↑  
 87. Kenji: Sénégal  
 88. Talia: comics  
 89. Matilda: non

-----

85. Miss Lo: Matilda (.) do you have stories like  
 86. that in Lithuania↑  
 87. Kenji: Senegal  
 88. Talia: comics  
 89. Matilda: no

Lastly, following these four translation quests, Miss Lo reinitiates the first pair part of the label quest in extract 53e (94-95).

Extract 53e:

→94. Miss Lo: et en français donc personne sait comment  
 95. ça s'appelle en français ça↑  
 96. (.)  
 97. Karen: /komɪk/  
 98. Miss Lo: non (.) comment ça s'appelle [en  
 99. français↑  
 100. Leila: [/ɪstɔʁiɛt/↑  
 101. Miss Lo: non  
 102. Cristina: des phrases↑  
 103. Miss Lo: non!  
 104. Talia: non:::  
 105. Miss Lo: comment ça s'appelle en français les  
 106. livres [comme ça avec les-  
 107. Kenji: [/ɪstɔʁiɛtæ/  
 108. Cristina: des bulles!



109. Miss Lo: les bulles ouais (.) les bulles c'est  
 110. pour quand on parle (.) ça s'appelle des  
 111. bulles les- les- comme ça là (.) ça  
 112. s'appelle des bandes dessinées!  
 113. All: bandes dessinées  
 114. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
 115. Miss Lo: des bandes dessinées  
 116. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))

---

94. Miss Lo: and in French so no one knows what it is  
 95. called in French this↑  
 96. (.)  
 97. Karen: /komɪk/  
 98. Miss Lo: no (.) what is it called [in  
 99. French↑  
 100. Leila: [/ɪstɔʁɪɛt/↑  
 101. Miss Lo: no  
 102. Cristina: sentences↑  
 103. Miss Lo: no!  
 104. Talia: no::  
 105. Miss Lo: what is it called in French books  
 106. [like that with the-  
 107. Kenji: [/ɪstɔʁɪɛtæ/  
 108. Cristina: bubbles!  
 109. Miss Lo: the bubbles yeah (.) the bubbles it's for  
 110. when one is talking (.) it's called  
 111. bubbles the- the- like that (.) it's  
 112. called cartoons!  
 113. All: cartoons  
 114. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
 115. Miss Lo: cartoons  
 116. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))

This time, the children have exhausted their multilingual resources and do not repeat the switches conducted in the translation quests mentioned earlier. As a consequence, they perform what I have proposed to term 'semi-medium suspension'. Here, they keep the pronunciation of French but use the lexical repertoire from their first language. More specifically, in 97, Karen suggests the label /komɪk/, which is the English label 'comic' with a French pronunciation. Likewise, in 100, Leila suggests the label /ɪstɔʁɪɛt/, which is the Spanish label 'historieta' with a French pronunciation and a deletion of the final vowel. As none of these second pair parts contain the requested label, Miss Lo finally gives the expected French label 'bandes dessinées' (112) in a sequence-closing third. Lastly, in a closing sequence, the classroom participants repeat the new label (113) and Miss Lo ratifies it (115).

Structurally speaking, this multilingual label quest is an expanded sequence comprising four sequences; namely (i) a three-part sequence where a French label is elicited, (ii) a series of non-minimal post-expansions where the same label is elicited in four languages (translation quests), (iii) a repetition of the first sequence where the French label is elicited again and finally given by Miss Lo, and (iv) a closing sequence. In short, in multilingual label quests of Type 1, language alternation is licensed as a way of attending to problems which have emerged at the level of the second pair part, that is, when the requested label has not been provided (in the right medium).

### 8.5.3. Multilingual label quests of Type 2

In multilingual label quests of Type 2, language alternation is licensed once the French label has been given, as a way of attending to children who signal having problems of understanding the new label. As has been said earlier (section §8.5.1), once a new French label is given, the teacher expects the rest of the children to show understanding (see extract 52). When receipt of new information is not given by the rest of the children (even non-verbally as in extract 52), the teacher opens a series of non-minimal post-expansions to check children's understanding. More specifically, each non-minimal post-expansion is a translation quest, which functions as a license to children's first language(s). As a first example, consider extract 54 below.

Extract 54: (T2 S1 D1 V6 E8)

03.	Miss Lo:	comment on dit quand quelqu'un est perdu (.)
04.		quand quelqu'un est enlevé
05.		(.1)
06.	Miss Lo:	kidnappé
07.		(.)
08.	Miss Lo:	ça existe en anglais ça kidnappé↑
09.	Karen:	oui (.) kidnap
10.	Miss Lo:	ah ben voilà

---

03.	Miss Lo:	how do you say when someone is lost (.)
04.		when someone is taken
05.		(.1)
06.	Miss Lo:	kidnapped
07.		(.)
08.	Miss Lo:	does it exist in English kidnapped↑

09. Karen: yes (.) kidnap  
 10. Miss Lo: ah well there you go

In 04, Miss Lo produces the first pair part of a label quest. The ensuing one-second pause at the level of the second pair part (05) indicates that children do not know the request label. As a result, Miss Lo gives the French label in 06 and expects children to show understanding and receipt of new information. However, the pause in 07 indicates that children may not have understood the new label. Therefore, Miss Lo produces the first pair part of a translation quest, which functions as a license to language alternation. In 09, Karen gives the English label and, in 10, Miss Lo acknowledges the switch. Clearly, in this extract, language alternation is licensed to encourage children to work out the meaning of the new label and show understanding.

In extract 55 below, the label quest of Type 2 is multilingual as many languages are licensed in recursive translation quests. Miss Lo has been trying to elicit the French label ‘fée’ (i.e. fairy) for quite a few turns before the extract (for the full sequence see T2 S1 D1 V1 E2 in Appendix 9).

Extract 55: (T2 S1 D1 V1 E2)

600. Miss Lo: la marraine et la marraine c’est une↑  
 601. (.)  
 602. Miss Lo: une↑  
 603. (.1)  
 604. Miss Lo: une fée::  
 605. (.2)  
 606. Miss Lo: une fée  
 607. (.)  
 →608. Miss Lo: comment on dit fée en anglais euh: (.)  
 609. Karen↑  
 610. (.4)  
 [...]  
 636. Karen: en anglais *fairy*  
 →637. Miss Lo: alors Samba ça (.) tu as déjà entendu  
 638. parler de choses comme ça  
 639. (.)  
 →640. Miss Lo: vous dites comment en espagnol↑  
 641. Talia: *hada madrina*  
 642. Leila: *hada madrina*  
 643. Miss Lo: d’accord  
 644. Kenji: /læpædoni/  
 645. ((children laughing))

→646. Miss Lo: chut (.) et Kenji en japonais ya ça  
647. aussi↑  
648. (.2)  
649. Kenji: non  
650. (.)  
[...] ((side sequence in Spanish))  
697. Miss Lo: et alors au Sénégal ya pas ça (.) et  
698. euh (.) est-ce que ça existe↑

-----

600. Miss Lo: the god mother and the god mother she is a↑  
601. (.)  
602. Miss Lo: a↑  
603. (.)  
604. Miss Lo: a fairy::  
605. (.2)  
606. Miss Lo: a fairy  
607. (.)  
608. Miss Lo: how do you say fairy in English ehm: (.)  
609. Karen↑  
610. (.4)  
[...]  
636. Karen: in English *fairy*  
637. Miss Lo: so Samba it's (.) have you ever heard of  
638. things like that  
639. (.)  
640. Miss Lo: how do you say in Spanish↑  
641. Talia: *fairy god mother*  
642. Leila: *fairy god mother*  
643. Miss Lo: alright  
644. Kenji: /læpædoni/  
645. ((children laughing))  
646. Miss Lo: shush (.) and Kenji in Japanese are there  
647. some also↑  
648. (.2)  
649. Kenji: no  
650. (.)  
[...] ((side sequence in Spanish))  
697. Miss Lo: and so in Senegal there isn't this (.)  
698. and ehm (.) does this exist↑

In 600, Miss Lo reiterates the first pair part of the label quest. The second pair part consists of a pause (601), which indicates that the children do not know the French label. In 602, Miss Lo repeats the first pair part, which is equally followed by a pause (603) in a second pair part. Therefore, in 604, Miss Lo provides the French label in a minimal post-expansion. However, this new label is followed by a two-second pause (605), which is interpreted by Miss Lo as a sign that the children have not understood the new label. She thus repeats the new label in 606, but still does not get evidence that children have understood. Because of this problem, she

initiates a translation quest in the first pair part of a non-minimal post-expansion (608). More precisely, she asks Karen to provide the English equivalent of the new French label. In doing so, she licenses language alternation. The ensuing four-second pause (610) shows that Karen is not able to provide the translation for ‘fée’ in English. In the omitted talk, Miss Lo provides further explanation and in 636, Karen gives the English gloss. In 637, Miss Lo turns then to Samba and asks him if he has heard of fairies in Senegal. Since Samba does know the answer, Miss Lo turns to the Spanish-speaking children and produces the first pair part of a translation quest, by asking for the Spanish gloss (640). In 641 and 642, Talia and Leila give the Spanish gloss, conducting a second pair part of the translation quest. In 643, Miss Lo shows acknowledgement and closes this translation quest. In 644, Kenji utters a stretch of talk that does not seem to pertain to any known lexical repertoire, but Miss Lo interprets it as his attempt to orient to the series of translation quests. She thus turns to him in 646, and asks him if the label fairy also exists in Japanese. Then, Miss Lo moves on to another sequence and asks if fairies exist (698). Clearly, in this extract, language alternation is licensed in a series of translation quests with a view of attending to children who signal having problems of understanding the new label.

As a last example, consider extract 56 below. Miss Lo is eliciting the label ‘shampoing’ (i.e. shampoo).

Extract 56: (T2 S1 D5 V18 E4)

11.	Miss Lo:	ouais (.) elle lui frotte la tête (.) avec
12.		quoi comme- est-ce que c'est du savon
13.		qu'elle lui met sur la tête↑
14.	?:	non!
15.	Miss Lo:	du↑
16.	Julia:	shampoing
17.	Miss Lo:	du↑
18.	Julia:	shampoing
19.	Miss Lo:	du shampoing:: (.) du shampoing
20.		(.1)
21.	Miss Lo:	comment on dit shampoing en espagnol
22.		Maia↑
23.	Maia:	sha( )
24.	Miss Lo:	ah ben d'accord et:: (.) en- en
25.		lituanien↑

26. Matilda: (shampounes)  
 27. Miss Lo: shampounes (.) et en espagnol shampoo (.)  
 28. et en:: polonais↑  
 29. Julia: shampol  
 30. Miss Lo: shampol! (.) ah ben dis-donc c'est rigolo  
 31. ça!  
 32. Anika: et en roumanie shampon ((laughing))  
 33. Miss Lo: shampon! ah ben (.) et en:: en anglais↑  
 34. Matilda: japonais (.) non:: pas japonais (.)  
 35. japonais  
 36. Miss Lo: en japonais↑ (.) tu sais dire shampoing  
 37. en japonais Amelia↑  
 38. Amelia: mm  
 39. (.2)  
 40. Miss Lo: non (.) mais en tous cas ce qui est rigolo  
 41. c'est que- alors on redit (.) en roumain  
 42. Anika: shampon  
 43. Miss Lo: shampon (.) en:: lituanien↑  
 44. Matilda: shampounes  
 45. Miss Lo: shampounes (.) en anglais↑  
 46. Matilda: euh (.) shampoo  
 47. Miss Lo: ouais (.) en espagnol↑  
 48. Maia: shampoo  
 49. Miss Lo: et en: polonais  
 50. Julia: shampol  
 51. Miss Lo: ah ben dis-donc! (.) c'est rigolo hein↑  
 52. (.) et en français shampoing! (.) alors  
 53. ça ressemble alors quand même hein↑ (.)  
 54. shampoing!  
 55. Class: shampoing!

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11. Miss Lo: yeah (.) she rubs her head (.) with  
 12. what as- is it soap that she is putting  
 13. on her head↑  
 14. ?: no!  
 15. Miss Lo: some↑  
 16. Julia: shampoo  
 17. Miss Lo: some↑  
 18. Julia: shampoo  
 19. Miss Lo: some shampoo:: (.) some shampoo  
 20. (.1)  
 21. Miss Lo: how do you say shampoo in Spanish  
 22. Maia↑  
 23. Maia: sha( )  
 24. Miss Lo: ah okay then and:: (.) in- in  
 25. Lithuanian↑  
 26. Matilda: (shampoo)  
 27. Miss Lo: shampoo (.) and in Spanish shampoo (.)  
 28. and in:: Polish↑  
 29. Julia: shampoo  
 30. Miss Lo: shampoo! (.) ah really it's funny  
 31. that!  
 32. Anika: and in Romania shampoo ((laughing))  
 33. Miss Lo: shampoo! ah well (.) and in:: in English↑  
 34. Matilda: Japanese (.) no:: not Japanese (.)

35. Japanese  
36. Miss Lo: in Japanese↑ (.) you know how to say  
37. shampoo in Japanese Amelia↑  
38. Amelia: mm  
39. (.2)  
40. Miss Lo: no (.) but in any case the funny thing is  
41. that- so let's say it again (.) in Romanian  
42. Anika: shampoo  
43. Miss Lo: shampoo (.) in:: Lithuanian↑  
44. Matilda: shampoo  
45. Miss Lo: shampoo (.) in English↑  
46. Matilda: ehm (.) shampoo  
47. Miss Lo: yeah (.) in Spanish↑  
48. Maia: shampoo  
49. Miss Lo: and in: Polish  
50. Julia: shampoo  
51. Miss Lo: god! (.) it's funny huh↑  
52. (.) and in French shampoo! (.) so it's  
53. similar isn't it huh↑ (.)  
54. shampoo!  
55. Class: shampoo!

Unlike extract 55, in this extract the requested French label is given by a child (Julia in 16). In 17, Miss Lo does not ratify Julia's answer. Instead, she repeats the first pair part of the label quest (first uttered in 15) to give a chance to other pupils to self-select and provide the requested label too. However, in 18, Julia self-selects again and nobody else does. This works as a first signal to Miss Lo that other children may be having problems. Therefore, she ratifies Julia's answer (19) in a minimal post-expansion. In the same turn, she repeats the new label to the rest of the group to check understanding. The ensuing pause in 20 indicates that the rest of the children do not show a sign of understanding or acknowledgment of receipt of new information. As a result, Miss Lo opens a series of translation quests where the new French label is translated into five languages. Clearly, the series of translation quests functions as a license to language alternation and takes place to check children's understanding.

## 8.6. Summary

In this chapter, I have identified the norm that the classroom participants orient to in their licensed language alternation acts. This is:

*When there is a problem, language alternation may be licensed by way of attending to it.*

More specifically, I have shown three interactional sequences where the classroom participants orient to this norm. These were word searches, meaning quests and what I have proposed to call ‘multilingual label quests’ (of Type 1 and Type 2). In the case of word searches, language alternation is licensed when there is evidence that a child is having problem finding the *mot juste* for what they are trying to say. In this case, they are encouraged to say it in their preferred language. In meaning quests, the teacher licenses language alternation after a child has failed to reveal understanding of a meaning they have just requested. In this case, language alternation is licensed to encourage peers to provide explanation in the child’s preferred language. In the case of multilingual label quests, Type 1 is launched when the children have failed to answer appropriately to a label quest initiated by Miss Lo. In this case, children are encouraged to draw on their preferred language in working towards the requested label. Once understanding of the concept is confirmed through the use of the children’s languages, Miss Lo then gives the target label. Type 2 is launched when children have failed to acknowledge a label correctly given after Miss Lo’s quest. In this case, children are encouraged to work out the meaning of the already given label drawing on their languages. Thus, it is because licensed language alternation is not random – that is, it is rule-governed – that one can speak of a policy at this level.



## - Chapter 9 - Conclusion

### 9.1. Introduction

In this final chapter, I summarise the main claim of this thesis and review the central findings of the case study. I then discuss the significance and implications of the thesis. Finally, I point to its limitations and suggest further avenues for future research.

### 9.2. Summary of claims, methods and findings

The motivation for this thesis lies in the identification of a methodological gap in the research literature on language policy (LP). Traditionally, scholars have conceptualised LP as text and as discourse (see Ball, 1993) and have adopted approaches that reflect this view. When conceptualising LP as text – that is, when adopting the view that what influences language choice and alternation acts is an authoritative statement, either verbal or written, about what should be done – its study involved mainly textual analysis (see for instance studies conducted within the traditional approach to LP research reviewed in section §2.2). When conceptualising LP as discourse – that is, when adopting the view that what influences language choice and alternation acts is a set of beliefs and ideologies about what should be done – scholars used Critical Discourse Analysis (see for instance studies conducted within the critical approach to LP research reviewed in section §2.3). The third and most recent addition to these two conceptualisations of LP – an addition we owe to Spolsky (e.g. 2004, 2007, 2008a) – is policy as practice; that is, the view that what influences language choice and alternation acts is the implicit knowledge of what is usually done. I have proposed to call Spolsky's (2004) conceptualisation of policy as practice a 'practiced language policy'.

Although Spolsky's claim that there is a policy within practices represents a decisive development in the field of LP research, I have said that it remains essentially theoretical, since no indication is given as to how practiced language policies may be investigated. With a view to addressing this methodological gap, I have claimed that Conversation Analysis (CA) can be used to investigate practiced language policies.

This claim is based on the observation that some of Spolsky's statements seem to point to a CA mentality. Most importantly of all, he states that language practices form "sets of patterns" (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 29), what Conversation Analysts call 'conversational practices', that is, patterns of a sequence of acts that happen repeatedly in a given context. Furthermore, Spolsky states that these sets of patterns are underlined by "deducible and implicit rules" (ibid: 2). This notion echoes that of 'interactional norms' (Hymes, 1972), which CA researchers define as a "point of reference or action template for interpretation" (Seedhouse, 2004: 10). In this respect, I have claimed that a CA approach to practiced language policies involves the identification of the norms underlying conversational practices. In order to support this claim, I have conducted a case study and investigated the practiced language-in-education policy of an induction classroom for newly-arrived immigrant children in France.

Building on Holmes and Stubbe's (2003) model of data collection in the workplace, the methodology I have designed for the purpose at hand involved the following five stages:

- i. gaining access to an induction classroom in France
- ii. conducting semi-participant preliminary observation
- iii. conducting semi-participant observation and audio-recording
- iv. collecting additional information
- v. giving feedback to the researched community.

Since I have adopted CA as a theoretical framework, my analysis has borne only on the corpus of audio-recordings of classroom talk. Nevertheless, other information

has been used to gain a fuller understanding of the induction classroom. In the analysis of the corpus of classroom interaction, I have adopted a broad view of CA, incorporating both sequential and categorisation analysis (Membership Categorisation Analysis, MCA). Furthermore, given that the corpus included bilingual classroom interaction, I have used the CA approach to code-switching and classroom code-switching, as developed over the past few years by researchers such as Auer (1984), Li Wei (2002), Gafaranga (2009), and Bonacina and Gafaranga (2010).

The first stage of analysis has consisted of identifying the language choice and alternation practices in the target classroom. I have shown that the following five “mediums of classroom interaction” (Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010) are available to classroom participants:

- i. a French monolingual medium
- ii. an English monolingual medium
- iii. a Spanish monolingual medium
- iv. a French and English bilingual medium
- v. and a French and Spanish bilingual medium.

I have then shown that, once the classroom participants have adopted one of these five mediums, they may switch from it – what Gafaranga (2007a, b) calls “medium switching” – or depart temporarily from it and alternate languages. I have identified the following two types of language alternation act:

- i. unlicensed language alternation
- ii. licensed language alternation.

Lastly, I have said that licensed language alternation is the most salient language alternation practice in the target classroom.

In the second stage of the analysis, I sought to identify the sets of norms (i.e. the practiced policy) underlying these language choice and alternation practices. Focusing first on language choice practices, I have shown that, when someone is ‘doing being the language teacher’, that language is adopted as the medium of

classroom interaction. When no-one is 'doing being the language teacher' and there is a shared preferred language, that language is adopted as the medium of classroom interaction. Finally, when no-one is 'doing being the language teacher' and there is no shared preferred language, the language common to all (namely, French) is adopted. In brief, the classroom participants use their understanding of the relationships between language acts and the categories of 'teacher-hood' and 'language preference' as norms to interpret each other's language choice activities. The description of these norms constitutes the first part of the practiced language-in-education policy of the target classroom.

I then sought to identify the norm(s) that the classroom participants orient to in their licensed language alternation acts and observed that, when there is a problem, language alternation may be licensed. I have shown how this norm is oriented to in three types of interactional sequences, namely word searches, meaning quests and what I have proposed calling 'multilingual label quests'. More specifically, I have shown that, in word searches, problems arise when the speaker who is lacking a word cannot self-repair and the other classroom participants cannot identify the trouble source. In this case, language alternation may be licensed to encourage the child saying the word they are lacking in their preferred language. In meaning quests, problems arise when a child fails to reveal understanding of a meaning they have just requested. In this case, language alternation is licensed to encourage peers to provide explanation in the child's preferred language. In multilingual label quests, problems arise either when the teacher initiates a label that the children do not know in French (multilingual label quests of Type 1) or when the children do not show understanding of a label correctly given (multilingual label quests of Type 2). In the case of Type 1, language alternation is licensed in order to encourage the children to draw on their preferred language in working towards the requested label. In the case of Type 2, language alternation is licensed in order to encourage the children to draw on their preferred language in working out the meaning of the already given label.

In brief, I have argued that the sets of norms of language choice and alternation practices form part of the practiced language-in-education policy of the target classroom, that is, the “implicit and deducible rules” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000: 2) that capture “the idea that members of the community have of appropriate behaviour” (ibid: 29). This case study has therefore shown that a CA approach to practiced language policies consists of stating the norms of interaction that speakers orient to while talking.

### **9.3. Significance of the study**

In this section, I suggest that this research contributes to study in three key areas, namely, language policy, language policy in France, and bilingual classroom talk.

#### **9.3.1. Implications for the study of language policy**

This thesis is primarily a contribution to the field of LP research. It addresses a methodological gap in the third and most recent conceptualisation of language policy, namely language policy as practice (mainly Spolsky, 2004) or what I have proposed to call ‘practiced language policy’. More specifically, it proposes an approach to the study of practiced language policies. I have claimed that – and shown how – a broad Conversation Analytic approach, incorporating both sequential and categorisation analysis, can be used to discover a practiced language policy. More specifically, I have shown that the CA notions of ‘practice’ and ‘norm’ are central to the investigation of a practiced language policy. In this respect, I have argued that a CA approach to the study of practiced language policy consists of identifying the set of norms that speakers orient to in their language choice and alternation activities. The case study also suggests that the CA approach to code-switching and classroom code-switching can be used to investigate a practiced language-in-education policy in a multilingual classroom context.

In addition to addressing a methodological gap, the proposed approach has theoretical implications in the study of language policy. These are twofold. First, a Conversation Analytic approach to language policy provides a different perspective

to research on policy and practice. It allows to show that language choice practices are being organised vis-à-vis not only a policy prescribed by a language manager but also vis-à-vis a set of norms that speakers orient to in interaction (see also §9.3.3).

The second theoretical implication is that acknowledging a language policy within language practices enables the analyst to see speakers as *agent* in the policy process; in other words, to see speakers as policy makers. More specifically, in analysing language choice and alternation acts with reference to a practiced language policy implies that language acts are organised with reference to a set of norms that speakers deduct based on observing repeated patterns (what Conversation Analysts call ‘practices’) and not only with reference to external influences such as a prescribed language policy. In this respect, Conversation Analysis enables the analyst to identify the policy that is made on the ground, in practice.

Lastly, the question arises as to how a practiced language policy can be articulated with policies found at the level of what Spolsky calls ‘language management’ and ‘language beliefs’. As I have explained throughout this thesis, according to Spolsky’s model of language policy (see mainly 2004), language choice and alternation acts are understood to be influenced by a language policy found at three different levels: (1) at the level of language management (that is, speakers choose a language of interaction according to what *is said* to be appropriate by an authoritative figure), (2) at the level of language beliefs (that is, speakers choose a language of interaction according to what they *believe* is appropriate), (3) at the level of practices (that is, speakers choose a language of interaction according to their *implicit understanding* of what is appropriate; what Conversation Analysts call ‘norm of interactions’). Furthermore, the policy found at these three levels may not match and the practiced language policy is likely to have the strongest influence on speakers’ language choice and alternation acts. As Spolsky puts it: “the real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than its management” (2004: 222). Nevertheless, I suggest that all three levels of language policy constantly interact with, and influence, each other.

For instance, a practiced language policy may influence speakers' beliefs of what language is appropriate as well as an official decision about what language(s) should be used in a given context. However, further research would be needed to investigate the extent to which these three levels of language policy interact with each other and subsequently shape each other."

### **9.3.2. Implications for the study of language policy in France**

This study also has implications, albeit indirectly, for the study of language policy in the specific context of France and France's state educational system. Although, as has been stated in Chapter One (§1.4), the aim of the case study was not to provide a full account of the language-in-education policy in France's induction classrooms or in the target classroom, the findings can contribute to a better understanding of language policy in this context. I have shown in Chapter Three that language policy in France is decidedly monolingual, both at the level of texts and discourses. Similarly, I have shown that, in France's state educational system, a monolingual language policy also prevails both in texts and discourses. Interestingly, however, I have shown that the practiced language policy observed in the induction classroom under study is multilingual. Three languages are used as mediums of classroom interaction, depending on whether someone is 'doing being a language teacher' or, alternatively, on whether it is the speakers' preferred language. Furthermore, all eight languages available can potentially be licensed if problems arise in certain interactional sequences. Although this multilingual practiced language policy cannot be said to be representative of all induction classrooms in France – we recall indeed that I have observed induction classrooms where the practiced language policy appeared to be monolingual (see section §5.2.1) – it gives an idea of what is possible in the context of induction classrooms. In other words, the present study shows that despite a monolingual policy at the level of texts and discourses, a multilingual practiced language policy is possible in induction classrooms. In this regard, further analysis would be needed to understand how the observed practiced language policy fits with the language policy at the level of the classroom participants' beliefs and ideologies. Nevertheless, it is likely that, in the

target classroom, the language-in-education policy at the level of text, discourse and practice differ. As Spolsky notes, “language practices, beliefs and management are not necessarily congruent, [each] may reveal a different language policy” (2004: 217).

### **9.3.3. Implications for the study of bilingual classroom talk**

Lastly, the study also has implications, albeit again indirectly, to the study of bilingual classroom talk. Firstly, it contributes to the exploration of the ongoing relationship between classroom code-switching (CS) studies and language policy issues. I have shown in Chapter Four (see section §4.4.3) that, when language choice and alternation phenomena in bilingual classroom interaction are analysed from “an overall order perspective” (Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010), it is assumed that the language of instruction prescribed by the school language policy is systematically the language of classroom interaction (see for instance Heller 1996). In this sense, the use of other languages is seen as deviance. However, Bonacina and Gafaranga (2010) have demonstrated that not all cases of language choice and alternation phenomena in bilingual classroom talk can be interpreted with regard to the language of instruction, and that the notion of “medium of classroom interaction” is a better “scheme” (Garfinkel, 1967) of interpretation. The case study of multilingual classroom talk in the target classroom has confirmed this later development, since talk was seen to be conducted in French, the language of instruction, but also in four other mediums. In this respect, the case study shows that bilingual classroom practices can be interpreted not only with regard to a policy prescribed by the school (policy as text) or the policy perceived by the school staff (policy as discourse) but also – and most importantly – with regard to a policy within practices themselves (policy as practice).

Secondly, the analysis of interaction in the target classroom has led to the extension of Gafaranga’s (e.g. 2009) CA model of language alternation. More specifically, I have observed that language alternation acts that are deviant from the current medium of classroom interaction can be either licensed or unlicensed. To



account for this possibility, I have suggested that what Gafaranga calls “medium repair” and “medium suspension” (e.g. 2007a: 306) can be re-specified as ‘licensed medium repair’ and ‘unlicensed medium repair’, ‘licensed medium suspension’ and ‘unlicensed medium suspension’.

Thirdly, I have proposed two new notions to name interactional sequences observed in the target classroom. These are ‘multilingual label quest’ and ‘translation quest’. The notion of ‘multilingual label quest’ is built on Heath’s (1986) notion of “label quest” and Martin’s (1999) notion of “bilingual label quest” and refers, in this thesis, to label quests that are accomplished multilingually. The notion of ‘translation quests’ is also built on Heath’s (1986) notion of “label quest”. It is used to refer to interactional sequences where a translation is elicited. The main difference between a label quest and a translation quest is that the former is opened by a “known information question”, that is, “one for which the teacher already knows the answer” (Heath, 1986: 148), while the latter is opened by a genuine question, that is, one for which the teacher does not already know the answer.

Last, but not least, I have said that there have been very few, if any, studies of bilingual classroom talk which combine both sequential and categorisation analysis (see Chapter Four, section §4.5.3). More specifically, I have shown that Gafaranga (2001, 2005) has paved the way towards approaching language choice as a category-bound activity and especially as an activity bound to the category ‘language preference’<sup>72</sup>. In this sense, speakers can be understood to choose to talk in language X because they want to categorise themselves as belonging to the category ‘speaker of language X’. Similarly, it is because speakers categorise themselves as ‘bilingual speakers’ that they speak in more than one language. This idea has been developed by other researchers, such as Cashman (2005), Torras and Gafaranga (2002), and Kasper (2009). I have also shown that scholars have used an

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<sup>72</sup> To recall, the notion of ‘language preference’ in the study of bilingual talk was introduced by Auer (e.g. 1984) to refer to ‘preference-related code-switching’; that is, to language alternation acts that could be accountable for with reference to the language in which speakers felt most comfortable or competent in (see also §7.2. for a detailed discussion).

MCA approach to classroom talk, with a view to demonstrating the relevance of the institutional roles of teacher and pupil in the management of classroom talk (e.g. Richards, 2006; He, 2004). In this respect, the present research contributes to the study of bilingual classroom talk, as it combines a sequential and categorisation analysis of language choice and alternation phenomena in classroom interaction. Indeed, I have shown that language choice acts in the target classroom were bound to two categories: namely, that of 'teacher-hood' and that of 'language preference'. To recall, I have proposed the notion 'teacher-hood' to differentiate the institutional role of the 'teacher' from the practical social identity of 'doing being the teacher'. Furthermore, I have shown that the category 'teacher-hood' was more procedurally consequential than that of 'language preference', since the classroom participants oriented to the norms associated with language preference only if no-one was 'doing being the language teacher'.

#### **9.4. Can practiced language policies be approached from a CA perspective? Limitations and directions for future research.**

In lieu of a conclusion, I suggest going back to the claim made at the start of this thesis and seeing the extent to which the case study conducted in this research project supports it. To recall, the question at the origin of this thesis was: how should we approach a practiced language policy? As an answer to this question, I have built on pointers found in Spolsky (2004, 2007, 2008a; Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000), and claimed that Conversation Analysis is an efficient approach to the study of practiced language policies. To what extent does the case study of the practiced language-in-education policy in the target classroom support this claim?

I would like to argue that CA has enabled the conceptualisation of the policy within practices in terms of interactional norms. In this sense, a broad CA approach to the investigation of the practiced language-in-education policy in the target classroom has led to the identification of the set of norms that the classroom participants orient to in their language choice and alternation activities. I have

argued that the statement of this set of norms is the description of the practiced language-in-education policy of the target classroom. Based on this case study, I argue that CA has been a useful approach to investigate the practiced language-in-education policy in the target classroom.

Aware of the difficulties of generalising from a case study (e.g. Lin, 2005: 43), I can only suggest that the proposed CA approach may be useful for the study of practiced language-in-education policies in other multilingual educational contexts. Other studies of practiced language-in-education policies would need to be carried out in order to confirm this. Furthermore, since the case study was carried out in an educational context and, what is more, a multilingual educational context, the approach adopted has drawn specifically on CA (and MCA) approaches to bilingual talk and bilingual classroom talk, which may or may not be relevant to monolingual contexts and non-institutional contexts. Here again, further investigation of other types of practiced language policies would be needed. In this sense, this case study is a first step towards supporting the more general claim made in this thesis that practiced language policies can be approached from a CA perspective.

Thus, in order to assert the argument made in this thesis – that CA is a possible approach to the study of practiced language policies – further studies would be needed in other institutional and non-institutional contexts, as well as in different sociolinguistic contexts. Additional research could also take up the specific findings of the case study, investigating, for instance, the extent to which the practiced language policy in an educational context (such as the UK), where newly-arrived immigrant children attend mainstream classrooms upon arrival, differs from the one observed in the target induction classroom. It would also be interesting to see which categories are relevant in language choice and alternation practices in other institutional contexts or in non-institutional contexts. Furthermore, it would be interesting to find out whether the licensing of language alternation acts is also observed in other contexts, and, if so, whether it is observed in interactional

sequences that are similar to the ones described in my corpus. Lastly, if a CA approach to practiced language policies is found to be useful in future research, the next step could consist of studying language policy at the three levels mentioned in Spolsky's model, namely, at all of the levels of language management, language beliefs, and language practices.

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## - Appendix 1 -

### Transcription conventions

These transcription conventions are based to a large extent on Jefferson (2004) and McHoul (1978).

Each line rather than each turn is numbered on the left.

Speakers are indicated at the start of each turn.

Class	<i>The word Class</i> at the start of a turn indicates that either all pupils or a large amount of pupils are talking at once.
?	<i>A question mark</i> at the start of a turn indicates that the identity of the speaker is not ascertainable (i.e. it is not a grammatical marker).
--00:00--	<i>Double-dashed digital timing</i> indicates the time in the audio-recording of the beginning and the end of an extract.
(03:33)	<i>Digital timing in parentheses</i> indicates the time in the audio-recording when the stretch of talk that follows was uttered.
` '	<i>Quotation markers</i> bracketing a stretch of talk indicate that it is being read at loud.
(.)	<i>A dot in parentheses</i> indicates a short pause (around a tenth of a second) within turn or between turns.
(.1)	<i>A dot and a number in parentheses</i> indicate a pause in seconds within or between turns.
(word)	<i>Parenthesised words</i> indicate transcriber's doubt.
(       )	<i>Empty parentheses</i> indicate that the transcriber was unable to hear a stretch of talk. The length of the parentheses reflects roughly the length of the unheard stretch of talk.
-	<i>A single dash</i> indicates an abrupt cut-off.
=	<i>A pair of equal signs</i> (one at the end of a turn and one at the start of a turn) indicates a latching between turns, i.e. no break or gap between turns.

∴	<i>Colons</i> indicate the prolongation of the immediately prior sound. Multiple colons indicate a more prolonged sound.
[	<i>A left square bracket</i> indicates a start of overlapping talk
< >	<i>Left/right carats</i> bracketing a stretch of talk indicate the beginning and the end of a translation within the original transcription.
-----	<i>Dashes</i> indicate the end of the original transcription and the start of a free translation into English.
↑	<i>An arrow pointing upwards</i> indicates a rising intonation
↓	<i>An arrow pointing downwards</i> indicates a falling intonation
!	<i>An exclamation mark</i> indicates that the preceding talk was uttered loudly compared to its surrounding speech (i.e. it is not a grammatical marker).
°word°	<i>Degree signs</i> bracketing a stretch of talk indicate that talk was uttered quietly compared to its surrounding speech.
(( ))	<i>Double parentheses</i> contain transcriber's descriptions and comments. Descriptions are written in English.
→	<i>A horizontal arrow</i> is used to draw the reader's attention to particular aspects of talk.
Black	<i>Black font</i> indicates a stretch of talk uttered in French.
Red	<i>Red font</i> indicates a stretch of talk uttered in Spanish.
Blue	<i>Blue font</i> indicates a stretch of talk uttered in Japanese. Note that Japanese talk is transcribed using the Roman alphabet.
Green	<i>Green font</i> indicates a stretch of talk uttered in English.
Yellow	<i>Yellow font</i> indicates a stretch of talk uttered in Polish.
Light blue	<i>Light blue font</i> indicates a stretch of talk uttered in Lithuanian.
Brown	<i>Brown font</i> indicates a stretch of talk uttered in Peul.

Violet

*Violet font* indicates a stretch of talk uttered in Arabic. Note that Arabic is transcribed using the Roman alphabet.

Pink

*Pink font* indicates a stretch of talk uttered in Romanian.

/IPA symbol/

*IPA symbols bracketed by a single left oblique* indicate a stretch of talk that does not belong to any lexicon. It is at times used in conjunction with a colour code to signal the language it is intended to be in.


**- Appendix 2 -**


**Table of audio-recordings of classroom interaction**

Schools	Trips	Days	Recordings	Length	Name
School 1	Trip 1	Testing audio-recording equipment			
	Trip 2	Day 1	Voice 1	01:15:27	T2 S1 D1 V1
			Voice 2	01:03:42	T2 S1 D1 V2
			Voice 3	09:33	T2 S1 D1 V3
			Voice 4	10:23	T2 S1 D1 V4
			Voice 5	43:33	T2 S1 D1 V5
		Day 2	Voice 6	01:15:27	T2 S1 D2 V6
			Voice 7	58:19	T2 S1 D2 V7
		Day 3	Voice 8	01:15:27	T2 S1 D3 V8
			Voice 9	43:40	T2 S1 D3 V9
			Voice 10	38:18	T2 S1 D3 V10
		Day 4	Voice 11	25:26	T2 S1 D3 V11
			Voice 12	01:15:27	T2 S1 D4 V12
			Voice 13	29:02	T2 S1 D4 V13
		Day 5	Voice 14	43:54	T2 S1 D4 V14
			Voice 15	01:15:27	T2 S1 D5 V15
			Voice 16	50:50	T2 S1 D5 V16
		Day 6	Voice 17	05:43	T2 S1 D5 V17
			Voice 18	46:43	T2 S1 D5 V18
			Voice 19	20:34	T2 S1 D6 V19
			Voice 20	50:24	T2 S1 D6 V20
		Day 7	Voice 21	40:09	T2 S1 D6 V21
			Voice 22	20:01	T2 S1 D6 V22
			Voice 23	19:01	T2 S1 D6 V23
			Voice 24	43:09	T2 S1 D6 V24
		Day 8	Voice 25	01:16:32	T2 S1 D7 V25
			Voice 26	43:24	T2 S1 D7 V26
			Voice 27	40:40	T2 S1 D7 V27
			Voice 28	30:15	T2 S1 D7 V28
		Day 9	Voice 29	23:44	T2 S1 D8 V29
			Voice 30	46:20	T2 S1 D8 V30
			Voice 31	24:28	T2 S1 D8 V31
			Voice 32	07:28	T2 S1 D8 V32
		Day 10	Voice 33	01:19:21	T2 S1 D9 V33
			Voice 34	58:47	T2 S1 D9 V34
			Voice 35	20:17	T2 S1 D9 V35
			Voice 36	29:43	T2 S1 D9 V36
		Day 11	Voice 37	37:43	T2 S1 D9 V37
			Voice 38	01:00:10	T2 S1 D10 V38
			Voice 39	18:59	T2 S1 D10 V39
			Voice 40	03:31	T2 S1 D10 V40
		Day 12	Voice 41	28:21	T2 S1 D10 V41
			Voice 42	31:31	T2 S1 D11 V42
			Voice 43	30:28	T2 S1 D11 V43
			Voice 44	45:31	T2 S1 D11 V44
			Voice 45	29:34	T2 S1 D11 V45
			Voice 46	51:21	T2 S1 D11 V46
	Trip 3	Day 13	Voice 47	33:22	T3 S1 D12 V47
			Voice 48	12:08	T3 S1 D12 V48
		Day 14	Voice 49	25:15	T3 S1 D13 V49
			Voice 50	16:44	T3 S1 D13 V50
		Day 15	Voice 51	30:51	T3 S1 D14 V51
		Voice 52	37:53	T3 S1 D15 V52	

## - Appendix 3 -

### Calendar of visits to the target induction classroom

 = Days spent in the induction classroom

 = Days when audio-recordings were conducted












#### Stage 2 - Preliminary semi-participant observation

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesd.	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Week 1	10.12.07	11.12.07		13.12.07	14.12.07	
Week 2	17.12.07	18.12.07		20.12.07	21.12.07	





#### Stage 3. Audio-recording and semi-participant observation

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesd.	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Week 1	07.01.08	08.01.08		10.01.08	11.01.08	
Week 2	14.01.08	15.01.08		17.01.08	18.01.08	
Week 3	21.01.08	22.01.08		24.01.08	25.01.08	



Week 4	28.01.08	29.01.08		31.01.08 	01.02.08 	
Week 5				08.02.08 	09.02.08 	
Week 6	12.02.08 	13.02.08 				
Week 7	18.02.08 	19.02.08 		21.02.08 	22.02.08 	
Week 8	25.02.08 	26.02.08				

#### Stage 4 - Collecting additional information

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesd.	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Week 1	07.01.08 	08.01.08 		10.01.08 	11.01.08 	

- Appendix 4 -

Set of cards used for interviewing the children

 <p>Mâcher un chewing-gum <i>Chew a bubble-gum</i> 1</p>	 <p>Manger et boire <i>Eating and drinking</i> 2</p>	 <p>Jouer au ballon <i>Play football</i> 3</p>
 <p>Lever le doigt <i>Putting one's hand up</i> 4</p>	 <p>En arabe <i>In Arabic</i> 5</p>	 <p>En japonais <i>In Japanese</i> 6</p>
 <p>En espagnol <i>In Spanish</i> 7</p>	 <p>En polonais <i>In Polish</i> 8</p>	 <p>En lituanien <i>In Lithuanian</i> 9</p>
 <p>En anglais <i>In English</i> 10</p>	 <p>En peul <i>In Peul</i> 11</p>	 <p>En français <i>In French</i> 12</p>

**- Appendix 5 -**  
**Consent form for parents or carers**

		
<b>Demande d'autorisation</b>		
<p>Cher parent ou tuteur,</p> <p>Je m'appelle Florence Bonacina et je suis étudiante en thèse à l'université d'Edimbourg au Royaume-Uni. Je travaille sur le <b>bilinguisme des enfants</b> en CLIN et je souhaiterais observer votre enfant dans la CLIN de Madame *****.</p> <p>Pourriez-vous s'il vous plaît me donner l'autorisation d'observer votre enfant, d'enregistrer ses conversations avec sa maîtresse et ses camarades et de lui poser quelques questions ?</p> <p>Les informations sur votre enfant et sur l'école resteront complètement anonymes et seront utilisées uniquement pour ma thèse et les publications associées.</p> <p>Merci d'avance !</p> <p>Florence. <a href="mailto:florence@ling.ed.ac.uk">florence@ling.ed.ac.uk</a> 01 46 26 ** **</p> <p>-----</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>Oui</b>, j'accepte que mon enfant ----- participe au projet de recherche de Florence Bonacina.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>Non</b>, je refuse que mon enfant ----- participe au projet de recherche de Florence Bonacina.</p> <p><b>Date :</b> <span style="margin-left: 200px;"><b>Signature :</b></span></p>		

## - Appendix 6 -

### Copy of Bonacina (forthcoming)

**Bonacina, F. forthcoming.** Ideologies and issues of access in multilingual school ethnography: A French example. In *Multilingualism, Discourse and Ethnography*, eds. M. Martin-Jones and S. Gardner, New York: Routledge.

#### **1. Introduction.**

The issue of access, also aptly referred to as the “problem of access” (Delany, 1960; Prewitt, 1984), is a well-known aspect of ethnographic enquiries in both institutional and non-institutional settings. It is tackled in most textbooks devoted to ethnography (e.g. Silverman, 2000; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Gobo, 2008) and has been addressed in studies conducted in fields as various as health care units (Bruni, 2006), refugee communities (Miller, 2004), courtrooms (Blank, 1987), and - of interest in this paper - schools (e.g. Beynon, 1983; Burgess, 1991; Klaas, 2006; Troman, 1996; Wanat, 2008).

Missing, however, is an account of the issue of access in the specific case of *multilingual* school ethnography, by which I mean studies that focus on multilingualism in schools and that rely on ethnographic enquiry. Despite the vast array of ethnographic research conducted in multilingual schools, to date no account has been given of the process of gaining access to multilingual educational settings. Creese et al.’s (2009) reflection on team research in the process of access in linguistically and culturally diverse schools represents an exception in a field where the issue of access remains otherwise unaccounted for. Admittedly, in multilingual school ethnography the process of access is similar to the process of access to schools where multilingualism is not salient, insofar as the ethnographer has to deal, in both cases, with a highly institutionalised setting. Nevertheless, the process of access in multilingual school ethnography is distinctive insofar as multilingualism is a phenomenon that is still often disregarded or negatively perceived by those in charge of granting access. Such a mismatch, or “conflict of interest” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 52), between the researcher’s object of enquiry and the researched’s perceptions of such enquiry is, thus, most likely to impede the process of access. Therefore, this contribution aims to offer a personal account of my own attempts to gain access to multilingual practices in France’s induction classrooms for newly-arrived migrant children; access that has been complicated primarily by monolingual ideologies held in the French educational system.

Across the different accounts of the issue of access in ethnographic research, there is a clear consensus that access is a negotiating process and that successful access negotiations depend on the relationship between the researcher and the researched (gatekeepers and/or participants). For instance, Wanat reports gaining access to different educational sites by developing “empathetic relationships” with gatekeepers (2008: 200). Similarly, Beynon reports “weaving” his way into a school by finding common interests, or “bridges”, with the researched (1983: 40). A relationship of trust between the researcher and the researched is perceived as the key to be granted access to a research site (e.g. Woods, 1986; Heller, 2008). In turn, this paper adopts the stance that access negotiations are “a relational process” (Feldman et al., 2003: vii) where identities are negotiated between the researcher and the researched. With a view to address the issue of access in multilingual school ethnography, this paper focuses on the research relationship, and more specifically on *identity negotiations*, at play in the process of access. In this regard, access negotiations are reflected upon in light of Harrington’s (2003) social psychological framework of access grounded in the symbolic interactionist tradition, and, more precisely, in the social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Hogg and Abrams, 1990) and self-presentation theories (Goffman, 1959). Harrington explains how these theories can be used to explain access negotiations:

“Social identity focuses on the categorization process and objectives of participants in identity negotiations, while the self-presentation literature calls attention to the call-and-response mechanisms through which identities are negotiated. In other words, social identity theory addresses the ‘why’ of identity negotiation, while self-presentation theory looks at the ‘how’ of these interactions” (2003: 604).

In this paper, I will thus examine the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of the ethnographer’s identity negotiations with gatekeepers and induction teachers in the process of access, looking in turn at the way in which the ethnographer presented herself and the way in which the researched interpreted the ethnographer’s identity claims and research topic. Furthermore, I will show the way in which the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of access negotiations in multilingual school ethnography are embedded in macro-contextual ideologies – and in this study, in monolingual ideologies.

The structure of this contribution follows the “route of access” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) I experienced in my fieldwork whilst conducting PhD research in induction classrooms for newly-arrived migrant children in France. To begin with, I briefly present the background of the study, specifying the context of France’s induction classrooms, the aim and methods of the research project and my preconceptions of the field based on the research literature. I then relate the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of identity negotiations in the process of access, first with gatekeepers, and second with induction teachers. I then report an alternative route of access, which led me to discover induction teachers who hold positive ideologies towards multilingualism, and which ultimately enabled me to access multilingual classroom practices. Lastly, I discuss how the research relationship at hand in these access negotiations was rooted in - and hindered by - ideological considerations.

## **2. Background of the study.**

To integrate newly-arrived migrant children in its educational system, France operates a withdrawal (or pull-out) policy. According to this policy, newly-arrived migrant children are withdrawn from mainstream classrooms upon arrival and taught French as an additional language in induction classrooms for twelve months (see Miras, 2002 and Goï, 2005 for detailed accounts of France’s induction classrooms). Induction classrooms differ from mainstream classrooms insofar as they gather in one single class children aged between six and eleven who are all learners of French as an additional language. Although no statistics are available on the languages spoken by inducted children, a recent survey conducted in the educational district of Paris shows that, in the school year 2006-2007, ninety-four nationalities were represented across sixty-three induction classrooms, with the majority of children coming from China, Algeria, Portugal, Korea, Romania and the Chechen Republic (CASNAV, 2007). Thus, induction classrooms are multilingual educational contexts. Consequently, this linguistic heterogeneity raises language policy issues such as: what language(s) should be used as a medium of instruction and what place should be given to children’s first languages. However, such language policy issues are not addressed in policy documents regulating induction classrooms (MEN, 2002). Therefore, the question arises as to whether induction classrooms follow the French monolingual language policy in place in mainstream education (Code de l’Education, Article L 121-3; I, 2009).

My PhD project addressed this question and aimed to uncover the language policy of induction classrooms by investigating classroom participants’ beliefs about language and language practices (see Spolsky, 2004 and Shohamy, 2006). I planned to investigate language-in-education policy at the micro-level of one induction classroom in a French primary school; conducting interviews, participant observations and audio-recordings of classroom interactions. However, given France’s longstanding history of monolingual ideology in its educational system, as well as in its society at large (for an extensive discussion of France’s monolingual policy see Ager, 1999), I had anticipated negative attitudes on the part of educational representatives and practitioners towards my research focus on multilingualism. Previous studies conducted in France’s induction classrooms report that newcomers’ multilingualism is perceived negatively (e.g. Varro, 1990; Abdallah-Preteuille, 1992; Auger, 2008a, 2008b). Varro’s (1990) interviews with Parisian induction teachers show that the notion of ‘bilingualism’ is used only to refer to the linguistic repertoire of children speaking elite

languages, such as French and German, whilst migrant children's bilingualism is perceived as a "non-lingualism". Negative attitudes are also found in interviews conducted with mainstream teachers, where migrant learners are said to speak a "hybrid language" that is neither French nor their home language (Mazurkiewicz and Varro, 2001: 45). Similarly, and more recently, Auger (2008a) reports that newly-arrived migrant children's bi/multilingualism is perceived as a handicap rather than an asset to the extent that children speaking a post-colonial language do not consider themselves as being bilingual (2008b: 201). Based on these previous reports of negative ideologies held in the French educational system towards newcomers' bi/multilingualism, the question arose as to how I would obtain permission to enter schools and to access multilingual classroom practices if those same practices were to be denied or negatively perceived by gatekeepers and teachers.

### **3. Access negotiations with gatekeepers.**

During preliminary observations in a French primary school, I learnt that inspectors grant permission to enter schools provided that prior informal consent has been given by both the head teacher and teachers. However, informal consent can only be gained if either the head teacher or teachers have a guarantee of the researcher's trustworthiness. Unfortunately, I did not have informal contacts in schools that had an induction classroom. Therefore, in order to be directed to primary schools that run an induction programme and to be introduced to the school staff on an informal basis, I contacted the academic centre named CASNAV (*Centre Académique pour la Scolarisation des Nouveaux Arrivants et des enfants du Voyage*) which provides teacher training and teaching material for induction teachers. Although the CASNAV is attached to the French Ministry of Education, its representatives do not evaluate induction teachers' performance and it is, consequently, a more neutral body to be introduced by than inspectors. In this sense, the CASNAV represents an "intermediate gatekeeper" (Wanat, 2008: 199) in the hierarchy of the French educational system, insofar as it occupies formal authority positions but has also informal relationships with induction teachers. Establishing a positive research relationship with CASNAV representatives was thus crucial because they would be able to facilitate access to induction classrooms by acting as "intermediaries" and "guarantors" (Gobo, 2008: 121).

#### ***Presentation of the researcher-self***

In access negotiations with CASNAV representatives, I tried to build positive relationships that would eventually allow me to access induction classrooms. My aim was to foreground within my "portfolio of identities" certain social categories that were identifiable, salient and shared by gatekeepers (Harrington, 2003: 607-609). I thus highlighted three aspects of my identity, that of being French, that of having been a teacher, and that of being a researcher. I emphasised the fact that I had previously graduated as a teacher of French as a foreign language in France, and gave evidence of my status as a researcher. In my initial letter to the CASNAV, I provided official proof of my student status at the University of Edinburgh, a reference letter from my supervisor and head of department, as well as evidence of funding from the Economic and Social Research Council in the United Kingdom. The "psychological objectives" (Harrington, 2003: 610) – or the 'why' – underlying my self-categorisation as a teacher were to draw similarity between my concerns and those of CASNAV representatives for learners of French as an additional language, and to create common ground in addition to the mere fact that I was French. Those underlying my self-categorisation as a researcher were to reassure my interlocutors about the academic value of my investigation.

I also had to decide in what terms I was going to present my research interest in multilingual classroom practices. Based on the research literature aforementioned, I was aware of potential negative attitudes held in the French educational system towards newly-arrived migrant children's multilingualism. I was thus concerned that disclosing my research focus would jeopardise access to induction classrooms. During my initial meetings with CASNAV representatives, I observed that my attempts to address the issue of multilingualism were avoided or not taken further by my interlocutors. I concluded that my research focus was tapping into a 'taboo area' that was best avoided in order to maintain positive relationships in access negotiations. Consequently, I decided to expose my research topic in broad terms, saying that I intended to investigate "classroom

interactions in induction classrooms – teacher-led interactions as well as peer-led interactions”. Using the generic term ‘classroom interactions’, rather than the more specific term ‘*multilingual* classroom interactions’, raised the ethical issue as to whether I had given enough information for CASNAV representatives to give me a fully informed consent to my access query, as required by codes of research practices in France (Baude, 2006) and the United-Kingdom (BAAL, 2006). Although ethically debatable, defining a research topic in generic terms is a strategy that appears in previous accounts of access. Scholars report for instance that informed consent from the start of the research is “neither possible nor desirable” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 57) and that, during access negotiations, they used “neutral topics” (Beynon, 1983: 39), “toned down” the language of their research proposal (Klaas, 2006), or were “truthful, but vague and imprecise” (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998: 33). In fact, for the researcher to be able to disclose the specificity of a research topic to gatekeepers, both the researcher and gatekeepers would need to share a set of theoretical and political orientations; which is unlikely to be the case and thus an unrealistic criterion to meet. Therefore, rather than it being a matter of being ‘vague and imprecise’, the issue is more that being specific might not offer greater clarity if gatekeepers do not participate in the same discursive and theoretical universe as the researcher.

### ***Gatekeepers’ interpretation of the researcher-self***

My identity claims of being French, a researcher and a colleague were all challenged by gatekeepers. Firstly, CASNAV representatives did not acknowledge my ‘French-ness’ and seemed to categorise me as an ‘outsider’ due to my affiliation to a British university. One of my interlocutors argued that, insofar as multiculturalism and multilingualism are not dealt with in the same way in the British and French educational systems, I could not study France’s educational programmes for newly-arrived children with a “British mindset”. He then stressed that, in France, integration is mediated by the French language and that, consequently, in induction classrooms, French ought to be the sole language of instruction and the sole language of classroom interaction. Secondly, CASNAV representatives questioned my actual intentions as a researcher and the real motives behind the fact that a British institution would sponsor a research project in France. Gatekeepers seemed to be concerned that I would report and subsequently criticise their models of educational provision for newly-arrived migrant children to my British funding body. Along with Burgess (1991), I thus wondered to what extent my sponsor had influenced research access since it seemed that rather than identifying me as a researcher, gatekeepers identified me as an evaluator. Thirdly, CASNAV representatives did not recognise me as one of their colleagues, a teacher, on the basis that my training as a teacher of French as a foreign language was irrelevant to the purview of teaching French as a language of instruction.

This first account illustrates the bilateral process of self-presentation (see mainly Goffman, 1959) at hand in access negotiations, whereby the ethnographer’s identity claims must be recognised and approved by gatekeepers in order to be granted access. As Harrington points out, participants, and in my case gatekeepers, have ‘power’ since they are not “passive recipients of a researcher’s impression management strategies, but are active in accepting, rejecting, or modifying the researcher’s identity claims” (2003: 617). Most importantly, gatekeepers’ interpretations of my identity claims were embedded in political considerations and macro-contextual ideologies. Predominantly, gatekeepers seemed to have interpreted the local discursive process of our access negotiations in the wider dialectic of France’s and Britain’s societal models of integration. It looked as if my dual identity of being French but working in the United-Kingdom had been interpreted as a double alliance that cast doubts over my research intentions. Finally, gatekeepers interpreted my research topic and my self-categorisation as one of their colleagues against the background of their monolingual ideologies of language teaching and learning. As suspected in initial meetings, these CASNAV representatives held negative attitudes towards the use of NAM children’s first language(s) in induction classrooms. In summary, access negotiations with gatekeepers were an interactional space where all participants negotiated both the identity of the other and their own identity. However, by repositioning me as an outsider, gatekeepers were not refusing to grant access. They redefined their identity, and what it is to be part of the French state educational system – namely, to adhere to certain ideologies on integration, and language teaching and learning. That is,

they asserted definitional control over all definitions of identity and co-membership, including over how I fitted in. Subsequently, they granted me access to two induction classrooms.

#### **4. Access negotiations with induction teachers.**

The CASNAV introduced me to two induction teachers in two different primary schools. Induction teachers accepted informally to be observed for a short while before deciding to contribute to a longer ethnographic study. On the strength of this informal consent, and of the support from the CASNAV, I obtained official permission from the respective inspectors to carry out two weeks of participant-observations in each induction classroom and to audio-record classroom interactions. Although I was granted entry to these induction classrooms, I had yet to gain access to their potential multilingual practices since teachers might monitor their behaviour so as to present themselves as following monolingual norms. In this regard, induction teachers are gatekeepers of their classroom insofar as it is up to them to display their classroom practices. The interpersonal aspect of access negotiations with induction teachers can also be discussed in terms of self-presentation and social identity.

##### ***Presentation of the research topic***

In both induction classrooms, I presented myself in the same way as with the CASNAV, that is, as being French, a teacher and a researcher. However, I adopted two different strategies regarding the presentation of my research topic. In the first induction classroom, I presented my research topic in broad terms, saying that I wanted to observe how teacher and pupils interact in an induction classroom. During the two week observations, classroom interactions were conducted in French as well as in children's first languages. At the end of these preliminary observations, I expressed to the induction teacher my interest in conducting a longer study in her classroom to observe more closely her use of French alongside newly-arrived migrant children's first languages. Following our agreement, I returned to her classroom a few months later. However, despite a two month observation period, I noted a conspicuous lack of any use of children's first languages to the extent that interactions were strictly monolingual in French. I thus concluded that, although I had secured entry to this induction classroom for a few months, the induction teacher prevented me from accessing multilingual practices.

Based on this first episode, I decided to adopt a different strategy with the second induction classroom and stated from the start my interest in "the way activities are conducted in the midst of the eight languages available in this classroom". During the two weeks of preliminary observations, the induction teacher did a 'demonstration class' and talked me through the different classroom activities where she would ask children to rely on their first languages. Regularly, she suspended interactions and explained why a switch to another language occurred. In brief, her awareness of the exact focus of my project had affected the naturalness of classroom talk and invalidated data collection processes. In the end, the induction teacher stated she had shown me everything she could and refused to participate in a longer period of investigation.

To sum up, access negotiations with gatekeepers gave me entry to two induction classrooms, but access negotiations with induction teachers did not give me access to multilingual classroom practices. Along with a distinction between *access* and *cooperation* (Wanat, 2008), these two episodes call for a distinction between *access* and *entry* (Harrington, 2003; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), whereby access is not only a matter of gaining entry into a community or institution but also a matter of being in a situation where data collection is effective.

##### ***Induction teachers' negative attitudes towards the research topic***

One way of making sense of these two access negotiations with induction teachers is to posit that induction teachers held negative attitudes towards the use of newcomers' first languages in classroom interactions and therefore perceived my research topic negatively. Indeed, once the first induction teacher heard about the actual focus of the project, she stopped allowing children to switch to their respective first language(s). In this regard, it is likely that this induction teacher realised her own teaching practices when being observed by the ethnographer and decided to readjust her practices in line with her monolingual ideology of language teaching and learning. This interpretation is all the more plausible since, during informal conversations, this induction teacher



exposed a monolingual understanding of language teaching and learning. In this way, it is also possible to make sense of access negotiations with the second induction teacher. She may have held negative attitudes towards the use of newly-arrived children's first language(s) but, nevertheless, staged multilingual practices in order to please the ethnographer. Her refusal to contribute to a long term ethnographic study may reflect the fact that during unstaged classroom practices, interactions would tend to be monolingual.

### ***Induction teachers' perception of the researcher as an evaluator***

A second way of making sense of those two access negotiations is by positing that both induction teachers categorised the ethnographer not just as a teacher and a researcher, but first and foremost, as an evaluator closely associated with the CASNAV. Although the CASNAV does not formally assess teachers' performances, it provides teacher training and support for induction teachers. Its ideologies about language teaching and learning represent therefore a model of good practice that induction teachers aspire to follow. In this sense, the first induction teacher's switch from multilingual to monolingual teaching practices can be interpreted as a fear of being evaluated as not conforming to the CASNAV's ideologies. Likewise, it is likely that the second induction teacher refused to collaborate in a long term ethnographic study because she was reluctant to display unstaged classroom practices in front of the ethnographer-evaluator.

Perceiving the ethnographer as an evaluator is not an unusual phenomenon and has been reported in previous school ethnographies (see for instance Woods, 1986). Nevertheless, the interesting point here is that induction teachers' reactions towards an 'ethnographer-evaluator' confirm the more or less covert monolingual norms and ideologies held in the CASNAV. Furthermore, they indicate that relying on gatekeepers to introduce me to induction teachers situated access negotiations within monolingual ideologies of language teaching and learning held in the French educational system and prevented me from accessing "de facto" multilingual language policies.

### **5. An alternative route of access.**

Following these unsuccessful access negotiations with induction teachers, I decided to adopt an alternative route of access, and to approach induction teachers without the mediation of gatekeepers. CASNAV representatives introduced me to a CASNAV from a different educational district, where representatives let me contact induction teachers directly, via an internal electronic mailing list. Mails sent via this list were read only by induction teachers and communication was therefore beyond the influence of CASNAV representatives. I thus adopted a "bottom-up" approach to access (Silverman, 2000) by sending a call for participation to all induction teachers of this new educational district. In this way, I was able to introduce myself as someone with internal access to the educational system while dissociating myself from gatekeepers.

In the call for participation sent to induction teachers, I stated clearly the focus of my research project in the hope that teachers who held negative views regarding the use of children's first languages would naturally opt out from the study. This call for participation triggered multiple and various replies, and most importantly, some enthusiastic replies from a few induction teachers who held an ideology of language teaching and learning different from that of gatekeepers'. The following excerpt from an audio-recorded interview with one of these induction teachers is a good example:

“[...] I'm not the kind of person who is going to tell one of my pupils: 'right, my dear, you are in France and it's to learn French. And you know, the Senegal...' ((Gesture that indicates indifference)). They know that me, I am the institution, but that, at the same time, I don't endorse that stuff about 'we're here to learn French, and that's the only thing that matters and all the rest it's a private issue'. Me, I say: 'we're here to learn French but you are Senegalese, and this, it interests me a lot'” (T2 interview 12: 350, my translation).

This positive ideology about newcomers' multiculturalism and multilingualism enabled induction teachers to perceive the focus of my research positively, that is, as enhancing their work and

standpoints on teaching. In the end, I secured entry to an induction classroom taught by one of these induction teachers and accessed classroom interactions where more than seven languages were used.

## **6. Discussion.**

In the following section, I would like to discuss how access negotiations reported in this paper were influenced – and hindered by – ideologies held in the French educational system and in French society at large. Taking into account the macro-context of access negotiations is not new, and has in fact been done by several scholars conducting ethnographic research in educational settings. In his ethnography of schooling, Gilborn (1994) for instance acknowledges the influence of wider educational reforms in his access to schools. Similarly, Troman (1996) discusses the role of macro-societal values in his unsuccessful attempts to access English primary schools to conduct ethnographic research. Likewise, Klaas (2006) addresses the impact of ideologies in his access negotiations to carry out race ethnographic research in white schools in South Africa. In this section, I will focus on two ideologies that have influenced my access negotiations with gatekeepers and induction teachers: France's and Britain's ideologies of integration, and monolingual versus multilingual ideologies of language teaching and learning.

### ***France's and Britain's ideologies of integration***

As I have shown, my identity claim of being an insider to the French community based on my French nationality was challenged by gatekeepers who seemed to perceive me as an 'outsider', a 'foreigner', studying France's educational programmes for newly-arrived migrant children from the perspective of Britain's ideology of integration. This indicates that local discursive identity negotiations taking place during the process of access were embedded in France's and Britain's conflicting ideologies of integration. To meet space constraints, these ideologies can only be briefly summarised. Great Britain operates a multicultural model of integration whereby migrant communities are recognised as such and co-live in British society. On the contrary, France operates what might be called a 'monocultural' model of integration, whereby migrants are integrated and assimilated to the French nation, which is seen and portrayed since the Revolution as a monolingual and monocultural entity. Based on the Republican principle of 'Equality for All', migrant communities are not recognised as such – the French state remaining "indifferent to differences" (Forquin, 2000: 156). In this regard, learning French is seen as a key tenet for a successful integration and is therefore the principal aim of induction classrooms, often at the expense of children's first languages. Due to this ideological context, CASNAV representatives appear to have interpreted my focus on issues of language-in-education policy in multilingual contexts as being a focus on multilingual language practices per se; practices that they precisely discourage in favour of the sole use of French in the classroom.

### ***Monolingual versus multilingual ideologies of language teaching and learning***

During the course of access negotiations with gatekeepers and induction teachers, I have also shown that monolingual ideologies of language teaching and learning have influenced the way in which I presented myself and my research topic, and the way in which this presentation has been interpreted by my interlocutors. According to this ideology, one's first language must be left behind in order to be able to acquire a second language. Castellotti (2001) notes that this monolingual ideology of language teaching and learning resulted in pupils' first language(s) being considered as a "real 'taboo'" (2001: 10) as they are thought to prevent second language acquisition. We recall that this 'taboo' on newcomers' multilingualism has indeed been perceived during initial meetings with CASNAV representatives and has influenced my decision to present my research topic in broad terms. In turn, the two induction teachers I first observed oriented to a monolingual ideology of language teaching and learning.

However, a bottom-up approach to access revealed that some induction teachers hold a multilingual ideology of language teaching and learning. This ideology underlies the work of a strand of French researchers who consider learners' multilingual repertoire as being strategic for language teaching and learning and as needing to be developed into a multilingual and multicultural competence (see for instance Coste, Moore and Zarate, 1997; Moore, 2008). In the specific context of induction

classrooms, Auger's recent DVD designed for induction teachers (2008a) shows examples of teaching sequences grounded in children's first languages. The fact that some induction teachers endorse this multilingual ideology has not been reported in previous studies - and shows the extent to which the process of access is in itself a process of data collection (Beynon, 1983: 42; Whyte, 1984: 34; Harrington, 2003: 599).

### **7. Concluding remarks.**

I have shown in this paper the influence of ideologies in the 'how' and 'why' of identity negotiations involved in the process of access in multilingual school ethnography. During access negotiations, I tried to foreground aspects of my identity and of my research topic that would draw common ground with my interlocutors and facilitate my presence within the educational institution. However, my identity claims (of being French, of being a researcher and of being a teacher) have all been challenged by gatekeepers on the basis of wider ideologies held in the French educational system and in French society at large. In turn, the way I presented my research topic to gatekeepers was also shaped by my perception of the surrounding monolingual policy. In a similar way, I have reported how access negotiations with induction teachers have been embedded in ideologies of language teaching and learning. Access negotiations mediated by gatekeepers were especially hindered by institutional monolingual ideologies, as induction teachers most likely perceived me as an 'evaluator' closely associated with gatekeepers. However, a bottom-up approach to access negotiations revealed that some induction teachers hold multilingual ideologies, which gave me access to 'de facto' multilingual language policies in induction classrooms.

It goes without saying that this "trajectory of access" (Bruni, 2006) does not stop where this paper finishes, and includes further negotiations to access, for instance, inducted children's language practices in small groups. Equally, this personal account of access negotiations does not claim to be prescriptive by any means. It is rather a call to consider the specificity of access negotiations in multilingual school ethnography – namely the way in which micro negotiations are intertwined with macro ideologies towards multilingualism in education and in society at large. This account shows that access strategies should therefore be part of ethnographic accounts as they are the first *loci* where ideologies are enacted, and represent, therefore, a first window onto the institution's ideologies. Thus, whilst access strategies are understood as being "designed and adjusted according to the characteristics of the organization or group observed, its type (company or institution), its size (large, medium, small or very small), and the aims of the research" (Gobo, 2008: 120), I have illustrated the fact that, in multilingual school ethnography, access strategies are also "designed and adjusted" according to the gradual manifestation of the institution's ideologies.

### **Acknowledgments.**

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## - Appendix 7- Copy of Bonacina (2010)

**Bonacina, F. 2010.** Multilingual label quests: A classroom practice in a migratory educational context. In *Proceedings of the BAAL Annual Conference 2009*. London: Scitsiugnill Press.

### Introduction

The notion of ‘label quests’ was first coined by Heath (1986) to refer to “language activities in which adults either name items or ask for their names” (1986: 168) during adult-child interactions. A prototypical example would look like this:

Example 1:

1. Adult: what is this/
2. Child: a cat
3. Adult: yes (.) a cat

Label quests (LQ) are also typical classroom language activities and have been widely identified in classroom talk studies as being a useful teaching strategy in bi/multilingual classroom contexts (e.g. Arthur, 1996; Martin, 1999; Martin et al. 2006). However, scholars have not yet described the interactional mechanism of this teaching strategy and, more precisely, how it can be conducted in more than one language. Therefore, this paper aims to show the interactional organisation of LQ, investigating at what level of the LQ language alternation occurs.

### Data set and methods

The discussion in this paper is drawn from a Conversation Analysis of a set of classroom interaction audio-recorded in an induction classroom for newly-arrived migrant children in France. In this induction classroom, eight languages were co-present (i.e. French, English, Spanish, Japanese, Polish, Lithuanian, Peul, and Arabic). I have analysed LQs conducted in more than one language in light of Schegloff’s framework of sequence organisation (2007), which accounts for “expansions” embedded within the minimal unit of the LQ. Three different structural organisations of LQs emerged; among which were, what I propose to call, ‘multilingual label quests’ (MLQ).

### An example of multilingual label quest

I define MLQs as interactional sequences where labels are named or elicited in languages other than the medium. In our corpus, MLQs are interactional sequences where French is the ‘medium of classroom interaction’ (Bonacina and Gafaranga; submitted) and within which other languages are allowed at two specific levels: seconds or pre-second insert expansions (what I call Type 1 of MLQ) and post-expansions (what I call Type 2 of MLQ). Extract 1 gives an example of MLQ of Type 1.

Extract 1<sup>73</sup>:

1. Teacher: ça s’appelle comment/  
what is it called/
2. Alexia: ah! (.) **es una historieta!** <Spanish>  
ah! (.) *it’s a cartoon!*
3. Micaela: que (.) comme (.) il parle-  
that (.) like (.) that speaks-
4. Brianna: en anglais on dit **comics** <English>  
*in English we say comics*

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<sup>73</sup> Transcription conventions can be found at the end of the paper.

5. Teacher: voilà (.) exactement (.) exactement (.) en anglais on dit/  
*there you go (.) exactly (.) exactly (.) in English you say/*
6. Brianna: **comics** <English>  
*comics*
7. Teacher: **comics** <English> (.) et en japonais/ (.) Sheido/  
8. (.) en japonais/  
*comics (.) and in Japanese/ (.) Sheido/ (.) in Japanese/*
10. Sheido: **manga** <Japanese>  
*cartoon*
11. (.)
12. Teacher: hein/  
*uh/*
13. All: **manga** <Japanese>  
*cartoon*
14. Teacher: **manga** <Japanese> ((T writes it on the board))  
*cartoon*
- [...] ((The teacher asks in Lithuanian and in Peul))
60. Teacher: et en français donc personne sait comment ça s'appelle en  
61. français ça/  
*and in French so no one knows what it is called in French this/*
62. (.)
- [...] ((Children suggest answers that are not ratified by Teacher))
73. Teacher: ça s'appelle des bandes dessinées!  
*it is called a cartoon!*
74. All: bandes dessinées!  
*cartoon!*

Here, the teacher is trying to elicit the French label 'bande dessinée' (in English, cartoon) from her pupils. The first pair part of the MLQ (line 1) does not have its second pair part until many turns later (line 73) since pupils have difficulties finding the requested French label<sup>74</sup>. However, the pupils still orient to the LQ by providing the label in their first language(s) in lieu of a second pair part. For instance, line 2, Alexia shows understanding ("ah!"), pauses and gives the label in Spanish. Line 4, Brianna gives the English label, signalling that it is not the expected French label ("en anglais"). The teacher acknowledges these turns (line 5) as leading to pre-second insertions. Between lines 5 to 60, the teacher initiates what might be called 'translation quests', that is, interactional sequences where the translation of a label is named or elicited. Line 5 to 7, the teacher initiates a translation quest into English: line 5 is the first pair part, Brianna's answer line 6 is the second pair part and the teacher's repeat line 7 is the sequence closure third. Then, line 7 to 60, the teacher initiates translation quests into Japanese, Lithuanian and Peul (a language from Senegal)<sup>75</sup>. Structurally speaking, these four translation quests are all embedded in the wider MLQ at the level of pre-second insertions. Lastly, the teacher reiterates the first pair part lines 60-1 and gives the French label line 73 – the second pair part of the MLQ. Pupils repeat in a chorus the new French label line 74 – which is the sequence closure third of the MLQ.

In brief, this extract shows that language alternation is orderly and part and parcel of the multiple layers of MLQs. It also indicates how traditional teaching practices such as LQs can be structurally expanded to accommodate the functional use of language alternation in classroom talk.

### Transcription conventions

The conventions follow largely Jefferson (2004). Other key conventions are below:

**Bold** A bold font indicates a stretch of talk uttered in a language other than French.

*Word* A grey italicised stretch of talk indicates a free translation into English.

<> Left/right carats contain the indication of the language in which the preceding stretch of talk was uttered.

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<sup>74</sup> Being newly-arrived migrants, these pupils are learners of French as a second language.

<sup>75</sup> The full extract could not be reproduced due to space constraints.

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## - Appendix 8 -

### Copy of Bonacina and Gafaranga (2010)

**Bonacina, F. and Gafaranga, J. 2010.** 'Medium of instruction' vs. 'medium of classroom interaction': Language choice in a French complementary school classroom in Scotland. *The International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*: 1-16 iFirst article

The aim of this paper is to account for language choice and alternation phenomena we have observed in a French complementary school classroom in Scotland. In this classroom, talk can be conducted in French (the official medium of instruction), in English (the other language in contact) and in both French and English. A critical review of the literature has revealed that current studies of bilingual classroom talk are conducted either from a 'local order' perspective or from an 'overall order' perspective. While the local order perspective is indifferent towards the phenomena we have observed in the target classroom, the overall order perspective can account only for part of the data, namely cases where talk is conducted in the medium of instruction. Therefore, drawing on Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, this paper suggests an alternative view. Building on Gafaranga (2007a, 2007b, 2009), we demonstrate that the notion of 'medium of classroom interaction' is a more appropriate "scheme" (Garfinkel 1967) for the interpretation of the bilingual practices we have observed.

Keywords: code-switching; bilingualism; classroom interaction; conversation analysis; complementary school; French.

#### Introduction

During participant observation in a classroom in a French complementary school in Scotland (hereafter conveniently referred to as 'La Colombe') and subsequent focused examination of the data we had collected, a situation emerged which we think requires an account. In the classroom, three possibilities were open for participants to conduct their interaction as practical social action. They could conduct their interaction in French, the prescribed medium of instruction; they could conduct it in English, the other language in contact; and they could talk using both French and English. Once one of these possibilities had been adopted, participants could deviate from it for specific functional effects. In ethnomethodological terms and following Gafaranga (2007a, 2007b, 2009), the issue these possibilities raise can be described as that of the *overall order* in bilingual classroom talk. Therefore this paper proposes an ethnomethodological / conversation analytic account of the situation we observed at La Colombe.

By way of an illustration of one of these possibilities, consider extract 1 below. In the extract, two children, Marie and Louise, are accomplishing a task which consists of creating sentences from words written on cards. Transcription conventions can be found at the end of the paper.

#### Extract 1:

163. Marie: « mon frère » « va » « au cinéma »  
164. « aujourd'hui »  
165. Louise: **no but just move this**  
166. (.1)

167. Marie: **how about this/** (.) « mes cousins » « aime »  
 168. « regarder » « les films d'aventure »  
 169. Louise: je pense que-  
 170. Marie: **there** j'ai un autre (.) « dans »  
 171. « ma chambre »  
 172. (.)  
 173. Louise: **I've got one!**  
 174. Marie: merci=  
 175. Louise: **=look!** (.) j'ai **another one again**  
 176. Marie: **great**  
 177. Louise: oui::!

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163. Marie: « my brother » « goes » « to the cinema »  
 164. « today »  
 165. Louise: **no but just move this**  
 166. (.1)  
 167. Marie: **how about this/** (.) « my cousins » « like »  
 168. « watching » « adventure movies »  
 169. Louise: I think that-  
 170. Marie: **there** I have another one (.) « in » « my  
 171. bedroom »  
 172. (.)  
 173. Louise: **I've got one!**  
 174. Marie: thanks=  
 175. Louise: **=look!** (.) I have **another one again**  
 176. Marie: **great**  
 177. Louise: yes::!

As the transcript shows, the children are using both French and English to accomplish the task. Individual turns are completed in one language, but inter-turn language alternation occurs as well. A turn in one language may be responded to in the same language, but it may also be responded to in a different language. And, departing from this use of both English and French, participants consistently use French to refer to the French words on the cards.

We felt that this particular type of classroom order deserved an explanation for current accounts of language choice in bilingual classrooms, despite impressive results, seem to be limited in scope. Motivated by the desire to uncover the pedagogic functions of classroom code-switching (Ferguson 2003, 2009), these studies focus on the use of languages other than the medium of instruction<sup>1</sup> prescribed by the school language policy. So, for example, investigating language choice in a classroom where French has been declared the medium of instruction, Heller argues that “any use of English must be seen as a direct contestation of the legitimacy of French, and, by extension, of the teacher’s authority” (1996, 150). Likewise, in her investigation of language choice in a bilingual classroom in a rural classroom in South Africa where English has been adopted as the medium, Probyn (2009) says that the other language in contact is “smuggled” in. As a last example, McGlynn and Martin (2009), in their investigation of language choice in a classroom in Gambia where English is the medium of instruction, describe the use of Mandinka and Wolof as a “break of the (‘no vernacular’) rule”. In all these examples, classroom interaction is seen as normatively conducted in the declared medium of instruction. From this normative use of the medium of instruction, participants would occasionally deviate into the other language(s) present in the setting for functional effects. Clearly, this assumption that classroom interaction is necessarily and normatively conducted in the medium of instruction prescribed by the school language policy can account for only part of the phenomena we have observed at La Colombe. It can account only for those cases where interaction is indeed conducted in French.

Thus our aim in this paper is to explore an alternative framework, a framework which would allow us to account for the totality of the data in the setting we have investigated and, hopefully, for language choice in other bilingual classroom settings as well. As Martin-Jones (1995) and Ferguson (2009) have made it clear, studies of classroom code-switching follow (ought to

follow) the trends in code-switching research at the community level. In a series of recent publications, Gafaranga (1999, 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Gafaranga and Torras 2001), drawing on ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, has consistently argued that language choice in bilingual conversation can be accounted for, not with reference to the grammarian's notion of language, but rather with reference to the "actually oriented-to participants' own code", a code that he refers to as the *medium*<sup>2</sup>. According to Gafaranga, this code may, but need not, be monolingual. It may also be bilingual. Drawing on Gafaranga, we will adopt the notion of *medium of classroom interaction*, instead of that of *medium of instruction*, and show how it can allow us to account for the language choice phenomena we have observed at La Colombe.

This paper is organised in four main sections. Section 1 describes the sociolinguistic context of the data used in this paper and the methods used to collect them. In section 2, we briefly review previous studies of bilingual classroom talk and show their limitations vis-à-vis the phenomena we have observed in the target classroom. Section 3 describes in detail the language choice patterns we have observed at La Colombe. Finally, in the fourth and last main section, we develop the notion of *medium of classroom interaction* and show how it can allow us to account for the phenomena we have observed at La Colombe.

## **CONTEXT AND DATA**

Complementary schools – also referred to as 'heritage language schools', 'supplementary schools', 'community language schools' and 'mother-tongue schools' – are, in Britain at least, "voluntary, community organisations, aiming primarily at literacy teaching in the heritage languages to the British-born generation of young children" (Wei and Wu 2009, 196). They are implemented by ethnic minority communities willing to maintain their linguistic and cultural heritage in a society where the school system is failing to meet their needs (Wei 2006, 81; Creese and Martin 2006, 1). Despite being implemented in different settings, complementary schools in the UK share common defining characteristics. They take place out of school hours, or during weekends, in borrowed or rented premises. They are voluntary schools usually run and taught by parents. And, of interest for this paper, they operate either a One-Language-Only Policy or a One-Language-At-a-Time Policy (Wei and Wu 2009, 193); in other words, their (more or less overt) language policy is to compel learners to use the heritage language.

La Colombe, the French complementary school where the data for this paper were collected, was created in 1992 by a group of French expatriate parents and parents still contribute to its funding. Additional funds for the school are provided by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the programme F.L.A.M. (Consolidation du Français Langue Maternelle). This programme was set up to support educational initiatives for children aged between five and sixteen attending school in a language other than French outside of France (see <http://www.programme-flam.fr>).

Similarly to other UK-based complementary schools, La Colombe meets once a week for two hours on the premises of a local mainstream primary school. Only children with a French native speaking parent are allowed to register in the school. Once admitted, children are allocated to classes on the basis of their age and proficiency in the French language. At the time of the study (the school year 2004-2005), there were five classes for a total of forty two children aged between five and thirteen. Teachers have to be native speakers of French. And, in line with the F.L.A.M. policy and with parents' expectations, the school operates a French monolingual policy.

Interactions reported in this paper are drawn from the older class of this complementary school. The class was attended by ten children aged between nine and thirteen. The teacher, fully qualified for teaching in the mainstream Scottish educational system, was bilingual in French and English (native French and fluent English second language speaker). This teacher organised his teaching in three main sequences, namely an initial time for whole class discussion, a time for pair group work and a time for feedback with the whole group. Data were collected in all three phases of the teaching sequence.

Data were collected over a three-month period in the academic year 2004-2005 and involved participant observation in the five classes, interviews with stakeholders and parents and audio-recordings of classroom interaction in the advanced class. For the purpose of this paper and in line with the ethnomethodological / conversation analytic perspective we have adopted, only

transcripts of classroom interaction will be considered. Although access issues are common to multilingual school ethnographies (Bonacina, forthcoming), access to the school and the specific class was facilitated by the fact that the fieldworker (*deleted*) had a long established relationship with the school personnel as a former colleague. Ethics standards were complied with: disclosure checks, informed consent from the head of the school and signed consent from parents. Names and other explicit identification have either been changed or deleted.

### **CODE-SWITCHING IN THE CLASSROOM: WHAT IS SWITCHED FROM?**

As indicated above, our main aim is to account for the fact that, at La Colombe, participants could choose to speak French, English or both French and English and, once a ‘base code’ had been chosen, they could switch from it to serve specific purposes. That is to say, our main question is that of the code which is switched from in bilingual classroom talk. In other contexts, this is known as the ‘base language’ issue (e.g. Swigart 1992; Auer 2000). With respect to the question of what code is switched from in bilingual classroom talk, current accounts of code-switching in the classroom divide into two main categories<sup>3</sup>. On the one hand, there are studies which approach language alternation from what we might call a ‘*local order*’ perspective. In this perspective, researchers focus on language contrast, either within turns and between turns, without any attention to whether there is or is not any organising principle beyond the local contrast. Typically, in this perspective, issues of whether or not there is a base code in the discourse they analyse are not felt to be particularly relevant. Space limitations do not allow us to review studies in this category in detail. We will thus only mention one by way of an illustration. Raschka, Sercombe and Chi-Lin (2009) have studied language choice in an EFL classroom in Taiwan and noticed that, in the classroom, both English and Mandarin were used. A short passage from the study can be used by way of illustrating these authors’ position. After they had given an extract of data, they wrote:

“In this extract, Ebony (the teacher) is talking in Mandarin about the inability to lose weight, then switches to English to highlight a topic shift in form (*sic*) of a discourse marker (...) and then continues in L1 to ask students how far they got in the previous class session. This extract is typical in that it was quite often difficult to establish whether, in fact, the base or matrix language being used was English or Mandarin” (2009, 164).

From this passage, it is easy to see that the authors’ interest is, not in whether there is an overall order in language choice, but rather in the juxtaposition of languages at the local level. The fact that no “base or matrix language” could be identified did not stop the authors from proceeding with their analysis, looking at switches as they occurred. A similar situation can be found in the burgeoning studies of code-switching in complementary schools. For example, Martin et al (2006) examined the issue of how bilingualism is managed in classroom interaction in a Gujarati complementary school in Leicester (UK) and reported that “participants spontaneously *juxtapose* Gujarati and English in order to create learning/teaching opportunities” (2006: 5, our emphasis). Clearly, this idea of the spontaneous juxtaposition of languages implies a local level view of language choice, or at least does not signal any status differential between the languages involved. Clearly, this local order perspective is not appropriate for the kind of issues we are pursuing. As we have said above, the issues our data raise are primarily those of the overall order in bilingual classroom interaction.

The second category of studies of bilingual classroom interaction consists of those which can be described as the ‘*overall order*’ perspective. In this category, a more or less explicit distinction is made between the declared medium of instruction and the other language(s) in contact in the classroom. Following this distinction, the medium of instruction is assumed to be the default choice against which the use of the other language(s) is seen as deviance. Thus, in these studies, the fact of using the medium of instruction is seen as unremarkable, while the use of the other language(s) is seen as noticeable and accountable, i.e. as requiring an account. In McGlynn and Martin (2009) study mentioned above, for example, the use of Wolof and Mandinka is seen as a ‘break of the rule’, not because of the local sequential context in which it occurs, but rather because it deviates from the normative use of English. Likewise, in Probyn (2009), the use of local South African languages such as Xosa can be seen as a case of ‘smuggling’ only by comparison to the

legitimate use of English which, in the context, need not be commented upon. A third example we can give is Butzkamm (1998) who entitled his study “Code-switching in bilingual history lesson: The mother tongue as a conversational lubricant”. In assigning a specific function to the mother tongue, Butzkamm implicitly means that the use of the other language involved (i.e. the medium of instruction) is unremarkable, need not be accounted for.

However, these ideas of the contrast between the normative use of the medium of instruction and the rather deviant use of the other language(s) involved need not be so explicit. For example, Lin (1996) analysed data from an EFL classroom in Hong Kong and established a distinction she glossed as “L2 Topic – L1 Annotation” (1996, 70). According to this distinction, in the particular classroom, topics were introduced in English and annotations such as explanations and reformulations were accomplished in Cantonese. That is to say, in the context, the two languages are seemingly equal and equally interesting because they perform different tasks (see local order perspective above). However, even in such cases, the notion that the declared medium of instruction provides the overall order is never far away. Indeed at the same time as she was making the above distinction, Lin also wrote of Cantonese as being “a break in the English pedagogic frame” (1996, 66).

A particularly oblique form of the distinction between the normative use of the medium of instruction and other languages involved can be found in the many studies in which the term *code-switching* (CS) actually stands for the use of the language(s) other than the medium of instruction. An interesting case in point is Moodley (2007). Moodley studied learner-learner talk in a multilingual classroom in South Africa, focusing on Zulu speaking children in an English-only environment. Throughout this study, the term CS is used to refer to the use of Zulu. The following statement is revealing of this use of the term CS as a gloss for the use of languages other than the medium of instruction:

“The findings show that CS in group-work in the classroom is a natural phenomenon that occurs in the speech patterns of those who have the repertoire to do so. The findings also reveal that by *strategic use of the learners’ NL (L1)*, by *means of intersentential and intrasentential CS*, learners themselves in learner-learner interaction were able to: enhance their vocabulary by providing their NL equivalents or synonyms or explanations, grasp difficult ideas and concepts, provide meaningful and significant additional information, etc...” (2007, 718; our emphasis).

As the highlighted passage indicates, the use of NL (national language or learners’ L1) is the same as code-switching (intrasentential or intersentential). By implication, the use of English is normative, i.e. is not code-switching.

In the complementary school context, a study by Wei and Wu (2009) exemplifies the overall order perspective on code-switching in the classroom. Wei and Wu examined code-switching practices in five Cantonese complementary schools in Manchester (UK). Among other significant statements by the authors, we read:

“These schools are set up to teach Chinese literacy to the British Chinese children and their policy is to use Chinese only. However, *as our evidence shows, both the teachers and the pupils use a great deal of English* and they codeswitch frequently and regularly in and out of the classroom” (2009: 208, our emphasis).

As the statement makes it clear, the interesting observation was, not of the use of Chinese, but of the use of English by both teachers and pupils. On the other hand, the use of English was noticeable and interesting, not with reference to the immediately preceding or immediately following use of Chinese (local order), but by reference to the school’s language policy as a whole. To be sure, Wei and Wu also equate code-switching with the use of English. Our account of language choice practices at La Colombe follows in this tradition of research which adopts the overall order perspective on code-switching in bilingual classrooms.

## Patterns of language choice at La Colombe

The overall order perspective on bilingual classroom talk as described above is a promising start in addressing the language choice phenomena we have observed at La Colombe. As we have seen, at La Colombe, one type of language choice pattern consists of using the medium of instruction, French in this case, as the default against which the use of the other language, English, is seen as deviant and therefore as accountable. An example of this pattern of language choice can be found in extract 2 below, a case of what Gafaranga (2000) calls *medium repair* (see also McHoul 1990; and Macbeth 2004 for a discussion of repair and error correction in classroom interaction). In the extract, Louise is telling the teacher her plans for the weekend.

### Extract 2:

51. Louise: moi je vais aller entre euh (.) au camp (.) faire  
52. de la camp  
53. Teacher: ah ouais d'accord (.) oui  
→54. Louise: avec euh (.) les (.) **guides**  
55. (.)  
56. Teacher: les/  
→57. Louise: **guides**  
58. Res.: les scouts  
59. Louise: mais c'est pour les filles\  
60. Teacher: ok merci Louise (.) et Patrick (.) tu fais quoi ce  
61. week-end/

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51. Louise: me I'm going to go between erm (.) to a camp (.) to  
52. do a camp  
53. Teacher: ah yeah all right (.) yes  
54. Louise: with erm (.) the (.) **guides**  
55. (.)  
56. Teacher: the/  
57. Louise: **guides**  
58. Res.: the scouts  
59. Louise: but it's for girls\  
60. Teacher: ok thank you Louise (.) and Patrick (.) what are  
61. you doing this weekend/

In the extract, both French and English are used. However, they do not have the same status. In 54, in keeping with previous talk, Louise starts her turn in French. However, she runs into difficulty finding the *mot juste* as evidenced by the different “trouble markers” (Gafaranga 2000) (euh, pauses). She then moves into English, switching from her choice of French so far, to signal what she's having difficulty with. That is, she uses English to initiate repair. On receiving this, the teacher uses a specific strategy, namely the pause in 55, to allow Louise to self-repair (see preference for self-repair in conversation in Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977). When, to Teacher, Louise has not done anything as a result of the pause, he takes the turn, repeats ‘les’ with a rising intonation and, by so doing, explicitly calls for repair. That is, 56 is a case of other-initiation of repair. In 57, rather than providing the required repair, Louise repeats the English word ‘guides’, as if to say that she is unable to come up with the needed *mot juste*. In 58, Res suggests a possible equivalent in French (other-repair) with which Louise agrees only partially (59). Finally, in 60, Teacher closes the sequence before selecting Patrick as next speaker. Thus, in this case, the use of English can be seen as a case of deviance from the norm, and by implication, French can be seen as the norm. In other words, the use of English is noticeable by reference to the choice of French. A similar situation where French, the medium of instruction, is used as the base code is extract 3 below.

### Extract 3:

08. Colin: c'est du peinture qui est- (.) qui est très:: (.)  
→09. euh:: (.) **liquid**

10. Teacher: qui est quoi/  
 →11. Colin: **liquid**  
 12. Teacher: liquide  
 13. Colin: liquide

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06. Colin: it is a paint that is- (.) that is very:: (.) erm::  
 07. (.) **liquid**  
 08. Teacher: that is what/  
 09. Colin: **liquid**  
 10. Teacher: liquid  
 11. Colin: liquid

In 06, Colin is using French. However, he runs into difficulty, as evidenced by the trouble markers (self-interruption, pause, recycle, elongation, pause, holder, pause). These trouble markers are used by way of signalling that a problem has arisen. As nobody has come to the rescue, Colin shifts to English to signal exactly what the trouble source is. That is, Colin has used a variety of strategies, including language switching, to initiate repair. In 08, instead of providing repair as called for by Colin, Teacher does ‘doing being’ the teacher and initiates repair in his turn, by way of encouraging Colin to try further and come up with the missing word in French. In 09, Colin comes back with the same English word (‘liquid’). At this point, the teacher understands that Colin will not be able to solve the problem by himself and repairs the on-going problem (10) and in 11, Colin ratifies the repair. Briefly, here again, French is demonstrably the base code participants are using, and from which they deviate into English for specific functional effects.

Both examples above of the use of French as the base code occur in teacher-learner talk, but the use of French as the base code can also occur in learner-learner talk. Here is an example. Lucie and Marie are completing sentences in an exercise where only the verb ‘être’ (i.e. ‘to be’) should be used. In this sequence, they are not in agreement as to whether to use ‘êtes’ (second person plural, present tense) or ‘sont’ (third person plural, present tense) in front of the word ‘vieux’ (adjective meaning ‘old’) and after ‘vous’ (2<sup>nd</sup> person plural personal pronoun).

Extract 4:

230. Marie: sont/  
 231. Lucie: êtes!  
 232. Marie: sont [« vieux »  
 233. Lucie: [êtes! (.) êtes! (.) c’est êtes parce  
 234. que c’est « vous » là (.) alors faut ça  
 235. ((pointing at her exercise sheet))  
 236. (.1)  
 237. Lucie: « vous » êtes! « vieux »  
 →238. Marie: **how do you spell [that/**  
 239. Lucie: [là là là ((pointing at the  
 240. conjugation on her paper))  
 241. Marie: ah d’accord=  
 242. Lucie: =« vous » êtes! « vieux »

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230. Marie: are/  
 231. Lucie: are!  
 232. Marie: are [« old »

233. Lucie: [are! (.) are! (.) it is are because it  
 234. is « you » there (.) so you need this  
 235. ((pointing at her exercise sheet))  
 236. (.1)  
 237. Lucie: « you » are! « old »  
 238. Marie: **how do you spell [that/**  
 239. Lucie: [there there there  
 240. ((pointing at the conjugation on her paper))  
 241. Marie: ah alright=  
 242. Lucie: =« you » are! « old »

Marie maintains that ‘sont’ should be used while Lucie is of the opinion that ‘êtes’ should be used instead. In turn 233, Lucie goes beyond stating her position and provides an account for it. Given this action, the expectation was that Marie would either counter-attack and provide an account for her own position or give in to Lucie’s point of view. In 236, a noticeable silence occurs, which is analysed by Lucie as indicating that Marie has given in. She therefore proceeds to concluding the sequence by phrasing the final sentence (237). In 238, Marie “moves out of closing” (Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Button 1986) and queries an aspect of Lucie’s position (spelling). To further mark this departure, she switches away from French and uses English. In 239, Lucie provides a second pair part to Marie’s first pair part, but misaligns with her by maintaining the use of French. In 241, Marie provides a ‘minimal post-expansion’, concludes the ‘post-expansion’ (Schegloff 2007) and noticeably moves back to French and re-aligns with Lucie at the level of language choice. Finally, in 242, Lucie concludes the sequence, repeating the agreed French sentence. Here again, the use of French is the base code and that of English is a case of functional deviance signalling the movement out of closing. Briefly, the first pattern of language choice at La Colombe consists of the choice of French, the medium of instruction, as the base code and, as already indicated, this pattern is consistent with current studies carried out under the overall order perspective on bilingual classroom interaction.

However, as we have already indicated, at La Colombe, there are also patterns of language choice which challenge the current overall order perspective on bilingual classroom interaction. The first of these patterns is when English is used as the base code. An example of this pattern is extract 5 below. In the extract, Lucie and Louise are accomplishing a word search looking at a grid of letters where some French words have been dissimulated amongst other letters.

Extract 5:

57. Lucie: **I can’t find** « attraper »  
 58. (.)  
 59. Louise: « coudre »  
 60. (.)  
 61. Lucie: **where is** « danser »/  
 62. Louise: **I’m! supposed to find** « danser »  
 63. Lucie: **no I! am**  
 64. Louise: **no!**  
 65. Lucie: **alright**  
 66. (.)  
 67. Louise: **I can’t find any of mine (.) I’m rubbish**

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57. Lucie: **I can’t find** « to catch »  
 58. (.)  
 59. Louise: « to sew »



60. (.)  
 61. Lucie: **where is** « to dance »/  
 62. Louise: **I'm! supposed to find** « to dance »  
 63. Lucie: **no I! am**  
 64. Louise: **no!**  
 65. Lucie: **alright**  
 66. (.)  
 67. Louise: **I can't find any of mine (.) I'm rubbish**

As the transcript shows, talk in this case is conducted in English, with French being used only for the French words the children are looking for. An even more interesting use of English as the base code is extract 6 below. In the extract, two children, Colin and Pierre, are disputing the ownership of a card which happens to be lying between their respective piles.

Extract 6:

29. Colin: **it's mine**  
 30. Pierre: **no (.) it's mine**  
 31. (.)  
 →32. Colin: **c'est à moi**  
 33. Pierre: **okay (.) so you will have this one and I will**  
 34. **work with this one**  
 35. Colin: **thanks**

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29. Colin: **it's mine**  
 30. Pierre: **no (.) it's mine**  
 31. (.)  
 32. Colin: **it's mine**  
 33. Pierre: **okay (.) so you will have this one and I will**  
 34. **work with this one**  
 35. Colin: **thanks**

In 29, Colin states his position and in 30, Pierre states his. In both cases, English is used. In 31, a pause, which could be attributed to Colin as next speaker, occurs. This pause may be interpreted as an opportunity Colin leaves open for Pierre to self-repair. As Pierre does not self-repair, Colin reformulates his position. In so doing, he departs from his previous use of English and uses French, as if to up the stakes. In 33, Pierre gives in and, interestingly, uses English, as if to downscale the tension. And, in 35, Colin shows appreciation to Pierre and he too uses English, shifting back from his previous use of French, as if to mark the new recovered interpersonal alignment. Thus, in this extract, as in the previous one, English is used as the base code from which participants switch to French for very specific purposes. Clearly, cases like these cannot be accounted for by reference to the medium of instruction as French, the medium of instruction, is not used as the base code.

The third pattern of language choice we have observed at La Colombe is when both French and English are used as the code. An example of this pattern is extract 1 above. As we have seen, in that extract, neither English nor French can be seen as the “language-of-interaction” (Auer 1984). Rather, the use of both languages itself is the code. Another example of this pattern is extract 7 below.

Extract 7:

251. Tony: **ok (.) je cherche « plonger » (.) si tu**  
 252. **trouves « plonger » dis-moi**  
 253. (.3)  
 254. Pierre: **it doesn't matter I'm going to the next**  
 255. **one (.) « retrouver » (.) mm (.) are you**  
 256. **looking for « reposer »/**

257. Tony: non  
 258. Pierre: **I found** « se reposer » (.) **it's your one**  
 259. Tony: où/  
 260. Pierre: **there** « se re- po- ser »  
 261. Tony: où/  
 262. Pierre: **here** ((pointing to the exercise sheet))  
 263. Tony: ah oui

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251. Tony: ok (.) I'm looking for « to dive » (.) if  
 252. you find « to dive » tell me  
 253. (.3)  
 254. Pierre: **it doesn't matter I'm going to the next**  
 255. **one** (.) « to find » (.) **mm** (.) **are you**  
 256. **looking for** « to rest »/  
 257. Tony: no  
 258. Pierre: **I found** « to rest » (.) **it's your one**  
 259. Tony: where/  
 260. Pierre: **there** « to- re- st »  
 261. Tony: where/  
 262. Pierre: **here** ((pointing to the exercise sheet))  
 263. Tony: ah yes

Although both extract 1 and extract 7 can be seen as instances of the use of both English and French as the base code, a fundamental difference exists between the two. As we have seen, in extract 1, both participants are using both languages. In extract 7, on the other hand, Tony consistently uses French while Pierre consistently uses English. Other researchers have spoken of unreciprocal language choices (e.g. Zentella 1997) in situations like these. However, what is remarkable is that, despite these apparently diverging language choices, interaction proceeds smoothly as if nothing unusual has occurred. Here again, the notion that interaction in bilingual classrooms is normatively conducted in the medium of instruction imposed by the school language policy is not helpful.

To summarise the argument thus far, at La Colombe, three different patterns of language choice can be observed. Interaction can be conducted in French, the prescribed medium of instruction; it can be conducted in English, the other language in contact; and it can be conducted in both French and English. Out of these three patterns, the current overall order model of language choice in bilingual classrooms can account only for one, namely the pattern where French is used as the base code. Because of this insufficiency, in the section below, we explore an alternative model of the overall order in language choice in bilingual classroom interaction.

### **FROM 'MEDIUM OF INTERACTION' TO 'MEDIUM OF CLASSROOM INTERACTION'**

As Martin-Jones (1995) has noted, code-switching research at the classroom level is often influenced by trends of code-switching research at the community level. Research in classroom code-switching adopts models developed to account for code-switching at the community level. In code-switching research at the community level, researchers have been debating the issue of what counts as the code in bilingual interaction for some time now. Particularly, researchers have argued that the notion of *language*, a grammatical system, and that of *code*, a semiotic system, are different. Thus, already in Gumperz (1982), there is a suggestion that the “grammarians’ notion of language” and “the participants’ own notion of code” might be different. This issue was further taken up by Alvarrez-Cáccamo (1998) who introduced the notion of “communicative code”. Here again, it is argued that the notion of language and that of communicative code are different. Likewise, Auer (1984, 2000) has argued that, if participants alternate frequently between turns and within turns, none of the languages involved can be seen as the language-of-interaction, that is, the benchmark against which

occurrences of the other language must be seen. Rather, he maintains, the use of both languages itself must be seen as the code participants are using.

However, issues of what counts as code in code-switching has nowhere been felt as strongly as in studies of post-colonial contexts where, as Muysken (2000) has observed, alternation is mostly of the turn-internal type. Thus, in her investigation of language choice in a variety of settings in East Africa, Myers-Scotton felt the need to postulate a category of language alternation she referred to as “code-switching itself as the unmarked choice” (1983, 1988). In this category, language alternation would do for its users exactly the same job as the use of any other language variety. Likewise, Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998), in their investigation of language choice among Zairians in Belgium concluded explicitly that, in this setting, there existed what they called “monolectal code-switching”. Along the same tradition, in a series of contributions, Gafaranga (1999, 2007a, 2007b, 2009) has argued that among the Rwandans (in Rwanda and in Belgium) and on specific occasions of interaction, code-switching itself could be seen as the code participants are using. To highlight the specificity of this linguistic code, Gafaranga speaks of the *medium of interaction*. Crucially, Gafaranga argues that this code may be monolingual, just as it can be bilingual. Gafaranga and Torras (2001) further respecified the concept and claimed that, in the case of the bilingual medium, different possibilities can be observed, namely the mixed mode, the parallel mode and the half-way between mode.

Although the notion of medium of interaction was initially developed to account for language choice in mundane conversations, some initiatives to use it to account for language choice in bilingual institutional settings have already been undertaken. Thus Torras (2005; Torras and Gafaranga 2002) has applied it in her study of service encounters in Barcelona and Cromdal (2005) has adopted the concept in his study of English-Swedish alternation in dyadic learner interaction. It is following these initial successes that we propose the notion of *medium of classroom interaction* as the “scheme of interpretation” (Garfinkel 1967) for language choice acts at La Colombe and, by implication, in bilingual classroom interaction in general. We define the notion of *medium of classroom interaction* as the ‘the linguistic code’ that classroom participants actually orient-to while talking, as opposed to the policy-prescribed medium of instruction.

To recall, three patterns of language choice were observed at La Colombe. The notion of medium of classroom interaction can easily account for them all. As we have seen, the first pattern is when French, the prescribed medium of interaction, is used as the base code. The notion of medium of classroom interaction easily accounts for this pattern, for in this case, we can speak of a French monolingual medium. Speakers may depart from this monolingual French medium for functional purposes (repairable deviance as in extracts 2 and 3 and non-repairable deviance as in extract 4). The second pattern, as we have seen, consists of the use of English as the medium. In this case, we will speak of a monolingual English medium, from which speakers can depart for specific functional purposes as in extracts 5 and 6. Finally, the third pattern, as we have seen, consists of the alternate use of French and English itself as the medium (i.e. as a bilingual medium), either in the form of the mixed mode as in extract 1 or in the form of the parallel mode as in extract 7.

## **CONCLUSION**

To summarise, the main aim of this paper has been to account for language choice phenomena we have observed in the advanced class in a French complementary school in Scotland that we have conveniently termed La Colombe. In this classroom, as in the school as a whole, the policy-prescribed medium of instruction is French. However, observation revealed that actual talk could be conducted in French; it could be conducted in English and it could be conducted in both French and English. From these base codes, speakers could switch to one of the other languages involved for specific functional effects. We therefore set out to explore the various possibilities in which these patterns of language choice could be accounted for. A review of the existing literature on language choice in bilingual classrooms revealed that the perspective which gets closest to accounting for

these phenomena is what we termed the ‘overall order’ perspective on bilingual classroom talk. This is the perspective whereby bilingual classroom interaction is assumed to be normatively conducted in the medium of instruction prescribed by the school language policy. From this prescribed medium of instruction, speakers would switch to other languages for functional effects. When we applied this framework to our data, it became clear that it can account only for one of the three patterns we had identified, namely those cases where French was used as the base code.

Because of this limitation, we moved out of the bilingual classroom literature to explore other possibilities, looking specifically into models of language choice in bilingual conversation at the community level. Thus the overall order model of language alternation as developed by Gafaranga offered itself as a potential alternative. Drawing on this model we adopted the notion of ‘*medium of classroom interaction*’ as an alternative to that of ‘medium of instruction’. This notion of medium of classroom interaction proved to be adequate for the phenomena we had identified, accounting both for normative language choices as well as deviance from them.

At this point, a *so-what* problem arises. Previous studies of language choice in bilingual classrooms have amply demonstrated that code-switching is a resource that participants draw on, especially in contexts where they have to struggle with difficult subject content and learn a second language at the same time (Ferguson 2009). However, as the discussion above suggests, those studies might be theoretically flawed. Particularly, the underlying assumption that bilingual classroom interaction is normatively conducted in the policy-prescribed medium of instruction might not be always justified. The question which arises is therefore whether the respecification we have proposed above undermines or else improves the view that, in bilingual classroom contexts, code-switching is a resource for participants. Based on the evidence we have provided, this respecification improves the view that code-switching is a resource in bilingual classrooms in the sense that it contributes to a better understanding of what exactly goes on in bilingual classrooms. Before code-switching is claimed to be a resource, it must be clear exactly what it consists of, exactly what is switched from. For example, one of the most cited functions of code-switching is “CS for constructing... knowledge” (Ferguson 2009, 231). In the data we have looked at, this would be the case in extracts 1, 6 and 7. Yet, as we have shown, such a view would gloss over important differences. To start with, each of the three examples represents a different pattern of language choice (a mixed mode in example 1, a parallel mode in example 7 and a monolingual medium in example 6). Secondly, in all three cases, we cannot really speak of code-switching serving the said function as, strictly speaking, no code-switching has actually occurred. As we have seen, each of the three cases represents a different version of the code. In other words, in this case, the function is actually served by the various types of normative language choice in the classroom. Given the difficulties involved in generalising from a single case study and by way of a conclusion, an invitation is extended for more investigations of language choice in bilingual classrooms along the lines we have developed in this paper.

### **TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTION**

Free translations into English are given after each extract. The start of a translation is signalled by a horizontal line.

Speakers’ names have been anonymised.

Each line, rather than each turn, is numbered on the left.

<b>Bold</b>	Indicates that a part of speech is in English
<i>Italics</i>	Indicates that a part of speech is being practiced.
« word »	Indicates that a part of speech is being read at loud
(.)	Indicates a pause shorter than a second, within turn or between turns
(.1)	Indicates a timed pause within or between turns
word-	Indicates a turn that is being interrupted or a word not completed
/	Indicates a rising intonation
\	Indicates a falling intonation
!	Follows a part of speech uttered loudly compared to its surrounding speech
=	Indicates a turn being latched by another speaker

:: Indicates a part of speech being elongated

Section 1.01

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

*Deleted.*

## **Notes**

1. Here the notion of ‘medium’ and that of ‘language’ are seen as equivalent. However see below for a different conceptualisation of the notion of ‘medium’.
2. Here the notion of ‘medium’ and that of ‘language’ are seen as different.
3. Studies of code-switching in complementary schools remain very scarce and the studies referred to below mostly come from mainstream classrooms.

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## - Appendix 9 -

### Transcripts of classroom interaction

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T2 S1 D1 V1

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T2 S1 D1 V1 E1

At the start of the school day, a child asks each pupil if they eat at the canteen. Here, Hakim is doing the register.

--00:25--

1. Miss Lo: alors les enfants c'est vrai (.) stop  
2. (.) une seconde  
3. (.2)  
4. Miss Lo: là tout le monde parle (.) chacun  
5. parle avec quelqu'un (.) mais euh par  
6. exemple ça fait trois fois que Hakim  
7. ((laughing)) demande à Leila si tu  
8. manges à la cantine (.) il te demande  
9. si tu manges à la cantine  
10. Leila: non (.) je ne mange pas à-  
11. Miss Lo: attends (.) mais là (.) pour qu'elle  
12. puisse t'entendre (.) il faut qu'elle  
13. ne parle plus avec Talia (.)  
14. alors tu attends (.) tu lui fais un  
15. petit signe (.) et tu lui poses ta  
16. question (.) d'accord↑ (.) parce que  
17. si tu lui poses ta question (.)  
18. Leila tu manges à la cantine  
19. Leila tu manges à la cantine (.)  
20. Leila elle elle entend rien du tout  
21. (.) hein (.) est-ce que tu manges  
22. Andrea: Leila! [(.) yo salemos a la (.) a  
23. la (.) tres cuatro por ahí porque  
24. vamos a:: (.) judo  
25. Leila: [non je ne mange pas  
26. Miss Lo: qu'est-ce que tu dis euh (.) Andrea↑  
27. Andrea: aujourd'hui euh (.) judo  
28. (.)  
29. Miss Lo: aujourd'hui (.) quoi↑  
30. Andrea: judo  
31. ?: chambara  
32. Karen: c'est chambara!  
33. (.)  
34. Miss Lo: donc (.) c'est-à-dire (.) j'ai pas  
35. compris  
36. Andrea: aujourd'hui c'est judo  
37. Miss Lo: oui (.) mais dis-le moi autrement  
38. (.)  
39. Miss Lo: aujourd'hui (.) qui va au judo↑  
40. (.)  
41. Miss Lo: est-ce que Adriana va au judo↑  
42. Researcher:moi!  
43. Miss Lo: ah (.) Hakim (.) et moi  
44. (.)  
45. Miss Lo: comment tu vas dire (.) en français  
46. Andrea: euh  
47. Cristina: Maya et moi  
48. (.)  
49. Miss Lo: oui  
50. (.)  
51. Andrea: je vais aller-  
52. Miss Lo: on! va  
53. Andrea: on va (.) au:: judo

54. Miss Lo: très bien (.) à quelle heure↑  
 55. Andrea: ( )  
 56. Miss Lo: voilà  
 --01:25--

**T2 S1 D1 V1 E2**

Children are writing the little red riding hood in their language(s) to prepare for the multilingual play they will perform in front of the rest of the school.

--09:45--  
 669. Miss Lo: alors (.) qui c'est qui veut expliquer  
 670. à Cristina à quoi servait ce document↑  
 671. (.)  
 672. Leila: euh  
 673. (.2)  
 674. ((Leila whispering to Talia))  
 675. Karen: ouais (.) [en espagnol et anglais-  
 676. Miss Lo: [alors qu'est-ce qu'il  
 677. fallait faire avec ça↑  
 678. Leila: mais Cristina-  
 679. Karen: [moi j'ai fait ça!  
 680. Miss Lo: [chut chut chut! (.) Karen [attends  
 681. Leila: [je (.)  
 682. tu **tienes que traducir** (.) et:: (.)  
 683. en espagnol (.) pour demain (.) que  
 684. on va faire le théâtre  
 685. Kenji: moi j'ai fait ça!  
 686. Miss Lo: alors Kenji! (.) attendez (.) posez  
 687. vos pochettes  
 688. (.2)  
 689. Miss Lo: euh (.) Leila (.) explique à Cristina  
 690. (.) essaye d'expliquer à Cristina à  
 691. quoi servait ce document  
 692. Leila: ça c'est pour demain (.) que on va  
 693. faire le théâtre (.) c'est pour ça  
 694. que::-  
 695. Miss Lo: et donc qu'est-ce qu'on a euh (.)  
 696. décidé (.) ensemble (.) par rapport au  
 697. théâtre↑  
 698. (.)  
 699. Leila: que:: les enfant qui parlent euh (.)  
 700. espagnol va parler en espagnol (.)  
 701. les enfants qui parlent en japonais  
 702. va parler en japonais  
 703. (.)  
 704. Miss Lo: et pourquoi on a décidé de faire ça  
 705. comme ça (.) puisque on est en clin  
 706. pour apprendre le français pourquoi  
 707. on a décidé (.) que il y a des  
 708. enfants qui vont parler en espagnol  
 709. (.) et des enfants qui [vont parler  
 710. en japonais  
 711. Leila: [que  
 712. Leila: parce que c'est (.) plus rigole↑  
 713. Miss Lo: hahaha ((laughs))  
 714. Researcher: hahaha((laughs))  
 715. Leila: °je sais pas°  
 716. Miss Lo: parce que c'est plus rigolo oui  
 717. Karen: parce que c'est plus marrant  
 718. Miss Lo: ah oui (.) parce que c'était plus  
 719. expressif (.) que quand vous étiez  
 720. dans votre langue c'était beaucoup  
 721. plus vivant que quand vous étiez en  
 722. français (.) [euh::  
 723. Talia: [en espagnol  
 724. Miss Lo: oui mais c'est pas que pour ça parce  
 725. que sinon on parlerait jamais  
 726. français (.1) sinon on parlerait



727. qu'espagnol [et ce serait beaucoup  
728. plus::  
729. Leila: [°attends (.) un deux  
730. trois°  
731. (.2)  
732. Leila: °quatre°  
733. Miss Lo: mais parce que on va le montrer à qui  
734. ce spectacle (.) enfin ce- cette  
735. petite (.) ce théâtre  
736. Cristina: à- à le cml  
737. Leila: cml!  
738. (.)  
739. Miss Lo: au cml (.) et qu'est-ce que vous  
740. pensez que les cml euh (.)  
741. connaissent de l'espagnol ou du  
742. japonais  
743. Leila: [non  
744. ?: [non  
745. (.)  
746. Miss Lo: est-ce qu'ils connaissent le japon-  
747. l'espagnol et le japonais  
748. ?: [non  
749. Leila: [non  
750. Kenji: moi je sais de l'espagnol  
751. Miss Lo: shh  
752. Talia: moi je [connais japonais  
753. Karen: [parce que-  
754. Miss Lo: Karen (.) toi tu penses quoi  
755. Kenji: [moi je sais d'espagnol  
756. Karen: [parce que je pense  
757. Talia: °anata no kaban° <your bag>  
758. Leila: °konichua° <hello>  
759. Miss Lo: chut! (.) Talia!  
760. Karen: [euh:: (.) que (.) eux  
761. Kenji: [°hola°  
762. Talia: °arigato watashi° <thank you I>  
763. Karen: apprendre [l'anglais  
764. Kenji: [°arigato° <thank you>  
765. Miss Lo: ah! (.) attendez écoutez Karen (.)  
766. elle a une idée [sur la question qui  
767. est intéressante  
768. Class: [((laughs))  
769. (.)  
770. Miss Lo: oui  
771. Karen: je pense que eux (.) ils apprendre  
772. [le anglais  
773. Kenji: [°arigato°  
774. Class: [hahaha ((laughs))  
775. Miss Lo: tu crois (.) qu'ils apprennent! (.1)  
776. qu'ils apprennent  
777. Karen: qu'ils apprennent (.) l'anglais  
778. Leila: cml apprend anglais  
779. Miss Lo: d'accord (.1) les cml apprennent  
780. l'anglais (.) donc Karen dit oui moi  
781. je pense qu'ils connaissent notre  
782. langue puisqu'ils apprennent  
783. l'anglais (.) parce que ta langue  
784. Karen c'est↑  
785. Karen: °anglais°  
786. Miss Lo: c'est l'anglais  
787. (.)  
788. Miss Lo: donc pour toi [(.) oui (.)  
789. Leila: [( )  
790. Miss Lo: les cml connaissent l'anglais (.)  
791. mais est-ce qu'ils apprennent  
792. l'espagnol ou le japonais↑  
793. ?: [non  
794. Talia: [non  
795. ?: [non  
796. ((laughs))  
797. Talia: le japonais ((laughs))

798. Miss Lo: et pourquoi ils pourraient pas  
799. apprendre l'espagnol ou le japonais  
800. Leila: [parce que-  
801. Karen: [parce que euh::  
802. Miss Lo: hein↑  
803. Leila: c'est trop difficile  
804. Miss Lo: Kenji tu penses quoi  
805. (.)  
806. Miss Lo: [pourquoi ils ne pourraient pas  
807. apprendre le japonais↑  
808. Talia: [non l'espagnol c'est facile  
809. Kenji: parce que (.) euh (.) [japon est  
810. petit  
811. Leila: [dicen leshe  
812. Miss Lo: ch::ut (.) parce que le japon est  
813. petit↑  
814. Kenji: oui  
815. Leila: [haha ((laughs))  
816. Talia: [non!  
817. Miss Lo: non mais (.) non mais c'est pas (.)  
818. oui c'est intéressant (.) et donc↑  
819. (.) et donc↑  
820. Kenji: et donc (.) euh  
821. (.)  
822. Leila: hihhi ((laughing)) (.) [°cuidado que  
823. este chico [( ) °  
824. Kenji: [euh  
825. (.)  
826. Miss Lo: donc il y a beaucoup de gens qui  
827. parlent japonais↑  
828. Kenji: non  
829. Leila: hihhi ((laughing))  
830. Miss Lo: non↑ (.) il n'y a↑  
831. Kenji: il n'y a pas de homme  
832. Leila: hihhi ((laughing))  
833. Miss Lo: il n'y a pas- chut! (.) Leila  
834. Leila: [pardon  
835. Kenji: [il n'y a pas de:: (.3) euh:: (.)  
836. personne  
837. Miss Lo: il n'y a pas beaucoup (.) de gens  
838. (.2) qui [parlent japonais  
839. Piotr: [il y a beaucoup de personne  
840. Kenji: oui  
841. (.)  
842. Miss Lo: donc tu penses que c'est pour ça (.2)  
843. qu'on apprend pas le japonais (.)  
844. Kenji: °oui°  
845. Miss Lo: en France  
846. Leila: dicen leshe no leche  
847. Talia: ah oui parce qu'il n'y pas beaucoup  
848. de-  
849. Leila: [japonais  
850. Talia: [non (.) oui: il y a beaucoup ici (.)  
851. de japonais  
852. Cristina: mais non! (.) il n'y a pas de  
853. japonais:  
854. (.)  
855. Leila: non: (.) Talia  
856. (.)  
857. Cristina: no hay nadie aqui  
858. (.)  
859. Talia: [( )  
860. Miss Lo: [mais pourtant (.) pourtant (.) il y  
861. a- (.) quand on est à l'université ou  
862. quand on est dans les écoles de  
863. commerce (.)  
864. Kenji: [anglais (.) beaucoup d'enfants  
865. Miss Lo: [il y a beaucoup de gens qui  
866. apprennent le japonais  
867. Cristina: mais oui mais il y a une autre école

868. qui (.) est japonaise  
869. (.2)  
870. Karen: [jacotaise↑  
871. Miss Lo: [donc c'est- (.) c'est- hhh  
872. ((laughing))  
873. Cristina: notre école  
874. Kenji: moi moi (.) travailler [(.) english  
875. Miss Lo: [donc (.)  
876. voilà une question intéressante (.)  
877. et alors l'espagnol (.) qu'est-ce  
878. qu'il en est de l'espagnol parce que  
879. pour le coup l'espagnol ya beaucoup  
880. de gens qui parlent espagnol  
881. (.2)  
882. Karen: ( )  
883. Leila: mais c'est (.) un peu difficile pour  
884. les français (.) l'espagnol  
885. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) donc c'est pour ça  
886. qu'on apprend pas l'espagnol  
887. Leila: j'ai écouté comment [(.) chantent en  
888. espagnol  
889. Talia: hahaha (.) oui: ((laughing))  
890. Leila: et elle dit (.) leshe  
891. Talia: leshe (.) chocolate  
892. (.1)  
893. Leila: et c'est [(.) leche  
894. Cristina: [oui c'est-  
895. Cristina: oui (.) moi aussi ça fait ça  
896. Kenji: café  
897. Talia: toi aussi tu dis leshe  
898. Kenji: café aussi  
899. Miss Lo: alors euh (.) chut! (.) oui je vois  
900. (.) Leila tu parles de quoi là  
901. exactement c'est-à-dire que vous avez  
902. chanté en espagnol↑  
903. Leila: oui  
904. Miss Lo: avec qui↑  
905. Leila: [avec cml  
906. Talia: [moi avec (.) monsieur Parizi  
907. Miss Lo: avec les cml  
908. Leila: oui  
909. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) et vous avez chanté la  
910. chanson qui s'appelle↑  
911. (.)  
912. Cristina: café  
913. Leila: [café  
914. Talia: [café  
915. Kenji: café  
916. Cristina: moi aussi  
917. (.2)  
918. Miss Lo: et (.) donc (.2) et donc vous l'avez  
919. chanté avec les enfants de la classe  
920. ou (.) bien vous l'avez chanté  
921. d'abord vous tout seul et puis les  
922. enfants ont- ont (.) essayé d'écouter  
923. ce que vous chantiez  
924. (.1)  
925. Leila: non parce que (.) je suis tout seule  
926. (.)  
927. Miss Lo: d'accord  
928. Leila: parce que Talia a (.) chanté avec  
929. monsieur Parizi  
930. Miss Lo: d'accord  
931. Leila: et moi avec euh (.) madame Verrier  
932. (.)  
933. Miss Lo: mais vous avez chanté (.) ce que je  
934. veux dire c'est vous avez chanté tous  
935. ensemble avec les enfants de la  
936. classe ou bien vous (.) on vous a  
937. fait chanter tout seul  
938. (. )

939. Leila: non (.) tous les enfants  
 940. Miss Lo: d'accord mais on vous a pas fait  
 941. chanter tout seul pour que les  
 942. enfants écoutent (.) non d'accord (.)  
 943. parce que moi j'avais dit aux maîtres  
 944. de ces classes (.) que peut-être vous  
 945. pouviez chanter tout seul (.) pour  
 946. que les enfants écoutent un peu (.)  
 947. comment vous prononciez (.) d'accord  
 948. (.)  
 949. Talia: [on chante à douze  
 950. Miss Lo: [et donc toi tu dis que les enfants  
 951. ne chantaient pas↑  
 952. Leila: bien ((laughing))  
 953. Miss Lo: pas bien  
 954. Leila: non  
 955. (.)  
 956. Miss Lo: c'est-à-dire (.) c'est l'accent qui  
 957. était pas bien ou c'était- qu'est-ce  
 958. qui [était pas bien↑  
 959. Cristina: [parce que-  
 960. (.)  
 961. Talia: l'accent  
 962. Miss Lo: chut  
 963. Cristina: parce que les enfants y dit (.) **acorr-**  
 964. (.) ( ) **ahora** et elle dit **arr-**  
 965. **ahorra**  
 966. ((children laughing))  
 967. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) et:: (.) par contre le  
 968. disque alors (.) était correct quand  
 969. même ce qui était sur le disque  
 970. Leila: oui: (.) le disque ou[i  
 971. Talia: [oui  
 972. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) et est-ce que était  
 973. exactement comme vous:: [(.) au  
 974. mexique  
 975. ?: [°halo (.)  
 976. **how are you (.) i'm fine thank you°**  
 977. Leila: non  
 978. (.)  
 979. Miss Lo: c'était la même chose (.) le même es-  
 980. enfin (.) c'était la même euh (.) le  
 981. même accent que pour vous↑  
 982. Leila: non (.) pour [moi non  
 983. Talia: [non  
 984. Miss Lo: ah  
 985. Talia: c'est difficile parce que **vosotros**  
 986. (.) [je sais pas  
 987. Leila: [parce  
 988. que c'est (.) le disque c'est en  
 989. espagnol (.) mais d'Espagne  
 990. (.)  
 991. Miss Lo: d'accord  
 992. Leila: c'est pas la m-  
 993. Miss Lo: c'est pas l'espagnol d'Espagne  
 994. d'accord (.) et donc↑  
 995. (.)  
 996. Miss Lo: qu'est-ce qui n'est pas pareil↑  
 997. (.)  
 998. Leila: le (.) mm (.)  
 999. Talia: le acc[ent  
 1000. Leila: [l'accent  
 1001. Miss Lo: [l'accent  
 1002. Cristina: [l'accent  
 1003. (.)  
 1004. Miss Lo: et c'est difficile pour vous de  
 1005. prendre cet accent↑  
 1006. Leila: non  
 1007. Talia: oui (.) pour moi un peu  
 1008. Miss Lo: oui (.) ou bien vous avez chanté  
 1009. comme vous- (.) avec euh- (.) comme

1010. vous chantez en Argentine au Mexique  
1011. Leila: o[ui  
1012. Talia: [oui  
1013. Miss Lo: oui (.) très bien (.) euh (.) on a  
1014. pas parlé de ça mais on va faire (.)  
1015. on va participé à une chorale (.)  
1016. vous savez ce que c'est qu'une  
1017. chorale↑  
1018. Talia: [non  
1019. ?: [non  
1020. Leila: °hola (.) hallo°  
1021. Miss Lo: qui sait qu'est-ce que c'est qu'une  
1022. chorale  
1023. (.)  
1024. Cristina: oui  
1025. Miss Lo: Cristina  
1026. Cristina: c'est pour chanter (.) a (.) devant  
1027. les enfants  
1028. Miss Lo: oui  
1029. Leila: esta loco ((talking to Talia))  
1030. Miss Lo: devant devant (.) et puis↑  
1031. (.)  
1032. Cristina: derrière  
1033. Miss Lo: hahaha ((laughing)) non (.) pas  
1034. derrière  
1035. ((children laughing))  
1036. Cristina: chanter à coté  
1037. Miss Lo: non (.) est-ce que vous chantez tout  
1038. seul devant les enfants  
1039. Karen: non  
1040. Cristina: non (.) chante ensemble  
1041. Miss Lo: voilà  
1042. Leila: [tout la classe  
1043. Miss Lo: [vous chantez ensemble (.) vous  
1044. chantez a-[ (.) avec des enfants des  
1045. autres classes  
1046. Cristina: [avec-  
1047. Miss Lo: la même chanson (.) donc tout le  
1048. monde- (.) elle s'appelle comment  
1049. cette chanson↑  
1050. Talia: [café  
1051. Leila: [café  
1052. Miss Lo: café  
1053. Kenji: café  
1054. Miss Lo: café↑ ou café↑  
1055. Talia: [café  
1056. Cristina: [café  
1057. Leila: [café  
1058. (.)  
1059. Miss Lo: café ou café (.) moi je- je  
1060. Cristina: café  
1061. Leila: café  
1062. Miss Lo: café (.) comme ça vous dites en  
1063. espagnol (.) moi je parle pas  
1064. espagnol  
1065. Talia: café  
1066. Miss Lo: café (.) d'accord (.) et donc on va  
1067. tous chanter la chanson café  
1068. Miss Lo: donc Amkoulel (.) Samba (.) euh (.)  
1069. Kenji (.) on va tous apprendre (.) la  
1070. [chanson en espagnol  
1071. Leila: [Kenji a apprendre l'espagnol  
1072. Talia: Kenji est très bien  
1073. Leila: Kenji parle bien l'espagnol  
1074. Kenji: [non moi je ne sais pas  
1075. Miss Lo: [ah (.) Kenji parle bien l'espagnol  
1076. Talia: euh (.) aussi (.) Karen  
1077. Miss Lo: Karen aussi parle espagnol  
1078. Talia: hola amigos!  
1079. Leila: haha (.) digo ( )  
1080. Miss Lo: oui Karen tu veux dire quelque chose

1081. Karen: euh (.1) parce que je (.) [( )]  
1082. Cristina: [elle dit  
1083. que ça c'est tout petit  
1084. Miss Lo: oui (.) mais pourquoi j'ai fait ce  
1085. tableau↑  
1086. (.2)  
1087. Miss Lo: j'ai fait ce tableau pour que (.3) mm  
1088. (.4) puisque (.2) dans- quand on va  
1089. faire la pièce (.) on va faire le  
1090. petit chaperon rouge en espagnol (.1)  
1091. tous les enfants ne vont pas parler  
1092. en espagnol (.) d'accord↑ (.1) ya- ya  
1093. peut-être le chaperon rouge il va  
1094. parler en espagnol et le loup il va  
1095. parler en japonais (.)  
1096. ((children laughing))  
1097. Miss Lo: et donc il faut bien que vous sachiez  
1098. (.) il faut bien que vous sachiez à  
1099. quel moment (.) le loup demande (.)  
1100. où vas-tu (.) puisque vous parlez-  
1101. Leila: maîtresse!  
1102. (.)  
1103. Leila: ça je comprends pas bien les lettres  
1104. et j'ai fait ça  
1105. (.4)  
1106. Kenji: c'est quoi↑  
1107. Miss Lo: voilà (.) donc chacun (.) voilà (.)  
1108. donc (.) Kenji (.) donc en fait (.)  
1109. Karen tu avais bien fait ce qu'il  
1110. fallait faire (.) c'est-à-dire que tu  
1111. as traduit (.) tu as traduit en  
1112. anglais (.) le texte et que- quand  
1113. Kenji (.) par exemple en japonais va  
1114. te demander où vas-tu petit chaperon  
1115. rouge  
1116. Leila: et tu comprends pas  
1117. Miss Lo: tu vas pas comprendre mais toi tu vas  
1118. savoir que (.) ça veut dire ça (.)  
1119. parce que (.) chut (.) parce que les  
1120. phrases elles sont toujours dans le  
1121. même ordre dans toutes les langues  
1122. (.1) tu comprends↑  
1123. (.3)  
1124. Leila: c'est pour savoir si tu parles en  
1125. polonais (.) c'est pour savoir que-  
1126. (.) que tu dis (.) mais c'est pas  
1127. pour dire la même chose que dans le  
1128. papier (.) c'est pour [savoir-  
1129. Cristina: [elle- (.) c'est pas euh (.) comme tu  
1130. dis en anglais euh ( ) et tu dis en  
1131. espagnol  
1132. Talia: where did you go:↑  
1133. Kenji: what did you do:  
1134. Cristina: et tu dis (.) ou tu dis (.) entre en  
1135. espagnol (.) et tu dis en anglais  
1136. Miss Lo: voilà (.) voilà (.) Cristina elle a  
1137. bien expliqué (.) lui elle va- (.)  
1138. elle va te dire 'entre' en espagnol  
1139. et toi tu vas répondre (.) [oui en  
1140. anglais  
1141. Cristina: [si elle  
1142. dit toc toc en espagnol (.) et toi tu  
1143. comprends pas (.) tu dis (.) yes  
1144. Miss Lo: t'as pas besoin de comprendre ce  
1145. qu'on te [dit  
1146. Cristina: [tu vois↑  
1147. Miss Lo: tu comprends↑  
1148. (.)  
1149. Miss Lo: est-ce que c'est plus facile si on le  
1150. fait tout en français↑

1151. Leila: non  
1152. Cristina: non!  
1153. (.)  
1154. Leila: c'est plus facile en espagnol [en  
1155. jap- (.)  
1156. Cristina: [en  
1157. espagnol  
1158. Leila: c'est plus joli  
1159. (.)  
1160. Miss Lo: ah plus joli d'accord (.) [mais plus  
1161. facile  
1162. Leila: [et- (.)  
1163. oui aussi  
1164. (.1)  
1165. Miss Lo: alors c'est plus facile que si Kenji  
1166. il te répond en jap- et si il te  
1167. répond en japonais c'est plus facile  
1168. que si il te répond en fran[çais  
1169. Kenji: [non  
1170. Leila: [oui:  
1171. Talia: oui  
1172. Cristina: oui c'est mieux  
1173. Miss Lo: en français↑  
1174. Leila: oui:  
1175. Miss Lo: vous comprenez pas le français↑  
1176. Leila: non:  
1177. Miss Lo: ah d'accord  
1178. ((children laughing))  
1179. Miss Lo: j'avais pas- (.) j'avais pas vu (.)  
1180. je ne m'étais pas rendu compte que  
1181. vous ne compreniez plus du tout le  
1182. [français  
1183. Talia: [je sais parler le japonais  
1184. Kenji: très difficile le japonais  
1185. Miss Lo: euh (.)  
1186. Talia: /tædædatædatædæda/ (19:13)  
1187. Leila: [konichiwa <hello>  
1188. Miss Lo: [est-ce que tout le monde euh (.)  
1189. Leila par contre (.) pour expliquer  
1190. aux enfants (.) comment dire (.)  
1191. Cristina: les enfants (.) [de cml  
1192. Miss Lo: [pour expliquer aux  
1193. enfants de cml (.) ce qu'on veut  
1194. vraiment faire (.1) il faudra qu'on  
1195. le joue une fois en français (.)  
1196. qu'ils l'entendent une fois en  
1197. français et après on dira (.) hop!  
1198. (.) comme s'il y avait un coup de  
1199. baguette magique (.) vous savez ce  
1200. que c'est qu'un [coup de baguette  
1201. ma[gique (19: 20)  
1202. Kenji: [baguette magique  
1203. ?: [non  
1204. ?: oui  
1205. Kenji: c'est quoi↑  
1206. Cristina: ( )  
1207. Leila: un corte de: (.) magico  
1208. (.)  
1209. Miss Lo: un coup! de baguette magique (.)  
1210. Kenji: baguette magique  
1211. Miss Lo: qui est-ce qui donne un coup de  
1212. baguette magique normalement (.)  
1213. [Karen  
1214. Cristina: [les enfants  
1215. Karen: les (.) enfants↑  
1216. Miss Lo: non (.) dans une histoire qui est-ce  
1217. qui donne un coup [de baguette  
1218. [magique  
1219. Karen: [heu [heu  
1220. Leila: je sais pas  
1221. Miss Lo: c'est le loup qui donne un coup de





1291. Kenji: [c'est quoi  
1292. Miss Lo: [ça  
1293. (.)  
1294. Miss Lo: la fée: qui change dans les histoires  
1295. que ya- que ya  
1296. Talia: ah: (.) [la hada madrina <the god  
1297. mother fairy>  
1298. Miss Lo: [ya un crapaud et elle fait  
1299. ça et-  
1300. Leila: una hada madrina: (.) oui  
1301. Kenji: ah  
1302. Miss Lo: d'accord↑  
1303. Kenji: ça c'est japon-  
1304. Karen: madri-na  
1305. Talia: en espagnol c'est hada madrina  
1306. (.)  
1307. Karen: en anglais fairy  
1308. Miss Lo: alors samba ça (.) tu as déjà entendu  
1309. de parler de choses comme ça  
1310. (.)  
1311. Miss Lo: vous dites comment en espagnol↑  
1312. Talia: hada madrina  
1313. Leila: hada madrina  
1314. Miss Lo: d'accord  
1315. Kenji: /læpædoni/  
1316. ((children laughing))  
1317. Miss Lo: chut (.) et Kenji en japonais ya ça  
1318. aussi↑  
1319. (.2)  
1320. Kenji: non  
1321. (.)  
1322. Miss Lo: est-ce qu'il y a des histoires avec  
1323. des fées comme ça (.) qui font (.)  
1324. ding! (.) et puis (.) ça- il y a  
1325. quelque chose qui-  
1326. Leila: comme la cenicienta! <cinderella>  
1327. ?: ( )  
1328. Talia: asi no se dicen  
1329. Leila: como se dicen↑  
1330. Talia: no se (.) [que en ingles se dice  
1331. cinderella  
1332. Miss Lo: [c'est quelqu'un qui a des  
1333. pouvoirs magiques [et qui fait (.) ting!  
1334. (.) comme ça sur ta tête et hop tu  
1335. deviens autre chose  
1336. Leila: [la solution  
1337. Miss Lo: ou bien je fais hop! (.) et la classe  
1338. ça devient-  
1339. ( )  
1340. Leila: ah! que me haga hop! y tenga mucha  
1341. ropa ropa sada (.) ting! <she does  
1342. hop! to me and I have lots of  
1343. clothes>  
1344. Miss Lo: une↑  
1345. Karen: une (.) [euh:: (.) palace  
1346. Leila: [yo te juro si pido un deseo  
1347. (.) pido ropa <I tell you that if I  
1348. had a wish (.) I would ask for some  
1349. clothes>  
1350. Miss Lo: un palace voilà (.) un (.) ch- (.) un  
1351. [château:  
1352. Talia: [yo (.) dinero ((laughing)) <me, I  
1353. would ask for some money>  
1354. Leila: no yo (.) porque yo me le logasto con  
1355. cosas tantas entonces quiero ropa  
1356. <not me (.) because I waiste Money  
1357. with silla things so I world prefer  
1358. getting some clothes>  
1359. Miss Lo: est-ce que ça ya ça au japon↑  
1360. (.)  
1361. Kenji: oui

1362. Miss Lo: ya ça dans les histoires au japon  
 1363. Kenji: oui  
 1364. Miss Lo: et alors au sénégal ya pas ça (.) et  
 1365. euh (.) est-ce que ça existe  
 1366. Kenji: peter pan  
 1367. Karen: euh non  
 1368. Miss Lo: tu penses quoi  
 1369. Leila: ça existe pas  
 1370. Miss Lo: non (.) ça c'est dans les livres  
 1371. pour euh (.) avec- (.) dans les livres  
 1372. de contes (.) ça n'existe pas hein  
 1373. (.) d'accord↑ (.) très bien  
 --22:21--

**T2 S1 D1 V1 E3:**

Telling the story of Little Riding Hood.

--23:34--  
 27. Miss Lo: Kenji  
 28. Kenji: mm  
 29. Miss Lo: est-ce que tu arriverais (.)1) puisqu'on va  
 30. terminer sur l'histoire du petit chaperon  
 31. rouge (.) aujourd'hui (.) et un petit peu  
 32. demain (.) est-ce que tu arriverais à me  
 33. raconter (.) l'histoire du petit chaperon  
 34. rouge  
 35. Kenji: euh  
 36. (.)  
 37. Cristina: moi maîtresse! (.) moi je sais  
 38. Kenji: euh::  
 39. Cristina: ( )  
 40. Talia: en ja[ponais  
 41. Leila: [il était [une fois  
 42. Miss Lo: [non c'est Kenji c'est  
 43. Kenji (.) oui  
 44. Kenji: japonais↑  
 45. Miss Lo: ah non pas en japonais parce que je  
 46. ne vais pas trop comprendre  
 47. ((children laughing))  
 48. Kenji: ah  
 49. Miss Lo: mais (.) en français  
 50. (.)  
 51. Kenji: oui et-  
 52. Talia: après en japonais  
 53. Miss Lo: attends juste une question que je  
 54. t'ai pas posée (.) est-ce que cette  
 55. histoire existe en japonais↑  
 56. (.2)  
 57. Kenji: euh (.) oui  
 58. Miss Lo: oui↑ (.) tu connais cette histoire  
 59. [euh  
 60. (.)  
 61. Kenji: [oui  
 62. Kenji: [oui  
 63. Cristina: [en japonais↑  
 64. Miss Lo: d'accord  
 65. (.2)  
 66. Miss Lo: et (.) comment (.) le petit chaperon  
 67. rouge il s'appelle comment en  
 68. japonais  
 69. Kenji: aka zukin chan <le petit chaperon  
 70. rouge>  
 71. (.)  
 72. Talia: [ouh::  
 73. Kenji: [aka zukin chan <le petit chaperon  
 74. rouge>  
 75. Miss Lo: tu peux [l'écrire au tableau  
 76. Talia: [aka zukin chan <le petit  
 77. chaperon rouge>  
 78. Talia: ouh:: aka /sukin/ chan <le petit

79. chaperon rouge>  
80. Leila: aka /sukin/ chan <le petit chaperon  
81. rouge> (.) todas son raras las  
82. palabras del japonés  
83. (.)  
84. Talia: digo atashi (.) yo  
85. Leila: konichua <hello>  
86. Talia: anatano kaban <your bag> (.) tu  
87. mochila  
88. (.)  
89. Leila: konichiwa <hello>  
90. Talia: c'est (.) que es konichua <hello>  
91. Leila: [nos están grabando (24:33) (.) no  
92. hablemos más! <they're recording us  
93. (.) let's be quiet>  
94. Miss Lo: [tu l'écris en (.) ah d'accord (.)  
95. tu l'écris en (.) avec notre alphabet  
96. d'accord (.) a (.) attendez regardez  
97. les autres c'est intéressant (.) a-  
98. Kenji: ka  
99. Leila: mais avec (.) les [lettres en  
100. japonais  
101. Miss Lo: [chut!  
102. (.)  
103. Miss Lo: il va écrire après mais là c'est pour  
104. [nous permettre de le lire parce  
105. qu'on sait p-  
106. Leila: a (.) ka (.) [sek  
107. Miss Lo: [aka (.) écris-le en  
108. japonais alors au-dessus  
109. (.2)  
110. Miss Lo: aka (.) zu↑  
111. Kenji: kin chan (24:50)  
112. (.2)  
113. Miss Lo: kin (.) je vais le lire après tu vas  
114. me dire si c'est ça (.) la c'est  
115. aka zukin (.3) /ʃæn/  
116. (.)  
117. Leila: aka se-  
118. Miss Lo: aka zukin /ʃæn/↑  
119. (.)  
120. Kenji: chan  
121. Miss Lo: chan↑  
122. Kenji: oui  
123. Leila: [chan  
124. Miss Lo: [aka zukin[chan↑  
125. Talia: [/ʃɪŋ/ /ʃaŋ/ /ʃoŋ/  
126. Leila: [/ʃɪŋ/ /ʃaŋ/ /ʃoŋ/! (.) qué horrible  
127. que son los dibujitos japones  
128. Miss Lo: [( )  
129. (.)  
130. Miss Lo: est-ce que ça veut dire aussi (.)  
131. petit chaperon rouge (.) est-ce que  
132. ça veut dire euh  
133. Leila: caperucita roja (25:13) <the red  
134. riding hood>  
135. Miss Lo: une petite cape rouge↑  
136. Kenji: (.)  
137. Miss Lo: ça veut dire ça↑  
138. Kenji: (.)  
139. Cristina: [eh Kenji (.) est-ce que tu p-  
140. Miss Lo: [aka zukin chan ça veut dire ça↑  
141. Kenji: (.)  
142. Miss Lo: et est-ce que (.) euh: (.)  
143. Cristina: [faut écrire en japonais  
144. Miss Lo: [il y a les mêmes personnages que dans  
145. le conte du petit chaperon rouge  
146. qu'on a lu (.) il y a le loup (.) le  
147. [chasseur↑

148. Talia: [aka zukin chan  
149. (.)  
150. Kenji: oui  
151. Miss Lo: et à la fin (.) est-ce que le- (.) le  
152. loup mange la grand-mère et le petit  
153. chaperon rouge ou bien (.) est-ce que  
154. le chasseur tue le loup (.) puisqu'on  
155. a vu qu'ya-  
156. (.1)  
157. Miss Lo: il y a les deux histoires↑  
158. (.1)  
159. Kenji: ( )  
160. (.1)  
161. Miss Lo: est-ce que dans le conte que tu  
162. connais au japon (.) le chass- le  
163. loup mange la grand-mère et le petit  
164. chaperon rouge et puis c'est fini↑  
165. Kenji: non  
166. Miss Lo: ah non  
167. Kenji: la grand-mère chaperon rouge mange et  
168. après (.) chasseur euh  
169. (.)  
170. Miss Lo: ah oui (.) le loup m[ange le petit  
171. chaperon rouge  
172. Leila: [Talia (.) el el  
173. cuento en español está el  
174. cazador↑(25:59) <in  
175. the Spanish version of the store, is  
176. there a hunter↑>  
177. Miss Lo: et après le chasseur  
178. Leila: yo nunca lo ví  
179. (.)  
180. Kenji: euh (.) mang- [(.) euh ventre  
181. Miss Lo: ouvre le ventre (.) de (.)  
182. Talia: no (.) solamente el final <no (.)  
183. only at the end>  
184. Cristina: de loup  
185. Miss Lo: du loup  
186. Kenji: euh (.)  
187. Cristina: et après la grand-mère [( ) ah:  
188. Kenji: [et après (.)  
189. je ne sais pas  
190. (.)  
191. Miss Lo: oui après ils sortent (.) et après ça  
192. se passe très [bien  
193. Cristina: [maîtresse  
194. Miss Lo: alors! (.) Kenji (.) est-ce que tu  
195. pourrais essayer de raconter  
196. l'histoire là  
197. Cristina: en japonais parce que  
198. Miss Lo: de quoi ça parle  
199. Kenji: en japon↑  
200. Miss Lo: en français! en français! puisque  
201. tu la connais en plus en japonais  
202. Kenji: mm=  
203. Miss Lo: =rapidement  
204. (.1)  
205. Kenji: [euh  
206. Miss Lo: [donc ça parle de quoi cette histoire  
207. (.) parce que ya florence qui est la  
208. (.) et: (.) on n'a pas fait  
209. l'histoire ensemble (.) je pense  
210. qu'elle connaît cette histoire mais  
211. peut être qu'elle a oublié (.) parce  
212. que-  
213. Cristina: un petit peu=  
214. Miss Lo: =un petit peu (.) parce que c'est  
215. quand elle était enfant à l'école (.)  
216. qu'elle a fait [cette histoire  
217. Kenji: [la grand-mère [...]

--26:43--

**T2 S1 D1 V1 E4:**

--35:50--

1. Miss Lo: il n'y a pas de DVD (.) avec  
2. l'histoire du petit chaperon rouge  
3. (.) moi le DVD qu'on va voir demain  
4. (.1) c'est (.) une histoire (.)  
5. qui: (.) est (.) qui ressemble à  
6. [l'histoire du petit chaperon rouge  
7. Karen: [c'est marrant  
8. (.)  
9. Miss Lo: c'est marrant (.) c'est pas une  
10. histoire (.) c'est pas la vraie  
11. histoire du petit [chaperon rouge  
12. d'accord↑  
13. Karen: [non  
14. (.)  
15. Karen: c'est mar[rant  
16. Miss Lo: [donc elle a raison ta mère  
17. (.) ça n'existe pas  
18. (.)  
19. Miss Lo: [moi aussi j'ai cherché  
20. Karen: [its funny  
21. Miss Lo: j'ai beau[coup cherché  
22. Cristina: [mais (.) mais maman aussi  
23. elle a cherché sur internet (.) mais  
24. quand elle a allé pour chercher le  
25. DVD (.) elle a rien trouvé  
26. Miss Lo: voilà parce que ça (.) ça n'existe  
27. pas (.) pourtant c'est une histoire  
28. très connue (.) mais ça n'existe pas  
29. (.) très bien (.) euh: (.) donc  
30. Leila: et puis notre euh: (.)  
31. comment on dit euh: (.) comment on  
32. dit notre petite (.) comment vous  
33. dites en espagnol↑  
34. Talia: **chiquita**=  
35. Leila: **=chiquita**  
36. Miss Lo: notre **chiquita** euh (.) Maya la (.)  
37. qui a- (.) dont la copine est absente  
38. alors c'est très- ça va être très  
39. dure la journée sans sa copine (.)  
40. euh: (.) Maya tu connaissais cette  
41. histoire au Mexique↑  
42. Maya: °oui°  
43. Miss Lo: oui↑  
44. (.)  
45. Miss Lo: et vous la faite à l'école aussi↑  
46. (.2)  
47. Miss Lo: vous- vous vous: (.) mm (.) vous-  
48. vous: (.) travaillez sur cette  
49. histoire à l'école↑  
50. (.1)  
51. Maya: °non°  
52. (.)  
53. Miss Lo: non↑ (.) alors comment tu la  
54. connaissais↑  
55. (.2)  
56. Leila: moi je sais pas  
57. (.)  
58. Karen: [de **pequeña**  
59. Talia: [moi aussi j'ai lu  
60. Leila: moi (.) [dans école  
61. Maya: [( )  
62. (.)  
63. Maya: ( )  
64. Talia: parce que ma maman (.) elle a-

65. Leila: dans l'é- (.) dans école on ne  
66. rencontre pas (.) le petit chaperon  
67. rouge  
68. Miss Lo: [mm  
69. ? : [oui  
70. Leila: je sais pas comment je le sais  
71. (.)  
72. Talia: [ma maman-  
73. Miss Lo: [mais est-ce que vous racontez  
74. d'autres his- (.) vous travaillez  
75. avec d'autres histoires en- à l'école  
76. Talia: [je crois  
77. Leila: [oui  
78. Cristina: [( )  
79. Miss Lo: oui↑ (.) et est-ce que vous  
80. travaillez avec des contes (.)  
81. argentins mexicains tout ça ou pas  
82. (.)  
83. Leila: mm  
84. Miss Lo: il y a des contes argentins des  
85. contes mexicains↑  
86. Leila: oui  
87. (.)  
88. Miss Lo: oui↑  
89. Talia: leyendas  
90. (.2)  
91. Talia: como dicen↑  
92. (.)  
93. Leila: euh (.) légende  
94. (.)  
95. Miss Lo: des légendes (.) et y en a↑ (.) et y  
96. a des livres pour les enfants: avec  
97. ces légendes qui sont:: euh (.2)  
98. racontées↑  
99. Leila: oui  
100. Miss Lo: oui↑ (.) et est-ce que vous faites ça  
101. à l'école↑  
102. (.)  
103. Talia: je ne ( )  
104. Leila: hehehe ((laughing))  
105. (.)  
106. Leila: non  
107. Cristina: [oui  
108. Miss Lo: [non↑ (.) vous faites jam- (.) vous  
109. travaillez jamais avec une histoire à  
110. l'école comme ça↑  
111. (.2)  
112. Talia: je crois  
113. Leila: euh (.) oui  
114. Cristina: oui  
115. Leila: mais [pas tout le temps  
116. Cristina: [oui Talia  
117. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) pas beaucoup  
118. Talia: pas beaucoup (.) c'est-  
119. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) pas beaucoup  
120. (.)  
121. Miss Lo: c'est les petits ou les grands qui  
122. travaillent avec ça=  
123. Cristina: =petits  
124. Leila: petits  
125. Talia: c'est les petits  
126. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) ok (.) très bien (.) euh  
127. (.) Karen toi le petit chaperon rouge  
128. aux Etats-Unis vous travaillez avec  
129. (.) vous travaillez dessus↑  
130. Karen: oui  
131. Miss Lo: oui↑  
132. Karen: non mais euh (.) il y a juste la- (.)  
133. le livre  
134. Miss Lo: il y a juste le livre que vous lisez (.)

135. Karen: y a pas le DVD  
136. (.2)  
137. Karen: nous on (.2) on travaille pas (.) pas  
138. sur le petit chaperon rouge  
139. Miss Lo: est-ce que vous travaillez sur  
140. d'autres histoires↑  
141. (.)  
142. Karen: euh (.3) je sais pas  
143. Miss Lo: non (.) ça te- tu te rappelles plus↑  
144. Karen: non  
145. (.2)  
146. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) alors ce qu'on va faire  
147. pour la- la- (.) tout de suite (.) je  
148. vais vous donner un petit travail  
149. écrit (.) d'accord (.) donc euh-  
150. Cristina: maîtresse on va regarder le petit  
151. chaperon rouge↑  
152. (.)  
153. Leila: c'est demain Cristina  
154. (.)  
155. Miss Lo: ((laughing)) Cristina (.)  
156. Talia: (38:55) (vamonos) a estudiar  
157. Miss Lo: je crois que: (.) c'est la dernière  
158. fois que je le dis aujourd'hui  
159. Cristina: oui:  
160. Miss Lo: je ferai l'annonce toute à l'heure  
161. (.) demain (.) qui c'est qui peut  
162. redire à Cristina le programme de  
163. demain (.) demain [vendredi  
164. Cristina: [demain  
165. (.3) ((children raising their hands))  
166. Miss Lo: ce sera toi qui par- le -ra  
167. Karen: yeah::  
168. Miss Lo: tu commences euh (.) Leila tu  
169. commences [(.) et Karen va continuer  
170. Leila: [de-  
171. Leila: demain [matin  
172. Talia: [maîtresse on va faire-  
173. Miss Lo: attends! (.) alors demain matin  
174. Leila: demain matin (.) on va regarder le  
175. petit chaperon rouge (.) on va faire  
176. un pic nique et on va (.) faire le  
177. théâtre du petit chaperon rouge  
178. Talia: et on va [voir le film  
179. Miss Lo: [demain après-midi en fait  
180. Leila: [après-midi  
181. Cristina: [et le film aussi  
182. (.2)  
183. Leila: oui  
184. (.)  
185. Cristina: ah  
186. (.)  
187. Miss Lo: demain après-midi (.) nous allons  
188. goûter avec la classe de CMI b donc  
189. il faut que vous apportiez (.)  
190. quelque [chose à manger  
191. Talia: [°salsichas° (.) ah!  
192. Miss Lo: mais pas trop hein (.) parce qu'en  
193. général vous apportez beaucoup trop  
194. (.) [juste un jus ou quelque chose à  
195. manger  
196. Cristina: [maîtresse en français ou en  
197. espagnol↑  
198. (.)  
199. Miss Lo: [un paquet de gâteau (.) et  
200. ensuite (.) pardon↑  
201. Cristina: [maîtresse (.) pic nique en français  
202. ou en espagnol↑  
203. (.)  
204. Cristina: c'est un (.) pic nique français ou  
205. espagnol

206. (.)  
 207. ((children laughing))  
 208. Miss Lo: tu veux dire la nourriture que vous  
 209. apportez↑  
 210. Cristina: oui  
 211. Miss Lo: et ben comme tu veux (.) Cristina si  
 212. ça te fait plaisir d'amener des  
 213. biscuits euh (.) colombiens tu en  
 214. amènes  
 215. (.2)  
 216. Miss Lo: si tu en as  
 217. (.2)  
 218. Maya: ( ) (40:06)  
 219. Miss Lo: je sais pas si il faut amener des  
 220. tortillas je suis pas sure (.) mais  
 221. (.) ou des **empanadas**  
 222. Karen: maîtresse  
 223. Leila: mmm ((laughing))  
 224. Miss Lo: c'est ça↑  
 225. Talia: maman hier (.) elle a fait (.) des  
 226. **empanadas**  
 227. (.)  
 228. Leila: **si te copiaste de los argentinos**  
 229. **porque ( ) (40:15)**  
 230. Talia: **pero ( )**  
 231. Karen: maîtresse!  
 232. Miss Lo: on a une rivalité parce que: (.) les  
 233. **empanadas** visiblement c'est argentin  
 234. et donc euh: (.) il semblerait que  
 235. Leila-  
 236. Leila: et donc les mexicains a copié de les  
 237. argentins  
 238. Miss Lo: voilà  
 239. Talia: non ((laughing))  
 240. Miss Lo: et ça à l'air de créer du conflit  
 241. (.)  
 242. Karen: maîtresse!  
 243. Miss Lo: mais est-ce que: (.) maman elle fait  
 244. bien les **empanadas**↑  
 245. Maya: [oui  
 246. Talia: [oui  
 247. Miss Lo: oui (.) bon ben c'est l'essentiel (.)  
 248. alors (.) donc on a-  
 249. Karen: maîtresse!  
 250. Miss Lo: Karen  
 251. Karen: on va écouter le (.) cassette  
 252. Miss Lo: oui on écouter la cassette (.) donc  
 253. Karen a apporté la cassette du petit  
 254. chaperon rouge  
 255. Talia: en ang[lais↑ ((laughing))  
 256. Miss Lo: [et (.) elle nous a aussi apporté une  
 257. chanson du petit chaperon rouge  
 258. Cristina: [et maîtresse  
 259. ?: [( )  
 260. Leila: [quand on va-  
 261. (.)  
 262. Talia: **in English**↑  
 263. (.)  
 264. Leila: euh (.) aller là-bas pour (.) faire  
 265. le ticket  
 266. Miss Lo: cet après-midi  
 267. Talia: oui  
 268. Miss Lo: pour vous entraîner d'accord↑  
 269. (.2)  
 270. Miss Lo: alors là tout de suite  
 271. Cristina: ( )  
 272. (.)  
 273. Miss Lo: chut chut chut chut chut (.) je  
 274. distribue un petit travail  
 --41:03--



**T2 S1 D1 V1 E5:**

Children are working individually.

--44:25--

1. Talia: maîtresse on écrit en-dessous↑  
2. (.)  
3. Miss Lo: qu'est-ce qui est marqué↑  
4. (.2)  
5. Miss Lo: à la fin de la consigne (.) Talia  
6. qu'est-ce qui est marqué à la fin de  
7. la con[signe↑  
8. Leila: [no tenemos que escribirlo acá  
9. Talia (.) tenemos que (.) que escribirlo  
10. acá < we don't have to write it here  
11. Talia (.) we have to write it there>  
12. Talia: ah!  
13. (.8)  
14. Miss Lo: alors le niveau euh (.) le niveau de-  
15. (.) Samba Karen et Cristina vous devez  
16. faire quoi↑

--44:44--

**T2 S1 D1 V1 E6:**

Miss Lo is explaining the exercise to the second group. Microphone is close to Leila and Talia.

--45:40--

1. Miss Lo: à l'intérieur de ce texte il y a des  
2. phrases (.) d'accord (.) des phrases  
3. qui- [qui n'ont rien à voir  
4. Talia: [como se escribe panier  
5. Miss Lo: avec l'histoire [(.) il y a des  
6. pièges (.) d'accord↑  
7. Leila: [panier  
8. Miss Lo: il y a des intrus  
9. (.1)  
10. Leila: p- a- n- i- e- r- (.) panier  
11. Miss Lo: vous savez ce que c'est des intrus↑  
12. (.)  
13. Cristina: quand l'histoire de la maman ( )  
14. Miss Lo: ben des intrus c'est comme quelqu'un  
15. qui s'est mis à la place (.) à une  
16. place ou il doit pas être (.) par  
17. exemple (.) [si- si-  
18. Cristina: [le loup [il-  
19. Leila: [maîtresse!  
20. Miss Lo: si on vous par- attendez (.) si on  
21. vous parle dans le texte d'un:: (.)  
22. [d'une petite fille:  
23. Cristina: [d'un petit chaperon rouge  
24. Miss Lo: d'un petit garçon↑ (.) est-ce que  
25. dans l'histoire du petit chaperon  
26. rouge il y a un petit garçon  
27. Cristina: non  
28. Miss Lo: donc ça c'est ((Miss Lo keeps talking))  
29. Leila: como se escribe donne  
30. Talia: mm↑  
31. Leila: como se escribe donne  
32. (.2)  
33. Talia: den↑  
34. Leila: si  
35. Talia: al dento↑  
36. Leila: no (.) me donne  
37. (.)  
38. Talia: don[ner

39. Leila: [dear  
 40. (.2)  
 41. Talia: donner  
 42. Leila: si↑  
 43. (.)  
 44. Talia: mm  
 --46:19--

**T2 S1 D1 V1 E7:**

--49:55--  
 1. Leila: maître[esse  
 2. Talia: [maîtresse  
 3. Miss Lo: oui  
 4. (.)  
 5. Talia: comment écrit forêt↑  
 6. (.)  
 7. Leila: forette  
 8. (.)  
 9. Miss Lo: non mais ça vous allez vous- chercher  
 10. (.) vous allez euh (.) essayer de  
 11. trouver euh (.) comment ça peut  
 12. s'écrire si vous ne savez pas l'écrire  
 13. (.2)  
 14. Miss Lo: et- et puis après on va vérifier si  
 15. c'est bien comme ça (.) déjà fo:-  
 16. rêt (.) et effectivement  
 17. (.1)  
 18. Leila: forette  
 19. Miss Lo: il y a le t- (.) on dit pas forette  
 20. on dit forêt (.) il y a le t qu'on  
 21. n'entend pas (.)  
 22. Talia: oui  
 23. Miss Lo: parce que 'et' ça fait è  
 24. (.)  
 25. Leila: maîtresse (.) c'est quoi ce dessin↑  
 26. (.8) ((Maya talks to Talia in spanish in the  
 27. background))  
 28. Miss Lo: donc essaye de me dire la phrase là  
 29. que tu: (.) que tu pou[rrais écrire  
 30. Leila: [le loup (.) est  
 31. (.3)  
 32. Miss Lo: il est↑ (.) ça là ((pointing to the  
 33. picture))  
 34. (.)  
 35. Miss Lo: ça ((miming hiding behind her hands))  
 36. (.6)  
 37. Leila: escondido (.) pero como se dice  
 38. Miss Lo: ça ((pointing back to the picture  
 39. again))  
 40. (.3)  
 41. Miss Lo: c' [est quoi-  
 42. Leila: [je sais en espagnol mais je sais pas  
 43. en français  
 44. Miss Lo: ouais mais al[ors qui c'est-  
 45. Leila: [Cristina! (.) como se  
 46. dice escondido en frances  
 47. (.1)  
 48. Cristina: que↑  
 49. Leila: escondido en frances  
 50. Cristina: escondido en frances (.) euh (.)  
 51. Miss Lo: je me suis↑  
 52. (.1)  
 53. Miss Lo: derrière la porte ((opening the door  
 54. and hiding behind the door)) (.) je  
 55. me suis↑  
 56. (.2)  
 57. Cristina: caché

58. Miss Lo: voilà: ((closing the door back))  
59. (.3)  
60. Miss Lo: euh (.) euh (.) Leila  
61. (.)  
62. Leila: oui↑  
63. Miss Lo: elle a dit cachè ou caché  
64. (.2)  
65. Leila: caché  
66. Miss Lo: donc c'est  
67. (.2)  
68. Leila: e- r- ?  
69. (.3)  
70. Leila: mm  
71. Talia: comme ça  
72. Miss Lo: cachè: ou caché:  
73. Talia: caché  
74. Miss Lo: ah (.) caché (.) c'est comme ça  
75. Leila: mm  
76. (.)  
77. Miss Lo: ça c'est le même é que quel mot↑ (.)  
78. qu'on avait vu  
79. (.)  
80. Leila: café  
81. Miss Lo: café d'accord (.) hein (.) donc tu ne  
82. te trompes pas de sens l'accent là  
83. (.) comme les accents ça vous embête  
84. trop (.) caché  
85. ((writing on the blackboard))  
--52:20--

**T2 S1 D1 V1 E8:**

--53:55--  
1. Talia: Leila!  
2. Leila: mm  
3. (.)  
4. Talia: en frances es (.) pan (.) pan (.)  
5. hehe (.2) ( ) smack! con su beso  
6. (.3)  
7. Talia: en español sería mmua!  
8. (.5)  
9. Talia: y pum!  
10. (.20)  
11. Talia: maîtresse!  
12. Miss Lo: mm  
13. Talia: comment écrit fleur↑  
14. Miss Lo: fl::- (.) et après eu: (.) comme  
15. [euh: dans:  
16. Leila: [fleu:r  
17. Miss Lo: euh (.) c'est comme dans  
18. Talia: café  
19. (.)  
20. Miss Lo: non  
21. Leila: haha  
22. Miss Lo: eu comme euh: (.) le eu de bonheu:r  
23. (.) de peur (.) il a peur (.) comment  
24. tu écris il a peur (.) vas-y va  
25. m'éc[r]rire il a peur au tableau  
26. Leila: [/pe.u.re/  
27.  
28. (.2)  
29. Leila: hehe  
30. (.)  
31. Talia: pe- (.) /pe.u.re/ (.) hehe  
32. Miss Lo: peur (.) il a peur (.) vas-y (.) il a  
33. peur du loup (.) il a peur (.) on a  
34. vu ce mot peur  
35. ((Talia goes to the blackboard))

36. (.4)  
 37. Talia: je sais pas comment  
 38. (.5) ((Talia writing))  
 39. Miss Lo: il (.) a  
 40. (.3)  
 41. Miss Lo: chu::t (.) non non il a c'est le  
 42. verbe (.) voilà (.) peur! (.) tu te  
 43. rappelles pas comment on écrit peur  
 44. (.2)  
 45. Miss Lo: fleur euh: (.) comme euh:  
 46. Leila: /fleur/  
 47. Miss Lo: danseur! (.) seur il y a le:  
 48. (.)  
 49. Leila: chasseur!  
 50. Miss Lo: chasseur voilà (.) chasseur  
 51. Talia: comme ça↑  
 52. Miss Lo: chasseur mi- euh Talia (.) tu vois  
 53. pas chasseur↑  
 54. (.2) ((Talia writing))  
 55. Miss Lo: ben voilà très bien (.) c'est juste  
 56. (.) ben voilà bravo (.) et ben voilà  
 57. fleur c'est comme chasseur  
 58. (.2) ((Talia writing))  
 59. Miss Lo: et très bien (.) très très bien (.)  
 60. donc ça c'est eur! (.) d'accord↑  
 61. (.10)  
 62. ((Talia comes back to her desk))  
 63. Talia: pero fijate que dice les (.) entonces  
 64. ( ) (56:07)  
 65. (.6)  
 66. Leila: oye Talia que estoy terminando esto  
 67. Talia: le pluriel (.) como dice↑  
 68. Leila: con un s al final  
 69. Talia: /fleurs/  
 70.  
 71. Leila: (si)  
 72. ((Miss Lo is talking in the background with another  
 73. group))  
 74. (.)  
 75. Talia: ah  
 76. Leila: conece el final↑  
 77. ((silence for the next minutes while T is  
 78. talking with the other group))  
 --56:20--

**T2 S1 D1 V1 E9:**

--59:42--  
 1. Leila: maîtresse  
 2. (.)  
 3. Miss Lo: oui  
 4. Leila: il lui (.) donne↑ (.) un chemin  
 5. (.2)  
 6. Cristina: [maîtresse j'ai-  
 7. Leila: [c'est-  
 8. Miss Lo: ah (.) il lui donne un chemin  
 9. (.)  
 10. Talia: c'est pas ça  
 11. Miss Lo: non (.) c'est quoi quand on fait ça  
 12. là ((pointing with her finger))  
 13. (.2)  
 14. Talia: montre  
 15. Miss Lo: oui  
 16. (.2)  
 17. Talia: euh c'est le même ici et ici  
 18. (.2)  
 19. Karen: j'ai fini maîtresse  
 20. (.3)

21. Miss Lo: il lui↑  
 22. (.2)  
 23. Talia: montre (.) et ici c'est le même  
 24. (.)  
 25. Miss Lo: ah non mais c'est pas un chemin (.)  
 26. non ça c'est il lui donne (.) c'est  
 27. ce que tu as marqué (.) et là c'est  
 28. il lui montre tu as raison (.) mais  
 29. il lui montre c'est pas un chemin (.)  
 30. c'est une↑  
 31. (.)  
 32. Miss Lo: alors (.) dans notre histoire on a un  
 33. chemin (.) mais alors si on trouvait  
 34. (.) un mot- un autre mot en français  
 35. qui voudrait dire (.) qui pourrait  
 36. dire la même chose  
 37. Leila: il lui donne un:  
 38. Miss Lo: c'est pas il lui donne c'est il lui  
 39. montre  
 40. (.2)  
 41. Miss Lo: une (.) parce que là c'est féminin  
 42. alors c'est [pas un chemin  
 43. Leila: [il lui montre une  
 44. (.4)  
 45. Miss Lo: comment ça s'appelle ça là (.) ou on  
 46. va avec la voiture (.) une↑  
 47. Ni: rue  
 48. Miss Lo: une↑  
 49. Leila: rue  
 50. (.)  
 51. Miss Lo: une roue↑  
 52. Leila: oui  
 53. Miss Lo: presque (.) une roue c'est la- la-  
 54. (.) ce qui permet à la voiture  
 55. d'avancer (.) mais quand on est sur  
 56. une↑  
 57. (.3)  
 58. Miss Lo: une rou- te!  
 59. (.2)  
 60. Leila: mm  
 61. Miss Lo: la route (.) une route  
 62. (.3)  
 63. Miss Lo: la route c'est plus grand que le  
 64. chemin (.) voilà le chemin  
 65. ((drawing))  
 66. (.)  
 67. Cristina: Talia mais non:  
 68. Miss Lo: quand vous venez à l'école euh (.)  
 69. Leila  
 70. Leila: oui  
 71. Miss Lo: vous- vous prenez (.) vous venez par  
 72. la route  
 73. Talia: oui  
 74. Cristina: [non  
 75. Miss Lo: [par la route (.) [d'accord  
 76. ?:  
 [que hiciste↑ <what  
 77. did you do↑>  
 78. Leila: oui  
 79. (.)  
 80. Miss Lo: donc là c'est une route  
 81. Talia: ( ) (01:01:08)  
 82. (.)  
 83. Leila: il lui montre (.) [comment s'écrit  
 84. montre↑  
 85. Talia: [c'est à moi  
 86. (.2)  
 87. Leila: montre  
 88. Talia: montre  
 89. (.2)  
 90. Miss Lo: mon (.) on (.3) tre

91. ((Mi writing))  
92. Leila: montre  
93. Talia: montre (.) a ver  
94. (.2)  
95. Miss Lo: attention parce que je sais pas si  
96. c'est pareil que l'espagnol hein  
97. (.2)  
98. Miss Lo: vous avez l'air de trouver que c'est  
99. pareil que l'espagnol (.) faites voir  
100. (.3)  
101. Miss Lo: ah oui (.) c'est- ya ça en espagnol  
102. aussi↑  
103. Leila: non  
104. (.)  
105. Miss Lo: ah d'accord  
106. Leila: hehe  
107. (.)  
108. Talia: le enseña un camino  
109. (.3)  
110. Leila: mm (.) si  
111. Talia: en espagnol aussi  
112. Miss Lo: il y a le on en espagnol (.) on↑  
113. Leila: [non  
114. Talia: [hein↑  
115. Miss Lo: ah non (.) d'ac[cord  
116. Leila: [non (.) 'on' (.) eso  
117. no hay  
118. (.)  
119. Talia: ah non  
120. (.2)  
121. Miss Lo: ben alors pourquoi (.) alors comment-  
122. ah oui d'accord (.) parce que j'ai  
123. pas compris Leila ce que tu lui as  
124. dit en espagnol là tout de suite (.)  
125. tu lui as dit montre en espagnol  
126. Talia: non (.) elle (.) elle a dit qu- qu'il  
127. y a pas (.2) [montre  
128. Leila: ['on' (.) il n'y a pas en  
129. espagnol  
130. (.2)  
131. Miss Lo: le 'on'  
132. Leila: oui  
133. Miss Lo: bonbon: garçon: (.) 'on' 'on'  
134. 'on': (.) il y a pas ça↑  
135. (.2)  
136. Leila: [si (.) o- n-  
137. Talia: [ahora (.) ah non  
138. Leila: mais on dit (.) on  
139. Miss Lo: ah: voilà: d'accord (.) c'est ça  
140. que tu lui as expliqué d'accord  
141. Talia: que cosa↑  
142. Leila: que pasa está diciendo en realidad el  
143. 'on' (.) que no hay (.) bonbon (.)  
144. como lo escribís↑ (.) bon (.) bon (.)  
145. si hay el 'on' (01:02:17) <we happen  
146. to say in fact the 'on' (.) it  
147. doesn't exist (.) in sweet (.) how do  
148. you write it↑ (.) sweet (.) yes there  
149. is the 'on'  
150. Miss Lo: ouais (.) c'est-à-dire que vous avez  
151. (.) vous avez o- n- (.) mais le o- n-  
152. en espagnol n'est pas le 'on' en  
153. français (.) puisque vous dites on  
154. (.) en es- en français (.) o- n- ça  
155. fait pas on ça fait 'on'  
156. (.3)  
157. Miss Lo: mais ça s'écrit pareil mais c'est pas  
158. la même- le même son  
159. (.2)  
160. Miss Lo: d'accord

161. (.6)  
 162. Amkoulel maîtresse  
 163. ((Miss Lo is talking to another group))  
 164. Talia: que- como (.) que le enseña↑  
 165. (.)  
 166. Leila: que↑  
 167. Talia: que le enseña↑  
 168. (.)  
 169. Leila: a quién↑  
 170. Miss Lo: ou la il y a des mots que tu as  
 171. oublié  
 172. ((talking to another group))  
 173. Leila: [à la mère↑  
 174. Talia: [il lui montre  
 175. (.3)  
 176. Leila: une route  
 177. (.20)  
 --01:03:30--

**T2 S1 D1 V1 E10:**

--01:03:42--  
 50. Leila: Talia levanta la mano  
 51. Talia: por qué↑  
 52. Leila: porque no entiendo (.) levanta de la  
 53. mano (.) si no se me [acalambra  
 54. <otherwise it gives me pins and  
 55. needles>  
 56. Talia: [sería (.) `le  
 57. loup part' (.) `en' (.1) cou[rir↑  
 58. Leila: [eso no sé  
 59. (.3)  
 60. Talia: `vers la maison [de la grand-mère' (.)  
 61. hehe  
 62. Leila: [non Talia  
 63. (.2)  
 64. Karen: maîtresse!  
 65. Miss Lo: oui  
 66. Cristina: [fini!  
 67. Talia: [il court ( )  
 68. Miss Lo: j'arrive  
 69. (.)  
 70. Leila: maîtresse!  
 71. (.4)  
 72. Leila: olvidás alguna vez sola que ( )  
 73. (01:04:03)  
 74. Talia: hein↑  
 75. Leila: que divertido! (.) miras (.) alguna  
 76. vez sola y vengo todo ( ) (.) que  
 77. divertido!  
 78. Miss Lo: très bien ((speaking to Br))  
 79. Maya: ( ) (01:04:15)  
 80. Miss Lo: [très bien  
 81. Talia: [que es de Piotr  
 82. (.2)  
 83. Miss Lo: [alors (.) il me manque celui de:  
 84. (.) Maia  
 85. Talia: [corazón partido  
 86. (.)  
 87. Miss Lo: [attends Maia je vais  
 88. Talia: [labios divididos `mi amor`  
 89. ((singing))  
 90. (.)  
 91. Leila: maîtresse!  
 92. Miss Lo: oui  
 93. Leila: c'est quoi ce dessin↑  
 94. (.4)  
 95. Miss Lo: il montre une route (.) c'est ce

96. qu'on a dit toute à l'heure (.) que  
 97. ça peut pas être un chemin puisqu'ils  
 98. ont [marqué une déjà ((Miss Lo walks away))  
 99. Talia: [non mais (.) maîtresse!  
 100. Miss Lo: oui  
 101. Talia: c'est [ça  
 102. Leila: [non l'autre [maîtresse  
 103. Talia: [le loup (.) part  
 104. (.) e[n courant  
 105. Leila: [en courant (.) quoi  
 106. (.3)  
 107. Miss Lo: ah (.) en↑  
 108. (.2)  
 109. Talia: en [court↑  
 110. Leila: [court  
 111. (.)  
 112. Talia: vers la mai[son de la grand-mère  
 113. Miss Lo: [ouais (.) on l'a pas vu  
 114. ça encore (.) en (.) courant! (.) en  
 115. [marchant (.) en jouant  
 116. Leila: [corante  
 117. (.)  
 118. Miss Lo: en-  
 119. Leila: c- o- r- e- n- t-↑  
 120. (.)  
 121. Miss Lo: courant (.) 'an' (.) le 'an' de maman  
 122. ça écrit comment  
 123. (.)  
 124. Leila: ah [(.) c- o- u- r- a- n- t-  
 125. Talia: [/ko.urænte/  
 126. Miss Lo: oui (.) très bien  
 127. Leila: /ko.urænte/  
 128. (.2)  
 129. Talia: /ko.urænte/  
 130. (.6)  
 131. Miss Lo: tu dessines ((speaking to Maya))  
 132. (.)  
 133. Miss Lo: tu as fait ça toute seule Maya↑  
 134. (.)  
 135. Miss Lo: ça↑  
 136. (.2)  
 137. Maya: avec ma maman  
 138. Miss Lo: ah avec ta maman d'accord (.) était  
 139. très difficile↑  
 140. (.1)  
 141. Maya: un peu  
 142. Miss Lo: un peu↑ (.) d'accord (.) alors je  
 143. vais reprendre avec toi toute à  
 144. l'heure (.) alors pour l'instant il  
 145. faut que je te donne la suite attend  
 146. (.) parce qu'alors la suite  
 147. (.2)  
 148. Talia: como decir↑  
 149. (.3)  
 150. Miss Lo: ah [(.) alors voilà la suite  
 151. Leila: [courant (.) pero es /ko.urænte/  
 152. Miss Lo: [non tu vas me faire la suite de  
 153. l'histoire  
 154. Talia: [/korænte/  
 155. Leila: /ko.urænte/  
 156. (.2)  
 157. Leila: oye [Talia!  
 158. Talia: [sin t-↑  
 159. (.)  
 160. Leila: si con t-!  
 161. Talia: con↑  
 162. Leila: t-!  
 163. Talia: /korænte/↑



164. Leila: /ko.urænte/  
165. (.2)  
166. Leila: ha (.) c- o- u- r- a- n- t-  
167. Talia: porque dices a↑  
168. Miss Lo: mais euh [(.) Leila  
169. Leila: [°porque con le a°  
170. (.2)  
171. Talia: /korænte/↑  
172. Leila: [/ko/ - /u/! /rænte/  
173. Miss Lo: [Leila  
174. Talia: [ah  
175. Miss Lo: [Leila  
176. (.)  
177. Miss Lo: quand tu lui épelles un mot  
178. (.2)  
179. Miss Lo: hein  
180. (.)  
181. Leila: [oui  
182. Miss Lo: [quand tu lui épelles un mot (.)  
183. c'est mieux [parce que tu lui donnes  
184. le nom des lettres  
185. Talia: [maîtresse  
186. (.)  
187. Miss Lo: mais si tu lui donnes le- la- la  
188. prononciation en espagnol alors qu'en  
189. français on dit pas /ko.urænte/ (.) on  
190. dit courant (.) parce que le t- on le  
191. dit pas  
192. (.2)  
193. Miss Lo: parce que /ko.urænte/ en français ça  
194. existe mais pour dire courante en  
195. français il faut quoi↑  
196. (.3)  
197. Talia: cou- [courant  
198. Leila: [il faut mettre (.) autre  
199. lettre  
200. Miss Lo: oui (.) et quelle lettre  
201. Leila: é-↑  
202. Miss Lo: oui (.) e-  
203. (.)  
204. Miss Lo: ((Talia laughing))  
205. il faut le e- derrière le t- (.) donc  
206. si tu lui dis ça (.) si tu lui- (.)  
207. tu lui dis (.) pour qu'elle écrive  
208. courant (.) tu lui dis /ko.urænte/ (.3)  
209. et ben elle va écrire avec un e-  
210. normalement  
211. (.1)  
212. Miss Lo: donc là tu lui f- (.) tu- tu vas lui  
213. faire faire une erreur (.) je préfère  
214. que quand tu lui (.) tu l'aides (.)  
215. tu lui dises pas ça en espagnol  
216. (.)  
217. Miss Lo: puisque ça c'est un mot français donc  
218. c'est pas la peine de- de le  
219. prononcer en espagnol (.) parce que  
220. ça va nous- nous (.) compliquer les  
221. choses (.) donc tu lui dis plutôt (.)  
222. c- o- u- r- a- n- t-  
223. (.2)  
224. Miss Lo: tu lui épelles le mot  
225. Leila: d'accord  
226. Miss Lo: mais tu lui dis pas d'écrire /ko.urænte/  
227. Leila: hehe ((laughing))  
228. Miss Lo: parce qu' [après elle va mélanger (.)  
229. hein↑  
230. Talia: [/ko.urænte/  
231. Leila: hehe ((laughing))  
232. (.).

232. Leila: /ko.urænte/  
 233. Miss Lo: courant (.) comme elle sait pas qu'il  
 234. y a un t-  
 235. Leila: courant  
 236. (.)  
 237. Miss Lo: tu lui dis en français ya un t-  
 238. (.)  
 239. Leila: hehe ((laughing))  
 240. Miss Lo: d'accord↑  
 241. (.3)  
 242. Miss Lo: attention (.) parce qu'avec la  
 243. prononciation des lettres (.3) en  
 244. espagnol (.) ça vous: (.) fait faire  
 245. des erreurs là pour le coup ((Miss Lo walks  
 246. away))  
 247. (.)  
 248. Miss Lo: alors (.) Amkoulel [...]

--01:07:44--

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## T2 S1 D1 V2

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### T2 S1 D1 V2 E1:

Small group recording.

--11:06--

1. Talia: Leila (.) como se escribe 'dormir' ↑  
 2. Leila: mm↑  
 3. Talia: y [el se duerme  
 4. Piotr: [bla bla bla  
 5. (.2)  
 6. Talia: en la cama  
 7. (.4)  
 8. Leila: mm  
 9. (.3)  
 10. Leila: 'dormir' creo que escribe ((write on a  
 11. piece of a paper how to write the  
 12. word))  
 13. (.10)  
 14. Kenji: ça c'est raconte↑ (.1) raconte (.)  
 15. blablabla  
 16. (.2)  
 17. Leila: haha ((laughing)) (.) parler  
 18. (.3)  
 19. Kenji: parle↑  
 20. ((Leila and Talia laughing))  
 21. Leila: blablabla  
 22. (.3)  
 23. Leila: no entiendo este  
 24. (.2)  
 25. Talia: como se ( )  
 26. (.3)  
 27. Kenji: prendre rouge  
 28. (.20)  
 29. Kenji: tres difficile  
 30. Talia: c'est facile  
 31. Kenji: parce que ( )  
 32. Talia: quoi↑  
 33. ((Talia and Leila laughing))  
 34. (.10)  
 35. Talia: là c'est donner (.) donner (.) là  
 36. c'est-  
 37. Leila: montre montre  
 38. Talia: montre (.) il montre  
 39. Maia: que es esto↑  
 40. Talia: regarde regarde

41. ((Talía and Leila laughing))  
42. Leila: c'est quoi ça↑  
43. Talía: no se ( )  
44. (.3)  
45. Kenji: montre↑ (.) montre↑ (.) montre un  
46. arbre  
47. Talía: non!  
48. ((Kenji and Talía laughing))  
49. (.8)  
50. Leila: c'est quoi ça↑  
51. Kenji: montre (.) un maison  
52. Talía: en- en rouge  
53. Leila: ça c'est maison↑  
54. ((Kenji laughing))  
55. Kenji: arriver (.) riviere  
56. Leila: c'est quoi ça↑ (.) c'est quoi ça↑ (.)  
57. dans le petit chaperon rouge c'est  
58. quoi ça↑  
59. (.3)  
60. Kenji: c'est quoi ça↑  
61. Leila: regarde Kenji  
62. Talía: regarde Kenji  
63. (.)  
64. Kenji: une ['route'  
65. Talía: [ici c'est [en rouge  
66. Leila: [oui c'est-  
67. Talía: [regarde c'est en rouge  
68. Kenji: ['route' (.) c'est quoi 'route'↑  
69. Talía: ça ((pointing to the drawing))  
70. Kenji: attends ((Kenji opens his digital  
71. dictionary))  
72. Talía: ah hahaha ((laughing))  
73. (.)  
74. Maía: que↑  
75. Talía: una rota  
76. (.3)  
77. Kenji: route!  
78. Talía: oui  
79. Leila: hahaha  
80. Talía: hahaha  
81. Kenji: d'accord d'accord d'accord (.)  
82. marcher une route  
83. Leila: le duele la cabeza↑ (14:10)  
84. Talía: mmm ((laughing))  
85. Leila: ( )  
86. (.5)  
87. Talía: y luego le dice tontos a los  
88. argentinos  
89. Kenji: oui mais moi très gros  
90. Talía: haha ((laughing))  
91. Kenji: faut écrite ici↑  
92. (.)  
93. Leila: ( )  
94. (.)  
95. Talía: c'est intelligent les argentins (.)  
96. pas les japonais  
97. (.1)  
98. Kenji: moi au secours (.) parce que moi au  
99. secours  
100. Leila: mmmmmmm ((laughing))  
101. (.)  
102. Leila: dice porque yo tuve ( )  
103. Talía: [porque que↑  
104. Maía: [Talía como se dice mochila↑  
105. Leila: porque tuve ( )  
106. Maía: Talía come se dice [mochila↑  
107. Talía: [mmm mmm  
108. ((laughing))  
109. (. )

110. Kenji: cours↑  
111. Leila: [kaban  
112. Maia: [atashi <I>  
113. Talia: non  
114. Leila: kaban <bag>  
115. Talia: atashi <I> c'est yo <I> anata no  
116. kaban <your bag> (.) kaban (.)  
117. mochila anata no <your> (.) tu <you>  
118. Leila: haha ((laughing))  
119. Kenji: Talia (.) ça c'est 'court'↑  
120. ((Mi and Talia laughing))  
121. (.2)  
122. Talia: 'courant' (.) c'est 'courant'  
123. Kenji: [en courant  
124. Leila: [c'est quoi courant↑  
125. (.)  
126. Kenji: cou (.1) rant  
127. Leila: parce le diga ( )  
128. (.)  
129. Kenji: courant (.) c'est quoi↑  
130. (.3)  
131. Talia: ( )  
132. (.2)  
133. Talia: les dicen tontos a los argentinos  
134. (.)  
135. Computer: courante (.) courante  
136. (.)  
137. Talia: quoi↑  
138. Leila: que veis ( )  
139. Kenji: [courant (.) comme ça (.) ouaahhh  
140. ((imitating someone running))  
141. (.2)  
142. Kenji: courant (.) vers  
143. Leila: hahaha ha (.) está loco  
144. Talia: hahahahaah  
145. (.4)  
146. Kenji: la  
147. (.4)  
148. Leila: que es un payaso esto=  
149. Kenji: =maison  
150. (.2)  
151. Kenji: de la  
152. Maia: en tu clase hace eso↑  
153. Kenji: grand-mère  
154. Maia: porque en verdad [( )  
155. Leila: [no esta [( )  
156. Talia: [no esto si  
157. (.4)  
158. Leila: y dice ( )  
159. (.)  
160. Leila: parece el teléfono (16:00)  
161. Talia: dice (.) dice (.) un deux trois  
162. quatre cinq /fis/  
163. (.1)  
164. Kenji: sept huit  
165. Talia: hahaha hahaha  
166. Kenji: ici ça↑ (.) et ici écrire↑  
167. (.4) ((girls are laughing))  
168. Leila: ( ) ((laughing))  
169. Talia: es que dice (.) chiss (.) y luego el  
170. dice sept huit  
171. (.5)  
172. Leila: que repite ( ) ((laughing))  
173. (.2)  
174. Kenji: ça c'est ici écrire↑  
175. Talia: [oui  
176. Leila: [oui!  
177. (.)  
178. Talia: regarde Kenji (.) toi  
179. Leila: regarde Kenji (.) tu es plus petit

180. (.)  
181. Kenji: oh la la  
182. ((girls laughing))  
183. (16:34)  
184. Maia: bueno tiene ( )↑  
185. Kenji: moi plus grand!  
186. Leila: il y a plus  
187. (.3)  
188. Kenji: ça aussi↑  
189. (.)  
190. Talia: oui! ((laughing))  
191. (.)  
192. Leila: le duele la cabeza ((laughing))  
193. Talia: viste la cana que puso↑ (.) le hizo  
194. asi ((girls laughing))  
195. Leila: (le duele) la cabeza  
196. Kenji: c'est pas bien  
197. Maia: oye[( )]  
198. Leila: [ça fait mal à la tête  
199. (.)  
200. Talia: Kenji regarde  
201. (.6)  
202. ((girls laughing))  
203. Kenji: oh la la la la  
204. Talia: hahaha (.) pobre japonés  
205. (.3)  
206. Talia: [pauvre  
207. Leila: [es una ( )]  
208. (.1)  
209. Leila: es una letra ( )  
210. (.2)  
211. Kenji: /fæʃɪl/  
212. (.2)  
213. ((girls laughing))  
214. Talia: facile!  
215. (.1)  
216. Maia:  
217. Talia: nació- (.)nació para ser español  
218. Leila: pero es japonés  
219. Kenji: yo vengo japonés ((imitating Leila))  
220. ((girls laughing))  
221. Leila: yo vengo japonés↑  
222. ((girls laughing))  
223. Maia: yo vengo japonés ((imitating Kenji))  
224. (.)  
225. Leila: yo vengo de Japón!  
226. Kenji: mm  
227. (.)  
228. Talia: Kenji (.) d'où viens-tu↑  
229. (.)  
230. Kenji: yo vengo de Japón  
231. ((girls laughing))  
232. Maia: yo vengo de Japón  
233. Talia: de donde vienes Kenji↑  
234. (.2)  
235. Kenji: yo vengo de Japón  
236. ((girls laughing))  
237. (.)  
238. Talia: como te llamas↑  
239. (.)  
240. Kenji: quoi↑  
241. Talia: como te llamas↓ (.) comment tu t'appelles↓  
242. (.)  
243. Kenji: euh::  
244. (.)  
245. Talia: me llamo  
246. (.)  
247. Kenji: me llamo  
248. Talia: Kenji

250. Kenji: me llamo Kenji (.) me llamo Kenji  
251. (.)  
252. Maia: Kenji como se dice espagnol↑  
253. ((pointing to an eraser))  
254. (.2)  
255. Leila: comment s'appelle ça en espagnol  
256. ((pointing to an eraser))  
257. Kenji: /gæmæ/  
258. Talia: goma  
259. (.)  
260. Leila: goma  
261. Miss Lo: ça y est c'est fini↑  
262. Leila: [non maîtresse c'est plus difficile  
263. ça  
264. Kenji: [non maîtresse  
265. Talia: ( ) Kenji  
266. Miss Lo: mais vous avez le droit de prendre un  
267. dictionnaire si vous voulez (.) mais  
268. je sais pas si ça va beaucoup vous-  
269. sauf- [vous avez pas le droit de  
270. prendre un dictionnaire en espagnol  
271. Leila: [et ça c'est quoi↑(.) ça c'est  
272. un (.) payaso <clown >  
273. Miss Lo: déguisé  
274. (.)  
275. Talia: maîtresse je veux manger (.) ça fait  
276. rouahhhh (.) mon [ventre  
277. Leila: [ça fait (.) ça fait  
278. (.) ça fait mal a la [tête maîtresse  
279. Miss Lo: [chut chut chut! (.)  
280. déguiser ((writing on the board))  
281. (.)  
282. Miss Lo: déguisé ((writing on the board)) (.)  
283. il est déguisé en (.1) on avait vu  
284. pour euh (.) l'anniversaire (.) on  
285. allait se déguiser en (.2) d'accord↑ (.)  
286. ((Miss Lo moves away and starts talking  
287. with Samba on the other side of the  
288. classroom))  
289. Talia: Kenji  
290. (.)  
291. Leila: Kenji (.) [espagnol  
292. Talia: [comment on dit en  
293. espagnol↑  
294. (.)  
295. Kenji: goma  
296. Talia: oui  
297. ((Leila and Talia laughing))  
298. (.)  
299. Kenji: ((starts singing))  
300. Leila: Kenji (.) como te llamas↑  
301. (.)  
302. Kenji: como te llamas↑  
303. ((girls laughing))  
304. Kenji: ((caughing))  
305. Talia: por qué (.) por qué (.) por qué por qué  
306. por qué (19:05)  
307. (.2)  
308. Leila: me està robando la goma!  
309. ((Talia laughing))  
310. Leila: non! Ça c'est moi!  
311. Maia: ( )  
312. Leila: me quiere sacar la regla!  
313. ((laughing))  
314. (.3)  
315. Talia: el japonés  
316. ( )  
317. Talia: le petit chaperon japonais  
318. (.3)  
319. Leila: akazukin chan <le petit chaperon

320. rouge>(20:01)  
321. (.1)  
322. Leila: akazukin chan <le petit chaperon  
rouge>  
323. Talia: anata no kaban <your bag>  
324. (.)  
325. Talia: atashi <I> (.1) arigato <thank you>  
326. (.4)  
327. Maia: que este (.) Kenji (.) Kenji (.)  
328. Kenji  
329. (.1)  
330. Kenji: la maman ((reading his exercise at  
331. loud))  
332. (.)  
333. Talia: es que es tan tierno <it's just that  
334. he's so sweet> ((laughing))  
335. Leila: haha ((laughing))  
336. (.3)  
337. Kenji: maman  
338. Talia: te dice (.1) tonta (.) te dice tonta  
339. Kenji: c'est quoi↑  
340. Leila: tonta  
341. Talia: viste↑  
342. Leila: dis [tonta  
343. Kenji: [c'est quoi↑ (.) j'ai pas  
344. compris  
345. (.)  
346. Talia: pourquoi tu dis a Leila qu'elle a (.)  
347. comme ça↑  
348. (.3)  
349. [...]  
350. Talia: Kenji (.) comment on dit arigato  
351. <thank you> en espagnol↓  
352. (.)  
353. Kenji: gracias  
354. ((girls laughing))  
355. (.8)  
356. Leila: buena memoria tiene  
357. Miss Lo: alors  
358. Leila: ça fait mal a la tête maître-  
359. (.)  
360. Leila: la tele!  
361. Talia: la tele  
362. Leila: la tête ((laughing))  
363.

--21:00--

**T2 S1 D1 V5 E1:**

They talk about the story of Little Red Riding Hood. They are talking about what the wolf can eat.

--03:00--

1. Miss Lo: il peut manger des lapins (.) qu'est-  
2. ce qu'il peut manger d'autre↑  
3. (.)  
4. ?: euh (.) [les poules!  
5. Hakim: [les poules  
6. Miss Lo: les poules ouais (.) quoi d'autres↑  
7. (.3)  
8. Miss Lo: Julia (.) qu'est-ce qu'il peut manger  
9. d'autres=  
10. ?: =le cheval  
11. (.)  
12. Matilda: non!  
13. (.)  
14. ?: les chèvres!  
15. Miss Lo: les chèvres voilà (.) ouais  
16. ?: les moutons↑  
17. Miss Lo: voilà (.) les moutons (.) et puis  
18. dans les histoires ça mange aussi des  
19. fois les↑  
20. ?: les chez-  
21. (.3)  
22. Hakim: les grand-mères  
23. Miss Lo: la grand-mère (.) les enfants (.)  
24. hein↑  
25. Julia: la ( )  
26. Miss Lo: la↑  
27. Julia: la ( )  
28. Miss Lo: la chair fraîche elle dit julia mais  
29. oui (.) la chair fraîche!  
30. ((laughing))  
31. Hakim: c'est quoi↑  
32. Julia: la ( )  
33. Miss Lo: la chevrette↑  
34. (.)  
35. Julia: le chevreuil!  
36. (.)  
37. Miss Lo: le chevreuil! (.) c'est moi qui  
38. n'entends pas (.) le chevreuil (.)  
39. d'accord  
40. Hakim: c'est quoi maîtresse↑  
41. Miss Lo: le chevreuil c'est quoi↑ (.) tu  
42. expliques a Hakim ce que c'est qu'un  
43. chevreuil↑  
44. (.)  
45. Julia: euh  
46. Miss Lo: c'est un animal de la foret (.) euh  
47. il y en avait dans quelle euh  
48. Julia: un cheval un peu  
49. Miss Lo: c'était (.) on avait vu ça oui vous  
50. avez déjà vu ça dans les bons amis  
51. ?: c'est un peu petit  
52. Miss Lo: voilà (.) c'est petit  
53. (.)  
54. Talia: écureuil↑  
55. (.)  
56. Miss Lo: c'est comme un (.) [c'est comme une  
57. biche un petit peu  
58. ?: [non écureuil  
59. (.)  
60. Maia: el otro  
61. Miss Lo: [bambi (.) tu vois pas bambi↑  
62. ?: [écureuil c'est pas ça



63. Miss Lo: bon alors (.) euh (.) chut  
 64. Talia: ah (.) **como bambi**  
 65. (.)  
 66. Miss Lo: les- les (.) avant que je continue  
 67. avec les petits et que les grands  
 68. vous fassiez autre chose  
 69. Talia: un ( ) (04:06)  
 70. Miss Lo: Hakim parce que chevreuil (.) tu vas  
 71. regarder dans le livre (.) je voulais  
 72. juste vous faire écouter deux  
 73. passages  
 --04:12--

**T2 S1 D1 V5 E2:**

--27:59--  
 1. Miss Lo: Andrea on est en train de travailler  
 2. nous (.) alors merci de sortir  
 3. tranquillement  
 4. (.)  
 5. Hakim: au revoir!  
 6. Andrea: **tienes un**  
 7. (.3)  
 8. Miss Lo: alors pourquoi t'as dit (.) Julia (.)  
 9. féroce et rhinocéros  
 10. (.2)  
 11. Julia: je sais pas  
 12. Miss Lo: non mais c'est bien (.) mais qu'est-  
 13. ce qui est pareil dans féroce et  
 14. rhinocéros↑ (.) qu'est-ce qu'-  
 15. Talia: ah! (.) parce que le (.) c'est (.)  
 16. c'est ( )  
 17. (.)  
 18. Miss Lo: non (.) elle a dit (.) féroce (.)  
 19. c'est comme rhinocéros  
 20. (.2)  
 21. Miss Lo: féroce c'est comme-  
 22. ?: c'est roce↑  
 23. Miss Lo: oui!(.) on entend roce! (.) et donc  
 24. quand- quand il y a deux mots qui se  
 25. terminent pareil comme ça on dit ça  
 26. rime (.) comme dans la poésie (.)  
 27. ça rime (.) est-ce que ça existe les  
 28. rhinocéros féroces  
 29. Talia: non  
 30. ?: oui  
 31. (.)  
 32. Miss Lo: les rhinocéros féroces  
 33. Talia: [non  
 34. ?: [non  
 35. Miss Lo: ah (.) peut-être que ça existe (.) je  
 36. sais pas  
 37. Talia: je pense que ça rime (.) rhinocéros  
 38. (.) parce que en espagnol c'est (.)  
 39. **rinoceronte** (.) je-  
 40. Miss Lo: alors est-ce que si on dit en  
 41. espagnol un rhinocéros féroce (.) ça  
 42. va faire oce oce comme ça↑  
 43. (.)  
 44. ?: oce oce ((laughing))  
 45. Talia: euh::  
 46. Miss Lo: comment on dit en espagnol  
 47. Talia: **feroz** (.) **rinoceronte** (28:56)  
 48. Miss Lo: non (.) ben c'est pas pareil (.) ben  
 49. en français (.) c'est fero-  
 50. rhinocéros féroce on entend le même-  
 51. Talia: ah! (.) **feroz y rhino-** (.) c'est quoi  
 52. qu'elle a dit↑  
 53. Miss Lo: elle a dit rhinocéros féroce

54. Talia: ah (.) feroz rinocéros (.) oui  
55. ?: roce roce roce  
56. Miss Lo: on entend roce (.) très bien (.)  
57. alors (.) mais là ya pas de  
58. rinocéros dans cette histoire (.)  
59. alors là qu'est-ce qui [se passe↑  
60. Talia: [c'est  
61. quoi rinocéros↑  
62. Maia: rino- (.) rinocerontes  
63. Talia: ah oui c'est rinoceronte (.) euh  
64. (.)  
65. Miss Lo: il dit (.) toi vas par là (.) alors  
66. il faut le dire autrement  
--29:29--

**T2 S1 D1 V5 E3:**

--32:36--  
22. Maia: maîtresse!  
23. Miss Lo: oui Maia  
24. Maia: euh (.) ( )  
25. (.2)  
26. Talia: que quieres decir↑  
27. Miss Lo: non non non Talia (.) elle- elle  
28. essaye de le dire en français  
29. Maia: un show  
30. (.3)  
31. Talia: show↑ (.) show↑  
32. Maia: es el de caperucita roja (33:03)  
33. (.3)  
34. Talia: que↑  
35. (.2)  
36. Maia: el de todos los idiomas  
37. Talia: que si lo vamos a hacer  
38. Miss Lo: Maia!  
39. Talia: elle a dit que si on va faire le- (.)  
40. le show (.) le petit chaperon rouge↑  
41. (.1)  
42. Miss Lo: non mais (.) après (.) pas tout de  
43. suite (.) d'accord↑ (.) hein↑ (.) il  
44. ne faut pas (.) Julia et Anika et (.)  
45. elles ne font pas le spectacle (.)  
46. parce qu'elles sont pas là le matin  
47. (.) d'accord↑ (.) d'accord↑ (.) alors  
48. (.) donc là (.) qu'est-ce qu'il fait  
49. (.) il arrive  
50. ?: il arrive  
--33:33--

**T2 S1 D1 V5 E4:**

--35:44--  
1. Miss Lo: et regardez (.)là on le voit qui mange la  
2. grand-mère  
3. (.)  
4. Talia: il a une grande bouche!  
5. (.)  
6. Miss Lo: [hein↑  
7. ?: [( ) trop peur!  
8. Miss Lo: il a une grande bouche (.) vous savez  
9. comment on dit la bouche pour un animal↑  
10. (.1)  
11. Talia: ah euh (.) en espagnol c'est hocico  
12. Miss Lo: et en français c'est la gueule!  
13. ?: gueule!  
14. Miss Lo: la gueule du loup (.) [mais ça  
15. ?: [gueule!  
16. Miss Lo: la gueule (.) mais ça c'est que pour les

17. animaux (.) les chiens (.) les- les- [(.)  
18. mais pas pour les- les personnes  
19. Talia: [oui  
20. ?: les chats↑  
21. Miss Lo: parce que si on dit ça pour une personne  
22. c'est comme un gros mot (.) [hein↑  
23. Talia: [maîtresse!  
24. (.) [c'est le loup-  
25. Julia: [ma maman-  
26. Miss Lo: elle t'a dit quoi ta maman là-dessus↑  
27. Julia: quand tu dis pas- (.) quand tu dis pas (.)  
28. la gueule  
29. Miss Lo: elle t'a dit qu'il faut pas dire la  
30. gueule↑ (.) et- et euh (.) parce que tu  
31. disais ce mot là↑  
32. Julia: non  
33. Miss Lo: ah non d'accord (.) mais elle t'a appris  
34. ça (.) qu'il faut pas dire ce mot là (.)  
35. d'accord (.) okay  
36. (.2)  
37. Miss Lo: donc [ça c'est pour la-  
38. Talia: [maîtresse  
39. Miss Lo: oui  
40. Talia: en espagnol (.) pour le chien et (.) le-  
41. le chien [(.) et le chat  
42. Julia: [le chien le chat  
43. (.)  
44. Talia: c'est (.) hocico (.) pour le perroquet (.)  
45. c'est (.) pico  
46. Miss Lo: le bec en français aussi oui (.) oui en  
47. français aussi  
48. Talia: et (.1) comme ça!  
49. (.1)  
50. Miss Lo: et (.) est-ce qu'on dit des fois hoci- (.)  
51. c'est hocico c'est ça↑  
52. Talia: hocico  
53. Miss Lo: est-ce qu'on dit hocico pour euh (.) une  
54. personne↑  
55. Talia: non c'est boca  
56. (.)  
57. Miss Lo: d'accord  
58. Talia: labios (.) boca (36:59)  
59. Miss Lo: d'accord (.1) très bien (.) en français  
60. des fois on dit (.) on dit gueule pour une  
61. personne mais ça c'est vraiment quand on  
62. est très en colère parce que c'est co-  
63. comme un gros mot (.) [faut pas le dire  
64. Talia: [c'est quoi gueule↑  
65. (.)  
66. Talia: [c'est le-  
67. Miss Lo: [la gueule c'est la bouche du chien  
68. Talia: ah  
69. (.)  
70. Miss Lo: donc si on dit à quelqu'un (.) ferme ta  
71. gueule (.) c'est en fait (.) c'est un gros  
72. mot (.) c'est une insulte (.1) voyez↑ (.)  
73. parce que normalement on- on peut pas dire  
74. ça  
75. ?: dans la cour il y a quelqu'un qui (  
76. )  
77. Miss Lo: ah (.) dans la cour il y a quelqu'un qui a  
78. dit ça↑  
79. ?: ( )  
80. Miss Lo: tu as déjà entendu ça↑ (.) ferme ta gueule  
81. (.) ou bien ta gueule (.) t'as déjà  
82. entendu ça↑  
83. ?: oui  
84. Miss Lo: oui↑ (.) ben oui parce que ça c'est des  
85. gros mots (.) et donc il y en a qui les  
86. disent

87. (.)  
88. Maia: ( )  
89. Miss Lo: voilà (.) mais faut pas les dire parce que  
90. sinon si vous les dites vous allez avoir  
91. des problèmes  
92. Talia: [no le repite Maia  
93. Maia: [haha ((laughing))  
94. Miss Lo: [hein↑  
95. Talia: je dis à Maia (.)ne re- te (.) ne répète  
96. pas  
97. Miss Lo: ah voilà (.) tu dis a Maia qu'il faut pas  
98. qu'elle apprenne ça (.) d'accord↑ (.) très  
99. bien  
100. Julia: parce que c'est pas poli  
101. Miss Lo: voilà (.) c'est pas poli (.) très bien (.)  
102. c'est pas poli (.) [mais ça existe  
103. Talia: [c'est pas joli  
104. Miss Lo: mais c'est pas joli (.) voilà (.) euh  
105. Julia (.) donc qu'est-ce qui se passe là↑  
106. Amelia: ( )  
107. Miss Lo: oui Amélie tu veux dire quelque chose↑  
--38:10--

**T2 S1 D1 V5 E5:**

--39:16--  
1. Miss Lo: et est-ce que le petit chaperon rouge s'en  
2. rend compte (.) est-ce que le petit  
3. chaperon rouge s'en rend compte (.) est-ce  
4. qu'elle reconnaît-  
5. (.)  
6. ?: [non  
7. ?: [non  
8. Talia: [no lo abras Maia  
9. (.)  
10. ?: [non  
11. Talia: [es la ( ) (39:23)  
12. Julia: [parce que la grand-mère elle était belle  
13. et maintenant elle est en noir  
14. Talia: [Maia (.) es la cosa que lo prendes (.)  
15. no lo habras (39:29)  
16. Miss Lo: la grand-mère était beige (.) la grand-  
17. mère elle était euh (.) elle avait pas de  
18. quoi (.) parce que les loups ils ont quoi  
19. (.) des↑  
20. ?: des petits cheveux sur le visage  
21. (.)  
22. Miss Lo: ils ont quoi↑ (.) ils ont des↑ (.) comment  
23. ça s'appelle les petits cheveux  
24. ?: moi je sais pas! ( )  
25. Miss Lo: des↑ (.) comment ça s'appelle ça↑ (.) je  
26. suis pas un loup hein (.) je suis pas un  
27. loup (.) mais ça s'appelle comment ça↑  
28. Talia: moi oui (.) je suis un loup (.) hhmh  
29. ((laughing))  
30. ?: des  
31. Miss Lo: c'est quoi ça↑ (.) hein↑ (.) ça s'appelle  
32. comment ça↑  
33. (.2)  
34. Miss Lo: ça c'est des cheveux (.) et ça c'est des↑  
35. (.2)  
36. Julia: mon papa est (.) comme ça  
37. Miss Lo: ton papa il en a ouais (.) mais c'est un  
38. loup ton papa↑  
39. Julia: non  
40. Miss Lo: non↑ (.) c'est quoi alors↑  
41. (.)  
42. Miss Lo: c'est des poils!

43. ? : ah (.) poils  
44. Miss Lo: des poils! (.) [d'accord↑  
45. Talia: [en espagnol c'est vellos  
46. (.)  
47. Julia: mon papa ( )  
48. Miss Lo: hein↑  
49. Julia: mon papa il est pas ( ) parce que il  
50. est très gentil  
51. Miss Lo: vous entendez ce que nous dit Julia (.) là  
52. c'est quand même surprenant (.) elle dit  
53. que son papa n'est pas un loup parce qu'il  
54. est très gentil  
55. (.2)  
56. ((children laughing))  
57. Miss Lo: et aussi parce que- (.) il a des poils  
58. mais pas autant que le loup hein↑  
59. Julia: et le loup il est très fort  
60. Miss Lo: oui  
61. Talia: [ya que ve ( ) (40:46)  
62. Julia: ( )  
63. Talia: [espera que le mete y se le saca  
64. Miss Lo: [c'est le vent qui souffle (.) donc quand  
65. même qu'est-ce qu'elle se dit le petit  
66. chaperon rouge↑  
67. (.)  
68. Miss Lo: elle reconnaît pas que c'est un loup (.)  
69. mais quand même il y a des choses un peu  
70. bizarres (.) qu'est-ce qui est bizarre↑  
71. ? : elle dit (.) [grand-mère comme tu as du  
72. grandes oreilles  
73. Talia: [el chico (.) por que crees  
74. que era un palo asi↑ (41:00) ((working  
75. with Leila))  
76. Miss Lo: voilà (.) c'est-à-dire que le loup il a  
77. des oreilles plus grandes que celles de  
78. sa↑  
79. ? : grand-mère  
80. Miss Lo: grand-mère (.) et il a des yeux plus↑  
81. ? : grands que la grand-mère  
82. Miss Lo: que ceux de la grand-mère (.) et il a des  
83. dents plus↑  
84. Talia: non  
85. ? : grands!  
86. Miss Lo: [non euh  
87. Talia: [Maia tu tijeras están ahí afuera  
88. (41:28)  
89. Miss Lo: longues  
90. ? : longues que la grand-mère  
91. Miss Lo: que la grand-mère  
--41:38--

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## T2 S1 D2 V6

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### T2 S1 D1 V6 E1:

Miss Lo is explaining the date to the intermediate group while the other groups are working on their own. The microphone is with the advanced group.

--00:00--  
1. Miss Lo: très bien (.) alors comment tu sais  
2. qu'après le 31 c'est le premier février↑  
3. ? : ( )  
4. Miss Lo: tu le sais (.) ah ben bravo (.)  
5. félicitations (.) vas-y alors  
6. Leila: [en qué lo hizo Talia↑

7. Miss Lo: [février ↑ (.) c'est marqué là-bas février  
8. Talia: ( )  
9. (.)  
10. Miss Lo: fé- (.2) vas-y (.) fé (.) é (.2) voilà  
11. Talia: ( )  
12. Kenji: trop petit  
13. (.)  
14. Miss Lo: [r- (.) r- (.) comme dans livre  
15. Talia: [laurie (.) regard (.) ir (.) mic  
16. Miss Lo: [oui mais alors le r- la il est (.) hein  
17. (.)  
18. Matilda: non  
19. Talia: let (.) at (.) r (.) g  
20. Miss Lo: ouais c'est r- mais c'est [juste que tu  
21. l'avais fait un peu trop la haut  
22. Talia: [what is it ↑  
23. (.)  
24. Miss Lo: il est tout petit la le r- (.) comme le v-  
25. Hakim: comme ça ↑  
26. Miss Lo: oui c'est ça mais il est trop petit là (.)  
27. regarde (.) et hop (.) non on verra après  
28. la (.) févri- (.) I- (.) er  
29. Talia: can I listen ↑  
30. Miss Lo: alors er- (.) alors là c'est le er- de  
31. janvier  
32. ((knock on the doors))  
33. Miss Lo: le er de janvier  
34. ?: ( )  
35. Miss Lo: t'es dans la classe de qui ↑  
36. ?: ( )  
37. Miss Lo: ah c'est la même d'accord ben (.) euh  
38. mélanie elle a été- (.) oui on a échangé  
39. de liste  
40. ?: ah oui d'accord  
41. Miss Lo: merci bien ((Miss Lo takes the list))  
42. (.)  
43. Talia: por que no se encontraron ahí ↑ (01:16)  
44. <why did they not meet there ↑>  
45. Leila: quién ↑  
46. Talia: no se encontraron (.) no se la cambiaron  
47. <they didn't bump into each other (.) they  
48. didn't exchange it> ((referring to the  
49. list of pupils))  
50. (.)  
51. Miss Lo: alors (.)févri ↑ (.) on en est où là ↑ (.)  
52. févri-  
53. (.3)  
54. C?: er (.) er (.) er  
55. Miss Lo: er (.) e- (.) r-  
56. (.)  
57. Miss Lo: voilà (.) de quelle année ↑  
58. (.)  
59. Hakim: 2008  
60. Miss Lo: très bien:: (.) bravo Hakim (.1) super (.)  
61. vendredi premier février donc (.) Cristina  
62. hier c'était quel jour ↑  
63. (.)  
64. Cristina: euh (.) c'était trente  
65. Miss Lo: non mais le jour (.) c'était dis-moi la  
66. date d'hier (.) tu t'en rappelles de la  
67. date d'hier ↑  
68. Cristina: c'était jeudi trente (.) trente  
69. Piotr: trente et un  
70. Leila: trente et un Cristina  
71. Karen: trente et un  
72. Piotr: c'est trente et un  
73. Karen: si c'est trente et un  
74. (.)  
75. Miss Lo: trente et un ↑

76. [...]
--02:05--

T2 S1 D1 V6 E2:

Andrea comes back with empty hands as the folder she was sent to get had been given in the meanwhile by a child from another classroom.

--03:00--
1. ((Knocks on the door))
2. Talia: Andrea
3. Miss Lo: et lundi quatre-
4. Leila: ( ) rien
5. Miss Lo: comment ya rien^
6. Leila: j'ai dis-
7. Miss Lo: t'as donné à la maîtresse^
8. Leila: oui
9. Talia: mélanie por que no [( ) (03:08)
10. Miss Lo: [Talia! (.) elle
11. parle
12. ((children laughing))
13. Leila: (elle m'a déjà expliqué)
14. Miss Lo: elle t'a déjà expliqué
15. ((everyone laughing and door closing))
16. Miss Lo: toi là (.) hop hop hop ((speaking to
17. Talia)) (.) Talia il faut la
18. laisser s'exprimer (.) il faut la laisser
19. parler d'accord^ (.) je voulais lui faire
20. une blague en plus
21. Leila: te callás (03:30) <shut up> ((note that
22. in Spain there wouldn't be an accent
23. there))
24. Andrea: dónde estaba^
25. (.)
26. Leila: venieron de tu clase y ( )
27. Talia: les colombiens
28. Miss Lo: alors! (.) d'accord Andrea^ (.) donc
29. demain ce sera le deux février
--03:43--

T2 S1 D1 V6 E3:

Andrea and Hakim are about to leave the induction classroom and go to their mainstream classroom for maths.

--05:50--
07. Miss Lo: allez-y Hakim et Andrea (.) vous allez en
08. mathématiques (.) à toute à l'heure
09. ((noises of chairs being pushed on the floor))
10. Leila: Andrea! cuaderno te falta! (05:55)
11. Talia: si ella lo tiene
12. Miss Lo: euh (.) Amkoulel (.) est-ce que tu peux
13. s'il te plait (.) faire l'appel (.) c'est-
14. à-dire que tu demandes aux enfants s'ils
15. mangent ou s'ils restent à l'étude mais à
16. voix haute
17. Leila: au revoir
18. ((noise of the door closing))
--06:12--

T2 S1 D1 V6 E4:

--12:31--
1. Miss Lo: alors ensuite (.) maintenant (.) les
2. enfants qui ont sport et qui me disent
3. qu'ils ne peuvent pas aller au sport (.)
4. montrez-moi vos cahiers rouges avec le mot

5. (.) qui dit que vous pouvez pas faire de  
6. sport  
7. (.2)  
8. Matilda: mon maman-  
9. Cristina: eh maîtresse je peux te montrer [(  
10. )  
11. Leila: [Maia no  
12. va a hacer sport hoy↑  
13. (.)  
14. Leila: por qué↑  
15. Talia: [no me acuerdo porque  
16. Leila: [me enteré (.) me enteré <I realised>  
17. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) [Maia c'est bon parce  
18. qu'elle est vaccinée  
19. Maia: [yo no sabe  
20. (.)  
21. Talia: ah si ya su puesto  
22. Leila: que es eso↑  
23. Miss Lo: donc elle ne peut pas (.) oui  
24. Talia: (no es nada)  
25. Miss Lo: et pour Matilda  
26. Matilda: non  
27. Miss Lo: pourquoi non↑  
28. ((children laughing))  
29. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) d'accord (.) maintenant je  
30. suis d'accord ((laughing)) (.) non euh (.)  
31. parce que je vois tes yeux et je vois que  
32. t'es fatiguée mais Matilda il faut que  
33. maman elle me marque le mot (.) même si  
34. c'est en anglais (.) même si c'est en  
35. espagnol en ce que vous voulez  
36. Matilda: lituanie!  
37. Miss Lo: en lituanien si tu veux (.) comment on  
38. dit sport en lituanien↑  
39. Matilda: spuerto↑ (13:24)  
40. Miss Lo: ah ben voilà (.) donc je vais comprendre  
41. que y a un truc avec le sport (.) comment  
42. on dit (.) elle ne peut pas faire de sport  
43. en lituanien  
44. Matilda: euh (.) euh (.) ( ) (13:35)  
45. ((laughs))  
46. Miss Lo: bon ben sporto je verrai (.) d'accord (.)  
47. je comprendrai que c'est ça  
48. Talia: sporto  
49. Miss Lo: donc tu dis à maman qu'elle peut écrire ce  
50. qu'elle veut (.) comme elle veut (.) dans  
51. la langue qu'elle veut (.) mais qu'on me  
52. mette un mot (.) d'accord↑  
53. ((Matilda laughing))  
54. Miss Lo: comme ça quand le prof de sport il est pas  
55. content il me dit mais pourquoi elles sont  
56. pas venues en sport les petites filles de  
57. CLIN (.) pourquoi elles sont pas venues  
58. (.) ben je lui dis ah ben y avait un mot  
59. dans le cahier parce qu'elle était malade  
60. (.) parce qu'après il croit que c'est moi  
61. qui veut pas vous envoyer (.) il pense que  
62. c'est moi qui oublie (.) mais non (.)  
63. d'accord↑ (.) donc pour tous les enfants  
64. qui sont malades (.) il faut un mot dans  
65. le cahier  
--14:00--

**T2 S1 D1 V6 E5:**

Miss Lo is checking that Matilda wrote her text in Lithuanian for the play on Little Red Riding Hood where all children will play their role in their L1. Matilda didn't understand the French expression "c'est pour mieux" and therefore didn't translate it in Lithuanian.



--15:15--

1. Miss Lo: mais tu l'as marqué en lituanien non (.)  
2. c'est pour mieux t'entendre↑ (.) c'est  
3. pour mieux  
4. Leila: nunca escuché [la palabra (.) ( ) (15:27)]  
5. Miss Lo: [ah non (.) tu l'as pas  
6. écrit à chaque fois tu comprenais pas ce  
7. que ça voulait dire 'c'est pour mieux'  
8. (.1) [c'est ça↑ (.) tu l'as pas écrits la  
9. non plus (.) d'accord  
10. Leila: [°quiero agarrar este micrófono° ( )  
11. )  
12. Miss Lo: par exemple (.) regarde euh (.) qu'est-ce  
13. qu'on pourrait faire pour expliquer a-  
14. Talia: canta para que venga ( )  
15. Cristina: à Matilda  
16. Miss Lo: qu'est-ce qu'on pourrait faire pour  
17. expliquer a Matilda  
18. Leila: ( )  
19. Miss Lo: Leila! (.) qu'est-ce qu'on pourrait  
20. faire pour expliquer a Matilda euh (.) ce  
21. que- ce que veut dire 'c'est pour mieux'  
22. (.) par exemple euh (.) [si on veut aller  
23. Leila: [es para mejor  
24. Miss Lo: euh (.) si on veut aller se promener dans  
25. la forêt↑  
26. (.2)  
27. Miss Lo: pour mieux se promener dans la forêt  
28. qu'est-ce qu'on va mettre (.) qu'est-ce  
29. qu'on va faire↑ (.) on va prendre des  
30. sandales↑ (.) qu'est-ce qu'on va faire↑  
31. (.1)  
32. Miss Lo: ou pour mieux jouer au foot (.) qu'est-ce  
33. qu'on va faire Kenji (.) pour mieux jouer  
34. au foot↑  
35. (.)  
36. Talia: ah! (.) avec de les tennis  
37. Miss Lo: voilà (.) on va mettre de bonnes  
38. chaussures (.) pour mieux euh (.) je sais  
39. pas moi (.) pour mieux dormir (.) qu'est-  
40. ce qu'on va faire pour mieux dormir  
41. Talia: pyjama!  
42. ?: pyjama  
43. Miss Lo: est-ce que si on met un pyjama on dort  
44. mieux↑ que si on met un jogging  
45. Talia: maîtresse! (.) pour mieux dormir c'est  
46. avec le lit  
47. (.)  
48. Miss Lo: ah oui d'accord (.) pour mieux dormir si  
49. on a un bon lit (.) [on dormira mieux mais  
50. euh-  
51. Kenji: [moi dormir (.) çanapé  
52. Miss Lo: pour mieux je sais pas moi (.) pour mieux  
53. euh (.) qu'est-ce que ça pourrait être  
54. Karen: t'embrasser  
55. (.2)  
56. Leila: pour mieux regarder (.1) les lunettes  
57. Miss Lo: voilà! (.) très bien miçaela (.) pour  
58. mieux regarder des fois il y a des enfants  
59. qui ont besoin de lunettes (.) d'accord↑  
60. (.)  
61. --17:04--  
62. [...]  
63. --17:59--  
64. Miss Lo: ce que je vois Matilda (.) c'est qu'à  
65. chaque fois (.) tu n'as pas traduit (.) tu  
66. n'as pas traduit par exemple (.) tu n'as  
67. pas écrit euh la (.) tu n'as pas écrit  
68. 'c'est pour mieux t'entendre' (.) 'c'est

69. pour mieux t'embrasser' (.) 'c'est pour  
70. mieux te manger' (.) donc ce que je pense  
71. c'est que peut-être- (.) est-ce que tu  
72. sais- (.) est-ce que tu sais le dire en  
73. anglais↑ (.) est-ce que tu pourrais le  
74. traduire en anglais↑ (.) 'c'est pour mieux  
75. te manger' (.) comment tu dirais ça en  
76. anglais↑  
77. Karen: euh  
78. Miss Lo: chut! (.) non non Karen tu dis rien (.)  
79. on va voir  
80. (.2)  
81. Matilda: *it's better to eat*  
82. Karen: *better*  
83. (.)  
84. Miss Lo: est-ce que c'est comme ça que- (.) alors  
85. (.) redis-le Matilda  
86. (.1)  
87. Miss Lo: parce qu'en anglais c'est pas moi qui vais  
88. faire le prof (.) la maîtresse (.) ça va  
89. être Karen (.) parce que c'est Karen  
90. qui sait ça mieux que moi (.) donc (.)  
91. comment tu dirais c'est pour mieux te- (.)  
92. comment tu dirais en anglais euh (.)  
93. comme tu as une grande bouche (.) comme  
94. tu as de grandes dents (.) c'est pour  
95. mieux te manger mon enfant (.) comment tu  
96. dirais ça en anglais (.) Karen écoute  
97. ce qu'elle dit Matilda  
98. (.1)  
99. Miss Lo: vas-y (.) c'est pour voir (.) si tu as  
100. compris ce que ça veut dire (.) dis-le  
101. moi en anglais pour voir  
102. Matilda: attends (.) dis-moi encore  
103. Miss Lo: alors (.) comme tu as de grandes dents  
104. (.2)  
105. Matilda: j'ai oublié comment on dit ça  
106. Miss Lo: t'as oublié l'anglais d'accord (.) et  
107. c'est pour [mieux te manger↑  
108. Karen: [how  
109. Miss Lo: alors dis-lui Karen (.) comme tu as de  
110. grandes dents  
111. Karen: *how (.2) how big are your teeth*  
112. (.)  
113. Miss Lo: et l'autre il répond (.) c'est pour mieux  
114. te manger  
115. (.2)  
116. Miss Lo: non tu avais commencé à le dire toute à  
117. l'heure ((speaking to Matilda))  
118. Talia: tu as oublié l'anglais  
119. Miss Lo: attends (.) chut!  
120. (.)  
121. Matilda: *it's better to eat!*  
122. Miss Lo: est-ce que c'est ça Karen (.) est-ce que  
123. on va dire *it's better to eat* ↑  
124. (.)  
125. Karen: euh (.)  
126. Talia: *for better-*  
127. Karen: *it's better to eat you my child*  
128. (.)  
129. Miss Lo: c'est comme ça qu'on dit en anglais (.)  
130. *it's better to-* (.) donc elle a compris  
131. alors ce que ça veut dire (.) c'est ça↑  
132. (.) alors voilà (.) alors essaye de dire  
133. ça '*it's better to eat*' (.) t'essaies de  
134. le dire en lituanien! ((laughing)) (.)  
135. d'accord↑ (.) c'est pour mieux te manger  
136. ça veut dire '*it's better to eat*' et du  
137. coup *it's better to eat* t'essaies de voir  
138. comment on dit ça en lituanien (.) tu

139.                   sais le dire en lituanien ça↑  
140.       (.1)  
141. Miss Lo:           comment tu dis en lituanien alors c'est  
142.                   pour mieux te manger↑  
143. Matilda:           mm (.2) mm ((laughing))  
144. Miss Lo:           Matilda elle (.) elle a- elle parle  
145.                   français (.) lituanien (.) et anglais (.)  
146.                   alors du coup (.) il faut qu'elle cherche  
147.                   dans la bonne euh (.) dans la bonne euh  
148. Cristina:         [tête  
149. Miss Lo:           [dans le bon tiroir (.) dans la bonne tête  
150.                   voilà (.) il faut qu'elle cherche dans la  
151.                   bonne tête qu'est-ce qu'on dit  
152. Kenji:             ah (.) c'est pas bien  
153. Miss Lo:           tu vas trouver comment on le dit↑  
154. Kenji:             oublie de anglais  
155.       (.3)  
156.       ((children laughing))  
157. Matilda:           j'ai oublié toutes les langues!  
158. Miss Lo:           toutes les langues t'as oublié↑ (.) moi je  
159.                   crois que tu t'en rappelles des trois mais  
160.                   bon (.) ça c'est peut-être difficile à  
161.                   trouver là tout de suite (.) tu vas voir  
162.                   peut-être que ça va venir toute à l'heure  
163.                   hein↑  
164. Karen:            ouais parce qu'on va faire (        )  
165. Leila:             a mi nunca me pasó que me digan also en  
166.                   francés y no lo pueda traducir en español  
167.                   (20:49) <me it never happened to me that  
168.                   someone tells me something in French and I  
169.                   can't translate it in Spanish>  
170. Miss Lo:           alors! euh::: (.) juste la c'est moi qui  
171.                   vais faire ça rapidement  
--21:02--

**T2 S1 D1 V6 E6:**

Small group interaction.

--25:16--  
1. Talia:             Kenji (.)  
2. Kenji:            quoi↑  
3. Talia:            c'est fini toute la classe  
4.       (.)  
5. Talia:            c'est fini!  
6. Leila:            no Talia (.) por hoy sólo!  
7.       ((laughing))  
8. Talia:            c'est fini Leila!  
9. Miss Lo:          chut chut! (.) chut!  
10. Kenji:           c'est fini↑ (.) quoi c'est fini Leila↑  
11.       ((girls laughing))  
12.       (.3)  
13. Kenji:            c'est la fin  
--25:40--

**T2 S1 D1 V6 E7:**

--25:56--  
27. Miss Lo:         alors! (.) je vous ai apporté un petit  
28.                   livre  
29. Leila:            comment s'appelle↑  
30. Miss Lo:         qui s'appelle (.) justement alors je suis  
31.                   désolée il est petit  
32.       (.)  
33. Leila:            shur-  
34. Kenji:            cha-  
35. Miss Lo:         il s'appelle↑

36. Leila: chou château ↑  
 37. Miss Lo: John↑  
 38. (.)  
 39. Talia: Johnny Depp↑!  
 40. (.)  
 41. Miss Lo: c'est marqué- (.) c'est Johnny Depp là↑  
 42. ((children laughing))  
 43. Class: non::  
 44. Miss Lo: [il ressemble à Johnny Depp↑  
 45. Leila: [maîtresse je vois pas  
 46. (.)  
 47. Leila: chur-↑ ((trying to read the title of the  
 48. book))  
 49. Matilda: do you like Johnny Depp↑  
 50. Talia: I love him!  
 51. Matilda: ah! ((laughing))  
 52. Karen: ah c'est John Chater-  
 53. (.)  
 54. Leila: john château gâteau  
 55. Miss Lo: ben c'est un nom euh:: un peu anglais ça  
 56. (.) comment tu dirais en anglais ça↑  
 57. Karen: john  
 58. (.1)  
 59. Leila: oh la la  
 60. Karen: chater (.)  
 61. Miss Lo: ouais (.) chaterton  
 62. Karen: chaterton  
 63. Miss Lo: alors c'est pas chaterton hein (.) là  
 64. c'est un mot anglais alors attention (.)  
 65. en fait en français 'on' comme ça (.) ça  
 66. fait on ((writing on the black board))  
 67. donc si c'était en français on dirait  
 68. 'john chaterton' (.) mais comme on pense  
 69. que c'est un américain  
 70. Matilda: c'est un livre anglais  
 71. Miss Lo: oui mais le livre il est en français  
 72. Matilda: oh  
 73. ((children laughing))  
 74. Miss Lo: et bien on va dire (.) john↑  
 75. Karen: chaterton  
 76. Miss Lo: chaterton voilà  
 77. ((children laughing with T))  
 78. Miss Lo: on va prononcer comme Karen d'accord↑  
 --27:20--

**T2 S1 D1 V6 E8:**

--29:20--  
 32. Miss Lo: Karen tu as raison (.) par exemple c'est  
 33. quand quelqu'un disparaît (.1) quand  
 34. quelqu'un disparaît (.) comment on dit  
 35. quand quelqu'un est perdu (.) quand  
 36. quelqu'un est enlevé  
 37. (.1)  
 38. Miss Lo: kidnappé  
 39. (.)  
 40. Miss Lo: ça existe en anglais ça kidnappé↑  
 41. Karen: oui (.) kidnap  
 42. Miss Lo: ah ben voilà (.) tu vois c'est pareil (.)  
 43. kidnapper (.) et bien on appelle un  
 44. détective pour faire quoi↑  
 45. Talia: il va chercher la personne qui s'est  
 46. perdue  
 47. Miss Lo: voilà (.) il va faire une enquête (.) il  
 48. va aller à la recherche de la personne qui  
 49. est perdue (.) et il ya des films qu'on  
 50. fait comme ça avec ce genre d'histoire et  
 51. qu'on appelle comment↑  
 52. (.1)

53. Karen: des films euh::  
54. Talia: como se dice (.) de misterio↑  
55. Cristina: ah ouais (.) c'est des trucs  
56. Miss Lo: ça fait peur↑  
57. Talia: maîtresse comment on dit-  
58. Cristina: et après il vole des enfants  
59. Miss Lo: donc c'est quoi ce genre de films  
60. (.)  
61. Miss Lo: [des films policiers::  
62. Talia: [como se dice de misterio↑  
63. Miss Lo: vous ne connaissez [pas les films  
64. policiers↑  
65. Leila: [yo no se Talia  
66. Miss Lo: hein↑  
67. Miss Lo: donc ça c'est un- en fait c'est un [ro- un  
68. petit livre policier  
69. Talia: [maîtresse  
70. Miss Lo: c'est une enquête policière (.) une  
71. enquête c'est-  
72. Talia: en espagnol c'est- (.)  
73. Miss Lo: oui  
74. Talia: c'est comme (.) misterio (.) c'est uhhhh  
75. ((M laughing))  
76. (.)  
77. Miss Lo: oui mais là par contre euh: (.) en  
78. espagnol (.) est-ce que si il y a des (.)  
79. comment dire (.) est-ce que si ya des  
80. choses euh: (.) extraordinaires (.) des  
81. fantômes ex cætera c'est aussi mystérieux↑  
82. Leila: [oui  
83. Karen: [oui en anglais oui  
84. (.)  
85. Miss Lo: oui (.) mais là par contre y a pas de  
86. fantômes (.) là c'est vraiment quelqu'un  
87. qui disparaît et on cherche qui c'est qui  
88. l'a kidnappé (.) c'est pas une histoire  
89. fantastique (.) c'est pas fantastique (.)  
90. c'est policier hein↑  
91. Kenji: c'est pas le même  
92. Miss Lo: là c'est un peu différent donc euh (.) en  
93. espagnol vous avez les deux aussi (.)  
94. fantastique et puis policier ou bien  
95. (.1)  
96. Leila: mm (.) misterio y después (.) no se cómo  
97. es el otro pero (.) es todo lo mismo=  
98. Miss Lo: =donc misterio c'est fantastique ou c'est  
99. policier↑  
100. Leila: fantastique  
101. Miss Lo: ah! d'accord (.) c'est un peu différent  
102. (.) mais policier ce serait comment alors↑  
103. (.) un roman policier (.) un film policier  
104. (.)  
105. Leila: de policía!  
106. (.)  
107. Kenji: policía!  
108. Miss Lo: c'est comme ça qu'on dit↑  
109. Leila: oui (.) que nunca ví un cuento [de policía  
110. Kenji: [policía  
111. (.)  
112. Talia: [verdad↑  
113. Leila: [moi j'ai pas vu une- un histoire de  
114. policier  
115. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) vous avez jamais vu des  
116. histoires où par exemple ya quelqu'un- ou  
117. bien quelqu'un qui est tué (.) et puis  
118. tout d'un coup on veut savoir qui est-ce  
119. qui a-  
120. [qui est-ce qui a commis le crime↑  
121. Leila: [ah oui ça oui  
122. (.)

123. Miss Lo: ah ben c'est pareil  
 124. Leila: oui  
 125. Miss Lo: d'accord  
 --31:44--

**T2 S1 D1 V6 E9:**

Miss Lo introduces the label 'bande dessinée'.

--36:32--  
 1. Miss Lo: il y a des cases oui  
 2. Leila: et tous les images euh (.) il a le chat  
 3. (.)  
 4. Cristina: ya le chat qui marche  
 5. Leila: et tous les images  
 6. Miss Lo: oui il y a plein d'images (.) mais en fait  
 7. (.) regardez (.) est-ce que ya le texte  
 8. qui est écrit à coté↑  
 9. ?: non  
 10. Miss Lo: il est écrit où le texte↑  
 11. Cristina: il est comme ça  
 12. (.)  
 13. Miss Lo: il est écrit ici (.) avec des petites  
 14. flèches qui partent de la bouche des  
 15. personnages (.) ça s'appelle comment↑  
 16. Talia: ah! (.) **es un historieta!**  
 17. Leila: que (.) com[me (.) qui parle  
 18. Karen: [en anglais on dit **comics**  
 19. Miss Lo: [voilà  
 20. m: que les personnages parlent-  
 21. Miss Lo: voilà (.) voilà (.) en anglais on dit↑  
 22. Karen: **comics**  
 23. Miss Lo: **comics**  
 24. Leila: car on fait comme ça (.) le cercle c'est  
 25. pour qu'ils parlent (.) quand on fait  
 26. comme (.) euh (.) tout comme ça ((drawing  
 27. in the air)) c'est comme qu'elles pensent  
 28. Miss Lo: voilà (.) en anglais elle dit Karen (.)  
 29. ah en anglais on dit **comics**  
 30. Talia: en espa[gnol **historieta**  
 31. Leila: [en espagnol **historieta**  
 32. Talia: oh:: (.) **comics** aussi  
 33. Miss Lo: **historieta** ça s'écrit comment↑  
 34. Leila: Talia  
 35. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
 36. Cristina: [i  
 37. Leila: [h - i -s -t -o -r [-i -e -t (.) [te non  
 38. non (.) e- est pas e  
 39. Karen: [histoire!  
 40. Kenji: **[historia**  
 41. Miss Lo: ah (.) é c'est quoi↑ (.) e  
 42. Leila: e  
 43. Miss Lo: ah d'accord  
 44. Kenji: **histo- ri- [e- ta**  
 45. Miss Lo: [et en japonais↑ (.) Kenji↑  
 46. (.) en japonais↑  
 47. Kenji: **manga**  
 48. (.)  
 49. Miss Lo: hein↑  
 50. ?: **manga**  
 51. Miss Lo: **manga** ((Miss Lo writes it on the board))  
 52. (.)  
 53. Matilda: **manga manga** ((playing with the accent))  
 54. Cristina: **manga**  
 55. Talia: en japonais maîtresse! ((A asks T if the  
 56. word çan can be written in the Japanese  
 57. alphabet))  
 58. (.)  
 59. Kenji: oui (.) **manga**

60. Karen: c'est comme mangea  
61. Talia: Kenji! (.) écris en japonais  
62. (.)  
63. Miss Lo: au sénégal il y a des choses comme ça↑  
64. (.3)  
65. Miss Lo: est-ce que ya des journaux↑ (.) moi [je  
66. sais qu'il y en a  
67. Kenji: [non  
68. Miss Lo: il y a des petits journaux avec des  
69. petites histoires avec des images et des  
70. [( )  
71. Talia: [comment on écrit↑  
72. Kenji: quoi↑  
73. Talia: [écris en japonais  
74. Miss Lo: [comme euh (.) comment ça s'appelle↑ (.)  
75. tu connais samba le nom des journaux pour  
76. les enfants avec des histoires↑  
77. Talia: [écris ici!  
78. Kenji: [non  
79. Miss Lo: non t'as jamais vu↓  
80. Leila: qué es esto Talia↑ (38:25)  
81. Talia: lo que hizo acá  
82. Miss Lo: chut!  
83. Talia: en el [examen  
84. Miss Lo: [d'accord (.) chut! (.) euh (.)  
85. Matilda (.) est-ce que en Lituanie vous  
86. avez des histoires comme ça là↑  
87. Kenji: Sénégal  
88. Talia: comics  
89. Matilda: non  
90. (.2)  
91. Karen: elle sait pas  
92. Miss Lo: non↑  
93. Talia: oh elle a oublié tout!  
94. Miss Lo: et en français donc personne sait comment  
95. ça s'appelle en français ça↑  
96. (.)  
97. Karen: /komik/  
98. Miss Lo: non (.) comment ça s'appelle [en  
99. français↑  
100. Leila: [/istoriæt/↑  
101. Miss Lo: non  
102. Cristina: des phrases↑  
103. Miss Lo: non!  
104. Talia: non::  
105. Miss Lo: comment ça s'appelle en français les  
106. livres [comme ça avec les-  
107. Kenji: [/istoriætæ/  
108. Cristina: des bulles!  
109. Miss Lo: les bulles ouais (.) les bulles c'est pour  
110. quand on parle (.) ça s'appelle des bulles  
111. les- les- comme ça la (.) ça s'appelle des  
112. bandes dessinées!  
113. All: bandes dessinées  
114. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
115. Miss Lo: des bandes dessinées  
116. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
117. Miss Lo: alors dessinees (.) pour quoi dessinées↑  
118. Leila: parce qu'il y a des dessins  
119. Miss Lo: parce qu'il y a beaucoup plus de dessins  
120. que dans↑  
121. Leila: une histoire  
122. Miss Lo: un album ou un petit euh:: (.) roman (.)  
123. tres bien donc c'est une bande dessinée  
124. Kenji: bande dessinée  
125. Miss Lo: alors...

--39:14--

**T2 S1 D1 V6 E10:**

Teacher-led sequences on Little Red Riding Hood.

--41:18--  
(children have just been given the document and start reading bits of it while Miss Lo keeps distributing the document to the rest of the class)  
29. Leila: 'détective' (.) Talia no se si en mexico  
30. sale (.) hermanos y detectives  
31. (.)  
32. Talia: hein↑  
33. Leila: hermanos y detectives  
34. (.)  
35. Talia: hermanos↑  
36. Leila: y detectives  
37. Miss Lo: alors on va prendre (.) alors (.) la  
38. première page  
39. (.2)  
40. Miss Lo: qu'est-ce qu'on voit (.) Leila↑  
41. Leila: euh (.) on voit une petite fille (.) mais  
42. c'est pas une fille (.) c'est comme une  
43. souris  
44. Miss Lo: ouais (.) c'est une petite souris  
45. Leila: ( ) le détective (.) et une  
46. madame qui frappe à la porte  
47. Miss Lo: voilà (.) le détective il est où↑  
48. (.)  
49. Leila: il est tout dans la (.) dans la:: (.)  
50. oficina!  
51. Miss Lo: dans son bureau  
52. (.)  
53. Miss Lo: hein↑  
54. (.)  
55. Miss Lo: il est dans son bureau (.) et puis (.) qui  
56. est-ce qui arrive (.) qu'est-ce qui se  
57. passe tout d'un coup↑  
--42:08--

**T2 S1 D1 V6 V11:**

Teacher-led sequence. One child does not understand the expression "je vous en prie" and Miss Lo along with other classmates are trying to explain it.

--45:49--  
1. Karen: après elle dit (.) 'retrouvez-la (.) je  
2. vou- (.) je vous en (.) prie!'  
3. Miss Lo: ça veut dire quoi ça↑  
4. Leila: je vous en prie (.) comme (.) euh  
5. Cristina: ça veut dire si tu-  
6. Miss Lo: chut chut chut!  
7. Leila: quand on dit merci (.) on dit je vous en  
8. prie  
9. (.2)  
10. Cristina: non  
11. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) [non mais la c'est pas  
12. pareil  
13. Cristina: [maîtresse (.) maîtresse!  
14. (.)  
15. Cristina: ça veut dire  
16. Miss Lo: chut (.) yesiça deux secondes (.) alors  
17. quand on dit (.) merci (.) [je vous en  
18. prie  
19. Kenji: [de rien  
20. Miss Lo: ça veut dire (.) de rien (.) euh (.) c'est  
21. pas grave  
22. Leila: ah! (.) je vous en prie-  
23. Miss Lo: tandis que là c'est-  
24. (.)  
25. Leila: oh (.) s'il vous plait::



26. Miss Lo: oui (.) je vous en prie:: faite tout  
27. [pour retrouver ma fille  
28. Leila: [Talia (.) **sabes que es↑** (.) **por favor**  
29. Talia: **si**  
30. Leila: **algo así** (46:18)  
31. (.)  
32. Talia: [te lo suplico  
33. Miss Lo: [non (.) c'est plus que ça (.) c'est plus  
34. que ça je vous en prie  
35. Miss Lo: c'est plus que **por favor**  
36. Leila: °te lo suplico°  
37. Miss Lo: c'est-  
38. (.)  
39. Talia: **te lo suplico**  
40. Miss Lo: voilà! (.) exactement alors (.) c'est une  
41. (.) supplication en français (.) une  
42. supplication (.) tu vois ça ressemble  
43. Leila: s'il vous plait!  
44. Miss Lo: s'il vous plait je vous en prie faites  
45. tout pour sauver [ma fille (.) [sinon je  
46. vais mourir de chagrin  
47. Kenji: [(  
48. )  
49. Miss Lo: voyez (.) c'est quelque chose comme ça  
50. (.) c'est pas euh (.) s'il te plait! tu  
51. peux trouver ma fille merci bien (.) c'est  
52. pas pareil (.) hein (.) c'est beaucoup  
53. plus fort (.) alors! (.) Matilda...  
--46:48--

**T2 S1 D1 V6 E12:**

--57:15--  
1. Talia: maîtresse (.) pourquoi c'est (.) 'la jeune  
2. fille en rouge'↑  
3. (.)  
4. Cristina: parce que c'est une fille qui elle est  
5. habillée en rouge [( )  
6. Miss Lo: [parce que c'est un- c'est  
7. un (.) comment dire (.)  
8. Karen: **young** (.) **a young girl**  
9. Cristina: tu mets un chapeau ( )  
10. Talia: mais aussi il y a (.) jeune  
11. Miss Lo: parce que est-ce qu'on (.) est-ce qu'on  
12. sait son âge↑  
13. Cristina: non  
14. (.2)  
15. Miss Lo: est-ce qu'on sait son âge↑  
16. Talia: non  
17. Miss Lo: est-ce qu'on nous dit qu'elle est toute  
18. petite (.) qu'elle a sept ans huit ans  
19. Cristina: non  
20. Miss Lo: non (.) peut-être qu'elle a- (.) elle  
21. pourrait avoir quel âge↑  
22. Kenji: très petite  
23. Leila: trois ans↑  
24. Kenji: trois ans↑  
25. Miss Lo: trois ans c'est petit (.) mais elle  
26. pourrait avoir (.) une jeune fille elle a  
27. quelle âge une jeune fille  
28. Cristina: euh quatorze!  
29. Miss Lo: oui quatorze ans! (.) douze ans  
30. Cristina: treize ans  
31. Talia: [haz la ( ) **niña en rojo** (58:00)  
32. Miss Lo: [on ne sait pas en fait (.) on ne sait pas  
33. (.1)  
34. Miss Lo: tres bien (.) alors juste avant que je  
35. vous donne la feuille  
36. Leila: **no** ( ) **significa euh**

37. Miss Lo: chut!  
 38. Leila: **tambien**  
 39. Miss Lo: je vous dis pas la faim pour l'instant  
 --58:19--

**T2 S1 D1 V6 E13:**

Children have to colour in red all the images of the little girl. Leila and Cristina explain the instructions to Talia.

--01:04:50--  
 19. Talia: **que tengo que dibujar**↑  
 20. (.)  
 21. Leila: **tene- tenemos que pintar toda las cosas**  
 22. **de:: la nenita ((south american term)) en**  
 23. Talia: ah  
 24. Cristina: **la niña**  
 25. (.)  
 26. Talia: ça aussi c'est de la petite fille↑  
 27. Cristina: oui  
 28. Talia: et ça↑  
 29. Cristina: **y ya cayó esto**  
 30. (.)  
 31. Leila: **esto (.) esto (.) esto (.) esto (.) esto**  
 32. Matilda: **esto (.) esto**  
 33. (.)  
 34. Leila: bueno  
 35. Cristina: **el otro que cayó (.) y este (.) esto**  
 36. (.2)  
 37. Kenji: petite fille ça aussi  
 38. Leila: quoi↑  
 39. (.)  
 40. Kenji: ça  
 41. Leila: je sais pas je sais pas ((singing))  
 --01:05:20--

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**T2 S1 D2 V7**

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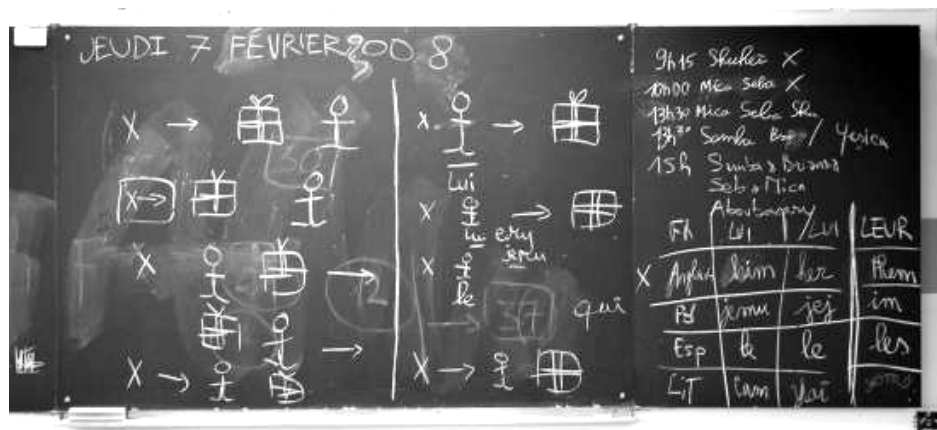
**T2 S1 D2 V7 E1:**

--00:45--  
 1. Hakim: c'est quoi ça↑ ((pointing to the recorder))  
 2.  
 3. Researcher: ça c'est pour enregistrer  
 4. Hakim: ah  
 5. Researcher: tu vois (.) donc la il y a un micro  
 6. (.)  
 7. Hakim: pour écouter et-  
 8. Researcher: qui va dans le fil (.) et qui va dans la  
 9. machine la (.) tu vois (.) et après moi je  
 10. mets un casque (.) et puis je peux écouter  
 11. (.) tu vois (.) c'est pour mon travail  
 12. (.)  
 13. Amkoulel ça c'est bien  
 14. Researcher: c'est bien hein↑  
 15. (.)  
 16. Amkoulel toutes les classes tu vas ou-  
 17. Researcher: non (.) juste la clin  
 18. (.)  
 19. Amkoulel t'as été (hôpitalux)  
 20. Hakim: l'autre jour je t'ai vu avec madame  
 21. duthois  
 22. Amkoulel au puteau (.) j'ai un frère (.) il  
 23. s'appelle alsam  
 24. (.3)  
 25. Researcher: ah oui (.) c'était l'année dernière alors  
 26. Amkoulel j'ai un frère (.) il travaille a  
 27. (hôpitalux)

28. Researcher: a l'hôpital↑  
 29. Amkoulel il s'appelle massur  
 30. Researcher: et qu'est-ce qu'il fait a l'hôpital↑  
 31. Amkoulel non (.) il travaille en clin  
 32. Researcher: en clin↑  
 33. Amkoulel oui  
 34. (.)  
 35. Researcher: ton frère↑  
 36. Amkoulel oui c'est mon frère (.) a (puteaux)

--01:59--

**T2 S1 D3 V8**



**T2 S1 D3 V8 E1:**

--25:10--

1. Miss Lo: j'aimerais bien qu'on explique à Karen  
 2. (.) parce que Karen était absente (.)  
 3. j'aimerais bien que vous lui (.) que  
 4. quelqu'un essaye de lui expliquer ce qu'on  
 5. a fait l'autre jour en grammaire (.) c'est  
 6. à dire on avait fait- on avait (.) on  
 7. avait vu qu'en français on disait  
 8. (.)  
 9. Piotr: lui↑  
 10. (.)  
 11. Miss Lo: on dit- (.) la-  
 12. Leila: lui leur  
 13. Miss Lo: là c'est moi qui parle d'accord↑ (.) on  
 14. avait vu qu'en français on disait (.) je  
 15. (.) donne (.) un cadeau ((Miss Lo writes on  
 16. the board))  
 17. Cristina: à mon frère  
 18. Andrea: à mon frère  
 19. (.)  
 20. Kenji: à [ma soeur  
 21. Miss Lo: [à mon frère ((writes on the board))  
 22. (.)  
 23. Miss Lo: on avait vu qu'en français on disait je  
 24. donne  
 25. Kenji: donne  
 26. Miss Lo: donne  
 27. Kenji: le [cadeau(.) un cadeau  
 28. Miss Lo: [un cadeau(.) à mon frère (.) et que  
 29. pour ne pas toujours répéter à mon frère  
 30. (.) on pouvait aussi dire (.) je  
 31. Andrea: [lui

32. Cristina: [lui donne  
33. Miss Lo: je  
34. Kenji: [lui  
35. Andrea: [lui  
36. Miss Lo: lui  
37. Kenji: donne  
38. Miss Lo: donne  
39. Andrea: donne  
40. Kenji: un  
41. Andrea: un cadeau  
42. Miss Lo: un [cadeau  
43. Kenji: [un cadeau  
44. (.)  
45. Miss Lo: d'accord↑  
46. Kenji: [oui  
47. Andrea: [non (.) parce que lui remplace a mon  
48. frère Karen  
49. Piotr: non (.) yesica  
50. (.)  
51. Andrea: [non c'est Karen  
52. Miss Lo: [donc miçaela (.) est-ce que tu peux  
53. expli- est-ce que tu peux venir au tableau  
54. (.) viens voir  
55. Kenji: viens voir (.) c'est leur c'est  
56. Miss Lo: parce que justement on va lui demander en  
57. anglais parce qu'on avait fait dans toutes  
58. les langues (.) on avait regarder dans  
59. toutes les langues dans quel ordre on  
60. disait les choses (.) et on s'était  
61. aperçus que (.) ça changeait (.) alors  
62. donc vas-y (.) montre lui les deux phrases  
63. (.) et écoute bien  
64. Kenji: ( )  
65. Miss Lo: chut!  
66. Andrea: je donne un cadeau a mon frère (.) et  
67. aussi (.) je lui donne un cadeau ((reading  
68. the blackboard))  
69. (.1)  
70. Miss Lo: donc (.) a la place de frère on mettait↑  
71. Andrea: lui donne  
72. Miss Lo: on mettait lui  
73. Andrea: lui  
74. Miss Lo: et qu'est-ce qui se passait par rapport a  
75. cette phrase la↑  
76. Kenji: change!  
77. (.3)  
78. Miss Lo: a la place  
79. Piotr: on change  
80. Andrea: et on change de [place  
81. Kenji: [frère et lui  
82. Miss Lo: voilà (.) le mot qui ( ) (.) le mot qui  
83. parlait du frère (.) c'est-à-dire le mot  
84. 'lui' qui remplace le frère (.) du coup  
85. (.) il change de place (.) parce que la on  
86. dit 'je donne un cadeau a mon frère' (.)  
87. c'est a la fin 'a mon frère' (.) mais  
88. quand on dit 'je lui! Donne un cadeau' (.)  
89. le mot 'lui' il est tout de suite a cote  
90. du sujet (.) il est tout de suite a cote  
91. de 'je' (.) alors on avait regarde dans  
92. plusieurs langues (.) on avait vu qu'en  
93. peul c'était comment↑ (.) euh (.) mon can  
94. (.) comment c'était↑ (.) je donne↑  
95. Amkoulel (.)  
96. Piotr: °mon cana cala°  
97. (.)  
98. Miss Lo: c'était comment↑ (.) redites moi la  
99. Kenji: je donne  
100. Miss Lo: miçaela va à ta place merci  
101. Kenji: je donne un cadeau(.) ses frères  
102. Miss Lo: attendez (.) chut! (.) c'était

103. Amkoulel ( )  
104. Miss Lo: le premier mot c'est↑  
105. Amkoulel (.)  
106. Miss Lo: *mioca*↑ (.) non↑  
107. Amkoulel (.)  
108. Miss Lo: dis-moi  
109. Amkoulel ( )  
110. Miss Lo: *biaça*  
111. Amkoulel ( )  
112. Miss Lo: *monome cadeau*  
113. Piotr: °*monome cadeau*°  
114. Miss Lo: ah (.) c'est pas comme l'autre jour! (.)  
115. ça a change (.) l'autre jour vous m'avez  
116. dit (.) *monome cadeau*↑  
117. Leila: si  
118. Kenji: non (.) *moncome*  
119. (.)  
120. Leila: *macome* (.) *macome*!  
121. Miss Lo: chut! (.) *samba* (.) comment tu as dit la  
122. dernière fois 'je donne un cadeau à mon  
123. frère' en peul  
124. Samba: (.)  
125. Kenji: *macome*  
126. Leila: *macome*  
127. Piotr: *macome*  
128. Samba: (*macome*)  
129. Miss Lo: c'était *macome cadeau*↑  
130. (.)  
131. Kenji: /*prezento*/  
132.  
133. Leila: /*prezentæ*/  
134. Miss Lo: chut!  
135. Samba: ( )  
136. Miss Lo: et mon frère (.) c'était comment en  
137. peul↑  
138. Samba: ( )  
139. Miss Lo: ah oui (.) était *mocome*  
140. (.)  
141. Samba: ( )  
142. Miss Lo: ouais  
143. Samba: ( )  
144. Miss Lo: redis moi je m'en rappelle plus (.)  
145. était je donne c'est ça↑ (.) *mocome*  
146. Piotr: *mocome*  
147. (.)  
148. Leila: *cadeau*  
149. Miss Lo: *cadeau*↑  
150. Samba: oui  
151. Miss Lo: *cadeau* était en français↑ *cadeau*↑  
152. Samba: oui  
153. Miss Lo: était le mot *cadeau*↑ (.) d'accord (.)  
154. *mocome* (.) *cadeau* ((writes on the board))  
155. Kenji: frère aussi↑  
156. Miss Lo: *monome*  
157. Samba: oui  
158. Miss Lo: *monome* était mon frère  
159. Samba: oui  
160. Miss Lo: c'est ça hein↑  
161. Leila: *monome*  
162. Miss Lo: on avait vu qu'en peul était (.)  
163. 'monome' (.) 'cadeau' (.)  
164. Piotr: *monome*  
165. Leila: non (.) *macome*  
166. Miss Lo: euh '*macome cadeau monome*' (.) était à  
167. mon frère était un peu comme en français  
168. (.) dans le même ordre (.) d'abord la  
169. personne (.) après qu'est-ce qu'elle fait↑  
170. (.) la personne qu'est-ce qu'elle fait (.)  
171. elle donne (.) elle donne un quoi↑ (.) un

172. cadeau(.)à qui↑ (.)à son frère (.) on  
173. avait vu que: (.) en espagnol c'était dans  
174. le même ordre (29:16)  
175. Leila: c'est (.) comme en français  
176. Miss Lo: comme en français  
177. Leila: oui  
178. Miss Lo: puisque (.) redis-nous en espagnol↑  
179. Leila: yo (.) le doy (.) un regalo a mi hermano  
180. Miss Lo: voilà (.) alors on était pas d'accord sur  
181. le doy  
182. Kenji: oui  
183. Miss Lo: parce que le doy ça ressemble à lui donne  
184. là donc euh (.) est-ce que c'est possible  
185. de dire (.) yo- yo (.) comment↑  
186. Cristina: [yo doy un regalo-  
187. Leila: [mais je l'ai demande a ma- ma maman et  
188. elle me dit que oui on dit (.) yo le doy  
189. Miss Lo: le doy (.) d'accord  
190. Leila: oui  
191. Miss Lo: yo le doy  
192. (.)  
193. Leila: un regalo  
194. Miss Lo: un regalo un cadeau  
195. Leila: a mi hermano  
196. Miss Lo: a mi hermano  
197. Piotr: un regalo /prezento/  
198. Kenji: yo ( )  
199. Piotr: un regalo  
200. Miss Lo: on avait vu (.) en lituanien est-ce qu'on  
201. avait vu en lituanien↑  
202. Matilda: [oui  
203. Leila: [oui  
204. Miss Lo: alors était comment en lituanien↑  
205. (.)  
206. Piotr: c'est comme espagnol  
207. Matilda: je dis↑  
208. Miss Lo: oui  
209. Kenji: comme espagnol oui  
210. (.)  
211. Matilda: je (.)  
212. Miss Lo: ouais  
213. (.)  
214. Matilda: donne  
215. Miss Lo: ouais  
216. (.)  
217. Kenji: un cadeau  
218. Leila: un cadeau  
219. (.)  
220. Matilda: c'est comment  
221. Miss Lo: vas-y (.) je↑ (.) donc `je' c'était  
222. comment en lituanien↑  
223. Matilda: je donne ((laughing))  
224. (.)  
225. Miss Lo: hm hm  
226. Matilda: un cadeau pour mon frère  
227. Miss Lo: c'est comme ça qu'on dit↑ (.) alors dis-le  
228. moi en lituanien↑ (.) c'est pareil alors  
229. ((writes on the board))  
230. (.)  
231. Miss Lo: je donne un cadeau pour mon frère↑ (.)  
232. c'est comme ça qu'on dit en lituanien  
233. Matilda: oui et (.) et euh (.) il y a une  
234. différence  
235. Miss Lo: ah  
236. Matilda: le ( ) (.)2 echoma (.) je donne  
237. mon frère un cadeau  
238. Miss Lo: ah!  
239. Matilda: ça aussi!  
240. Miss Lo: ah! (.) on peut aussi dire ah ouais (.) on  
241. peut aussi changer l'ordre (.) on peut

242. aussi dire (.) je donne à mon frère un  
243. cadeau(.) c'est ça↑  
244. (.)  
245. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) et alors (.) en japonais (.)  
246. était surtout en japonais que c'était  
247. différent (.) en japonais on disait  
248. comment euh Kenji  
249. Kenji: euh (.) je (.)  
250. Leila: je (.) frère  
251. Kenji: euh (.) attend  
252. Piotr: frère (.) [je frère  
253. Leila: [frère donne cadeau  
254. Piotr: je frère donne cadeau  
255. (.)  
256. Leila: [non (.) je frère cadeau donne  
257. Cristina: [donne cadeau  
258. (.)  
259. Cristina: oui  
260. Kenji: attends  
261. (.)  
262. Miss Lo: moi j'attends hein (.) ya pas de problème  
263. Piotr: oui (.) je (.) frère (.) [cadeau(.) donne  
264. Kenji: [euh (.) je frère  
265. (.)  
266. Cristina: donne  
267. Miss Lo: chut!  
268. Leila: cadeau donne  
269. Piotr: cadeau donne  
270. Kenji: euh attends  
271. (.2)  
272. Piotr: cadeau donne  
273. (.)  
274. Kenji: cadeau donne  
275. (.)  
276. Miss Lo: était quoi en (.)  
277. Leila: ca[cadeau donne  
278. Piotr: [je frère cadeau donne  
279. (.)  
280. Miss Lo: donc était (.) le mot qui veut dire  
281. `je' ↑  
282. Leila: frère (.) cadeau donne  
283. Miss Lo: voilà (.) je regarde j'ai marque  
284. Kenji: attends  
285. Miss Lo: moi j'avais marque qu'en japonais était  
286. je (.) alors après était `a mon frère  
287. (.)  
288. Piotr: ca- cadeau donne  
289. Miss Lo: cadeau(.) et (.) le fait de dire qu'est-  
290. ce qu'on fait avec le cadeau on le donne  
291. était a la fin ((writes on the board))  
292. (.)  
293. Miss Lo: Kenji c'était ça↑  
294. Kenji: oui (.) beaucoup japon  
295. Miss Lo: hein↑  
296. Kenji: euh (.) je (.3)  
297. Miss Lo: ben dis-le en japonais  
298. Kenji: euh (.) je (.) je cadeau(.) cadeau frère  
299. donne beaucoup  
300. Miss Lo: ah (.) on peut changer en fait (.) on peut  
301. dire je cadeau(.)  
302. Leila: frère  
303. (.)  
304. Miss Lo: donne c'est toujours à la fin c'est ça↑  
305. (.)  
306. Miss Lo: et c'est ça qu'on peut changer↑  
307. Kenji: oui  
308. Miss Lo: je donne un cadeau à mon frère ou je donne  
309. à mon frère un cadeau (.) en français  
310. aussi on peut dire je donne à mon frère un  
311. cadeau (.) mais on dira plutôt je donne un

312. cadeau à mon frère (.) hein↑  
313. Leila: Kenji (.) dis en japonais  
314. (.)  
315. Leila: je donne [un cadeau à mon frère  
316. Cristina: [il a dit en japonais maitresse  
317. Miss Lo: si tu dis ça en japonais (.) chut! (.) on  
318. ecoute! (.) ça fait quoi↑  
319. Kenji: euh (.) *watashi* <I>  
320. Piotr: *watashi* <I>  
321. Kenji: *watashi wa onichan ni presento wo watasu*  
322. <I brother to present particle give>  
323. Miss Lo: ah (.) *presento* c'est cadeau↑  
324. Piotr: [oui!  
325. Kenji: [oui!  
326. Miss Lo: ah! (.) c'est marrant  
327. Leila: comme [en anglais  
328. Miss Lo: [et *watashi* <to give> c'est pour  
329. je donne  
330. Piotr: /present/  
331.  
332. Kenji: je donne est *watasu*  
333. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) ok  
334. Piotr: /suʃasi/↑  
335. Miss Lo: [alors euh (.) on a vu tout mais alors il  
336. nous manque l'anglais Karen justement  
337. Kenji: [*watashi* <I>  
338. Leila: *watashi* <I>  
339. Matilda: *presento*  
340. Cristina: comment on dit en anglais cadeau↑  
341. Miss Lo: comment est-ce qu'on va dire en (.)  
342. anglais (.) je donne un cadeau a mon  
343. frère↑  
344. Kenji: oh moi sport! ((leaves the class))  
345. Piotr: ouh la la  
346. Miss Lo: chut chut chut  
347. (.3)  
348. Karen: *I give (.) a present to my brother*  
349. ((Kenji slams the door))  
350. Miss Lo: donc en anglais (.) Kenji est-ce que tu  
351. peux faire doucement la (.) je suis pas  
352. contre le fait que vous sortiez mais c'est  
353. doucement voilà (.) hein↑  
354. Leila: hahahaah ((laughing))  
355. Miss Lo: merci (.) alors (.) on va dire (.) donc  
356. (.) on va dire (.) d'abord quoi alors (.)  
357. si c'était avec le français ça va être  
358. comment↑ (.) *I give* c'est quoi alors↑  
359. Karen: c'est je donne  
360. Miss Lo: c'est je donne (.) alors ça va être (.)  
361. 'je' après ça va être 'donne' (.) après↑  
362. (.2)  
363. Karen: euh (.3) je donne (.) un cadeau(.) a mon  
364. frère  
365. Miss Lo: en anglais  
366. Karen: *I (.) give my brother a present*  
367. Miss Lo: ah (.) *my brother* c'est plutôt a mon frère  
368. (.) ((writes on the board))  
369. Piotr: *present* (.) comme en polonais et en (.)  
370. japonais  
371. Miss Lo: c'est ça↑  
372. Karen: oui  
373. Miss Lo: d'accord↑  
374. (.)  
375. Piotr: *presento* (.) *present* (.) et [( )]  
376. Miss Lo: [donc vous  
377. avez vu que dans la plupart des langues on  
378. dit (.) dans la plupart des langues ici la  
379. dont on a parle (.) on dit d'abord 'je'  
380. (.) on dit qu'est-ce qu'on fait (.) on





451. (.)  
452. Leila: le c'est lui  
453. Piotr: le  
454. Miss Lo: ah!  
455. Cristina: le doy  
456. (.)  
457. Leila: le  
458. (.)  
459. Miss Lo: d'accord le ((writing on the board)) (.)  
460. alors la c'est le (.) alors la c'est le  
461. (.) le (.) et là-bas c'est (.) jemu  
462. (.)  
463. Piotr: oui  
464. Miss Lo: jemu (.) vous l'écrivez avec les lettres  
465. du russe ou pas↑  
466. Piotr: euh non  
467. Matilda: non!  
468. Piotr: I (.) j  
469. Miss Lo: ouais  
470. (.)  
471. Piotr: euh (.) e  
472. Miss Lo: ouais  
473. Piotr: m  
474. Miss Lo: ouais  
475. (.)  
476. Piotr: ou- u (.)u  
477. Miss Lo: comme ça↑  
478. Leila: jemu  
479. Miss Lo: donc en polonais-  
480. Piotr: jemu  
481. Miss Lo: en polonais (.) on a (.) alors en français  
482. on a lui (.) en polonais on a  
483. (.)  
484. Piotr: jemu  
485. Cristina: jemu  
486. (.)  
487. Miss Lo: jemu  
488. (.)  
489. Miss Lo: en (.) en espagnol on a↑ (.) le (.) c'est  
490. ça↑ (.) le (.) et on le met a la même  
491. place on dit↑ (.) yo  
492. (.)  
493. Miss Lo: [le (.) doy  
494. Leila: [le (.) doy (.) un regalo (.) un regalo  
495. Miss Lo: un regalo (.) ça marche (.) donc c'est  
496. pareil en espagnol (.) alors maintenant en  
497. peul (.) est-ce qu'on a ça (.) en peul  
498. (.2)  
499. Miss Lo: est-ce qu'on peut dire (.) au lieu de dire  
500. (.) je donne un cadeau a mon frère↑ (.) il  
501. est-ce qu'on peut dire je (.) lui (.)  
502. donne un cadeau  
503. (.2)  
504. Miss Lo: non↑ (.) on dit toujours- il y a une- on  
505. dit je donne un cadeau a mon frère↑ (.) il  
506. y a que cette façon de la de dire  
507. Samba: oui  
508. Miss Lo: et il y a pas une façon pour dire je (.)  
509. il y a pas une autre façon de dire ça↑ si  
510. on veut donner un cadeau à son frère (.)  
511. on peut pas le dire autrement↑  
512. (.2)  
513. Samba: oui  
514. Miss Lo: ouais (.) avec lui  
515. (.5)  
516. Miss Lo: il y a pas un mot qui remplace mon frère↑  
517. (.) non↑  
518. (.2)  
519. Miss Lo: on dit toujours je- (.) donc on va dire je  
520. donne un cadeau a mon frère je donne une

521. montre à mon frère je donne un (.)  
522. Cristina: un cadeau à ma soeur↑  
523. Miss Lo: un ballon à mon frère (.) on va pas dire  
524. je lui! Donne (.)  
525. Miss Lo: non (.) d'accord (.) bon (.1) alors voilà  
526. (.) en lituanien ya ça↑ (.) on dit  
527. comment alors  
528. (.)  
529. Matilda: ye (.3) y en a deux comme (.4) y en a (.)  
530. yes (.) y en a jam!  
531. (.)  
532. Miss Lo: donc c'est a dire (.) c'est à dire euh  
533. (.) Matilda  
534. ((children talking))  
535. Karen: y en a un pour le garçon et un pour la  
536. fille  
537. Miss Lo: ah un pour le garçon et un pour la fille  
538. (.) on va voir ça après alors (.) on va  
539. voir ça après (.) euh (.4) donc comment  
540. tu vas dire en lituanien↑ (.) je lui  
541. donne un cadeau  
542. Matilda: aš  
543. Miss Lo: ouais  
544. (.2)  
545. Matilda: jam duodu dovana (38:28)  
546. Miss Lo: alors attends (.) iaš c'est je↑  
547. (.2)  
548. Miss Lo: c'est ça↑  
549. Matilda: aš!  
550. Miss Lo: aš c'est toi (.) d'accord (.) jam c'est  
551. quoi↑ (.) c'est lui↑  
552. Matilda: oui  
553. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) daš↑ (.) c'est donne↑  
554. Matilda: dovana  
555. (.)  
556. Piotr: dovana  
557. (.2)  
558. Matilda: duodu c'est donne  
559. Miss Lo: ouais (.) duodu c'est donne (.) et dovana  
560. c'est un cadeau  
561. Matilda: ouais  
562. Miss Lo: t'as vu je suis forte en lituanien hein  
563. (.) ça y est  
564. Matilda: hahaha ((laughing))  
565. Miss Lo: donc lituanien (.) on va avoir en  
566. lituanien euh (.) ((writing on the  
567. board)) la c'est comment le mot t'as dit↑  
568. Matilda: y en a deux  
569. Miss Lo: ouais alors on va en prendre un d'abord  
570. (.) celui que tu as dit pour mon frère (.)  
571. était↑ (.) jam↑  
572. (.)  
573. Cristina: jam  
574. (.)  
575. Matilda: jam  
576. Miss Lo: jam ça s'écrit comment↑ (.)  
577. Cristina: j  
578. Matilda: j (.) am  
579. Miss Lo: a- m↑ (.) d'accord  
580. Piotr: maîtresse c'est pas emu (.) emu  
581. Leila: [c'est jemu  
582. Piotr: [tu as écrit emu (.) jemu (.) jemu  
583. Miss Lo: ah oui pardon (.) excuse moi (.) voilà (.)  
584. alors maintenant (.) en anglais (.) ça va  
585. être comment en anglais Karen (.) je lui  
586. donne un cadeau (.) si on veut pas dire  
587. toujours a mon frère↑  
588. Piotr: his!  
589. Miss Lo: comment je vais dire (.) je vais dire (.)  
590. je lui donne un [cadeau

591. Piotr: [my (.) my  
592. (.)  
593. Karen: I (.) give  
594. (.)  
595. Miss Lo: donc [(.) I  
596. Piotr: [I his  
597. Miss Lo: c'est je ((writing on the board)) (.)  
598. après (.)  
599. Karen: give him  
600. Miss Lo: ah! (.) c'est give him (.) give c'est  
601. Piotr: ah give him  
602. Miss Lo: give c'est↑  
603. Karen: donne  
604. Miss Lo: donne  
605. Cristina: yes je savais  
606. Miss Lo: I give  
607. ((children laughing))  
608. Miss Lo: him  
609. Karen: him  
610. Miss Lo: a present (.) euh les autres regardez ce  
611. qu'il se passe avec l'anglais (.) c'est  
612. très intéressant (.) parce que (.)2 on va  
613. marquer l'anglais ici et le français  
614. ((writing on the board))  
615. (.)  
616. Miss Lo: qu'est-ce qui se passe avec l'anglais la  
617. (.) regardez un peu  
618. (.3) ((writing on the board))  
619. Miss Lo: I (.) regardez les autres (.) les autres  
620. c'est je lui donne (.) jajemu (.) da-  
621. Piotr: daye  
622. Miss Lo: daye (40:15)  
623. (.)  
624. Cristina: le doy  
625. Miss Lo: comment c'est je↑  
626. Leila: yo  
627. Miss Lo: [yo le doy  
628. Piotr: [yo (.) yo le doy  
629. Miss Lo: alors en anglais regardez ce qui se passe  
630. c'est I (.) give him (.) qu'est-ce qui  
631. change↑  
632. Piotr: I [give  
633. Leila: [que on dit pas (.) je lui (.) on dit je  
634. donne lui  
635. Miss Lo: voilà (.) alors la dans toutes les langues  
636. qu'on a vues (.) sauf le peul parce que le  
637. peul on a pas vu (.) mais dans toutes les  
638. langues qu'on a vues (.) il existe la même  
639. chose qu'en français (.) c'est a dire je  
640. donne un cadeauà mon frère et on peut  
641. aussi dire je lui donne un cadeau(.) et  
642. le lui (.) qui- qui correspond au frère  
643. (.) il est a cote du sujet (.) sauf en  
644. anglais (.) donc pour toi Karen (.) ça va  
645. être un peu différent de l'anglais (.)  
646. parce que du coup (.) en français il faut  
647. bien penser que (.) c'est pas je donne lui  
648. un cadeau c'est je lui! Donne un cadeau  
649. (.) parce que c'est très différent de  
650. l'anglais la (.) maintenant l'autre chose  
651. (.) puisque y en a qui m'ont dit qu'il y  
652. avait deux mots  
653. Piotr: oui (.) en [polonais  
654. Miss Lo: [ça ça m'intéresse (.) en  
655. français on a vu que lui (.) si c'est je  
656. donne un cadeau à ma soeur on va dire je↑  
657. Cristina: lui donne  
658. Miss Lo: lui donne un cadeau(.) même si c'est une  
659. fille  
660. Cristina: ouais! (.) je savais!  
661. Miss Lo: alors est-ce qu'en polonais (.)

662. Piotr: oui  
663. Miss Lo: c'est le même mot pour une fille ou un  
664. garçon↑  
665. Piotr: non  
666. Miss Lo: non↑  
667. Piotr: une fille c'est jej  
668. Miss Lo: jej (.) qui écrit↑  
669. Piotr: j  
670. (.)  
671. Matilda: jej↑  
672. Piotr: e  
673. (.) ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
674. Piotr: j  
675. (.)  
676. Miss Lo: jej  
677. Cristina: [jej  
678. Miss Lo: [donc (.) si c'est  
679. (.)  
680. Matilda: jej  
681. Piotr: jej  
682. Miss Lo: alors c'est ja (.) euh (.) Piotr (.)  
683. je lui donne (.) si c'est un garçon on va  
684. dire (.) [ja  
685. Piotr: [ja jemu daye  
686. Miss Lo: ja iemu daye (.) et si c'est une fille↑  
687. Piotr: ja jej! daye (41:44)  
688. Miss Lo: ja jej daje (.) donc toi quand tu dis en  
689. polonais je lui donne (.) quand tu- tu (.)  
690. tu sais si on parle d'une fille ou d'un  
691. garçon (.) alors qu'en français si je dis  
692. je lui donne (.)  
693. Cristina: je lui donne  
694. Miss Lo: est-ce qu'on sait si le lui c'est un fille  
695. ou un garçon  
696. Leila: non  
697. Cristina: lui c'est un garçon  
698. Leila: parce que lui-  
699. Miss Lo: ah! (.) yesiça si je dis je donne un  
700. cadeau à mon frère je lui donne un cadeau  
701. (.) je donne un cadeau a ma soeur je↑  
702. Cristina: lui donne  
703. Piotr: lui↑  
704. Miss Lo: lui donne un cadeau (.) et pourtant la  
705. soeur elle est↑  
706. (.)  
707. Cristina: fille  
708. Miss Lo: fille (.) et pourtant c'est↑ (.) lui  
709. Piotr: ça change pas  
710. Miss Lo: donc ça change pas en français  
711. (.)  
712. Leila: en espagnol aussi  
713. (.)  
714. Cristina: en espagnol ça change (.) je (.) euh  
715. comment on dit↑  
716. (.)  
717. Leila: no cambia yesiça (.) c'est le  
718. Piotr: [la! (.) la  
719. Cristina: [non c'est pas ( )  
720. Leila: non! (.) non!  
721. Piotr: yo la doy  
722. Matilda: [/jai/ (.) /jei/  
723. Cristina: [(como) nino como dice el↑  
724. Miss Lo: ah (.) [mais la tu confonds autre chose  
725. Leila: [on dit (.) on dit (.) yo le doy  
726. un regalo  
727. Miss Lo: ouais (.) chut!  
728. Leila: et (.) si c'est une fille on peut dire (.)  
729. yo le doy un regalo et un garçon aussi  
730. Miss Lo: voilà!  
731. Leila: les deux!

732. Miss Lo: donc euh (.) yesiça (.) [regarde  
733. Leila: [c'est comme en  
734. français  
735. Miss Lo: n'oublie pas ce qu'on est en train de  
736. faire (.) on parle de (.) on parle la du  
737. déterminant devant les mots (.) on sait  
738. que en espagnol (.)  
739. Leila: oui  
740. Miss Lo: il y a masculin et féminin (.) en  
741. espagnol si on dit (.) le garçon ou la  
742. fille (.) c'est pas le même mot (.) mais  
743. là on parle (.) dans cette leçon la (.)  
744. quand on dit (.) à! mon frère (.) hein (.)  
745. c'est quand je donne à! mon frère à! ma  
746. soeur (.) et qu'on remplace par le mot  
747. qu'ils appellent le pronom (.) personnel  
748. (.) complément (.) et ben ce pronom (.)  
749. celui la (.) en espagnol en français (.)  
750. c'est le même pour une fille ou pour un  
751. garçon (.) c'est à dire que quand on dit  
752. (.) je donne un cadeau (.) je lui donne  
753. (.) et ben ça peut être à une fille ou à  
754. un garçon (.) on ne sait pas  
755. Piotr: yo le doy  
756. Miss Lo: d'accord↑ (.) alors est-ce qu'en anglais  
757. ça change↑  
758. Cristina: on sait pas!  
759. Miss Lo: I give him (.) et si c'est une fille↑ on  
760. va dire (.) c'est comme ça him↑  
761. Karen: euh non (.) c'est him  
762. Miss Lo: ouais c'est ça  
763. (.)  
764. Miss Lo: et↑  
765. Karen: her  
766. (.)  
767. Cristina: [her  
768. Miss Lo: [ah! (.) donc en anglais aussi ça change  
769. (.) si la personne a qui je donne le  
770. cadeau c'est une fille (.) le mot la (.)  
771. [le pronom la (.) c'est pas le même (.)  
772. d'accord↑  
773. Piotr: [her (.) her  
774. (.)  
775. Miss Lo: donc en anglais il y a deux choses qui  
776. sont pas pareil (.) c'est pas a la même  
777. place (.) parce que vous dites (.) I give  
778. her (.) I give him (.) alors qu'en  
779. français on va dire (.) je lui donne (.)  
780. donc c'est pas a la même place et en  
781. français on va mettre un mot pour deux (.)  
782. choses  
783. Karen:  
784. Miss Lo: oui euh (.) deux notions (.) féminin  
785. masculin (.) en lituanien ça change si  
786. c'est une fille (.) c'est ce que tu m'as  
787. dis [toute à l'heure  
788. Matilda: [ben oui  
789. Miss Lo: ben oui (.) ben oui! (.) ben oui alors  
790. c'est quoi  
791. Piotr: jaj (.) jaj  
792. (.)  
793. Piotr: jaj  
794. Matilda: jaj  
795. Miss Lo: jaj↑ (.) I (.) après↑  
796. Leila: a- I  
797. Matilda: ai::  
798. Piotr: a- I  
799. Miss Lo: a I avec tréma↑  
800. Cristina: jaj (.) ouaou  
801. Miss Lo: d'accord  
802. Cristina: jaj deux fois

802. Miss Lo: très bien  
803. Piotr: jaj jaj jaj jaj jaj! (.)jaj jaj jaj jaj  
804. jaj jaj jaj! ((laughing))  
805. Matilda: [c'est même que le polonais  
806. Miss Lo: [donc qu'est-ce qui marche exactement  
807. comme le français↑  
808. Piotr: non  
809. Miss Lo: [euh  
810. Leila: [l'espagnol↑  
811. (.)  
812. Piotr: jej  
813. Miss Lo: Piotr  
814. Karen: le sénégalais↑  
815. (.)  
816. Amkoulel maîtresse!  
817. Miss Lo: ça marche exactement comme le français en  
818. polonais (.) c'est dans le même ordre (.)  
819. et  
820. Leila: non!  
821. Miss Lo: ah non [parce que il y a deux mots!  
822. Piotr: [non  
823. Miss Lo: ça marche exactement comme le français en  
824. espagnol en fait (.) donc vous normalement  
825. c'est pas difficile pour vous (.) cette  
826. histoire la (.) en lituanien (.1) la  
827. place c'est la même  
828. Matilda: c'est avec une igrec  
829. Miss Lo: ah c'est avec un igrec  
830. Matilda: non pas là-bas (.) pas là-bas  
831. (.)  
832. Miss Lo: c'est bon (.) ok  
833. (.)  
834. ((children laughing))  
835. (.3)  
836. Miss Lo: en anglais c'est plus difficile (.) le  
837. plus difficile c'est pour l'anglais (.)  
838. parce que c'est ça qui est le plus  
839. différent (.) et il faudra qu'on demande  
840. (.) a (.) Kenji (.) en japonais  
841. Leila: [ouais  
842. Piotr: [en japonais c'est trop difficile  
843. Miss Lo: parce que-  
844. Matilda: [/ʃɪgaio/ /ʃɪŋgaiæ/ /ʃɪn/ /ʃɪŋg/ /ʃɔŋg/  
845. ((imitating japanese sounds))  
846. Miss Lo: [on va voir si ça existe en japonais  
847. Piotr: prezento <present>  
848. Karen: on va mis le japonais↑  
849. Matilda: arigato! <thank you>  
850. Piotr: [konishua! <hello>  
851. Cristina: [arigato <thank you> (.) ça veut dire  
852. merci  
853. Miss Lo: je vais le rajouter (.) je vais le refaire  
854. là-bas le tableau  
855. Cristina: arigato <thank you> ça veut dire-  
856. Matilda: atashi <I>  
857. Miss Lo: euh bon (.) euh (.) chut!  
858. Piotr: atashi /kəʃæ/  
859. ((imitating japanese sounds))  
860. (45:31)  
861. (.)  
862. Miss Lo: le pluriel du coup c'est comment le  
863. pluriel (.) on avait vu qu'en français  
864. était↑ (.) si je donne un cadeau a mes  
865. parents ça va être je↑  
866. Cristina: je les [donne  
867. Leila: [leur!  
868. Miss Lo: non pas je les! Donne  
869. Leila: [leur!  
870. Miss Lo: [je↑  
871. (.)

872. Miss Lo: leur! Donne  
873. Piotr: ah (.) [en pologne c'est-  
874. Cristina: [ah maîtresse!  
875. Miss Lo: alors (.) alors (.) on va voir (.) en  
876. français ça va être leur (.) donc ça c'est  
877. pas pareil (.) que-  
878. Leila: yo le doy (.) yo le doy  
879. Miss Lo: ya (.) le pluriel (.) quand ya deux  
880. personnes (.) quand je donne a deux  
881. personnes ou a [trois personnes  
882. Cristina: [je leur donne  
883. (.)  
884. Miss Lo: ça change c'est leur (.) alors en ang-  
885. Piotr: en polonais aussi!  
886. Miss Lo: en polonais  
887. (.)  
888. Piotr: euh (.) ya im! Day-(46:04)  
889. Miss Lo: im↑  
890. Piotr: im  
891. Cristina: im ( )  
892. (.)  
893. Miss Lo: [I- m-  
894. Leila: [im!  
895. Piotr: I- m-  
896. (.)  
897. Miss Lo: euh (.) ya im day si c'est que des garçons  
898. (.) si c'est que des filles si c'est (.)  
899. c'est pareil  
900. Piotr: euh (.) oui  
901. Miss Lo: c'est pluriel↑  
902. Piotr: oui (.) oui  
903. Cristina: maîtresse!  
904. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) en espagnol↑  
905. Cristina: c'est (.)  
906. Leila: est les!  
907. Cristina: el! (.) el!  
908. Leila: les  
909. Cristina: les  
910. Miss Lo: les (.) ça écrit comment [en espagnol  
911. Leila: [l- é- s-  
912. Y: l-  
913. (.)  
914. Y: l-  
915. Leila: é- s-  
916. Miss Lo: e↑  
917. Leila: oui  
918. Miss Lo: e- s- (.) c'est pareil si c'est le père la  
919. mère (.) [deux copines je-  
920. Leila: [oui  
921. Cristina: les doy  
922. Miss Lo: donc c'est↑  
923. (.)  
924. Leila: les  
925. Piotr: le les les  
926. Miss Lo: yo les doy (.) yo les doy (.) je leur  
927. donne (.) d'accord (.) en lituanien c'est  
928. quoi alors pour leur (.) je donne-  
929. Matilda: c'est quoi↑  
930. Miss Lo: alors leur c'est quoi bah (.) je donne (.)  
931. un cadeau (.) a mes parents (.) je [leur!  
932. Donne un cadeau  
933. Leila: [leur  
934. donne  
935. Miss Lo: parce que les parents ils sont deux  
936. (.)  
937. Matilda: ah  
938. (.)  
939. Miss Lo: c'est pas comme je donne un cadeau a  
940. Matilda (.) je lui! donne un cadeau parce  
941. qu'elle est toute seule  
942. Matilda: hahaha ((laughing))



943. Piotr: ( )  
 944. (.)  
 945. Matilda: *jiems* ( )  
 946. Miss Lo: pour tout le monde ou pour deux (.) pour  
 947. le pluriel en fait c'est ça↑  
 948. Matilda: *jiems*  
 949. Miss Lo: la ça va être compliqué ((laughing))  
 950. (.)  
 951. Piotr: *jiems*  
 952. Matilda: hahahaha ((laughing))  
 953. Piotr: *jiems*  
 954. (.)  
 955. Miss Lo: parce que quand tu dis (.) j'arrive pas a  
 956. entendre comment ça s'-  
 957. Piotr: *jiems* (.) I- (.)  
 958. Leila: I- m- m- s-  
 959. Piotr: e- m- s-  
 960. Leila: I- e- m- s-  
 961. Matilda: hahahaha ((laughing))  
 962. (.3)  
 963. ((Matilda writes it herself on the board))  
 964. Leila: s-  
 965. Piotr: s-  
 966. Leila: ouais! (.) je sais lituanien  
 967. Piotr: moi aussi!  
 968. (.3)  
 969. Cristina: je savais  
 970. (.)  
 971. Miss Lo: et en anglais↑ alors euh (.) Karen  
 972. (.)  
 973. Karen: ( ) *them*  
 974. Piotr: *our!*  
 975. (.)  
 976. Karen: pas *our*  
 977. Miss Lo: *them*  
 978. Karen: *them*  
 979. Miss Lo: [*them*  
 980. Cristina: [*them*  
 981. Miss Lo: *them* c'est pour↑  
 982. Matilda: *them!*  
 983. Miss Lo: tout le monde ou pour deux personnes↑  
 984. (.)  
 985. Piotr: *them*  
 986. Karen: c'est pour euh (.3) tout le monde et deux  
 987. personnes  
 988. Miss Lo: voilà (.) et si les personnes ce sont que  
 989. des filles ou que des garçons ou filles  
 990. garçons mélanges c'est pareil↑ (.) c'est  
 991. un seul mot↑  
 992. (.)  
 993. Karen: oui  
 994. Miss Lo: c'est le pluriel (.) d'accord (.) donc la  
 995. (.) qu'est-ce qu'on voit quand même (.)  
 996. que dans toutes les langues (.) dont on a  
 997. parle (.) on va- on va- on va rajouter  
 998. après le japonais (.) on va voir si c'est-  
 999. ça marche (.2) euh (.) quand même (.)  
 1000. regardez (.) dans toutes les langues (.)  
 1001. ya un seul mot pour le pluriel (.) ya un  
 1002. seul pronom la pour le pluriel (.) comme  
 1003. en français (.1) et (.) que par contre  
 1004. entre le féminin (.) et le (.)  
 1005. Leila: masculin  
 1006. Miss Lo: masculin (.) ya des langues qui mettent  
 1007. deux mots et ya des langues comme le  
 1008. français ou l'espagnol qui en mettent  
 1009. qu'un seul (.) d'accord (.) euh (.) en  
 1010. réalité est-ce que ça pose un problème si  
 1011. on met qu'un seul mot (.) si on dit (.) je  
 1012. lui donne un cadeau↑

1013. (.)  
1014. Cristina: je leur donne  
1015. Miss Lo: non (.) si on dit au singulier (.) je lui  
1016. donne un cadeau↑  
1017. (.2)  
1018. Miss Lo: en général quand on va utiliser ce mot la  
1019. (.) je lui donne un cadeau [la  
1020. Leila: [oui  
1021. Miss Lo: ça veut que (.)  
1022. Cristina: je donne un cadeau-  
1023. Leila: je le donne un cadeau a-  
1024. Miss Lo: oui  
1025. Leila: à ma soeur ou à mon frère (.) ou à une  
1026. copine un copain  
1027. Miss Lo: soit on va remettre derrière je lui donne  
1028. un cadeau à mon frère (.) mais ça en  
1029. général on a dit que le lui ça remplace à  
1030. mon frère (.) donc en général en français  
1031. (.) même si vous en espagnol tu me dis que  
1032. vous le dites (.) en français si on dit  
1033. lui (.) on va pas remettre a mon frère (.)  
1034. c'est a la place (.) mais en général (.)  
1035. si on utilise lui (.) le pronom (.) samba  
1036. (.) c'est pour pas répéter tout le temps à  
1037. mon frère à mon frère à mon frère (.)  
1038. parce qu'au bout d'un moment (.) c'est pas  
1039. joli d'entendre (.) je donne un cadeau à  
1040. mon frère (.) je donne un cadeau à mon  
1041. frère (.) je lui donne↑  
1042. Cristina: un [cadeau (a mon frère)  
1043. Leila: [un cadeau  
1044. (.)  
1045. Miss Lo: je donne un cadeau à mon frère (.) je lui  
1046. donne un (.) je donne un cadeau à mon  
1047. frère et je lui donne un bisou (.) pour  
1048. pas dire je donne un cadeau à mon frère et  
1049. je donne un bisou à mon frère (.) ça fait  
1050. trop (.) lourd (.) vous voyez c'est pas  
1051. joli (.) donc si on dit (.) je donne un  
1052. cadeau à mon frère et je lui donne un  
1053. bisou parce que c'est son anniversaire (.)  
1054. là on va mettre lui (.) pour pas répéter à  
1055. mon frère (.) donc comme avant on a dit à  
1056. mon frère (.) on sait que lui c'est le  
1057. garçon (.) on sait que c'est le frère  
1058. puisqu'on en a parle juste avant (.) vous  
1059. voyez (.) ou alors sinon je dis bon (.)  
1060. euh (.) attends Piotr (.) je vais voir  
1061. samba (.) je lui donne son cahier (.) mais  
1062. juste avant j'ai dis quoi↑  
1063. Leila: [samba  
1064. Piotr: [samba  
1065. Miss Lo: samba (.) donc on sait que (.) le lui la  
1066. (.) c'est samba (.) d'accord↑ (.) donc (.)  
1067. en général (.) je lui donne (.) pour  
1068. savoir si c'est une fille ou un garçon (.)  
1069. c'est que avant on en a parle (.)  
1070. d'accord↑ (.) juste une chose samba (.) en  
1071. peul (.) comment tu vas dire (.) je leur  
1072. donne un cadeau↑  
1073. (.5)  
1074. Miss Lo: je donne un cadeau à mes parents je leur  
1075. donne un cadeau (.) tu vas dire quoi  
1076. alors↑  
1077. (.8)  
1078. Samba: ( )  
1079. Miss Lo: tu peux le dire ça en peul ou pas↑  
1080. (.2)  
1081. Miss Lo: non mais tu peux dire je donne un cadeau à  
1082. mes parents↑

1083. Samba: à mes parents  
1084. Miss Lo: voilà (.) c'est ça que tu vas dire (.) je  
1085. donne un cadeau à mes parents (.) et tu  
1086. vas dire comment par rapport à je donne un  
1087. cadeau à mon frère↑  
1088. (.5)  
1089. Samba: en peul↑  
1090. Miss Lo: en peul ouais  
1091. (.4)  
1092. Miss Lo: comment c'est je donne↑ (.) les autres la  
1093. (.) maintenant que vous parlez peul  
1094. Piotr: euh (.) /mækæmo/  
1095. Leila: euh  
1096. Cristina: /mænæ/  
1097. Miss Lo: /mænæm/  
1098. Piotr: non /mænæm/ c'est (.)  
1099. Cristina: /mænæm/ c'est (.)  
1100. Piotr: /mænæm/ c'est (.) a mon frère  
1101. Miss Lo: ah euh (.) c'est mon frère (.) alors euh  
1102. je donne c'est↑  
1103. Piotr: /mækæmæ/  
1104. Cristina: /mækæmæ/ [cadeau  
1105. Leila: [non /kæmæn/!  
1106. Miss Lo: attendez attendez j'entends plus samba (.)  
1107. il peut même plus parler samba parce que  
1108. vous parlez a sa place (.) c'est comment  
1109. samba ils ont raison↑  
1110. (.3)  
1111. Samba: (/mækæm/)  
1112. Miss Lo: ah /mækæm/! (.) d'accord (.) c'est moi qui-  
1113. (.) et après  
1114. Matilda: /mækækæmæ/ /mækækæmæ/  
1115. (.)  
1116. Samba: cadeau  
1117. Miss Lo: cadeau en français (.) et après↑  
1118. Samba: manom  
1119. Miss Lo: a mon frère (.) mais a mes parents alors  
1120. ça va être comment↑  
1121. Samba: (.9)  
1122. Piotr: /mækækæmæ/  
1123. (.)  
1124. Piotr: comme le chinois! ((laughing))  
1125. (.3)  
1126. Miss Lo: ça va être (.) ça va être (.) makam (.)  
1127. cadeau↑  
1128. Samba: ( )  
1129. Miss Lo: me↑  
1130. ((children laughing))  
1131. Miss Lo: chut chut non non attendez (.) me↑ (.)  
1132. c'est ça↑  
1133. P: oui  
1134. Miss Lo: makam cadeau me (.) d'accord ok (.) très  
1135. bien  
1136. Matilda: /mɛ/ /mɛ/ /mɛ/  
1137. Piotr: /mɛ/ /mɛ/  
1138. Miss Lo: chut! (.) alors (.) je vais recopier ce  
1139. tableau là-bas et puis vous me ferez  
1140. penser à demander a Kenji puisqu'on a pas  
1141. (.) le- le- la langue de Kenji (.) donc  
1142. euh Karen (.) je te donnerai les  
1143. exercices après a faire a écrit...  
--52:16--

**T2 S1 D3 V8 E2:**

First sequence on the book « cow girl ».

--01:00:09--

45. Miss Lo: et donc elle elle dit `les petites filles  
46. sages (.) ne↑  
47. Cristina: jouent pas  
48. Miss Lo: s'amuse pas  
49. ?: pas  
50. Miss Lo: elles ne s'amuse pas (.) c'est elle qui  
51. dit ça (.) c'est la petite fille la qui  
52. dit ça qui trouve que les petites filles  
53. sages ne s'amuse pas  
54. Cristina: haha (.) elle est comme ça (.) ah jouer  
55. Miss Lo: alors elle n'aime pas jouer à la maison  
56. (.) qu'est ce qu'elle aime faire↑  
57. (.)  
58. Matilda: elle aime [euh-  
59. Leila: [elle aime jouer avec euh (.) la  
60. poubelle (.) avec tous les chats  
61. Miss Lo: ouais elle aime jouer (.) mais donc c'est  
62. où! là (.) c'est où↑ (.) c'est pas à la  
63. maison c'est où↑  
64. ?: dans la poubelle!  
65. Miss Lo: non pas dans la poubelle  
66. Piotr: non c'est (.) c'est une place spéciale  
67. pour (.) pour euh-  
68. Karen: *junkyard* (.) *junkyard!*  
69. Piotr: c'est une place spéciale pour-  
70. Matilda: *junkyard!*  
71. Piotr: pour tous les  
72. Cristina: ah pourquoi tu répètes  
73. Miss Lo: chut chut chut!  
74. Leila: pour tout le qu'on met dans la poubelle  
75. Karen: [euh en anglais on dit  
76. Miss Lo: [oui  
77. Karen: elle est dans le *junkyard*  
78. Miss Lo: oui mais en français on dit quoi↑  
79. (.1)  
80. Miss Lo: si tu connais pas la traduction du mot  
81. c'est pas grave tu trouves un autre mot  
82. (.) [elle aime pas jouer  
83. Cristina: [( )  
84. Miss Lo: écoutez ce que je dis (.) elle n'aime pas  
85. jouer a la maison (.) elle aime jouer↑  
86. Karen: dehors!  
87. Leila: dehors  
88. Miss Lo: dehors  
89. Piotr: ordures↑ (.) ordures  
90. (.)  
91. Miss Lo: et elle ne veut pas rester (.) avec les  
92. petites filles sages (.) qu'est-ce  
93. qu'elles font là les petites filles sages↑  
94. Matilda: elle fait [le pic nique  
95. Leila: [mange  
96. Miss Lo: voilà qui font un pic nique  
97. Leila: elle fait [le pic nique  
98. Karen: [aussi le  
99. (.)  
100. Cristina: mange↑  
101. Karen: *tea party!*  
102. Leila: mange avec le thé  
103. (.)  
104. Miss Lo: voilà (.) elles↑  
105. Piotr: [avec les poupées  
106. Leila: [elles [boivent pas ça  
107. Karen: [en anglais on dit *tea party*  
108. Miss Lo: en anglais on dit *tea party* mais en  
109. français ya pas de *tea party* donc elles  
110. font quoi↑ (.) elles font un↑  
111. (.)  
112. Leila: pic nique  
113. Miss Lo: un pic nique (.) ou bien quand c'est à  
114. quatre heures c'est quoi↑

115. Leila: un petit dejeuner- non non (.) déjeuner pas  
 116. non  
 117. Miss Lo: elles↑ (.) elles font un↑  
 118. Cristina: pic nique  
 119. Leila: [non  
 120. Miss Lo: [un goûter!  
 121. Leila: un goûter  
 122. Miss Lo: donc elle dit `je ne veux pas être une  
 123. petite jeune fille qui aime rester assise  
 124. a↑ (.) a babababa  
 125. Cristina: parler  
 126. Miss Lo: non (.) parler mais↑(.) des fois on vous  
 127. dit en classe `arrête de'↑  
 128. Leila: parler↑  
 129. Miss Lo: bavarder (.) bavarder c'est parler  
 130. beaucoup..  
 --01:02:12--

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**T2 S1 D3 V9**

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**T2 S1 D3 V9 E1:**

Children are doing an exercise around the book "the cow girl".

--35:15--  
 1. Matilda: maîtresse!  
 2. Miss Lo: Matilda  
 3. Matilda: j'ai pas comprend (.) pourquoi ça c'est  
 4. ( ) avec ça↑  
 5. Miss Lo: je n'aime pas jouer à la maison  
 6. tranquillement oui (.) `les petites filles  
 7. ne s'amuse pas' c'est très bien (.)  
 8. alors qu'est-ce qui t'embête la↑  
 9. (.1)  
 10. Matilda: ça  
 11. Miss Lo: elle dit quoi↑ (.) elle dit quoi à son  
 12. père (.) je veux  
 13. Matilda: je veux (.1) je veux être une cow girl  
 14. Miss Lo: voilà  
 15. Matilda: mais pas ça  
 16. Miss Lo: si `simplement'  
 17. (.2)  
 18. Miss Lo: euh:: (.) Karen (.) comment est-ce qu'on  
 19. dit euh (.) comment on peut dire- tu peux  
 20. me dire juste en anglais (.) deux phrases  
 21. (.) la première phrase c'est (.) je veux  
 22. être une cow girl (.) et l'autre phrase  
 23. c'est (.) je veux simplement! être une  
 24. cow girl (.) elle dit ça à son père (.)  
 25. pour que elle comprenne Matilda c'est quoi  
 26. simplement  
 27. (.)  
 28. Karen: je veux être une cow girl  
 29. Miss Lo: comment on dit en anglais↑  
 30. (.1)  
 31. Karen: *I want to be a cowgirl*  
 32. Miss Lo: et si maintenant elle dit à son père (.)  
 33. mais non mais papa (.) je veux  
 34. simplement! être une cow girl  
 35. (.1)  
 36. Karen: c'est (.) simplement c'est justement↑  
 37. Miss Lo: seulement (.) simplement (.) je veux jus-  
 38. oui juste être une cow girl  
 39. Kenji: juste  
 40. Karen: euh  
 41. Miss Lo: pour dire à son père (.) c'est pas  
 42. compliqué [c'est pas compliqué ce que je



31. Matilda: oui c'est pour les petits enfants  
32. Piotr: parce (.) parc [(.) parc  
33. Miss Lo: [non le jardin d'enfants  
34. (.)  
35. Miss Lo: la crèche  
36. Matilda: en anglais c'est nursery  
37. Miss Lo: voilà (.1) d'accord  
38. (.2)  
39. Matilda: en lituanie c'est (.) darjales  
40. Piotr: darjales  
41. Miss Lo: et alors du coup- (.) il y avait pas- il  
42. y avait pas de voisins (.) il y avait pas  
43. d'autres enfants dans l'immeuble↑  
44. (.3)  
45. Miss Lo: non (.) t'avais pas des copines↑ (.)  
46. t'as pas envie de dessiner des copines a  
47. toi↑  
48. Matilda: non non  
49. Miss Lo: okay (.) bon ben tu colories  
50. Matilda: maîtresse j'ai oublie les yeux  
51. Miss Lo: ah ben oui ça c'est embêtant (.) très  
52. bien (.) alors!  
--24:31--

T2 S1 D4 V12 E1:

Another teacher-led sequence on the book "the cowgirl".

--27:05--

86. Miss Lo: elle lui donne la nouvelle 'je vais  
 87. partir' (.) vous comprenez↑ (.) et elle va  
 88. partir où↑ (.) 'à travers la plaine' (.)  
 89. alors la plaine c'est quoi↑  
 90. Cristina: la plaine c'est:: (.) c'est la  
 91. Kenji: plaine (.) euh (.) plaine  
 92. Miss Lo: est-ce que c'est- c'est la montagne la  
 93. plaine↑  
 94. Cristina: non (.) c'est la (.) c'est la-  
 95. Miss Lo: comment on dit en anglais la plaine (.)  
 96. comment on dit en espagnol la plaine↑  
 97. (.)  
 98. Karen: je sais pas  
 99. Leila: plena haha ((laughing))  
 100. Karen: c'est quoi une plaine↑  
 101. Kenji: /plenæ/  
 102. ((laughing))  
 103. ((Kenji and Mi laughing))  
 104. Miss Lo: une plaine c'est pas une montagne (.)  
 105. c'est-  
 106. Kenji: [toujours (.) derrière (.) 'a' (.) /plenæ/  
 107. ((talking with Mi))  
 108. Miss Lo: [c'est quelque chose qui est (.) par  
 109. exemple ((drawing on the board))  
 110. Leila: [plena ((talking with Kenji))  
 111. Miss Lo: [ça c'est la montagne  
 112. Leila: pologna  
 113. Miss Lo: d'accord↑  
 114. Kenji: una  
 115. Miss Lo: ça c'est la montagne  
 116. Kenji: oui (.) plaine  
 117. Miss Lo: et (.)  
 118. Kenji: [plaine  
 119. Miss Lo: [quand c'est comme ça et que il y a  
 120. beaucoup [d'espace  
 121. Kenji: [très grand  
 122. Miss Lo: et que c'est plat (.) c'est la plaine  
 123. (.)  
 124. Andrea: ah!  
 125. Miss Lo: c'est pas la montagne (.) c'est la plaine  
 126. Andrea: es como (.) ( ) (.) es como lo que hay  
 127. en estado unidos que hacen las películas  
 128. Leila: ( ) la películas  
 129. Piotr: [la películas  
 130. Karen: [en anglais on dit field  
 131. Talia: [dice planeta ((talking to Se))  
 132. Miss Lo: [voilà (.) en anglais on dit field (.)  
 133. voilà (.) hein↑  
 134. Talia: dice [planeta ((talking to Se))  
 135. Kenji: [field↑  
 136. Miss Lo: field  
 137. Kenji: ah oui  
 138. Miss Lo: en anglais (.) en espagnol vous avez  
 139. trouvé ce que c'est↑ (.) pourquoi la  
 140. plaine↑ (.) pourquoi elle va partir (.)  
 141. à travers la plaine  
 142. Kenji: ( )  
 143. Miss Lo: elle veut faire quoi↑ (.) elle veut être↑  
 144. Leila: veut être une cow girl  
 145. Miss Lo: elle veut être une cow girl (.) donc une



146. cow girl elle s'occupe de↑ (.) on avait  
147. dit toute à l'heure↑  
148. Andrea: de la vache  
149. Miss Lo: des vaches (.) et donc les vaches il faut  
150. qu'elles aient de↑  
151. (.1)  
152. Cristina: place  
153. Miss Lo: de la place (.) il faut qu'elles aient de  
154. (.) l'espace hein↑  
155. Kenji: oui  
156. Miss Lo: Maia (.) il faut qu'elles aient de  
157. l'espace (.) les animaux il faut qu'ils  
158. aient de l'espace (.) donc elle va partir  
159. à travers la plaine (.) et elle dit  
160. qu'elle va dormir à la belle étoile (.) ça  
161. veut dire quoi dormir à la belle étoile↑  
162. Cristina: elle veut dormir::  
163. Leila: qu'elle va dormir à la plaine  
164. Talia: elle va dormir seule  
165. ( )  
166. ((many children talking at the same time))  
167. Leila: dehors  
168. Miss Lo: dehors (.) voilà (.) à la belle étoile  
169. c'est↑ (.) [dehors  
170. Cristina: [dehors  
171. Kenji: oui je vois  
172. (.)  
173. Miss Lo: après elle dit `je vais conduire mon  
174. troupeau de bestiaux (.) je vais entendre  
175. le cri de l'aigle' ça veut dire quoi↑  
176. Cristina: [( )  
177. Karen: [ça veut dire elle veut entendre le::  
178. Piotr: cri comme euh::  
179. Cristina: le bruit de l'aigle  
180. Piotr: comme un oiseau  
181. Miss Lo: un oiseau (.) voilà  
182. Piotr: euh (.) cri  
183. Miss Lo: le cri [d'un oiseau  
184. Piotr: [chante (.) chante  
185. Miss Lo: le cri de l'aigle c'est le cri d'un oiseau  
186. (.) euh (.) l'aigle on le trouve où↑  
187. (.1)  
188. Cristina: l'aigle on le trouve euh::  
189. (.)  
190. Miss Lo: où est-ce qu'on trouve des aigles en  
191. général↑  
192. Cristina: dans la (.) dans la forêt↑  
193. Miss Lo: dans la nature (.) on trouve pas des  
194. aigles (.) les gens est-ce qu'ils ont des  
195. aigles à la maison  
196. C?: non  
197. Miss Lo: vous voyez ce que c'est que l'aigle (.)  
198. Kenji↑  
199. C?: oui  
200. Miss Lo: avec un bec comme ça  
201. Karen: c'est le (.) c'est l'oiseau de (.) amarie  
202. (.) de états-unis  
203. Miss Lo: oui (.) c'est le- c'est l'oiseau du::  
204. [drapeau  
205. Kenji: [oiseau↑  
206. (.)  
207. Miss Lo: non↑  
208. Karen: euh::  
209. Miss Lo: l'oiseau de quoi tu dis Karen↑  
210. Karen: de:: états unis↑  
211. Piotr: en pologne c'est-  
212. Miss Lo: c'est l'emblème des États-Unis l'aigle↑  
213. Piotr: en pologne c'est  
214. (. )

215. Leila: [ah:: el águila (.) Talia (.) el águila  
 216. ((29:45))  
 217. Piotr: [c'est un aigle là (.) comment ça  
 218. s'appelle ça↑  
 219. ((Se goes and open the door of the classroom to  
 220. show the Polish flag attached to the door))  
 221. Talia: maîtresse (.) maîtresse  
 222. Leila: en (.) le drapeau de Mexique!  
 223. Miss Lo: oui sur le drapeau du Mexique  
 224. effectivement (.) oui c'est vrai (.) voilà  
 225. c'est ça (.) voilà (.) euh c'est pas tout à  
 226. fait un aigle  
 227. Piotr: en pologne il y a comme ça  
 228. Miss Lo: d'accord  
 229. Kenji: [argentine  
 230. Karen: [États-Unis  
 231. Miss Lo: c'est un aigle (.) d'accord  
 232. Kenji: c'est quoi↑  
 233. Piotr: comme ça (.) comme ça  
 234. Kenji: peintre↑  
 235. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) ya un blason (.) ya un blason  
 236. avec un aigle qui est dessine (.) d'accord  
 237. (.) c'est quoi ça exactement en pologne↑  
 238. Piotr: herb <PoliKenji: national emblem>  
 239. (.)  
 240. Miss Lo: oui mais c'est quoi ce blason là (.) c'est  
 241. quoi cette euh: (.) c'est quoi ça↑  
 242. (.2)  
 243. Piotr: c'est herb (30:20)  
 244. Miss Lo: oui mais c'est quoi↑ (.) ça sert à quoi↑  
 245. Talia: será el escudo (30:22)  
 246. Leila: c'est pour le drapeau↑ (.) c'est quoi↑  
 247. (.2)  
 248. Talia: [el escudo  
 249. Karen: [en états unis  
 250. Miss Lo: où est-ce qu'on voit ça↑  
 251. (.)  
 252. Karen: [on a de monnaie-  
 253. Miss Lo: [ou est-ce qu'on voit ça↑ (.) attends  
 254. attends (.) ou est-ce qu'on voit ça↑  
 255. (.1)  
 256. Piotr: en pologne  
 257. Miss Lo: oui mais on le voit où↑ c'est sur les murs  
 258. (.) c'est sur les musées↑ (.) c'est où↑  
 259. Piotr: c'est (.) c'est comme (.)  
 260. Karen: mais maîtresse  
 261. Miss Lo: chut chut chut  
 262. Piotr: [ça s'appelle en pologne  
 263. Miss Lo: [Maia reste assise s'il te plait (.)  
 264. merci  
 265. Piotr: herb polski <Polish: Polish national  
 266. emblem> (30:55)  
 267. Talia: ( ) al otro lado ( ) yo creo  
 268. Miss Lo: non mais c'est comme un-  
 269. Piotr: c'est pas un drapeau  
 270. Miss Lo: c'est pas- c'est un blason  
 271. Piotr: oui  
 272. (.8)  
 273. ((Se goes and open the door again))  
 274. Miss Lo: oui y en a aussi là (.) d'accord  
 275. Kenji: roumanie (.) [c'est qui roumanie↑  
 276. Piotr: [c'est pas un dragon (.)  
 277. c'est  
 278. Kenji: c'est qui roumanie↑  
 279. Miss Lo: j'ai pas dis un dragon (.) j'ai dis un  
 280. blason (.) c'est pas- ou alors c'est sur  
 281. euh:: (.) tu as une photo de ça↑  
 282. Piotr: oui  
 283. Miss Lo: dans un livre tu pourras nous l'apporter↑

284. (.) comme ça on va regarder ce que c'est  
285. (.) hein (.) d'accord↑ (.) tu n'as pas de  
286. dictionnaire euh:: (.) franco-polonais↑  
287. Piotr: oui j'ai  
288. Miss Lo: il est où↑  
289. Piotr: ici  
290. Miss Lo: eh ben regarde dans ton dictionnaire  
291. Piotr  
292. ((children laughing))  
293. (.2)  
294. Miss Lo: alors euhm:: (.) `je vais entendre le cri  
295. de l'aigle' (.) puisque là où elle va (.)  
296. dans la plaine (.) il y a des↑  
297. Cristina: des aigles  
298. Miss Lo: [des aigles  
299. Karen: [maîtresse  
300. Miss Lo: oui Karen  
301. Karen: sur le- (.) en monnaie qui a l'aigle sur  
302. le dos  
303. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) il y a une monnaie sur  
304. lequel il y a un aigle (.) c'est quoi  
305. monnaie↑ (.) c'est sur un dollar  
306. américain↑  
307. Karen: mmm (.2) c'est::  
308. Miss Lo: c'est sur une pièce de monnaie↑  
309. Karen: oui!  
310. Miss Lo: une pièce de monnaie américaine↑  
311. Karen: oui  
312. Miss Lo: et c'est combien (.) une pièce de combien↑  
313. Karen: euh (.) je sais pas (.) on dit (.) quarter  
314. quarter (.) ça pourrait être quoi en  
315. français quarter↑ (.) les grands là vous  
316. l'avez fait en maths l'autre jour (.)  
317. quarter ce serait quoi↑  
318. Cristina: moi j'ai pas fait ça  
319. Talia: je sais pas  
320. Karen: quarters c'est-  
321. Miss Lo: ah!  
322. Karen: c'est une pièce de monnaie en anglais  
323. Piotr: blason! ((found the French translation of  
324. the polish word))  
325. Miss Lo: un blason ouais ben voilà c'est ça (.)  
326. euhm:: (.) tu en as [à la maison des  
327. pièces de monnaie comme ça↑  
328. Kenji: [c'est quoi blason↑ ((speaking to Se))  
329. Karen: oui  
330. Miss Lo: ah ben tu pourras nous en apporter↑  
331. Karen: oui  
332. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) très bien  
333. ((Miss Lo keeps talking to the children whilst Se spells  
334. 'blason' to Kenji))  
335. Piotr: quoi↑  
336. Kenji: comment écrire blason↑  
337. Piotr: blason↑ (.) euh (.) b-  
338. Kenji: b-  
339. Piotr: l-  
340. Kenji: r-↑  
341. Piotr: l-  
342. Kenji: l-  
343. Piotr: a-  
344. Kenji: a-  
345. Piotr: s-  
346. Kenji: s-  
347. Piotr: o- (.) o-  
348. Kenji: u-  
349. Piotr: o-! (.) o-  
350. Kenji: o-  
351. Piotr: n-  
352. Kenji: ah oui! (.) blason! ((reads the

353. translation on his digital dictionary))  
 354. ((back to teacher-led interaction))  
 355. Miss Lo: des louveteaux! (.) on l'a vu l'autre  
 356. jour::  
 357. Cristina: c'est des bébés  
 358. Miss Lo: oui merci Cristina (.) des bébés quoi↑ (.)  
 359. on a travaillé sur le loup  
 360. (.)  
 361. Karen: c'est le bébé du loup  
 362. Miss Lo: du loup (.) et la femelle du loup c'est  
 363. la↑  
 364. (.)  
 365. Karen: louve  
 --33:26--

**T2 S1 D4 V12 E2:**

Teacher-led interactions with the whole classroom. Miss Lo asks whether children had some acquaintances in France before moving to France.

--01:00:35--  
 1. Miss Lo: Leila (.) est-ce que tu connaissais des  
 2. gens en France quand tu es arrivée↑  
 3. (.)  
 4. Leila: non  
 5. Miss Lo: non (.) tu connaissais personne  
 6. (.)  
 7. Cristina: maîtresse-  
 8. Miss Lo: Piotr tu connaissais des gens quand tu  
 9. es arrivé↑ (.) tes parents ils  
 10. connaissaient des gens quand tu es arrivé  
 11. en France↑  
 12. Piotr: euh::  
 13. Kenji: oui  
 14. Piotr: oui!  
 15. Kenji: oui (.) oui  
 16. Miss Lo: ah (.) d'accord  
 17. Kenji: moi aussi  
 18. Miss Lo: Talia tu-  
 19. Piotr: et Matilda::  
 20. Karen: ma maman oui  
 21. Piotr: pas oncle (.) euh::  
 22. Miss Lo: ta tante  
 23. Piotr: la tante  
 24. Miss Lo: ta tante (.) tu avais une tante en France  
 25. déjà  
 26. Piotr: et deux  
 27. Miss Lo: deux tantes ah ben voilà! (.) euh (.)  
 28. Talia (.) vous connaissiez des gens  
 29. ici en france↑  
 30. (.2)  
 31. Talia: °je sais pas°  
 32. Leila: *si conocia gente cuando veniste a francia*  
 33. (.)  
 34. Talia: ( )  
 35. Kenji: */frænsjæ!/  
 36. (.)*  
 37. Miss Lo: ah oui (.) il y avait la cousine de ton  
 38. papa↑  
 39. (.)  
 40. Miss Lo: l'autre jour vous etes allés chez la  
 41. cousine de ton papa (.) c'est ça↑  
 42. Kenji: *yo vengo francia*  
 43. Talia: ah oui (.) marie  
 44. Miss Lo: oui oui (.) elle était là  
 45. Cristina: maîtresse  
 46. Miss Lo: oui (.) euh (.) Cristina quand tu es arrivée  
 47. en France tu connaissais des gens toi↑

48. Cristina: non!  
 49. Miss Lo: personne  
 --01:01:40--

**T2 S1 D4 V12 E3:**

Teacher-led interaction with the whole class about the book “cow-girl”. At the end of the book, T asks children what do they want to do later in life.

--1:00:05--  
 1. Miss Lo: plus tard (.) elle sera peut-être (.) une  
 2. cowg-girl (.) et toi plus tard tu veux  
 3. être quoi Talia toi plus tard↑  
 4. Talia: actrice  
 5. Miss Lo: je veux  
 6. (.)  
 7. Talia: je veux  
 8. Miss Lo: être  
 9. Talia: être  
 10. Miss Lo: une  
 11. Talia: une  
 12. Miss Lo: [actrice (.) Piotr tu veux être quoi  
 13. plus tard (.) et une chanteuse  
 14. Talia: [actrice et une chanteuse  
 15. Miss Lo: je veux être une actrice et une chanteuse  
 16. d'accord  
 17. ((children laughing))  
 18. (.)  
 19. Miss Lo: de cinéma↑  
 20. (.1)  
 21. Talia: oui  
 22. Miss Lo: cinéma mexicain américain français::↑  
 23. Talia: américain  
 24. Miss Lo: cinéma américain (.) alors (.)  
 25. Piotr: moi je sais pas  
 26. Miss Lo: Talia veut être une actrice chan- et  
 27. une chanteuse de ciné- (.) attends (.) une  
 28. chanteuse et une actrice de cinéma  
 29. américain (.) Piotr qu'est-ce que tu  
 30. veux [être plus tard↑  
 31. Piotr: [je sais pas!  
 32. (.)  
 33. Miss Lo: ben tu dois av- (.) non t'as pas ça tu  
 34. rêves pas↑  
 35. Piotr: architecte  
 36. Miss Lo: je veux être  
 37. (.)  
 38. Piotr: un architecte  
 39. Miss Lo: plus tard (.) je veux être  
 40. (.)  
 41. Piotr: un architecte  
 42. Miss Lo: je veux être architecte (.) d'accord  
 43. Piotr: [mais n'importe quoi  
 44. Leila: [Talia (.) arquitecto  
 45. Miss Lo: [en France ou en pologne↑ (.) chut  
 46. (.)  
 47. Miss Lo: en France en pologne (.) aux états-unis::  
 48. [en asie:: je sais pas  
 49. Piotr: [je sais pas  
 50. Miss Lo: tu ne sais pas d'accord (.) Leila (.)  
 51. qu'est-ce que tu veux être plus tard↑  
 52. Piotr: moi footballeur aussi  
 53. Leila: plus tard je veux être biochimique  
 54. (.)  
 55. Leila: biochimique  
 56. Talia: hein↑  
 57. Piotr: [infirmière  
 58. Leila: [bioquímica  
 59. Kenji: pic nique↑

60. Miss Lo: att- tends-tends-tends (.) ah! (.)  
61. biochimiste  
62. Leila: oui  
63. Miss Lo: plus tard je veux [être biochimiste  
64. Kenji: [c'est quoi↑  
65. Andrea: [que es eso↑  
66. Kenji: c'est quoi ça↑  
67. Leila: bioquímica trabaja en no se que  
68. Piotr: c'est quoi ça↑ (.) c'est quoi ça↑  
69. Talia: [abogada (01:08:04)  
70. Miss Lo: [c'est pour euh:: faire quoi biochimiste↑  
71. (.)  
72. Piotr: schémas  
73. Leila: je sais pas comment expliquer  
74. Kenji: [( )  
75. Miss Lo: [c'est le travail qui te plait ou c'est le  
76. mot bioquímica qui est très beau  
77. Leila: non non (.) c'est le [travail  
78. Miss Lo: [ah!  
79. (.)  
80. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) et c'est quoi comme  
81. travail alors↑  
82. Leila: euh (.) on analyse le:: (.2) la:: (.2)  
83. quand on va a: (.) pour faire chcr  
84. ((imitating a nurse taking blood))  
85. Miss Lo: quand on fait une prise de sang (.) quand  
86. on fait des [analyses  
87. Talia: [ah oui!  
88. Leila: c'est ça  
89. Miss Lo: on regarde  
90. (.)  
91. Leila: ah! pero viste cuando te saca sangre  
92. (01:08:34)  
93. Piotr: pic ((copying Leila gestures))  
94. Leila: eso (.) analizar la sangre  
95. Talia: [ah!  
96. Piotr: [infirmière  
97. Talia: ah yo pensé otra cosa  
98. Miss Lo: non mais elle veut pas faire les piqûres  
99. hein (.) elle veut pas faire les piqûres  
100. (.) elle est pas [infirmière (.) elle  
101. veut pas prendre euh non-  
102. Leila: [no me voy a sacar  
103. sangre  
104. Miss Lo: elle veut (.) analyser (.) alors je sais  
105. pas moi il faut expliquer en espagnol  
106. parce que la en français c'est compliqué  
107. je veux  
108. Leila: analizar la sangre  
109. Andrea: si si ya cono- cuando le sacan  
110. (01:08:52)  
111. Piotr: [ah (.) après-  
112. Leila: [si (.) t sacan y te lo ponen en un tubo  
113. Andrea: si  
114. Piotr: [après (.) après  
115. Leila: [( )  
116. Kenji: c'est quoi ça↑  
117. Piotr: après (.) après comme infirmière pique  
118. Miss Lo: ouais  
119. Piotr: elle analyse ça  
120. Miss Lo: ouais  
121. Piotr: ah c'est  
122. Miss Lo: on envoie au laboratoire et là bas au  
123. laboratoire il y a des gens (.) qui  
124. regardent qu'est ce qu'il y a dans votre  
125. sang (.) est-ce que ça va (.) est-ce que  
126. ça va pas (.) [ex cætera  
127. Piotr: [c'est toi ça↑  
128. Leila: oui  
129. Piotr: ah!

130. Miss Lo: biochimiste  
131. Cristina: maîtresse  
132. Miss Lo: mais est-ce que tu veux être biochimiste  
133. danseuse de tango ou pas↑  
134. Piotr: paraparapara ((singing))  
135. Leila: non!  
136. [...]  
137. Miss Lo: euh Kenji (.) qu'est-ce que tu veux être  
138. plus tard↑  
139. Kenji: euh::  
140. Miss Lo: plus tard je veux être  
141. Piotr: judo!  
142. Miss Lo: chut (.) hé!  
143. (.)  
144. Kenji: euh:: (.) foot!  
145. Talia: je sais-  
146. Miss Lo: hein↑  
147. Piotr: [foot  
148. Kenji: [foot  
149. (.)  
150. Piotr: foot  
151. ((children laughing))  
152. (.)  
153. Miss Lo: non mais foot c'est pas un travail ça  
154. (.)  
155. Leila: oui:: maîtresse (.) a la télévision  
156. Miss Lo: oui mais je veux être foot (.) ça marche  
157. pas (.) je veux être footba↑  
158. Talia: [liste!  
159. Leila: [liste  
160. (.)  
161. Miss Lo: non ((laughing))  
162. Kenji: [non n'importe quoi  
163. Hakim: [footballeur  
164. Piotr: n'importe quoi  
165. Miss Lo: footballeur! (.) merci Hakim (.) je veux  
166. être (.) footballeur (.) footballeur dans  
167. quelle équipe↑  
168. Kenji: euh::  
169. (.)  
170. Leila: barcelona!  
171. Cristina: barcelona  
172. Talia: oui!  
173. Leila: arigato <thank you>  
174. Piotr: real madrid  
175. Miss Lo: chut!  
176. Kenji: non c'est pas-  
177. Piotr: valence!  
178. Miss Lo: laissez Kenji il peut pas parler  
179. Piotr: lyon  
180. Talia: barcelona  
181. Piotr: paris saint-germain  
182. Kenji: euh:: (.) n'importe  
183. (.)  
184. Miss Lo: dans n'importe quelle équipe  
185. Piotr: bordeaux  
186. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) est-ce qu'il y a des équipes  
187. de football professionnelle au japon↑  
188. Kenji: oui (.) d'accord  
189. Piotr: Kenji attaque  
190. Miss Lo: Andrea tu veux être quoi plus tard↑  
191. Andrea: vétérinaire  
192. Miss Lo: ouais (.) je veux être  
193. Andrea: je veux être  
194. Leila: como Maia  
195. Kenji: [como Maia  
196. Miss Lo: [vete- ri- naire  
197. Andrea: vétérinaire  
198. Miss Lo: vétérinaire vous savez ce que c'est↑  
199. Leila: c'est avec le chien

200. Piotr: [oui (.) avec les animaux  
 201. Miss Lo: [pas que les chiens  
 202. [...]  
 203. Miss Lo: très bien (.) en France ou en equator↑  
 204. Andrea: en France  
 205. Miss Lo: en France  
 206. Leila: en France ah!  
 207. Talia: ° ( ) mucho dineo porque todo el  
 208. mundo tiene el dinero (01:11:22)°  
 --01:11:28--

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## **T2 S1 D4 V14**

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### **T2 S1 D4 V14 E1:**

Children work in small groups. The microphone is with the more advanced group.

--03:21--  
 09. Miss Lo: cette vieille (.) ville (.) est ((talking  
 10. with Ma))  
 11. Talia: Leila! que cara de animal me ves↑  
 12. Kenji: Talia tu fais ça::!  
 13. Leila: no se  
 14. Piotr: c'est quoi ça↑ (.) je vous regarde (.)  
 15. j'ai fini ça ici  
 16. Kenji: ici (.) quoi↑ (.) je veux jouer  
 17. Piotr: je veux regarder jouer (.) je veux  
 18. regarder jouer c'est derrière ((talking  
 19. about their exercise sheet))  
 --04:15--

### **T2 S1 D4 V14 E2:**

Children are still working in small groups. The microphone is still with the more advanced group.

--09:05--  
 1. Talia: tiene (.) tiene el lápiz↑  
 2. (.)  
 3. Miss Lo: d'accord ((talking to another child  
 4. further away))  
 5. Maia: ya no [se lo presto  
 6. Miss Lo: [très bien (.) alors tu me colles  
 7. ça dans le cahier (.) tu sors ton fichier  
 8. de mathématiques là les grands vous allez  
 9. à votre place (.) je viens vous voir après  
 10. Talia: ya no se lo presto  
 11. Miss Lo: vous attendez deux secondes  
 12. Leila: c'est quoi ça maîtresse↑  
 13. (.)  
 14. Matilda: quoi↑ ((speaking to her classmate Maia  
 15. who is sitting next to her))  
 16. Maia: ( )  
 17. Matilda: oui je sais mais j'aime bien écrire parce  
 18. que j'ai pas de crayon!  
 19. (.1)  
 20. Talia: no entonces (.) si te quitaba el azul (.)  
 21. se lo quitabas (09:29)  
 22. (.)  
 23. Kenji: fini!  
 24. (.2)  
 25. Talia: you wanna another↑  
 26. Matilda: me  
 27. Miss Lo: ouh la (.) Hakim (.) non non tu vas à ta  
 28. place  
 29. Talia: which one↑ (.2) this↑ ((Ma is now standing



30. next to Talia))  
 31. Matilda: ah ( )  
 32. Kenji: attends (.) ici (.) regarder  
 33. Miss Lo: très bien tu le mets à grammaire ((talking  
 34. further away))  
 --10:08--

**T2 S1 D4 V14 E4:**

I transcribe here only the interactions between children in the more advanced group. Note that we hear T talking in the background with children from other groups.

--30:50--  
 1. Leila: °esta copiando todo°! ((laughing))  
 2. Piotr: elle copie!  
 3. (.)  
 4. Piotr: être! (.) non:: (.) elle copie d'accord  
 5. Leila: Talia no (.) être non (.) ese no  
 6. Piotr: oui  
 7. Leila: non  
 8. Talia: cuáles son↑  
 9. Leila: los que terminan en -e -r y -i -r  
 10. Piotr: non! c'est encore facile! (.) être  
 11. Leila: Talia! hazme caso que vos no entendés nada  
 12. Kenji: maîtresse! (.) être aussi↑  
 13. Piotr: maîtresse!  
 14. Miss Lo: ah non non non (.) mais moi pour l'instant  
 15. je- je (.) je verrai ce que vous avez  
 16. fait après (.) là je travaille pas avec  
 17. vous pour l'instant  
 18. Leila: ( ) c'est comme ça (.2) et là  
 19. c'est un 'er' et la c'est en 'ir'  
 20. Kenji: maîtresse (.) être aussi↑  
 21. Piotr: seulement deux en 'ir'! (.) c'est pas  
 22. trop  
 23. Kenji: oui très peu  
 24. Leila: maîtresse  
 25. Kenji: maîtresse! (.) attends attends attends  
 26. Miss Lo: non mais moi j'ai pas dis (.) j'ai pas dis  
 27. de les ranger dans 'ir' (.) j'ai dis de  
 28. les ranger dans↑ (.)  
 29. Kenji: être aussi↑  
 30. Miss Lo: 'ir' et tous les autres  
 31. Kenji: être aussi↑  
 32. Miss Lo: ah ben si c'est un verbe à l'infinitif  
 33. vous le mettez quelque part  
 --31:44--

**T2 S1 D4 V14 E5:**

Children are still doing an exercise. The microphone is with the more advanced group. In this extract, Kenji is trying to do the exercise with the help of others whilst the other children are talking amongst them and about Kenji.

--35:40--  
 170. Leila: euh (.) 'traverse'!  
 171. (.2)  
 172. Kenji: haha ((laughing))  
 173. Piotr: non!  
 174. Kenji: non! (.) je traverse  
 175. Piotr: ( )  
 176. (.2)  
 177. Andrea: Leila!  
 178. Leila: mm  
 179. Andrea: vamos a la cantina↑  
 180. Leila: si  
 181. Kenji: je mange à la cantina

182. ((children laughing))  
183. Leila: je mange à la **cantina**  
184. (.2)  
185. Piotr: couler (.) et jouer  
186. Kenji: ( )  
187. Talia: Kenji c'est pas-  
188. Leila: couler ça c'est quoi↑  
189. Talia: je mange à la-  
190. Kenji: non!  
191. Piotr: je sais pas  
192. Talia: Kenji! (.) c'est pas (.) je mange à la  
193. **cantina**  
194. Kenji: je mange à la **cantina**  
195. Talia: [en espagnol-  
196. Leila: **[yo como a la cantina**  
197. Talia: **yo como**  
198. Piotr: **yo como (.) yo como**  
199. Andrea: **a la cantina**  
200. Talia: **yo como a la cantina**  
201. Leila: **el se quiere hace el chistoso y quiere**  
202. **hacer lo mismo que Kenji (.) pero no le**  
203. **sale**  
204. Kenji: euh- euh (.) 'agir' est (.) troisième  
205. groupe  
206. (.2)  
207. ((girls laughing))  
208. Kenji: euh (.) non (.) euh euh (.) 'court' est  
209. (.) 'court' et 'marcher'  
210. Talia: **de que está hablando↑**  
211. Leila: **no se!**  
212. Kenji: chose est non! (.) chose non  
213. ((children laughing))  
214. (.)  
215. Kenji: rivière euh  
216. Talia: tu parles de quoi↑  
217. Kenji: euh  
218. Piotr: de qui  
219. Kenji: c'est pas chose (.) ça  
220. Piotr: non  
221. Kenji: oui  
222. Piotr: non  
223. Kenji: oui  
224. Matilda: Kenji qu'est-ce que tu parles↑  
225. Leila: Kenji dit que (.) 'chose' c'est troisième  
226. groupe  
227. Piotr: quoi↑  
228. Leila: chose  
229. Kenji: non! (.) chose (.) non (.) c'est 'agir'  
230. troisième groupe  
231. Talia: **me da risa cuando hace eso (36:44)**  
232. Kenji: je ne sais pas 'agir'  
233. Piotr: moi je sais pas c'est quoi  
234. Kenji: 'agir' (.) 'cour' et-  
235. Talia: Kenji fais comme ça  
236. (.4)  
237. Talia: comme ça  
238. (.3)  
239. Talia: comme ça  
240. (.5)  
241. Talia: fais comme ça Leila

242. (.3)  
 243. Kenji: 'chose' non!  
 244. (.)  
 245. Piotr: non  
 246. Kenji: 'chose' non et ça et ça et ça et comme ça  
 247. (.) 'marcher' (.) 'frapper' (.) oui  
 248. (.5)  
 249. Kenji: non!  
 250. (.3)  
 251. Leila: (dice) que Kenji es feo (37:22)  
 252. Kenji: feo  
 253. (.)  
 254. Leila: feo  
 255. Kenji: feo  
 256. Piotr: c'est quoi ça↑  
 257. Kenji: euh (.) euh Piotr! (.) 'vivre' aussi↑  
 258. (.) 'vivre'  
 259. (.2)  
 260. Kenji: 'voir'  
 261. (.3)  
 262. Kenji: euh Piotr (.) 'vivre' aussi↑  
 263. Piotr: quoi↑  
 264. Kenji: je vis  
 265. Piotr: non! ( ) (.) 'vieux monsieur'  
 266. Talia: vieux  
 267. Leila: vieille dame (.) vieux monsieur  
 268. Kenji: euh tu dis ( )  
 269. (.3)  
 270. Leila: maîtresse je sais pas de troisième  
 271. groupe!  
 272. Piotr: c'est trop facile  
 273. Kenji: 'agir'!  
 274. Miss Lo: ceux que vous savez pas vous les mettez à  
 275. part (.) vous les mettez tout seul  
 276. Kenji: 'agir' (.) 'coucher' aussi↑  
 277. (.2)  
 278. Kenji: Piotr (.) 'couche' aussi↑  
 279. (.1)  
 280. Piotr: non::!  
 281. Kenji: il lui dit 'couche'  
 282. Leila: 'couche' aussi↑  
 283. (.2)  
 284. Piotr: 'coucher'!  
 285. Leila: oui c'est bien  
 286. Kenji: 'couche' aussi↑  
 287. Leila: non! mais pas (.) parce que ça c'est  
 288. couche (.) c'est pas 'coucher'  
 289. Piotr: ah!  
 290. Leila: pour dire coucher c'est avec un 'r' à la  
 291. fin (.) c'est pas coucher  
 292. Matilda: chut!  
 293. Leila: ( ) no saben que quieren (.) callarme  
 294. (.) porque no te pienses que yo me voy a  
 295. callar por un bobito (south american) como  
 296. vos (38:47)  
 297. Talia: haha ((laughing))  
 298. Kenji: euh (.) Piotr! (.) 'écrire' ici (.)  
 299. 'écrire' ici (.) troisième groupe (.) 'ir'  
 300. (.) 'er'  
 301. (.13) ((Miss Lo talks with Rs. The bell rings))

302. Kenji: attends! (.) attends attends  
303. Leila: Kenji  
304. Piotr: Kenji! (.) grand match!  
305. Kenji: grand match!  
306. Leila: ah oui! (.) grand match va Kenji  
307. Piotr: [( )]  
308. Talia: [van hacer el fútbol mundial otra vez  
309. (39:24)  
310. Kenji: moi avec ( ) (.) toi aussi↑  
311. Talia: tu sabes cuál es el fútbol mundial↑  
312. Leila: no (.) ah! el mundial de fútbol↑  
313. Talia: aqui (.) siempre lo hacen en la escuela  
314. Piotr: regarde (.) r- e- (.) j'ai fini!  
315. Leila: (esten)↑  
316. Talia: si (.) juegan [ellos en el mundial  
317. Piotr: [comme ça! (.) comme ça (.)  
318. r- e- [comme ça! ((talking with Kenji))  
319. Leila: [( ) me dan (.) pena  
320. Piotr: comme ça!  
321. Kenji: ( )↑  
322. Talia: yo ya he visto a Kenji en el mundial  
323. Leila: qué boluditos! ((south american  
324. expresión))  
325. Piotr: ( )  
326. Talia: porque Kenji si (.) está ( )  
327. Piotr: regarde (.) 'heureux' (.) 'heureux' (.)  
328. [troisième groupe  
329. Leila: [( )no me impor::ta! (.) me tienes  
330. podrida! (.) no quiero saber más nada del  
331. colegio! (.) callate un poco (.) no quiero  
332. que [( )]  
333. Piotr: [cállate (.) tais-toi (.) cállate  
334. (.) /kəjætə/ /kəjætə/ /kəjætə tæ/  
335. Kenji: /kontʃinæ/ /kontʃinæ/!  
336. Piotr: /peræ/ /kæræ/ /turæ/ /tʃæ/ /tʃu/ /kærætʃæ/  
337. /me/ /tʃæ/ /mi/ /tʃutʃ/ /kæræ/ /tuær/!  
338. Talia: ils parlent en italien  
339. ((all children laughing))  
340. Leila: están loco! ((laughing))  
341. Piotr: ( )  
342. Leila: copiate Talia (.) copiate y despues yo me  
343. copia de vos (.) que lo hace bien (40:33)  
--40:34--

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## T2 S1 D5 V15

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### T2 S1 D5 V15 E1:

Miss Lo explains to Talia that she will now attend Maths lessons in her mainstream classroom. Talia starts crying and Miss Lo explains why she needs to go to her mainstream classroom and relies partly on Leila for translating her explanations.

--00:00--  
1. Miss Lo: donc là ils font les fractions donc les  
2. fractions c'est un peu compliqué (.) mais  
3. (.) tu vas essayer de comprendre ce qu'ils  
4. font (.) et si tu comprends pas (.) tu  
5. paniques pas (.) hein (.) tu t'énerves pas  
6. (.) tu boudes pas (.) tu pleures pas (.)  
7. tu restes tranquille (.) et moi je  
8. t'expliquerai après (.) comme ça on aura

9. les feuilles de madame coupa (.) et je  
10. pourrai t'expliquer  
11. je sais pas faire les fractions  
12. Talia: oui! ben tu vas aller là-bas (.) tu vas  
13. Miss Lo: voir ce qu'elle explique (.) il y a des  
14. enfants là-bas qui ne savent pas faire les  
15. fractions non plus hein  
16. (.)  
17. Leila: **Talia no saben nada de fracciones ellos**  
18. Miss Lo: d'accord↑ (.) c'est pas - c'est pas une  
19. évaluation (.) c'est pas une interrogation  
20. (.) c'est pas un examen (.) c'est pas un  
21. concours (.) c'est une maîtresse qui est  
22. là pour apprendre aux enfants donc elle  
23. va- ce qui est bien c'est que tu seras  
24. avec les enfants de Cml et vous allez  
25. faire des mathématiques de Cml (.3) parce  
26. que moi j'ai peur de faire des choses trop  
27. faciles (.) tu comprends↑ (.) donc je  
28. préfère que vous allez au cml (.) là-bas  
29. vous allez faire les choses de cml si vous  
30. ne comprenez pas (.) moi c'est mon travail  
31. de vous aider à comprendre tranquillement  
32. (.) tu comprends↑  
33. (.2)  
34. Miss Lo: comme ça au moins elle te donnera les  
35. devoirs elle te donnera [les feuilles et  
36. puis on fera ensemble hein↑  
37. Leila: [aujourd'hui ya  
38. sport↑  
39. Piotr: oui  
40. (.)  
41. Miss Lo: alors c'est vrai que là c'est les  
42. fractions (.) c'est un peu dommage parce  
43. que les fractions c'est un peu compliqué  
44. mais bon (.) regarde samba et mélanie (.)  
45. elle avait beaucoup de problèmes en  
46. mathématiques et maintenant la maîtresse  
47. dit que c'est très bien (.) pourtant quand  
48. elle a commence c'était difficile mélanie  
49. hein↑  
50. Andrea: non  
51. Miss Lo: au début quand tu as commencé↑ (.) au ce2  
52. c'était pas difficile↑  
53. Andrea: non  
54. Miss Lo: ah bon d'accord! (.) ok (.) Hakim c'était  
55. difficile ou pas↑  
56. (.)  
57. Miss Lo: et maintenant ça va↑ ou ça va pas↑  
58. Hakim: ça va  
59. Miss Lo: un petit peu parce qu'elle t'explique (.)  
60. donc c'est comme ça que ça se passe (.) tu  
61. comprends↑ (.) la première fois  
62. aujourd'hui tu vas trouver que c'est très  
63. difficile (.) quand tu vas sortir de la  
64. classe madame coupa tu vas dire oh la la  
65. la la la catastrophe (.) mais après (.)  
66. tout doucement (.) ça va venir d'accord  
67. Talia↑ (.1) hein↑ (.1) d'accord↑ (.1)  
68. moi je compte sur toi (.) il faut que toi  
69. tu sois un peu:: (.) comment on dit  
70. Leila là en espagnol (.) j'ai besoin de  
71. ton aide là (.) vas-y (.1) tu lui résumes  
72. là ce que j'ai expliqué  
73. Leila: [tout↑  
74. Miss Lo: [il faut qu'elle soit un peu combative (.)  
75. un peu je sais pas moi (.) il faut pas  
76. qu'elle reste comme ça et puis qu'elle  
77. pleure et qu'elle dise (.) [oh je  
78. comprends rien c'est trop difficile'

79. Leila: [dijo que-  
80. (.1)  
81. Leila: [dijo-  
82. Miss Lo: [il faut qu'elle y aille (.) qu'elle  
83. essaye de comprendre et ce qu'elle  
84. comprend pas moi je vais lui expliquer  
85. Leila: no yo [tengo  
86. Miss Lo: [hein↑ (.) vas- y explique lui  
87. Leila  
88. Leila: euh (.) dijo que (.) ((laughing))  
89. que vayas a la clase y no llores si no  
90. entiendes y todo (.) asi vos tenes los  
91. ejercicios y la maestra te explica  
92. (02:26)  
93. ((Talia blows her nose as she is crying))  
94. Miss Lo: d'accord↑ (.) et madame coupa (.) elle  
95. parle beaucoup hein (.) c'est un peu::  
96. (.) elle est un peu comme ça (.) donc il  
97. faut pas s'inquiéter (.) des fois elle  
98. crie (.) c'est pas grave (.) d'accord (.)  
99. elle est comme ça (.) c'est sa  
100. personnalité (.) mais elle est gentille  
101. (.) c'est une gentille maitresse  
102. ((Talia keeps blowing her nose))  
--02:40--

**T2 S1 D5 V15 E2:**

Miss Lo is asking children to change sits within the classroom and one child wants to stay next to her classmate. Miss Lo refuses as those two children seem to talk a lot amongst themselves.

--04:31--  
1. Miss Lo: je vais réfléchir (.) laissez-moi  
2. réfléchir (.) d'accord↑  
3. Leila: d'accord  
4. Miss Lo: bon Karen pour l'instant tu te mets ici  
5. (.) voilà (.) et mélanie tu te mets là (.)  
6. d'accord↑  
7. (.3)  
8. Miss Lo: on va revoir sur le grand u mais mais mais  
9. (.) c' était quoi le problème (.) quand  
10. vous avez commencé à parler vous parliez  
11. trop  
12. Leila: mais c'est pour apprendre le français!  
13. Miss Lo: oui je sais! (.) mais c'était pas mal  
14. d'avoir le groupe deux (.) le groupe trois  
15. (.) c'était pas mal pour moi (.) et en  
16. vous pouviez travailler ensemble tandis  
17. que quand vous êtes en grand u vous avez  
18. tendance à être moins concentrés (.) on va  
19. voir (.) on va voir  
--05:17--

**T2 S1 D5 V15 E3:**

Miss Lo asks the youngest children of the class to describe their weekends.

--29:14--  
132. Maia: °j'ai regardé la télévision°  
133. Miss Lo: j'ai regardé la télévision (.) en français  
134. ou en espagnol↑  
135. Kenji: français  
136. (.)  
137. Talia: [anglais  
138. Maia: [anglais  
139. Miss Lo: ah d'accord!  
140. ((children laughing))

141. Miss Lo: ah ben ça c'est encore plus simple (.) en  
142. anglais (.) d'accord! (.) pourquoi vous  
143. avez le câble↑  
144. Talia: oui  
145. Miss Lo: oui↑  
146. Leila: no tienes television española↑ (29:33)  
147. (.2)  
148. Miss Lo: et pourquoi vous regardez en anglais  
149. alors↑  
150. (.)  
151. Talia: parce que en français (.) c'est::  
152. (.1) °se escucha rara la voz (.) como  
153. dice↑° ((speaking to Mi))  
154. Leila: mm s'écoute pas bien le (.) quand on parle  
155. Maia: °pero también no (oye) el francés°  
156. (.4)  
157. Miss Lo: parce que vous comprenez pas (.) ou vous  
158. entendez pas↑ c'est pas pareil  
159. Talia: oui on entend (.) [mais c'est (rare qu'on  
160. parle)  
161. Miss Lo: [ah  
162. [...another teacher walks in...]  
163. Miss Lo: et pendant ce temps-là qu'as-tu fais toi  
164. Matilda ce weekend↑  
165. Matilda: moi aussi  
166. Miss Lo: ouais  
167. Matilda: ma mère ami  
168. Miss Lo: oui (.) l'ami de ma maman  
169. Matilda: l'ami de ma maman il a fait un gâteau  
170. Miss Lo: c'est il ou elle (.) c'est une femme ou un  
171. garçon↑  
172. Matilda: il!  
173. Miss Lo: c'est un ami (.) un monsieur↑  
174. Matilda: oui!  
175. Miss Lo: ah d'accord  
176. Matilda: il a fait un gâteau (.) ( )  
177. Miss Lo: ouais  
178. Matilda: et après il a- (.) il vient avec le- le -  
179. le- le::  
180. (.2)  
181. Miss Lo: avec le gâteau↑  
182. Matilda: non! pas (.) il- il vient avec le (.2) le  
183. (.2) comment on dit↑ ((laughing)) je sais  
184. pas comment on dit  
185. Miss Lo: oui mais moi je sais pas ce que c'est  
186. alors tu vois soit tu le dis en anglais  
187. [soit-  
188. Matilda: [c'est le enfant de- de l'ami de ma mère  
189. Miss Lo: avec son fils↑  
190. (.3)  
191. Teacher : son↑  
192. (.2)  
193. Matilda: no!  
194. Miss Lo: ah  
195. Matilda: daughter  
196. (.)  
197. Miss Lo: sa fille!  
198. Matilda: oui avec sa fille  
199. Miss Lo: avec sa fille d'accord  
200. Matilda: avec sa fille elle est grande et on a  
201. mangé le gâteau  
202. Miss Lo: ouais  
203. Matilda: et après on va voir les surprises (.) on  
204. va faire bowling  
205. Miss Lo: vous avez été jouer au bowling oui  
206. Matilda: oui (.) et après on a maison  
207. Miss Lo: on a été à la maison oui  
((background noise 32:10 - 33:52))  
208. Matilda: samedi on (.2) samedi on voit (.1) euh  
209. (.3) on voit un film à la maison je- je

210. sais pas comment on dit en français (.)  
 211. j'ai oublié comment on dit (.) moi je sais  
 212. comment on dit en anglais  
 213. Miss Lo: mais quoi↑ (.) on dit quoi↑ le titre ↑  
 214. Matilda: oui  
 215. Miss Lo: c'est quoi alors↑  
 216. Matilda: euh (.) je- je sais pas comment on dit en  
 217. français  
 218. Miss Lo: ben dis-le en anglais moi ça ne me pose  
 219. pas de problème Ma- Matilda  
 220. Matilda: hahaha ((laughing)) (.) *lord of the ring*  
 221. (.2)  
 222. Matilda: c'est comme euh (.) comme euh (.) comment  
 223. on dit::  
 224. Miss Lo: c'est quoi (.) ah ben tiens Karen tu vas  
 225. nous traduire le titre là parce que::  
 226. Matilda: *lord of the ring!*  
 227. Talia: ouh::! *I love*  
 228. Miss Lo: le sei[gneur  
 229. Matilda: [you know↑  
 230. Talia: *yeah:: I've seen it*  
 231. Karen: mm  
 232. Miss Lo: *ring* c'est quoi↑  
 233. Karen: [*ring* c'est::  
 234. Leila: [*rey león*↑  
 235. Karen: c'est::  
 236. Talia: *el rey león (34:42)*  
 237. Miss Lo: chut! attendez attendez!  
 238. Leila: le roi de les- de (.) ça ((showing a ring  
 239. on her finger))  
 240. Miss Lo: ah! (.) le seigneur des anneaux!  
 241. Leila: [oui c'est ça  
 242. Matilda: [oui!  
 243. Piotr: oui  
 244. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) le seigneur des anneaux  
 245. Matilda: bon on a pas fini parce que c'est trop  
 246. long  
 247. Miss Lo: d'accord

--35:00--

**T2 S1 D5 V15 E4:**

In this extract, Miss Lo is starting a new activity based on a book she is going to read them. The book is called "Voyons".

--36:20--

1. Miss Lo: alors c'est voyons et puis il y a trois  
 2. petits points de suspension c'est quoi les  
 3. trois petits points de suspension↑  
 4. Leila: les trois cochons! hehe ((laughing))  
 5. Piotr: voyons::  
 6. Miss Lo: voilà! (.) non c'est pas voyons mmm (.)  
 7. c'est voyons::  
 8. Piotr: vois  
 9. Miss Lo: voyons:: (.) voyons::  
 10. Kenji: voyons:: (.) [voyons:: ((singing))  
 11. Miss Lo: [ça veut dire quoi  
 12. voyons::  
 13. (.)  
 14. Leila: que c'est pas fini  
 15. Miss Lo: voilà (.) ça veut dire qu'en fait il  
 16. réfléchit et parce que dans cette histoire  
 17. comme vous le voyez sur la couverture (.)  
 18. un cochon et un loup (.) et en fait le  
 19. cochon va proposer des choses au loup (.)  
 20. et le loup va réfléchir et va dire (.)  
 21. voyons:: (.) c'est-à-dire il dit pas sa  
 22. réponse (.) d'accord↑ (.) il dit pas oui  
 23. ou non (.) il- il dit voyons:: (.) il



24. réfléchit (.) donc c'est pour ça que c'est  
25. pas voyons avec un point d'exclamation (.)  
26. comme ça (.) c'est pas voyons voir! (.)  
27. ou voyons! ((writing on the blackboard))  
28. (.) si je fais ça c'est quoi ça↑  
29. Piotr: voyons!  
30. Miss Lo: ça c'est bon! (.) voyons là (.) hop (.)  
31. les mots là est-ce qu'ils sont signés  
32. voyons (.) [voyons hop (.) voyez↑  
33. Leila: [c'est quoi voyons↑ (.) c'est  
34. quoi voyons↑  
35. Miss Lo: là si je fais ça (.) voyons! allez hop!  
36. voyons! (.2) tandis que là c'est pas ça  
37. c'est (.) comme ça (.2) c'est (.) hein  
38. hein hein (.) [voyons:::  
39. Piotr: [voyons  
40. Miss Lo: des fois on dit même (.) voyons voir::  
41. (.) voyons c'est le verbe voir (.) mais en  
42. fait là ça veut pas dire voir (.) ça veut  
43. dire plutôt réfléchir (.) d'accord↑ (.)  
44. c'est une expression (.) c'est une  
45. expression (.) faut pas (.) faut pas  
46. chercher le verbe (.) il faut juste  
47. comprendre ce que ça veut dire (.) donc ça  
48. veut dire ça (.) regardez ((shows the  
49. cover page of the book))  
50. Leila: no verremos  
51. Miss Lo: regardez sa tête (.) hein↑ (.) je vais  
52. décider (.) je vais réfléchir (.) je vais  
53. voir (.) [c'est ça que ça veut dire  
54. Leila: [voy a ver=  
55. Kenji: =ça c'est voyons hein  
56. (.)  
57. Miss Lo: je vous distribue  
58. (.)  
59. Leila: aya (.) non::: (.) lire l'histoire  
60. (.2)  
61. ?: lis l'histoire!  
62. Kenji: [l'histoire!  
63. Piotr: [l'histoire!  
64. Miss Lo: non mais je vais vous la lire l'histoire  
65. là (.) oh! (.) là je vous distribue (.)  
66. la page de titre (.) avec (.) le résumé  
67. qu'il y a sur la quatrième (.) de  
68. couverture  
69. ((Miss Lo is cutting papers))  
70. (.)  
71. ((children chatting in the background))  
72. Miss Lo: comment on dirait tiens d'ailleurs (.)  
73. comment on dirait en anglais (.) voyons  
74. (.) comme ça là (.) voyons avec trois  
75. petits points (.) comment on dirait↑  
76. Leila: Talia!  
77. (.2)  
78. Miss Lo: comment est-ce qu'on dirait↑  
79. (.2)  
80. Piotr: Karen!  
81. Miss Lo: comment est-ce qu'on [dirait ça en anglais  
82. Karen  
83. Piotr: [Karen!  
84. Karen: what↑  
85. Piotr: voyons  
86. (.2)  
87. Miss Lo: chut! (.) let us see (.) let us see ça  
88. n'existe pas en anglais (.) let us see↑  
89. Karen: let me! see  
90. Miss Lo: let me see voilà (.) c'est quelque chose  
91. comme ça hein↑  
92. Kenji: let me see  
93. Miss Lo: euh::: (.) comment on dirait en espagnol

94.                   ça↑ (.) comment on le traduirait  
95.    Piotr:           [voyons  
96.    Talía:           [verremos=  
97.    Leila:           =verremos  
98.    (.)  
99.    Kenji:           verremos  
100.   (.)  
101.   Miss Lo:         on va voir (.) c'est ça↑  
102.   (.)  
103.   Leila:           [on va voir  
104.   Miss Lo:         [on va voir (.) ouais c'est ça (.) alors!  
--39:12--

**T2 S1 D5 V15 E5:**

Talia and Leila are working in pair in a room next to the induction classroom that is usually used for music lessons. Miss Lo asked Leila to explain fractions to Talia. The microphone is with them so their voices are very clear.

--01:05:56--  
26.    Leila:           bueno (.) empecemos  
27.    Talía:           a ver  
28.    (.)  
29.    Leila:           eso es una fracción!  
30.    (.1)  
31.    Leila:           mira (.) aquí tenés (.) una torta no↑  
32.    (.2)  
33.    Leila:           tenés dividido en cuatro=  
34.    Talía:           =cuatro (.) por eso (.) por eso son (.) y  
35.                   como estan rallados  
36.    Leila:           un cuarto! (.) bueno entonces te voy a  
37.                   hacer fracciones y ahora me las vas a  
38.                   hacer  
39.    Talía:           ay pero hacelos bien Leila!  
40.    ((laughing))  
41.    Leila:           oy Talía!  
42.    (.3)  
43.    Leila:           no soy dibujadora profesional (.) no me  
44.                   salen los círculos  
45.    ((noises of a pen on a piece of paper))  
46.    (.5)  
47.    Leila:           hazme fracción  
48.    (.9)  
49.    Talía:           son (.) cuatro octavos  
50.    Leila:           okay (.) bueno bueno (.) ahora yo te hago-  
51.    (.3)  
52.    Leila:           haciendo círculos  
53.    Talía:           esta de que es↑ (.) es que (.) yo no se ve  
54.    (.)  
55.    Leila:           si esto estaba mal hecho en la fotocopia  
56.    Talía:           son cuatro↑  
57.    (.2)  
58.    Talía:           a lo mejor (.) ah ahora las tengo que  
59.                   hacer  
60.    Leila:           si bueno (.) primero hacés dos (.)  
61.                   Haces la torta Talía (.) hace la torta  
62.                   mmm ((complaining noises))  
63.    ((both children laughing))  
64.    Leila:           ese cuatro (            )  
65.    Talía:           dále  
66.    ((Talía is now drawing a pie chart))  
67.    (            )  
68.    Talía:           oh oh (.) mejor aquí  
69.    Leila:           que idiota que sos  
70.    (.2)  
71.    Talía:           que↑ ((speaking to Maia who is walking  
72.                   towards them))  
73.    Maía:           (            )  
74.    Talía:           (            )

75. Maia: donde esta la (topa)↑  
76. Talia: uno (.) dos (.) tres (.2) cuatro (.) cinco  
77. ((children laughing))  
78. Talia: cinco (.) seis  
79. Leila: no Talia me parece que te pasaste  
80. Talia: [no son dies y seis  
81. Leila: [cuatro cinco seis (.) siete (.) [ocho  
82. Talia: [ocho  
83. (.)  
84. Talia: [nueve  
85. Leila: [nueve  
86. (.)  
87. Talia: [diez  
88. Leila: [diez  
89. (.)  
90. Talia: once (.) doce (.) trece (.)  
91. Leila: cinco  
92. Talia: ay ( )  
93. Leila: no  
94. (.4)  
95. Talia: bueno da igual (.) tu sabes que son quince  
96. Leila: cinco  
97. ((Talia counting))  
98. Talia: ahí van quince!  
99. (.)  
100. Leila: dies y seis  
101. (.2)  
102. ((Mi counting))  
103. (.8)  
104. Talia: quince dice si (.) (j'ai termine)  
105. Leila: ahora siguiente ejercicio  
106. (.2)  
107. Leila: decídmelo acá  
108. ( )  
109. Talia: un tercio  
110. Leila: que es un tercio↑  
111. Talia: solo tengo que dibujar una  
112. Leila: no:: (.) si yo tengo esto (.) te estoy  
113. diciendo un tercio (.) es↑  
114. (.2)  
115. Leila: la mita (.) como seria la fraccion↑ (.)  
116. una (.) sobre (.) dos  
117. Talia: mm  
118. Leila: esto esto  
119. Talia: son (la uno) (.) que tengo que dibujar  
120. (.2)  
121. Leila: lee todo Talia! (.) coloree un tercio uno  
122. (.) de drapeaux en verde (.) y el otro  
123. tercio (.) en rojo (.) °uno y uno°  
124. Leila: estoy diciendo (.) Italia  
125. (.)  
126. Talia: [bueno-  
127. Leila: anda colorea  
128. Talia: mira (.) si hago esto tengo (.) un tercio  
129. (.)  
130. Leila: maîtresse!  
131. ((they go to seek T's help in the other room))  
132. (.22)  
133. ((comes back in the room where the recorded is))  
134. Miss Lo: comment on dit un tiers en espagnol↑  
135. Leila: uno (.) cuarto!  
136. Miss Lo: non pas un cuarto!  
137. Leila: oui mais on dit pas comme ça:: (.) c'est  
138. pas (.) c'est ça  
139. Miss Lo: oui (.) un sur trois (.) le trois c'est  
140. (.1) tout (.) et a chaque fois en haut  
141. c'est (.) toi ce que tu dois colorier (.)  
142. un sur trois donc c'est toi qui dois faire  
143. un (.) sur trois (.) y en a trois (.1) si  
144. c'était un sur cinq ça veut dire que la y  
145. en a cinq et toi tu dois faire un (.) toi

146. tu regardes ce qu'il y a en haut (.) ça  
147. c'est comme un gâteau (.) il y a trois  
148. morceaux de gâteau et toi tu manges un (.)  
149. sur trois (.) un tiers (.) un sur les  
150. trois morceaux  
151. Talia: regarde maîtresse  
152. Miss Lo: d'accord↑ (.) alors (.) sortez moi mélanie  
153. et Hakim vos cahiers de lecture  
154. Talia: ça (.) c'est ça  
155. Miss Lo: oui  
156. Talia: ça (.) c'est ça↑  
157. Miss Lo: oui  
158. Talia: je colorie seulement la  
159. Miss Lo: oui (.) oui  
160. Leila: non mais-  
161. Miss Lo: en bleu  
162. (.)  
163. Miss Lo: [et un tiers en rouge  
164. Leila: [et un tiers en rouge  
165. (.1)  
166. Talia: les deux seulement↑  
167. Miss Lo: oui (.) [un en bleu (.) un en rouge  
168. Leila: [tenés esto (.) te estás diciendo  
169. (.) uno y uno (01:11:38)  
170. (.)  
171. Leila: on le fait↑  
172. Miss Lo: ouais  
173. Leila: d'accord  
174. Miss Lo: faites-le ensemble

--01:11:50--

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## **T2 S1 D5 V18**

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Miss Lo is working with the group of children who come once a week to the induction classroom for language support. Miss Lo asks all children from to describe their weekends.

### **T2 S1 D5 V18 E1:**

--09:49--

1. Miss Lo: alors le plat c'était quoi le plat↑  
2. (.5)  
3. Miss Lo: le reste c'était du poisson du poulet (.)  
4. de la viande  
5. Anika: euh:: (.) de la viande  
6. Miss Lo: de la viande (.) avec quoi↑  
7. (.6)  
8. Anika: euh:: premier repas on a mangé du::  
9. Miss Lo: en entrée (.) alors en entrée  
10. Anika: en entrée on mange de: (.) apéritif↑  
11. Miss Lo: ah oui alors c'est pas en entrée (.)  
12. alors avant le repas  
13. Anika: avant le repas  
14. Miss Lo: on a mangé::  
15. Anika: on a mangé  
16. Miss Lo: des apéritifs  
17. Anika: des apéritifs (.) et après on a mangé de  
18. la viande  
19. Miss Lo: de la viande  
20. Anika: et après du gâteau  
21. Miss Lo: et du gâteau (.) mais la viande il y  
22. avait pas de légumes avec↑ (.) il y avait  
23. pas de::  
24. (.)  
25. Miss Lo: il y avait pas du riz (.) il y avait pas  
26. des pâtes (.) il y avait pas des::  
27. Anika: des haricots verts aussi  
28. Miss Lo: ouais

29. (.2)  
30. Miss Lo: c'était un plat (.) roumain↑  
31. (.6)  
32. Miss Lo: c'était un plat roumain↑  
33. (.2)  
34. Anika: euh ouais  
35. Miss Lo: ah (.) chut!  
36. Anika: quelque chose comme euh::  
37. (.3)  
38. Miss Lo: ben dis et les autres ils vont pouvoir  
39. t'aider peut-être (.) dis qu'est-ce que  
40. tu cherches↑  
41. Anika: je sais pas comment ça  
42. (.)  
43. Miss Lo: mais c'est quoi↑  
44. (.3)  
45. Matilda: c'est un raclette euh↑  
46. (.6)  
47. Anika: euh:: (.) en français je sais pas-  
48. Miss Lo: mais c'est de la nourriture↑  
49. Anika: oui  
50. Miss Lo: c'est de la nourriture↑  
51. Anika: mm  
52. Miss Lo: ah non mais c'est quoi alors↑  
53. (.6)  
54. Miss Lo: en roumain c'est comment alors (.) dis-  
55. moi en roumain  
56. Anika: euh: (.) **usturoi** (11:48) et c'est  
57. ( )  
58. Miss Lo: comment c'est en roumain↑  
59. Anika: **usturoi**  
60. Miss Lo: **usturoi** (.) et **usturoi** ça se mange↑  
61. Anika: euh (.) ouais  
62. Miss Lo: ah  
63. Anika: et c'est (.) c'est comme ça ((gets up  
64. from her chair to draw on the blackboard))  
65. Miss Lo: ah ben voilà! (.) tu nous fais un dessin  
66. (.) **usturoi** ça vous dit quelque chose  
67. les autres non↑ (.) **usturoi** non↑  
68. (.8)  
69. ((Anika draws on the blackboard))  
70. Miss Lo: ah! (.2) c'est des oignons↑  
71. (.2)  
72. Anika: non::  
73. Miss Lo: c'est un légume↑  
74. Anika: oui  
75. Miss Lo: ah (.) je vais te montrer alors attends  
76. ((Miss Lo goes and look for a picture book))  
77. Anika: c'est (.) avec des tomates!  
78. (.6)  
79. Miss Lo: est-ce que c'est (.) est-ce que c'est::  
80. (.) est-ce que c'est  
81. (.18)  
82. ((children chatting in the background))  
83. Miss Lo: alors (.) quarante et un (.) quarante  
84. quatre (.) quarante cinq (.2) voilà (.)  
85. alors attendez (.) non non non restez  
86. assis restez assis! (.) est-ce que c'est  
87. ça↑  
88. (.2)  
89. Anika: euh:: oui  
90. Miss Lo: c'est ça↑ (.) des oignons  
91. (.2)  
92. Miss Lo: c'est ça hein↑  
93. ((pointing to the picture book))  
94. (.2)  
95. Miss Lo: et quand on coupe qu- (.) on pleure  
96. Anika: non c'est ça! (.) c'est ça ((pointing to  
97. another picture on the book))

98. Miss Lo: ah! (.) de l'ail! (.) de l'ail!  
 99. Anika: de l'ail  
 100. Miss Lo: d'accord c'est de l'ail (.) avec des  
 101. tomates↑  
 102. Anika: ouais  
 103. Miss Lo: et de la viande↑  
 104. Anika: ouais  
 105. Miss Lo: et c'est ça **usturoi** ↑ (.)ou **usturoi**  
 106. c'est l'ail d'accord (.) d'accord (.) et  
 107. la viande euh:: (.) d'accord (.2) donc en  
 108. fait c'était l'apéritif (.) l'apéritif  
 109. c'était quoi à manger  
 110. Anika: du saucisson  
 111. Miss Lo: du saucisson ouais  
 --13:42--

**T2 S1 D5 V18 E2:**

--15:31--  
 1. Miss Lo: euh:: (.) Maia et Matilda vous nous avez  
 2. déjà dit ce que vous avez [fait ce week-  
 3. end-  
 4. Matilda: [maîtresse! (.) maîtresse  
 5. Miss Lo: oui  
 6. Matilda: aujourd'hui (.) mon (.) **aunt** (.) revenir  
 7. Miss Lo: mon↑  
 8. (.)  
 9. Matilda: **aunt**  
 10. Miss Lo: **aunt**↑  
 11. Matilda: oui  
 12. Miss Lo: c'est quoi mon **aunt**↑  
 13. (.4)  
 14. Miss Lo: **aunty**↑  
 15. (.2)  
 16. Matilda: c'est- c'est le sœur de ma maman  
 17. Miss Lo: donc c'est ma↑ (.) quoi↑ (.) Karen tu  
 18. peux aider euh:: (.) tu peux juste aider  
 19. Matilda (.) elle dit il y a son **aunt** qui  
 20. va venir (.) son **aunt** (.) c'est quoi son  
 21. **aunt**  
 22. Karen: euh:: (.) c'est la sœur de sa maman  
 23. Miss Lo: et ça s'appelle comment en français↑  
 24. ?: cousin!  
 25. Miss Lo: non ça c'est les enfants  
 26. (.6)  
 27. Miss Lo: l'oncle et la↑  
 28. (.2)  
 29. Miss Lo: tante!  
 30. (.1)  
 31. Matilda: tante!  
 32. Miss Lo: la tante (.) d'accord↑ (.) il y a ta tante  
 33. qui va venir (.) d'accord très bien (.)  
 34. alors euh::  
 35. Talia: euh::  
 36. Miss Lo: ah oui amelie! (.) pardon ma belle je  
 37. t'ai oublié (.) vas-y alors qu'est-ce que  
 38. tu as fais ce week-end↑  
 --16:20--

**T2 S1 D5 V18 E3:**

Miss Lo is showing a picture of a lady in a hairdresser and is trying to build children's vocabulary around this situation.

--24:08--  
 1. Miss Lo: d'habitude c'est ta maman qui te coupe les  
 2. cheveux (.) c'est ça↑

3. Matilda: mais

4. Miss Lo: oui Matilda↑

5. Matilda: j'ai déjà coupé (.) mais à belfast j'ai

6. les cheveux ici (.) et maintenant j'ai

7. coupé

8. Miss Lo: à belfast tu avais les cheveux très longs

9. ((Matilda stands up to show she had her hair

10. reaching the bottom of her back))

11. Miss Lo: c'est ça (.) jusqu'aux fesses (.2) longs

12. jusqu'aux fesses

13. Matilda: et (.)

14. Miss Lo: et↑ (.) tu as été chez le coiffeur (.) qui

15. c'est qui-

16. Matilda: non! j'ai pas chez le coiffeur (.) mon

17. maman amie elle a- (.) pas une amie mais-

18. (.) comment on dit

19. Julia: ta maman (.) a une amie

20. Matilda: non pas ça! (.) elle est une fille et- et

21. elle est comme euh:: (.) je sais pas

22. comment on dit ça (.3) je sais pas!

23. (.2)

24. Miss Lo: de quoi (.) explique moi un peu parce que

25. la j'arrive pas moi je veux bien t'aider

26. mais-

27. Matilda: c'est comme euh:: (.) j'ai comme été un

28. bébé et comme je fais pour euh::

29. (.)

30. ?: ( )

31. Matilda: non! comme tu fais pour les bébés (.)

32. comme euh:: (.2) euh:: avec la maman et

33. papa et avec les différentes mamans et les

34. euh (.) et les autres papa

35. (.2)

36. Miss Lo: le baptême↑ (.) non

37. Matilda: non

38. (.1)

39. Miss Lo: dis- (.) dis-le moi en anglais la (.)

40. Karen tu vas me traduire parce que je

41. comprends pas ce qu'elle raconte euh (.)

42. euh Matilda la

43. Matilda: god mother!

44. (.)

45. Miss Lo: ah! la marraine!

46. Matilda: oui!

47. Miss Lo: le parrain et la marraine! (.) d'accord

48. (.) et donc qu'est ce qui était le parrain

49. ou la marraine↑

50. Matilda: la marraine (.) elle est une fille et-

51. Miss Lo: ah! (.) la fille de la marraine (.)

52. d'accord (.1) oui la marraine a une fille

53. donc c'est la fille de la marraine (.)

54. [qu'est-ce qui s'est passé-

55. Matilda: [non! pas (.) elle est pas! (.1) elle

56. c'est une fille mais elle est pas un-

57. enfant

58. (.2)

59. Miss Lo: oui je sais (.) j'ai compris (.) mais la

60. fille de la marraine (.) ta marraine elle

61. avait une fille

62. Matilda: non

63. Miss Lo: alors c'est quoi alors

64. Matilda: c'est elle qui m'a coupé mon cheveux

65. Miss Lo: mais c'était qui! qui t'as coupé les

66. cheveux↑

67. Matilda: ma marraine

68. (.)

69. Miss Lo: ah! c'est ta marraine! (.) ok (.) oui

70. c'est ta marraine d'accord (.) mais ta

71. marraine elle est coiffeuse↑

72. (.2)

73. Matilda: non!

74. Miss Lo: ah non↑ (.) mais elle sait couper les  
75. cheveux↑  
76. Matilda: oui  
77. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) julia comment ça se passe toi  
78. pour tes cheveux↑  
--26:20--

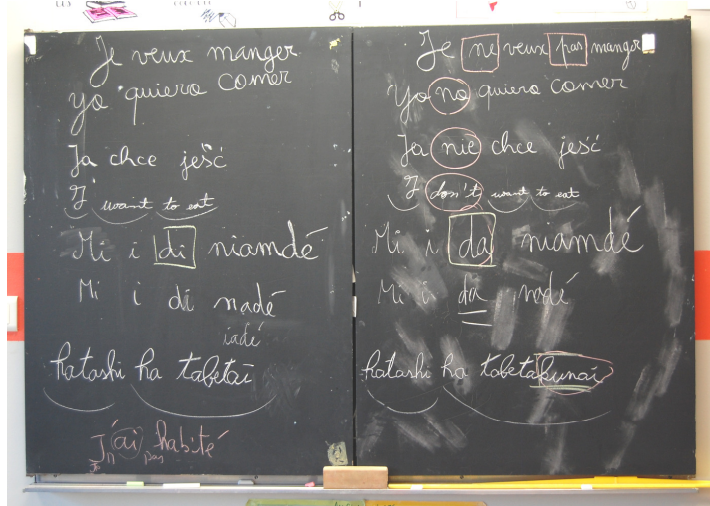
**T2 S1 D5 V18 E4:**

Same topic of conversation as in extract 3. T is now asking what is shown on the picture itself.

--28:27--  
56. Miss Lo: et là qu'est-ce qu'elle fait la coiffeuse  
57. à la maman de david et suzanne↑  
58. Matilda: elle (.) euh-  
59. Julia: mm!  
60. Miss Lo: oui  
61. Julia: elle lave les cheveux  
62. Miss Lo: elle lui lave les cheveux (.) elle lui  
63. fait un↑ (.) comment on dit ça↑  
64. (.2)  
65. Julia: elle frotte  
66. Miss Lo: ouais (.) elle lui frotte la tête (.) avec  
67. quoi comme- est-ce que c'est du savon  
68. qu'elle lui met sur la tête↑  
69. ?: non!  
70. Miss Lo: du↑  
71. Julia: shampoing  
72. Miss Lo: du↑  
73. Julia: shampoing  
74. Miss Lo: du shampoing:: (.) du shampoing  
75. (.1)  
76. Miss Lo: comment on dit shampoing en espagnol  
77. Maia↑  
78. Maia: sha( )  
79. Miss Lo: ah ben d'accord et:: (.) en- en  
80. lituanien↑  
81. Matilda: (shampounes) (29:27)  
82. Miss Lo: shampounes (.) et en espagnol shampoo (.)  
83. et en:: polonais↑  
84. Julia: shampol  
85. Miss Lo: shampol! (.) ah ben dis-donc c'est rigolo  
86. ça!  
87. Anika: et en roumanie shampon ((laughing))  
88. Miss Lo: shampon! ah ben (.) et en:: en anglais↑  
89. Matilda: japonais (.) non:: pas japonais (.)  
90. japonais  
91. Miss Lo: en japonais↑ (.) tu sais dire shampoing en  
92. japonais amelie↑  
93. Amelia: mm  
94. (.2)  
95. Miss Lo: non (.) mais en tous cas ce qui est rigolo  
96. c'est que- alors on reedit (.) en roumain  
97. Anika: shampon  
98. Miss Lo: shampon (.) en:: lituanien↑  
99. Matilda: shampounes  
100. Miss Lo: shampounes (.) en anglais↑  
101. Matilda: euh (.) shampoo  
102. Miss Lo: ouais (.) en espagnol↑  
103. Maia: shampoo  
104. Miss Lo: et en: polonais  
105. Julia: shampol  
106. Miss Lo: ah ben dis-donc! (.) c'est rigolo hein↑  
107. (.) et en français shampoing! (.) alors  
108. ça ressemble alors quand même hein↑ (.)  
109. shampoing!  
110. Class: shampoing!



**T2 S1 D6 V20**



**T2 S1 D6 V20 E1:**

Teacher-led interaction on how to construct negation.

--02:05--

1. Miss Lo: alors (.) j'aimerais bien maintenant (.)
2. que (.) qu'on travaille un petit peu sur
3. la phrase négative (.1) euh::
4. ?:
5. Miss Lo: chut!
6. (.4)
7. Miss Lo: et donc j'aimerais bien (.) que vous (.1)
8. que les enfants du groupe trois avec
9. lequel on a commence à travailler là-
10. dessus (.) expliquent aux enfants du
11. groupe deux (.) qu'est-ce que c'est qu'une
12. phrase négative (.) pour cela il faudrait
13. que les enfants du groupe deux ferment
14. leur cahier (.) rapidement
15. (.3)
16. Miss Lo: et (.1) écoutent (.) les explications
17. (.6)
18. ((children whispering))
19. Miss Lo: alors (.2) Leila (.) qui c'est qui se
20. sent d'expliquer ça (.) c'est quoi une
21. phrase négative (.2) à la forme négative
22. Kenji: chut!
23. Talia: maîtresse!
24. (.4)
25. Talia: à la forme néga-
26. Miss Lo: attends (.) on va attendre que nos enfants
27. là-bas soient près (.) ça y est samba↑ (.)
28. on va pas mettre une heure pour coller ça
29. là (.) vite!
30. Kenji: °dictée!°
31. (.)
32. Piotr: chut!
33. (.)
34. Kenji: °dictée°
35. (.)

36. Miss Lo: bon (.) ça commence à me fatiguer (.)  
37. alors hop hop hop hop (.) je vais le faire  
38. moi-même  
39. ((Miss Lo cleans samba's desk))  
40. (.)  
41. Miss Lo: samba (.) est-ce que tu sais ce que c'est  
42. qu'une phrase a la forme négative↑ (.)  
43. est-ce que ça te dit quelque chose ce mot  
44. la (.) forme négative (.) est-ce que t'as  
45. déjà entendu ça au sénégal comme tu as été  
46. à l'école (.) est-ce que vous avez déjà  
47. fait ça↑ (.) la forme négative  
48. ?:  
49. Miss Lo: t'as oublié↑ (.) et ça te:: (.) tu veux  
50. pas chercher un peu dans ta tête la↑  
51. tête!  
52. (.)  
53. Miss Lo: qu'est-ce que c'est une- (.) donne moi une  
54. phrase à la forme négative  
55. (.3)  
56. Miss Lo: tu pourrais m'en donner une (.) une phrase  
57. à la forme négative↑ (.) à- à propos du  
58. livre qu'on a lu hier par exemple on  
59. pourrait dire quoi↑  
60. (.3)  
61. Miss Lo: alors les grands (.) c'est quoi (.)  
62. Leila  
63. Leila: euh (.) la forme euh (.) ahahah-  
64. Miss Lo: donne moi en exemple (.) vous me donnez  
65. des [exemples en fait  
66. Leila: [je ne peux pas lire  
67. (.)  
68. Miss Lo: je↑  
69. Leila: [ne veux pas lire  
70. Matilda: [ne veux pas lire  
71. Miss Lo: je ne veux pas lire (.3) oui (.) c'est une  
72. phrase à la forme négative (.) pourquoi ça  
73. c'est à la forme négative↑  
74. Kenji: euh:: [(.) je veux-  
75. Leila: [parce que à- à la forme  
76. affirmative c'est (.) je veux lire  
77. Miss Lo: voilà (.) à la forme affirmative c'est↑  
78. Kenji: euh:: [(j'ai un pas)  
79. Matilda: [je veux lire  
80. Miss Lo: je (.) veux  
81. (.)  
82. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
83. Kenji: lire  
84. Miss Lo: lire  
85. (.2)  
86. Piotr: je ne veux pas être (.) une cow girl  
87. Miss Lo: alors voilà c'est- (.) je ne veux pas être  
88. une cow girl alors (.) je (.) ne (.) ((Miss Lo  
89. writes on the board))  
90. Piotr: [veux  
91. Miss Lo: [veux  
92. (.)  
93. Cristina: pas  
94. Miss Lo: [pas  
95. Kenji: [pas (.) être  
96. (.2)  
97. Miss Lo: d'accord (.2) donc (.1) tu pourrais dire  
98. quoi alors Karen (.) tu pourrais faire  
99. deux phrases comme ça (.) une phrase à la  
100. forme affirmative et une phrase à la forme  
101. négative↑  
102. (.)  
103. Karen: euh (.) je veux manger  
104. Miss Lo: je veux manger (.) ouais (.1) ça c'est le  
105. loup hier qui dit ça (.) je veux manger un

106. cochon  
107. Piotr: je veux pas manger  
108. Karen: et (.) je (.) ne veux pas manger  
109. Miss Lo: je ne veux pas manger ((Miss Lo writes on the  
110. board))  
111. Miss Lo: très bien  
112. (.)  
113. Piotr: je ne-  
114. Miss Lo: d'accord (.2) est-ce que vous avez ça dans  
115. vos langues↑  
116. Talia: [oui!  
117. Piotr: [je ne sais pas  
118. (.1)  
119. Miss Lo: alors est-ce que vous avez des phrases  
120. comme ça↑ (.) est-ce que vous avez ce  
121. système dans vos langues (.) de phrases  
122. (.) affirmatives (.) et de phrases  
123. négatives  
124. Leila: [oui  
125. Talia: [oui  
126. (.)  
127. Miss Lo: oui↑ (.2) alors par exemple (.) comment  
128. vous dites en espagnol alors↑  
129. Talia: euh::  
130. Leila: yo quiero [leer  
131. Talia: [je veux manger (.) quiero comer  
132. (.) je ne veux pas manger (.) no quiero  
133. comer  
134. Miss Lo: alors attends (.) on va on va le- donc tu  
135. vas venir l'écrire parce que là je vais  
136. pas écrire en espagnol (.) alors on va  
137. écrire (.) sur un côté du tableau (.) on  
138. va écrire (.) des phrases (.) affirmatives  
139. Kenji: tu vas écrire  
140. (.2) ((Talia is standing near the blackboard))  
141. Talia: je écris↑  
142. Miss Lo: ici là (.) voilà  
143. Kenji: toi [aussi↑  
144. Miss Lo: [et sur l'autre côté  
145. (.)  
146. Piotr: quoi moi↑  
147. Kenji: quoi moi↑  
148. Miss Lo: ( ) alors  
149. Kenji: toi aussi (.) écris  
150. Piotr: prezento  
151. (.2) ((Kenji and Se laughing))  
152. Kenji: tu écris je ne veux pas (.) elle elle a  
153. écrit je veux  
154. Leila: mais je sais pas la maîtresse  
155. ( )  
156. Miss Lo: alors ici affirmative (.) ici négative  
157. alors vas-y (.) en espagnol (.) alors tu  
158. as dis quoi↑ (.) je veux manger  
159. Talia: je veux manger  
160. (.4)  
161. Kenji: /tʃe/ (.) /tʃe/ (.) /tʃe/  
162. Leila: no Talia!  
163. Miss Lo: chut! (.) laissez-la faire  
164. (.2)  
165. Leila: °oh elle écrit comme ça ( )°  
166. Kenji: oh:: elle a oublié espagnol  
167. Miss Lo: yo quiero  
168. (.5)  
169. Kenji: yo quiro com::e  
170. Talia: je veux manger  
171. Miss Lo: ouais et là-bas je ne veux [pas manger  
172. Kenji: [yo quiero  
173. comer  
174. Miss Lo: alors tiens on va mettre deux chaises  
175. Piotr: yo (.) yo [quie- yo quier (.) yo-

176. Kenji: [yo!  
177. Leila: elle écrit mal yo (.) c'est comme ça yo  
178. Miss Lo: yo quiero comer je veux manger  
179. (.12)  
180. Piotr: °oh la la°  
181. Kenji: °oh la la°!  
182. Piotr: °oh la la°  
183. Kenji: °non Talia (.) yo!°  
184. (.2)  
185. Leila: al[e!  
186. Miss Lo: [d'accord  
187. Leila: esta mal escrito yo  
188. Miss Lo: ok  
189. Leila: es con- con igriega  
190. Kenji: [yo!  
191. Piotr: [igrec  
192. (.2)  
193. Leila: elle écrit mal yo  
194. Piotr: yo (.) haha ((laughing)) (.) yo  
195. (.)  
196. Talia: écris (.) jo (.3) comme se escribe la  
197. igriega↑  
198. Leila: la igriega [Talia! 05:04  
199. Piotr: [igrec  
200. Kenji: [igrec!  
201. Piotr: [igrec  
202. Leila: igrec  
203. Kenji: elle a oublié!  
204. ((children laughing))  
205. Miss Lo: elle a oublié↑  
206. Leila: oui!  
207. Miss Lo: Talia t'as oublié l'espagnol↑  
208. Leila: [oui maîtresse  
209. Talia: [oui  
210. Miss Lo: ah c'est fantastique [alors  
211. Leila: [c'est pour ça que je  
212. ( ) mieux Talia  
213. ((children's chatting in the background))  
214. Miss Lo: [ah d'accord  
215. Karen: [parce que-  
216. Karen: parce que (.) elle apprend le français (.)  
217. elle peut l'ang- (.) le::  
218. Kenji: écris japonais!  
219. Miss Lo: ouais mais en français (.) en français yo  
220. c'est pas avec je hein  
221. Kenji: très différent=  
222. Leila: =mais l'espagnol c'est avec [je  
223. Karen: [yo  
224. (.)  
225. Miss Lo: non mais elle a écrit yo (.) et en  
226. français ça écrit comme ça aussi  
227. Leila: oui mais en espagnol non  
228. Miss Lo: en espagnol ça écrit comment↑ (.) vous  
229. dites jo↑  
230. Leila: comme ça (.) yo  
231. Miss Lo: ah! parce que vous dites yo d'accord ok  
232. (.) je comprends (.) d'accord (.) elle a  
233. mis la lettre française  
234. Leila: oui  
235. Miss Lo: d'accord ok (.) très bien! (.) alors en  
236. polonais maintenant (.) vas-y Piotr  
237. (.2)  
238. Piotr: euh::  
239. Leila: mmm ((laughing)) hiho!  
240. Piotr: euh:: je veux (.) lire!  
241. Miss Lo: non la même chose (.) on va prendre la  
242. même phrase comme ça on va voir un peu ce  
243. qui se passe  
244. Leila: Talia  
245. Kenji: tu écris (.) polonais  
246. Matilda: en polonais hein

247. Kenji: /tʃɪŋgʲæ/  
248. (05:52)  
249. (.2) ((Se writes on the board))  
250. Kenji: ja  
251. Leila: ja↑  
252. (.)  
253. Kenji: [ja  
254. Leila: [ja  
255. (.)  
256. Kenji: ja chassu  
257. Leila: ja-  
258. Leila: ja chasse (.) chasse  
259. Talia: ja chasse↑ (.) jesse  
260. Miss Lo: ouais  
261. Kenji: fini!  
262. Miss Lo: c'est donc c'est (.) je veux manger (.)  
263. c'est pareil d'accord (.) et là-bas↑ (.)  
264. je ne veux pas manger↑  
265. Kenji: jesse jesse  
266. Piotr: non c'est (.) je (.) euh:: (.) ne  
267. Miss Lo: ouais  
268. Piotr: veux manger  
269. Miss Lo: vas-y alors (.) mais ça veut dire je ne  
270. veux pas manger  
271. (.4) ((Se writes on the board))  
272. Leila: ( ) te das cuenta (06:22)  
273. (.8)  
274. ((Children trying to read what Se is  
275. writing))  
276. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) merci Piotr! (.) euh: (.)  
277. en anglais↑  
278. (.2)  
279. Kenji: Andrea:!!  
280. (.)  
281. Leila: en japonais:!!  
282. Miss Lo: on va laisser après japonais [et peul (.)  
283. peul vous allez- [tu lire pas  
284. Kenji: japonais [tu lire pas  
285. japonais  
286. Kenji: sait pas ça  
287. Miss Lo: non je vais écrire moi  
288. Kenji: mmm  
289. Miss Lo: mais il va falloir que vous me [disiez (.)  
290. à l'oral  
291. Kenji: [écrire (.)  
292. m- e-  
293. (.)  
294. Kenji: tu écris (.) m- e-  
295. Miss Lo: on va essayer écrire  
296. (.)  
297. Leila: I am (.) mmm ((laughing))  
298. Piotr: I'm  
299. Kenji: I'm sorry  
300. ((Br writing on the board))  
301. Miss Lo: I want c'est ça↑ (.) tu écris [I want  
302. Talia: [I want it  
303. (.)  
304. Kenji: I'm sorry  
305. (.)  
306. Leila: tout le monde sait l'anglais  
307. (.3)  
308. Talia: euh: japonais (.2) /tungdæ/ /dɪŋgʲæ/ /æwəni:/:/  
309. Leila: prezento  
310. Piotr: prezento  
311. Leila: prezento (.) regalo  
312. Miss Lo: chut!  
313. Piotr: °prezento°  
314. Kenji: °je vais te manger [( )°  
315. Miss Lo: [I want to eat okay  
316. Piotr: manger↑

317. Miss Lo: et alors après en:: (.) je ne veux pas  
318. manger  
319. Kenji: quoi↑  
320. Piotr: *jeść*  
321. Kenji: *iest*↑ (.) [*iest*↑  
322. Talia: [I dont wanna eat  
323. Kenji: [je veux *iest*  
324. Piotr: [comment (.) manger (.) japon  
325. Kenji: *taberu* (07:25)  
326. Piotr: *taberu*↑  
327. Kenji: non *taberu*!  
328. Piotr: *taberu*!  
329. (.2)  
330. Kenji: comme ça (.) *taberu*!  
331. Piotr: *taberu*!  
332. Kenji: e-  
333. Piotr: *taberu* ((laughing)) *taberu*  
334. Kenji: quoi↑  
335. Piotr: *taberu*  
336. (.3)  
337. Kenji: °comme ça (.) *taberu*°  
338. Leila: qu'est-ce que [tu fais↑  
339. Piotr: [moi écris *taberu* (.)  
340. *taberu*  
341. (.2)  
342. Piotr: [°t- (.) a-°  
343. Kenji: [°c'est pas alphabet°  
344. (.3)  
345. Leila: il écrit (.) [et même pas qui se corrige  
346. Miss Lo: [*i don't want*  
347. Piotr: *taberu*  
348. Kenji: tu écrire japonais  
349. Piotr: *taberu* (.) haha ((laughing))  
350. (.3)  
351. Miss Lo: très bien!  
352. (.)  
353. Leila: japonais!  
354. Miss Lo: alors main[tenant  
355. Kenji: [après!  
356. Piotr: japonais=  
357. Kenji: =après! [(.) sénégal  
358. Miss Lo: [en peul (.) comment est-ce qu'on  
359. dit je veux manger (.) pas je mange hein  
360. mais je veux manger en fait (.) j'ai envie  
361. de manger  
362. Kenji: *watashi* ( ) <I ( )> (08:07)  
363. (.)  
364. Miss Lo: comment on dit je veux manger et je veux  
365. [pas manger  
366. Karen: [c'est trop↑  
367. Miss Lo: chut!  
368. Karen: trop↑  
369. Miss Lo: attendez  
370. (.4)  
371. Piotr: /*mækæmo*/  
372. (.3)  
373. Samba: m- i-  
374. Miss Lo: m- i-↑  
375. (.2)  
376. Piotr: oui::  
377. Samba: a-  
378. Kenji: mi pas  
379. Piotr: mia  
380. Miss Lo: ah non tu me dis- non mais tu me- d'accord  
381. (.) est-ce que tu peux l'écrire euh:  
382. samba (.) en peul  
383. Samba: °non°  
384. Miss Lo: non↑ (.) et comment est-ce qu'on dit alors  
385. (.) comment on dit je veux manger en peul  
386. --08:32-

387. Samba: °muniam°  
388. Miss Lo: att- att- attends  
389. Kenji: jumbiam  
390. Samba: lu  
391. Miss Lo: ouais  
392. Samba: lu  
393. Miss Lo: ouais  
394. Samba: niam  
395. Kenji: lu lu jubiam  
396. Leila: dice hambre más o menos (08:38)  
397. Miss Lo: alors (.) mais tu peux pas l'écrire↑ (.)  
398. [essayer de écrire euh  
399. Kenji: [/n'æm/ lubiam manger  
400. Piotr: pourquoi il [écrit pas↑  
401. Miss Lo: [chut! (.) ah! (.) mais  
402. (2)  
403. Samba: ( )  
404. Miss Lo: il y a des mots que tu peux pas écrire (.)  
405. mais est-ce que il y a des mots qu'on  
406. pourrait essayer écrire avec- au moins  
407. qu'il y a combien de mots (.) alors-  
408. Piotr: écrire  
409. (.)  
410. Miss Lo: [je veux manger  
411. Talia: [écrit en sénégal!  
412. Miss Lo: alors c'est quoi le:: (.) redis-le moi je  
413. veux manger  
414. (.3)  
415. Miss Lo: vas-y (.) j'écoute  
416. (.2)  
417. Samba: mi  
418. Miss Lo: [mi↑  
419. Talia: [mi  
420. (.1)  
421. Kenji: mi (.) Leila::  
422. Miss Lo: les autres vous vous taisez s'il vous  
423. plait parce que là on a besoin de- c'est  
424. pas des langues qu'ont écrit (.) alors il  
425. faut qu'on écoute comment ça se prononce  
426. (.) pour essayer de les écrire d'accord  
427. donc il faut-  
428. Karen: maîtresse!  
429. Miss Lo: non chut! (.) je veux le silence (.1) mi↑  
430. (.3)  
431. Miss Lo: je veux manger (.) comment tu dis  
432. Amkoulel je veux manger  
433. Amkoulel ( )  
434. Miss Lo: redis-moi  
435. Amkoulel ( )  
436. Miss Lo: boli↑  
437. (.)  
438. Miss Lo: non vas-y redis-moi redis-moi  
439. Amkoulel con di niam  
440. Kenji: /polin'æm/  
441. Miss Lo: redis-le plus fort  
442. Amkoulel con li niam  
443. Miss Lo: ok et je ne veux pas manger  
444. Amkoulel ( )  
445. Kenji: /n'æm/ /n'æm/ [(.) /polin'æm/  
446. Miss Lo: [ah d'accord (.) boli quelque  
447. chose comme boli niam de (.) c'est ça↑  
448. Kenji: boliniamde  
449. Miss Lo: boliniamde  
450. Amkoulel bou bou (.) c'est bou  
451. Miss Lo: hein↑  
452. An: bouliniamde  
453. Miss Lo: mi↑  
454. Kenji: bouliniamde  
455. Miss Lo: chut! (.) mi

456. Amkoulel mi  
457. Miss Lo: mi (.) c'est séparé ou c'est ensemble↑  
458. Amkoulel séparé  
459. Miss Lo: ah (.) mi (.) après  
460. Amkoulel i  
461. Miss Lo: i  
462. (.1)  
463. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
464. Amkoulel di  
465. Miss Lo: séparé di↑  
466. Amkoulel oui  
467. Miss Lo: mi i (.) di (.) niamde  
468. Amkoulel oui  
469. Miss Lo: quelque chose comme ça↑ (.) après on va  
470. lire et on va voir si c'est ça  
471. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
472. Piotr: [di (.) niambe  
473. Kenji: [niambe  
474. Miss Lo: mi di i niambe  
475. Piotr: niambe  
476. Miss Lo: merci samba! (.) c'est difficile pour moi  
477. ((laughing)) (.) et (.) je ne veux pas  
478. manger↑  
479. Amkoulel [( )  
480. Samba: [( )  
481. Miss Lo: alors  
482. Piotr: mile  
483. Miss Lo: vous allez voir si vous êtes d'accord  
484. après (.) mi (.) i  
485. Samba: da  
486. Miss Lo: da ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
487. Amkoulel [iam  
488. Samba: [iamde  
489. Miss Lo: iamde  
490. (.3) ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
491. Miss Lo: alors si je dis par exemple (.) euh-  
492. Leila: écris [sénégalais  
493. Miss Lo: [je veux (.) chut! je veux dormir  
494. (.2) ça va être mi i di (.2)  
495. Miss Lo: dormir↑ (.)  
496. Samba: oui  
497. Miss Lo: c'est comment dormir↑  
498. Samba: ( )  
499. Kenji: anada  
500. (.2)  
501. Miss Lo: anade  
502. Amkoulel danade  
503. Miss Lo: danade↑ (.) donc ça sera mi i danade↑  
504. Amkoulel oui  
505. Miss Lo: et je ne veux pas dormir (.) ça sera mi i↑  
506. Samba: mi yi (.) daa  
507. Miss Lo: daa  
508. Samba: daanoode  
509. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) donc je veux dormir (.)  
510. c'est (.) d'accord (.) mi (.) yi (.) daa (.)  
511. noode  
512. Kenji: je veux pas  
513. Miss Lo: et je ne veux pas dormir c'est-  
514. Amkoulel non! (.) da c'est comme je veux pas  
515. dormir  
516. Miss Lo: ah! (.) alors (.) mi (.) yi (.) daa (.)  
517. noode c'est je ne veux pas dormir (.) ça  
518. c'est 'pas' en fait (.) et je veux dormir  
519. c'est mi yi↑  
520. Amkoulel ça c'est di  
521. Miss Lo: di! (.) ok (.) mi yidi daanoode c'est je veux  
522. dormir (.) mi yida daanoode c'est je ne veux  
523. pas dormir



524. Amkoulel: oui  
525. Piotr: °c'est trop difficile°  
526. Miss Lo: et c'est toujours comme ça↑ (.) si je dis  
527. (.) je veux:: (.) partir (.) j'en ai  
528. marre je veux partir  
529. Talia: [mi yi [di  
530. Miss Lo: [chut!  
531. Samba: [( )  
532. Miss Lo: mi yidi  
533. Samba: ( )  
534. (.2)  
535. Samba: iam  
536. (.2)  
537. Amkoulel mi yidi ( )  
538. Miss Lo: daanoode ↑  
539. Amkoulel mi  
540. Miss Lo: mi yidi  
541. Amkoulel daanoode  
542. Miss Lo: [daanoode  
543. Talia: [en japonais! (.) Kenji  
544. Miss Lo: mi yida daanoode (.) c'est ça↑ (.) et je ne  
545. veux pas partir (.) laisse-moi Amkoulel  
546. tu vas me dire si c'est juste  
547. Kenji: [yo no quiero (.) comer  
548. Miss Lo: [mi yida daanoode  
549. Amkoulel ( )  
550. Miss Lo: et ben voilà! (.) je parle peul ça y  
551. est!  
552. Kenji: yo no quiero comer  
553. Miss Lo: super (.) très bien (.) alors j'ai compris  
554. (.) alors maintenant en japonais ça va  
555. être [encore une autre histoire la  
556. Leila: [oui!  
557. Talia: vas-y  
558. Miss Lo: alors (.) en japonais  
559. (.)  
560. Talia: oui (.) Kenji  
561. Miss Lo: ah (.) Kenji (.) tu écris a- (.) avec les  
562. lettres de l'alphabet [latin hein↑  
563. Leila: [japonais!  
564. Kenji: alphabet↑  
565. Miss Lo: latin (.) le même alphabet (.) a- b- comme  
566. ça tu écris pas en-  
567. Kenji: japonais  
568. Miss Lo: non en français  
569. Leila: non! (.) en japonais! (.) maîtresse!  
570. Miss Lo: après après en japonais (.) déjà en  
571. français  
572. Karen: les lettres (.) en français mais pas en  
573. japo-  
574. Talia: maîtresse! (.) en espa-  
575. Miss Lo: chut chut chut chut  
576. ((Kenji writes on the blackboard))  
577. Miss Lo: on va essayer de comprendre  
578. (.2)  
579. Leila: ha:: ((reading the words as Kenji writes  
580. them on the board))  
581. Miss Lo: parce que je vais vous montrer quelque  
582. chose  
583. Leila: [hata (.) non hata  
584. Piotr: [hata  
585. Miss Lo: chut! (.) laissez-le parce qu'il va nous-  
586. Piotr: hatashi hatashi! <I>  
587. Miss Lo: chut! (.) donc la c'est je veux on a dit  
588. euh:: (.) c'était quoi↑ (.) je veux↑ (.)  
589. manger manger  
590. Leila: c'est moi (.) atashi <I>  
591. Miss Lo: ouais  
592. Piotr: atashi c'est moi

593. Miss Lo: ah ben oui (.) tu parles japonais Leila↑  
594. ((laughing))  
595. Leila: oui  
596. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) [je savais pas  
597. ((laughing))  
598. Talia: [moi aussi (.) non c'est  
599. moi [qui sais et après tout le monde  
600. Miss Lo: [chut!  
601. (.)  
602. Miss Lo: **hatashi**:: <I>  
603. Piotr: non c'est Kenji  
604. Talia: oui  
605. Miss Lo: **ha**::  
606. Leila: **ha**::  
607. Piotr: mmm ((laughing))  
608. Matilda: [**tabe- tabe taberai**:: ((trying to read on  
609. the blackboard))  
610. Miss Lo: [donc ça c'est quoi↑ (.) c'est je::↑ (.)  
611. veux manger  
612. Talia: **atahi ha** <I>  
613. (.)  
614. Piotr: **atahi** [ha <I>  
615. Leila: [atahi ha ta-  
616. Miss Lo: chut! (.) attendez  
617. (.)  
618. Kenji: je ((pointing to the blackboard)) (.) veux  
619. manger  
620. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) et le 'ha' c'est quoi↑  
621. Kenji: euh: 'ha' est::  
622. Talia: veux!  
623. Miss Lo: chut!  
624. Piotr: **atahi ha** <I> (.) veux↑  
625. Miss Lo: okay alors (.) je ne veux pas manger  
626. maintenant on va voir qu'est-ce qui se  
627. passe  
628. Piotr: **atahi (hada)** (14:07)  
629. (.8)  
630. ((Kenji writes on the board))  
631. Piotr: **atahi** <I>  
632. (.12)  
633. Piotr: c'est la même chose!  
634. (.6)  
635. Piotr: c'est la même ch- (.) non c'est- (.) ya  
636. pas (.) ya pas i- (.) **taketakunai**  
637. Leila: **taketakunai** <want to eat>(14:39)  
638. Piotr: [**tabe** ( )  
639. Leila: [en japonais maintenant!  
640. Miss Lo: alors!  
641. Piotr: **taketakunai** <want to eat>  
642. Miss Lo: dis-nous le- (.) dis-le nous Kenji (.)  
643. dis-le nous (.) prononce le nous  
644. (.)  
645. Piotr: dis  
646. Leila: [dis en japonais!  
647. Miss Lo: [( )ce que tu as écrit  
648. Kenji: euh:: (.) **watashi wa! taketakunai** <I  
649. don't want to eat>  
650. Miss Lo: et là-bas↑  
651. Kenji: **watashi wa tabetai** <I want to eat> (.) ah  
652. non ça marche  
653. pas ((changes a letter on the blackboard))  
654. Miss Lo: ah! d'accord (.) alors là-bas c'est  
655. **atahi a** (.) **tabetai**↑ <I want to eat>  
656. Kenji: oui  
657. Miss Lo: et là-bas c'est **atahi a tabeta**↑  
658. Piotr: **tabeta**:=  
659. Leila: =**kunai**  
660. Miss Lo: [**kunai**  
661. Piotr: [**kunai**  
662. (.)

663. Leila: [en japonais  
664. Miss Lo: [et le 'ai' là-bas c'est quoi le- chut!  
665. (.) c'est quoi le 'ai'↑  
666. (.)  
667. Kenji: ça↑  
668. Miss Lo: **tabetai** ça veut dire quoi↑  
669. (.)  
670. Miss Lo: ça c'est manger↑  
671. Kenji: (oui)  
672. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) et là-bas c'est (.) pas  
673. manger  
674. Leila: [en japonais!  
675. Kenji: [manger (.) **taberu** <to eat>  
676. Miss Lo: d'accord  
677. Kenji: euh: (.) manger (.) euh (.) manger plus  
678. Miss Lo: ouais (.) je veux manger!  
679. Kenji: je veux manger est (.) **tabetai** (15:39)  
680. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) et là-bas (.) je ne veux pas  
681. (.) c'est comment↑ (.) il est ou le je ne  
682. veux pas là-bas↑  
683. Piotr: **tabetakunai** <dont want to eat>  
684. Miss Lo: chut!  
685. Kenji: euh: (.) **tabeta** et **kunai**  
686. Miss Lo: **kunai** (.) et c'est le- le pas il est ou  
687. alors↑ (.) le pas là-dedans il est ou↑  
688. Kenji: ici  
689. Miss Lo: là-dedans d'accord (.) donc vous avez vu  
690. ce qu'il dit la (.) c'est intéressant  
691. parce qu'il dit qu'en japonais (.) ça  
692. c'est pas- ça c'est pas manger en japonais  
693. (.) ça c'est (.) veux manger (.) et la  
694. c'est (.) veux pas manger (.) il y a un  
695. mot pour- (.) la en espagnol ya (.) veut  
696. manger (.) en polonais ya (.) veut manger  
697. (.) comme en français hein (.1) en (.)  
698. anglais ya (.) veux (.) manger (.) a  
699. l'infinifitif (.) **to eat** comme en français  
700. (.) en peul (.) euh::  
701. Piotr: oui (.) oui c'est-  
702. Miss Lo: je veux! (.) **di** (.) c'est ça hein↑ (.)  
703. **namde** manger (.) hein↑ (.) donc c'est  
704. pareil (.) mais en japonais (.) en  
705. japonais  
706. (.2)  
707. Piotr: c'est tout-  
708. Miss Lo: veux manger c'est dans le (.) un seul mot  
709. Piotr: je veux manger  
710. Miss Lo: c'est je (.) et veux manger (.) et le 'ha'  
711. la↑  
712. Leila: on ne sait pas  
713. Kenji: euh::  
714. Miss Lo: on ne sait pas ce que c'est (.) c'est quoi  
715. Kenji: euh::  
716. Miss Lo: ça sert à quoi↑ (.) est-ce qu'on pourrait  
717. l'enlever↑  
718. (.1)  
719. Kenji: non  
720. Miss Lo: ah non  
721. (.2)  
722. Kenji: ça c'est très bizarre  
723. Miss Lo: c'est très bizarre si on l'enlève  
724. ((children laughing))  
725. Miss Lo: et qu'est-ce que ça veut dire↑ (.) tu peux  
726. pas le traduire↑ (.1) ou bien c'est parce  
727. que c'est le mot quand- quand on dit- on  
728. dit- je veux! (.) c'est pour ça ou↑  
729. Kenji: non  
730.  
731. Miss Lo: non

732. Kenji: non  
733. Miss Lo: il sert à quoi alors ce 'ha' là↑  
734. Piotr: [je sais pas!  
735. Kenji: [le 'ha' est::  
736. Piotr: c'est rien  
737. Miss Lo: si si c'est quelque chose mais-  
738. Kenji: ( )  
739. Miss Lo: ah voilà! (.) c'est comme euh:: dans (.)  
740. to it (.) c'est comme une particule c'est  
741. comme une prep- une particule qu'on  
742. utilise avec le mot (.) veux manger  
743. Piotr: ah oui  
744. Miss Lo: d'accord↑ (.) comme une préposition (.) un  
745. petit mot (.) c'est un petit mot  
746. Piotr: oui (.) Kenji!  
747. Leila: maîtresse (.) ça donne en (.) japonais!  
748. Miss Lo: par exemple en anglais (.) Karen on  
749. pourrait dire en anglais (.) I want eat↑  
750. (.2)  
751. Miss Lo: non on pourrait pas (.) donc le to là (.)  
752. on peut pas le traduire mais on en a  
753. besoin (.) très bien (.) alors maintenant  
754. ce que je voudrais que vous regardiez  
755. Leila: [oh::  
756. Piotr: [oh non  
757. Miss Lo: c'est que (.) euh:: (.) Talia tu  
758. viens entourer entre je veux manger et je  
759. ne veux pas manger (.) tu viens entourer  
760. ce qui a change  
761. ((Talia's chair makes a noise when she gets  
762. up))  
763. Miss Lo: en rouge (.) tu vas m'entourer les mots  
764. qui ont changé entre les deux phrases  
765. (.)  
766. Miss Lo: est-ce que tu as bien compris la consigne↑  
767. (.)  
768. Leila: non:: ((laughing))  
769. Miss Lo: alors vous allez voir ce qu'elle va faire  
770. (.) entre je veux manger et je ne veux pas  
771. manger qu'est-ce qui change↑  
772. Piotr: ah ça↑  
773. Miss Lo: là on a mis↑  
774. (.)  
775. Talia: no  
776. Miss Lo: no (.) très bien (.) entre euh:: (.) donc  
777. tu vas continuer (.) en polonais↑ (.)  
778. qu'est-ce qui change↑  
779. Talia: nie  
780. Piotr: oui::  
781. Miss Lo: oui (.) en:: anglais qu'est-ce qui  
782. change↑  
783. Talia: don't  
784. Miss Lo: don't (.2) en:: peul  
785. (.3)  
786. Talia: da  
787. Miss Lo: euh:: c'est le da à la place du di  
788. d'accord (.) euh: (.2) et là c'est le  
789. kunai à la place du- (.) d'accord c'est  
790. entre ça et ça (.) donc  
791. (.2)  
792. Piotr: tabetakunai <want to eat>  
793. Miss Lo: on va prendre une autre couleur parce que  
794. il y a deux cas (.) il y a deux situations  
795. (.4)  
796. Miss Lo: il y a deux situations (.) il y a une  
797. situation ou il y a un mot (.) en↑  
798. (.2)  
799. Miss Lo: en plus! (.) là il y a un mot en plus  
800. mais là il y a pas de mot en plus (.) là  
801. c'est juste que le mot a change (.) en

802. peul était **di** (.) et là c'est (.) **da** (.)  
803. mais quand on compte le nombre de mots il  
804. y en a combien là en espagnol (.) un deux  
805. trois (.) je veux manger (.) comme en  
806. français (.) et il y en a combien là↑  
807. Leila: [quatre  
808. Piotr: [quatre  
809. Miss Lo: quatre parce que il y a ça qui est en plus  
810. (.) d'accord↑  
811. (.4)  
812. Miss Lo: en polonais (.) je veux manger il y en a↑  
813. Piotr: trois  
814. Leila: trois  
815. Miss Lo: et je ne veux pas [manger il y en a↑  
816. Leila: [quatre  
817. Piotr: quatre  
818. Miss Lo: quatre (.) en anglais↑ (.) **I want** (.) **to**  
819. **eat** (.) on va compter un-  
820. Piotr: quatre  
821. Miss Lo: trois (.) et **I don't want to eat**=  
822. =quatre  
823. (.)  
824. Miss Lo: quatre (.) il y en a quatre  
825. Karen: mais il y a trois là- quatre là parce que  
826. **I-** c'est- c'est moi  
827. Miss Lo: un deux trois (.) un (.) deux (.) trois  
828. (.) quatre (.) donc il y en a un en plus  
829. (.) en:: peul (.) c'est différent en peul  
830. (.) un deux trois quatre (.) et là un deux  
831. trois quatre (.) mais quand même il y a  
832. quelque chose qui n'est pas pareil (.)  
833. hein↑ (.) parce que était **di** et là ça  
834. devient↑ (.1) **da** (.) et en:: japonais (.)  
835. **atashi wa tabetai** <I want to eat>  
836. Piotr: c'est- c'est là même  
837. Miss Lo: ça fait deux parce que le 'ha' il a dit  
838. que c'était comme le **to** donc ça fait deux  
839. (.2) et là il y en a↑  
840. Piotr: deux!  
841. Miss Lo: encore deux (.) donc il y a pas de mots en  
842. plus mais il y a quelque chose qui s'est  
843. passé quand même (.) on a rajouté quand  
844. même ((drawing on the board))  
845. Piotr: **kunai**!  
846. Miss Lo: si il y a quand même un morceau de-  
847. quelque chose en plus là-bas (.) parce que  
848. là c'était **tabetai** <want to eat> et  
849. maintenant c'est **tabetakunai** <don't want  
850. to eat> c'est quand même  
851. Piotr: il y a pas- (.) [il y a pas  
852. Miss Lo: [plus long  
853. Piotr: il y a pas **tabetai** (.) il y a pas i-  
854. (.2)  
855. Miss Lo: voilà ça a quand même changé et c'est  
856. quand même plus long (.) donc qu'est-ce  
857. qu'on peut dire:: (.) par rapport (.) euh  
858. (.) au français (.) je vais mettre le  
859. français là-haut  
860. Cristina: i!  
861. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
862. Miss Lo: je veux (.) manger (.3) pourquoi je vais  
863. va↑ (.) parce que à l'oral vous faites pas  
864. de fautes mais à l'écrit vous faites des  
865. fautes (.) je ne (.) veux (.) pas  
866. Kenji: manger  
867. Miss Lo: qu'est-ce qui se passe en français par  
868. rapport à toutes ces langues [là↑  
869. Piotr: [il y a deux mots!  
870. -21:26-  
871. Miss Lo: oui Piotr

872. (.)  
873. Piotr: on ajoute deux mots  
874. Miss Lo: on ajoute↑  
875. Piotr: deux- deux mots  
876. Miss Lo: deux mots (.1) on en ajoute pas un seul on  
877. en ajoute deux  
878. Piotr: ne (.) et pas  
879. ((Miss Lo writing on the board))  
880. Miss Lo: et donc ça (.) va t'asseoir Talia  
881. (.3)  
882. Miss Lo: on ajoute deux mots et vous avez vu que  
883. dans beaucoup d'autres langues on en  
884. ajoute qu'un seul! (.) un seul ça  
885. suffit! (.) mais en français c'est deux  
886. (.) et le problème c'est qu'en français  
887. quand on parle (.) on dit- on dit pas (.)  
888. je ne! veux pas manger à la cantine on  
889. dit (.) j'veux pas manger à la cantine  
890. (.2) j'veux pas manger à la cantine (.) le  
891. petit ne là (.) on l'entend pas très bien  
892. (.) je ne veux pas manger à la cantine (.)  
893. je ne veux pas- (.) [vous voyez on  
894. l'entend pas  
895. Talia: [je n'veux pas  
896. Miss Lo: donc (.4) Amkoulel (.) ce qu'il faut  
897. faire (.) c'est que en français il faut se  
898. rappeler que il y a deux mots (.) et il ne  
899. faut pas oublier (.1) le ne qui est ici  
900. (.) d'accord↑=  
901. Piotr: =c'est facile  
902. (.)  
903. Miss Lo: alors (.) pourquoi on dit le ne qui est  
904. ici (.) il y a quand même quelque chose  
905. qui est pareil avec vos langues (.)  
906. qu'est-ce qui est pareil↑  
907. (.)  
908. Piotr: euh::  
909. Leila: le je↑  
910. Miss Lo: ouais (.) mais je (.) et après qu'est-ce  
911. qu'on met↑  
912. Leila: vous  
913. Miss Lo: le ne! (.) tout de suite le ne  
914. Leila: ah oui!  
915. Miss Lo: comme en espagnol (.) tout de suite le ne  
916. (.) en polonais (.) tout de suite le ne  
917. (.) donc le ne il est tout de suite après  
918. le sujet comme dans d'autres langues  
919. Talia: I don't  
920. Leila: non en peul non  
921. Miss Lo: ah non pas en peul (.) le peul et le  
922. japonais c'est très différent  
923. Leila: mm ((laughing))  
924. Miss Lo: d'accord↑ (.) mais (.) peut-être que les  
925. enfants qui parlent peul et japonais (.)  
926. ils auront pas de problème (.) parce que  
927. c'est très différent (.2) tandis que vous  
928. (.) si vous [faite-  
929. ? : [( )  
930. Miss Lo: Leila (.) si vous faites comme en  
931. espagnol (.) qu'est-ce que vous allez  
932. faire (.) vous allez oublier (.) un des  
933. deux mots (.) et c'est ça que j'ai vu  
934. quand j'ai corrigé vos devoirs (.) c'est  
935. que vous avez toujours oublié un des deux  
936. mots  
937. Piotr: moi non  
938. (.)  
939. Miss Lo: si Piotr aussi  
940. Kenji: toi dis (.) haha ((laughing)) (.) je veux  
941. pas manger  
942. (.2)

943. Miss Lo: je veux pas manger vous écrivez souvent  
944. (.) [alors que c'est je (.) ne! veux pas  
945. manger d'accord↑  
946. Talia: [je ne veux pas  
947. (.)  
948. Miss Lo: donc ce qu'on peut voir c'est que toutes  
949. les langues de la classe (.) tout le monde  
950. a une forme affirmative (.) une forme  
951. négative (.) dans toutes les langues ça  
952. existe (.) mais selon les langues c'est  
953. pas tout à fait pareil (.) et en français  
954. au lieu d'avoir un! mot (.1) euh:: qui  
955. exprime la négation (.) on en a↑ (.)  
956. deux! (.) et les deux mots ils se mettent  
957. autour du↑ (.) verbe (.) le ne (.) il est  
958. avant le verbe et le pas il est tout de  
959. suite derrière le verbe (.) d'accord↑ (.)  
960. alors par exemple (.) je dors (.)  
961. Leila: [je ne dors pas  
962. C?: [( )  
963. Miss Lo: non (.) j'ai pas dis (.) je veux dormir  
964. (.) j'ai dis je dors  
965. Leila: je ne- je ne dors pas  
966. Miss Lo: je ne dors pas (.) je parle!  
967. Leila: je ne [parle pas  
968. Talia: [je ne parle pas  
969. Miss Lo: Cristina (.) je:: regarde la télévision (.)  
970. alors chut! (.) je regarde la télévision  
971. Cristina: je ( )  
972. Miss Lo: je↑  
973. Cristina: ne regarde pas la télévision  
974. Miss Lo: je ne regarde pas la télévision (.) Karen  
975. (.) je:: parle avec mon frère  
976. Karen: je (.) ne parle pas avec mon frère  
977. Miss Lo: samba (.) je:: (.) regarde le match de  
978. foot a la télévision  
--24:46--

**T2 S1 D6 V20 E2:**

Hakim and Andrea come back to the classroom and Miss Lo is summarising the activity.

--30:05--  
1. Miss Lo: alors on va juste terminer comme euh::  
2. Hakim est arrivé (.) est-ce que Hakim tu  
3. sais dire en kabyle (.) réfléchis hein (.)  
4. réfléchis (.) est-ce que tu sais dire en  
5. kabyle (.) je veux manger et je ne veux  
6. pas manger (.) est-ce que tu sais le dire  
7. en kabyle  
8. (.1)  
9. Miss Lo: maman j'ai faim (.) je veux manger (.) je  
10. veux manger alors juste (.) et je ne veux  
11. pas manger  
12. (.1)  
13. Miss Lo: alors comment on dit (.) je écoute (.)  
14. écoute (.) je veux manger  
15. Hakim: ( )  
16. Miss Lo: c'est juste pour voir si ça change entre  
17. les deux (.) quand on dit je veux manger  
18. et quand on dit je ne veux pas manger (.)  
19. qu'est-ce qui est pas pareil et qu'est-ce  
20. qui est pareil  
21. (.2)  
22. Miss Lo: comment on dit en algérie (.) je veux  
23. manger  
24. (.)  
25. Miss Lo: alors attendez (.) écoute

27. Hakim: ( )  
28. Miss Lo: tu me dis si je me trompe (.) vas-y  
29. Hakim: °vrer atchar°  
30. Kenji: vrer atchar (.) [tchar!  
31. Miss Lo: [et je ne veux pas  
32. manger  
33. (.)  
34. Hakim: euh::  
35. Kenji: °tcha°!  
36. (.)  
37. Piotr: °vrer ne tcha pas (.) haha°  
38. (.)  
39. Hakim: ( )  
40. Miss Lo: ah! alors (.) euh: (.) euh euh euh (.)  
41. c'est quelque chose comme (.) vrer↑ (.)  
42. vrer (.) ça écrit pas comme ça je sais  
43. mais j'essaye juste de faire avec (.)  
44. vrer↑ (.) atchar↑ (.) c'est du kabyle  
45. ça↑  
46. Hakim: oui  
47. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) vrer atchar c'est je veux  
48. manger (.) ça c'est je veux et ça c'est  
49. manger↑  
50. Hakim: oui  
51. Miss Lo: et je ne veux pas manger↑  
52. Hakim: ( )  
53. Miss Lo: rer↑ (.) ah là c'est pas  
54. ((children whispering))  
55. Miss Lo: chut! (.) écoutez Hakim là (.) c'est  
56. intéressant  
57. Hakim: o (.) vrer  
58. Miss Lo: vrer  
59. Hakim: rar  
60. (.)  
61. Miss Lo: verera (.) c'est vrera↑ (.) vrera ra↑  
62. Hakim: ra  
63. Miss Lo: non mais vient me l'écrire alors Hakim  
64. peut-être (.) non (.) tu sais pas (.)  
65. vrer ra  
66. Hakim: ra ça n'existe pas en français  
67. Miss Lo: oui ra ça n'existe pas en français je sais  
68. (.) c'est pas la même euh (.) les même  
69. sons (.) mais-  
70. Hakim: c'est ra  
71. Miss Lo: ra (.) d'accord (.) mais comme on peut  
72. pas écrire (.3) moi ce que je veux savoir  
73. c'est entre euh (.) Karen! (.) entre  
74. je veux manger et je ne veux pas manger  
75. (.) comment ça se passe  
76. (.2)  
77. Miss Lo: je veux manger c'est vrer atchar c'est ça↑  
78. Hakim: oui  
79. Miss Lo: et je ne veux pas manger↑  
80. Hakim: vrer rar ratchar  
81. Miss Lo: alors (.) redis-moi (.) re↑  
82. Hakim: vrer ra ratchar  
83. Miss Lo: ah ya un ra en plus  
84. Kenji: /vʁɛʁ/ /ætʃaʁ/ /tʃaʁ/ /kæ/ /ætʃæ/  
85. (.)  
86. Miss Lo: vrer ra ((writing on the board)) (.)  
87. atchar (.) vrer ra ratchar (.) vrer ra  
88. ou↑  
89. Hakim: vrer ra  
90. Miss Lo: vrer ra (.) d'accord (.) qu'est-ce que  
91. alors- (.) euh Amkoulel tu dis c'est  
92. même (.) ça veut dire↑ (.) c'est pareil  
93. que quoi↑  
94. Amkoulel vrer ra  
95. Miss Lo: par rapport à ce qu'on a vu dans les



96. autres langues (.) qu'est-ce que vous en  
97. pensez les autres↑  
98. (.)  
99. Leila: c'est pareil en::  
100. Piotr: oh non! (.) c'est pas pareil parce que  
101. vrer  
102. Miss Lo: ouais  
103. Piotr: vrer c'est deux mots  
104. Hakim: maîtresse!  
105. Miss Lo: attendez (.) écoute là  
106. Piotr: vrer et atchar c'est deux mots  
107. Miss Lo: c'est deux mots  
108. Piotr: et il y a pas (.) euh::  
109. Kenji: comme en japonais deux mots  
110. Miss Lo: oui  
111. Piotr: il y a pas veux  
112. Miss Lo: voilà (.) c'est comment en japonais deux  
113. mots (.) mais qu'est-ce qui est pareil par  
114. rapport aux autres langues (.) entre la  
115. phrase affirmative et la phrase négative  
116. Kenji: vrer-  
117. Leila: que on ajoute un autre mot  
118. Miss Lo: exactement! (.) et que ce mot là on  
119. l'ajoute où↑  
120. Leila: au milieu (.) après de vrer  
121. Kenji: vrer vrer  
122. Miss Lo: après le ↑  
123. Kenji: atcha!  
124. Miss Lo: chut!  
125. Piotr: yo  
126. Miss Lo: Kenji (.) où est-ce qu'on ajouté le mot  
127. qui veut dire pas↑  
128. Piotr: je (.) je  
129. Leila: après le verbe (.) après le che  
130. Miss Lo: après le premier mot  
131. Leila: oui  
132. Miss Lo: donc quand même c'est intéressant parce  
133. que le kabyle (.) le kabyle qui est une  
134. langue qui n'est pas du tout pareil que  
135. l'espagnol (.) que le polonais (.) que  
136. l'anglais (.) c'est encore une autre  
137. langue (.) et ben le kabyle il fait un  
138. petit peu la même chose puisque regardez  
139. (.) c'est comme en- en (.) c'est comme en  
140. français:: (.) c'est comme en espagnol  
141. (.) en polonais (.) en anglais  
142. Kenji: en japonais  
143. Miss Lo: on a (.) le deuxième mot de la phrase qui  
144. veut dire (.) quelque chose à la forme  
145. négative (.) qui veut dire pas ou non ou  
146. [quelque chose comme ça  
147. Kenji: [japonais ( ) aussi  
148. Talia: japonais non::  
149. Kenji: si!  
150. Miss Lo: on a le deuxième mot (.) puisque c'est  
151. vrer atchar (.) et après c'est vrer ra!  
152. atchar (.2) comme en (.) yo quiero (.) yo  
153. no! quiero (.) ça ressemble un peu quand  
154. même hein (.) donc c'est intéressant donc  
155. tu vois Hakim ce qu'on a vu (.) Andrea on  
156. a fait aussi toute à l'heure en espagnol  
157. japon! (.) je ne veux pas manger  
158. Miss Lo: on a fait en espagnol toute à l'heure (.)  
159. le fait que (.) quand on dit je veux  
160. manger et je ne veux pas manger (.) en  
161. espagnol vous ajoutez un mot (.) le mot no  
162. Kenji: yo quiero comer  
163. Miss Lo: et en français on en ajouté  
164. Kenji: yo quiero comer  
165. (.)  
166. Miss Lo: regardez (.) en français on dit je veux

167. manger et après on dit je ne veux pas  
 168. manger (.) on en ajoute combien en  
 169. français de mots↑  
 170. (.)  
 171. Hakim: euh: (.) deux↑  
 172. Miss Lo: deux! (.) voilà (.) alors que dans les  
 173. autres langues (.) dans beaucoup d'autres  
 174. langues (.) on en ajoute un seul (.) en  
 175. français on en ajoute deux! (.) donc il  
 176. faut pas oublier ces deux la (.) d'accord↑  
 177. (.) donc il faut y penser (.) alors  
 178. maintenant avant la recrée (.) je vous  
 179. donne un petit exercice pour voir si vous  
 180. avez compris  
 --35:52--

**T2 S1 D6 V20 E3:**

--37:40--  
 1. ((Miss Lo talks to other groups in the background))  
 2. Kenji: toujours travail  
 3. Piotr: oui toujours  
 4. (.2)  
 5. Kenji: travailler (.) c'est quoi l'hôpital↑ (.)  
 6. ah oui  
 7. (.4)  
 8. Piotr: c'est toujours le  
 9. (.2)  
 10. Kenji: quoi↑  
 11. (.3)  
 12. Kenji: toujours travailler  
 13. Piotr: oui toujours (.) ( ) (.) travail  
 14. (.) travail  
 15. (.16)  
 16. Leila: est-ce que l'infirmière travaille dans un  
 17. metro  
 18. Kenji: oh! très vite toi  
 19. (.2)  
 20. Piotr: c'est facile ça  
 21. ( )  
 22. Kenji: toujours travail  
 23. Piotr: oui  
 24. (.8)  
 25. Leila: maîtresse! j'ai fini!  
 26. ((Miss Lo continues talking with other groups))  
 27. Piotr: tout↑  
 28. Kenji: tout↑  
 29. Leila: ça (.) je sais pas  
 30. (.3)  
 31. Kenji: très vite toi  
 32. Leila: maîtresse! (.) ça je sais pas c'est quoi  
 33. (.2)  
 34. ((Miss Lo comes to their group))  
 35. Miss Lo: alors (.) 'non le bijoutier ne travaille  
 36. pas a hôpital (.) 'ne travaille pas a  
 37. la boulangerie' (.) 'ne travaille pas a  
 38. l'école' (.) 'ne travaille pas dans un  
 39. bureau' (.) 'ne travaille pas dans le  
 40. metro' (.) super (.) tu m'entoures les (.)  
 41. euh: v les mots (.) de la phrase  
 42. négative (.) les mots négatifs (.)  
 43. d'accord↑  
 44. Leila: oui  
 45. Miss Lo: et-  
 46. Piotr: est-ce que- (.3)  
 47. Kenji: très vite  
 48. Miss Lo: et devine où il travaille (.) le bijoutier  
 49. travaille à la↑ (.) il travaille à la↑

50. (.) ça c'est un exercice de vocabulaire  
51. plutôt  
52. (.)  
53. Leila: je sais pas  
54. Miss Lo: ben à la bijouterie (.) en fait c'est des  
55. mots avec le- ((Miss Lo walks away))  
56. Piotr: il ne travaille pas  
57. Leila: tu as fini Kenji  
58. Kenji: oui metro  
59. Piotr: moi aussi  
60. Kenji: c'est fin!  
61. Piotr: fini toi↑  
62. (.)  
63. Leila: ( ) (.) le bijoutier travaille à la↑  
64. (.) bijouterie  
65. Talia: ah!  
66. Kenji: pourquoi fais ça toi↑  
67. Leila: parce que la maîtresse a dit que entoure  
68. le (.) euh-  
69. Kenji: ne pas  
70. Leila: oui  
71. (.2)  
72. Kenji: ne et pas  
73. Leila: oui  
74. (.3)  
75. Kenji: moi j'ai oublié 'pas'  
76. Leila: mais pourquoi en vert Kenji↑  
77. ((Miss Lo comes back to the group and sorts out papers))  
78. Kenji: ah! (.) la maîtresse travaille::  
79. Piotr: dans (.) école!  
80. (.2)  
81. Kenji: oui  
82. (.2)  
83. Kenji: bijoutier (.) c'est quoi↑  
84. Leila: je sais pas  
85. Kenji: maîtresse travaille↑  
86. Piotr: dans:: (.) un école  
87. Kenji: dans un! école  
88. Piotr: non!  
89. Kenji: travaille  
90. Piotr: à école  
91. Kenji: dans à école↑  
92. Piotr: à école! (.) école!  
93. Leila: non  
94. Kenji: dans un école  
95. Piotr: regarde ici (.) ici (.) oh la la Kenji  
96. Kenji: elle travaille dans un école aussi  
97. Piotr: non!  
98. Kenji: oui::  
99. (.1)  
100. Piotr: regarde (.) ici écrit  
101. (.)  
102. Kenji: oui je sais  
103. Piotr: à école  
104. Kenji: travaille à école  
105. (.)  
106. Leila: qui c'est le (.) bijoutier↑  
107. (.3)  
108. Piotr: regarde (.) c'est ici écrit (.) à (.)  
109. école  
110. (.2)  
111. Piotr: docteur travaille à hôpital  
112. (.)  
113. Kenji: docteur (.) travaille  
114. (.7)  
115. Talia: le boucher  
116. (.)  
117. Kenji: docteur (.) travaille (.) dans  
118. Talia: le boucher où↑  
119. (.4)

120. Kenji: le docteur travaille  
121. (.5)  
122. Piotr: le bouch-::  
123. (.11)  
124. Kenji: tout écrire travaille travaille travaille  
125. Leila: c'est quoi routier↑  
126. (.6)  
127. Talia: c'est infirmière qui travaille dans le  
128. hôpital  
129. (.)  
130. Piotr: c'est docteur aussi!  
131. Leila: **el doctor tambien (43:47)**  
132. Talia: c'est infirmière=  
133. Kenji: =docteur  
134. Piotr: docteur aussi!  
135. Leila: **Talia dónde trabaja (el doctor) (.) en el**  
136. **hospital también**  
137. Kenji: c'est quoi ça (.) docteur  
138. Talia : oui je sais  
139. (a whole segment is inaudible)  
140. [...]  
141. (45:20)  
142. Leila: ah! bijoutier c'est  
143. Kenji: oui je sais moi!  
144. (.)  
145. Piotr: c'est:: (.) ce qui fait le-  
146. Kenji: comme ça (.) shhhhh  
147. Miss Lo: c'est ça (.) les bijoux  
148. Piotr: oui c'est ça  
149. Miss Lo: il travaille à la bijouterie  
150. Piotr: comment écrit↑  
151. Miss Lo: ben (.) bijou- (.) comme on l'entend  
152. (.) bijouterie  
153. Leila: Talia (.) **joyero es** <jeweller it is>  
154. Miss Lo: bijouterie  
155. Kenji: bijoutier  
156. (.)  
157. Talia: maîtresse c'est comme ça↑  
158. Miss Lo: bijouterie (.) oui avec un e- à la fin (.)  
159. très bien  
160. Kenji: bijouter- (.) bijouterie  
--46:30--

### **T2 S1 D6 V20 E4:**

Miss Lo comments on the session with Rs.

--50:12--  
1. ((background noise of children chatting))  
2. Miss Lo: allez! (.) on:: y va (.) alors normalement  
3. j'aurai du le faire sur une autre phrase  
4. parce que la il y a les histoires de  
5. vouloir (.)2) vouloir manger (.) donc euh  
6. (.) j'aurai dû faire sur euh (.) je marche  
7. (.) je ne marche pas  
8. Researcher: ouais  
9. Miss Lo: mais euh la-  
--end of recording--

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### **T2 S1 D6 V21**

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### **T2 S1 D6 V21 E1**

Miss Lo is helping children from Group 3 (lowest level) and is here talking with Maia. Children are given a series of sentences where words are all written one after the other. T explains to Maia that for the French negation, the negative words are separated from other words in the sentence. Note that all the languages are still written on the blackboard.

--11:20--

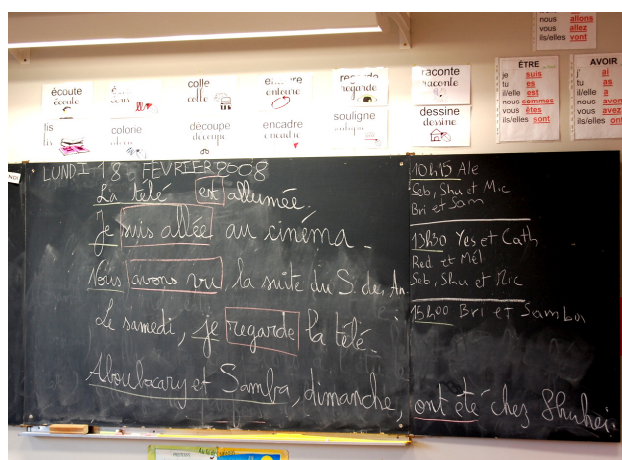
1. Miss Lo: alors (.) euh: (.) Maia (.4) on (.) dort  
 2. (.)  
 3. Cristina: pas  
 4. Miss Lo: on (.) ne (.) dort (.) pas (.) on mange  
 5. (.) on (.) ne (.) mange (.) pas (.2)  
 6. regarde en espagnol tu dis comment↑  
 7. (.2)  
 8. Miss Lo: yo no quiero comer  
 9. (.3)  
 10. Cristina: yo no quie[ro  
 11. Miss Lo: [no (.) le no la (.) il est- il  
 12. est (.) il est avec le y- le- le (.) c'est  
 13. comment↑  
 14. Cristina: [yo quiero ((south american accent))  
 15. Miss Lo: [yo↑  
 16. Cristina: yo  
 17. Miss Lo: yo no quiero comer (.) le no en espagnol  
 18. il est avec le yo ou il est séparé↑  
 19. (.2)  
 20. Maia: le yo est ( )  
 21. Miss Lo: oui ben voilà (.) tu as compris (.) on  
 22. (.2) ne (.1) c'est comme le no (.) c'est  
 23. tout seul  
 24. Hakim: maîtresse!  
 25. Miss Lo: d'accord↑ (.) ouais  
 26. ((Miss Lo moves on to another child))

--12:15--

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**T2 S1 D7 V25**

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**T2 S1 D7 V25 E1**

At the start of the day, a child writes on the blackboard the different times when children have to go to their respective mainstream classroom. At the same time, a child fills in the sheet for the canteen and the after school study period. Today, Talia fills the form and asks her class mates whether they are staying to eat at school for lunch and to study in the evening. Piotr writes on the board the time table of the day.

--02:10--

1. Miss Lo: euh:: rapidement (.) qui c'est qui écrit  
 2. l'emploi du temps [au tableau↑  
 3. Leila: [oui c'est deux personnes restent ici  
 4. (.)  
 5. Talia: pero [( )  
 6. Miss Lo: [chut! (.) Kenji! (.2) oh! oh! ça se



66. que tu manges à la cantine↑  
67. Matilda: oui je mange à la cantine  
68. (.)  
69. Talia: but your house is over there↑  
70. (.3)  
71. Matilda: mais je mange à la cantine!  
72. Talia: and why you:: don't eat in your house  
73. Matilda: I eat at my house ((laughing))  
74. Leila: à treize heure trente j'ai maths maîtresse!  
75. Miss Lo: chut! (.) chut!  
76. Leila: à treize heure trente (.) j'ai [aussi maths  
77. Talia: [pourquoi  
78. tu manges à la cantine↑  
79. (.1)  
80. Matilda: parce que euh::  
81. Talia: you can eat at your house over there  
82. Matilda: non mais je reste à le cap (.) après j'ai  
83. faim!  
84. Talia: à le cap  
85. Miss Lo: elle reste au cap euh:: Matilda (.)  
86. Matilda tu t'assoies correctement sur ta  
87. chaise merci (.) elle reste au cap (.) le  
88. cap ce n'est pas dans cette liste là  
89. Talia: julia!  
90. Miss Lo: julia et Anika elles mangent à la  
91. cantine  
92. Talia: sebastien↑  
93. Piotr: oui  
94. Talia: Kenji!  
95. Leila: oui  
96. Talia: non (.) Kenji (.) est-ce que tu manges à  
97. la cantine↑  
98. Kenji: mm  
99. Talia: (tu dis) oui je mange à la cantine  
100. Leila: esta dormido ((laughing))  
101. Miss Lo: ça y est (.) donc aujourd'hui il y a  
102. beaucoup d'enfants qui sortent  
--06:10--

**T2 S1 D7 V25 E2:**

Miss Lo explains other negative words like never and any longer.

--06:37--  
1. Talia: Cristina↑  
2. Cristina: non  
3. Piotr: toujours non  
4. (.7)  
5. Talia: catherine-rose↑  
6. (.4)  
7. Miss Lo: comment euh::  
8. Talia: Piotr  
9. Piotr: étude non!  
10. Miss Lo: pas étude non Piotr (.) non (.) je ne  
11. reste pas à étude  
12. (.4)  
13. Talia: pourquoi il n'y a pas personne qui écrit  
14. ici↑  
15. (.)  
16. Miss Lo: parce que samba ne reste↑  
17. Leila: [pas  
18. Piotr: [pas!  
19. Miss Lo: à étude mais alors (.) il ne reste (.)  
20. comment on pourrait dire↑ (.) il ne reste-  
21. c'est-à-dire que (.)  
22. Leila: il ne [reste pas tout  
23. Miss Lo: [même pas une seule fois (.) il ne  
24. reste↑  
25. (.2)

26. Miss Lo: même pas une seule fois (.) c'est-à-dire  
27. qu'il ne reste↑  
28. Cristina: [jamais  
29. Leila: [pas  
30. Miss Lo: très bien! Cristina (.) on écoute ce qu'a  
31. dit Cristina  
32. Talia: maîtresse il y a jamais-  
33. Miss Lo: il ne reste (.) jamais! à étude (.)  
34. alors (.) il ne reste (.) ((writing on the  
35. blackboard)) jamais à étude (.) alors  
36. que par contre (.) par contre (.) il ne  
37. reste jamais à étude (.) samba ne reste  
38. jamais à étude (.) par contre euh:: (.)  
39. Karen  
40. Cristina: elle reste tout le temps à étude  
41. Talia: maîtresse! (.) maîtresse!  
42. Miss Lo: chut! ((writing on the board))  
43. (.2)  
44. Miss Lo: elle reste toujours! à étude Karen (.)  
45. elle reste toujours! à étude (.) et  
46. puis alors il y a des enfants (.3) qui  
47. restent↑  
48. Cristina: des fois à étude  
49. Miss Lo: des fois (.) alors il y a un autre mot en  
50. français (.) ils restent↑  
51. Cristina: un petit peu  
52. ?: des fois  
53. Miss Lo: des fois (.) voilà (.) des fois (.) qui  
54. reste des fois à étude↑  
55. Cristina: catherine rose  
56. Miss Lo: donc parfois! (.) il y a un mot en  
57. français (.) parfois (.) catherine elle  
58. (.) elle reste↑  
59. Cristina: beaucoup à étude=  
60. Miss Lo: =parfois! à étude (.) alors samba (.)  
61. là c'est samba (.) j'arrive Talia hein  
62. (.) euh là c'est Karen ((writing on the  
63. board)) (.) et là c'est↑ (.) catherine (.)  
64. elle reste↑  
65. Karen: parfois (.) à étude  
66. Miss Lo: parfois! à étude ((writing on the board))  
67. (.)  
68. Miss Lo: Karen en:: anglais (.) tu dirais comment  
69. ces mots là ↑ (.) les mots là que j'ai (.)  
70. ces mots là (.) jamais (.) toujours (.) et  
71. parfois↑  
72. Talia: moi je sais!  
73. Miss Lo: comment tu dirais en (.) anglais  
74. Leila: [jamas!  
75. Matilda: [never!=  
76. Miss Lo: =chut!  
77. Karen: never  
78. Miss Lo: ouais  
79. Karen: always (.) et (.) euh (.) sometimes  
80. Miss Lo: très bien (.) en espagnol c'est quoi↑  
81. Leila: jamas  
82. Talia: jamas=  
83. Leila: =to[do el tiempo  
84. Talia: [todos los dias [(.) a veces  
85. Leila: [y::  
86. Leila: a veces  
87. Miss Lo: d'accord  
88. Piotr: a veces  
89. Miss Lo: donc euh:: (.) vous avez vu là (.) il  
90. ne! reste jamais à étude  
91. Talia: el nunca se va a queda a (.) estudiar  
92. (09:40)  
93. Miss Lo: c'est quoi ça↑  
94. Leila: négation!  
95. Miss Lo: la négation (.) voilà (.) alors la



96. négation (.) c'est pas toujours ne pas (.)  
97. c'est pas ne pas (.) ça peut être (.)  
98. ne:: (.) jamais (.) si je dis (.) il ne  
99. reste plus! à étude  
100. Cristina: il reste jamais à étude  
101. Leila: que (.) que avant il reste mais maintenant  
102. [il reste plus  
103. Talia: [mais maintenant il reste pas  
104. Miss Lo: voilà (.) avant il restait! (.) avant il  
105. restait mais maintenant il ne reste plus!  
106. (.)  
107. Miss Lo: donc ne plus (.) il y a ne pas ((writing  
108. on the board)) il y a ne plus (.) il ne  
109. reste plus (.) euh:: (.1) on pourrait  
110. dire aussi (.) il ne reste (.) presque  
111. pas à l'étude  
112. Leila: c'est quoi presque↑  
113. Miss Lo: presque pas  
114. Leila: mas o menos↑  
115. (.2)  
116. Talia: [casi nunca!  
117. Miss Lo: [presque pas!  
118. Talia: casi nunca  
119. (.2)  
120. Miss Lo: hein (.) il ne reste presque pas à étude  
121. (.2) ça veut dire que vraiment de temps en  
122. temps il reste mais bon (.) presque  
123. jamais  
124. Leila: un jour sur-  
125. Miss Lo: euh:: (.) il y a ne pas (.) ne plus  
126. (.1) ne jamais ((writing on the board))  
127. Talia: maîtresse!  
128. Miss Lo: euh (.) chut! (.) attends Talia je  
129. vais vous donner une petite feuille sur ça  
130. (.) ah et aussi euh:: (.3) si tout d'un  
131. coup (.) j'ai (.3) quelque chose  
132. ((imitating an action)) on m'a envoyé de  
133. l'eau dans les yeux (.) j'ai mal et je  
134. dis (.) ah! je ne vois↑  
135. Leila: [rien!  
136. Piotr: [rien!  
137. Miss Lo: rien (.) je ne vois [rien  
138. Cristina: [rien  
139. Miss Lo: d'accord↑ (.) je ne vois pas (.) je ne  
140. vois plus! parce qu'avant je voyais (.)  
141. je ne vois plus et aussi je dis (.) oh la  
142. la je ne vois rien! rien du tout  
143. Leila: no veo nada  
144. Miss Lo: donc [ne rien aussi c'est une↑  
145. Talia: [( ) (11:33)  
146. Talia: maîtresse je peux fermer la fenêtre↑  
--11:38--

**T2 S1 D7 V25 E3:**

T asks the youngest group to describe their weekends. Maia is lacking a word and turns to her sister to talk to her in Spanish.

--24:15--  
21. ((children from other groups chatting in the  
22. background))  
23. Miss Lo: je suis allée↑ (.) alors (.) où ça↑  
24. (.10)  
25. Miss Lo: je sais pas moi (.) au parc↑ (.) au  
26. magasin↑ (.) [au cinéma↑  
27. Leila: [à la forêt↑  
28. Miss Lo: chez une copine↑  
29. Maia: mais (.) no se como se dice [(al cinema)  
30. Miss Lo: [tatatatata (.)

31. pas de traduction!  
 32. Talia: cinéma  
 33. Miss Lo: non! (.) Talia  
 34. Talia: cinéma  
 35. Miss Lo: elle me- elle me (.) c'est moi qui lui dis  
 36. (.) Maia! (.) tu es allée où↑ (.) au cinéma↑  
 37. Maia: oui  
 38. Miss Lo: voilà au cinéma (.) je suis allée au  
 39. cinéma ((writes on the blackboard)) (.)  
 40. Matilda (.) qu'est-ce que tu as fais toi↑  
 41. (.) euh (.) samedi ou dimanche  
 --25:00--

**T2 S1 D7 V25 E4:**

Miss Lo is revising the notions of subject and verb. The oldest group has to find the subject and verbs of these sentences.

--39:41--  
 1. Miss Lo: alors (.) 'le samedi je regarde la télé'  
 2. (.) euh::  
 3. Leila: moi maîtresse!  
 4. Miss Lo: Talia!  
 5. Piotr: facile  
 6. Talia: euh:: (.2) le samedi (.) je!  
 7. Miss Lo: ouais  
 8. Talia: c'est le (.) sujet  
 9. Miss Lo: ouais  
 10. Talia: je regardais  
 11. Kenji: regarde!  
 12. Piotr: regarde  
 13. Miss Lo: okay (.) alors (.) 'Amkoulel et samba  
 14. dimanche ont été chez Kenji' euh:: (.)  
 15. Kenji  
 16. Kenji: Amkoulel et samba  
 17. Miss Lo: c'est quoi↑  
 18. Kenji: sujet  
 19. Miss Lo: c'est le sujet  
 20. (.2)  
 21. Piotr: et 'Kenji'!  
 22. (.3)  
 23. Kenji: ont été  
 24. Miss Lo: ont été  
 25. Leila: verbe  
 26. (.3)  
 27. Talia: et 'Kenji'  
 28. Kenji: non!  
 29. Leila: oui 'Kenji'  
 30. Miss Lo: alors! (.) Talia elle dit 'Kenji'  
 31. aussi c'est un sujet  
 32. Leila: [non Talia!  
 33. Piotr: [non!  
 34. Miss Lo: chut! (.) alors-  
 35. Talia: oui  
 36. Leila: non!  
 37. Miss Lo: chut! (.) vous lui dites non mais  
 38. pourquoi alors↑ (.) pourquoi↑  
 39. Talia: mais c'est un nom!  
 40. Leila: parce que c'est Amkoulel et samb- parce  
 41. qu'on parle d'Amkoulel et samba pas de  
 42. Kenji!  
 43. Talia: c'est pas grave!  
 44. (.3)  
 45. Kenji: euh:: (.) cinéma et télé aussi alors  
 46. ((laughing))  
 47. Talia: non:: la télé c'est pas un s-  
 48. Miss Lo: alors on arrête maintenant! (.) alors  
 49. attendez d'accord  
 50. ((children keep chatting in the background))  
 51. Miss Lo: Kenji il dit (.) si on- si vous prenez

52. 'chez Kenji' si vous dites que 'chez  
53. Kenji' c'est le sujet (.) alors pourquoi  
54. (.) 'télé' aussi c'est un sujet et  
55. 'cinéma c'est un sujet  
56. Talia: mais sont-  
57. Miss Lo: donc ça ne marche pas (.) alors et si on  
58. dit (.) 'la télé' maintenant ((writing on  
59. the board)) 'est' (.) 'allumée'  
60. Piotr: est allumée c'est::  
61. Karen: euh:: la::-  
62. Kenji: [la télé!  
63. Leila: [la c'est sujet! (.) allumée c'est-  
64. Miss Lo: alors qu'est-ce qui est le sujet là↑  
65. Talia: 'la'  
66. Leila: 'la'  
67. Karen: c'est 'la'  
68. Miss Lo: 'la' c'est sujet↑  
69. Talia: et la 'télé'↑  
70. Leila: et 'est'! (.) 'est'! (.) c'est le verbe  
71. Kenji: ['allumée!  
72. Talia: [et 'allumée  
73. Kenji: et 'allumée!  
74. (.2)  
75. Leila: non c'est 'est'!  
76. Talia: et 'la télé'-  
77. Kenji: pourquoi↑  
78. Leila: parce que c'est 'est'!  
79. Kenji: 'allumée aussi!  
80. Talia: en espagnol c'est totalement (.) différent  
81. Kenji: [( )  
82. Miss Lo: [alors en espagnol c'est totalement  
83. différent dit Talia (.) donc  
84. j'aimerais bien que vous m'expliquiez la  
85. (.) qu'est-ce qui est totalement  
86. différent Talia  
87. Leila: **Talia me parece que no eh↑ (41:50)**  
88. Piotr: pourquoi↑  
89. Leila: pour moi c'est pas différent maîtresse!  
90. Piotr: ['télé' sujet!  
91. Miss Lo: [chut!  
92. (.)  
93. Talia: ['télé' **es el su- el sujeto**  
94. Miss Lo: [tout m'intéresse (.) tout intéresse  
95. (.) alors Talia me dit (.) en  
96. espagnol c'est totalement différent donc  
97. qu'est-ce que (.) qu'est-ce qui est  
98. différent (.) non vas-y ça intéresse  
99. Talia (.) vas-y qu'est-ce qui est  
100. différent↑  
101. Talia: parce que en espagnol (.) 'la télé' (.)  
102. en espagnol (.) 'télé' c'est le sujet  
103. Miss Lo: voilà  
104. (.)  
105. Kenji: oui  
106. Leila: moi je crois pas  
107. Talia: en espagnol (.) **esta**  
108. Miss Lo: ouais  
109. Talia: **esta (.) sujeto**  
110. Piotr: oh↑  
111. ((children laughing))  
112. Miss Lo: chut! Non non (.) **esta** c'est le verbe  
113. c'est ça↑  
114. Kenji: **esta sujeto** ((Kenji and Se laughing))  
115. Talia: **esta (escondida)** (42:34)  
116. Leila: **pero Talia (entonce) no es diferente**  
117. Miss Lo: alors en espagnol! (.) je suis d'accord  
118. avec Talia voyez (.) je suis d'accord  
119. avec Talia (.) parce que 'la' tout  
120. seul (.) c'est 'la télé' le sujet (.)  
121. c'est pas 'la' tout seul

122. Kenji: 'la télé'! (.) 'la télé'!  
123. Talia: oui:: (.) 'la télé' c'est le sujet  
124. Miss Lo: chut! (.) Talia (.) assieds-toi (.)  
125. parce que en espagnol pour trouver le  
126. sujet vous faites comment (.) vous posez  
127. pas des questions pour savoir↑ (.) comment  
128. vous faites pour trouver le sujet↑  
129. Leila: je sais pas (.) on sait!  
130. Miss Lo: vous savez comme ça↑  
131. Leila: oui!  
132. Miss Lo: on vous met une phrase n'importe laquelle  
133. vous savez tout de suite c'est quoi le  
134. sujet↑  
135. Leila: oui!  
136. Miss Lo: comment vous le savez↑  
137. Talia: parce que::  
138. Leila: je sais pas  
139. Talia: euh:: (.) c'est le- (.) c'est l'animaux  
140. (.1) le personne et le-  
141. Miss Lo: c'est un animal (.) une personne (.) une  
142. chose  
143. Leila: oui  
144. Miss Lo: oui mais alors pourquoi pas alors ça  
145. marche pas euh:: (.) 'Amkoulel et samba  
146. ont été chez Kenji' (.) pourquoi ça  
147. marche pas pour Kenji (.) Kenji c'est  
148. une personne↑  
149. Talia: oui  
150. Leila: parce que maîtresse! (.) c'est tout le  
151. temps le sujet [c'est la personne dont on  
152. parle  
153. Piotr: [Amkoulel et samba ont fait:: quelque  
154. chose  
155. Leila: on parle d'Amkoulel et samba on parle  
156. pas de Kenji!  
157. Miss Lo: ah si (.) quand on dit ils ont été chez  
158. Kenji on parle de Kenji↑  
159. (.2)  
160. Miss Lo: c'est pas tout à fait la personne dont on  
161. parle (.) c'est la personne qui↑  
162. (.)  
163. Leila: bat↑  
164. Miss Lo: non  
165. Kenji: bat↑ ((laughing))  
166. Miss Lo: je! suis allé (.) nous! avons vu (.)  
167. je! regarde (.) Amkoulel et samba ont!  
168. été (.) qu'est-ce qu'on pourrait poser  
169. comme question↑  
170. (.2)  
171. Leila: qui  
172. Miss Lo: qui (.) voilà (.) qui est allé au cinéma↑  
173. Leila: c'est  
174. (.)  
175. Miss Lo: c'est 'je' (.) c'est moi  
--44:11--

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**T2 S1 D7 V26**

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**T2 S1 D7 V26 E1:**

--09:50--  
1. Leila: maîtresse (.) où est Jessica↑  
2. (.)  
3. Miss Lo: yessica (.) elle est à la danse

4. Kenji: danse  
5. (.)  
6. Andrea: danse de quoi↑  
7. (.6)  
8. Miss Lo: euh (.) les: points sur les 'i' euh:: (.)  
9. Leila (.) c'est pas en option (.) c'est  
10. obligatoire (.) ya pas de points sur les  
11. 'i' en espagnol↑  
12. Leila: oui!  
13. Miss Lo: et ben alors↑ (.1) supermarché (.) un  
14. supermarché je sais pas ce que [c'est  
15. Andrea: [ ( ) ]  
16. la cabeza ((laughing))  
17. Leila: super marché!  
18. Miss Lo: ben oui donc↑  
19. Leila: avec un 'e'  
20. Miss Lo: un quoi↑  
21. (.1)  
22. Leila: un accent!  
23. Miss Lo: voilà (.) un [accent  
24. Talia: [asesinó  
25. (.)  
26. Miss Lo: restaurant ou un [( ) fleuriste (.)  
27. ok  
28. Andrea: [( ) (10:21)  
29. (.)  
30. Miss Lo: 'pour acheter de la [viande on va à la  
31. boucherie' ou (.) chez! le boucher (.) on  
32. va [à l'école à l'hôpital ou chez! le  
33. docteur chez! chez le dentiste! chez le  
34. fleuriste (.)  
35. Talia: [oye (.) el sábado ví una película de  
36. acción y (.) ( )  
37. Miss Lo: [quand est-ce qu'on met chez quand est-ce  
38. qu'on met à↑  
39. Andrea: [( ) ]  
40. Kenji: [à moi toute à  
41. Miss Lo: pourquoi on dit à! la boucherie et on dit  
42. chez! le boucher↑  
43. Leila: [parce que il y a la (.) et quand il y a  
44. le c'est chez↑  
45. Talia: [en el recreote lo contamos (.) como era  
46. ( )  
47. (.1)  
48. Miss Lo: ah ben non (.) [ah ben non (.) parce que  
49. [si on dit on va euh:: (.) au magasin (.)  
50. on va pas dire on va chez le magasin↑  
51. (.2)  
52. Maia: [le mordió una cosa ( )  
53. Miss Lo: c'est quoi la différence entre boulangerie  
54. et boulanger↑ (.) c'est quoi la différence  
55. entre boucherie [et boucher↑  
56. Maia: [( ) ]  
57. (.4)  
58. Leila: ça c'est la maison de de::  
59. (.2)  
60. Miss Lo: la différence entre boulangerie et  
61. boulanger (.) entre boucherie et boucher↑  
62. Leila: boulanger c'est la personne qui fait le::  
63. pain↑  
64. Miss Lo: non boulangerie c'est le [magasin ou on  
65. fait le pain  
66. (.2)  
67. Talia: [ice ( ) ]  
68. Leila: oui mais boulanger! c'est la personne  
69. Miss Lo: voilà boulanger c'est la personne (.) donc  
70. là on va dire [chez! la personne (.)  
71. quand c'est le nom d'une personne on va  
72. chez (.) c'est comme si on allait  
73. Andrea: [si pero ( ) ]

74. Leila: à la maison  
 75. Miss Lo: voilà chez! lui (.) mais [en fait on va  
 76. pas chez lui hein↑ mais on va dans le  
 77. magasin (.) mais [quand c'est le magasin  
 78. on dit on va à ou on va au  
 79. Maia: [o waw es el más  
 80. interesante!  
 81. (.3)  
 82. Leila: d'accord  
 83. Miss Lo: mais pas pour tous les mots (.) mais pour  
 84. ceux-la oui (.) mais pas pour tous les  
 85. mots parce que par exemple on va pas dire  
 86. (.) on va chez la maîtresse (.) parce que  
 87. si on va chez! la maîtresse (.) c'est  
 88. chez moi (.) pas à école (.) mais c'est  
 89. que pour certains mots par exemple pour  
 90. les commerces souvent c'est comme ça...

--11:52--

**T2 S1 D7 V26 E2:**

Miss Lo asks Maia to leave the classroom and to finish her exercise in the corridor as she is being too talkative with her classmate.

--13:17--  
 25. Miss Lo: Maia tu sors! (.) tu prends tes affaires  
 26. et tu vas travailler dans le couloir  
 27. puisque tu (.2) voilà hop! (.) tu prends  
 28. ton cahier et tu vas dans le couloir j'en  
 29. ai marre la (.) ça y est c'est bon ça va  
 30. (.) ça suffit (.) je rigole pas hein (.)  
 31. tu vas là-bas (.) tu t'assoies (.) tu  
 32. travailles dans le couloir  
 33. (.2)  
 34. Talia: j'ex-  
 35. Miss Lo: comme ça tu vas pouvoir euh:: parler avec  
 36. le mur  
 37. (.)  
 38. Maia: no entiendo nada (13:37)  
 39. Talia: que te- (.) que te vayas allá donde está-  
 40. Miss Lo: elle a compris! euh:: Talia elle sait  
 41. très bien (.) ça fait trois fois que je  
 42. lui dis de se taire et:: elle arrête pas  
 43. de discuter  
 44. Talia: elle a dit qu'elle comprend pas qu'est-ce  
 45. que tu veux  
 46. Miss Lo: elle a très bien compris (.) la preuve  
 47. elle s'est levée avec son livre de maths  
 48. et son stylo (.) hein↑ (.) alors ça va  
 49. (.2) tres bien Amkoulel (.) tres bien

--14:01--

**T2 S1 D7 V26 E3:**

Maths exercise. Small group.

--14:30--  
 1. Miss Lo: non! Tu te trompes là Matilda là (.) huit  
 2. plus sept ça fait pas- (.) ça fait pas  
 3. quatorze↑ (.) huit plus sept ça fait  
 4. combien↑  
 5. Matilda: (.12)  
 6. Miss Lo: en anglais c'est quoi↑ (.) huit plus sept.  
 7. Matilda: (.8) en anglais!  
 8. Miss Lo: ouais  
 9. Matilda: euh (.4) eight plus  
 10. Miss Lo: oui mais ça fait combien↑ le résultat (.)

11. c'est le résultat qui m'intéresse  
12. (.5)  
13. Miss Lo: alors (.) remplace les mots soulignes par  
14. les pronoms compléments qui conviennent et  
15. recopie le texte (.) 'le cochon s'adressa  
16. au loup et il demanda au loup ce qu'il  
17. faisait sous sa fenêtre' (.) pour ne pas  
18. dire deux fois au loup au loup (.) c'est  
19. ce qu'on a fait la semaine dernière (.)  
20. qu'est-ce qu'il faut faire↑  
21. (.3)  
22. Talia: lui s'adresse  
23. (.)  
24. Miss Lo: non (.) le cochon non  
25. Talia: le cochon s'adresse au loup et (.) il  
26. demande (.) et [lui demande  
27. Matilda: [quinze!  
28. Miss Lo: voilà très bien (.) et il lui demande  
29. Matilda: quinze!  
30. Miss Lo: c'est ça d'accord↑  
31. Talia: et il lui demande ce qu'il fait sous sa  
32. fenêtre  
33. Miss Lo: voilà (.) tout a fait Talia  
34. Matilda: c'est quinze!  
35. (.3)  
36. Miss Lo: voilà (.) quatre plus un ça fait cinq plus  
37. un ça fait pas sept Matilda!

--15:58--

**T2 S1 D7 V26 E4:**

--25:10--  
1. Miss Lo: euh:: (.) Leila et Talia (.) et (.)  
2. comment- (.) [e- t- la (.) comment on  
3. prononce ça↑  
4. Talia: [et  
5. Miss Lo: et (.) pas ette (.) et  
6. Leila: et↑  
7. Miss Lo: oui (.) mais quand vous lisez vous dites  
8. ette (.) c'est et (.) e- t- c'est et  
9. Talia: oui c'est difficile  
10. Leila: la- (.) parce que en espagnol (.) mais on  
11. prononce tous! Les lettres  
12. Miss Lo: je sais bien que c'est ça votre problème  
13. (.) ça je le sais (.2) mais moi quand je  
14. remarque une chose (.) je vous le dis (.)  
15. pour que vous essayez d'y penser (.) hein↑  
16. Leila: d'accord  
17. Miss Lo: parce que vous connaissez les règles mais  
18. que vous les appliquez pas parce que en  
19. fait vous n'y pensez pas (.) hein↑  
20. (.3)  
21. Leila: [oui  
22. Maia: [que paso↑  
23. Leila: que dic- que Talia dice ette mais  
24. [c'est et  
25. Miss Lo: [c'est un peu compliqué parce que c'est  
26. pas! comme en [espagnol (.) c'est ça qui  
27. est un peu dur  
28. Talia: [no no (.) yo no!  
29. Leila: tambien  
30. Maia: et  
31. Leila: decimos 'ette' y dice 'et'  
32. Miss Lo: très bien (.) alors après et la marre  
33. c'est quoi la marre ((Miss Lo keeps talking to  
34. other groups))  
35. Maia: la 'e' y la 't'↑  
36. (.)

37. Talia: cuando decimos 'y' (.) decimos 'ette' (.)  
 38. siento que algo falta (.) no me gusta  
 39. decir 'et' (.) 'et' (.) prefiero 'ette'  
 40. Andrea: ( ) non c'est pas 'ette'  
 41. c'est 'et'  
 42. Talia: si me lo ya he dicho (.) me lo aprendí  
 43. pero-  
 44. (.)  
 45. Matilda: maîtresse c'est comme ça↑  
 46. Miss Lo: de quoi Matilda↑  
 --26:29--

**T2 S1 D7 V26 E5:**

--27:20--  
 1. Talia: Leila como que el día que no podría hablar↑  
 2. Leila: (.)  
 3. Andrea: oye!  
 4. Talia: mmm ((laughing)) (.) deja me (.) el día  
 5. que fui contigo a quien sabe donde  
 6. Leila: el viernes↑  
 7. Miss Lo: ah non pardon! (.) pardon faut dessiner la  
 8. ( )  
 9. Talia: ah en el camión en el camión sabe=  
 10. Andrea: =mi papa [me dio permiso para irme aussi  
 11. Leila: [maîtresse!  
 12. Miss Lo: oui  
 13. Andrea: [para irme toditos los días del sábado  
 14. (patinaje) me dio permiso ( )  
 15. Leila: ['elle vend ses bons produits' (.) 'sur le  
 16. marche' (.2) la fermière↑  
 17. Talia: tu sola↑  
 18. Andrea: [si (.) y yo me voy a comprar los patines  
 19. de hielo  
 20. Leila: [parce que c'est les- (.) c'est la  
 21. fermière (.) s'occupe de les animaux↑  
 22. (.)  
 23. Miss Lo: [ouais  
 24. Andrea: [(.) va- valen setenta y tres  
 25. (.)  
 26. Miss Lo: [et donc les animaux qu'est-ce qui- (.)  
 27. les poules par exemple (.2) (.)  
 28. Andrea: [setenta y tres ya tienes la plata (.)  
 29. pero les voy a comprarlos y tienes que ir  
 30. todos los días  
 31. (.)  
 32. Miss Lo: [a ton avis c'est infirmière qui vend  
 33. les médicaments sur le marcher ou le  
 34. marcher c'est:: (.) c'est pas le  
 35. supermarché (.) le marcher c'est dehors  
 36. Andrea: [todos los sábados lo mas (.) y me dijo  
 37. (.) lo vas a comprar y no los vas a  
 38. utilizar  
 39. (.)  
 40. Miss Lo: [on vend les choses dehors  
 41. Andrea: [pero me voy a comprarlos (.) setenta y  
 42. tres (.) [euro  
 43. Leila: [donc c'est la fermier  
 44. Talia: [es mucho oro (.) y de que color↑ (.) yo  
 45. prefiero blanco  
 46. Miss Lo: [ouais qu'est-ce qu'elle peut vendre sur  
 47. le marcher↑ (.) Andrea tu assoies merci!  
 48. (.)  
 49. Leila: des choses pour qu'ils mangent les animaux  
 50. Miss Lo: euh:: (.) non  
 51. (.)  
 52. Talia: mira  
 53. (.)



54. Leila: des animaux↑  
55. Miss Lo: les gens qui élèvent les animaux (.) des  
56. fois ils vont sur le- ils vont vendre des  
57. choses sur les marchers (.) qu'est-ce  
58. qu'ils peuvent vendre par rapport a leur  
59. ferme↑ (.) il y a pas ça en argentine↑  
60. Talia: [mira  
61. Leila: [non  
62. Miss Lo: il y a pas des gens qui vendent des œufs  
63. (.) qui vendent du poulet au marcher↑  
64. (.2)  
65. Leila: oui mais pas trop  
66. (.1)  
67. Miss Lo: ya pas des marchers↑ (.) t'as jamais vu  
68. des marchers↑ (.) au Mexique Talia il  
69. y a des marchers dehors↑  
70. (.)  
71. Talia: euh j'ai oublié  
72. Miss Lo: des gens qui vendent des choses dehors (.)  
73. c'est pas comme le supermarché avec la  
74. caisse (.) avec le-  
75. Leila: oui! oui il y a  
76. Talia: je crois que-  
77. Kenji: japon non!  
78. Talia: il y a (.) des-  
79. Miss Lo: on vend des fruits on vend des légumes on  
80. vend des poulets la tout ça la  
81. Talia: c'est en-  
82. Leila: mais c'est l'infirmière↑  
83. Talia: avec la- (.) va comme ça dans la ((walks  
84. away from her chair))  
85. Miss Lo: ah mais non moi je parle de-  
86. Leila: avec le vélo  
87. Miss Lo: ah oui d'accord (.) non moi je parle  
88. plutôt d'un endroit ou il y a beaucoup de  
89. vendeurs [et c'est dehors  
90. Hakim: comme euh: (.) le marcher de::  
91. Miss Lo: comme le marcher de marcel samba oui mais  
92. euh::  
93. Hakim: mais il y a un marcher ici la (.) a cote  
94. (.) ici a cote de l'école  
95. Miss Lo: il y a pas des endroits ou on vend la  
96. nourriture dehors↑ (.) pour acheter  
97. Leila: oui  
98. Miss Lo: on va avec un panier  
99. Leila: oui  
100. Miss Lo: et on va acheter ça (.) il y a ça en  
101. argentine↑  
102. Leila: oui  
103. Kenji: [japon non  
104. Miss Lo: [il y en a beaucoup↑=  
105. Leila: =Talia (.) como ferias!  
106. (.1)  
107. Kenji: [/purias/  
108.  
109. Leila: [Talia si  
110. Talia: como↑  
111. Leila: ferias (.) los pestitos esos fuera donde  
112. venden comida (.) comida [ropa (.) lo que  
113. rieras (29:36)  
114. Hakim: [maîtresse en algerie  
115. il y a ça  
116. (.)  
117. Hakim: maîtresse (.) en algerie c'est [comme en-  
118. (.) ici  
119. Talia: [je crois oui  
120. Miss Lo: voilà  
121. Talia: j'ai oublié  
122. Leila: [mais donc c'est la fermière↑

123. Hakim: [il y a aussi des ( )  
124. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) oui Leila↑  
125. Leila: donc c'est la fermière↑  
126. (.)  
127. Miss Lo: c'est↑  
128. Leila: la fermier  
129. Miss Lo: fermier ya pas marqué (.) il y a marqué  
130. l'infirmière ou la fermière  
131. Leila: la fermière  
132. Hakim: l'infirmière!  
133. Leila: c'est ça↑  
134. Miss Lo: au marcher qui ça qui va aller vendre les  
135. choses au marcher (.) c'est l'infirmière  
136. ou la fermière  
137. Hakim: l'infirmière  
138. Miss Lo: elle va aller vendre quoi l'infirmière↑  
139. Hakim: l'infirmière  
140. Miss Lo: elle va aller vendre quoi l'infirmière↑  
141. (.) des piqûres↑  
142. Hakim: non  
143. Miss Lo: tu te trompes de mots Hakim (.) la  
144. fermière! (.) la fermière! (.) elle va  
145. aller vendre des oeufs (.) des poules des-  
146. (.) tout ça (.) non mais je sais que tu as  
147. raison Hakim mais c'est que tu ne me dis  
148. pas le bon mot (.) tu me dis infirmière  
149. (.) infirmière (.) moi c'est la fermière  
150. ((knocks on the door))  
151. Kenji: entrez!  
152. Leila: entrez!  
153. ((Cristina comes in the classroom))  
154. Miss Lo: Cristina  
155. Andrea: que si yo (fuera) mas tarada! (30:57)  
156. Talia: y con qué hiciste danza↑ (.1) abajo (.)  
157. pero con que↑  
158. (.1)  
159. Maia: de que danza↑  
160. (.)  
161. Cristina: euh:: danse (.) euh:: (.) hip hop↑  
162. (.10)  
163. ((children then go back to the exercise))  
164. Talia: 'a la fin (.) sa mere appelle les cochons  
165. a table (.) et elle demande (.) et (.2)  
166. lui demande de fermer la fenetre'  
167. (.7)  
168. Miss Lo: a vos places! (.) vous allez a vos  
169. places! (.) non! Je suis en greve (.) vous  
170. allez a vos places↓  
--31:17--

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## T2 S1 D7 V27

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### T2 S1 D7 V27 E1:

This extract is taken from a teacher-led sequence with the children from the support group.

--22:13--

1. Miss Lo: de quoi on peut avoir peur↑  
2. Julia: de un monstre  
3. ?: des monstres  
4. Miss Lo: des monstres  
5. Leila: d'un voleur↑  
6. Miss Lo: d'un voleur  
7. Amelia: des méchants↑  
8. Miss Lo: des méchants

9. Leila: des loups!  
 10. Miss Lo: des loups voilà on peut avoir peur des  
 11. lousps (.) bon là c'est en afrique alors il  
 12. y a plein de loups la mais il y a quoi  
 13. comme animaux↑ (.) il pourrait y avoir  
 14. quoi comme animaux↑  
 15. Matilda: la panthère noire  
 16. Miss Lo: la panthère noire (.) qu'est-ce qu'il  
 17. pourrait y avoir d'autres↑  
 18. Maia: lions  
 19. Amelia: des fantômes!  
 20. Miss Lo: les lions voilà (.) les lions  
 21. Amelia: des tigres  
 22. Miss Lo: des tigres  
 23. Julia: des fantômes  
 24. Miss Lo: des fantômes  
 25. Talia: ça n'existe pas! ((speaking from another  
 26. group))  
 27. Matilda: le éléphant  
 28. Miss Lo: les éléphants  
 29. Maia: les serpents  
 30. Miss Lo: les serpents  
 31. (.2)  
 32. Matilda: les scorpions  
 33. Miss Lo: des scorpions ouais!  
 34. Maia: comment on dit euh::  
 35. Talia: [serpents!  
 36. Amelia: [des inoceros  
 37. Miss Lo: des rhinocéros  
 38. Amelia: des [rhinocéros  
 39. Maia: [Talia las arañas ((22:56)  
 40. Talia: [araigne  
 41. Miss Lo: [il pourrait y avoir aussi euh::  
 42. (.)  
 43. Maia: [les araigne  
 44. Amelia: [un géant  
 45. Miss Lo: hein↑  
 46. Amelia: un géant  
 47. Miss Lo: un géant!  
 48. Maia: maîtresse! (.) les:: (.) araigne  
 49. (.2)  
 50. Miss Lo: seringues↑  
 51. Talia: spider!  
 52. Miss Lo: qui piquent↑  
 53. Matilda: araignées oui  
 54. Miss Lo: des araignées oui (.) ou alors un serpent↑  
 55. Matilda: non! araignée  
 56. Miss Lo: araignée (.) elle a dit seringue (.) tu  
 57. sais pas seringue c'est quoi↑  
 58. (.1)  
 59. Miss Lo: c'est comment en espagnol↑  
 60. Talia: aragna!  
 61. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) c'est ça que tu voulais  
 62. dire↑ (.1) quand t'as dit seringue c'était  
 63. araignée↑  
 64. Maia: ( )  
 65. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) amélie↑  
 66. Amelia: des- des crocodiles!  
 67. Miss Lo: ah ben bien sur des crocodiles  
 --23:33--

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**T2 S1 D7 V28**

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**T2 S1 D7 V28 E1:**

Talia, Maia and Matilda are sitting around the same table and drawing using water colours. The three girls are telling each other what to draw as well as guessing what the other person is drawing.

--00:00--

1. Miss Lo: tu prends tes affaires Cristina (.) tu  
2. prends ça et ça tu colles ça [dans le  
3. cahier de grammaire  
4. Talia: [anyone here↑  
5. (.)  
6. Maia: Talia que es lo que le estás diciendo  
7. a ella↑  
8. (.2)  
9. Matilda: gaga ((noises))  
10. (.2)  
11. Matilda: ha::! ((screaming))  
12. (.)  
13. Talia: heart  
14. (.)  
15. Maia: what is heart↑  
16. Talia: corazon  
17. Maia: ( )  
18. Matilda: mm (.) un chat  
19. (.)  
20. Matilda: petit chaperon rouge  
21. (.)  
22. Matilda: petit! chap-  
23. Talia: that's not good (.) cool cool cool  
24. Matilda: un chat↑ (.) aou:::  
25. Talia: what↑  
26. (.)  
27. Talia: hmhmhh ((laughing)) (.) aou::  
28. (.)  
29. Matilda: un chat comme ça↑  
30. (.1)  
31. Talia: no:: (.) do a- a heart  
32. Matilda: non::  
33. Maia: Talia ella va a colorear lo que ella  
34. quiera (00:38)  
35. (.2)  
36. Talia: that's not cool (.) cool cool cool cool  
37. (.2)  
38. Matilda: attends  
39. (.)  
40. Talia: ((singing))  
41. Maia: pues es que se me hace más fácil hacer  
42. una:: señora (00:50)  
43. Matilda: une petite fille  
44. Talia: que tiene  
45. (.2)  
46. Talia: that's not cool  
47. (.)  
48. Matilda: une indian!  
49. (.)  
50. Talia: that's cool!  
51. Matilda: ouais!  
52. Talia: but it's not easy  
53. Maia: que es Indian↑  
54. Matilda: it's easy  
55. (.)  
56. Talia: indian  
57. (.)  
58. Maia: indio↑  
59. (.3)  
60. Maia: non  
61. Matilda: c'est pas difficile (.) je sais! Comment  
62. dessiner  
63. Talia: and- (.) the colours  
64. (.2)

65. Maia: yo digo- (01:15)  
66. Matilda: [comme ça!  
67. (.)  
68. Matilda: [comme ça!  
69. Maia: [dijo la maestra  
70. (.3)  
71. Talia: ( ) ((singing))  
72. (.)  
73. Maia: que es esa canción que todos andan  
74. cantándola↑ (01:21)  
75. Talia: cual↑  
76. Maia: esa  
77. Talia: yo soy la única que la he cantao  
78. Maia: ah (.) es que sólo la estoy oyendo  
79. (.)  
80. Matilda: c'est pas difficile (.) je sais! C'est pas  
81. difficile  
82. (.4)  
83. Talia: in the ocean (singing)  
84. (.)  
85. Matilda: tu veux voir après  
86. (.)  
87. Maia: que es eso↑  
88. (.)  
89. Matilda: c'est une- (.) [robe  
90. Talia: [c'est- that's an Indian  
91. (.)  
92. Matilda: that's a- (.) une robe  
93. (.2)  
94. Matilda: tu connais↑  
95. (.1)  
96. Talia: but- we want (.) an Indian (.) [we-  
97. Matilda: [yeah (.)  
98. I'll draw it (.) le premier↑  
99. Talia: in- in the-  
100. Matilda: oui (.) je dessine après  
101. (.)  
102. Talia: oh Matilda:  
103. Matilda: wha:t↑  
104. (.)  
105. Talia: mm  
106. (.)  
107. Matilda: quoi: (.) qu'est-ce que j'ai [fait↑  
108. Talia: [oh::! Loo:k!  
109. ((showing her drawing to Matilda))  
110. Matilda: parce que t'as fait ça  
111. Talia: i know:  
112. (.2)  
113. Talia: oh Matilda (02:22)  
114. Matilda: Matilda  
115. Talia: I like say(ing) Matilda  
116. (.)  
117. Matilda: Tali::a  
118. (.)  
119. Talia: Tali::↑ (.) no::  
120. (.2)  
121. Talia: Taliai  
122. Matilda: eh tu dessines ou pas↑  
123. Maia: ay no se cómo dibujar! (02:32)  
124. Talia: she don't know (.) but (.) sh- she can  
125. (.2) paint (.) I wanna paint (.) this  
126. (.5)  
127. Talia: mmmm ((laughing))  
128. Maia: voleo colorear un japonesa (02:48)  
129. Talia: ah!  
130. Matilda: hahaha ((laughing))  
131. Maia: voy a sacar punto <to sharpen a pencil>  
132. Matilda: hahahah ((laughing))  
133. Talia: that's not cool (.) cool cool cool  
134. Matilda: hahahaha ((laughing))

135. Talia: wha::t↑  
136. Maia: se- (.) se rompió el corazón (03:00)  
137. (.7)  
138. Matilda: hahhaa ((laughing))  
139. Maia: te esta diciendo loca (03:12)  
140. (.1)  
141. Talia: shut up  
142. Matilda: mmm ((laughing))  
143. Talia: close your mouth  
144. (.5)  
145. Talia: loo::k! (.) [that's coo::l  
146. Matilda: [pas beau  
147. (.3)  
148. Matilda: hahaha ((laughing))  
149. (.1)  
150. Talia: lo[ok (.) this is cool  
151. Maia: [((clicks her tongue))  
152. (.)  
153. Talia: cool cool cool cool coo:l (.)cool cool  
154. cool cool cool cool cool cool cool  
155. Matilda: chocolat  
156. Talia: now (.) I'm going to eat (.) a blue car  
157. (.6)  
158. Maia: que color ( )  
159. Talia: ( ocean) ((singing))  
160. (.13)  
161. Maia: c'est quoi ça↑  
162. (.)  
163. Matilda: [mais attends! (.) tu vas voir après!  
164. Talia: [I don't know what it is  
165. Matilda: parce que je vois ça à le musée  
166. Talia: tout est (différent) (.) look this  
167. Matilda: c'est femme  
168. Talia: look (.) this (.) and after (.) you do this  
169. (.)  
170. Matilda: avec le pinceau (je fais) cheveux  
171. ((laughing))  
172. Talia: yeah (.) that's it ((laughing))  
173. Matilda: hahahaha ((laughing))  
174. Maia: hahaha ((laughing)) (.) lo dice todo en  
175. frances  
176. (04:24)  
177. (.)  
178. Talia: why you speak with me in (.) in French (.)  
179. I speak English  
180. Matilda: no you're not (allowed???) (04:34)  
181. (.3)  
182. Maia: que te dijo↑  
183. Talia: no se  
184. Maia: hahahaha ((laughing))  
185. Talia: hahahah ((laughing))  
186. (.)  
187. Talia: you don't know speak English  
188. Matilda: I do::  
189. Talia: no  
190. Matilda: I do::!  
191. Talia: hahahah ((laughing))  
192. (.2)  
193. Matilda: avec- (.) with the hair  
194. Talia: no look (.) do this  
195. (.3)  
196. Matilda: ça c'est pas (.) le crayon  
197. (.2)  
198. Talia: what's the difference  
199. (.2)  
200. Maia: [es este Talia (04:58)  
201. Talia: [look! (.) no  
202. (.3)  
203. Talia: este si es  
204. (.3)  
205. Matilda: de-ssi-ne!

206. (.2)  
 207. Maia: mais je sais pas que couleur  
 208. (.2)  
 209. Matilda: oui  
 210. Talia: ça s'appelle  
 211. Maia: ((clicks her tongue))  
 212. Talia: de la peinture (.2) ça c'est la peinture  
 213. (.) la la la ((singing)) (.) *this is my*  
 214. *card of-* (.) *of* (.) *how do you say* (.)  
 215. *valentine*↑  
 216. Matilda: *valentine*↑  
 217. (.5)  
 218. Talia: *valentine*  
 219. (.3)  
 220. Matilda: un peu de l'eau  
 221. (.2)  
 222. Talia: *no but look* (.) *this is* pinceau pour le  
 223. cheveux  
 224. Matilda: hahahaha ((laughing))  
 225. (.12)  
 226. Maia: ( ) *que estás hacienda aquí*↑ (05:50)  
 227. ((speaking to Andrea))  
 228. Andrea: ( ) ((from another group))  
 229. Matilda: ( )  
 230. (.)  
 231. Matilda: *best friends!*  
 232. Talia: *yeah*  
 233. (.5)  
 234. Talia: *in the ocean* (.) na na na na na((singing))  
 235. (.)  
 236. Matilda: tu dessines ou pas↑  
 237. (.)  
 238. Matilda: c'est quoi c'est quoi c'est quoi c'est  
 239. quoi c'est quoi↑ (.) c'est toi↑  
 240. Maia: non (.) pas moi  
 241. (.)  
 242. Matilda: c'est qui↑ (.) c'est Talia↑  
 243. Maia: ahhhh!  
 244. Talia: *shut up*  
 245. Maia: *no* (.) *que fea* ( ) (.) *me la prestas*↑  
 246. (.) *porque:: como muy bien* (06:20)  
 247. (.4)  
 248. Matilda: *ahora no estamos solos*  
 249. Maia: el café!  
 250. Matilda: *ahora me tendo pre* (.) *ahora le café* (.)  
 251. *tiene* ( )  
 252. (06:37) ((singing))  
 253. Maia: hahahaah ((laughing)) *me tendo pre*  
 254. ((imitating Ma))  
 255. Matilda: [*ahora no estamos solos*  
 256. Maia: [*café::* (.) *café::* ((singing))  
 257. ((Ma and So numbering the song))  
 258. Talia: ah (.) *this is a song!* (.) *a que sale* (.)  
 259. *el train*↑ (.) a quelle heure (.) *oye que*  
 260. *es esto*↑  
 261. Maia: *que es*↑  
 262. Talia: *a que hora sale el tren* (.) a quelle heure  
 263. part le train (.) a quelle heure part le  
 264. train pour l'Espagne (.) a deux heures  
 265. (.)  
 266. Maia: colorier  
 267. Matilda: c'est ce que je fais (.) colorier  
 268. (.6)  
 269. Maia: *qué coloreo::*  
 270. (.11)  
 271. Talia: *that's in Spanish* (.) *this for you*  
 272. (.)  
 273. Talia: *no::* (.) *really*  
 274. (.3)  
 275. Matilda: attends avec une peinture

276. Talia: no:: (.) this is forbidden  
 277. (.2)  
 278. Matilda: thank you!  
 279. Talia: no  
 280. (.5)  
 281. Talia: look  
 282. (.11)  
 283. Cristina: maitresse j'ai trouve un noir  
 284. Cristina: eh Talia ((speaking across the room))  
 285. Maia: pero Talia[lo esta hacienda ella  
 286. (08:04)  
 287. (.)  
 288. Cristina: [j'ai trouve un noir ((coming in  
 289. the group))  
 290. (.)  
 291. Cristina: ( ) (08:09)  
 292. Talia: donne  
 293. Cristina: il est ou deja↑  
 294. (.3)  
 295. Cristina: combien ils sont deja↑ (.) uno dos tres  
 296. cuarto cinco seis siete ocho nueve diez  
 297. once  
 298. Maia: que hago::↑  
 299. Cristina: once  
 300. Maia: que hago↑ (.) (qu'est-ce que) je veux  
 301. faire  
 302. (.5)  
 303. Maia: no no me salen un lobo  
 304. (.19)  
 305. Matilda: tu fais pour moi↑  
 306. Talia: no because now you're not my best friend  
 307. (.5)  
 308. Talia: because I did that for you! (.) and that's  
 309. really- and you said no!  
 310. (.)  
 311. Matilda: because (.) I didn't want it (.) you could  
 312. keep it if you want  
 313. (.9)  
 314. Matilda: qu'est-ce que tu fais↑  
 315. Cristina: j- je fais  
 316. (.)  
 317. Matilda: c'est quoi↑  
 318. (.)  
 319. Maia: je fais ça (.) c'est comme ça!  
 320. Matilda: c'est une robe!  
 321. (.)  
 322. Maia: que es une robe↑  
 323. (.5)  
 324. Cristina: c'est un sac (.) une valise peut-etre  
 325. (.)  
 326. Matilda: tu sais pas c'est quoi une robe↑  
 327. Cristina: et va (.) dis- donc  
 328. (.)  
 329. Cristina: c'est pas un cartable ça  
 --10:10--

**T2 S1 D7 V28 E2:**

--11:00--  
 1. Cristina: on colorie et après on met de l'eau  
 2. (.)  
 3. Andrea: ah yo se como dibujar  
 4. Maia: coloreo:: un::-  
 5. Matilda: dessine en française!  
 6. (.3)  
 7. Maia: ( ) frances=  
 8. Matilda: =fr::ances!  
 9. (.2)



10. Maia: pas cool  
 11. (.3)  
 12. Matilda: je sais pas comment on dessine!  
 13. Andrea: moi je suis forte et ça marche pas  
 14. (.19)  
 --11:38--

**T2 S1 D7 V28 E3:**

--17:43--  
 1. Maia: je vais colorier le (.) indien  
 2. (.2)  
 3. Matilda: garçon (.) pas- (.) mais ça c'est pour les  
 4. filles!  
 5. (.2)  
 6. Matilda: oui (.) c'est une robe  
 7. Maia: je vais colorier garçon pas::-  
 8. Matilda: mais comme tu sais pour les garçons (.)  
 9. dress (.) ça c'est pour les filles ça  
 10. (.)  
 11. Maia: je (.) veux pas (.) colorier ça!  
 --18:13--

**T2 S1 D7 V28 E4:**

--19:11--  
 1. ?: t'as fini↑  
 2. Andrea: Cristina tu has visto las pinturas↑ (.) yo  
 3. la- yo las metí en un papel (.) y la  
 4. cerraba y después yo las hacia /rrrr/(.) y  
 5. de que las abría y me salía una mariposa  
 6. (.) y a me salía cualquier dibujo  
 7. Cristina: moi aussi je sais faire ça  
 8. Andrea: acaso que te pregunte!  
 9. Cristina: mais moi j'ai à la maison ça  
 10. Andrea: se ( ) te pregunte  
 11. (.)  
 12. Cristina: ça vient de Chine  
 13. (.)  
 14. Maia: mas grande!  
 15. (.)  
 16. Andrea: si Cristina porque te metes porque no te  
 17. elija a ti  
 18. Cristina: et alors↑  
 19. Andrea: porque te metes  
 20. Cristina: [la la la la la la ((singing))  
 21. Matilda: [non!  
 22. Andrea: oui  
 23. (.)  
 24. Matilda: vert ça!  
 25. Andrea: (les boules↑)  
 26. (.)  
 27. Matilda: oui d'accord (.) parce que ya pas de rouge  
 28. c'est rouge mais maintenant on va faire  
 29. vert  
 30. Andrea: ya pas↑  
 31. Matilda: non  
 32. Andrea: attends je vais ((leaves the group to look  
 33. for a red pencil))  
 --19:58--

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**T2 S1 D8 V29**

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**T2 S1 D8 V29 E1:**

--04:10--

1. Miss Lo: quels sont les mots que vous avez pas  
2. compris dans la lecture (.) après on va  
3. revenir dessus mais là je voudrais savoir  
4. Maïa: mimer  
5. Miss Lo: hein↑  
6. Maïa: ça  
7. Miss Lo: ah oui (.) elle (.) zoé mime une statue  
8. c'est comme ça (.) il y a une statue (.)  
9. vous savez ce que c'est qu'une statue (.)  
10. voilà une statue (.2) hein (.) voilà une  
11. statue ((pointing at the book)) (.) zoé  
12. mime une statue (.) elle fait comme ça  
13. ((Miss Lo imitates the character in the  
14. book))  
15. (.4)  
16. Miss Lo: zoé (.) hein↑ (.) alex et zoé (.) zoé la  
17. petite fille (.) elle mime (.) elle imite  
18. (.) mime  
19. (.5)  
20. Miss Lo: d'accord↑  
21. (.2)  
22. Miss Lo: je mime par exemple si je veux mimer euh::  
23. (.) un éléphant (.3) ((Miss Lo imitates an  
24. elephant)) mimer c'est imiter (.) elle fait  
25. comme si elle était une statue (.) comment  
26. on dit en espagnol mimer euh:: Leïla  
27. (.1)  
28. Miss Lo: elle mime une statue (.) ça veut dire  
29. [elle imite une statue en fait  
30. Talia: [imitar (.) esta posando=  
31. Leïla: =imita  
32. Talia: esta imitando Leïla=  
33. Miss Lo: = [d'accord (.) elle mime (.) elle fait  
34. comme si elle était une statue d'accord↑  
35. Kenji: [imita aussi (.) imita  
36. Miss Lo: d'accord↑ (.) ok↑ (.1) alors (.) voilà une  
37. salle avec des statues (.) cette statue  
38. n'a pas de bras (.) regardez elle n'a pas  
39. de bras

--05:25--

**T2 S1 D8 V29 E2:**

--08 :00--

1. Miss Lo: je vois que il y a des mots que tu as  
2. entouré là (.) 'c'est le bal du musée'  
3. (.4) ((children from other groups are talking  
4. in the background))  
5. Matilda: c'est quoi le bal↑  
6. Miss Lo: le bal c'est quand on danse (.) la la la  
7. la la ((singing and imitating someone  
8. dancing)) (.) on danse à plusieurs (.) il  
9. y a plusieurs personnes et puis on danse  
10. (.1)  
11. Miss Lo : c'est comme une fête mais euh:: mm  
12. (.2)  
13. Miss Lo: c'est une fête où les gens dansent  
14. (.6)  
15. Miss Lo: Matil- et comment on dit bal en anglais  
16. euh:: Karen↑  
17. Karen: a (.) ball  
18. Miss Lo: ah (.2) oui tu connais↑ (.) ok  
19. Cristina: comment on dit en anglais↑

20. Karen: [a ball)  
 21. Miss Lo: [Karen tu t'assois à ta place s'il te  
 22. plait merci (.) très bien (.) donc euh (.)  
 23. voilà vous avez compris (.) qui est-ce qui  
 24. a été faire cette visite au louvre↑ (.) ce  
 25. sont↑ (.) c'est qui ça↑  
 --08:08--

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**T2 S1 D8 V30**

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**T2 S1 D8 V30 E1:**

--09:30--  
 1. Miss Lo: nous fini (.) [ssons  
 2. C?: [ssons  
 3. Miss Lo: vous fini (.) [ssez!  
 4. C?: [ssez!  
 5. Miss Lo: ils finissent  
 6. Karen: oui  
 7. Miss Lo: [tu vois Karen  
 8. Kenji: [ils finissent  
 9. Miss Lo: choisir (.) est-ce qu'il fait [comme  
 10. finir↑  
 11. Kenji: [choisissons  
 12. Miss Lo: [nous choisi  
 13. Kenji: [vous choisissez  
 14. Miss Lo: [ssez  
 15. C?: [ssez  
 16. Miss Lo: ils (.) [choisissent  
 17. C?: [choisissent  
 18. Leila: oui  
 19. Miss Lo: donc ça (.2) euh ça (.) je vais regarder  
 20. dans mon dictionnaire des verbes  
 21. (.)  
 22. Talia: **ayer me quite el culito[y traía (09:53)**  
 23. Miss Lo: alors ça (.) euh::  
 24. Talia: horrible  
 25. Kenji: il tu (.) il tue  
 26. Talia: **algo:: (.) [feo**  
 27. Miss Lo: [par exemple (.) je vais vous donner des  
 28. verbes qui se terminent pas 'ir' (.) et  
 29. vous allez me dire si c'est à votre avis  
 30. du deuxième groupe ou du premier groupe  
 31. (.) par exemple (.) rire (.) qui c'est qui  
 32. veut essayer de conjuguer rire  
 33. Kenji: rire rire  
 34. Piotr: deuxième=  
 35. Miss Lo: =Cristina  
 --10:20--

**T2 S1 D8 V30 E2:**

--14:55--  
 1. Kenji: tu (.) est toujours derrière 's'  
 2. Miss Lo: oui (.) très bien Kenji (.) a tu (.) pour  
 3. tu (.) on va toujours trouver un 's' à la  
 4. fin (.) tu joues tu dors tu pars tu  
 5. [prends tu parles tu cours-  
 6. Leila: [maîtresse (.) on aller↑ (.) troisième  
 7. groupe (.) va (.) c'est il va (.) c'est  
 8. pas avec un 't' à la fin  
 9. Miss Lo: voilà (.) ben parce que (.2) pour la  
 10. troisième personne on va pas trouver des

11. (.) on va pas trouver toujours la même  
 12. chose (.) on va trouver pour la première  
 13. (.) personne (.) pour la deuxième personne  
 14. on va toujours trouver le 's' (.) pour le  
 15. nous on va toujours trouver 'ons' (.) pour  
 16. le vous [on va trouver 'ez'  
 17. Talia: [maîtresse!  
 18. Piotr: [et pour ils  
 19. Talia: [et pour le ( )  
 20. Miss Lo: chut!  
 21. Piotr: [ont  
 22. Talia: [on va trouver le (.) 't'  
 23. Piotr: ont  
 24. (.)  
 25. Talia: non 't'  
 26. Piotr: [ont  
 27. Miss Lo: [pour↑  
 28. Talia: il  
 29. (.)  
 30. Piotr: non c'est pas toujours-  
 31. Miss Lo: pourquoi euh:: Talia↑  
 32. Talia: le deuxième groupe  
 33. Miss Lo: le deuxième groupe↑  
 34. Leila: non Talia (.) *fijate*  
 35. Piotr: non:: regarde!  
 36. Kenji: *fijate*  
 37. (.)  
 38. Miss Lo: pour le deuxième groupe↑  
 39. Piotr: un 't'↑  
 40. Talia: finit en 't'  
 41. (.2)  
 42. Miss Lo: mais pour quelle personne↑  
 43. Talia: il  
 44. Miss Lo: oui

--16:12--

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**T2 S1 D8 V32**

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**T2 S1 D8 V32 E1:**

Kenji asks Miss Lo the difference between 'garçon' and 'fils'.

--00:00--  
 1. Kenji: onna  
 2. Piotr: o-  
 3. (.)  
 4. Kenji: n-  
 5. Piotr: n- a-

6. Miss Lo: ça  
7. Piotr: ça oui  
8. Kenji: o- non  
9. Miss Lo: vient alors  
10. Kenji: on- (.) n! deux (.) [deux n-  
11. Miss Lo: [ah! deux n-  
12. Kenji: onna  
13. Miss Lo: onna  
14. Kenji: onna  
15. Miss Lo: ça c'est fille↑  
16. Piotr: [onna  
17. Kenji: [oui  
18. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
19. Miss Lo: et garçon↑  
20. Kenji: otoko  
21. Piotr: [otoko  
22. Miss Lo: [otoko  
23. Leila: haha ((laughing))  
24. ?: otoko  
25. Miss Lo: otoko↑  
26. Kenji: oto!ko (.) oui  
27. Miss Lo: otoko garçon (.) ok  
28. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
29. Miss Lo: ça c'est fille et garçon  
30. Piotr: onna (.) otoko  
31. Kenji: oui  
32. Miss Lo: et (.) j'ai une fille (.) ça c'est comment  
33. j'ai une fille↑  
34. (2)  
35. Kenji: euh:: (.) atashi wa <I>  
36. ? : ( )  
37. Miss Lo: alors j'ai [une fille (.) fille c'est  
38. quoi↑  
39. Leila: [non non pas j'ai  
40. Piotr: atashi- atashi onna  
41. Leila: c'est comme ça (.) j'ai (.) c'est ça  
42. Miss Lo: j'ai un fils (.) comment c'est j'ai (.)  
43. non pas j'ai (.) le fils (.) le fils (.)  
44. comment c'est le fils↑  
45. Piotr: fils  
46. Kenji: euh:: (.) musuko  
47. Miss Lo: comment↑  
48. Leila: [musuko  
49. Kenji: [musuko  
50. (.)  
51. Miss Lo: [musuko  
52. Piotr: [musuko  
53. (.)  
54. Piotr: musuko (.) haha ((laughing))  
55. Leila: c'est comme l'italien (.) musuko!  
56. Miss Lo: musuko (.) comme ça↑ ((Miss Lo writes on the  
57. board))  
58. Cristina: italiano  
59. (.)  
60. Miss Lo: hein↑ (.) [ça c'est le garçon↑  
61. Matilda: [Cristina (.) mon papa qui est  
62. allé en Italie  
63. Miss Lo: ça c'est le fils  
64. Piotr: musuko (.) /poritæ/ (.) /poritæ/ ((making  
65. words up that sound like italian))  
66. Miss Lo: c'est ça↑ (.) et ça c'est la fille (.) et  
67. la fille euh:: (.) le féminin de musuko  
68. c'est quoi le féminin de musuko ↑  
69. Kenji: oublie  
70. Miss Lo: comment↑  
71. Kenji: ah ah ((laughing)) (.) oublie  
72. Miss Lo: bli- comment↑  
73. Kenji: non oublie (.) j'ai oublie!  
74. Leila: oublie (.) il a-

75. Miss Lo: comment-  
76. Kenji: [non j'ai oublié!  
77. Miss Lo: [prend ton dictionnaire  
78. (.)  
79. Miss Lo: mais prends ton dictionnaire alors  
80. (.3)  
81. Kenji: attends  
82. Miss Lo: comment on dit fille  
83. Kenji: euh  
84. Miss Lo: alors voilà tiens (.) prends ton  
85. dictionnaire (.) comment on dit fille en  
86. japonais (.) mets-moi fille (.) le mot  
87. fille [on va voir  
88. Kenji: [fille est **onna**  
89. (.)  
90. Piotr: **onna**  
91. Miss Lo: ouais mais la fille (.) j'ai une fille  
92. Piotr: fils (.) fils  
93. Miss Lo: j'ai une fille (.) mon bébé c'est pas un  
94. garçon c'est une fille (.) j'ai une fille  
95. j'ai un fils  
96. Piotr: [eum  
97. Kenji: [mm  
98. Piotr: en pologne c'est-  
99. Kenji: ça c'est français et quoi français  
100. Leila: en espagnol aussi c'est différent  
101. Piotr: en pologne aussi  
102. Kenji: français écris  
103. Miss Lo: [ouais  
104. Leila: [c'est-  
105. (.)  
106. Leila: c'est fille garçon (.) et après-  
107. Kenji: français écris  
108. Miss Lo: on peut écrire en français↑  
109. Kenji: oui  
110. ((Miss Lo writes the french word on Kenji's digital  
111. dictionary))  
112. Miss Lo: f- (.1) i-  
113. Leila: l-  
114. Piotr: [l-  
115. Kenji: [l-  
116. Leila: l-  
117. Piotr: l- e-  
118. Leila: e-  
119. (.)  
120. Kenji: ah oui **musume!**  
121. Miss Lo: hein↑  
122. (.)  
123. Kenji: **musume**  
124. Piotr: **musume**  
125. Miss Lo: alors fais voir (.) fille (.) **daughter** (.)  
126. voilà **daughter** (.) okay (.) **daughter**  
127. c'est↑  
128. (.)  
129. Kenji: c'est quoi↑  
130. Miss Lo: comment c'est en japonais [**daughter**↑  
131. Kenji: [ou↑ (.) ou  
132. **daughter**  
133. Miss Lo: la (.) en anglais (.) **daughter** (.) fille  
134. (.) comment- qu'est-ce qui est marqué la↑  
135. (.) en caractère  
136. Kenji: **dau- ghter**  
137. ((the school bell rings, marking the end of the  
138. lesson))  
139. Piotr: ouais!  
140. Miss Lo: non mais qu'est-ce qu'est marqué en  
141. japonais  
142. (.)  
143. Kenji: euh (.) euh (.) **musume**  
144. Miss Lo: **musume** (.) d'accord

145. Piotr: musume  
146. Miss Lo: musume (.) donc  
147. ((Miss Lo walks back to the board))  
148. Miss Lo: restez a vos places la s'il vous plait  
149. Kenji: ça c'est fille!  
150. Miss Lo: chut!  
151. ((children chatting))  
152. (.2)  
153. Miss Lo: ça c'est comme ça↑ (.) Kenji! (.) musume  
154. (.) c'est ça↑ (.) musume ((Miss Lo writes on the  
155. board))  
156. Kenji: oui  
157. (.)  
158. Miss Lo: musume ça veut [dire↑ (.) daughter (.)  
159. fille  
160. Leila: [moi en esp-  
161. (.)  
162. Miss Lo: et musuko ça veut dire↑ (.) son (.) garçon  
163. (.) hein↑  
164. Leila: maîtresse!  
165. Miss Lo: [et (.) fille (.) la fille (.)  
166. Leila c'est une fille onna (.) hein (.)  
167. et euh:: Piotr c'est un garçon (.)  
168. otoko  
169. Kenji: [oui  
170. Miss Lo: [c'est ça↑  
171. (.)  
172. Kenji: [oui (.) oui  
173. Leila: [maîtresse! en espagnol [aussi c'est  
174. différent  
175. Miss Lo: [chut!  
176. Piotr: en pologne aussi  
177. Miss Lo: asseyez-vous à vos [places  
178. Talia: [de quién es este↑  
179. Miss Lo: deux minutes on a un truc intéressant la  
180. Leila: de Kenji (03:00)  
181. Maia: oh ( )! ((unidentified language))  
182. Miss Lo: Maia! (.) merci  
183. (.)  
184. Miss Lo: en espagnol (.3) comment c'est [fille  
185. Leila: [nena  
186. Kenji: nena!  
187. Miss Lo: hein↑  
188. Leila: nena  
189. Miss Lo: nena  
190. ?: non!  
191. Leila: ou niña (.) niña!  
192. Kenji: niña! niña! niña!  
193. Miss Lo: niña  
194. Kenji: niña  
195. Leila: n-  
196. ((Miss Lo writes on the board))  
197. Miss Lo: niña  
198. Leila: oui  
199. Andrea: non maîtresse!  
200. Leila: niño! (.) avec un o-  
201. Miss Lo: niño c'est le garçon d'accord  
202. Leila: le puede decir como vos queres  
203. Miss Lo: alors (.) et après  
204. Leila: hijo (.) c'est garçon c'est hijo  
205. Cristina: hijo  
206. Leila: h- i-  
207. Kenji: c'est comme française  
208. Leila: hija  
209. Cristina: hija c'est la même chose  
210. Leila: comme ça  
211. Miss Lo: donc (.) chut! (.) en- en espagnol quand  
212. on dit (.) hija (.) ça veut dire c'est ma  
213. fille en fait  
214. Leila: oui

215. Miss Lo: c'est- c'est pas (.) comme (.) euh (.)  
 216. Leila elle est **hija** (.) non (.) on dit  
 217. [c'est une **niña**  
 218. Cristina: [**niña**  
 219. Leila: oui (.) oui  
 220. Miss Lo: voilà  
 221. (.)  
 222. Miss Lo: alors vous avez vu (.) vous vous avez (.)  
 223. c'est logique (.) ça veut dire que (.)  
 224. vous avez un mot (.) vous avez deux mots  
 225. différents (.) vous avez **niña** et **niño** et  
 226. vous avez **hija** et **hijo** en espagnol (.) en  
 227. anglais on a  
 228. ((knocks on the door))  
 229. Miss Lo: en anglais on a (.)  
 230. C?: entrez  
 231. ((The door opens))  
 232. Miss Lo: **girl** (.) and [boy  
 233. Matilda: [boy  
 234. (.)  
 235. Matilda: **daughter**  
 236. Miss Lo: **daughter** and [son  
 237. Matilda: [son  
 238. Miss Lo: voilà (.) en espagn- en (.) en japonais on  
 239. a (.) **onna otoko** (.) et (.) **musume** et  
 240. **musuko**  
 241. (.) en français! (.) c'est ça qui est  
 242. difficile (.) en français le mot fille  
 243. ((circling on the board)) c'est le même  
 244. pour dire **ona** et **musume** (.) et c'est le  
 245. même pour dire **niña** et **hija** (.) c'est le  
 246. même (.) c'est un seul mot (.) par contre  
 247. pour garçon (.) il y a deux mots (.) il y  
 248. a garçon et fils  
 249. (.2)  
 250. Talia: mais je suis la fille de ma- (.) de ma-  
 251. [(.) de ma mère  
 252. Leila: [**no** (.) **no porque** fille **es- o sea** (.) **está**  
 253. **diciendo yo** (.) **yo soy la hija** (.) **yo soy**  
 254. **el hijo** (.) de mi mama (.) entendes↑  
 255. (.)  
 256. Leila: **para decir hija en francés tienes que**  
 257. **decir** fille (.) **y para decir hijo tienes**  
 258. **que decir** fils (.) [(ese está diciendo)  
 259. Miss Lo: [c'est-à-dire qu'en  
 260. français on va dire (.) je suis une fille  
 261. Kenji: c'est quoi ce champignon↑  
 262. Miss Lo: et aussi je suis la fille de ma mère  
 263. Piotr: ( )  
 264. Miss Lo: mais- (.) Piotr chut! (.) on écoute  
 265. la (.) chut!  
 266. Piotr: oui  
 267. Talia: et au pluriel↑  
 268. Miss Lo: en français on va dire je suis une fille  
 269. et je suis la fille de ma mère=  
 270. Talia: =maîtresse  
 271. Miss Lo: et par contre vous vous allez dire les  
 272. garçons (.) je suis un garçon et je suis  
 273. le↑  
 274. (.)  
 275. Piotr: [fils de ma mère  
 276. Miss Lo: [fils de ma mère (.) °et on peut aussi  
 277. dire je suis le garçon [de ma mère mais  
 278. c'est encore compliqué°  
 279. Talia: [mais maîtresse  
 280. comment on dit au pluriel↑  
 281. Miss Lo: chut!  
 282. Talia: fille↑  
 283. Miss Lo: alors (.) est-ce que en:: polonais  
 284. c'est:: (.) pareil (.) il y a un mot pour



285.                   chaque↑  
286.   Piotr:           oui  
287.   Miss Lo:         comment vous dites fille↑ (.) je suis une  
288.                   fille  
289.   Piotr:           euh::  
290.   Miss Lo:         fille  
291.   Piotr:           euh (.) **dziewczyna** <PoliKenji: girl> (05:23)  
292.   Miss Lo:         **dziewczyna** <PoliKenji: girl>  
293.   Kenji:           haha ((laughing))  
294.   Miss Lo:         et (.) garçon↑  
295.   Piotr:           euh (.) **chołpak** <PoliKenji: boy>  
296.   Miss Lo:         **chołpak** (.) et:: (.) la fille- la fille de  
297.                   ma mère c'est quoi↑  
298.   Piotr:           euh (.) **córka** <PoliKenji: daughter>  
299.   Miss Lo:         **surka**↑  
300.   Leila:           **turka!** haha ((laughing))  
301.   Miss Lo:         hein↑  
302.   Piotr:           [**córka** <PoliKenji: daughter>  
303.   Miss Lo:         **córka** (.) et le fils↑  
304.   (.)  
305.   Talía:           [**turka**  
306.   Piotr:           [euh (.) **syn** <PoliKenji: son>  
307.   (.)  
308.   Miss Lo:         **syn**  
309.   (.)  
310.   Piotr:           [**syn**  
311.   Miss Lo:         [**syn**  
312.   (.)  
313.   Piotr:           [**syn**  
314.   Miss Lo:         [**syn** (.) donc voyez euh (.) redis-moi  
315.                   fille  
316.   Piotr:           euh (.) **dziewczyna** <PoliKenji: girl>  
317.                   (.) **chołpak** <PoliKenji: boy> (.) **córka**  
318.                   <PoliKenji: daughter> (.) **syn** <PoliKenji:  
319.                   son>  
320.   ((Leila and Kenji have a parallel conversation in  
321.   French))  
322.   Miss Lo:         voilà (.) il y a aussi deux mots  
323.                   différents (.) hein↑ (.) et en français il  
324.                   y en a que trois  
325.   (.1)  
326.   Miss Lo:         on y va (.) très bien!  
327.   ((children getting out of their chairs))  
328.   Miss Lo:         voilà on a des petites sorties comme ça de  
329.                   temps en temps ((speaking to Rs))  
330.   Researcher: ouais voilà  
331.   ((children chatting in spanish and French in the  
332.   corridor and the classroom. Rs and T keeps  
333.   chatting))  
--end of the extract--

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## T2 S1 D9 V33

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### T2 S1 D9 V33 E1:

T is asking whether children are going to get to speak French during the holidays.

--01:50--  
1.       Miss Lo:         j'aimerais bien que vous partiez en  
2.                   vacances avec ça qui soit bien clair dans  
3.                   votre tête (.) parce que comme je sais  
4.                   qu'après vous allez aller en vacances et  
5.                   que vous allez plus parler français! (.)  
6.                   qui c'est qui va parler français pendant  
7.                   les vacances↑  
8.       Talía:           je crois que oui  
9.       Miss Lo:         Talía tu vas parler français avec qui↑

10. Talia: avec (.) ( ) (.) je peux parler  
11. Miss Lo: ah tu peux (.) ça va (.) euh:: Piotr  
12. tu vas parler français en pologne↑  
13. Piotr: non ((laughing))  
14. Miss Lo: pas tellement hein (.) Leila tu vas  
15. parler français↑  
16. Leila: non  
17. Miss Lo: non pas pendant deux semaines (.) Kenji  
18. tu vas parler français à la maison↑  
19. Kenji: non  
20. Miss Lo: non (.) Karen tu vas parler français  
21. Karen: euh oui parce que j'ai-  
22. Miss Lo: ah  
23. Karen: mes demi-frères et ma demi-sœur  
24. (.)  
25. Miss Lo: ah! (.) et eux ils parlent pas euh::  
26. demi anglais↑ (.) non  
27. Karen: non  
28. Miss Lo: ils parlent français↑ (.) français  
29. français↑ (.) mais ce sont des américains↑  
30. (.) des franco-américains↑  
31. Karen: des français  
32. Miss Lo: c'est les enfants de ton papa↑ (.) de ton  
33. beau-père↑  
34. Karen: oui  
35. Miss Lo: mais ton beau-père il est pas américain↑  
36. Karen: non (.) français  
37. Miss Lo: il est français (.) et il est pas moitié  
38. américain↑  
39. Karen: non  
40. Miss Lo: mais il parle bien anglais parce que je  
41. l'ai entendu  
42. Karen: ah ben oui parce que sa maman c'est (.)  
43. c'est américaine  
44. Miss Lo: ah oui! c'est ce qu'il me semblait! (.)  
45. j'avais bien compris qu'il y avait  
46. [quelque chose-  
47. Karen: [et:: l'anniversaire de ma mamie et c'est  
48. sa maman  
49. (.)  
50. Miss Lo: la maman de ta mamie qui est sa maman (.)  
51. mais avec ta mamie tu parles en français  
52. ou en anglais↑  
53. (.)  
54. Karen: anglais et français  
55. Miss Lo: oui donc c'est ça (.) et avec ton beau-  
56. père↑  
57. Karen: en français  
58. Miss Lo: voilà c'est bien ce qu'il me semblait (.)  
59. j'étais pas- (.) ok (.) samba tu vas  
60. parler français pendant les vacances  
61. (.)  
62. Miss Lo: non↑ (.) un petit peu (.) tu vas pas aller  
63. au centre aéré↑ (.) ah non pas pendant les  
64. vacances  
65. Samba: hier  
66. Miss Lo: hier tu as été au centre aéré↑ (.) vous  
67. allez me dire après ce que vous avez fait  
68. (.) Cristina! (.2) tu vas parler français  
69. pendant les vacances↑  
70. (.)  
71. Miss Lo: oui (.) oui (.) dis-moi oui  
72. Karen: moi je vais aller au-  
73. Miss Lo: dis-moi oui parce que là (.) alors Hakim  
74. tu vas parler français pendant les  
75. vacances↑  
76. Hakim: oui  
77. Miss Lo: oui (.) euh:: Amkoulel tu vas parler  
78. français

79. Amkoulel: (un peu)  
80. Miss Lo: un peu (.) Andrea tu vas parler français↑  
81. Talia: ah le mercredi  
82. Andrea: oui (.) [je vais faire le sport  
83. Miss Lo: [merci me-  
84. Miss Lo: ah! (.) tu vas faire du sport et là-bas  
85. tu vas parler français  
86. Matilda: [non::  
87. Miss Lo: [Maia! (.) tu vas parler français  
88. pendant les vacances↑  
89. Maia: non  
90. Miss Lo: [non  
91. Talia: [oh maîtresse!  
92. Miss Lo: Matilda↑  
93. Matilda: oh à la maison oui parce que:: (.) mon  
94. (.) papa il est française  
95. Miss Lo: il est↑  
96. Matilda: française  
97. Miss Lo: française↑ (.) c'est une femme ton papa↑  
98. Matilda: haha ((laughing))  
99. Miss Lo: c'est une dame ton papa↑  
100. Matilda: français  
101. Miss Lo: français ah d'accord (.) ok (.) donc euh  
102. (.) y en qui vont quand même un peu parler  
103. (.) heureusement (.) je dis heureusement  
104. parce que c'est bien que vous parliez  
105. votre langue mais (.) c'est pour moi que  
106. je dis heureusement parce que je me dis  
107. que quand vous allez revenir (.) j'espère  
108. que vous allez encore vous rappeler (.) de  
109. toutes les histoires que je vous raconte  
110. (.) [euh:: (.) à l'école  
111. Amkoulel: maîtresse!

--04:24--

**T2 S1 D9 V33 E2:**

--04:34--

1. Amkoulel: maîtresse!  
2. Miss Lo: chut!  
3. Amkoulel: elle a dit un gros mot (.) j'ai dis  
4. ( )  
5. Miss Lo: donc toi tu as dis un gros mot ou pas↑  
6. Amkoulel: non  
7. Hakim: si il a dit un gros mot  
8. Miss Lo: il t'a dit quel gros mot↑  
9. Hakim: casse-toi  
10. (.2)  
11. Miss Lo: t'as dit ça Amkoulel↑  
12. Amkoulel: non  
13. Hakim: [si  
14. Leila: [c'est quoi ça maîtresse↑ ((pointing to  
15. her exercise))  
16. Miss Lo: bon moi j'ai pas entendu (.) j'ai pas  
17. entendu  
18. Talia: ni lo aprendes (04:55) <you don't learn  
19. it either>  
20. Miss Lo: casse-toi ça veut dire (.) casse-toi ça  
21. veut dire (.) va t'en (.) d'abord ça veut  
22. dire (.) va t'en (.) donc déjà dans la  
23. classe on peut pas dire va t'en parce que  
24. l'enfant il peut pas sortir de la classe  
25. (.) donc déjà on peut pas dire va t'en à  
26. quelqu'un dans la classe  
27. Talia: ah (.) lãrgate tipo (05:06) <bugger off  
28. man>  
29. Miss Lo: et ça veut dire va t'en et ça veut dire  
30. (.) euh:: (.) casse-toi c'est une façon

31. méchante de dire à quelqu'un de partir  
32. Talia: en espagnol c'est **lárgate (05:14)**  
33. (.)  
34. Miss Lo: c'est pour ça qu'on dit que c'est un gros  
35. mot (.) un gros mot c'est (.) c'est (.)  
36. vous savez ce que c'est que les gros mots↑  
37. Leila: oui oui  
38. Miss Lo: c'est les mots qui sont (.) que  
39. normalement on ne dit pas (.) parce que  
40. c'est pas poli (.) c'est pas gentil (.) et  
41. que on peut dire les choses euh (.) de  
42. plusieurs façons (.) et il y a des façons  
43. qui sont des insultes et il y a des façons  
44. qui sont polis (.) et donc on appelle ça  
45. (.) des gros mots (.) ils sont pas gros  
46. mots en fait hein!  
47. ((children laughing))  
48. Miss Lo: donc (.) des mots grossiers (.) si on dit  
49. des mots grossiers (.) qu'est-ce que vous  
50. connaissez en français comme gros mots↑  
51. Piotr: oh la la  
52. Miss Lo: ah non mais (.) vous allez loin là  
53. Talia: y en a jusqu'ou↑  
54. Miss Lo: alors chut! (.) Andrea  
55. Andrea: ta gueule  
56. Miss Lo: ta gueule voilà (.) pourquoi on peut pas  
57. dire ta gueule↑ (.) parce que ta gueule  
58. (.) qui est-ce qui a une gueule on a dit  
59. l'autre jour↑  
60. Andrea: le chien  
61. Miss Lo: c'est le chien  
62. ((children laughing))  
63. Miss Lo: donc quand on dit à quelqu'un ta gueule  
64. (.) chut! quand on dit à quelqu'un ta  
65. gueule c'est comme si on considère que  
66. c'est pas un (.) un-  
67. Leila: **perro Talia**  
68. Miss Lo: [que c'est un animal hein  
69. Talia: [( ) **puta**  
70. Miss Lo: Leila là vous avez pas à traduire (.)  
71. on considère que comme si c'était un  
72. animal (.) donc ça c'est pas bien (.)  
73. c'est un être humain comme nous  
74. Andrea: un garçon m'a dit hier!  
75. Miss Lo: un garçon t'a dit ça hier↑  
76. Andrea: il ma dit:: ta gueule  
77. Miss Lo: ta gueule voilà (.) ben ta gueule c'est  
78. (.) c'est un gros mot (.) donc si  
79. quelqu'un vous dit ça à la récréation (.)  
80. vous dev- vous allez voir la maîtresse et  
81. vous allez dire voilà il m'a dit ça (.) et  
82. vous vous devez pas dire ça non plus (.)  
83. hein↑ (.) qu'est-ce qu'il y a comme autre  
84. gros mots↑ (.) donc ta gueule ça veut dire  
85. tais-toi en fait hein↑ (.) tais-toi (.)  
86. donc autant dire tais-toi (.) euh:: il y  
87. a quoi comme autre gros mots↑ (.) Hakim  
88. t'en connais des gros mots (.) t'as l'air  
89. tout timide là oui  
90. (.5) ((children laughing))  
91. Miss Lo: non mais soyez pas timide là (.) là on est  
92. en train de voir si vous savez ce que ça  
93. veut dire  
94. Leila: maîtresse! (.) pétasse!  
95. Miss Lo: pétasse  
96. Leila: °**hija de puta**°  
97. Talia: [oh!  
98. Miss Lo: [pétasse (.) pétasse ça veut dire euh::  
99. Kenji: c'est quoi pétasse↑  
100. ((Mi and Talia laughing))

101. Miss Lo: c'est ce qu'on dit à une fille euh:: (.)  
102. mais vraiment comme si c'était une fille  
103. qui était euh (.) euh (.) vulgaire (.)  
104. c'est pas gentil de dire pétasse (.) c'est  
105. vraiment euh:: (.) effectivement c'est un  
106. gros mot  
107. (.2)  
108. Maia: que lo dijo↑  
109. Miss Lo: c'est comme si on dit que c'est une fille  
110. vraiment euh:: (.)  
111. Talia: sur le trottoir  
112. Miss Lo: oui c'est ça ( ) (.) une fille  
113. bête (.) voyez (.) vulgaire (.) c'est pas  
114. poli bon qu'est-ce qu'il y a d'autre↑ (.)  
115. pétasse (.) ta gueule (.) après↑ (.)  
116. casse-toi (.) donc on peut dire pousse-toi  
117. (.) pousse-toi c'est pas gentil mais c'est  
118. pas une:: (.) une insulte  
119. Andrea: merde  
120. Miss Lo: ah oui alors↑  
121. Talia: [merde  
122. Andrea: [merde  
123. Miss Lo: merde  
124. (.)  
125. Matilda: oh (.) putain!  
126. Miss Lo: ouais  
127. (.10) ((children laughing))  
128. Miss Lo: chut! (.) chut! (.) ben je vois que vous  
129. apprenez beaucoup de choses dans la cour  
130. de récréation hein↑ (.) alors chut!  
131. Talia: puta mierda  
132. Miss Lo: eh! Cristina! (.) alors (.) merde (.) ça  
133. veut dire quoi merde en fait↑  
134. Piotr: euh (.) caca  
135. Miss Lo: voilà!  
136. ((children laughing)) (.3)  
137. Miss Lo: c'est un mot qui (.) alors voilà (.) et  
138. qu'est-ce qu'on peut dire au lieu de dire  
139. merde puisque merde c'est un gros mot↑  
140. Talia: caca↑  
141. ?: zut!  
142. Talia: ah c'est (.) je fais (.) mier-  
143. Miss Lo: chut! (.) zut (.) c'est c'est (.) ah!  
144. zut! merde! (.) et donc c'est sans faire  
145. exprès  
146. Talia: c'est caca↑  
147. ((children laughing))  
148. Andrea: mierda!  
149. Leila: Talia (.) Talia como se diciendo oy!  
150. (08:31)  
151. Miss Lo: [voilà  
152. Talia: [je fais (.) merde  
153. Miss Lo: mais ça veut dire (.) le sens du mot ça  
154. veut dire caca mais quand on dit merde en  
155. fait on pas dit pas caca on dit (.) on se  
156. trompe (.) ou bien voilà (.) je prends un  
157. verre d'eau (.) je prends un verre d'eau  
158. et hop! je le renverse (.) ben je vais  
159. dire (.) ah! merde! (.) parce que je  
160. suis en colère contre moi-même  
161. Talia: c'est ( )  
162. Miss Lo: zut il faut dire zut et c'est pas un gros  
163. mot (.) et toi t'as dit quoi↑  
164. Matilda: putain  
165. Miss Lo: putain c'est pareil (.) on dit oh!  
166. putain!  
167. Matilda: je sais comment on dit en anglais  
168. ((laughing))  
169. Miss Lo: voilà (.) mais c'est pas un gros mot ça  
170. hein

171. Talia: c'est quoi↑  
172. (.)  
173. Andrea: [puta  
174. Miss Lo: [c'est comme quelqu'un qui fait la  
175. prostitution  
176. Talia: oh  
177. Piotr: [puta!  
178. Miss Lo: [le mot putain ça veut dire prostitution  
179. (.1) mais c'est pas un mot (.) quand on  
180. dit putain en fait (.) parce que on peut  
181. dire [zut à la place  
182. Maia: [(he) aprendido bastantes cosas  
183. (09:14) <(you have) learned so may  
184. things>  
185. Miss Lo: donc quand on dit putain (.) c'est- c'est  
186. une insulte aussi (.) si on dit ça à  
187. quelqu'un on dit ça c'est une très grosse  
188. insulte (.) on peut pas dire ça à  
189. quelqu'un (.) mais si on dit pour soi-même  
190. (.) ah putain ça m'énerve! (.) vous voyez  
191. (.) mais c'est pas un gros mot  
192. Kenji: oh tu m'énerves  
193. Miss Lo: mais des fois on le dit (.) des fois on le  
194. dit (.) mais on peut pas le dire à école  
195. (.) c'est surtout ça (.) on a pas le droit  
196. de le dire à l'école (.) à l'école si on  
197. dit ça c'est grave (.) parce que à l'école  
198. (.) ces mots là (.) on a pas le droit de  
199. les utiliser  
200. Andrea: mon père aussi dit que si pour une chose  
201. ah m-  
202. Miss Lo: voilà tout le monde à la maison va dire ah  
203. merde! (.) ah putain! (.) [même en::  
204. espagnol-  
205. Andrea: [la maîtresse (.) la maîtresse  
206. Talia: oh oui ((laughing))  
207. Andrea: la maîtresse l'autre jour elle a dit aussi  
208. Miss Lo: la maîtresse de ce2 elle a dit ça aussi↑  
209. --09:56--  
210. [...]  
211. --14:00--  
212. Miss Lo: Kenji (.) est-ce qu'il y a des gros mots  
213. au japon↑  
214. (.3)  
215. Miss Lo: en japonais↑  
216. Kenji: euh (.) comment kuso <shit>(14:08)  
217. (.)  
218. Miss Lo: hein↑  
219. Kenji: kuso!  
220. Piotr: [kuso!  
221. Miss Lo: [non non je te- (.) ah [d'accord tu m'en  
222. dis un  
223. Leila: [c'est quoi kuso ↑  
224. Miss Lo: mais est-ce qu'il y a des mots comme ça  
225. qu'on a pas le droit de dire (.) qui sont  
226. pas beau  
227. Kenji: oui  
228. Miss Lo: ah oui↑  
229. Talia: en espagnol beau[coup  
230. Kenji: [pas le droit  
231. Piotr: [kuso (.)kuso!  
232. Miss Lo: [en espagnol beaucoup d'accord  
233. (.)  
234. Miss Lo: ça ce sont des mots en fait qu'on apprend  
235. pas en- dans la classe (.) ce sont des  
236. mots qu'on apprend↑  
237. Kenji: oui japon:: (.) dire  
238. Miss Lo: y en a (.) vous en dites mais vous en  
239. dites à [l'école↑  
240. Piotr: [/kusaé/

241. !  
 242. (.)  
 243. Kenji: euh:: à l'école dire euh (.) maîtresse  
 244. dit non  
 245. Miss Lo: ah oui (.) la maîtresse elle- voilà (.) si  
 246. on le dit la maîtresse elle est pas  
 247. d'accord  
 248. Talia: Kenji (.) c'est quoi /kusa/↑  
 249. Miss Lo: chut!  
 250. Talia: o kuso!  
 251. Miss Lo: non mais euh:: Talia (.) le but du  
 252. jeu là c'est pas de les apprendre dans  
 253. différentes langues  
 254. ((children laughing)) (.4)  
 255. Miss Lo: ce qui est sur (.) ce qui est sur et  
 256. certain avec un gros mot c'est quoi↑ (.)  
 257. c'est que quand on le dit qu'est-ce qui se  
 258. passe derrière↑  
 259. Karen: après (.) euh::  
 260. Andrea: on le dire à la maîtresse↑  
 261. Miss Lo: non mais quand on dit un gros mot qu'est-  
 262. ce- (.) est-ce qu'on dit un gros mot et  
 263. puis voilà ça y est (.) on dit un gros mot  
 264. ben on dit j'ai froid et puis après on dit  
 265. putain (.) après on dit j'ai faim merde  
 266. (.) est-ce qu'on dit des gros mots et il  
 267. se passe rien↑  
 268. Matilda: maîtresse! (.) maîtresse!  
 269. Miss Lo: qu'est-ce qui se passe quand on dit un  
 270. gros mot↑  
 271. Karen: euh:: (.) tu peux:: (.2)  
 272. [( )]  
 273. Talia: [aller avec jésus (.) pardon  
 274. Miss Lo: ah  
 275. Talia: on dit ça  
 276. Miss Lo: chut! (.) non non qu'est-ce qui se passe  
 277. quand on dit un gros mot:: euh:: (.)  
 278. même a la recrée avec des enfants (.)  
 279. [qu'est-ce qui se passe↑  
 280. Karen: [je sais pas comment on dit (.) en anglais  
 281. mais::  
 282. Miss Lo: ben dis-le moi en anglais Karen  
 283. Karen: euh:: (.) euh (.) you can get in  
 284. trouble!  
 285. Miss Lo: voilà! (.) et ben oui (.) oui  
 286. Leila: c'est quoi↑  
 287. Miss Lo: elle a bien (.) bien compris (.) elle a  
 288. dit que- (.) ce qui est sur c'est que  
 289. quand on dit un gros mot (.1) tu vas avoir  
 290. des problèmes (.2) il va y avoir des  
 291. problèmes (.) c'est ça qui- qui (.) c'est  
 292. comme ça parce que des fois on apprend une  
 293. langue  
 294. Kenji: après peur  
 295. Miss Lo: on sait pas que ce mot là c'est un gros  
 296. mot (.) mais si vous le dites vous allez  
 297. voir (.) vous dites à un enfant à la  
 298. récréation (.) ta gueule (.) il y a deux  
 299. solutions (.) soit il vient vite voir la  
 300. maîtresse et il va dire maîtresse  
 301. maîtresse! (.) il m'a dit ta gueule et la  
 302. maîtresse elle va dire qu'est-ce que c'est  
 303. que ça ta ta ta ta (.) t'es puni! (.)  
 304. donc ça ça fait un problème (.) vous êtes  
 305. puni  
 306. Kenji: qu'est-ce que tu fais↑  
 307. Miss Lo: donc vous allez voir que oh là (.) c'est  
 308. un mot qu'il fallait pas dire (.) soit  
 309. l'enfant (.) il va être encore plus fâché  
 310. contre vous (.) et il va y avoir une

311. bagarre (.) donc les gros mots ce qui est  
 312. sur (.) c'est que les gros mots à l'école  
 313. ça fait des grands problèmes (.) si vous  
 314. dites ça à la maîtresse (.) vous allez  
 315. vous retrouver chez la directrice  
 --16:36--

**T2 S1 D9 V33 E3:**

Miss Lo is correcting children's exercises and highlighting the common mistakes.

--01:07:20--  
 1. Miss Lo: et sinon (.1) euh:: (.2) donc le cheval  
 2. (.) le féminin de cheval était quoi↑=  
 3. Cristina: =la [(.) euh::  
 4. Leila: [che- jument! (.) jument!  
 5. Miss Lo: [jument  
 6. Cristina: [jumelle!  
 7. Miss Lo: jumelle↑  
 8. (.3)  
 9. ((children laughing))  
 10. Piotr: jument  
 11. Miss Lo: jument! (.2) jument (.) c'est quoi la  
 12. jumelle↑  
 13. Cristina: c'est la femme-  
 14. Karen: jumelle c'est- c'est- c'est-  
 15. Piotr: c- c- c- c'est ((laughing))  
 16. ((children laughing))  
 17. Cristina: c'est la femme (.) de- de::  
 18. (.)  
 19. Miss Lo: c'est quoi la jumelle↑ (.) les sœurs  
 20. jumelles↑  
 21. Karen: c'est la femme de l- l- (.) la-  
 22. Cristina: ah! c'est  
 23. Karen: cheval↑  
 24. Piotr: ah c'est les deux qui::  
 25. Cristina: ( ) jumelles que ça euh::  
 26. Piotr: [ils sont-  
 27. Miss Lo: [la sœur jumelle  
 28. Piotr: ils sont:: [nés:: (.) en même temps↑  
 29. Leila: [ah! (.) que c'est que:: (.)  
 30. quand elle naît (.) elles sont bébés (.)  
 31. elles sont les deux avec le même age et  
 32. ils sont pareils pareils (.) tout tout  
 33. pareil  
 34. Miss Lo: voilà  
 35. Leila: [les mêmes yeux (.) la même (.) tout  
 36. pareil!  
 37. Karen: [c'est la sœur!  
 38. Miss Lo: au lieu d'avoir- (.) comment on dit en  
 39. anglais↑  
 40. (.3)  
 41. Miss Lo: les enfants [jumeaux↑ (.) twins↑  
 42. Karen: oui!  
 43. Miss Lo: voilà (.) et comment on dit en espagnol  
 44. les jumeaux↑  
 45. (.)  
 46. Leila: ge[mela!  
 47. Talia: [geme[la  
 48. Andrea: [gemela  
 49. Cristina: ah!  
 50. ?: /ʒemedæ/!  
 51. Cristina: gemelos!  
 52. Karen: /teteræ/ =  
 53. Leila: =jemela!  
 54. Cristina: ( )  
 55. Piotr: /ʒemeræ/



56. Leila: **gemela**  
57. Miss Lo: ou sinon aussi il y a un autre mot aussi  
58. en français les jumelles (.) c'est ce  
59. qu'on prend comme ça pour regarder (.)  
60. pour voir loin (.) les jumelles  
61. Leila: ah! oui:: (.) euh **los- los-** ( )  
62. Miss Lo: mais ça n'a pas de- (.) jumelle ça n'a pas  
63. de [rapport avec jument attention  
64. Andrea: [**cómo**↑  
65. (.)  
66. Leila: non::  
67. Miss Lo: jument (.) [cheval  
68. Leila: [jument [c'est la- ((writing on  
69. the board))  
70. Talia: [**cómo le llaman**↑  
71. (.)  
72. Leila: [c'est la femme du cheval  
73. Andrea: [**yo no sé (.) yo me olvidé**  
74. Leila: et jumelle c'est (.) [c'est les deux  
75. filles pareil (.) ou deux personnes  
76. Talia: [**binoculares!**  
77. (.)  
78. Cristina: maîtresse!  
79. Miss Lo: chut! (.) oui  
80. Cristina: maîtresse! on peut manger [un film  
81. Talia: [**oye (.) la**  
82. **niña del pelo negro [con rosa**↑(01:09:04)  
83. Miss Lo: [chut chut!  
84. Cristina: ( ) en fait il y a une fille qui se  
85. [connaît pas (.)  
86. Talia: [**el pelo así (.) el bien chiquito (south**  
87. **american)** <her hair are like that (.) her  
88. hair is really short>  
89. Cristina: et en fait il y avait une moitié de:: (.)  
90. de (.) de (.) photos (.) en fait était  
91. des jumelles  
92. Miss Lo: voilà d'accord  
93. Cristina: et après  
94. Miss Lo: et elle a cherché sa sœur oui d'accord  
95. d'accord (.) ok  
96. Cristina: et après voilà (.) et après  
97. ( )  
98. Miss Lo: très bien  
99. ((Miss Lo moves on and works with another child))  
--01:09:30--

**T2 S1 D9 V33 E4:**

T writes on the board the time table of the day for every children.

--37:19--  
1. Miss Lo: voilà (.) alors (.) très bien (.) alors  
2. justement (.) on va c'est bien (.) parce  
3. que ça fait- c'est:: (2) on va marquer  
4. après qui est-ce qui sort le jeudi ya  
5. quoi↑  
6. (.)  
7. Leila: moi [je sors à- à::  
8. Miss Lo: [euh:: (.) Hakim  
9. Leila: [dix heures  
10. Piotr: [moi est-ce qu'on a (.) [escalade  
11. Talia: [dix heures quinze  
12. Leila: oh oui::! escalade! (.) trop bien  
13. Miss Lo: alors c'est l'après-midi alors parce que  
14. le matin ya escalade  
15. Piotr: alexandre (.) c'est pas bien (.) alexandre  
16. (.) moi (.) arrête  
17. Leila: moi je veux pas avec alexandre  
18. Piotr: moi non

19. ((Miss Lo writing the time table in the background))  
20. Talia: que paso↑  
21. Leila: ay! que hay uno (.) que subía dos pies y  
22. se caía (.) después cuando vos escalaste  
23. ( ) subir con la cuerda y no lo sabe  
24. hacer (.) casi lo tira! (37:52) <there is  
25. one guy (.) who climbed up a few feet up  
26. and then fell (.) then when you want ( )  
27. to climb with the rope and he doesn't know  
28. how to do it (.) he almost pushed him  
29. off!>  
30. Miss Lo: chut!  
31. Cristina: maîtresse!  
32. Talia: mm↑  
33. Leila: casi lo tira porque necesita la sogá para  
34. que él suba (.) vaya subiendo con la sogá  
35. y casi lo tira! [a Sebastián  
36. Talia: [quién↑  
37. Leila: el pibito que no sabe (south american)  
38. <the guy that doesn't know how to climb>  
39. Talia: oh!  
40. ((laughs))  
41. Miss Lo: ya qui↑ donc ya euh (.) Cristina::  
42. [chambara aujourd'hui↑  
43. Talia: [y que paso  
44. Leila: le- le (árese) la cuerda y ves↓  
45. Piotr: comme (.) comme alexandre (.) comme ça  
46. alexandre ((joining in the conversation  
47. with Talia and Leila))  
48. Miss Lo: chut! (.) treize trente que je mettrai  
49. après les noms parce qu'il y a beaucoup  
50. d'enfants (.) alors la justement  
51. j'aimerais bien comme vous êtes tous la  
52. (.) chut! (.) j'aimerais bien justement  
53. qu'on regarde (.) les choses que vous  
54. n'avez pas comprises  
--38:28--

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**T2 S1 D9 V36**

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**T2 S1 D9 V36 E1:**

Group work: Leila, Talia, Piotr and Kenji.

--07:20--  
1. ((knocks on the door))  
2. Miss Lo: entrez!  
3. Piotr: c'est pour [(.) Andrea  
4. ?: [bonjour [excusez-moi de vous  
5. deranger  
6. Miss Lo: [bonjour  
7. ?: c'est pour chercher Hakim et Andrea pour  
8. le chambara  
9. Miss Lo: ah oui c'est vrai (.) c'est vrai (.) vite  
10. parce que c'est [qu'il faut partir  
11. Leila: [maitresse! (.) c'est quoi  
12. je viens cher- cher- je vous ranger↑ ahh  
13. (.) c'est ça↑  
14. (.)  
15. Piotr: je vous de- [je vous deranger  
16. Miss Lo: [pardon↑  
17. Leila: excusez-moi je vous deranger c'est quoi  
18. ça↑  
19. Miss Lo: excusez-moi de vous deranger  
20. Leila: c'est quoi↑  
21. (.)

22. Miss Lo: ben parce que la moi je suis en train de  
 23. faire quelque chose alors comme lui il  
 24. tape a la porte (.) du coup je suis  
 25. obligee de m'arreter (.) alors il dit  
 26. excusez-moi de vous deranger  
 27. Piotr: ah ( )  
 28. Talia: ah si ( ) pardoname por interrumpirlo  
 29. (07:49)  
 30. (.2)  
 31. Miss Lo: de vous interrompre tu vois↑  
 32. Leila: ah  
 --08:00--

**T2 S1 D9 V36 E2:**

--08:04--  
 1. Leila: melani te vas! ( )  
 2. Andrea: yo tengo que ir a nadar  
 3. (.)  
 4. ((Miss Lo is talking to another group in the  
 5. background))  
 6. Leila: yo me tengo que ir a historia igual  
 7. Andrea: me voy contigo ( )  
 8. (.)  
 9. Talia: pourquoi tu fais ça↑ (.) c'est mieux que  
 10. tu fais ça ((speaking to Piotr))  
 11. (.)  
 12. Piotr: [c'est trop facile  
 13. Leila: [tiene que hablar con vos↑ (08:19)  
 14. (.)  
 15. Talia: hein↑  
 16. (.)  
 17. Leila: tiene que hablar con vos Andrea↑  
 18. Talia: [no que se vay con migo en el:: (.)  
 19. camión  
 20. Piotr: [de quatre et ( )  
 21. Leila: ah si↑  
 22. Piotr: c'est quoi ça↑  
 23. Talia: siempre se va Leila  
 24. Piotr: il faut faire quoi↑  
 25. Leila: ah si yo se yo se  
 26. Piotr: c'est quoi↑  
 27. (.)  
 28. Kenji: non!  
 29. (.)  
 30. Piotr: c'est quoi ça↑  
 31. (.1)  
 32. Kenji: non!  
 33. (.)  
 34. Talia: je ne sais pas (.) je comprends rien  
 35. Piotr: c'est pas ça  
 36. Kenji: non!  
 37. Piotr: oh la la  
 --08:40--

**T2 S1 D9 V36 E3:**

Miss Lo reads Leila's exercise and corrects it.

--10:35--  
 237. Miss Lo: 'combien de sandwiches différents fait-  
 238. elle'↑ (.) 'elle fait trente sandwiches' (.)  
 239. non (.) haha! (.) 'différents'  
 240. (.2)  
 241. Miss Lo: elle en fait pas trente différents  
 242. (.2)

243. Miss Lo: elle fait des sandwichs d'un certain style  
244. et des sandwichs d'un autre style  
245. (.)  
246. Leila: ha! (.) soixante dix-huit!  
247. (.2)  
248. Kenji: quoi↑ (.) trente euh (.) plus grand  
249. (.4)  
250. Leila: je sais pas maîtresse c'est trop  
251. difficile!  
252. Miss Lo: elle fait des sandwichs (.) elle fait des  
253. sandwichs qu'elle appelle (.1) 'petits sacs  
254. de santé'  
255. Talia: bueno (.) regarde (.) [ça  
256. Leila: [ça fait (.) dix-  
257. huit!  
258. Talia: ça (.) et ça  
259. (.3)  
260. Miss Lo: non  
261. Piotr: [non!  
262. Talia: [non!  
263. Leila: dix!  
264. (.)  
265. Miss Lo: Talia (.) explique lui en espagnol (.)  
266. ne lui dis pas la reponse  
267. ((Talia gets up from her chair))  
268. Miss Lo: non non mais tu restes assise  
269. Leila: oui mais j'ai compris maitresse (.) mais  
270. c'est difficile!  
271. (.2)  
272. Miss Lo: mais tu n'as (.) est-ce que tu as cherche↑  
273. (.)  
274. Leila: [oui  
275. Piotr: [non  
276. (.)  
277. Talia: regarde (.) ici (.) [combien  
278. Miss Lo: [elle a trouve  
279. Talia toute a l'heure  
280. (.)  
281. Talia: combien il a-  
282. Piotr: differents  
283. Miss Lo: et d'habitude Talia elle cherche pas  
284. trop (.) donc si [Talia trouve (.)  
285. c'est que toi tu peux trouver  
286. Piotr: [trois  
287. Leila: ah! (.) vingt-deux!  
288. (.)  
289. Talia: hein!  
290. Leila: ici  
291. Talia: non!  
292. (.4)  
293. Leila: trente j'ai cherche  
294. Miss Lo: non mais-  
295. Talia: non!  
296. Miss Lo: Talia- Leila  
297. Talia: Leila!  
298. (.3)  
299. Piotr: c'est meme chose que trente et tu enlèves  
300. zero  
301. (.)  
302. Talia: Leila (.) *cuanta recetas hizo diferentes↑*  
303. (11:56)  
304. Leila: ( )  
305. (.)  
306. Talia: *aquí hay una verdad↑*  
307. (.3)  
308. Talia: *el sandwich americano*  
309. (.2)  
310. Leila: *Talia!*  
311. (.2)  
312. Talia: *este (.) aquí hay uno*  
313. Leila: *si*

314. Talia: acá hay otra  
315. Leila: si  
316. (.)  
317. Talia: son las tres recetas! (.) ahora  
318. escribelas aquí!  
319. Piotr: /trtrtrtr/  
320. Talia: y por qué es tan fácil (.) treinta!  
321. Veinticuatro veintisiete!  
322. Piotr: /trtrtrtr/  
323. Kenji: cuatro↑ (.) cinco↑  
324. ((all laughing))  
325. Miss Lo: euh Maia viens voir (.)moi je suis pas  
326. d'accord la (.) huit plus sept ça fait  
327. combien (.) ça fait combien huit (.) allez  
328. vas-y (.) neuf  
329. (.7)  
330. Leila: il va gagner un euro avec trois sandwichs  
331. (.2)  
332. Talia: Maia (.) tres sandwiches no (.) tres  
333. recetas! (12:47)  
334. Piotr: trt[trtrtrtrtr ((imitating Talia))  
335. Leila: [espera como esta  
336. Piotr: trtrtrtrtrtrcetas!  
337. Maia: entonces-  
338. Leila: esta mal esta pregunta porque tiene que  
339. [ser ( )  
340. Piotr: [/trtrtrtrtrtr/[/trtrtr/ ((imitating Mi))  
341. Miss Lo: [si par exemple moi je  
342. fais (.) alors (.) je fais c'est quoi la  
343. pecialite de euh-  
344. Leila: mais maitresse ici il y a trois recettes  
345. Miss Lo: chut (.) c'est quoi (.) oui il y a trois  
346. recettes (.) voilà  
347. Leila: oui mais ici il dit (.) sandwichs (.) pas  
348. recette  
349. (.2)  
350. Piotr: /trtrtrtrtrtr/ ((imitating Spanish))  
351. Miss Lo: non (.) attends attends attends (.)  
352. qu'est-ce qu'on vous dit (.) ['combien de  
353. sandwichs differents'  
354. Leila: [combien de  
355. sandwichs differents'  
356. (.)  
357. Miss Lo: di[fferents  
358. Talia: [differents (.) differents  
359. [...]  
360. Miss Lo: donc elle fait combien de sandwichs en  
361. tout↑  
362. Piotr: euh (.) trente  
363. Leila: trente  
364. Miss Lo: trente (.) mais la dedans yen a qui sont  
365. pareils (.) ya des sandwichs qui sont  
366. americains (.) style- c'est comme si-  
367. Leila: dix sandwichs americains (.) dix sandwichs  
368. comme ça!  
369. Miss Lo: voilà (.) c'est comme si moi je dis (.)  
370. demain on va faire les sandwichs polonais  
371. (.) les sandwichs japonais (.) les  
372. sandwichs argentins et des sandwichs  
373. mexicains (.) je veux dire que- Leila tu  
374. fais (.) cinq- dix sandwichs argentins (.)  
375. [tu pourrais mettre quoi dedans↑  
376. Talia: [en fait c'est le meme  
377. (.)  
378. Leila: je sais pas  
379. (.)  
380. Talia: boeuf  
381. Miss Lo: du boeuf (.) sandwich japonais qu'est-ce  
382. qu'on pourrait metre↑  
383. (.)  
384. Leila: riz

385. (.)  
386. Leila: poisson (.) poisson  
387. ((Miss Lo talks to a pupil from another group))  
388. (.)  
389. Miss Lo: un sandwich japonais on mettrait quoi  
390. Kenji  
391. Leila: poisson  
392. Kenji: euh (.) poisson  
393. Miss Lo: voilà (.) chut! (.) un sandwich polonais  
394. qu'est-ce qu'on pourrait mettre  
395. Piotr: euh (.) jambon (.) fromage  
396. Miss Lo: tiens on va faire ça a la fin [de l'année  
397. Piotr: [jambon (.)  
398. fromage (.) et ketchup  
399. Leila: mais maitresse [il y a pas ici boeuf de  
400. arg- de argentine  
401. Miss Lo: [voilà (.) et les  
402. sandwichs mexicains↑  
403. (.)  
404. Talia: c'est le pain (.) le jambon  
405. (.)  
406. Miss Lo: ouais  
407. Talia: le fromage  
408. (.)  
409. Miss Lo: ouais  
410. Talia: si tu veux la salade  
411. Miss Lo: ouais  
412. Talia: euhm (.) si tu veux ( ) (14:25) (.)  
413. et le pain!  
414. Kenji: capsutes↑  
415. (.)  
416. Miss Lo: non mais il faut un truc ou ça- (.) ou ça  
417. soit mexicain (.) faut un truc un peu  
418. special (.) parce que sinon jambon fromage  
419. euh (.)  
420. ((children talking at the same time))  
421. Leila: maitresse (.) mais! (.) on peut pas faire  
422. parce que (.) je (.) c'est (.) il n'y a  
423. pas boeuf argentin ici (.) argentine  
424. Miss Lo: oui  
425. Talia: je sais pas comment- (.) *Leila como se dice*  
426. *chile*↑  
427. Miss Lo: oui mais on peut faire la recette avec du  
428. boeuf francais mais simplement on met des  
429. des (.) comme dans les [empanadas ou je  
430. sais pas moi (.) quelque chose un peu  
431. Talia: [maitresse! (.) maitresse!  
432. (.)  
433. Talia: au mexique aussi on met les choses et  
434. /ffffff/ ((moving her hand in front of her  
435. mouth))  
436. Miss Lo: voilà du piment par exemple  
437. Talia: oui  
438. Miss Lo: voilà du piment  
439. Leila: [ohhh! (.)  
440. Talia: [c'est pas le piment (.) c'est le-  
441. Leila: je vais pas [manger ça  
442. Miss Lo: [chilli  
443. Leila: piment [(.) ahhh! (.) (.) chili  
444. Miss Lo: [chilli (.) chilli c'est piment  
445. (.) piment  
446. Talia: chose vert  
447. Miss Lo: [voilà  
448. Leila: [je vais pas manger ça  
449. Piotr: et comme ça après (.) yum et (.) toilette!  
450. Miss Lo: voilà (.) hein  
451. (.)  
452. Leila: oui (.) tu vas vomir  
453. Miss Lo: Kenji (.) ça existe les sandwichs  
454. japonais↑  
455. ((Miss Lo and Kenji keeps on talking))

456. Leila: tu vas dire ( )  
457. Miss Lo: chut! (.) chut! (.) Leila  
458. (.)  
459. Piotr: mon pere donne moi et apres moi toilette  
460. ((laughing))  
461. (.)  
462. Leila: Amanda elle me dit (.) tiens ça c'est  
463. mexicain mais c'est pas avec (.) /file/  
464. (.5)  
465. Talia: que te dijo amanda↑ (15:37)  
466. Leila: me dijo (.) toma esto no tiene chile (.)  
467. (me disimulo) (.) lo probé y casi lo  
468. vomito  
469. (.1)  
470. Talia: que tenia↑  
471. (.)  
472. Leila: chile  
473. (.4)  
474. Talia: porque los argentinos no aguantan el  
475. [chile↑  
476. Piotr: [c'est ça pour pic nique  
477. Leila: que↑  
478. Talia: no aguantan el chile los argentinos  
479. Leila: non (.) a mi me gusta [( )  
480. Miss Lo: [des oeufs et de  
481. l'omelette  
482. Talia: el chile me hace agua la boca ((clicks her  
483. tongue))  
484. Miss Lo: c'est quoi ça↑  
485. Kenji: c'est rose!  
486. Miss Lo: c'est rose↑  
487. Kenji: rose et:: rouge  
488. Miss Lo: rose et rouge  
489. Piotr: japon ça c'est japon↑  
490. Kenji: non  
491. ((Talia and Mi go back to the conversation between  
492. T, Kenji, and Piotr))  
493. Talia: avec des sushis↑  
494. Kenji: rose (.) [c'est rose  
495. Leila: [Kenji! (.) ecris ((pointing to  
496. Kenji's digital dictionary))  
497. (.2)  
498. Piotr: ecris  
499. Kenji: ah oui  
500. (.3)  
501. Kenji: euh (.) rose (.) c'est rose  
502. Miss Lo: ouais  
503. Kenji: ici (.) ici (.) et blanc  
504. Talia: ah oui! el salmon  
505. Leila: salmon maitresse (.) salmon!  
506. Kenji: attends  
507. Piotr: attends ti tan ti tan ((imitating Kenji))  
508. Miss Lo: attends alors il va nous dire la (.) parce  
509. que c'est surprise hein  
510. ((Kenji looks for the word in his digital  
511. dictionary))  
512. Piotr: Kenji computer!  
513. Leila: computer  
514. Talia: non (.) computer ((correcting  
515. pronunciation))  
516. Miss Lo: alors (.) après voilà (.) après voilà  
517. (.)  
518. Kenji: ah (.) jambon!  
519. Researcher: ah bon  
520. Miss Lo: ahahaha ((laughing))  
521. ((children laughing))  
522. Leila: Kenji!  
523. Piotr: c'est pas comme ça!  
524. Miss Lo: ouais non mais ça c'est des sandwichs  
525. comme il y en a partout quoi (.) c'est des





9. (.3)  
 10. Matilda: un peu::!  
 11. Kenji: c'est comme ça (.1) noir et (.) gris!  
 12. Talia: c'est pas gris  
 13. Kenji: non ça c'est gris! ((laughing))  
 14. Talia: non ça c'est noir  
 15. Kenji: ça c'est noir  
 16. (.2)  
 17. Kenji: ça c'est gris  
 18. (.)  
 19. Matilda: non ça c'est gris (.) ça c'est noir  
 20. Talia: ça est noir  
 21. (.5)  
 22. Matilda: c'est comme ça↑  
 23. Talia: yeah  
 24. Kenji: yes!  
 25. (.4)  
 26. Maia: [( )]  
 27. Matilda: [lala ((singing))]  
 28. Kenji: c'est quoi ça↑ (.) cadeau↑  
 29. (.2)  
 30. Matilda: non! (.) gâteau  
 31. Kenji: la ( ) rouge (.) rouge rouge rouge  
 32. Matilda: c'est une guitare (.) tut tut tut  
 33. ((singing))  
 34. (.2)  
 35. Talia: no  
 36. (.)  
 37. Matilda: c'est quoi alors↑  
 38. (.3)  
 39. Talia: alors (.) alors  
 40. (.)  
 41. Matilda: mais c'est quoi↑  
 42. (.2)  
 43. Talia: ( )  
 44. Kenji: (**antoli**)  
 45. (.2)  
 46. Matilda: c'est comme une guitare ou quoi↑  
 47. (.)  
 48. Talia: no::! (.2) c'est une baguette magique (.)  
 49. religieux  
 50. (.)  
 51. Matilda: ah::! magique!  
 52. Kenji: ah c'est magique↑  
 53. Talia: non:: (.) [c'est comme ça  
 54. Matilda: [hahaha((Ma laughing))  
 55. (.)  
 56. Talia: ça fait comme ça  
 57. Kenji: ça c'est mourir (.) comme ça (.) euh::  
 58. (.) ici  
 59. (.)  
 60. Talia: ça c'est je suis  
 61. (.4)  
 62. Matilda: magique  
 63. Kenji: tu colories (.) n'importe quoi::  
 64. Talia: n'importe quoi::  
 65. Kenji: parce que écris pas  
 66. Matilda: n'importe quoi!  
 67. (.)  
 68. Talia: c'est comme ça:: ( )  
 69. Kenji: ( ) ((imitating Talia's tone))  
 70. (.16)  
 71. Talia: et oui écris les couleurs  
 72. (.12)  
 73. Kenji: pam pam pam ((singing))  
 74. (.7)  
 75. Matilda: beige  
 76. (.5)  
 77. Matilda: oh oui::! peinture! (.) j'ai oublié  
 78. (.2)  
 79. Kenji: t'as même pas colorié

80. (.5)  
81. Kenji: hein↑  
82. (.5)  
83. Kenji: je n'aime pas colorier  
84. (.4)  
85. Matilda: je n'aime pas colorier  
86. (.3)  
87. Kenji: je n'aiAndrea:: colorie (.) je n'aime (.) je  
88. n'aiAndrea::  
89. (.25)  
90. Talia: marron!  
91. (.8)  
92. Kenji: marron et rouge  
93. (.3)  
94. Kenji: rouge::!  
95. (.4)  
96. Talia: c'est quoi /ruʒæ/  
97. ↑  
98. (.)  
99. Kenji: marron  
100. (.2)  
101. Talia: en quelle langue↑  
102. (.3)  
103. Kenji: espagnol (.) [/ruʒæ/ (.) /ruʒæ//ruʒæ//ruʒæ/  
104. Talia: [non (.) marron  
105. Talia: c'est [café  
106. Kenji: [non (.) non (.) non (.) [rouge (.)  
107. rouge (.) rouge  
108. Maia: [ben oui  
109. Kenji: rouge (.) rouge (.) rouge (.) /ruʒæ/  
110. Talia: ça (.) c'est café  
111. Kenji: café!  
112. Talia: ça (.1) c'est rose (.) ça (.) naranja (.2)  
113. negro (.2) verde  
114. Matilda: haha ((laughing))  
115. (.2)  
116. Talia: shu[hei!  
117. Kenji: [oui  
118. Talia: verde (.) [ça c'est aussi verde  
119. Kenji: [c'est-  
120. Talia: claro (.) griz (.2) [az-  
121. Kenji: [pareil (.) français  
122. Talia: azul  
123. (.1)  
124. Maia: oh se me olvidó [escribir esto (15:22)  
125. Talia: [rojo  
126. Talia: crema  
127. Kenji: /remæ/=  
128. Talia: =amarillo  
129. Kenji: amarillo  
130. Talia: azul!  
131. Kenji: azul!  
132. Talia: azul claro  
133. (.9)  
134. Matilda: tatatata ((laughing))  
135. Kenji: café (.) est marron↑  
136. (.2)  
137. Kenji: Talia (.) marron!  
138. Maia: oui (.) oui  
139. Kenji: café (.) marron↑  
140. (.1)  
141. Talia: oui  
142. Kenji: Talia café est (.) Talia marron↑  
143. Matilda: tu [bois café  
144. Kenji: [français  
145. Talia: café (.) c'est café fffffff ((aspirating  
146. noise)) (.) et aussi café  
147. Maia: café c'est (.) chuk chuk chuk (.) café  
148. français est café seulement glou glou glou

149. Talia: café (.) Kenji! (.) café c'est fffff (.)  
150. et café (.) c'est::  
151. Kenji: marron  
152. Talia: marron  
153. Kenji: ah oui (.) il n'y a [pas de comme ça (.)  
154. chuk!  
155. Talia: [pas avec l'accent  
156. (.)  
157. Talia: chuk!  
158. Kenji: chuk!  
159. Maia: **di**jo il n'y a pas de (.) chuk!  
160. ((laughing))  
161. Kenji: chukiti chikitan! ((singing))  
162. (.)  
163. Maia: chukiti chikitan!  
164. Matilda: chiki chiki wa wa! ((laughing))  
165. (.6)  
166. Kenji: wa wa:::  
167. (.6)  
168. ((So singing))  
169. Talia: j'ai fini!  
170. Matilda: ah bon! (.) t'as huit pages!  
171. Talia: **now this (.) hey (.) that's not easy (.)**  
172. **no (.3) it's [so so-**  
173. Matilda: [if I think ehm::  
174. Talia: **it's so so- (.) oh! Matilda::**  
175. Matilda: quoi↑ (.) qu'est-ce que j'ai fait↑  
176. Talia: t'as fait ça  
177. (.)  
178. Kenji: qu'est-ce que j'ai fais::  
179. (.7)  
180. Maia: ( ) **el café!** ( )  
181. ((singing approximate lyrics for the song  
182. 'el café))  
183. Matilda: j'ai fini ma robe de la madame  
184. Kenji: madame↑  
185. Matilda: ben oui!  
186. Maia: oh arrête! de faire ça::  
187. Matilda: ouh!  
188. Matilda: ah! j'ai fini mon robe de madame  
189. (.3)  
190. Matilda: ça c'est pas difficile  
191. (.2)  
192. Kenji: ça c'est (.) dessine (.) très difficile  
193. (.)  
194. Matilda: diffichile!  
195. Maia: ça c'est dessine trop diffichile  
196. (.2)  
197. Matilda: il a dit (.) diffichile  
198. Kenji: pourquoi tu lire↑  
199. (.)  
200. Matilda: c'est (.) difficile!  
201. Maia: avec s- (.) comme espagnol  
202. Talia: n'existe pas (.) en [(.) japonais  
203. Kenji: [non (.) avec c-  
204. (.)  
205. Maia: avec s- comme (.) espanoles::  
206. (.)  
207. Kenji: ça c'est (.) d- i- f- f- u- ci (.) tu dis  
208. s- (.) c-!  
209. (.)  
210. Talia: esse (.) non esse (.) non s-  
211. Kenji: non s-  
212. (.)  
213. Maia: **no s-**  
214. Kenji: **no s-**  
215. Maia: **no s-**  
216. (.2)  
217. Kenji: mouchoir! (.) mouchoir  
218. Matilda: tu veux un mouchoir (.) je vais te donner  
219. un mouchoir

220. Kenji: je veux un moustache↑ (.2) un mouchoir↑  
221. Maia: c'est quoi le mouchoir↑  
222. Kenji: moustache!  
223. (.)  
224. Talia: j'aime moustache  
225. Kenji: moustache!  
226. Matilda: mouchoir!  
227. Kenji: moustache!  
228. Matilda: mouchoir! (.) mouchoir  
229. Kenji: euh:: (.) français (.) beaucoup de  
230. moustaches!  
231. (.1)  
232. ((children laughing))  
233. (.)  
234. Kenji: mouchou::  
235. (.5)  
236. Matilda: ça existe pas mouchtache (.3) qui veut un  
237. mouchoir↑ qui veut un mouchoir↑  
238. Talia: I have  
239. Matilda: haha ((laughing))  
240. Kenji: I have got!  
241. Maia: I rave got ((mocking Kenji's accent))  
242. Matilda: I- (.) I have! got  
243. (.2)  
244. Kenji: I have got  
245. (.8)  
246. Kenji: /ætɛlə/ /lə/ /kæfe/ /telə/ /lə/ /kæfe/ /telə/  
247. /kɔn/ /etʃe/:: ((singing approximate lyrics of  
248. the song el café))  
249. Maia: con [/etʃe/! haha ((laughing))  
250. Talia: [con /etʃe/caf  ! ((laughing))  
251. Matilda: con /etʃe/caf   (.) haha (.) con caf    
252. Talia: [con el!  
253. Maia: [co-  
254. Maia: como dijo caf  ↑ (.) con el caf  ::  
255. Talia: con /etʃe/caf    
256. Matilda: con /etʃe/caf   (.) con /etʃe/caf   (.) con  
257. /etʃe/caf   ((singing))  
258. Talia: con el!  
259. Kenji: con el caf    
260. Talia: con el!  
261. (.)  
262. Matilda:   a (.) con el! caf    
263. Kenji: con el caf    
264. Talia: oui  
265. (.)  
266. Kenji: c'est quoi con el caf  ↑  
267. Talia: avec le caf    
268. (.)  
269. Matilda: chocolat!  
270. Talia: caf  !  
271. Kenji: caf   (.) caf   (.) con /etʃe/caf   ((singing  
272. again))  
273. Talia: [/etʃe/  !  
274. Maia: [/etʃe/  !  
275. Matilda: moi j'ai fini [  a  
276. Talia: [Kenji c'est pas /etʃe/ (.)  
277. c'est leche!  
278. Maia: tu sais (.) tu parles espagnol  
279. Kenji: caf   (.) caf   (.) caf   leche! caf    
280. Matilda: [con leche!  
281. Maia: [con (.) con! (.) con leche caf   (.)  
282. [chocolate con media luna me gusta usted  
283. me gusta usted  
284. Talia: [chocolate con media luna me gusta usted  
285. me gusta usted  
286. (.2)

287. Kenji: café  
288. Maia: chocola::  
289. Matilda: te! (.) el café  
290. Maia: [chocola:: (.) te! (.) el café  
291. Talia: [chocola:: (.) te! (.) el café  
292. Kenji: [chocola:: (.) te! (.) el marron!  
293. Matilda: chocola::-  
294. Talia: ahora que estamos solos  
295. Matilda: el café!  
296. Talia: ahora que nadie nos ve  
297. Kenji: [el café!  
298. Matilda: [el café!  
299. Talia: arriba (.) la cafetera la cafetera con el  
300. café  
301. Matilda: [el café!  
302. Maia: [el café!  
303. (.)  
304. Maia: Talia me prestas un momento tu lápiz↑  
305. (20:12) <Talia can you lend me your pencil  
306. for a moment↑>  
307. Talia: ahora que estamos solos  
308. Matilda: el café!  
309. Talia: ahora que nadie nos ve  
310. Matilda: el café!  
311. Talia: arriba la cafetera la cafetera con el café  
312. (.) [el café!  
313. Matilda: el café!  
314. (.)  
315. ((stop singing))  
316. Maia: voy a- (.) berrar esto y lo voy a volver a  
317. hacer porque no me salió un bonito (20:24)  
318. (.)  
319. Matilda: ahora que estamos solos (.) ahora que  
320. nadie nos ve (.) arriba la cafetera la  
321. cafetera con el café ((singing with a high  
322. pitched voice))  
323. Talia: attends! (.) comment on dit euh:: (.) ana  
324. (.2) atanashi (.) comment- comment on dit  
325. (.) bonjour en japonais Kenji↑  
326. Kenji: ko[ni- chi:  
327. Talia: [konichiwa (.)konichiwa (.)konichiwa (.)  
328. konichiwa  
329. (.2)  
330. Matilda: fini!  
331. (.1)  
332. Kenji: c'est fini!  
333. Matilda: moi [j'ai fini  
334. Talia: [finish↑  
335. Matilda: finish ((laughing))  
336. Talia: il a dit finish ((laughing))  
337. Maia: donde esta el lápiz↑ (21:02)  
338. Kenji: I finish!  
339. (.)  
340. Talia: [ah! (.) i finish  
341. Maia: [i finish  
342. ((children laughing))  
343. Matilda: I finished!  
344. (.2)  
345. Matilda: [regarde  
346. Kenji: [finish Andrea:: (.) ( ) me  
347. Maia: he:: (.) Kenji! (.) Kenji yo traia el  
348. lápiz ( ) yo voy a buscarlo  
349. (21:19)  
350. Talia: Kenji! ((laughing))  
351. Kenji: regarde!  
352. (.1)  
353. Talia: quoi↑  
354. Maia: parce que je fais ça et ( )  
355. Kenji: oh!  
356. Talia: oh! ((imitating Kenji's tone))  
357. (.3)

358. Matilda: elle a méchant  
359. Maia: quoi↑  
360. Kenji: quoi↑ (.) pourquoi a la↑  
361. Matilda: elle a!  
362. Kenji: pourquoi elle a méchant↑ (.) elle a  
363. méchante!  
364. (.2)  
365. Talia: méchant=  
366. Kenji: =te! (.) parce que (.) elle!  
367. (.6)  
368. Kenji: **a latela café** ((singing))  
369. Matilda: je peux pas (.) a marche pas!  
370. (.)  
371. Talia: you gotta push (.) look (.) what do you  
372. wanna do↑  
373. Matilda: [hi!  
374. Kenji: [**café** ((singing))  
375. Matilda: oh  
376. Talia: haha ((laughing))  
377. Matilda: push (.) push push push push  
378. Talia: non Kenji!  
379. Kenji: quoi↑  
380. Talia: noir!  
381. Kenji: après:: [( me )  
382. Talia: [après::  
383. Matilda: apr[ès::  
384. Talia: [après me↑ (.) after me!  
385. Kenji: demain  
386. Talia: non! (.) [haha ((laughing))  
387. Matilda: [haha ((laughing))  
388. Talia: non  
389. Matilda: ah bon (.) demain↑  
390. Kenji: après Andrea::  
391. Talia: after me  
392. Kenji: (please) me  
393. Talia: quoi↑  
394. (.)  
395. Maia: kiss me  
396. Matilda: kiss me↑  
397. Talia: quoi!  
398. Maia: please Andrea::  
399. Kenji: c'est quoi kiss me↑  
400. Talia: embrasse moi  
401. Matilda: moua  
402. Kenji: embrasser! (.) embrasse Andrea:  
403. (.2)  
404. Talia: kiss Andrea::  
405. (.)  
406. Kenji: prise Andrea::  
407. (.)  
408. Talia: [kiss me  
409. Matilda: [pr-  
410. (.)  
411. Talia: et non je veux pas t'embrasser (.) haha  
412. ((laughing))  
413. (.3)  
414. Kenji: elle aime euh:: (.) ma  
415. Matilda: ma↑ (.) c'est quoi ma↑ (.) maxime↑  
416. ((children laughing))  
417. Miss Lo: c'est très joli ça c'est quoi Talia↑  
418. Talia: c'est un:: (.) palais  
419. Miss Lo: guyanne  
420. (.2)  
421. Miss Lo: c'est super hein  
422. Matilda: haha ((laughing))  
423. Kenji: c'est quoi ça↑  
424. Miss Lo: ça rend bien hein (.) c'est très beau (.)  
425. ça fait vraiment euh:: (.) ah oui c'était  
426. ça (.) donc euh ça  
427. Researcher: donc ça je vais le garder ( )

428. ((Rs and T move away from the recorder))  
429. Matilda: mouchoir ((laughing))  
430. Talia: moustache!  
431. Kenji: non mouchoir!  
432. Talia: non c'est moustache!  
433. Kenji: moustache est (.) noir  
434. (.)  
435. Talia: ha ha ha ha (.) moust[ache c'est ça (.)  
436. c'est ça  
437. Kenji: [non (.) non!  
438. Talia: ça c'est moustache  
439. Kenji: non ça c'est mouchoir!  
440. Talia: non ça c'est moustache! ((laughing))  
441. Kenji: mouch- (.) moustache est (.) ça!  
442. Talia: non (.) moustache c'est (.) ta face (.)  
443. oh! oh!  
444. Kenji: quoi↑  
445. Miss Lo: chut! (.) qu'est-ce qui se passe↑  
446. Kenji: euh:: (.) euh:: (.) ça c'est mouchoir  
447. Miss Lo: mouchoir oui  
448. Talia: c'est moustache ((laughing))  
449. Kenji: hhh (.) moustache est noir  
450. Miss Lo: oui (.) euh Kenji de quoi tu parles (.)  
451. montre (.) explique moi  
452. (.2)  
453. Matilda: maîtresse! (.) tu sais quoi (.) j'ai  
454. oublié parce que y en a un ici (.) un ici  
455. (.) j'ai colorié encore  
456. Miss Lo: et est-ce qu'on pourrait pas recopier  
457. celui-la  
458. Matilda: oui je peux (.) ben c'est pas difficile  
459. Miss Lo: voilà (.) ben tu peux  
460. Kenji: c'est pas bouchou!  
461. ((Miss Lo walks away from the recorder))  
462. Matilda: ici (.) ici (.) ici (.1) ici  
463. Talia: no! (.) you're not! (.) because you have  
464. other↑ (.) no you don't have other  
465. ((Matilda and Talia laughing))  
466. Talia: what↑  
467. (.3)  
468. Matilda: ah! crayon papier  
--24:52--



Japanese: hadairo  
< skin colour >

**T2 S1 D9 V37 E2:**

--24:52--

1. Researcher: je peux voir ton dessin Matilda↑  
2. Matilda: ah oui:: (.) oui:: tu peux  
3. Researcher: ah:: (.3) qu'est-ce que t'as écrit la↑  
4. (.)  
5. Matilda: ah ça c'est en anglais (.) haha  
6. ((laughing))  
7. Researcher: ah:: d'accord

8. Matilda: c'est les couleurs  
9. (.)  
10. Kenji: tu écris anglais↑  
11. (.8)  
12. ((children make noises with their throats))  
13. Matilda: crayon:: papier ((Ma gets up from her  
14. chair and wonders around the classroom to  
15. find a pencil))  
16. (.5)  
17. Matilda: Talia (.) je peux ton crayon papier↑  
18. Talia: il est là le crayon à papier  
19. Matilda: il est ici crayon à papier  
20. Maia: il est ici crayon à papier  
21. Talia: it's here  
22. ?: haha! ((laughing))  
23. Talia: haha ((laughing))  
24. (.)  
25. Kenji: ( )  
26. Matilda: il est ici crayon à papier  
27. Kenji: (il a beaucoup)  
28. Talia: i love beaucoup↑  
29. Kenji: i love you  
30. ((girls screaming))  
31. Talia: non!  
32. (.)  
33. Kenji: c'est pas bien  
34. Maia: pas bien  
35. Talia: c'est pas bien  
36. Kenji: j'aime::  
37. Talia: Matilda  
38. Matilda: non!  
39. Kenji: j'aime même  
40. Matilda: i love you  
41. ((children laughing))  
42. Talia: non::  
43. Kenji: oui::  
44. Matilda: il aime le vieille!  
45. Maia: ohoh! ((laughing))  
46. Talia: ah:: tu aimes les vieilles (.) pourquoi  
47. tu me dis (.) i love you  
48. ((children laughing))  
49. Kenji: i love you  
50. ((children laughing))  
51. Talia: maît-  
52. (.)  
53. Kenji: maît-! (.) pourquoi tu dis maît-!  
54. Talia: i love you (.) haaa ((screaming))  
55. (.2)  
56. Talia: pourquoi tu dis i love you↑  
57. Kenji: i love euh::  
58. Talia: pourquoi tu dis i love you↑  
59. Kenji: parce que:: (.) parce [que:: (.) parce  
60. que::  
61. Matilda: [il a amoureux de  
62. ( )  
63. Kenji: je sais i love you::  
64. Talia: et pourquoi tu dis i love you↑  
65. Kenji: sais pas::  
66. Talia: tu t'es amoureuse de Matilda  
67. Matilda: non (.) [il est amoureuse d'une vieille!  
68. Kenji: [non non non  
69. (.)  
70. Kenji: non (.) Piotr (.) et Matilda  
71. Talia: oh Piotr loves you!  
72. Kenji: non! (.) Piotr et Matilda  
73. (.)  
74. Matilda: non::!  
75. Maia: ohoh!  
76. Matilda: non Kenji et Piotr  
77. (.)  
78. Kenji: non ça c'est::=



79. Talia: =garçon et garçon  
80. Kenji: oui fille et garçon (.) homme et femme  
81. (.)  
82. Matilda: d'accord (.) Kenji (.) avec euh::  
83. (.)  
84. Maia: arrête (.) pas moi hein↑  
85. Matilda: avec euh:: ((laughing))  
86. Maia: arrête  
87. Matilda: avec euh:: (.1) avec euh::  
88. Maia: oh! je sais! (.) avec catherine rose  
89. [parce que catherine les yeux (.) les yeux  
90. comme ça aussi  
91. Talia: [catherine!  
92. Kenji: non:: (.) catherine est:: (.) catherine  
93. est toujours en cm- (.) ce2!  
94. Talia: c'est pas grave  
95. Kenji: c'est (.) c'est grave!  
96. Matilda: c'est pas grave  
97. Maia: non parce que (.) elle est un chinois et  
98. elle c'est pas un chinois ((pointing to  
99. al))  
100. Kenji: non c'est- (.) elle est philippines  
101. Maia: oui mais (.) elle a les yeux comme ça (.)  
102. comme toi he!((imitating catherine rose's  
103. eye shape))  
104. Kenji: tu dis quoi he!  
105. ((children shouting))  
106. Matilda: aila hi! aila ho! ((singing))  
107. Kenji: c'est pas normal toi  
108. ((children laughing))  
109. (.4)  
110. Kenji: c'est pas normal (.) c'est bizarre toi  
111. (.2)  
112. Talia: Maia↑  
113. Kenji: oui (.) très bizarre (.) parce que  
114. toujours lui:: ho::!  
115. Talia: **quién es rara↓** (28:00)  
116. Maia: ( )  
117. (.3)  
118. Matilda: ça (.) ça (.) j'ai fini!  
119. Kenji: toi ( )↑  
120. Matilda: haha! ((shouting))  
121. (.3)  
122. Matilda: moi j'ai fini (.2) maîtresse! moi  
123. j'ai fini!  
124. Kenji: hein hein hein (.) si c'est pas bien  
125. ((children singing))  
126. Miss Lo: he euh:: (.) tout ça là (.) et le bord là  
127. (.) ce serait joli que le bord il soit::  
128. [( )]  
129. Kenji: **[negro (.) negro**  
130. Talia: comme ça↑  
131. (.2)  
132. Miss Lo: voilà (.) hein (.) bien fini  
133. (.3)  
134. Matilda: maîtresse moi j'ai fini!  
135. Miss Lo: ouais comment ça s'appelle ça Matilda↑ (.)  
136. tu as marqué le nom là↑ (.) notre quoi↑  
137. Kenji: ça c'est il y a un cha (.) chang (.)  
138. tu sais chang↑ ((speaking to So while T is  
139. still talking to Ma))  
140. (.2)  
141. Maia: c'est quoi chang↑  
142. (.)  
143. Kenji: euh:: (l' )  
144. Maia: non je connais pas  
145. (.3)  
146. Kenji: Talia (.) comment on dit chang  
147. (.)  
148. espagnol↑

149. Talia: cha↑  
150. Kenji: chang!  
151. (.)  
152. Talia: c'est quoi chang↑  
153. (.2)  
154. Kenji: chang!  
155. Talia: c'est quoi chang↑  
156. Kenji: faire euh:: (.) riz!  
157. (.3)  
158. ((Miss Lo and Ma are still talking in the backgroun))  
159. Kenji: faire les légumes! (.) faire les légumes  
160. (.2) chang! (.) faire les légumes (.) un  
161. fermiere (.2) faire les légumes  
162. Talia: je sais pas c'est quoi  
163. Kenji: faire les légumes!  
164. (.3)  
165. Kenji: légumes verts!  
166. (.2)  
167. Kenji: maîtresse!  
168. Miss Lo: oui::  
169. Kenji: ça c'est il y a un chang  
170. Miss Lo: il y a un↑  
171. Kenji: chan! (.2) chan! (.) et (.) euh::  
172. (.)  
173. oiseau (.2) mm (.) ça c'est:: (.) euh::  
174. chang!  
175. Miss Lo: ah oui dans les champs! (.) c'est un  
176. épouvantail oui (.) c'est dans les champs  
177. (.) c'est pour faire peur aux oiseaux  
178. Kenji: [oui  
179. Miss Lo: [c'est ça Kenji  
180. (.)  
181. Miss Lo: c'est ça que tu expliques↑  
182. (.2)  
183. Kenji: parce que vient le oiseau (.) euh::  
184. (.)  
185. il mange légume (.2) ça c'est:: personne  
186. pareille  
187. (.2)  
188. Miss Lo: oui il mange les d'accord ((laughing)) (.)  
189. il mange les semences↑ (.) c'est ça↑ (.)  
190. hein↑ (.) il mange les semences et quand  
191. les oiseaux viennent manger les semences  
192. (.) on met des épouvantails pour leur  
193. faire peur (.) c'est ça  
194. Kenji: oui

--30:25--

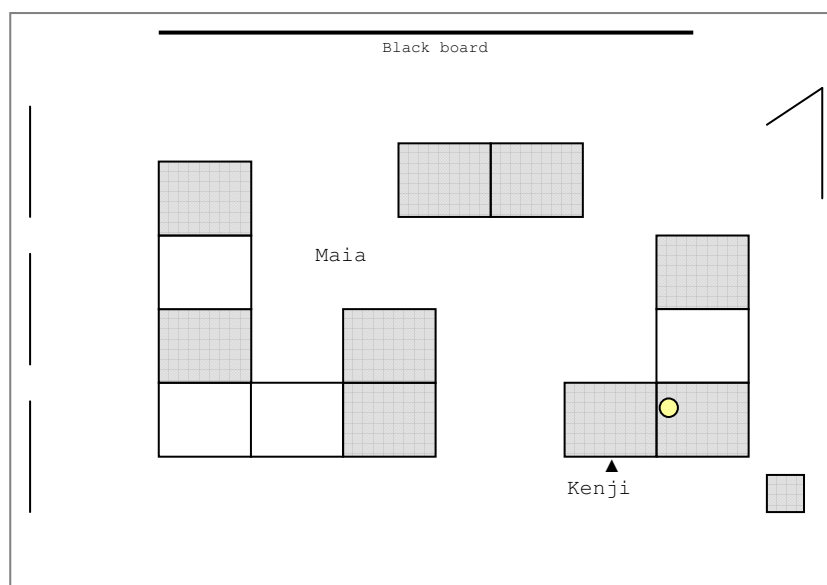


Photo 1



Photo 2



Photo 3

Photos: UNICEF, 2007, *Nos fêtes préférées dans le monde entier*, Paris: Gallimard Jeunesse.

### T2 S1 D10 V38 E1:

Miss Lo is showing two books about different cultures around the world. See photo 1 above.

--14:00--

1. Miss Lo: donc c'est un petit livre (.) tout petit
2. (.) et pourtant dans ce tout petit livre
3. (.) il y a plein de choses
4. Talia: il est au Mexique
5. Miss Lo: sur les gens dans le monde (.) regardez là
6. ((children talking at the same time))
7. Miss Lo: [là il y a toutes les façons de dire
8. bonjour
9. Talia: [c'est japonais↑
10. (.)
11. Matilda: ah bon↑
12. Cristina: **buenos dias**
13. Miss Lo: [chut! (.) attendez restez- (.) Karen
14. reste à ta place
15. Kenji: [ah oui! en japonais!
16. Talia: ça c'est japonais↑
17. Cristina: oui il y a japonais
18. Kenji: ça c'est- c'est pas bonjour
19. Miss Lo: en russe [(.) good morning
20. Talia: [c'est quoi↑

21. Kenji: le matin  
 22. Miss Lo: il y a du chinois (.) et il y a du  
 23. japonais là je crois regarde  
 24. [( )]  
 25. Matilda: [il y a pas lituanie↑  
 26. Miss Lo: chut! (.) Karen  
 27. Kenji: ça c'est le matin  
 28. (.)  
 29. Andrea: ça c'est en espagnol (.) **buenos dias**  
 30. Cristina: et là c'est quoi↑  
 31. Kenji: c'est normal **konichiwa**  
 32. Miss Lo: ouais  
 33. Talia: [**konichua!**  
 34. Kenji: [ça c'est ( )]  
 35. Talia: ça c'est quelle langue↑  
 36. Miss Lo: ça c'est matin (.) d'accord  
 37. Cristina: et Kenji il est-  
 38. Miss Lo: ah ouais mais bonjour euh Kenji (.)  
 39. bonjour c'est le matin en france  
 40. Kenji: matin aussi↑  
 41. Miss Lo: ben matin oui (.) c'est le matin et  
 42. l'après-midi  
 43. Talia: **buenos dias** [c'est matin  
 44. Kenji: [ça ça (.) c'est matin  
 45. Miss Lo: matin (.) que le matin (.) pas l'après-  
 46. midi↑  
 47. Kenji: [**konichiwa** est toujours ( )  
 48. Talia: [c'est qui mexicain↑ (.) ah ça c'est  
 49. mexicain  
 50. Miss Lo: ah d'accord::  
 51. Talia: ça c'est mexicain maîtresse  
 52. Miss Lo: **konichua** c'est tout le jour (.) toute la  
 53. journée (.) d'accord (.) c'est comme je  
 54. vous salue (.) et puis ça (.) c'est que le  
 55. matin (.) d'accord (.) c'est très  
 56. intéressant ce livre  
 57. Kenji: il y a un chinois là  
 58. Miss Lo: tenez (.) regardez (.) je vais l'acheter  
 59. pour la classe  
 --15:26--

**T2 S1 D10 V38 E2:**

See photo 2 above.

--15:58--  
 1. Miss Lo: je vous ai apporté un autre livre qui  
 2. s'appelle (.) nos fêtes préférées dans le  
 3. monde entier  
 4. Kenji: en japonais!  
 5. Miss Lo: ouais il y a les fêtes du japon  
 6. ((children laughing))  
 7. Miss Lo: et on [va voir que [euh:: par exemple  
 8. Piotr: [japonais ((imitating Kenji's  
 9. tone))  
 10. Talia: [Mexique  
 11. Miss Lo: quand Leila nous avait parlé de la::  
 12. (.) comment ça s'appelait↑ (.) les::  
 13. **rejes**↑  
 14. Talia: **rejes magos**  
 15. Miss Lo: ah les **rejes** quoi↑  
 16. Talia: **magos**  
 17. Miss Lo: **majos magos**↑  
 18. Talia: [**magos**  
 19. Leila: [**magos**  
 20. Miss Lo: **magos** (.) les **rejes magos** (.) ben on les a

21. ici (.) les rois mages  
 22. Kenji: che↑  
 23. Talia: **che boluda** (16:32) <cool (mexican idiom)>  
 24. ((laughing))  
 25. (.2)  
 26. Miss Lo: regardez (.2) là dans ce livre on voit  
 27. plein de fêtes dans le monde (.) halloween  
 28. (.) tiens regarde (.) halloween c'était  
 29. quand (.) chut!  
 30. Karen: c'est::  
 31. Kenji: /pækə/  
 32.  
 33. Leila: **esta aprendido el** [singular (16:52)  
 34. Miss Lo: [voilà chut! (.) était  
 35. en automne (.) était une fête-  
 36. Talia: moi aussi le trois [octobre  
 37. Miss Lo: [chut! (.) une fête de  
 38. l'automne (.) et là (.1) ça c'est des  
 39. fêtes indiennes (.) ça nicholas on avait  
 40. vu ça avec euh:: (.) [Piotr hein↑  
 41. Talia: [ça c'est polonaise↑  
 42. Miss Lo: sainte lucie (.) ah oui paraît-il que  
 43. sainte lucie on en avait pas parlé de  
 44. sainte lucie (.) en suède  
 45. ((children talking in the background))  
 46. Miss Lo: chut! (.) je vais vous le donner après le  
 47. livre (.) ça c'est sainte lucie en suède  
 48. (.) on en avait pas parlé (.) Noël on  
 49. avait parlé de Noël bien sur  
 50. (.2)  
 51. Talia: oui  
 52. Miss Lo: euh:: (.2) et là voilà (.) les **rejes** (.)  
 53. [magos  
 54. Talia: [magos!  
 55. (.)  
 56. Kenji: [c'est quoi **rejes magos**↑  
 57. Miss Lo: [alors↑  
 58. Talia: les rois (.) magiques  
 59. (.3)  
 60. Kenji: ça c'est::  
 61. Miss Lo: la galette (.) [ça c'est la galette  
 62. Leila: [espagnol! ça écrit!  
 63. Miss Lo: oui c'est écrit en espagnol  
 64. Talia: **fiesta de los rejes magos**  
 65. Miss Lo: et il y a une petite fille qui s'appelle  
 66. (.) alors attendez je vais vous dire  
 67. Kenji: ça c'est comme espagnol  
 68. Leila: ça on donne les [cadeaux  
 69. Talia: [c'est- c'est en  
 70. espagnol! (.) c'est écrit en espagnol (.)  
 71. **la fiesta de los rejes magos!**  
 72. ((children chatting))  
 73. Miss Lo: chut!  
 74. Kenji: **hola!**  
 75. Talia: tout ça c'est écrit en espagnol maîtresse↑  
 76. (.2)  
 77. Miss Lo: ah ben elle s'appelle Talia en plus  
 78. (.) ça tombe bien  
 79. ((children laughing))  
 80. Miss Lo: mais elle est pas mexicaine hein (.) elle  
 81. est espagnol  
 82. (.3)  
 --18:18--

**T2 S1 D10 V38 E3:**

See photo 3.

--18:43--

207. Miss Lo: et puis il y a une fête dont on va parler  
208. à la rentrée après les vacances (.) qui  
209. s'appelle (.) alors je sais pas si tu l'as  
210. euh:: (.) je vais juste voir (.) la fête  
211. (.) la fête des poupées↑  
212. Leila: qu'on mange des œufs↑ (.) des œufs↑  
213. Piotr: crevettes!  
214. (.)  
215. Leila: [des poupées↑  
216. Talia: [ah (.) je connais pas  
217. Miss Lo: est-ce que euh:: (.) Kenji tu connais la  
218. fête des poupées↑  
219. Talia: j'ai beaucoup de [poupées dans la maison  
220. Miss Lo: [chut chut chut! (.)  
221. taisez-vous  
222. Kenji: euh:: gâteau↑  
223. Miss Lo: le trois mars  
224. (.2)  
225. Miss Lo: le trois mars il y a une fête au japon  
226. non↑ (.) qui s'appelle la fête des poupées  
227. Kenji: non::  
228. Miss Lo: ah bon (.) je vais te montrer et tu vas me  
229. dire si c'est-  
230. Leila: il y a aussi une fête où on mange des œufs  
231. et des chocolats maîtresse!  
232. (.)  
233. Talia: mm↑  
234. Leila: comment s'appelle cette fête↑ (.) pasqua↑  
235. (.)  
236. Talia: ah la pasqua  
237. Miss Lo: ah paques (.) euh paques c'est oui (.)  
238. [euh:: hina matsuri <girl's day>! non↑  
239. Talia: [c'est avec les (.) oeufs  
240. Kenji: ah oui::  
241. Miss Lo: ah:: bon oui (.) alors hina matsuri  
242. <girl's day> tu connais hina matsuri oui↑  
243. Kenji: hi!na (.) matsuri  
244. Miss Lo: comment c'est↑  
245. Kenji: hi!na matsuri  
246. Miss Lo: hi!na matsuri (.) et euh parce que ce  
247. sera  
248. pendant les vacances alors si c'est le  
249. trois mars  
250. Kenji: non japonais il n'y pas de vacances  
251. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) mais pour nous (.) la on va  
252. être en vacances (.) c'est quand (.) c'est  
253. quand le (.) hi!na matsuri↑ (.) c'est  
254. quand cette fête↑  
255. (.2)  
256. Kenji: oui fête  
257. Miss Lo: quel jour↑  
258. Kenji: sais pas  
259. ((children laughing))  
260. Miss Lo: là ils ont dit que était le trois mars  
261. Kenji: ah oui trois:: mars peut-être premier  
262. Miss Lo: ah premier mars ou trois mars donc nous on  
263. sera pas là (.) on sera en vacances (.)  
264. tout le monde sera en vacances (.) vous  
265. serez pas à l'école (.) et on en parlera  
266. (.) Kenji va nous en parle quand on va  
267. rentrer de vacances (.) est-ce que vous  
268. allez faire cette fête avec ton papa ta  
269. maman tes sœurs↑  
270. (.)  
271. Kenji: euh oui  
272. Miss Lo: oui↑  
273. Talia: qu'est-ce [qu'il se fait dans cette fête↑  
274. Miss Lo: [qu'est-ce que vous allez faire-

275. ben je sais pas (.) ben vous allez lui  
276. poser des questions alors (.) vas-y  
277. Talia  
278. (.)  
279. Talia: qu'est-ce que:: tu fais dans cette fête↑  
280. (.2)  
281. Kenji: euh:: (.) je fais pas moi  
282. Miss Lo: au japon qu'est-ce qu'on fait le jour de  
283. cette fête↑  
284. Kenji: euh:: (.) faire euh::  
285. Leila: dragon↑  
286. Kenji: non::  
287. Miss Lo: laisse-le parle parce que là sinon on va  
288. pas y arriver  
289. Kenji: ça::  
290. Miss Lo: un drapeau↑ (.) un cerf-volant↑  
291. Kenji: oui (.) ça sur (.) les poupées  
292. Miss Lo: d'accord  
293. Kenji: et après:: (.) après::  
294. Miss Lo: ah:: on met les poupées sur un bateau↑  
295. (.)  
296. Kenji: bateau↑  
297. Miss Lo: comme ça  
298. (.2)  
299. Miss Lo: ça la ((pointing to the book))  
300. (.4)  
301. Kenji: non:: (.) ça!  
302. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) ça  
303. Talia: je peux voir  
304. Kenji: je mange ça  
305. Miss Lo: oui  
306. (.)  
307. Kenji: ça non (.) euh ça et (.) ça  
308. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) et qu'est-ce que vous faites  
309. avec les poupées qui sont alors↑  
310. Kenji: c'est pas comme ça c'est comme ça  
311. Miss Lo: d'accord  
312. Leila: comme ça↑  
313. Miss Lo: d'accord  
314. Talia: comme ça c'est les poupées↑  
315. Karen: et les filles habillent comme ça↑  
316. Miss Lo: et c'est pour les filles et pour les  
317. garçons cette fête↑  
318. Kenji: ça c'est pour fille  
319. Miss Lo: [ouais  
320. Leila: [Kenji!  
321. Miss Lo: chut!  
322. Kenji: ça c'est pour garçon  
323. Miss Lo: d'accord  
324. Leila: Kenji!  
325. Miss Lo: alors attendez je vais regarder parce que-  
326. Leila: les filles s'habillent comme la petite  
327. fille là bas (.) le livre (.) t'as vu la  
328. fille↑  
329. Kenji: non  
330. (.2)  
331. Leila: comment s'habillent les filles au japon↑  
332. (.) comme Talia! (.) normalement↑ ou  
333. avec tout ça↑ ((pointing at the book))  
334. Talia: nanana  
335. Miss Lo: d'accord alors [en fait regardez ce qui se  
336. passe  
337. Kenji: [non euh::-  
338. Miss Lo: dans la maison (.) chut! (.) dans la  
339. maison on met (.) des (.) une estrade (.) et  
340. c'est comme des petits escaliers (.) et  
341. sur cette estrade (.) on met plusieurs  
342. poupées (.3) voilà (.) euh (.) c'est de  
343. poupées de l'empereur et de l'impératrice

344. du japon  
345. (.)  
346. Talia: c'est les vraies poupées↑  
347. Miss Lo: pardon↑  
348. Talia: les vraies poupées↑  
349. Miss Lo: oui c'est des vraies poupées  
350. Talia: de impératrice et de l'imperateur↑  
351. Miss Lo: voilà et on doit donc manger euh:: (. ) un  
352. plat qui s'appelle mochi↑ (. ) c'est ça↑  
353. Kenji: moshi↑  
354. Miss Lo: ina euh:: (. ) le gâteau la c'est moshi↑  
355. (. ) comment ça s'appelle↑  
356. Kenji: manger  
357. Miss Lo: bon okay (. ) et sakura mochi non↑ on dit  
358. pas ça↑  
359. Kenji: ah oui sakura mochi  
360. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (. ) heureusement que je parle  
361. japonais hein Kenji parce que  
362. sinon! ((laughing))  
363. Kenji: ça c'est- ça c'est mochi  
364. Miss Lo: d'accord (. ) d'accord (.2) et donc euh::  
365. (. ) on nettoie la plus belle de la maison  
366. et on met cette estrade avec ces poupées  
367. (. ) pour rendre hommage (. ) pour dire que  
368. ce qui est bien au japon c'est être  
369. calme (. ) c'est être sage (. ) voilà  
370. c'est pour montrer ça (. ) les poupées en  
371. fait elles montrent qu'il faut être  
372. respectueux (. ) faut être clame (. ) digne  
373. (. ) voilà (. ) et là ils disent aussi (. )  
374. je sais pas si Kenji ça se fait dans sa  
375. ville (. ) euh:: (. ) ils disent aussi (. )  
376. que (. ) pour les gens qui ont des enfants  
377. qui sont malades (. ) ou des enfants qui  
378. ont des problèmes (. ) ou des enfants qui  
379. ont quelque chose qui ne va pas-  
380. Kenji: ah oui (. ) il n'y a pas de problème et::  
381. (. ) euh:: (.2) comment on dit (. ) ça  
382. ((putting his hands together))  
383. (.3)  
384. Kenji: euh:: (.4) souhaiter↑  
385. Miss Lo: mm↑  
386. Kenji: euh:: (. ) ça ((putting his hands  
387. together))  
388. (. )  
389. Miss Lo: on prie! (. ) ils vont au temple↑  
390. Talia: ah ça de (. ) brbrbr ((putting her hands  
391. together))  
392. Miss Lo: prier↑ (. ) c'est ça↑  
393. Talia: à dieu  
394. (.2)  
395. Kenji: non:: (. ) c'est pas ça (. ) euh::  
396. Talia: Kenji (. ) à dieu  
397. Miss Lo: chut attend Talia  
398. ((Kenji looks in his digital dictionary))  
399. Miss Lo: ah! On va chercher notre amie euh::  
400. (.2)  
401. Miss Lo: on va l'appeler- (. ) on va lui donner [un  
402. nom parce qu'il fait partie de la classe  
403. Talia: [computer  
404. Miss Lo: comment il s'appelle- comment on dit  
405. dictionnaire en:: (. ) comment on appelle  
406. ça en japonais↑ (. ) ça la↑  
407. Kenji: ça↑  
408. Miss Lo: ouais  
409. Talia: /diks'onædæ/  
410. ((imitating japanese accent))  
411. Kenji: ça c'est::



412. Talia: /dɪksʰonædæ/  
413. Kenji: non  
414. Miss Lo: comment on dit ça en japonais (.) c'est  
415. quoi ça↑  
416. (.4)  
417. Kenji: euh:: ((laughing))  
418. Leila: vas-y Kenji!  
419. Talia: /iksu/ /tæni/ /æliædæ/ (24:29)  
420. Miss Lo: ordinateur en japonais c'est comment↑  
421. Kenji: ordinateur (.) est (.) konpyuta  
422. Miss Lo: computer (.) bon ben voilà (.) hein  
423. Talia: konpyuta  
424. Miss Lo: computer (.) comme ça ça nous arrange  
425. Kenji: souhaiter!  
426. Miss Lo: hein↑  
427. Kenji: souhaiter!  
428. Miss Lo: souhaiter↑  
429. Leila: [souhaiter  
430. Miss Lo: [souhaiter! ah oui (.) pour souhaiter!  
431. (.) très bien  
432. Kenji: oui  
433. Miss Lo: il a pas regardé dans son ordinateur  
434. alors↑ (.2) donc c'est pour souhaiter  
435. quoi↑ (.) pour souhaiter quoi↑  
436. Kenji: euh:: (.) euh:: (.) il n'y a pas de  
437. problème  
438. Miss Lo: voilà pour souhaiter (.) qu'il n'y a pas  
439. de problème ça veut dire que-  
440. ça veut dire quoi souhaiter↑  
441. Miss Lo: attendez (.) j'essaie de vous expliquer là  
442. (.) alors il faut écouter un peu (.) c'est  
443. pour des gens qui ont peur qu'il y ait des  
444. problèmes pour leurs enfants (.) ou bien  
445. des enfants qui sont- des parents qui sont  
446. inquiets pour la santé de leurs enfants  
447. (.) ils mettent des poupées au temple pour  
448. que ça porte de la chance à leurs enfants  
449. (.) voyez↑  
450. Kenji: oui  
451. Miss Lo: si on voulait par exemple que euh:: (.)  
452. si pour Anika on était on japon (.) on  
453. mettrait une petite poupée pour Anika  
454. pour qu'elle voyage bien (.) pour que son  
455. voyage se passe bien (.) pour que tout  
456. soit bien  
457. Leila: ah oui::  
458. Talia: [pour qu'elle revient ici  
459. Miss Lo: [c'est comme une euh:: (.) comment on va  
460. dire↑  
461. Talia: una ofranda  
462. Miss Lo: un tradition (.) c'est une tradition (.)  
463. ça existe ça en Espagne↑ (.) ah oh pardon  
464. [au mexique↑  
465. Talia: [au mexique↑  
466. (.)  
467. Miss Lo: des choses comme ça↑ avec des poupées pour  
468. souhaiter bonne chance à quelqu'un  
469. Talia: je crois que oui (.) il y a (.) il y a  
470. dans la télé que (.) euh:: (.) c'est::  
471. (.) como se dice maria↑  
472. Kenji: maria  
473. Talia: Matilda::  
474. (.)  
475. Leila: marie↑  
476. Kenji: marie↑  
477. Talia: c'est le (.) la mère de dieu↑  
478. Miss Lo: oui c'est ça (.) marie (.) la mère de de  
479. jésus  
480. Talia: c'est une personne qui va donner je sais

481. pas quoi=  
482. Miss Lo: =ah oui voilà c'est à peu près pareil oui  
483. Talia: il penPiotr:: (.) como se dice sacrificio↑  
484. (.)  
485. Leila: sacri-  
486. Miss Lo: oui (.) pas un sacrifice (.) une offrande  
487. Talia: tu vas comme ça (.) tu marches comme ça  
488. ((kneelling on the floor and walking that  
489. way))  
490. Miss Lo: ah oui  
491. Talia: si tu veux  
492. (.)  
493. Kenji: ça c'est mal  
494. Miss Lo: oui (.) une euh:: comment on appelle ça↑  
495. Kenji: japonais comme ça ((showing the prayer  
496. position in japan))  
497. Talia: j'ai vu dans la télé  
498. Miss Lo: oui oui comme les processions en fait un  
499. peu (.) mais sacrifice c'est pas tout à  
500. fait ça le terme (.) euh oui  
501. Kenji: maîtresse!  
502. Miss Lo: euh::  
503. Talia: je sais pas comment on dit  
504. Miss Lo: je sais plus je vais retrouver ça oui  
505. Kenji: au japon comme ça ((shows the prayer  
506. position in japan))  
507. Miss Lo: au japon c'est comment↑ (.) comme ça  
508. Kenji: comme ça  
509. Miss Lo: ou ça↑ (.) au temple  
510. Kenji: euh:: il y pas de problème et comme ça  
511. Miss Lo: ah oui ((laughing)) pour pas qu'il y ait  
512. de problèmes on fait ça d'accord (.) au  
513. temple↑ (.) d'accord (.) toi tu fais ça  
514. Kenji↑  
515. Kenji: non  
516. Miss Lo: non!  
517. Talia: pourquoi↑  
518. Kenji: parce que:: (.3) je achète pas (.) ça  
519. Miss Lo: ah tu achètes pas les poupées comme ça  
520. pour aller au temple d'accord (.) ça  
521. dépend des familles  
522. Kenji: euh très petit et c'est pas escalier (.)  
523. euh:: (.) c'est poupées (.) deux poupées  
524. Miss Lo: deux poupées oui  
525. Kenji: il y a deux poupées  
526. Miss Lo: chez toi↑  
527. Kenji: oui  
528. Miss Lo: ah d'accord (.) vous faites pas tout ça  
529. (.) vous mettez pas un grand::  
530. Kenji: oui mais deux  
531. Miss Lo: avec deux poupées seulement (.) pas avec  
532. plein de poupées  
533. Talia: au japon↑  
534. Miss Lo: en france aussi vous faites ça↑  
535. (.1)  
536. Kenji: non!  
537. Miss Lo: vous faites pas ça en france↑  
538. Kenji: parce qu'il n'y a pas ça (.) dans la  
539. maison  
540. Talia: et pourquoi tu as pas achète en japon et  
541. tu l'apportes ici↑  
542. (.3)  
543. ((children laughing))  
544. Kenji: moi peut-être dans la poubelle  
545. Talia: hein↑  
546. Leila: dans la poubelle↑  
547. Kenji: oui  
548. ((children laughing))  
549. Talia: pourquoi↑

550. Kenji: parce que:: (.) je vais- je- je vais::  
551. (.) france  
552. Talia: c'est pas grave!  
553. (.3)  
554. Miss Lo: mais t'as pas dit l'autre jour que ta  
555. grand-mère elle avait envoyé des choses  
556. par bateau↑  
557. Kenji: non  
558. Miss Lo: ta grand-mère l'autre jour (.) t'as bien  
559. dit que ta grand-mère elle avait envoyé  
560. des choses du japon↑  
561. Kenji: non  
562. Talia: son computer  
563. (.)  
564. Leila: Kenji!  
565. Miss Lo: ah bon il a pas dit ça l'autre jour↑  
566. Leila: oui:: (.) un matin il mange je sais pas  
567. quoi parce que la grand-mère a envoyé par  
568. bateau  
569. Miss Lo: l'autre jour Kenji tu as dis que tu  
570. mangeais des choses du japon parce que ta  
571. grand-mère elle avait envoyé par bateau  
572. Kenji: oui  
573. (.2)  
574. Kenji: parce que ça c'est- (.) ma mère peut-être  
575. a oublié  
576. Miss Lo: ah voilà (.) parce que sa mère elle a  
577. oublié de demander les poupées c'est ça↑  
578. Kenji: oui  
579. Miss Lo: mais à paris je pense qu'on peut acheter  
580. ça  
581. (.2)  
582. Ah: non  
583. Karen: parce que il y a beaucoup de monde de  
584. tokyo  
585. Kenji: c'est très cher  
586. Miss Lo: très cher  
587. Kenji: japonais c'est pas très cher  
588. Miss Lo: ah oui (.) ici c'est très cher et au japon  
589. c'est pas trop cher  
590. Talia: il y a beaucoup de choses japonais ou  
591. chinois ici  
--29:11--

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**T2 S1 D10 V39**

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Document on the "franglais".

**T2 S1 D10 V39 E1:**

--00:00--  
1. Miss Lo: Leila! (.) euh (.) depuis toute a  
2. l'heure (.) est-ce que tu as regarde le  
3. document que j'ai distribue la (.) est-ce  
4. que tu sais de quoi ça parle↑  
5. Cristina: c'est anglais↑  
6. (.)  
7. Leila: oui  
8. ((children chatting in the background))  
9. Talia: pourquoi c'est-  
10. Miss Lo: chut!  
11. (.)  
12. Talia: pourquoi c'est en anglais↑  
13. Miss Lo: ah ben je sais pas moi (.) regardez ce qui  
14. est marqué  
15. Kenji: hamburger  
16. (.3)  
17. Talia: living room (.) hamburger with ( )

18. (.) clown (.) show  
19. Karen: manager  
20. Talia: manager (.) [speaker  
21. Kenji: [ça c'est manger!  
22. (.)  
23. Kenji: ( )  
24. Karen: c'est en- (.) en anglais (.) c'est::  
25. Kenji: ça c'est anglais!  
26. (.)  
27. Leila: c'est quoi 'parlez-vous fran<sup>g</sup>lais' ↑  
28. ((laughing))  
29. Miss Lo: alors la (.) posez-vous la question (.)  
30. alors c'est quoi ↓  
31. Kenji: 'parlez-vous (.) fran<sup>g</sup>lais'  
32. Talia: [ 'parlez-vous fran:  
33. (.) glais' (.) ah!  
34. Kenji: c'est quoi fran<sup>g</sup>lais!  
35. Karen: ils demandent si tu parles en anglais  
36. Talia: je sais (.) fran<sup>g</sup>lais c'est (.) je parlais  
37. fran<sup>ç</sup>ais [(.) anglais  
38. Karen: [fran<sup>ç</sup>ais et anglais  
39. Talia: fran: espa ((laughing)) (.) espafran<sup>ç</sup>ais  
40. Kenji: espagnol et fran<sup>ç</sup>ais et-  
41. Talia: je suis fran::mexicaine (.) franmexicaine!  
42. Cristina: franmexicaine  
43. Kenji: je suis fran:: (.) frannais (.) [japonais  
44. Talia: [c'est  
45. trop facile! (.) living room (.) hamburger  
46. (.) poster (.) goal  
47. Kenji: ( )  
48. (.)  
49. Miss Lo: alors (.) chut!  
50. Leila: c'est en anglais maitresse (.) je parle  
51. pas!  
52. Karen: en anglais!  
53. Miss Lo: mais alors (.) [c'est en anglais  
54. Talia: [en anglais  
55. Miss Lo: mais alors pourquoi moi je vous donne (.)  
56. c'est bizarre que je vous donne des mots  
57. en anglais alors que je dois vous  
58. apprendre le fran<sup>ç</sup>ais  
59. Kenji: pour travaill[er:: anglais  
60. Talia: [pour apprendre anglais  
61. aussi ↑  
62. Miss Lo: ah non moi c'est pas mon travail de vous  
63. apprendre l'anglais  
64. Andrea: ( )  
65. Miss Lo: [ah Andrea (.) alors qu'est-ce que tu  
66. penses ↑  
67. Kenji: [euh (.) a cote ecrire en fran<sup>ç</sup>ais ↑  
68. Miss Lo: pardon ↑  
69. (.)  
70. Leila: ( )  
71. Miss Lo: ah ben oui c'est une bonne idée (.) alors  
72. comment on va- (.) hamburger on va ecrire  
73. ça comment en fran<sup>ç</sup>ais ↑  
74. (.)  
75. Talia: [hamburger  
76. Leila: [hamburger  
77. (.)  
78. Kenji: hamburger ( )  
79. (.)  
80. Leila: la meme chose maitresse!  
81. (.)  
82. Miss Lo: western (.) on va ecrire ça comment en  
83. fran<sup>ç</sup>ais ↑  
84. (.)  
85. Talia: cow girl  
86. (.)  
87. Kenji: non

88. Miss Lo: non (.) western  
89. Kenji: ça c'est (.) fille  
90. Miss Lo: goal (.) pour le foot (.) goal (.) comment  
91. on va écrire ça en français  
92. Cristina: goal!  
93. Leila: goal  
94. C?: goal!  
95. Kenji: euh (.) shooter!  
96. Leila: shooter ((laughing))  
97. Miss Lo: non (.) le goal  
98. Kenji: goal est goal  
99. Leila: g (.) I (.) o (.) l  
100. Talia: poster  
101. (.)  
102. Miss Lo: non (.) alors justement (.) pourquoi je  
103. vous pose ces questions (.) un clown (.)  
104. un clown (.) comment on va dire ça en  
105. français↑ un clown alors  
106. ?: clown  
107. ?: clown  
108. Kenji: c'est quoi clown↑  
109. Talia: clown  
110. Miss Lo: donc c'est quoi la question (.) parlez-  
111. vous franglais ça veut dire quoi a votre  
112. avis  
113. Talia: [parce que c'est la meme-  
114. Cristina: [ça veut dire  
115. Miss Lo: chut! (.) Karen  
116. Karen: ça veut dire français (.) et (.) anglaise  
117. (.)  
118. Miss Lo: oui mais alors c'est quoi le français  
119. anglais alors [c'est quoi le français  
120. anglais↑  
121. Talia: [parce que c'est-  
122. Talia: parce que c'est trop pareil le français et  
123. anglais  
124. Karen: c'est un peu:: la meme chose  
125. Kenji: non tres (.) c'est pas tres  
126. Miss Lo: c'est un peu la meme chose  
127. Cristina: il y a les memes mots que ça ressemble en  
128. français  
129. Miss Lo: [ah tres bien! (.) alors (.) est-ce que  
130. quand on dit  
131. Kenji: [espagnol et français (.) tres pareil  
132. Miss Lo: en français (.) un clown (.) c'est un mot  
133. français (.) le mot  
134. Cristina: oui  
135. ?: oui  
136. Miss Lo: le mot clown c'est un mot français↑  
137. ?: oui  
138. Miss Lo: et le mot clown en anglais (.) on dit  
139. comment clown en anglais  
140. Talia: cl[own  
141. Karen: [clown  
142. (.)  
143. Miss Lo: clown (.) et pourtant ça s'écrit pareil  
144. (.) donc vous pensez quoi (.) que c'est  
145. deux mots qui sont différents [ou c'est un  
146. seul mot pour les deux↑  
147. Talia: [c'est meme  
148. Karen: un seul [mot (.) pour les deux  
149. Cristina: [un seul mot pour les deux  
150. Miss Lo: alors (.) un seul mot pour les deux  
151. Kenji: maitresse goal est gardien  
152. Karen: mais ça non! (.) c'est pas ça  
153. (.)  
154. Miss Lo: de quoi↑  
155. Karen: [ça c'est salon  
156. Talia: [le living room  
157. Kenji: 'poster'  
158. Miss Lo: ah ben voilà

159. (.)

160. Kenji: poster meme!

161. Miss Lo: donc il y a des mots (.) mais alors living

162. room (.) est-ce qu'on dit en français

163. living room↑

164. (.)

165. ?: non

166. Kenji: living room (.) living (.) japonais

167. living!

168. Leila: on dit la sala!

169. Talia: c'est quoi living↑

170. (.)

171. Kenji: [living euh (.)

172. Karen: [non on dit (.) le salon

173. Kenji: living euh (.) les gens et

174. Miss Lo: alors (.) [ok

175. Talia: [ah c'est la sala

176. Kenji: [canapé

177. Miss Lo: [un poster alors (.) un poster↑

178. Kenji: salle

179. Leila: c'est la meme chose

180. Cristina: la poste!

181. (.)

182. Miss Lo: ah ça- (.) c'est pas la poste la (.) un

183. poster (.) c'est quoi un poster↑

184. Talia: ah! la poste ((laughing))

185. Kenji: moi- (.) japonais aussi living! (.)

186. posuta: <poster>

187. meme!

188. Leila: ça↑ ((pointing to a poster in the

189. classroom))

190. Miss Lo: [voilà ça c'est un poster

191. Cristina: [c'est un chanteur c'est un chanteur

192. (.)

193. Miss Lo: donc est-ce qu'on dit un- (.) comment on

194. dit en anglais un poster↑

195. (.)

196. Kenji: [poster

197. Talia: [poster

198. Kenji: poster ((imitating Talia's accent))

199. Miss Lo: un poster (.) et comment on dit en

200. français↑

201. (.3)

202. Miss Lo: poster (.) donc en fait le français c'est

203. quoi↑

204. Kenji: poster

205. Miss Lo: vous avez presque trouve la (.) le

206. français c'est quoi↑

207. Karen: c'est français [et anglais

208. Leila: [oui que (.)

209. Miss Lo: oui mais c'est quoi↑

210. Leila: que (.) la chose c'est écrit en anglais

211. mais c'est la meme chose qu'en français

212. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) et pourquoi (.) et pourquoi

213. ça serait pas (.) Karen (.) a ton avis

214. les mots la (.) qui c'est qui les a

215. trouve d'abord (.) c'est les anglais ou

216. les français↑

217. ?: les anglais

218. (.)

219. Cristina: les français!

220. (.)

221. Miss Lo: pourquoi↑

222. Karen: parce que les anglais etaient en (.) tous

223. les americains etaient en Europe (.) après

224. ils ont venu a etats unis (.) après et (.)

225. des gens vient de France encore

226. Miss Lo: ah oui donc ça c'est d'accord (.) c'est

227. que les americains ils viennent (.) c'est

228. des europeens a la base (.) mais bon ça

229. c'est pas (.) ça va pas dans le sens de  
230. [ma question  
231. Kenji: [maitresse!  
232. Miss Lo: est-ce que tu penses que clown (.) avec  
233. (.) c- l- o- w- n- (.1)  
234. Leila: oui  
235. Kenji: maitresse!  
236. Miss Lo: vous pensez que c'est plutot un mot  
237. anglais ou un mot français↓  
238. ?: anglais!  
239. Miss Lo: un mot anglais (.) et alors si on dit  
240. clown en France ça veut dire quoi (.)  
241. simplement (.) ça veut dire quoi↑  
242. Cristina: clown (.) ça veut dire-  
243. Talia: **clown**  
244. Miss Lo: si on dit clown en France et que c'est un  
245. mot anglais et ben ça veut dire quoi↑  
246. Kenji: pierrot  
247. (.)  
248. Cristina: euh (.) pareil  
249. Miss Lo: ben ça veut dire qu'en français (.) on  
250. utilise des mots↑ (.) qu'on a pris↑  
251. Cristina: anglais  
252. Miss Lo: a l'anglais!  
253. (.)  
254. Miss Lo: quand je dis par exemple-  
255. Leila: en espagnol (.) **shopping** (.) c'est en  
256. anglais  
257. Miss Lo: shopping (.) c'est en anglais  
258. Talia: aussi on peut dire (.) **las compras**  
259. Kenji: japonais beaucoup (.) anglais  
260. Miss Lo: et si vous dites shopping en es- en espa-  
261. en espagnol (.) en:: argentine (.) est-ce  
262. que si vous dites shopping en argentine ya  
263. que les gens qui parlent anglais qui  
264. comprennent  
265. Leila: non! (.) tout le monde  
266. Miss Lo: tout le monde comprend  
267. Leila: mais c'est normal (.) on dit **shopping**  
268. (.)  
269. Kenji: [maitresse!  
270. Miss Lo: [ben la c'est pareil (.) c'est exactement  
271. pareil Leila (.) on dit (.) hamburger  
272. (.) personne- si vous dite a quelqu'un en  
273. France oh on va manger un hamburger (.) ya  
274. personne qui va vous dire (.) c'est quoi  
275. ça moi je parle pas anglais je comprends  
276. rien (.) parce que hamburger c'est  
277. hamburger (.) [on sait tous que hamburger  
278. c'est ça  
279. Kenji: [en japonais (.) **living!**  
280. Talia: en espagnol c'est [**hamburgesa**  
281. Kenji: [hamburger  
282. Miss Lo: si quelqu'un dit (.) euh (.)  
283. Kenji: ça c'est etats unis  
284. Miss Lo: on va voir un spectacle de clowns (.) si  
285. on dit en France on va voir un spectacle  
286. de clown (.) les français ils vont pas  
287. vous dire (.) un spectacle de quoi↑ (.) u  
288. spectacle de clown (.) c'est quoi ça↓ (.)  
289. non (.) clown (.) tout le monde connait  
290. clown (.) donc ce sont des mots  
291. Kenji: clown non en japonais  
292. Piotr: moi je connais pas  
293. Miss Lo: chut! (.) [donc ce sont des mots qu'on a  
294. pris a l'anglais  
295. Talia: [clown c'est **clown** (.) **payaso**  
296. Miss Lo: et qu'on a mis dans le français (.)  
297. d'ailleurs (.) comment on peut etre sur de  
298. ça (.) si on prend un dictionnaire (.) un  
299. dictionnaire français

300. Kenji: maitresse! (.) japonais-  
301. Miss Lo: c'est un dictionnaire français (.)  
302. normalement un dictionnaire français est-  
303. ce que je peux trouver des mots japonais  
304. tout ça↑  
305. ?: [non  
306. ?: [oui  
307. (.)  
308. ?: oui  
309. Kenji: non  
310. Miss Lo: normalement (.) ah  
311. ?: tu peux trouver  
312. (.)  
313. Miss Lo: alors (.) attendez on va voir (.) est-ce  
314. que je trouve clown la-dedans↑  
315. Cristina: oui maitresse (.) je sais ou c'est clown  
--06:39--

**T2 S1 D10 V39 E2:**

--07:48--  
1. Miss Lo: ça veut dire qu'on a pris des mots (.) et  
2. n les a mis dans le français et que  
3. maintenant (.) tous les gens qui parlent  
4. français utilisent ce mot comme si c'était  
5. un mot français (.) il y a d'autres mots-  
6. il y a des mots qui viennent de l'arabe  
7. par exemple qu'on utilise en français  
8. qu'est-ce qu'on utilise↑ (.) comme mot qui  
9. vient de l'arabe↑  
10. (.4)  
11. Miss Lo: qu'est-ce qu'on utilise au Senegal comme  
12. mot qui vient du français↑ (.) toubib (.)  
13. est-ce que vous dites toubib  
14. (.)  
15. Miss Lo: est-ce que vous dites toubib↑  
16. (.2)  
17. Miss Lo: ah non vous le dites pas (.) euh::: (.)  
18. est-ce que vous dites- [qu'est-ce que vous  
19. dites tiens en peul qui sont des mots euh  
20. (.) attends ça marche pas  
21. Talia: [taxi! (.) taxi!  
22. Miss Lo: taxi (.) taxi  
23. Talia: en espagnol (.) taxi  
24. Kenji: en japonais taxi  
25. (.)  
26. Talia: ah! (.) pizza!  
27. Miss Lo: [voilà!  
28. C?: [pizza  
29. Miss Lo: pizza voilà (.) pizza ça vient de quoi a  
30. votre avis↑  
31. Talia: euh (.) italien  
32. Miss Lo: je pense ouais  
33. Kenji: *living*  
34. Cristina: anglais maitresse  
35. Talia: pizza c'est italien  
36. (.)  
37. Miss Lo: taxi par exemple (.) taxi ((looking in her  
38. dictionary))  
39. Talia: italiano  
40. Kenji: [japonais (.) tres bien pizza (08:39)  
41. Miss Lo: [non taxi c'est un::: mot français (.)  
42. c'est un mot français que vous utilisez  
43. (.) alors la- il y a ds mots français  
44. qu'on utilise dans d'autres pays et la  
45. c'est ds mots (.) etranger qu'on utilise  
46. en français (.) parexemple on arabe il y a  
47. quoi (.) attends je vais me retrouver  
48. (.)le::: (.) ah! Le bled!



49. (.)  
50. Kenji: bled  
51. Miss Lo: le bled (.) c'est un bled (.) un bled ça  
52. veut dire c'est un village (.) un petit  
53. village (.) quand en france- en france on  
54. se promene (.) il y a ds endroits c'est  
55. des tous petits villages on [dit mais (.)  
56. on dit mais c'est un bled ici!  
57. Talia: [maitresse!  
58. Miss Lo: ça veut dire (.) c'est un village (.) et  
59. bled c'est un mot arabe  
60. Talia: et comment on dit metro↑  
61. (.)  
62. Kenji: [metro  
63. ?: [metro  
64. (.)  
65. Talia: en japonais↑  
66. (.)  
67. Kenji: densha (09:13)  
68. Talia: oh (.)tesha  
69. Miss Lo: tesha (.) si je cherche tesha dans le  
70. dictionnaire je vais pas le trouver  
71. Kenji: densha  
72. Talia: euh:: comment on dit pizza↑  
73. (.)  
74. Kenji: piza  
75. ?: piza ((laughing))  
76. Talia: espagnol (.) pizza  
77. (.)  
78. Miss Lo: donc ça c'est des [mots qu'on utilise-  
79. Talia: [et:: en anglais↑  
80. Karen: pizza  
81. Miss Lo: ( ) bled  
82. Talia: en:: Senegal↑  
83. (.)  
84. Kenji: /p'ojæ/  
85. ((imitating peul))  
86. Miss Lo: voilà (.) bled! (.) la c'est marque bled  
87. (.) ici un bled c'est marque (.) 'la  
88. campagne en afrique du nord' (.) 'petit  
89. village isole' (.) voilà (.) quand on  
90. parle (.) ça c'est quand on parle c'est  
91. pas quand on ecrit (.) quand on parle on  
92. dit oh la la c'est un bled ici (.) et ben  
93. ça [c'est un mot qui vient de l'arabe  
94. Talia: [buonjiorno  
95. Miss Lo: donc euh:: (.) et ça ça s'appelle comment↑  
96. ça s'appelle des emprunts (.) un emprunt  
97. (.) d'accord↑  
98. Kenji: ( )  
99. Talia: buonjiorno  
100. (.)  
101. Miss Lo: Talia! (.) tu ecoutes un peu (.) c'est  
102. pas possible (.) ça s'appelle un emprunt  
103. (.) un emprunt c'est quelque chose qu'on a  
104. pris d'une autre langue et qu'on a garde  
105. parce que ça nous arrange (.) hein (.)  
106. donc la (.) par contre qu'est-ce qui  
107. change  
--10:09--

**T2 S1 D10 V39 E3:**

--10:14--  
1. Miss Lo: vous ecoutez (.) et après Karen va les  
2. (.) va les prononcer en anglais et on va  
3. voir si- si on- si on prononce pareil (.)  
4. en français on dit (.) un living room (.)

5. un living room c'est- ça veut dire un  
6. salon mais aussi on dit aussi un living  
7. room (.) [en anglais on dit comment↑  
8. Leila: [en espagnol aussi  
9. Miss Lo: chut! (.) oui d'accord mais la on est sur  
10. le français  
11. Talia: living room  
12. Kenji: en japonais aussi on dit living room  
13. Karen: living room  
14. Miss Lo: chut! (.) ah alors écoutez  
15. (.)  
16. Talia: sala  
17. Miss Lo: oh oh! (.) moi je dis living room  
18. (.)  
19. Karen: living room  
20. Miss Lo: hein donc c'est pas tout a fait la meme  
21. prononciation (.) moi je dis hamburger  
22. (.)  
23. Karen: [hamburger  
24. Talia: [hamburger  
25. (.)  
26. Kenji: hamburger  
27. Miss Lo: moi je dis western  
28. (.)  
29. Karen: western  
30. Talia: °western°  
31. Miss Lo: ah moi je dis weste:rn et elle elle dit  
32. weste↓rn (.) eu- (.) et moi je dis ai-  
33. Kenji: [elle dit ouh ouh  
34. Miss Lo: [poster  
35. (.)  
36. Karen: poster  
37. Talia: °poster°  
38. Miss Lo: elle elle dit poste↓r (.) et moi je dis  
39. poste↑r (.) et si je devais- et si je moi  
40. je disais poste↑r comment je l'écrirai en  
41. français je l'écrirai pas e- r- (.)  
42. j'écrirai↑  
43. (.)  
44. Cristina: e- r-  
45. Talia: e- r-  
46. Miss Lo: non! (.) en français e- r- ça fait pas (.)  
47. ça fait pas eur hein (.) poste↓r  
48. ?: eu↑  
49. Miss Lo: oui (.) e- u- r- (.) j'écrirais e- u- r-  
50. (.) d'accord↑ (.) donc la c'est écrit (.)  
51. c'est écrit comme on écrit en anglais (.)  
52. c'est écrit comme en anglais pas comme en  
53. français (.) living room (.) room je  
54. devrais l'écrire comment en français↑ (.)  
55. room  
56. Talia: room!  
57. Miss Lo: j'écrirais comment room↑  
58. Leila: r- o- u- m-  
59. Miss Lo: voilà (.) r- o- u- m- (.) parce que deux o  
60. ça existe pas en français ça (.) sauf les  
61. mots qui viennent de l'anglais (.) alors  
62. euh:: un goal  
63. (.)  
64. Karen: a goal  
65. (.)  
66. Miss Lo: un clown  
67. Karen: [clown  
68. Talia: [clown  
69. Miss Lo: ah ouais (.) clown moi je dis clown et  
70. elle elle dit clown (.) c'est pas pareil  
71. Miss Lo: un show  
72. Karen: show  
73. Talia: show  
74. Miss Lo: ouais (.) presque pareil (.) un manager

75. (.)  
76. Karen: a manager  
77. Miss Lo: ah alors moi je dis ma'nager et toi tu dis  
78. meneger (.) me↑ tu dis me↑ toi  
79. Karen: oui  
80. Miss Lo: ben moi je dis ma (.) speaker  
81. Karen: speaker  
82. Talia: speaker  
83. Miss Lo: ah voilà c'est presque pareil  
84. Kenji: speaker  
85. Miss Lo: donc en fait le français c'est quoi↑ (.)  
86. qui c'est qui peut me dire maintenat c'est  
87. quoi [le français  
88. Kenji: [( )]  
89. Miss Lo: ce sont des mots↑  
90. Leila: anglais (.) qu'on utilise en France  
91. Miss Lo: en français (.) avec une prononciation↑  
92. Karen: anglaise  
93. Talia: differente  
94. Leila: française  
95. Miss Lo: française (.) voilà! (.) alors maintenant-  
96. Leila: maitresse show! aussi c'est en espagnol  
97. Miss Lo: ouais ben c'est- c'est du:: (.) c'est du  
98. (.) spanoglais alors  
99. (.)  
100. Leila: oui  
101. Miss Lo: du spanishglais (.) je sais pas comment on  
102. pourrait dire↑  
103. Kenji: en japonais non c'est pas show  
104. Talia: francespanishglais  
105. Miss Lo: hein  
106. Talia: francespanishglais  
107. Leila: poster aussi! (.) c'est ecrit comme ça  
108. poster  
109. Talia: poster  
110. Miss Lo: en espagnol aussi vous dites ça  
111. Kenji: non (.) japonais (.) poster (12:29)  
112. Miss Lo: donc si vous- parlez-vous spani-  
113. Leila: c'est peut etre a- euh (.) quelqu'un dit  
114. living aussi  
115. Miss Lo: living aussi voilà hein↑  
116. Talia: en espagnol living room (.) o:: (.) sala  
117. (.1) hamburgesa (.1) western c'est quoi↑  
118. Miss Lo: western (.) [les films avec des cow boy  
119. Leila: [vacero  
120. (.)  
121. Leila: vacero  
122. Talia: vacero (.) poster (.) goal (.) pallaso  
123. 12:54)  
124. Miss Lo: vous utilisez ça en espagnol aussi↑  
125. Leila: oui!  
126. Miss Lo: ah::  
127. Talia: euh:: show  
128. Miss Lo: ouais  
129. Talia: c'est quoi manager  
130. Miss Lo: un manager c'est le directeur (.) celui  
131. qui dirige dans une entreprise  
132. (.)  
133. Leila: bueno (.) director  
134. Talia: director  
135. Miss Lo: donc vous utilisez pas manager  
136. Leila: [perdioidista  
137. Kenji: [tomato  
138. Hakim: en algerie [aussi on dit directeur  
139. Talia: [periodista  
140. Miss Lo: ah ben voilà (.) en algerie on utilise des  
141. mots du français (.) d'accord  
142. Kenji: euh tomate!  
143. (.)  
144. Miss Lo: hein↑

145. Kenji: tomate  
146. Miss Lo: tomate↑  
147. Leila: moi j'ai vu dans un-  
148. Hakim: maitresse en algerie on dit tomate aussi  
149. Miss Lo: chut!  
150. Kenji: ça c'est tomate (.) legume  
151. Miss Lo: oui  
152. Kenji: c'est-  
153. Miss Lo: attendez attendez parce que la je suis pas  
154. tout chez Kenji  
155. Kenji: ça c'est (.) japonais aussi  
156. (.)  
157. Miss Lo: ah en japonais on dit tomate↑  
158. Kenji: oui  
159. Leila: maitresse j'ai vu a la television en  
160. argentine  
161. Hakim: maitresse en algerie on dit-  
162. Miss Lo: ouais  
163. Leila: et un programme que:: (.) la personne dit  
164. ça suffit!  
165. (.)  
166. Kenji: salade aussi  
167. Leila: en français elle dit (.) ça suffit!  
168. Miss Lo: comme ça  
169. Leila: oui  
170. Karen: maitresse aussi comment on dit-  
171. Leila: mais normalement on dit pas (.) en  
172. espagnol  
173. Miss Lo: d'accord  
174. Kenji: maitresse salade aussi (.) salade!  
175. ((a lot of children talking at the same time))  
176. [...]  
177. Talia: en français c'est des tomates  
178. (.)  
179. Miss Lo: ouais  
180. Talia: en espagnol c'est (.) **los tomates** (.)  
181. c'est écrit- [(.) le meme  
182. Kenji: [salade!  
183. Miss Lo: d'accord  
184. (.)  
185. Kenji: maitresse salade!  
186. Miss Lo: salade on dit en japonais aussi↑  
187. Kenji: oui  
188. Miss Lo: ah d'accord  
189. Talia: en espagnol (.) **ensalade de letuga**  
190. Miss Lo: chut! (.) ben ça ce sont des emprunts du  
191. français la par contre (.) c'est pas des  
192. emprunts de l'anglais attention hein↑  
193. Kenji: **salada**  
194. Leila: ( )  
195. Hakim: ( ) en algerie  
196. Miss Lo: euh (.) salade en japonais c'est un  
197. emprunt du français  
198. Talia: **lettuga ensalada**  
199. Kenji: café  
200. Miss Lo: mais **tomatos** en espagnol c'est pas un  
201. emprunt  
202. Kenji: maitresse! (.) café!  
203. (.)  
204. Leila: café! oui café!  
205. Talia: café!  
206. Miss Lo: café voilà (.) c'est un emprunt aussi  
207. Talia: mais c'est écrit avec un accent  
208. Kenji: anglais aussi (.) japonais aussi anglais  
209. aussi  
210. Leila: **en español tambien se escribe con acento**  
211. Miss Lo: alors la euh! Y a que Karen qui a  
212. [commence a travaille  
213. Talia: **[y en frances↑**  
214. Miss Lo: donc la on vous dit (.) 'il parle à la  
215. radio' ça s'appelle- il s'appelle- c'est

216. comment↑ (.) un nom en anglais hein↑ (.)  
 217. il parle à la radio (.) on va le faire  
 218. ensemble alors  
 219. Talia: la radio parle  
 220. Karen: en anglais↑  
 221. Miss Lo: ah ben oui parce que [là c'est des mots-  
 222. Kenji: [ça c'est plus gens  
 223. Miss Lo: le↑  
 224. Matilda: radio  
 225. Karen: ( )  
 226. Miss Lo: non (.) non (.) le mot anglais qu'on  
 227. utilise en français pour dire le métier de  
 228. quelqu'un qui parle à la radio  
 229. Hakim: chanteur↑  
 230. Miss Lo: non [ça c'est français  
 231. Talia: [speaker!  
 232. (.)  
 233. Talia: le speaker::  
 234. Miss Lo: oui:: (.) très bien  
 235. ?: speaker::  
 236. Miss Lo: alors on va écrire  
 237. Leila: comment on écrit speaker::  
 238. Talia: ahi esta  
 239. (.)  
 240. Kenji: comment écrire speaker↑  
 241. Talia: c'est ici Kenji! (.) speaker  
 242. Kenji: speaker  
 243. Talia: haha ((laughing))  
 244. Miss Lo: et la femme c'est comment (.) la femme qui  
 245. parle à la télé là pour dire la météo (.)  
 246. ça s'appelle comment↑  
 247. Kenji: euh  
 248. Leila: **espeaker**  
 249. Karen: oh!  
 250. Miss Lo: en français c'est le speaker la speakerine  
 251. Kenji: speakerine  
 252. Miss Lo: speakerine! (.) speakerine ça existe en  
 253. anglais↑  
 254. Karen: non  
 255. Miss Lo: non voilà (.) on a inventé un féminin  
 256. Kenji: comment écrire speakerine↑  
 257. Karen: ah maîtresse! on doit écrire en anglais↑  
 258. Miss Lo: oui!  
 259. Karen: ah!  
 260. Miss Lo: euh (.) 'le film d'aventure dans l'ouest  
 261. américain  
 262. Leila: western  
 263. Miss Lo: [western  
 264. Leila: [western  
 --15:09--

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**T2 S1 D10 V40**

**T2 S1 D10 V40 E1:**

--02:20--  
 1. Matilda: t'as un stylo noir::  
 2. (.)  
 3. Talia: yeah  
 4. (.)  
 5. ((Matilda comes to Talia))  
 6. Talia: no I don't wanna  
 7. (.)  
 8. Andrea: noir↑  
 9. Matilda: oui (.) stylo noir  
 10. (.3)

11. Matilda: merci  
--02:39--

**T2 S1 D11 V44 E1:**

The second group is doing a written exercise whilst Miss Lo is helping the youngest group to read a story on an Easter egg.

--03:01--

1. Miss Lo: alors comment elle est-ce qu'elle  
 2. s'appelle↑ (.) c'est écrit 'elle' parce  
 3. qu'elle s'appelle comment↑  
 4. Matilda: poulette crevette↑  
 5. Miss Lo: poulette crevette (.) et pourquoi elle  
 6. s'appelle crevette↑ (.2) poulette parce  
 7. que c'est une petite poule (.) et crevette  
 8. pourquoi↑ (.) parce qu'elle est de quelle  
 9. couleur↑  
 10. Matilda: rose  
 11. Miss Lo: rose (.) et la- qu'est-ce qui est rose↑  
 12. (.) les crevettes vous savez ce que c'est  
 13. que les crevettes↑  
 14. Maia: non  
 15. (.)  
 16. Miss Lo: je vais vous montrer  
 17. Andrea: el camaron! <shrimp>  
 18. (.1)  
 19. Miss Lo: camaron  
 20. (.)  
 21. Maia: ah!  
 22. Andrea: conoce↑  
 23. Maia: camaron↑  
 24. Andrea: si  
 25. (.3)  
 26. Miss Lo: d'accord↑ (.1) camaron (.4) voilà (.) la  
 27. crevette ((showing her a picture book with  
 28. an image of a shrimp))  
 29. (.4)  
 30. Miss Lo: donc (.) c'est pour ça qu'on l'a appelée  
 31. (.1) euh:: crevette (.) c'est parce  
 32. qu'elle est rose comme la crevette  
 33. Matilda: euh::  
 34. Miss Lo: ben comment on dit en anglais crevette  
 35. euh:: (.) shremps (.) non (.1) shremps↑  
 36. Matilda: shremp↑ (.1) ah! ((laughing))  
 37. Miss Lo: d'accord↑ (.) hein (.) c'est pour ça qu'on  
 38. l'appelle crevette (.) parce que elle est  
 39. rose comme une↑  
 40. Matilda: [crevette  
 41. Maia: [crevette=  
 42. Miss Lo: =crevette (.) d'accord  
 43. ((Miss Lo moves to another group))  
 44. Maia: comment on dit camaron↑  
 45. Talia: camaron↑ (.) como el camaron es rosa (.)  
 46. por eso le dicen asi a la (.) la gallina  
 47. <since a shrimp is pink (.) that's why  
 48. they call it like that (.) the hen>  
 49. (04:13)  
 50. Miss Lo: chut! (.) vous vous occupez de votre  
 51. texte (.) et moi je suis avec eux la (.)  
 52. d'accord↑ (.) je suis avec elles  
 53. Karen: maîtresse!  
 54. Miss Lo: alors

--04:30--

**T2 S1 D11 V44 E2:**

Same situation. T is talking with So only here.

--05:10--

1. Miss Lo: elle dit 'or alors voilà qu'un matin (.)  
2. elle saute sur un mur et crie (.) crotte  
3. crotte crevette' (.) 'crotte crotte  
4. crevette' (.) et crotte c'est quoi le mot  
5. crotte↑  
6. (.2)  
7. Miss Lo: elle elle devrait dire cotte cotte codette  
8. (.) cotte cotte codette (.) et elle dit  
9. pas ça (.) elle dit (.) crotte crotte  
10. crevette (.) crotte c'est le caca  
11. C?: oh!::  
12. Karen: pourquoi↑  
13. Miss Lo: non mais (.) elle- c'est parce que- (.)  
14. Maia (.) c'est parce que elle dit (.)  
15. cotte cotte (.) elle arrive pas à dire  
16. cotte cotte (.) parce qu'avant elle ne  
17. parlait pas (.) elle arrive pas elle dit  
18. (.) cr- cr- crotte crotte (.) tu vois↑ (.)  
19. caca caca (.) donc du coup (.) oh!:: du  
20. coup ses parents ils disent (.) oh! mais  
21. qu'est-ce qu'elle dit↑ (.) c'est comme un  
22. gros mot c'est comme un mot qu'on ne dit  
23. pas (.) voyez↑  
24. (.1)  
25. Miss Lo: alors du coup ils sont↑ (.) ses parents  
26. ils sont↑  
27. (.3)  
28. Matilda: euh::  
29. Miss Lo: ils sont honte!  
30. (.)  
31. Maia: honte↑  
32. Miss Lo: honte (.) comment on dit honte en espagnol  
33. Andrea  
34. Talia: [comme ça↑  
35. Andrea: [vergüenza  
36. (.)  
37. Miss Lo: honte (.) non=  
38. Andrea: = vergüenza!  
39. Talia: oye (.) (tipo) que están avergonzados  
40. (06:04)  
41. Maia: ah  
42. Miss Lo: tu vois↑ (.) parce qu'elle a dit quelque  
43. chose qu'il ne faut pas dire (.) mais en  
44. même temps (.3) en même temps après (.)  
45. ça les fait↑  
46. Andrea: honte  
47. Miss Lo: est-ce qu'ils sont fâchés (.) est-ce  
48. qu'elle est punie↑  
49. Maia: non  
50. Miss Lo: non (.) ça les fait rigoler (.) parce  
51. après ils comprennent (.) qu'elle fait  
52. pas exprès (.) c'est la première fois  
53. qu'elle parle (.) elle arrive pas à dire  
54. coco (.) et crotte en français c'est un  
55. mot qui veut dire le caca (.2) c'est pour  
56. ça (.) et après (.) ils sont contents  
57. parce que ils disent que elle sait parler  
58. (.) et elle va apprendre tout doucement à  
59. bien! parler (.) c'est comme vous des  
60. fois quand vous dites des mots (.) que  
61. vous arrivez pas à bien prononcer (.) ben  
62. la c'est pareil (.) elle arrive pas à bien  
63. prononcer

--06:58--



**T2 S1 D11 V44 E3:**

--15:15--

1. Miss Lo: 'on y depose un peu de lard' (.) c'est  
2. quoi le lard↑  
3. (.3)  
4. Miss Lo: le lard  
5. Cristina: lard!  
6. Miss Lo: mm  
7. Samba: oui  
8. Miss Lo: ça veut dire quelque chose dans ta langue  
9. (.) lard↑  
10. (.)  
11. Miss Lo: oui (.) ça veut dire quoi↑  
12. Amkoulel maîtresse comme ça  
13. (.3)  
14. Miss Lo: lard↑ (.) ça veut dire quelque chose↑ (.)  
15. en peul↑  
16. Samba: oui  
17. Miss Lo: ça veut dire quoi↑  
18. (.5)  
19. Samba: nous on dit lard (.) on met du lait  
20. (.3)  
21. Miss Lo: oui dis-moi↑  
22. Samba: on met du riz  
23. Miss Lo: ouais  
24. Samba: avec du lait  
25. Miss Lo: ouais (.) et ça s'appelle lard↑  
26. Samba: oui  
27. Miss Lo: c'est le plat  
28. (.)  
29. Samba: oui  
30. Miss Lo: est-ce qu'on en mange pendant le ramadan↑  
31. (.)  
32. Samba: oui  
33. Miss Lo: oui c'est ça je vois (.) on met du mil  
34. aussi des fois avec du lait non↑  
35. Samba: oui  
36. Miss Lo: d'accord (.) ça s'appelle lard (.)  
37. d'accord (.) ben la non ((laughing)) la  
38. c'est carrément autre chose (.) la c'est  
39. du porc! en fait (.) c'est du porc en::=  
40. Andrea: =ah d'accord  
41. Miss Lo: en comment [dire  
42. Maia: [que↑  
43. Cristina: en porc  
44. Andrea: porco  
45. Miss Lo: c'est du porc en::: (.) c'est ce qu'on met  
46. [quand il reste du lard  
47. Karen: [qu'est-ce qu'on mange pour le déjeuner↑  
48. Miss Lo: c'est comme le bacon un peu (.) voyez↑  
49. Andrea: [c'est quoi bacon  
50. Karen: [bacon (.) j'adore!  
51. Miss Lo: tu vois (.) donc c'est de la viande (.) on  
52. lui met un petit peu de viande se- (.)  
53. parce que c'est très gras le lard (.) et  
54. des graines (.) faut croire que les poules  
55. elles mangent ça (.) alors

--16:19--

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**T2 S1 D11 V45**

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**T2 S1 D11 V45 E1:**

Children are working in groups. It is time to go to the playground but there is a storm.

--12:25--  
1. Talia: maîtresse je peux (.) je peux sortir avec  
2. mon parapluie↑  
3. Miss Lo: oh la la ((looking at the window)) (.)  
4. alors là c'est la tempête (.) là ça  
5. s'appelle une tempête!  
6. Kenji: maîtresse! (.) où se [passe-  
7. Karen: [c'est quoi↑  
8. Miss Lo: une tempête c'est que il y a beaucoup de  
9. vent (.) il y a les arbres [qui bougent  
10. beaucoup  
11. Talia: [au mexique  
12. c'est:: (.) tormenta  
13. Miss Lo: voilà (.) ben des fois il y a des choses  
14. qui s'envolent  
15. Karen: en anglais on dit [:: euh (.) storm!  
16. Piotr: [c'est le printemps!  
17. Miss Lo: voilà (.) là on a de la chance avec la  
18. météo (.) on peut avoir plein de mots  
19. [qu'on a jamais (.) la grêle (.) la  
20. tempête  
21. Hakim: [maîtresse en algérie (.) un garçon  
22. [( )  
23. (.)  
24. Hakim: [maîtresse en algérie un garçon  
25. Leila: maîtresse! (.) comment on va faire pour  
26. aller au cinéma↑  
27. Researcher: haha ((laughing))  
28. Miss Lo: ça ce n'est plus mon problème (.) c'est  
29. les maîtres de cml qui vont gérer ça (.)  
30. ça va être formidable ((laughing))  
--12:51--

**T2 S1 D11 V45 E2:**

Children are working in their respective groups.

--13:48--  
1. Miss Lo: chut! (.) ((knocks on the table to call  
2. for attention)) moi j'ai besoin d'un peu  
3. de silence pour travailler avec Maia et  
4. Matilda donc-  
5. Cristina: maîtresse! [(.) je sais pas c'est quoi-  
6. Miss Lo: [non (.) chut!  
7. (.)  
8. Miss Lo: tu demandes (.) à Talia (.) elle va  
9. t'expliquer (.) tu lui fais pas (.) tu lui  
10. expliques  
--14:01--

**T2 S1 D11 V45 E3:**

Talia helps Cristina to understand the story about the Easter egg. The microphone is near them.

--14:16--  
1. Talia: se esconde  
2. Cristina: si (.) 'elle (.) se cache derrière la  
3. porte'  
4. Talia: porque↑  
5. (.2)  
6. Talia: para que la- para que los niños no la  
7. encuentran (.) no esta no es (.1) escribe  
8. (.3) par que (.) les enfants ne trouvent  
9. pas elle  
10. (.14)

11. ((children in other groups are talking with  
12. the teacher))  
13. Cristina: parce que↑  
14. Talia: non  
15. (.3)  
16. Cristina: como se hace↑ (.2) parce que↑  
17. Talia: qui c'est elle↑  
18. (.1)  
19. Cristina: oui  
20. Talia: que fait-elle↑  
21. (.1)  
22. Cristina: mm  
23. Talia: que hace↑  
24. Cristina: se esconde  
25. (.3)  
26. Talia: elle se (.3) elle (.2) elle se↑  
27. Cristina: cache derrière la porte  
28. Talia: de↑  
29. Cristina: de (.) michoir  
30. Talia: de michoir (.) pourquoi↑  
31. (.2)  
32. Cristina: parce que les enfants la trouvent=  
33. Talia: =parce que les enfants la trouvent pas!  
34. (.3)  
35. Cristina: les enfants ne ((writing))  
--15:43--

[...]

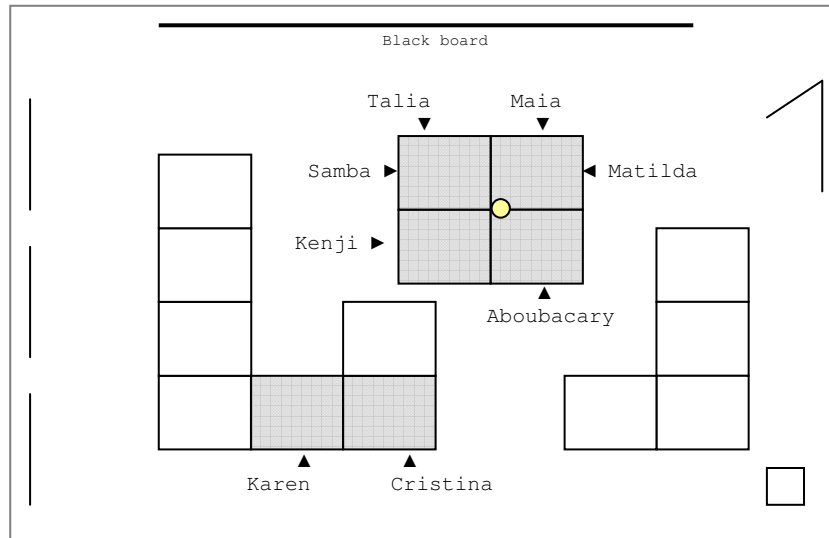
Same context. T talks with other pupils in the background.

--23:51--  
1. Cristina: je sais pas qu'est-ce qu'il faut faire sur  
2. celui-là! (.) grammaire  
3. (.2)  
4. Talia: brrr  
5. (.6)  
6. Talia: en este  
7. Cristina: si  
8. (.3)  
9. Talia: escribe el primer párrafo (.) en la  
10. forma afirmativa (.) escribe estos  
11. párrafos en el afirmativo! (.2) 'ce n'est  
12. pas une maison comme une autre' (.)  
13. entonces será en afirmativo (.) c'est une  
14. maison comme une autre (.) c'est une poule  
15. comme les autres (.) c'est un jour tout a  
16. fait comme les autres jours (.2) y después  
17. en esto (.) re- (.) re-escribe en  
18. masculino las frases subrayadas (.2) del  
19. párrafo dos (.) entonces (.) esta ya esta  
20. (.) y con el masculino (.) 'c'est une  
21. poule' (.) 'c'est un coq' (.2)  
22. 'il se nomme (.) coco' ((laughing)) (.2)  
23. il est-  
24. Cristina: brun  
25. Talia: brun  
26. Cristina: [en chocolat  
27. Talia: [en chocolat (.) au lait!  
28. (.11)  
29. Cristina: ( ) (25:16)  
--25:23--

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T2 S1 D11 V46

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Children from the three different groups are gathered at the end of the day to paint their Easter eggs.

**T2 S1 D11 V46 E1:**

--07:40--

1. Miss Lo: c'est joli euh:: (.) Kenji (.) un œuf
2. d'or Kenji dis-donc c'est super beau
3. Kenji: or!
4. Miss Lo: ouais or! (.) c'est chouette!
5. Kenji: gold
6. Miss Lo: gold ouais ((laughing))
7. Matilda: c'est en anglais gold
8. (.8)
9. Miss Lo: moi je vais m'occuper des boites (.) voir
10. qu'est-ce que je vais pouvoir mettre
11. dedans (.) à qui sont les œufs là-bas (.)
12. ah oui ça c'est mélanie et::
13. Samba: Hakim
14. (.5)
15. Talia: je fais rose
16. (.1)
17. Maia: rojo con::
18. Matilda: qui a du vert↑ (.) personne↑
19. (.2)
20. Talia: non il n'y a pas
21. (.)
22. Miss Lo: euh:: (.) Cristina le vert tu fais du vert
23. (.) tu mets du bleu et du jaune et ça fait
24. du vert
25. (.2)
26. Cristina: hein↑ combien
27. Miss Lo: tu mets du bleu et du jaune (.) tu
28. mélanges du bleu [et du jaune (.) ça fait
29. du vert
30. Cristina: [bleu (.) bleu et du jaune
31. Miss Lo: ça va faire du vert
32. Cristina: je vais essayer hein
33. Miss Lo: ouais ben (.) tu mets du jaune et après tu
34. mets un tout petit peu de bleu (.) [tu
35. mélanges (.) tu mets encore un petit peu
36. de bleu ( )
37. Maia: [noir
38. Matilda: si tu veux le noir (.) tiens
39. ((children making noises and singing))
40. (.11)
41. Matilda: regarde (.) noir et violet (.) regarde la
42. couleur maintenant de l'eau

43. (.3)  
 44. Maia: oh! violet forte  
 45. Talia: non ça c'est un noir  
 46. Matilda: je veux du rose aussi (.) madame  
 47. ((Miss Lo talks in the background))  
 --09:36--

**T2 S1 D11 V46 E2:**

--10:40--  
 1. Amkoulel: le noir  
 2. (.3)  
 3. Maia: noir↑  
 4. Matilda: noir il est là  
 5. (.3)  
 6. Talia: why don't you get pink↑  
 7. Matilda: there  
 8. Talia: but that's mine!  
 9. (.2)  
 10. Matilda: yeah! (.) i think i know::  
 11. (.7)  
 12. Talia: haha ((laughing))  
 --11:22--

**T2 S1 D11 V46 E3:**

--14:29--  
 1. Amkoulel: le doré Kenji!  
 2. (.1)  
 3. Matilda: haha ((laughing))  
 4. Amkoulel: je veux le doré  
 5. Maia: noir s'il te plait Matilda  
 6. Matilda: haha ((laughing)) (.) je peux pas j'ai  
 7. fait qu'un œuf=  
 8. Kenji: =samba (.) rouge!  
 9. (.3)  
 10. Samba: regarde Amkoulel  
 11. (.5)  
 12. Miss Lo: non samba il y a trop d'eau là!  
 13. Kenji: non mais ici  
 14. Miss Lo: tu veux faire quoi là  
 15. Samba: doré  
 16. Miss Lo: ben doré tu tu-  
 17. Kenji: après!  
 18. Cristina: l'éponge s'il te plait!  
 19. Kenji: éponge↑  
 20. Miss Lo: ben non tu prends un autre pinceau dans ce  
 21. cas là  
 22. (.4) ((children making high pitched noises))  
 23. Miss Lo: voilà par exemple il y a un pinceau là qui  
 24. n'est pas utilisé (.) voilà (.) tu  
 25. l'essuie (.) et tu l'utilises pour le doré  
 26. (.2)  
 27. Matilda: éponge!  
 28. (.2)  
 29. Matilda: je fais faire une couleur! (.) une  
 30. couleur  
 31. (.2)  
 32. Talia: tu fais:: (.) violet  
 33. [...]  
 34. Miss Lo: on dit en malgache (.) Karen elle est  
 35. moura moura (.) moura moura [ça veut dire  
 36. euh::  
 37. Matilda: [qui veut une  
 38. couleur comme ça! (.) comme ça comme ça  
 39. Maia: qui veut:: (.) [violet  
 40. Miss Lo: [tranquille hein (.) parce  
 41. que là il est deux heures cinq (.) donc il



--24 :15--

**T2 S1 D11 V46 E5:**

--29:29--

1. Samba: noir! et noir noir noir!  
2. (.)  
3. Talia: pourquoi tu prends pas un ( ( ) )  
4. Samba: [noir!  
5. Talia: il y a beaucoup de prend et-  
6. Samba: °( )° (29:35)  
7. Amkoulel: °( )°  
8. Samba: ( )  
9. Amkoulel: °( )° c'est wolof  
10. Talia: qu'est-ce que ça veut dire  
11. Samba: °( )° (.)°( )° (.)°( )°  
12. Talia: qu'est-ce que ça veut dire↑  
13. Samba: ( ) (.) viens-là  
14. (.2)  
15. Samba: viens-là  
16. (.)  
17. Talia: viens  
18. Samba: viens-là  
19. Talia: qu'est-ce que ça veut dire↑  
20. Samba: viens-là!  
21. Talia: qu'est-ce que ça veut dire viens-là  
22. Matilda: viens [(.) là!  
23. Samba: [viens (.) là (.) c'est français ça!  
24. Talia: non  
25. Samba: [si  
26. Matilda: [fran- (.) viens! (.) là! (.1) viens!  
27. (.) et là!  
28. Cristina: viens-là!  
29. Amkoulel: tu comprends pas qu'est-ce que  
30. ( )  
31. Matilda: oh::! ((screaming))  
32. (.14)  
33. Matilda: et noir noir noir!  
34. Maia: il est là le noir

--31:20--

**T2 S1 D11 V46 E6:**

--36:15--

1. Matilda: juste un petit peu!  
2. Talia: no (.) it's mine  
3. Matilda: but you're finished!  
4. (.1)  
5. Talia: but ( )  
6. (.)  
7. Maia: ( ) Talia ya terminaste le pudes  
8. dar (36:40)  
9. (.2)  
10. Matilda: s'il te plait!  
11. ( )  
12. Talia: no::  
13. (.40)  
14. Maia: Talia ne veut pas donner-  
15. Talia: ( ) (37:32)  
16. Maia: si  
17. (.20)  
18. Matilda: c'est pas moi qui a la colle  
19. Talia: yeah it's you!  
20. Matilda: c'est- c'est-  
21. Talia: you (.) c'est toi (.) and you do  
22. everything  
23. Matilda: but I didn't do that  
24. Talia: yeah

25. Matilda: and you-  
26. Talia: yeah you do  
27. Matilda: no it was Piotr  
28. Talia: no he don't use that glue  
29. (.15)  
30. Talia: but why you cut in (.) in pink  
31. Matilda: ( )  
32. Talia: why you do like me↑  
33. Matilda: cause  
34. (.16)  
35. Miss Lo: voilà le premier oeuf sénégalais de paques  
36. (.) super!  
--39:20--