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Three children, two languages: the role of code selection in organizing conversation

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PREFACE

"Were I to await perfection, my book would never be finished."
(Tai T'ung, China, 13th century)

Why the fascination with conversations between bilingual children? At a fundamental level, the answer is that these conversations represent human communication and the potential in the way elements in a linguistic repertoire can be made meaningful in conversation. More specifically, the answer can be rendered in three parts.

The aspect of code selection. A characteristic feature of conversations between bilinguals is the possibility that participants both perform and are faced with switches from one language to another in the course of the interaction. *Contextualization theory* attempts to explain how interactional context is defined and redefined through the speakers' use of contextualization cues, e.g. through alternate use of two languages. Auer (1992) provides an example from a different sphere for illustration: in Bach's Matthew Passion the mocking tone in the high priests' lines to the crucified Christ is revealed only through very slight changes in the modulation of the music, the point being that these changes are immediately noticeable even for the non-expert and will carry over to the listener that the words should be read in a different

mode than the surrounding text. When applied to oral interaction, this means that what is actually said in the course of a conversation, word by word, is only one aspect of communication. Contextualization cues add to the successful interpretation of each interactional contribution.

The aspect of child language. From the analyst's point of view, children's conversations can be anything from nightmares to a collection of gems. Nightmares because they can be difficult to decipher and because they contain every irregularity possible. Gems because they represent communicative potential and because children's way of talking is spontaneous and void of inhibitions about appropriate language and topic choice. As a child language researcher one has to accept what one gets, a fact which will become evident to the reader in the course of this work.

The structural aspect. Feilberg (1991) compares dyadic dialogue with a zipper: speaker contributions united, tooth by tooth or turn by turn, to make a new entity where each joint leads on to the next. This choice of metaphor invites the question of how to describe triadic conversations. As three-sided zippers which do not get stuck even when several teeth are competing for the same place when closing? The complexity of the conversational interaction is considerably increased, indeed warranting the introduction of an additional element in the metaphor. What is presented here is a study of conversations rising from group interaction around a doll's house, with the group perspective developing naturally from the data collection process.

Organization

The first five chapters of this study provide the background for the project: from theoretical, methodological, and practical perspectives. The last six chapters present analyses of the collected data.

Chapter 1, *The theoretical basis*, gives an overview of the theoretical precedents for the study and outlines the main issues addressed in the later analyses.

Chapter 2, *Methodological considerations*, describes in detail how the material for the study was collected and discusses aspects of the recording situation and the data collecting procedures.

Chapter 3, *The corpus*, presents the complete set of data, the material which was finally selected for analysis as well as unanalyzed material.

Chapter 4, *Transcribing and coding data*, covers the background for my choice of transcription system and describes the transcription and coding conventions in some detail. Computer programs used in the analyses are also briefly described.

Chapter 5, *Analytical perspectives*, begins by recapitulating some of the issues discussed in a preliminary fashion in Chapter 1 before going on to outline the four central aspects of the analysis: interactional projects, reality levels, contextualization cues, and episode structure.

Chapter 6, *Quantitative survey*, provides details concerning corpus size, speech activity among the speakers in each group, and relative number of utterances in the various language codes.

Chapter 7, *Episode structure*, outlines the episode structure of each of the conversations in the material by means of episode charts.

Chapter 8, *Managing role play*, focuses on how the speakers in each group carry out fictional role play and how a specific set of contextualization cues are employed for this purpose.

Chapter 9, *Fighting for the floor*, approaches the conversations from a turn-taking perspective and specifically discusses how code selection can be related to the participant constellation in the conversations.

Chapter 10, *Social maneuvering*, discusses the participants' use of code selection in contextualizing various social roles during interaction.

Chapter 11, *Conclusions*, sums up and comments on the findings, and presents suggestions for further work.

Acknowledgements

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In a long working process, seemingly minor but concrete and therefore useful suggestions push the process forwards. After the conception of the initial idea, the present project materialized with kind assistance from Professor Aud Marit Simensen who sent me off in search of bilingual informants to Birralee International School in Trondheim, where I was received with great enthusiasm and much kindness by the principal Margot Tønseth. Two teachers at the school, Trina Skarsmo and Trude Farstad, incorporated me and my needs into their working schedule for more than a school year. The contributions of twenty-three children, represented by the eleven 'core' informants: Tom (4), Ted (4), Jim (4), Fie (5), Ada (6), Mia (6), Bob (5), Kim (5), Rod (5), Per (6), and Dan (6), were essential for the realization of the project.

I am indebted to my main supervisor, Førsteamanuensis Julie Feilberg, who introduced me to the field of children's interaction which eventually developed into a specific interest in bilingual interaction. She, along with my second supervisor, Professor Nils-Lennart Johannesson, have been supportive during the whole working process and have provided useful comments to ideas and drafts at various stages of completion.

Network on Code-switching and Language Contact, a group of researchers from different countries throughout Europe organized on a *European Science Foundation* initiative, has been a distant but nevertheless constant source of inspiration.

Nancy Lea Eik-Nes read the whole manuscript and suggested numerous improvements to the text. Britt Dalen Laux and Ann Jorid Klungervik read parts of it and made valuable contributions to the final product. Heidi Selbekk and Marit Semundset transcribed parts of the material. Professor Wim van Dommelen conducted the fundamental frequency measurements. The recording equipment was supplied by Instrumentsentralen, NTH.

Finally, sincere thanks are due to my companion and fellow-worker in non-scientific and non-professional areas of life, Lars Einarsen, whose efforts at many levels in the process have been invaluable. He took on responsibility for the layout, with great skill and patience, and he is also responsible for the colophon. His constant insistence that the project could and should indeed be completed has been truly appreciated.

Tale Margrethe Guldal

Dragvoll, June 1997

Chapter 1

THE THEORETICAL BASIS

> *"When people start to analyze social phenomena, if it looks like things occur with the sort of immediacy we find in some of these exchanges, then, if you have to make an elaborate analysis of it – that is to say, show that they did something as involved as some of the things I have proposed – then you figure that they couldn't have thought that fast."*
> (Sacks 1992/1995, Lecture 1, p 11)

The present study

It is generally established that language alternation is not a random and meaningless linguistic activity among bilingual speakers but rather a practice which displays ordered patterns at various linguistic levels. The question raised in this work is how code selection is used in role play conversations between children to *contextualize* conversational contributions and thus "color in" the activity in order to organize the conversation and make individual contributions interpretable to co-participants. In addition to speakers' choice of code, the signalling effect of voice quality contrasts in the same interactions is studied. Thus, the study is an investigation of the use of two separate contextualization cues: code selection and voice quality contrasts, in the enactment of *interactional projects*, with a primary focus on the first cue. The general hypothesis for the investigation is that a mapping of the interaction on the basis of code choice and voice quality contrasts will reveal that the cues are employed by the speakers in organizing the interaction around three separate interactional projects: *managing role play, fighting for the floor,*

and *social maneuvering*. A central aspect of this general hypothesis is that the introduction of contextualization cues is related to points in the interaction where the participants start "doing something new", i.e. the cues mark points of transition from the preceding activity into something different. This "doing" may be related specifically to role play, to fighting for a conversational position, or to negotiating a social position during interaction.

I will seek to demonstrate that contextualization cues carry much of the communicative weight in the interactions: cues are expected to mark points in the interaction where major shifts can be identified, sometimes through the combined effect of more than one cue. Similarly, during sequences where the activity continues with no major shifts in direction, this will be evidenced through the lack of new contextualization cues. I will further seek to locate points in the interaction where the individual cue is typically employed and to identify potential differences in their function, i.e. whether one cue is typically related to specific aspects of, or projects within, the conversation as opposed to others.

The investigation is an explicit attempt at combining analyses of role play, conversational and social aspects of children's peer group conversations, with the analysis drawing on elements from conversation analysis as well as contextualization theory.

Theoretical precedents for the study can be traced along different lines; research on bilingualism and code-switching, studies of conversation in general, and work in the area of children's interaction and role play interaction more specifically. The structure of the present chapter reflects these areas of research. First, central notions within the area of bilingual discourse are discussed. Secondly, relevant studies within bilingualism and code-switching research are presented in order to establish a framework for the present investigation. Thirdly, two different theoretical approaches to the study of conversation are introduced. Fourthly, works concerning children's role play interaction are described.

Definition of terms

Bilingualism

> *"You cannot be bilingual in your head, you have to use two or more languages 'on stage', in interaction, to show others that and how you can use them."*
> (Auer 1984, p 7)

Language choice in bilingual settings may depend on a number of factors and may be exploited for various reasons. An individual can function as a monolingual in a setting where this is felt to be appropriate, in one or the other language, while exploiting his or her bilingual capacity in other contexts. Bilingualism is only displayed in situations which invite the use of more than one language. The quote from Auer introducing this section captures the importance of the interactive context and defines language ability in terms of actual communicative behavior. His statement belongs in a research tradition which has focused on language use in naturalistic settings rather than on competence as an abstract entity.

Competence-based definitions treat bilingualism as a quality of an individual's language ability without direct reference to the actual application of this ability. Various criteria for measuring bilingual competence have been applied, covering the whole range from demanding native-like control of both languages (Bloomfield 1933), to accepting fragmentary knowledge of single features of a second language (Macnamara 1969), or the slightly less permissive requirement that a speaker who can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language be defined as bilingual, suggested by Haugen (1953). As Romaine (1995) points out, the latter definitions amount to an inclusion of the whole process of second language acquisition within the scope of bilingualism.

Romaine provides an overview of terms used to refer to different degrees of bilingual competence, an overview which can be presented as a continuum of language proficiency related to bilingualism. One end of this continuum is illustrated by terms like *balanced bilingualism* (Poplack 1980), *equilingualism* (Baetens-Beardsmore 1982) and *ambilingualism* (Halliday, McIntosh & Stevens 1968) which all correspond to what might be referred

to as the ideal image of a bilingual, i.e. an individual who has native-like command of two (or more) languages. In the other end of the scale terms like *incipient bilingualism* (Diebold 1964) and *semibilingualism* (Hockett 1958) suggest settings where fragmentary or even mere receptive knowledge of a second language is a sufficient requirement to be defined as bilingual to some degree.

The problem with competence-based definitions is that they do not take into consideration the fact that bilingual speech production is context-dependent in the sense that it can be influenced by linguistic stimuli through the environment at any one point in time. Nor do they account for the fact that bilingualism is not a static phenomenon but a feature of speech which can vary over time and from one context to another, a point emphasized by Döpke (1992) in her discussion of so-called "elitist" bilingualism.

The contrast between competence-based and practice-oriented approaches to bilingualism (discussed more fully in the following) reflects important oppositions between different approaches to the phenomenon. Rather than to measure competence, my aim in this study is to record practice.

Code-switching

> *"Code-switching is a verbal skill requiring a large degree of competence in more than one language, rather than a defect arising from insufficient knowledge of one or the other."*
>
> (Poplack 1980, p 72)

The following discussion of terms referring to the practice of using alternating languages, is restricted to those related to alternation in an unchanged speech situation, i.e. within a single conversation, rather than terms associated with a *diglossic situation*, i.e. the use of different languages in different institutional settings in the Ferguson (1959) or Fishman (1980) sense.

Language alternation can be used as a cover term for all others referring to aspects of the use of more than one language in bilingual settings. Mæhlum (1992) suggests that the value of distinguishing between different types of language alternation may be limited since such distinctions do not

add to our understanding of the communicative function of code choice as such. A survey of the most commonly used terms is nevertheless presented in the following since the ways in which they have been applied are revealing of the different approaches taken to the practice of language alternation.

The terms *code-mixing* and *code-switching* have been used to refer to different phenomena. Pfaff (1979) and Lanza (1990) use code-mixing as a cover term incorporating all other types of language alternation. In other studies (e.g. Meisel 1989) code-mixing and code-switching have been used to refer to language alternation practices at different age levels judging from the subjects' ability to keep the two language systems apart: code-mixing as "the fusion of two language systems" and code-switching as "a specific skill in the bilingual's pragmatic competence" (p 36), the latter presupposing that the ability to differentiate between two or more language systems is already established. Partly related to this approach is the definition of code-mixing as resulting from a failure to adjust one's language behavior to situational requirements as opposed to code-switching as demonstrating the speaker's ability to adhere to them (Grosjean 1982). Such a view of bilingual language practice presupposes that it is only when the practice can be directly related to situational factors (e.g. interlocutor or topic) that it can serve as evidence for speakers' patterned and structured use of language alternation. By introducing the concept "conversational code-switching", Gumperz (1982) extends the range of factors which are seen to affect language choice to include interpersonal aspects of the speech situation and thus suggests that the distinction between code-mixing and code-switching is less relevant.

In other studies the terms have been used to differentiate between different structural types of language alternation. Some have used code-mixing and code-switching to refer to language alternation operating at two different structural levels, code-mixing meaning alternation within sentence boundaries and code-switching referring to alternation beyond the sentence (Appel & Muysken 1987). Poplack (1980), on the other hand, applies the term code-switching to language alternation at both these levels depending on structural properties at the switching point. Her categorization of code-switching into subtypes relates the switching point to syntactic structure and represents a generally accepted system of classification (Romaine 1995):

- *intersentential switching*, i.e. switching from one sentence to the next;
- *intrasentential switching*, i.e. switching within the limits of one sentence;
- *tag switching*, i.e. switching between a sentence and the tag attached to it.

An unfortunate confusion in the terminology in Romaine and elsewhere leads to a mixing of levels in the description. Strictly speaking, *sentences* and *utterances* are different entities. Sentences refer to "decontextualized units of language structure" whereas utterances are "units of language production" (Schiffrin 1994, pp 39–41).

An alternative distinction of terms which is based on differences between structural entities, and which incorporates a conversational perspective, is Auer's (1984) contrasting of *code-switching* and *transfer*:

- code-switching covers instances of language alternation relating to a specific point in the developing conversation;
- transfer refers to a well-defined stretch of speech shorter than a complete utterance[1] (word, constituent or slightly longer elements).

In a 1995 article, Auer suggests a change in terminology to *insertion* in the latter case, due to the possibility of misreading *transfer* as referring to the interlanguage phenomenon much discussed in the 1980s. With the recommended change of terminology to *code-switching* vs. *insertion*, a term far more suggestive of the phenomenon in question, the distinction between these two phenomena will be adopted in the present study. Illustrations of the actual application of the terms are given in *Language alternation*, p 91.

Concerning the distinction between *code-switching* and *borrowing*, Gardner-Chloros (1981) provides the following:

> In any actual example of speech, theoretical distinctions such as that between switches and loans will be of doubtful validity: what may appear to be a plausible demarcation line when talking about a group phenomenon will always have to be reviewed with reference to individuals (p 132).

1. Utterance here refers to the idealized version. This does not, of course, rule out the possibility of an utterance consisting of a single word, a constituent or another fragment of the grammatical entity called sentence.

I will not touch upon fine-grained variants as suggested by the different applications of terms but rather focus on the main aspect of the concept, namely alternate use of two or more languages, and the essential point that the alternation takes place within the boundaries of one interactional event, i.e. a conversation. Thus, in the present study, language alternation refers, not to the choice of one specific language due to the general characteristics of a speech situation, but rather to the switching of languages from one utterance to the next as well as switching within the borders of a single utterance. I partly apply Auer's (1984) definition of language alternation which covers "all instances of locally functional usage of two languages in an interactional episode" (p 7). However, rather than restricting the investigation of language alternation to instances within "an interactional episode", I apply a broader perspective by including language alternation within episode boundaries as well as between episodes. Thus, language alternation is to be understood as all instances of locally functional usage of two languages *during a conversation*. The notion of episode will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 5.

Research history

> *"The ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topic, etc.), but not in an unchanged situation, and certainly not within a single sentence."*
> (Weinreich 1953, p 73)

The most radical change of perspective in research on bilingualism and code-switching since the time of Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* has been the acceptance of language alternation as a resource in discourse activity rather than a rejection of the practice as disorderly behavior demonstrating deficient linguistic competence.

One way to present the research history in the field is to trace work on code-switching from two separate perspectives:

- the theoretical framework of the research;
- the informant groups (including age factors and group composition) approached in the studies.

From a theoretical perspective, one main line of work has been to identify the formal features of the syntactic structures resulting from code-switching practice and the underlying universal principles governing these structures (e.g. Poplack 1980; Sridhar & Sridhar 1980; Sankoff & Poplack 1981; DiScuillo, Muysken & Singh 1986; Petersen 1988).[2]

Others have approached code-switching as a way of handling changes in the speech situation; language choice has been seen to mark the speaker's recognition of such contextual features as participants, topic and location, as well as to serve specific conversational purposes such as emphasis, focusing, clarification etc. It has been demonstrated that both children and adults use code-switching for such purposes (e.g. McClure 1981). This perspective has been limited to an account of overt properties of the communicative situation and the effect of these properties on language choice in specific speech situations, i.e. the function of code-switching in certain well defined structural contexts, which again has given rise to criticism on the account that this represents a too static approach to the phenomenon of code-switching (Auer 1995): "What is lacking is the proper grounding of the categories employed in a theory of interaction" (p 120).

Myers-Scotton (1993) notes the influence that Blom and Gumperz (1972) have had on the field with their study of a Norwegian local community where code-switching between the local dialect (ranamål) and standard Norwegian (bokmål) was recorded. Different opinions have been voiced about the findings. Mæhlum (1996) criticizes Blom and Gumperz for not giving a representative description of the language situation in Hemnesberget. Their presentation of code-switching as "a type of skilled performance" (p 47) has nevertheless been influential, and their distinction between *situational* and *metaphorical switching* has been widely adopted.

Others have focused on the role of code-switching as a dynamic element in conversation used by bilingual speakers for strategic purposes (e.g. Auer 1984, 1992; Jørgensen 1992; Myers-Scotton 1976, 1988, 1993). Rather than

2. Poplack has emphasized that she regards universal constraints on the formal structures only as a partial explanation of code-switching behavior. Nevertheless, her constraint theories have been influential enough to justify entering her work as a representative of research on formal features of code-switching.

restricting the role of code-switching to a method of marking a speech act as an act of clarification or focusing, it is analyzed as a dynamic way of negotiating the conversational territory, for instance by demonstrating loyalty or distance or in other ways marking interactional purpose. This approach necessitates a close look at interaction and thus presupposes that the developing conversation rather than categories of speech acts or types of speech situations is the vantage point. It stresses the importance of studying sequences of utterances and the developing interaction displayed through such sequences. Thus, the emphasis is placed on how the participants' intentions and strategies are made visible through the pattern of code-switching. Such a view is further expressed in Gumperz' theories of contextualization (Gumperz 1982, 1991; Auer 1992) where code-switching is listed as one of several cues by which utterances and thereby conversation are made interpretable:

> Contextualization [is defined as] comprising all activities by participants which make relevant, maintain, revise, cancel… any aspect of contexts which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its locus of occurrence (Auer 1992, p 21).

Contextualization theory is presented in more detail towards the end of this chapter and in Chapter 6.

The second perspective suggested here is that of the different informant categories, including different age groups, involved in studies of language alternation. Examples of works on bilingual practices among adult and adolescent bilinguals are Poplack's (1980) now classic study of Spanish/English code-switching in a Puerto Rican community in New York, Gal's (1978, 1979) investigation of German/Hungarian switching in an immigrant community in Hungary, Heller's (1988, 1995) discussion of the Canadian bilingual scene, Li's (1992) study of a Chinese population in Britain and their Chinese/English switching, and Nortier's (1990) research on Dutch/Moroccan Arabic speaking adolescents.

Studies of code-switching patterns in child/adult interaction, typically studies of code-switching patterns in the researcher's own family, are also numerous, here represented by Berman (1979) on English/Hebrew switching in Shelli from the age of two to seven; Petersen (1988) on the English/

Danish switching of a five year old girl; and Slobin *et al.* (1992) on the English/Turkish alternation of Shem up to the age of about five. In other studies the informants were taken from outside the researcher's family. Lanza (1990) investigates the alternation of English and Norwegian in two Norwegian/American families in Norway. Döpke (1986, 1988, 1992) focuses on English/German bilingual family interaction in an Australian setting.

Finally, there are studies of bilingual children's peer group interaction; e.g. the switching between English and Estonian in a pair of siblings (Vihman 1985), German/Italian switching among immigrant children in a local community in southern Germany (Auer 1984, 1992), English/Mandarin switching among children in a child care center in Singapore (Loke 1991), Danish/Turkish code-switching among Turkish immigrants in Denmark (Holmen 1993, Jørgensen 1992, in press), and the Finnish/English switching of two sisters who grew up in Finland and subsequently moved to the USA (Halmari & Smith 1994).

The potential danger in studies of caretaker/child dyads, or adult/child dyads more generally, is that this type of material might give a biased impression of the child's total communicative potential. This danger stems from the potential controlling or governing effect of the role taken on by the adult in this type of interaction. Thus, studying peer group conversations is important because the setup allows freedom from parental or adult control. In addition, the peer group approach is important from the point of view of language acquisition: as children mature, they move beyond the family scene, and become more heavily dependent on peer group interaction for their linguistic development (Goodwin 1990).

Thus, studies of bilingual peer group conversation focusing on the sequential development of conversation represent the point where the two strands of research, as they have been suggested here, merge: peer group conversation as essential for the understanding of language production and language capacity in children, and the conversational perspective focusing on the dynamic and interactional aspects. In essence, such studies show that a bilingual speech mode has a communicative potential, enabling the speakers to make use of code-switching for a variety of conversational purposes.

English/Norwegian code-switching in peer group settings has not previously been the object of study. Nor has the bilingual practice of English/Norwegian pre-schoolers received much attention from language researchers. Apart from Haugen's (1953) work on English/Norwegian bilingualism in America, research on English/Norwegian code-switching has been restricted to studies of infants (Lanza 1990, 1992). The aim here is to investigate and document code-switching practices between these two languages and in speakers from this age group. It is expected that the results will reveal that language alternation is employed for communicative purposes, as has been found to be the case in studies of other language pairs.

In the present study I focus on children's communicative abilities. Without attempting to measure the informants' competence levels in English and Norwegian respectively, I seek to demonstrate that language alternation as an interactional resource is available not only to "fluent" bilinguals but also to individuals at other stages of development in second language learning.

Theories on conversation

> *"Traditionally speech act theory has a very restricted subject matter. The speech act scenario is enacted by its two great heroes, "S" and "H"; and it works as follows: S goes up to H and cuts loose with an acoustic blast; if all goes well, if all the appropriate conditions are satisfied, if S's noise is infused with intentionality, and if all kinds of rules come into play, then the speech act is successful and non-defective. After that, there is silence; nothing else happens."*
>
> (Searle 1992, p 7)

Searle's ironic account of the study of discoursal or conversational fragments suggests that there are other approaches to interaction than the study of isolated speech acts, and that accounting for and describing individual contributions fails to do justice to the phenomenon of *conversation*. In the present study I will draw on two different but partly related methods of analysis concerned with conversation.

The now classic *conversation analysis*[3], which seeks to explore the basic framework for all conversational activity, is represented through the seminal work on turn-taking by Sacks *et al.* (1974), constituting the backbone from

which much of research on conversation has evolved. By systematically describing the fundamentals of turn-taking and accounting for the regular occurrences of features such as speaker overlap, repair, and pauses, they establish part of the framework necessary to continue the exploration into other aspects of conversational interaction.

The theory of *contextualization* is closely associated with the Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson tradition, and the central concepts taken from conversation analysis. The central issue within contextualization theory has been the exploration of how speakers signal to their interlocutors and others[4] how they view the interactional setting at any one time and the way they achieve their interactional goals by defining and redefining the conversational context. The essential notion within this approach is the *contextualization cue*, a signal which makes utterances stand out in a way which is perceived as useful or preferable from the speaker's point of view.

While partly interdependent, each of these theories can be said to have established a new framework, and each of the models in isolation attempts to explain very basic and essential features of interaction. The present discussion will draw upon central features and combine details from each of them in order to disclose some of the patterns in the conversations presented. In the following, each of the approaches is presented in more detail.

Conversation analysis

> *"Given the progress that has been made in [conversation analysis] during the last few years, it is surprising that so few attempts have been made to address questions of bilingual conversation."*
>
> (Auer 1984, p 5)

Auer's statement dates more than ten years back. It can no longer be said about studies of code-switching based on conversation analysis that they are

3. *Conversational analysis* and *conversation analysis* are interchangeable terms (McTear 1985), both being used by researchers in the field. Gumperz is among those who use the term *conversational analysis*.
4. Other categories of individuals might be present while not directly addressed. Clark (1996) has provided a model including participants such as "intended addressee", "intended hearer", and "overhearer". The point being that all these people could potentially be part of the interaction because they have access to the content of what is being said.

few and far between. Nevertheless, additional empirical data is still needed to make our understanding of bilingual interaction more complete, both in terms of the role of language alternation in conversation, and in terms of potential differences in language alternation between different language pairs.

Levinson (1983) presents the essential characteristics of conversation analysis by taking a detour via a comparison to discourse analysis. Both discourse analysis and conversation analysis are concerned with the study of utterances produced in communicative contexts and thus share many features. But whereas discourse analysis is mainly concerned with the differences between acceptable sequences of utterances and unacceptable ones and the underlying rules producing these differences, conversation analysis is a fundamentally empirical approach to the study of discourse with emphasis on "the interactional and inferential consequences of the choice between alternative utterances" (p 287).

From the above follows that the methods also differ with respect to the data on which analysis is based. Discourse analysis is typically applied to short excerpts of discourse, or even to intuition material and the researcher's own perception of what can be classified as a plausible series of utterances. In conversation analysis, on the other hand, the emphasis is not on what would have been a well formed utterance but on what is actually going on in conversation, "that familiar predominant kind of talk in which two or more participants freely alternate in speaking, which generally occurs outside specific institutional settings" (p 284).

The aim in conversation analysis is further to establish regularities and patterns in oral interaction on the basis of naturalistic language data, thus conversation analysis is theory constructing rather than theory testing. As the value of naturalistic data is stressed, the emphasis is on the recorded material with little attention paid to background information about speakers or speech situations. What interests the conversation analyst is what can be inferred from the conversations themselves, which is where reality in the conversational sense lies. There is nothing else that could be relied on, apart from the transcripts, i.e. an account as accurate as possible of what actually occurs during interaction.

Qualitative research is data-based in a very fundamental way. In conversation analysis the implication is that the individual interactant, that is, the individual language user, is focused on. Gumperz characterizes speaker-oriented research by pointing to this particular theoretical focus:

> A speaker[5]-oriented approach to conversation [...] focuses directly on the strategies that govern the actor's use of lexical, grammatical, sociolinguistic and other knowledge in the production and interpretation of messages in context (Gumperz 1982, p 35).

The idealized image of conversational interaction is that of participants alternating between speaker and listener roles in a structured and orderly fashion. As Edelsky (1993) rightly points out, the basic assumption that the one-at-a-time character of a conversation is a general characteristic is largely a result of the fact that much research on conversation has been based on dyadic interaction. She also draws attention to the fact that many of the classical studies within the field have been based on interaction in relatively formal speech situations and not on what one might think of as the archetypal informal daily life conversation, described by Levinson above.

However, this does not imply the need to leave the notion of *turn*, the basic conversational unit, and *turn-taking*, the basic conversational activity, as described in Sacks *et al.* (1974), as such. These concepts remain the backbone of conversation. The fact that particular types of conversations which have been the object of study might not be representative of conversational activity in general does not invalidate this point.

An aspect which follows naturally from a description of conversation on the basis of turns and turn-taking is that of the sequentiality of turns and the further implications for a similar sequential organization of features related to turns and to utterances, e.g. that of language alternation:

> The seemingly trivial fact that language choice (whatever the linguistic activity) is preceded and followed by the choice of the same or other language will turn out to be the cornerstone of the explanation of the meaning of code-switching (Auer 1984, p 5).

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5. Professor Nils-Lennart Johannesson suggests that the *speaker* role does not necessarily include the activity of *interpretation*. A more appropriate formulation would have been to state that this specific approach to conversation is *participant oriented*.

Contextualization

Closely related to conversation analysis is the notion of *contextualization*, originating in Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz (1976). Contextualization can be defined in its broadest sense as comprising

> all activities by participants which make relevant, maintain, revise, cancel... any aspect of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence (Auer 1992, p 4).

Thus, the concept of contextualization relates verbal interaction and various other aspects of verbal and nonverbal behavior to each other. In theory, this is an attempt to create an all-inclusive model where every aspect of human interaction is taken into consideration. It goes without saying that such an attempt is futile. The solution adopted in this study is to define and isolate two of the more salient cues and trace their patterns of occurrence and co-occurrence.

In this case, theory is closely connected to, and in fact dependent on, research method. A study of contextualization cues is inconceivable without the use of film or video recordings, since the elements which are of interest are impossible to grasp and record without preserving the visual image of interaction. This kind of research thus must be based on naturally occurring conversation and requires video recordings of such interactions.

Context, as that which provides the background for interaction, has long been an established notion in sociolinguistics (Auer 1992). The context of an utterance cannot be conceived of only in objective terms, e.g. in terms of such features as the material situation, the linguistic context in the sense of preceding and subsequent utterances, or the social characteristics of the addressees or other listeners (age, sex, or social class). Such "objective" contextual features have their communicative effect only via the interpretation given to them (Auwärter 1986).

An overview of various approaches to the notion of *context* is provided by Vagle (1995). Applying Goffman's concepts of *frames* and change of *footing*, she refers to the context of a conversation as a set of layers:

- physical world;
- social ecology;

- institutional setting;
- make-believe.

She further develops and specifies the concept of context focusing on the double meaning of the term, both as the concrete immediate physical world and as the more abstract context, background knowledge or a culturally shared knowledge. Naturally, the focus of a specific study will influence how certain aspects of the phenomena under study are viewed. Thus, context has been read or understood in different ways depending on the issues at stake. The main dividing line between different approaches can be drawn between a focus on context, understood as physical surroundings, versus context read as mental representations of *background knowledge* or *knowledge of the world*, referred to by labels such as *schemata*, *scripts*, *frames*, *scenarios*, or *mental models* (Brown & Yule 1983).

In line with the arguments presented above, the importance of the immediate context in the sense of physical surroundings will be de-emphasized here. The surroundings are there. Sometimes the physical milieu will break in and force itself onto the interactants and steer the interaction in a specific direction (sirens heard from the outside will suggest the initiation of a new topic, noise from artifacts breaking or falling down will seize the interlocutors' attention and cause interruptions). In general, however, conversation will take place and develop independently of the physical context and will not primarily be influenced by the concrete surroundings in which the conversation takes place. What is important is the opportunity the individual speaker has to choose from and focus on specific contextual details rather than the speaker's dependency on a mass of constant contextual factors:

> By intentionally ignoring what are often assumed to be static features of a social world (e.g. the occupation of a participant), CA reflects yet again the ethnomethodological avoidance of premature generalizations and idealizations. Social identity (setting, and so on) is viewed instead as a category of social life and conduct that is subject to locally situated interpretive activity: the relevance of a social identity can be no more presumed to hold across different times and places than can relevance of a one second pause (Schiffrin 1994, p 235).

The notion of *contextualization* similarly implies an understanding of context as an object of constant negotiation between interactants in a conversation. Contextualization is the dynamic and continuous process which makes elements in the context relevant and thereby defines and redefines the basis for interaction. These ideas are related to Goffman's work on *frames* (1974) which similarly demonstrates how a social role, rather than existing in its own right, must be made relevant in the course of social interaction.

The broader concept of *contextualization* presented in the preceding section has given rise to a narrower and more focused tradition in which contextualization is defined as

> a relationship between a speaker, a context [...], an utterance and a [...] contextualization cue. *Contextualization cues are used by speakers in order to enact a context for the interpretation of a particular utterance* (Auer 1992, p 25).

The process of contextualization is thus enacted through contextualization cues, which are means of "orchestrating" the verbal contents of a conversation. These cues provide the clue to the underlying meaning of a conversation, to the extent that such a level of meaning can be separated from the verbal content. Along with elements like eye gaze, body posture, prosodical elements etc., language alternation is categorized as a contextualization cue.

The idea of contextualization cues is also closely related to Goffman's theories of role application and of footing, i.e. the "alignments we take up to ourselves and the others present *as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance*" (Schiffrin 1994, p 104). Conversational actors are seen as capable of exploiting the social roles available to them as well as the communicative strategies represented by Gumperz' contextualization cues. The relationship between the works of Goffman and Gumperz is described by Schiffrin as a mutual fertilization process:

> What Gumperz adds to Goffman's dissection of the self is the analysis of some of the devices that convey changes in footing, and a view of how these aspects of the production format of an utterance allow the situated inference of a new participant alignment [...] And, again, what Goffman's work adds to Gumperz's sociolinguistics of interpersonal communication is a more elaborate view [...] of what "in" a context can provide a situated presupposition (p 104).

From such a theoretical perspective, interlocutors in a conversation constantly have to define for themselves through interpretation of the available contextualization cues the position of the other party/parties. Similarly, they have to present their interpretation of the situation through a selection of the same cues making their position available or interpretable. Each element in this approach works towards a dynamic interpretation of any act of communication, on all levels.

As in conversation analysis, the emphasis on naturally occurring interaction as the basis for research is an all important characteristic in contextualization theory. The argument for this is twofold. First, on a theoretical level, contextualization theory is concerned with people's actual performance: data reconstructed from an analyst's memory would not satisfy the researcher's need to have access to the detailed development of interaction. Secondly, from a methodological point of view, it would not be possible, without mechanically recording the data, to observe the fine-grained details on all levels of interaction necessary for this type of analysis. Thus, theoretical issues have implications for the practical decisions about data collection and material selection.

Role play

Children's role play has been analyzed as an activity which takes place at several different levels of reality and where the successful performance of the activity depends on the participants' ability to move between these different levels. Bateson (1956) originally introduced the notion of *metacommunication* which refers to the kind of introductory talk and arrangement which was seen to lay the basis for the later enactment of fictional roles. Others have developed and refined various models for the understanding of role play activity (e.g. Garvey 1977a, Auwärter 1986, Loke 1991, Cook-Gumperz 1992). Some of these studies have specifically pointed out how specific (sets of) cues serve to mark parts of the interaction as taking place on a different level of reality than the rest of the interaction. Some have focused on the use of alternation between different languages or different dialects of the same

language for such purposes. Some of the studies reported in the section *Research history*, p 7, take this approach, e.g. Halmari and Smith (1994) and Loke (1991). Others have focused on aspects of voice quality, or studied the combined use of more than one type of cue. Cook-Gumperz (1992) refers to a set of *game voices*, distinguished through pitch level and rhythmical features: "Anyone familiar with very young children, will readily recognize the cues [i.e. prosodic/intonational cues and rhythm] as marking different voices" (p 184). Andersen (1992) and Halmari and Smith (1994) similarly note the use of certain phonological features as well as pitch variation by children to signal that they are speaking the lines of fictional characters.

Drawing on conversation analysis, Sawyer (1994) further develops the theory on sociodramatic play in children's interaction. He discusses frame theory and the script model related to the question of how conversationalists can sustain a dialogue within the idea of a coherent framework, a shared context. Sawyer's objective is to demonstrate that the frame concept is not versatile and flexible enough to explain what goes on during a play session. Rather than assuming that a shared frame is established and then agreed to by all during the subsequent interaction, Sawyer claims the need for a model in which individual frames for each participant can be seen to coexist during a play session and that a co-created, joint frame as well as the multiple individual frames are "frequently in flux and being negotiated during the play" (p 277).

Having established this point, what Sawyer in fact does is criticize frame theory at a very fundamental level: "to define the frame as a shared mental structure, with a static ontological status, seems to neglect the fundamentally negotiatory nature of reality construction in play" (p 277). He suggests an alternative line of theory, the *joint mental construct*, which might be more or less common to the participants at any one point in time, and which more accurately reflects his own findings:

> In my own transcribed data, I have found that children's play is often characterized by a rapidly changing, constantly fluctuating situational definition, and that it's not uncommon for children to fail to achieve a single shared frame definition (p 261-62).

Sawyer further suggests a distinction between *implicit* and *explicit metacommunication*, a concept pair which refers to the difference between directing messages communicated at the fictional and directing level respectively[6]. He claims that implicit metacommunication is more powerful than explicit, notably because it does not allow a directing level response but requires a counter act at the fictional level, i.e. within the framework of the role play.

Role play will be an important focus in the analysis of the present material, including the notion that interaction can be seen to take place within a set of reality levels. At the same time, this perspective suggests the inclusion of aspects of turn-taking; i.e. the conversational perspective, and elements from speakers' signalling repertoire; i.e. contextualization theory.

6. Reality levels in role play, e.g. fictional and directing level, are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

> *"Books appear tidily packaged, [...], between introductions and conclusions, and provided with titles, section headings, references, cross-references, footnotes, and quotes from eminent scholars. Behind such books lie the untidy aspects of research: informants who never turn up, drawers full of collected but unused (unusable?) data, and days spent writing chapters on methodology to put off collecting data and analyzing it."*
>
> (Stubbs 1983, p 246)

The present investigation, as any other, sets specific demands for the data collection process. Apart from the need to find informants who would function bilingually either because they had a bilingual background or because they found themselves in an environment which encouraged bilingual language use, it was necessary to provide a setting which allowed as well as invited free interaction. The language community also had to be large enough to provide a sufficient number of potential candidates for setting up play groups with playmates who would in fact function well together.

The linguistic environment

> *"Vi veksler jo hele tiden, vet du"*
> *(We do switch all the time, you know)*
>
> (Principal, Birralee International School)

The data were collected among pupils at Birralee International School in Trondheim. Children attending the school have varied linguistic

backgrounds. The major groups are the native monolingual English speakers, children from bilingual families (mainly English /Norwegian), and children from monolingual Norwegian families who had acquired their English competence at school. The kind of bilingualism which can be found in this environment is what Döpke (1992) describes as "elitist" bilingualism, i.e. a family dependent and consciously developed bilingualism.

The language of instruction at the school is English. The majority of the staff are native speakers of English, Norwegian speakers being represented by the odd assistant teacher and the administrative staff. As a rule, teaching is conducted in English, except for the early periods of the school year in the youngest age groups when the teacher has to use both languages in certain situations to ensure that all of the pupils have some understanding of what is going on.

Nevertheless, much of the communication among the children is Norwegian-based, due to the large proportion of native Norwegian speakers. This means that the language environment as such is bilingual, with linguistic dividing lines cutting across the school community on different levels and in different directions: the teachers speak English almost exclusively, while more Norwegian is spoken by the children; teacher-controlled contexts in the classroom are dominated by English, whereas free play interaction both inside and outside has a larger element of Norwegian; and language use varies depending on the language background and language preference in any given group of children. Thus, inviting bilingual performance, this environment met the requirements set by the research aims for the present study.

Child/child interaction

The desire to investigate groups of children interacting outside the reach of adult interference is theoretically founded. As pointed out in the previous chapter, it is important to study how children speak in peer groups both because this is where children actually perform oral interaction, and because, as a result of this, the peer group is "an important institution for the

learning of language and culture" (Goodwin 1990, p 11). Since the relationship between participants in a peer group is different from that in an adult-child conversation, one cannot assume that the interaction in the two settings will be comparable. Holmen (1993) found that due to the larger tendency of asymmetric patterns in adult/child conversations (typically chains of questions posed by the adult for the child to answer), compared to the peer group conversation, the latter provides access to other aspects of linguistic competence, e.g. negotiation of meaning and social relations. She further identified the presence of word play, taboo words, and rhymes, elements which were not present in the adult/child conversation, and which are central aspects of language competence. Thus, children's interaction outside adult control is an important object of study in its own right.

The issue of adult influence on children's language carries particular weight with respect to code-switching, which as a very salient element in speech is also vulnerable to external influence. Milroy (1987) reports on the difficulties with informants switching due to the presence of the observer, e.g. for reasons of politeness:

> There is little chance of uncovering the organizational principles underlying code-switching behavior unless a means can be found of penetrating the barrier of careful, publicly legitimized language use erected by most speakers (p 59).

In the present material, this problem is illustrated through incidents which typically effected a code-switch: the observer's exiting or reentering the recording room. The children would speak mainly English with some interspersed elements of Norwegian. The observer's leaving the room after having informed the children that she would do so would then often occasion an immediate switch into Norwegian. The reverse was the case when the observer reentered the room: a switch from Norwegian to English seemed to be the main effect. This understanding of English as the language of the external authority, i.e. the school, represented by the observer, is paralleled by Holmen's (1993) Turkish immigrant informants and their perception of language obligations during school hours: "We are supposed to speak Danish, you know" (p 341).

As an additional point in the argument for observing young informants outside the reach of adult interference, the following can be offered: in a thought-provoking anecdote Coulthard (1985) describes how William Labov was once able to invalidate claims about black children's lack of linguistic ability by introducing these children to an innocuous interlocutor (i.e. a shy rabbit which needed talking to) in a setting where stress factors were not present (i.e. in a room next door rather than in their regular classroom). With these changes in the interactional situation, the children underwent a transformation from language learners assumed to be in need of basic drilling to speakers demonstrating linguistic sophistication far beyond the complexity level of the exercises they were assigned. Labov's exercise is an extreme example of the importance of setting when it comes to bringing out the true competence level in children's language production. However, the point he is making carries over into less extreme cases.

Apart from eliminating the possibility of adult control of the conversational activity, the requirement of free and uncontrolled interaction is, more than anything, a question of creating an observational setting and an observational setup which does not structure or inhibit interaction in an undesired manner. At the same time, certain restraining factors had to be accepted. In order to find a bilingual environment large enough for the present research purposes, the school environment became the solution. Outside school, these English-speaking or bilingual children live in neighborhoods which are spread across the town and have no joint meeting-place as a group. Thus, the natural place to study their bilingual interaction was on the school premises and during school hours. Goodwin (1990) argues that the school as such automatically sets certain language standards and will have a governing effect on what goes on during school hours, therefore this is not the appropriate place to study peer interaction. For the present purposes, however, the school seemed to be exactly the right place to study bilingual interaction, due to the specific functions this school serves as a language environment for a particular group of children.

I further decided that the least possible disturbance of daily routines ought to result from the process of data collection as such. The children had a busy schedule at school and I did not want to interfere with their program

more than necessary.[1] In addition, with respect to the resulting data it was important that the informants' contributions were not felt to be strenuous or in any way unpleasant. (For a discussion of how successful the strategy of creating the desired atmosphere was, see the end of the next section.)

The question of *where* to record involved conflicting considerations. An important requirement at the outset was that the children should be recorded in a familiar and secure setting, i.e. ideally they should remain in their regular classroom setting. However, early test recordings proved this setting to be inadequate given the available recording equipment. Noise from other children and general disturbance created major difficulties. Being removed from the classroom setting and the other classmates might potentially have a restraining effect on the children's regular language production. However, the class teachers expressed the belief that the chance for the children to be undisturbed in a small group would be felt as so much of a treat that this would compensate for possible inhibiting effects.

The play sessions

With these various considerations taken into account, the result was the following: one day a week was set aside for collecting data, alternating between the two age groups. On Tuesday mornings approximately two hours (from 10 a.m. to 12 a.m.) were at our disposal. This was at a time when the children had completed their first writing or arithmetic task and before they had their lunch break at noon. On other days of the week the children were busy with music lessons or would be in the gym. Tuesday was also the only day of the week when a separate room was available.[2]

1. This is a conflict which has to be resolved whenever a project demands the use of informants in their natural environment. This time, it was also necessary to take into consideration the disturbance bound to be caused for the teachers who had to put up with the regular borrowing of groups of children.
2. The room was reserved for tutorials at certain days and hours of the week. There were also the routines of the cleaning ladies to be taken into account. If the sessions lasted longer than usual we would sometimes be interrupted by a very efficient couple of women who seldom saw it fit to skip any part of the building and who had a busy schedule themselves.

Groups of children were invited to come to this room upstairs from their regular classroom (the older children had to cross the schoolyard). They were introduced to a doll's house with inhabitants, a three generation family plus some pet animals. The house had four main rooms and a loft and was equipped with furniture, bathroom fixtures, and details such as pillows, towels, teacups, buckets, pictures on the walls, and bookshelves with books. The furniture could be moved about and the rooms rearranged. The back wall and part of the roof was removed during the sessions.

Figure 1: The informants' position (illustrated by stand-ins)

I did not provide the children with particular instructions about how to play. Thus apart from the direction of activities that the doll's house could give, the play was free and not interfered with during the sessions. The doll's house was selected as stimulus to provide something to interact around which was open-ended enough to invite unrestricted conversation with respect to syntactic structures as well as topics (see Guldal 1993). The adult person combining the role of technician and investigator withdrew from the

Figure 2: Kitchen scene, doll's house

Figure 3: Bathroom scene, doll's house

room as soon as possible and was not present during the sessions. The groups were video-recorded while playing. The camera was positioned behind the doll's house making it possible to film the children front on, through the missing back wall of the house.

The groups of informants included in the study are all single sex groups. The background for such a decision was that to the extent that the gender variable was to be taken into consideration, it should be introduced in as controlled a manner as possible. Having single sex groups is one such way of controlling the effect of gender differences. Lanza (1990) found no indication of gender differences in the literature about code-switching practices. On the other hand she does point out that research on men's and women's language has revealed "that any level of linguistic organization can be a potential marker of gender" (p 133). We can therefore assume that gender might appear as a distinguishing factor at some level of interaction in the informant groups at hand here, possibly as having an effect on language alternation. This potentially relevant aspect of interaction is not discussed in this study.

The recorded play sessions vary in length, 15–45 minutes depending on the patience of the informants and how they were able to get going in the play. (Further details with respect to recording dates and session length are provided in Chapter 3.) The problem of recording groups of children for time intervals which are long enough for research purposes is a familiar one. Andersen (1986) writes: "[...] the attention span of 4- and 5-year-olds was very short under such conditions [i.e. role playing situations]" (p 154). Halmari and Smith (1994) allude to a similar experience when reporting from a project involving two school-age girls: two play sessions totalling 53 minutes stood out from the rest of their material due to "the uninterrupted quality of play" (p 432). Thus, the frustrations over discouragingly brief and frequently interrupted sessions are not exclusively personal ones tied to an individual project, but rather an unavoidable consequence of the informants' age and the type of interaction under study.

Did the play material function neutrally in the sense that all the children were equally apt to play with the doll's house and felt equally comfortable with and interested in it? Any kind of play material could have a biasing

effect in the sense that some children would feel more attracted by it than others, a situation which could influence the communication between the children and their resulting language production. This could be due to personality, to the particular informant group in question, as well as to gender. It is difficult to identify such effects on the basis of the existing material. On the other hand, the groups did approach the doll's house in different ways, the differences not always running along gender lines. Some informants would turn to the material as a collection of interesting technical artifacts, studying construction details and devices. Others immediately engaged in role play, taking on the parts of the different dolls.

The participants' willingness to co-operate varied from one group to the next, but the most important factor seemed to be the number of times the individual group had already played with the doll's house. Some of the groups seemed to reach a point of saturation when they had been confronted with the same set of toys for a certain number of times.[3]

Mention should also be made of two instances when the children started to experiment with the camera and moved it out of position. Such difficulties all result from the initial, and essential, decision to leave the group undisturbed for as much of the time as possible.

There is evidence of the speakers' awareness of the recording situation in the data. One factor worth mentioning is the clear sense of obligation demonstrated by some of the children once they were positioned in front of the doll's house. This is reflected in utterances which suggest that their continued presence in the room at times has other reasons than their mere enjoyment. Some of these utterances reflect a general sense of obligation to "do as they have been instructed", as in the utterance in 1 below, which is sometimes in direct conflict with the participants' expressed desires, as in 2. The utterance in 3 also provides clear evidence that the speaker is aware that there is a proper staging which should not be violated. The comment concerns the two other group participants' leaving the doll's house and moving

3. It also happened twice that one recording did not work out as it should because of problems with the technical equipment, and therefore the informants had to go through extra sessions. In addition to the sessions with groups of three children, some of the informants had already been recorded during dyadic sessions.

over to the camera. The speaker, Fie, is worried that the investigator might not get a proper view of the doll's house. Fie's concern is justified, and the children were indeed instructed about the importance of staying on their chairs and not moving about in the room.

1	TOM:	**jammen vi må jo leik med det her forstår du.** (but we have to play with this you see)	(I-2[a])
2	TOM:	**æ vil ikke lek.** (I don't want to play)	
	TED:	**ah # jammen du må det.** (ah # but you have to)	(I-3)
3	FIE:	**du hvis dokker gjør det kan hu ikke se dokkehuset.** (if you do that she cannot see the doll's house)	(II-2)
4	FIE:	**jammen no må vi'kke tull sånn i ne [//] som vi gjor neste gang da.** (but now we mustn't mess about like in ne [//] like we did next time)	(II-3)
5	FIE:	**no leike vi # ikke tulle og tøyse.** (let's play now # not mess about)	(II-3)
6	FIE:	**æ vil ikke at dokker ska tull i [//] nå i leiken altså.** (I don't want you to mess about in the game)	(II-3)

a. I-#, II-#, and III-# here and in all later references to specific group sessions indicate that the source of the extract is to be found in Triad 1, Triad 2, or Triad 3 sessions 1, 2, or 3 with each group respectively.

The examples in 4 to 6 illustrate Fie's self-defined role as a guardian of proper behavior during the sessions.[4] There is no way of knowing exactly what "time" she is referring to in the first of these four examples, but it can

4. The examples could admittedly be interpreted as a genuine dislike of anything which upsets the role play, and thus be totally unrelated to the recording situation as such.

be taken for granted that "neste" does in fact mean "last". We can further assume that she is referring to one of the other times when she was in the same room with the same two companions.

In spite of the attested examples of the children's awareness of the somewhat staged quality of the setting, the general impression one gets from watching the sessions is that the informants are genuinely engaged in the play activities.

Group composition

The decision to fix the maximum group size at three was made to meet two objectives. During an initial period of two months, informants were recorded two rather than three at a time. It soon became evident, however, that what during a pilot study [5] were dyads eagerly engaged in code-switching soon changed into monolingual pairs. At one stage, this sudden and unexpected change in language behavior threatened to overturn the project. To remedy this situation, the number of participants in each play group was increased by one. The assumption was that this would create a situation with wider interactional opportunities for each participant. This possibility has been recognized by others and is specifically described by Linell (1990):

> The interactional opportunities are [...] radically different in a group than in a dyad [...]. Within the group there are possibilities of alliances and exclusions of various kinds. *An especially interesting constellation is in fact the triad, among other things because one person easily falls through when the other two develop a dialogue between the two of them* (p 42, my translation and emphasis).

Holmen (1993) confirms the specific qualities of a group conversation compared to those in a dyad when she describes the group as representing the "potential multi-functionality [which] means that there are many sources to the dynamics in the interaction and a non-linear progression of the discourse" (p 346).

On the other hand, by limiting the number of participants to three rather than allowing for a larger size group, one avoids the possibility that the

5. The pilot study was conducted during the previous spring to confirm the existence of code-switching in the language of these children.

group splits up into subgroups. Such a situation is specifically suggested by Sacks *et al.* (1974) who point out that a change from three to four participants can have effects which go beyond the group dynamics within the group. In fact, such a change introduces "a variability in the number of turn-taking systems in operation" (p 713); that is, the ensuing conversation can no longer be handled within the framework of one system. Thus, a group of three represents the ideal from the investigator's point of view: whatever activities go on will more than likely involve the whole group. The only alternative to participation is for the third party to withdraw temporarily to an outsider position.

It was important to bring children together who were compatible and would play well together. In some instances this meant assigning children who were already regular playmates to the same group, but with the additional requirements regarding language background, this did not always work out. The children's regular teachers assisted in selecting children and the selection of informants was thus controlled by others than the children themselves. In one group there were problems of keeping the set of informants stable. Some of the informants were ill during long periods, and some informants did not want to play with certain others and demanded special treatment in order to participate, for example that the group be set up in a special way. Since the project depended on the voluntary cooperation of children as well as teachers and school administration, and since the world in general and the inner life of this school in particular are not designed to accommodate the needs of language researchers, the project could not be extended endlessly. Thus, rather than reorganizing the groups a second time, the solution to the problem was to allow for variation in the third group in terms of who participated from time to time. Still, an important point is that one individual, an English speaking informant, was present during all the sessions. The other participants in the group were comparable with respect to language background (further details are presented in Chapter 6).

The issue of setting up the groups has theoretical as well as practical implications. The underlying problem of manipulating one's research environment is evident, not dealing with self-selected groups of children. Whether a setup is manageable or not is equally important, this being the

reason for manipulation in the first place: unless one succeeds in combining individuals who are fairly compatible, the communication between these individuals will be less successful and the speech production likely to be minimal.

Recording procedures

In conversational interaction generally, non-verbal behavior carries much of the communicative information. This is even more true with young children, where non-verbal behavior often not only accompanies talk but represents an alternative to the spoken interaction (Bates *et al.* 1979; Ochs 1979; Corsaro 1985; Meisel 1989). In addition to the theory guided reasoning behind the choice of video-recording (see *Contextualization*, p 15), this aspect of children's interaction represents an additional argument for including the visual image in the data collection process.

The recordings were carried out with an auto focus video camera (Sony CCD–V8AF). An external microphone was hooked up to the camera and positioned near the informants so as to avoid the noise from the camera during recording. The camera was positioned on a desk across the room from the play group and thus left the investigator free to move about in or leave the room.

Microphone placement is a matter of concern for any researcher working with "live" material. Goodwin (1981) discusses the different aspects of positioning and reaches the same conclusion that I did: the microphone placed in a central position slightly above the heads of the informants is relatively unobtrusive since participants' eye gaze tends not to be directed upwards.[6] His argument against attaching microphones to the informants is basically that the speakers' range of movement will be limited and the total situation more influenced by the recording since attention will be drawn to the presence of microphones. In the present study, it was less the fear of limiting the participants' mobility than the concern that a microphone attached to the

6. There are sequences, however, when the informants are totally preoccupied with the microphone.

children's clothes would catch undue attention even when they were seated around the table. This concern was mainly due to the informants' age. The resulting decision was to limit the use of technical equipment as much as possible, as long as the quality of the recordings proved acceptable. This amounted to allowing a certain degree of imperfection in the recording situation itself, an approach which is illustrated by Goodwin's statement: "If the camera could not be moved to a better position, the problems created by this situation were accepted" (p 42).

Finally, it is necessary to say that this pragmatic approach to many of the technical aspects of the recording situation was possible primarily because the informants did not seem disturbed by the recording situation itself. In this respect my experience with my own informants is comparable to that reported by others:

> The children did not appear to be unduly affected by the presence of the video camera. From time to time they asked to be allowed to look through it, but otherwise they ignored it and got on with their play (McTear 1985, p 25).

McTear's description of the use of cameras with young informants is taken from a study that matches the present one with respect to subjects' age as well as research setting, and can serve as a characterization of my informants' general behavior.

Chapter 3

THE CORPUS

"What is the use of a book without pictures or conversation?"
(Carrol 1865/1966, p 11)

The recording procedures described and discussed in the preceding chapter resulted in a corpus of 54 recordings with 23 different participants. The sessions are spread out over the best part of a school year, roughly from September through May, with an additional set of pilot recordings from the previous spring. A selection of the total set of recordings are further analyzed in this study.

Time schedule

The material consists of dyadic and triadic group conversations and a limited number of lunchtime recordings where speakers are observed while they interact in groups during their lunch recess. The dyadic interactions include six recordings from March 1992 (pilot study) and 29 sessions running from September till the beginning of November during the subsequent fall. The total number of triadic sessions is twelve. These conversations were recorded over a period of seven months immediately following the period of dyadic

recordings, from November 1992 to May 1993. Nine of these triadic sessions constitute the central core of the material.

The initial design was to record pairs of children. That this approach was in fact a reasonable one seemed to be confirmed by a pilot study conducted the semester prior to the main recording scheme. However, as explained in *Group composition*, p 31, by the time the first recordings planned for the main study were carried out, the linguistic behavior in the dyads had changed radically from what was representative of the interaction during the sessions of the pilot study. Consequently, the research design had to be altered so as to focus on groups of bilingual speakers rather than pairs. The research design was not altered before well into the fall semester. The fairly substantial number of dyadic recordings reflect my own reluctance to accept the change which had occurred in the language practice of the informants in the interval between March and September.

The sessions vary in length from approximately 15 to 45 minutes. The time schedule for the data collection is presented in Tables 1 and 3 below, with informant groups referred to as Dyads 1 – 5 and Triads 1 – 5. Thus, the tables present not only the material primarily referred to and analyzed in subsequent chapters, but also those recording sequences which were left unanalyzed. The reason for presenting the complete recorded material is my conviction that documentation of the relative proportions of collected and analyzed material is important in itself. It serves as a record of the developmental process running through the working period. The experience from the present project is a clear illustration of the difficulties involved in knowing in advance what data can be used and what has to be discarded.

Dyads

Recordings of dyadic conversations took place from September to October 1992. A few sessions that had been recorded the previous spring during the pilot study are also included. Table 1 provides the number of recordings for Dyads 1–5 and the specific dates for each session, while Table 2 introduces the informants and their individual ages at each session.

Table 1: Session dates and session number – Dyads

Group	Session	Date
Dyad 1	1	19.03.92
	2	15.09.92
	3	29.09.92
	4	13.10.92
	5	27.10.92
Dyad 2	1	20.03.92
	2	21.09.92
	3	29.09.92
	4	12.10.92
Dyad 3	1	22.09.92
	2	06.10.92
	3	20.10.92
	4	03.11.92
Dyad 4	1	22.09.92
	2	06.10.92
	3	20.10.92
	4	03.11.92
Dyad 5	1	22.09.92
	2	10.06.92
	3	20.10.92
	4	03.11.92

Table 2: Dyadic sessions, informants and informants' ages

Dyads	Names	Sessions				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	Fie[a]	4;6[b]	5;0	5;0	5;1	5;1
	Ada	5;2	5;8	5;8	5;9	5;9
2	Tim	4;4	4;10	4;10	4;11	
	Kim	4;8	5;2	5;2	5;3	
3	Ted	4;5	4;6	4;6	4;7	
	Nan	4;8	4;9	4;9	4;10	
4	Tom	3;9	3;10	3;10	3;11	
	Ann	4;3	4;4	4;4	4;5	
5	Sue	3;10	3;11	3;11	4;0	
	Lil	4;6	4;7	4;7	4;8	

a. All informants were given three-letter cover names to satisfy the requirements of the transcription system.
b. Since the present study does not call for a higher level of accuracy, the informants' ages have been set according to month of birth, i.e. not taking day of the month into consideration.

Triads

Table 3 presents recording sessions involving speakers from five different triads. The core group consists of Triads 1 – 3, i.e. those groups recorded over a series of sessions. The time schedule shows that there was a lapse in time from the first recording sessions in Triads 1 and 3 and the somewhat belated start in Triad 2. This was caused by a combination of one of the participants in the second triad falling ill, Christmas preparations, and an unfortunate instance of technical breakdown resulting in an empty sound track during the initial session with this group.

Table 3: Session dates and session number – Triads

Groups	Sessions	Date	Additional lunch sessions
Triad 1	1	17.11.92	17.11.92
	2	12.01.93	12.01.93
	3	04.05.93	
Triad 2	1	09.02.93	
	2	09.03.93	
	3	11.05.93	11.05.93
Triad 3	1	01.12.92	01.12.93
	2	09.02.93	09.02.93
			02.03.93
	3	09.03.93	
	4	04.05.93	
Triad 4	1	19.01.93	
Triad 5	1	09.02.93	

Additional recordings

In addition to the dyadic and triadic material presented above, a number of dyads were recorded on only one or two occasions. The reasons for limiting the number of recordings in these groups vary. Sometimes it had to do with lack of compatibility between the participants. In some instances the children simply grew out of the study because they were among the oldest informants from the start and due to their age they did not fall into the target group after the completion of the pilot study. Some of the children who were included in these marginal dyads were recorded on a more regular basis in other groups later on. Table 4 records the number of such individual dyads.

Table 4: Session dates and session number – Individual dyads

	Session number	Session date
Nat & Per	1	20.03.93
Ida & May	1	20.03.93
Ida & Tom	1	20.03.92
Rex & Sal	1	25.03.92
Rex & Eli	1	15.09.92
	2	13.10.92
Rod & Dan	1	15.09.92
	2	13.10.92
Tom & Lil	1	21.09.92
Rex & Rod	1	27.10.92
Eli & Dan	1	27.10.92
Ada & Tim	1	10.11.92
Kim & Fie	1	10.11.92

The core material

The sessions so far referred to as the core material, a subsection of the triadic sessions, are recordings of three different triads from two different age groups at the infant level at the school. One group consists of four year old children from the youngest group, and two comprise pupils from the class of five year olds. These groups are referred to in the following as Triads 1, 2 and 3. All triads are single sex ones, one group of girls and two groups of boys. Three recordings from each triad are analyzed further. Since the participants in these triads will be my main focus in the study, they are briefly presented in the following.

The informants in Triad 1 are Ted, Tom, and Jim. They were the youngest participants in the project, ages ranging from 3;11 to 4;9 at the initial triadic recording. By the end of the calendar year, they had all turned four. The children in the two other groups are all from the 5-year level. Triad 2 consists of three girls, their ages running from 5;5 to 6;1 in the first session and from 5;8 to 6;4 in the last. Fie is the youngest in the group, while Ada and Mia are equal in age. Triad 3 is made up of five different boys, three appearing in any

Table 5: Core sessions, informants and informant ages

Triad	Name	Session		
		1	2	3
1	Tom	3;11	4;1	4;5
	Jim	4;6	4;8	5;0
	Ted	4;9	4;11	5;3
2	Fie	5;5	5;6	5;8
	Mia	6;1	6;2	6;4
	Ada	6;1	6;2	6;4
3	Kim	5;5		
	Per		5;6	5;9
	Bob	5;6	5;8	5;11
	Dan	5;7		6;0
	Rod		5;11	

one session. This group is the most homogeneous one with respect to age, the age difference between individual speakers not exceeding five months in any one recording. Bob is present in all the recordings, while Kim, Per, Dan and Rod take turns at participating (Table 5).

At the outset of the recording period, the three groups all include a monolingual or close to monolingual English speaker, judged by their language production at school prior to the recording period: Jim, Mia, and Bob. Mia is a special case with her home language being German. The background for including her as an informant is explained more fully in the section *Triad 2 (Mia, Fie, and Ada)*, p 109. The other participants in the groups are all reported to be bilingual speakers of English and Norwegian and they all come from linguistically mixed families. Ada is the only exception to this rule with her all Norwegian background. She, however, has a fairly solid English background through her school experience.

The total age difference between the youngest and the oldest informant spans two and a half years, from 3;11 up to 6;4. Thus, being slightly less exact we can say that the material contains samples of conversational interaction between children in the age group 4 to 6. What is further the case is that the three groups match each other in the sense that there is no greater age span

than the 2 month lapse between the oldest representative from Triad 1 to the youngest one from Triad 2 (Table 5). The total age span is therefore fairly evenly covered in the recordings.

The discussion of age is not intended to prepare the reader for a discussion of this aspect as a variable in these children's language practice. What we have at hand is rather a group of speakers who represent a continuum in terms of age. Further, the group design does not suggest that age differences should be expected to play a major role in the interactional behavior within the groups.

Table 6: Core sessions – recording dates

	1	2	3
Triad 1	17.11.1992	12.01.1993	04.05.1993
Triad 2	09.02.1993	09.03.1993	11.05.1993
Triad 3	01.12.1992	09.02.1993	04.05.1993

Table 6 presents information already illustrated in Table 3. Table 6, however, illustrates more clearly the correspondence (as well as non-correspondence) between the recording schemes for each of the groups. The recording period for Triads 1 and 3 covers approximately 5 1/2 months, while the recordings of Triad 2 span slightly more than three months. However, since the developmental perspective is not part of the analysis, this does not affect the value of the recordings. The conversations are simply approached as samples of discourse from three different groups of speakers.

Corpus size

The nine central recordings of triadic interaction constitute slightly more than four hours of recorded material[1]. In terms of utterance number, this translates into a total corpus size of 3358 verbal utterances. The utterances

1. Of the triadic recordings, totalling four hours and two minutes, certain sections were left untranscribed due to factors such as observer presence and noisy or incomprehensible interaction. Details about these procedures are provided in the next chapter.

are distributed across sessions and participants as illustrated in Tables 7, 8 and 9. In these tables, utterances where the speaker could not be identified are marked ???. Instances where more than one speaker contribute material simultaneously in such a way that the individual speakers could not be identified are marked XXX. A typical example of the latter category for the material as a whole are two or three speakers laughing at the same time. Tables 7 to 9 cover only verbal contributions, which explains the low number of instances of jointly produced utterances. In presentations of sequences in later chapters utterances of the category XXX are present in larger numbers since non-verbal contributions are indeed included in the transcripts and analyzed as part of the interaction as such.

Table 7: Number of utterances per informant and session – Triad 1

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
Ted	259	153	282
Tom	179	155	233
Jim	135	6	120
XXX	1	0	0
???	8	2	6
Total	577	316	641

Table 8: Number of utterances per informant and session – Triad 2

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
Ada	123	159	91
Mia	44	85	41
Fie	69	108	119
XXX	0	0	1
???	7	3	0
Total	243	355	252

The categories XXX and ??? constitute 49 out of the 3358 verbal contributions in the material, less than 1.5%. This means that for the large majority of verbal utterances, the speaker could be identified, in spite of the

Table 9: Number of utterances per informant and session – Triad 3

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
Bob	83	86	136
Dan	51	—[a]	171
Per	—	78	142
Kim	82	—	—
Rod	—	124	—
XXX	0	0	0
???	6	6	9
Total	222	294	458

a. Two different notations are employed to illustrate non-occurrence: when no count was carried out, e.g. due to an informant not being present during a specific session, this is indicated by means of "–". When an item was searched for but not found, this is indicated by means of "0".

problematic quality of parts of the recordings[2]. It further means that a combined use of voice identification, watching of lip, face and body movement and observation of the total setting from video recordings provided a satisfactory record of who said what.

The sessions are not directly comparable in terms of size, varying from 222 verbal utterances in III-1 to 641 in I-3 (Tables 7 to 9). The variation depends partly on the length of the individual recording session and partly on the way conversation is conducted in the individual group and during the individual session. The figures are presented in order to indicate the approximate size range of sessions. The sessions are discussed in more detail and the role of the individual speakers analyzed in more depth in Chapter 6.

2. Parts of the recordings are left untranscribed, mainly because they were judged unsuitable for analysis. This is true of sections when the noise and general activity rose to levels which made it impossible to identify individual contributions. Such sequences were generally characterized by nonverbal activity and shouting or other types of noise which made transcription difficult. After such a sequence of noisy activity, the interaction would then continue at a normal volume level.

Chapter 4

TRANSCRIBING AND CODING DATA

> *"Transcription is easiest when speakers avoid overlaps, speak in full utterances, and use a single standard language throughout. However, the real world of conversational interactions is seldom so simple and uniform. One particularly challenging type of interaction involves code-switching between two or even three different languages."*
> (MacWhinney 1996)

This chapter describes and discusses the procedures applied in the transcription process, addressing issues like accuracy level, choice of transcription system, and material selection once the sessions were recorded, i.e. it is restricted to aspects directly related to the process of transcription. Procedures involved in the coding of reality levels as part of the role play are considered part of the analysis rather than the transcription and are described in Chapter 5.

The purpose of the chapter is twofold. First, the background for choice of transcription system is clarified, from a theoretical as well as from a practical point of view. Secondly, the chapter serves as an illustration of the kind of concrete transcriptional notation applied in the project. Part of this task is to present not only the transcription of the verbal contents, but also to offer insight into the analytical categories and how they have been represented.

The procedure

The material was collected in a setting where the informants were left alone in the room (see *Child/child interaction*, p 22). Thus, apart from what can be observed on the video tapes, the investigator had no access to contextual information.

The transcription work involved me and two assistant transcribers who undertook parts of the work. Both the assistants had a background in language studies, notably in child language. Both were Norwegian speakers, one of them a graduate student of English. They were trained in the transcriptional procedures specific to the current project during the working process. In order to ensure consistency, I reviewed all the transcripts before the analysis.

Transcribing the material can best be described as a developmental process during which the transcriptional details fell into place step by step and transcriptional correctness was achieved gradually. The process involved alternately listening to audio tapes[1] and watching video tapes. The first step in the transcription procedure was most successful when the transcriber concentrated exclusively on the sound track, thus avoiding the avalanche of information from the visual image. Secondly, the video tapes were consulted to fill in information on speaker identity and actual verbal production when this was not clear from the audio tapes. Finally, the videotapes were consulted in their own right, to include information on nonverbal contributions which was not available from the audio tapes.

This method will be well-known to anyone who has transcribed naturalistic conversations and has experienced how listening and re-listening will bring about a gradual understanding of what actually goes on during an interactional sequence. The implication of such a process is that there is room for dispute even in the final version, a fact which contrasts with the notion of an ideal transcript (Lanza 1990), which should "represent exactly what was heard on the tape" (p 163). The "ideal transcript" suggests ideas of the neutral and objective, non-interpretative product. This notion has been questioned on the basis of experience with transcriptions of recorded

1. A separate set of audio recordings was copied from the video tapes.

naturalistic interaction (e.g. Lanza 1990; Ochs 1979). Apart from the various fallacies stemming from the format forced upon the material in the transcription process, there is the very basic and simple problem of deciphering exactly what is going on in a taped conversation, as suggested above. Citing Wells (1985), Lanza points out that transcribers may disagree about the "correct" version of a transcript to an astonishing degree:

> Wells recounts an informal experiment carried out with six child language researchers in which the sound track of a video tape was presented of a father interacting with a young child. The researchers were requested to transcribe a five-minute extract from the sound track. Wells points out that only 30% of the utterances were transcribed identically by all six transcribers. *And even after the incorporation of revisions after a viewing of the video simultaneously with the sound track, the percentage of agreement did not rise significantly* (my emphasis) (Lanza 1990, p 164).

However, Lanza suggests that an investigator's own previous experience with child informants makes up for these difficulties to some degree. In the present project, familiarity with the informants gained during an introductory warming up period, familiarity with the topics of conversation and the voices in question made it possible to achieve a satisfactory level of accuracy. Thus, a pragmatic approach to the transcription procedures was adopted: the theoretical implications were kept in mind but were not allowed to dominate the actual process.

The conversations were transcribed in a near orthographic form, a method suggested by Ochs (1979) as appropriate in child language data where the pronunciation is comparable to that of adults. This amounts to making certain adaptations in the direction of nonstandard orthography, e.g. with respect to dialect forms of certain Norwegian pronouns, the spelling of some elements where the standard written form was felt to produce a wrong impression of the actual pronunciation, and the inclusion of some ideosyncratic lexical items in both languages.

Transcription system

When the only tool you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail.

Choosing the right system for transcribing a corpus may involve conflicting considerations. The primary requirement a system should satisfy is to adequately meet the needs posed by the project itself, both in terms of level of transcription accuracy and in terms of giving an unbiased picture of the developing interaction reflected in the transcription. The second, and equally important, principle to be taken into consideration is the readability of the resulting transcripts.

Ochs points to several factors in the process which can produce biased impressions of data. Her discussion is related to adult /child conversations in particular and identifies aspects of the concrete page layout which may influence the reader's conception of the quality of the conversation and who is in control of it. She formulates two basic problems:

- top to bottom biases;
- left to right biases.

The first problem relates to the traditional "dramatical script" (Edelsky 1993), i.e. the convention of presenting utterances one below the other consecutively, which suggests a reading of utterances as contingent: "unless marked by a topic shifter [...] the contents of a speaker's turn are usually treated as in some way relevant to the immediately prior turn" (Ochs, p 46). The second problem refers to the tradition of perceiving the leftmost insertion on a page as occurring before that to the right of it. This directionality not only indicates priority, but may also suggest prominence, which indirectly has implications for transcription layout. Consider a dialogue between caretaker and child which is presented in columns; which parts should be presented to the left – the adult contributions or the child contributions? – the verbal or non-verbal behavior? Edelsky discusses the effects of a variety of alternative transcriptional layouts for group conversations demonstrating that the way utterances are presented on the page has implications for how they are read and how the group structure is conceived.

A different issue raised by Ochs is the design of a transcription system. A system should not represent an obstacle in the reading process. Ochs recommends exploiting iconicity by using transcript symbols which are readily understandable without complicated and specialist legends. Thus, the ideal transcription system should provide an immediate impression of the interaction as it unfolds.

It has further been a point of concern for researchers working in the field of spoken discourse that comparable corpora have been hard to come by. One aspect here is the incompatibility of the transcript formats, which makes it difficult to directly compare results from different studies.

For the present purposes, I decided to resort to a widely used transcription system in current child language research, which is included in CHILDES (Child Language Data Exchange System) (MacWhinney & Snow 1990, MacWhinney 1991). CHILDES consists of three parts:

- CHAT – a transcription and coding format;
- CLAN – a set of analysis programs designed for application on CHAT files;
- CHILDES – a computerized data archive of language material, primarily child language data, transcribed in the CHAT format.

The CHAT format is designed to produce computer-readable files. Due to this fact, as the later presentation will illustrate (see *CHAT*, p 52), the transcription format violates many of the requirements presented so far, such as iconicity, readability and ability of the system to provide immediate access to the interaction, with pauses, interruptions, and overlapping speech. Nevertheless, the advantages of a shared referential frame for work within the same field, as well as availability of computer programs, were considered more important than the disadvantages associated with the system. This led to the choice of CHAT, which is a system employed by a wide research community within child language research as well as within studies of bilingualism[2].

2. Currently under development is a system called LIPS, largely based on the CHAT system but adapted for bilingual data sets.

Material selection

In Chapter 4, the background for selecting a limited number of recordings for the final analysis was given. In the following, reasons for further limiting the transcribed material are presented.

Certain sections of the selected recordings did not satisfy the standard defined in the project. This was typically the case in sequences when the observer, i.e. I, was present, either because I had not exited the room after turning on the camera, or because I reappeared in the middle of the session due to some difficulty or because one of the children had left the room in search for me. The cutoff point was set as soon as I entered the room, and likewise, transcription was reassumed at the point when I left the room.

Some have adopted the practice of leaving out a larger section of the material in instances when an external person interrupts and disturbs the interaction; omitting up to five minutes has been felt by some as necessary to ensure that the interaction returned to the undisturbed manner of speech desired. The sessions in my material are relatively short, some as brief as 15 minutes. It would therefore not be serviceable to extract and eliminate large chunks of interaction; this would in fact reduce the material unduly. Further, the decision not to omit larger sections was based on the observation that the interactional pace was high, and that there was no indication that the children's behavior was colored by the fact that I had been present for a short while. Therefore, on the assumption that all sections of interaction where I am not present as an observer are representative of uninhibited and natural interaction between the informants, these parts were included in the material.

This procedure yielded session transcripts which sometimes represent uninterrupted interaction lasting for well over half an hour, in other cases transcripts are constituted by interactional sections interrupted once (and sometimes several times). The latter type is described as follows in the transcripts:

```
@Time Duration: 0.4 - 13.6, 15.1 - 19.4, 20.3 - 23.0
```

This indicates that this particular session consists of three separate sections, the session being interrupted twice by the entry of the observer. The interaction is instantly picked up after each interruption.[3]

The other reason for leaving material untranscribed was incomprehensibility, e.g. during sections where the level of noise inhibited proper listening. Such sections were generally of limited duration and were represented by a separate notation (see *Transcription conventions*, p 53). Thus, instances of observer presence as well as unacceptable noise levels were reported in the transcript.

Transcriptional unit

The basic unit of analysis adopted in this project is the *utterance*. The term 'utterance' refers primarily to verbal units. Intonation is the most important factor when delimiting utterance units, but meaning content and syntax are also taken into consideration. An utterance is to be understood as a "conversation equivalent of a written sentence, with boundaries determined by prosodic markings" (Andersen 1986, p 160). In most cases the end point of an utterance is marked by a terminal tone that rises, falls, or levels. The exception to this rule are cases of interrupted utterances. In addition, some utterances are left uncompleted for no observable reason, they simply fade away.

Following the procedure adopted by Feilberg (1991), certain non-verbal contributions during the interaction are categorized as utterances. Such elements typically comprise laughter, pointing gestures, and activity pertaining to role play, and are clearly part of the interaction in the sense that they serve initiating or responsive functions. The utterances below (the examples are taken from different sessions and do not appear in sequence in the transcripts) illustrate the range of contributions covered by the definition of utterance applied here.

Technical aspects and concrete solutions in the transcript notation are presented and explained in the next section.

3. With two interruptions, this particular session represents an extreme example of the opposite of the ideal.

```
*MIA:   push this away.
*XXX:   0 [=! imitates movements]. [+ trn][a]
*FIE:   0 [=! laughs]. [+ trn]
*FIE:   la la la +/.
*TED:   but do you know what that # I can say you
        something you at I [/] I have a real airplane
        home # that I can sit in and fly away from
        this <country> [?].
```

a. The [+ trn] code informs the program that this entry should be included in the utterance counts. Unfortunately I was not able to make use of this code with the version of CLAN available at the time.

CHAT

The CHAT system provides a set of coding procedures designed in such a way that codes can be adapted to fit the individual project. The system is constructed around three levels: *header tiers*, *main tiers* and *dependent tiers*. These levels constitute the basic design of the single CHAT file. *Header tiers* appear at the beginning and end of each transcript. Obligatory entries comprise the indication of transcript start and speakers participating in the transcribed session, both inserted at the beginning of each transcript, and a final tier marking the end of each file. In addition to these obligatory headers, information about informants' age (*Age of...*:) and sex (*Sex of...*:), duration of recordings and possible interruptions during the session (*Time Duration:*), transcription format (*Coding:*), who transcribed the material (*Coder:*), name of the data file (*Filename:*), and where the recorded material is located (*Tape location:*) is added on separate header tiers, as illustrated below:

```
@Begin
@Participants:   TOM Child, JIM Child, TED Child,
                 ??? Unidentified, XXX Child
@Age of TOM:     3;11.00
@Age of JIM:     4;6.00
@Age of TED:     4;9.00
@Sex of TOM:     male
@Sex of JIM:     male
```

```
@Sex of TED:     male
@Time Duration:  07:05 – 18:38, 21:20 – 40:18
@Date:           17-NOV-1992
@Coding:         CHAT 1.0
@Coder:          Tale Margrethe Guldal
@Filename:       TETOJI-1.CHA
@Tape location:  TRIAD, 17.11.1992, DOLL'S HOUSE
*
*
*
@End
```

Transcription conventions

Following the introductory information in the header tiers, the interaction itself is presented on the *main tiers* as in the following example (the * is necessary for the running of the CLAN programs which are briefly presented towards the end of this chapter):

```
*PER:  look # the policeman is walking on the <roof> [>].
*DAN:  <that's> [<] not a policeman.
*DAN:  <I'm the policeman> [>].
*PER:  <0 [=! imitates falling]> [<]. [+ trn] (III-3)
```

The full CHAT format provides solutions for phonological and morphological transcription and coding and for a range of other special needs, e.g. error analysis, timing analysis, and analysis of speech acts. The notational system adopted here is organized in three different parts covering:

- symbols representing segments of the flow of speech (*representations of speech*);
- intonational quality of utterances together with aspects of the end and starting points of utterances (*utterance terminators and introducers*);

- symbols which describe qualities of certain parts of utterances (*scoped symbols*).

The presentation is largely based on the description of transcription conventions in the CHILDES Manual (MacWhinney 1991, pp 5-59).

Representations of speech

The eight symbols listed under this heading refer to different aspects of the actual speech production. The notation for untranscribed material covers longer stretches of speech while the symbol for unintelligible material represents (parts of) individual utterances where the interpretation is unclear. In cases where a qualified guess could be made about what was uttered, this is marked by means of a question mark in brackets. A separate symbol refers to non-verbal contributions (see *Scoped symbols* below). The last four items refer to various aspects of non-fluency, in terms of repetitions of word fragments, exact retracings of words or parts of utterances or retracings with alterations, and, finally, pauses during utterances. Pauses between utterances are not marked.

`www`	*untranscribed material*
`xxx`	*unintelligible material*
`[?]`	*uncertain interpretation of the preceding word, or of a large section in which case the section is surrounded by angle brackets, e.g.* `<xxx> [?]`
`0`	*actions without speech, e.g.* `*DAV: 0[=!cries]`
`&`	*phonological fragment, e.g.* `(&t &t &k can't you go?)`
`[/]`	*retracing without correction*
`[//]`	*retracing with correction*
`#`	*pause*

Utterance terminators (and introducers)

Each utterance is marked with an utterance terminator indicating direction of end tone. The first three symbols on the list characterize the end point of completed utterances. The next two refer to utterances which are incomplete, either due to interruption or because the speaker failed to produce a

full intonation unit but where there is no identifiable interruption. The sixth item on the list is used at the beginning of an utterance when a previous contribution from the same speaker has come to a halt and the current serves as a continuation of the former, with intonation suggesting that it should be considered a separate entity.

.	*marks the end of an unmarked utterance*
?	*indicates the end of a question, a question being an utterance which is marked as such grammatically or by intonation contour*
!	*marks an emphatic utterance*
+/.	*interruption*
+...	*incompletion*
+,	*self-completion*
+"/.	*quotation on next line, used in combination with*
+"	*which introduces the actual quote on a separate line*
+".	*quotation appearing first with the announcement of the quote appearing on the next line*

Other aspects of utterances pertaining to starting and end point are symbols indicating that the speaker is citing somebody else or is instructing an interlocutor to speak in a specific manner. Such instances are covered by the last three symbols in the list above.

Scoped symbols

Scoped symbols refer to stretches of speech rather than particular points in the speech. The first two symbols in this section are used to represent overlapping speech, with pointers in brackets indicating the direction of overlap. The last item on the list represents non-verbal contributions. The actual material produced is described in brackets.

`<xxx> [>]` `<xxx> [<]`	*section in one utterance overlapping section in the following, marked by a combination of two symbols where the arrow in brackets indicates where the overlapping text was found*[a]
`0 [=! text]`	*nonverbal activity (e.g. "laughs", "imitates ..."), marked by square brackets,* `=!`*, and text describing the activity*

a. For both these notations the following is true: when overlap occurred between sections of nonverbal material, the whole nonverbal utterance is marked as overlapping with preceding or following text. Because of the uncertainty related to transcription methods on this point, certain instances of overlap are somewhat simplified.

Speaker identity

Markers for speaker identity are defined in the obligatory header tier at the top of each transcript. Each main tier, i.e. each separate utterance, contains reference to speaker identity. The set of speaker codes comprises one for each of the informants in the session (e.g. *TOM Child*, *TED Child* and *JIM Child*), a separate reference used when speaker identity could not be resolved (*??? Unidentified*), and a last code used when the contribution, most often laughter or other non-verbal elements, was produced by more than one speaker (*XXX Child*).

In the majority of cases, speaker identity could be established on the basis of voice quality or lip movements but this was not always sufficient evidence. Lip movement was sometimes unnoticeable or the informant's face was hidden behind the frame of the doll's house, or simply turned away from the camera. However, in a number of cases it was possible to identify the speaker on the basis of indirect evidence:

- pointing, other gestures, and body movements showed that an utterance originated from a specific speaker;
- when two individuals were visible but verbally inactive, the third participant, even with his or her face hidden, could be identified as the speaker;
- long sequences of uninterrupted interaction between two of the three speakers could be used to exclude one of the informants as a possible source for a particular utterance.

None of these indicators was applied without caution. In most cases, the decision about speaker identity was based on a set of several factors.

Typical of multiparty speech material is that the process of transcribing it is more complicated than for dyadic material and this results in a larger proportion of untranscribable utterances and sequences. Voices overlap and the co-presence of more than two speakers creates more noise than the mere relative increase. Thus, what from the transcripts might seem to indicate insufficient recording quality is rather a natural consequence of the complexity of group interaction.

Coding conventions

In addition to the series of transcriptional notations presented so far, coding conventions related to *language choice* and *voice quality* were included.

Language

Language codes can be inserted at various points in the transcript:

- at the header tier level;
- at main tiers, either in the running text or as part of the speaker code;
- at dependent tiers.

In data where the language of each single participant can be identified once and for all, the first solution may be adopted, e.g.

```
@Language of XXX: Norwegian
```

A second alternative is to identify a matrix or base language and to mark the lexical items diverging from this standard as deviant by means of codes inserted in the running text, e.g. English items marked as @e inserted into a conversation where the matrix language is Norwegian:

```
*JIM:  da maa[a] vi [/] da maa vi speak@e Norwegian@e.
```

a. The letters *ae*, *oe*, and *aa* replace Norwegian *æ*, *ø*, and *å* in the transcripts to adjust to the CLAN programs. In later transcript sequences in the text Norwegian characters are used.

A third alternative is to include information about the addressee for each utterance. This solution, like the previous one, presupposes that the language of each participant, as well as the addressee for each utterance, can be identified, and the speaker code would include information about language of speaker as well as language of addressee:

`*CHIEE:`	*English speaking child to an English speaking addressee*
`*CHIEN:`	*English speaking child to a Norwegian speaking addressee*

None of these solutions was suitable in the present project since only one of the speakers could be described as strictly monolingual (with respect to production) and, more importantly, since the aim of the project is to identify patterns of code selection independently of predefined speech behavior.

The solution was therefore, following De Houwer (1990), to code each utterance separately according to language. A four-way distinction between *English*, *Norwegian*, *mixed* and *uncertain* utterances was adopted, coded as illustrated in the following list:

`$E`	*English utterances*
`$N`	*Norwegian utterances*
`$M`	*mixed utterances*
`$X`	*utterances with uncertain language*

A few simplifications had to be accepted in the categorization:

- utterances including indecipherable material were categorized according to the decipherable parts;
- utterances where the interpretation was uncertain were likewise coded in agreement with the suggested transcription;
- sequences which were left untranscribed due to difficult sound quality or general comprehension difficulties (represented by www) were not coded for language.

Voice quality

The voice quality contrast which stood out as most relevant was that of an unmarked voice quality, which seemed to represent the real person identity of the speakers, as opposed to a marked voice quality, which appeared to be primarily related to the performing of fictional roles.

An initial attempt to identify these voice quality contrasts in an objective manner was made by measuring differences in pitch level. However, the results of this experiment were ambiguous and revealed no obvious relationship between marked voice quality and high pitch levels. What sounded like a clear raising or lowering of the voice in certain circumstances showed no correlation with high and low pitch levels respectively (see *Marked vs. unmarked voice*, p 94 for a closer account of the notion of voice quality and for a description of the measurements).[4]

After this initial and unsuccessful attempt at establishing voice quality contrasts through measuring pitch levels, the issue was approached from a different angle. As pointed out by Auer (1984), a contextualization cue can not be said to function as such unless it is perceived by the surroundings, i.e the interlocutors or co-participants in the conversation, as contrastive. Extending this logic, as indeed done by Auer, such signalling contrasts in speech should be equally detectable for other listeners, e.g. an external researcher.

This logic suggested the following procedure: all utterances were coded for voice quality. Three different voice types were identified and coded as below:

`$PRIV` *unmarked voice*
`$CHAR` *marked voice*
`$SING` *singing or chanting*

The first category comprises utterances which were perceived by the investigator as the genuine voice of the person speaking, with no detectable

4. A positive outcome of this experiment was that it was possible to conduct this kind of measurement on the relevant utterances. After all, the recordings were not produced with this kind of measurement procedure in mind.

distortion of the voice. The second category covers utterances where the voice is clearly distorted compared to the normal quality of that person's voice. The third category includes utterances which are sung or chanted. Strictly speaking, singing may not be a feature of voice quality. Nevertheless, utterances produced in such a manner are listed as a separate category because singing presents itself as a property of a clearly identifiable group of utterances. Utterances categorized as *singing* have the additional distorted quality in most cases. No *uncertain* category has been included in this list. The assumption is that an utterance spoken with a *marked voice* has to be performed in such a way that it is readily perceived as such by the surroundings in order to function as a contextualization cue. In instances where an utterance is spoken in a voice too soft for the voice quality to come out clearly, the utterance is classified as spoken in an *unmarked voice*.

The coding of the first variable, *language*, was carried out by one person only since the categories were based on objectively distinguishable criteria. The coding of voice quality on the other hand is based on hearer perception with potential room for individual judgement and discrepancies between different observers. To test the reliability of my own perception of the voice quality contrasts, the coding was carried out independently by two individuals for a subset of the recordings: a total of 251 utterances were coded for voice quality in Session 3 of Triad 2. The agreement rate for this session was 95%, i.e. of the 251 utterances the coders disagreed in 13 instances. Out of these 13 instances, one of the coders expressed uncertainty in eight cases. An account of inter-coder reliability procedures is provided by Lampert and Ervin-Tripp (1993). Following these procedures, the eight instances of discrepancy were reconsidered and agreement reached in most of the cases. Thus, there was definite discrepancy between the coders in five instances, or 2% of the cases. The uncertain cases corresponded well with points in the conversation where a transition from one type of voice quality to another was identified. The results from this test indicate that the reliability rate was satisfactory.

Language and voice quality codes were entered on separate tiers below the main tier in the transcripts as illustrated on the following page:

```
*TOM:    da [/] da maa hun vaer <inni hylla> [>].
%lan:    $N
%voi:    $PRIV
*JIM:    <Ted see [?]> [<].
%lan:    $E
%voi:    $PRIV
*JIM:    nam nam nam nam.
%lan:    $X
%voi:    $CHAR
*JIM:    she ate baesj.
%lan:    $M
%voi:    $PRIV
```

CLAN

In addition to the CHAT transcription format presented so far, the CHILDES package includes a series of programs, CLAN (Computerized Language ANalysis), designed to perform a variety of automatic analyses on transcript data and covering a range of research needs. Some of the programs are designed specifically for individual types of counts while other programs can be adapted to a variety of purposes. Of the available CLAN programs, the following selection was employed in this project. Inserted in parenthesis after a brief description of the functions of each program is an example of the commands employed to extract the appropriate data. The sample commands are all illustrated by the use of Triad 1 transcript files. CLAN programs accept ascii text format only and the extension "`.asc`" indicates that the files are in the appropriate format.

- CHECK – was used to check the transcript format to safeguard against incorrect use of transcription symbols.
  `(check *.asc)`
- FREQ – constructs frequency counts of prespecified words, symbols or codes. In this project the program was employed to produce calculations of the relative numbers of utterances in the various

language categories.

```
(freq +f +m +s$e +t*jim +t%lan *.asc)
```

- KWAL (Key Word and Line) – outputs utterances that match certain pre-specified words. In the present project the program was used to extract Norwegian and English utterances respectively in order to calculate separate MLU values for the two languages.

  ```
  (kwal +d +f +m +t%lan +t*jim +s"$n" *.asc)
  ```

- MLT – was used to compute the mean length of turn, i.e. the ratio of utterances to turns.

  ```
  (mlt +f +m +t*jim *.asc)
  ```

- MLU – was used to compute the mean length of utterance, i.e. the ratio of words to utterances.

  ```
  (mlu +f +m +t*jim *.asc)
  ```

Chapter 5

ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVES

> *"Models give shape to concepts and systems that are otherwise hard to think about and work with, but, because they often rest on analogy [...], they are not always precise and are often deficit, especially in areas such as language."*
>
> (The Oxford Companion to the English Language)

In this chapter the analytic approach to the material is presented in more detail. The approach incorporates various aspects adopted from previous studies of children's conversations, but whereas several earlier studies of language alternation have focused either on language behavior in role play or the negotiating of interactional space and positions, the present project combines an interest in role play behavior with a focus on conversational positioning and social negotiation. Rather than presenting a full-fledged theoretical model of analysis, various areas of focus are outlined. These areas will serve to organize and give direction to the analyses in subsequent chapters.

The investigation is a study, not of bilingual conversation, but rather of conversations between bilinguals. This is no trivial distinction since the fact that speakers have a double linguistic capacity, enabling them to switch between two different languages, is a latent possibility rather than a guarantee that it will be employed (Auer 1984). The investigation is thus a query into how these speakers make use of code-switching and how they combine this contextualization cue with one other, the contrasting use of different

types of voice quality, and also an attempt to answer the research question formulated by Myers-Scotton in a slightly different context:

> What do bilingual speakers gain by conducting a conversation in two languages (i.e. through codeswitching) rather than simply using one language throughout? (1993, p 3).

Thus, bilingualism and code-switching is the vantage point and a central aspect, but not the sole focus for the investigation.

Preliminaries once more

As has become increasingly clear through research on code-switching from a variety of perspectives, we are justified in assuming that occurrences of such switching are not accidental. That is, we can assume that there is some kind of pattern to speakers' code-switching behavior. In addition to this basic presupposition, two additional ones about bilingual conversation should be repeated at this point.

Firstly, the switching of codes is not only patterned but also in itself potentially meaningful in conversation, i.e. code-switching has some signalling effect on one level or another. In other words, applying Myers-Scotton's terms, monolingual conversation is the *unmarked* form and bilingual the *marked* one (1988, 1993). The alternate use of different codes thus carries a signalling potential in bilingual interaction. Myers-Scotton notes that for some communities, especially in the Third World, code-switching has been demonstrated to be the unmarked speech mode. The sociolinguistic profile of such communities is very different from the language situation we are looking at here. Furthermore, unmarked code-switching is found to be frequently "intrasentential and sometimes within the same word" (1993, p 117), a pattern which is not replicated in the present material. Thus, accepting the postulate of monolingual conversation as the unmarked and bilingual conversation as the marked form as relevant in the present discussion, I assume that the main effect of alternating between different languages is to establish contrast between what has gone before and what is to come next. Auer (1992, 1995) paraphrases Jakobson's definition of a phoneme to establish the

'meaning' of contextualization cues in general and code-switching in particular: the main effect is to 'indicate otherness'.

Secondly, code-switching is a particularly salient element in conversation. Poplack (1980) discusses the visibility of code-switching as a problem in relation to data collection methods. Milroy and Li (1995), along the same line of thought, state that code-switching has been regarded as the most significant discourse marker in bilingual conversation, due to its perceptual prominence compared to other cues. With these two presuppositions established, we turn more directly to concrete aspects of the model.

Interactional projects

Code-switching in children's conversations has been investigated as a way of organizing levels in role play on the one hand (e.g. Loke 1991), and as a means of organizing conversational activity with respect to factors like speaker selection, expression of empathy or rejection (e.g. Jørgensen, in press). Similarly, other contextualization cues, e.g. pitch variation, have been specifically related to role play interaction (e.g. Andersen 1992, Cook-Gumperz 1992). This study focuses on how code-selection and voice quality can be applied within the same conversational setting to serve several interactional purposes.

The notion of interactional purpose is not related to an understanding of intention in the sense of a speaker's mental state. Speaker intention is an issue in this study only to the extent that it is made visible and observable in the ongoing interaction. To contrast these interpretations of intention, we can trace Jim's movements in (1) below (the more extended sequence is further analyzed in *Calling attention*, p 191) where he is attempting to work himself into a position where he can participate actively in the conversation. (The reader is referred to the episode charts, Figures 4 to 12, in Chapter 7 for an overview of the complete conversation and information about the sequential position of this and all later sequences presented in the text.)

```
1 JIM:  see here!
2 TED:  hm hm hm.
3 ???:  <yeah> [>].
4 JIM:  <see here> [<].
5 JIM:  see here.
6 JIM:  se her.
```

(1): Ted, see here! – 18 (I-1, p 15)

To uncover Jim's intention behind his contributions in this sequence beyond observing that they are designed to get him into a position where the other participants respond to his initiative and treat him as a partner in the conversation is not the issue here. Hypothetically, his underlying intention might be the opposite: to make himself so unpopular through constant nagging as to remove himself from participation in the conversation altogether. Thus, rather than underlying intentionality, intention is understood as an observable aspect of the interaction.

In order to understand the function of the contextualization cues, the conversations must be approached from a variety of angles. The analysis is therefore carried out step by step focusing on individual features from different perspectives. What goes on in the conversations will be discussed in terms of the various *interactional projects* that participants engage in: the project of *managing role play*, the project of *fighting for the floor*, and the project of *social maneuvering* in the group.

Managing role play

Role or pretend play, a definition of which is offered by Garvey (1977a), constitutes an essential aspect of the interaction:

> Pretending [is] defined as a voluntary transformation of the Here and Now, the You and Me, and the This and That, along with any potential for action that these components of a situation may have (p 82).

In Chapter 1 it was established that code-switching may be used to organize such fictional play activity (e.g. Guldal 1995; Loke 1991). These studies, as well as studies of monolingual play interaction (Auwärter 1986;

Cook-Gumperz 1992; Sawyer 1994) generally emphasize the high degree of structure which characterizes children's role play.

One way of viewing role play is to divide conversational contributions into different categories according to reality levels in this particular type of interaction, an approach originating in Bateson (1956). His notion of *meta-language* refers to "planning speech", that is speech appearing prior to and laying the foundation for the enactment of fictional roles.

From Bateson's initial two levels, *directing* and *acting out*, others have refined the model and suggested that three reality levels can be identified in play sequences. In line with other studies, Cook-Gumperz (1992) specifically points out that it does not suffice to identify the contrast between the "in-character" and "out- of-character" states. Contributions directly related to the play activity cover on the one hand the arranging or directing of the play, and on the other the enacting of the fictional content in the framework that the participants have agreed upon. In addition, however, some of the interaction may take place at a level which is not directly related to the fictional play itself, but where issues are taken up which may or may not develop from the ongoing play activity (Auwärter 1986, Cook-Gumperz 1992, Sawyer 1994). The resulting three level model, which is adopted here, suggests a set of levels which are hierarchically organized:

- real life level;
- directing level;
- fictional level.

The movement goes from real life via directing of play to the genuine play activity and brings the speaker deeper into the fictional world, step by step. The expression "moving deeper into" is used on purpose because the play situation itself strongly suggests role play as the focus of activity.

Applying part of Auwärter's (1986) model of fictional play, the three levels are defined on the basis of the contents of each separate utterance and specifically tied to the identity adopted by a speaker in producing that utterance. Auwärter's model is too detailed for the present purposes. It suggests a division of utterances into categories along two different axes: *speaker identity* and *scope of validity*. These two parameters together have the potential

of producing nine different categories of utterances which is presented as the total set of reality levels in fictional role play.

In the present application of the notion of reality levels, the two categories, *speaker identity*, i.e. "whether the speaker displays his or her identity as a child or a fictional role identity (or indeed acts as director of the play)" (p 208), and *scope of validity*, i.e. "whether the speaker in using them is referring to the everyday reality of the (school) or to the enacted fictional play activity (or indeed to the task of directing the fictional play)" (p 208) are combined in order to identify three rather than nine distinct reality levels.

Auwärter found that the two sets of distinctions (speaker identity and scope of validity) were not identical. This was not the case in the present material, where it was not possible to identify utterances made by fictional characters which pertained to a real life context or utterances spoken by real life participants which were valid at the fiction level[1]. On the contrary, there was a clear correspondence between speaker identity and the level referred to in any one utterance.

For the present material, it is hypothesized that code selection contributes to the structuring of fictional role play by signalling reality level contrasts. To test this hypothesis, the total number of utterances were categorized into three groups according to the different reality levels outlined above. The vantage point in this process is the lexical content of each utterance. When the speakers introduced role characters like "mummy" or referred to activities like "going to bed" or "climbing ladders", which are only imaginable in an immediate fictional setting, or when they reported on items and events from their home environment or from the classroom, this was sufficient evidence for categorizing these contributions as fiction or real life utterances respectively. Similarly, lexical evidence that an utterance belongs at the directing level are items like "vi *leika* at ..." or "det her va *liksom* ..." (both expressions roughly translate "we pretended that").

However, the verbal content is not always sufficient evidence, or utterances may be ambiguous. In such instances it was necessary to draw upon other aspects of the interaction to determine what identity the speakers had

1. Only a very limited number of such utterances were identified in Auwärter's own material, and are referred to as "The 'Impossible' Forms: Interference of Reality and Fiction" (p 216).

adopted and what level of reality they operated on at any one time. In addition to the lexical content, the classification of utterances into the three different categories has therefore been based on the following[2]:

- the participants' general direction of attention (defined on the basis of eye gaze and body posture);
- the moving about of dolls and other characters in and around the doll's house indicating play activity;
- eye contact related to laughter indicating that the interactants remained within or switched to real life interaction (all instances of laughter were clearly identifiable as real life contributions, the participants laughed because they perceived something as funny or amusing and not because they pretended to be laughing as part of their role enactment);
- imitation of sound or imitated movements accompanied by noise were classified as fiction level utterances;
- utterances directly related to the doll's house and the toys were classified as direction level utterances as long as the content did not make it clear that they should be classified as fiction level utterances.

Contextual information, e.g. eye contact between the participants, body posture or physical activity co-occurring with verbal contributions, is not included in the transcripts. Such aspects of the interaction were taken directly from the video recordings to assist the classification of verbal utterances into reality levels and on some occasions to serve as supportive evidence in the interpretation process; however, they do not constitute a separate part of the analysis. Information about non-verbal elements in the interaction are included in the transcripts only to the extent that verbal activity is categorized as independent utterance contributions (see *Transcriptional unit*, p 51).

On this basis, utterances in the three different categories could be characterized in a general manner as follows:

2. The items are not presented in prioritized order. Only the first can be said to have been given more emphasis than any of the others.

- real life speech refers to talk amongst participants as themselves (reference is clearly made to participants as real life persons, reactions such as laughter represent genuine response from individuals rather than imitated reactions as part of their fictional role);
- directing speech makes reference to events, objects, or participants which are part of the fictional play with the planning of positions, reactions or activities on behalf of the toys or dolls;
- fiction level speech covers talk out of the mouths of fictional characters (in addition to utterances with clear lexical reference to fictional role characters, this category includes all imitations of sounds or imitations of activities which are frequently accompanied by some sort of sound).

(Terms adapted from Cook-Gumperz 1992).

The utterances in (2) below are taken from two separate sequences during Session 2 of Triad 2 and provide examples of utterances from each of the three categories and also illustrate the classification of utterances constituted by laughter and non-verbal activity. Level contrasts are visualized by means of differences in typeface, a scheme adopted for all subsequent presentations of transcript sequences:

- real life utterances in normal script;
- DIRECTING UTTERANCES IN CAPITALS;
- *fictional utterances in italics.*

In addition, the contrasting use of Norwegian and English is emphasized in this and subsequent transcripts: Norwegian utterances or parts of utterances are presented in bold print while English and undecipherable elements are given in regular print.

In (2) examples of fiction level utterances are given in lines 1, 3, 7, 8, 9 and 12. Directing level utterances occur in lines 4 and 6. The utterances in lines 2, 5, 10 and 11 represent real life contributions. Ada's laughter in line 2 is her real life response to her own role play idea introduced in the preceding line. The other three real life utterances represent immediate reactions, by Mia and Ada respectively, to things happening during the play interaction.

1 ADA: *shall we also kiss*?
2 ADA: 0 [=! laughs].
3 ADA: *0 [=! imitates kissing]*.
4 MIA: OKAY # WHERE'S ALL THE THINGS THAT +...
5 MIA: oh.
6 FIE: **DÆM GJOR SÅNN HER GJOR DÆM**.
(they did like this they did)
7 FIE: <*oh kiss xxx*> [?].
8 ADA: *oh # I won't do that to the baby*.

[www]

9 ADA: *one bu* +...
10 ADA: +, **vent da # vent da # vent da**.
(wait # wait # wait)
11 ADA: **få'n litt**.
(let me have it)
12 ADA: *one bucket that xxx and one bucket of* +...

(2): Examples of level categories (II-2)

As an aside, but nevertheless an important point, the following can be added: connected to the role play aspect, and in part as criticism of a traditional approach to role play, it has been pointed out that role play is carried out in a series of fast movements back and forth between different levels, where prearranged and agreed plans are no necessary prerequisites for the interaction (Sawyer 1994). Sawyer focuses on the need to reevaluate Bateson's theories where role play is seen as negotiated once and for all, and then enacted as agreed. He points out that participants may not interact under the condition of such a fixed agreement, and in fact need never reach a state of agreement in that sense or to that extent for the play interaction to function.

Fighting for the floor

From the role play perspective I go on to suggest a second focus: the more technical aspects of conversation as such. There are two contrasting and equally viable ways to regard conversational interaction. From one perspective the interactants can be viewed as competitors fighting for the floor. From a different point of view they can be seen as engaging in a joint, collaborative task. These contrasting perspectives have been used to illustrate what has been regarded as the prototypical female vs. male mode of interaction, e.g. in Eckert (1993) who claims that "writers frequently refer to women's conversational style as 'cooperative' [while other studies suggest that] men engage in competitive conversation comparing knowledge and experience and recounting competitive exploits" (p 33). On the other hand, both perspectives are justifiable on the basis of Sacks *et al.*'s (1974) description of conversational turn-taking, regardless of the speakers' gender. One can focus on the shared sense of discipline which inhibits speakers from launching a new turn prior to a potential transition point, or one can emphasize the actual fight for the turn, once such a point has been reached.

Group design has to some extent been seen to govern the character of the ensuing conversation. Sacks *et al.* argue that there are inherent mechanisms in the turn-taking system which result in shorter turns and more frequent turn transitions when the size of the group is increased. Consequently, participants are forced to behave in a more active, possibly more aggressive, manner to get access to the floor. As was pointed out in *Group composition*, p 31, Linell (1990) similarly emphasizes the difference between two-party and multi-party interaction (with specific reference to the triad), suggesting that possibilities of excluding group participants from taking part in the conversation and forming alliances with others exist only in the latter type.

Rather than focusing specifically on the mode of interaction, what is central in this part of the analysis, i.e. from the point of view of the speakers' fight for the floor, is whether code selection can be seen to play a role in activities like selecting a specific set of addressees, or calling the attention of one's interlocutors. Such activities are explicit parts of conversational turn-taking. My hypothesis is that the function of code selection can be identified as part of the speakers' fight for the floor.

Thus, this part of the analysis addresses the speakers' behavior as conversational turn-takers, i.e. how the speakers assign participant roles to themselves and to their co-participants. Sacks *et al.*'s (1974) description of the turn-taking system, which is the theoretical basis for Auer's (1984) discussion of participant-related code-switching, has two main components:

- a *turn-constructional component*, which lays out a set of possible turn transition points on the basis of structural units;
- a *turn-allocational component*, which explains how the next turn is allocated, by current speaker selection or by self-selection.

In a triad, it is never obvious who the next speaker will be because there is always a surplus of potential next speakers. This uncertainty is described by Auer as

> the tension between the built-in tendency of conversations to be monopolized by two participants and the measures that are necessary to prevent such monopolization (1984, p 34).

Therefore, turn-allocation in particular and the issue of addressee more generally is especially relevant in a discussion of turn-taking in this kind of group.

Social maneuvering

In addition to analyzing code selection as a method for marking reality level contrasts for role play purposes or as a way of signalling and assigning conversational roles in interaction, it can be related to interpersonal relations between members of the group and the way in which speakers signal to each other, as well as to the group, attitudes of interest or lack of interest, friendship or hostility. I will refer to such aspects of interactional behavior as *social maneuvering*.

Jørgensen (in press) specifically relates language alternation to the notion of dominance and to power relations in a group of speakers: "[...] code-switching into the minority language may be a tool to express solidarity, or to rebel, or to exclude a particular conversant" (p 2). Thus, from this vantage point a speaker's choice of code is viewed as a power instrument in

conversation. Without introducing the issue of status differences between languages and global aspects of language behavior in the present discussion, I take a similar perspective in the third and last approach to the conversational data at hand. The purpose of this part of the analysis is to identify instances of language alternation where the choice of code can be related to interpersonal relations between participants in the group, i.e. to the ways in which speakers select a specific code in order to assign social roles to themselves or to their interlocutors. I hypothesize that code selection is employed by the speakers as a strategy in the social maneuvering in the group.

Units of analysis

In order to address the issues suggested by the three interactional projects, a set of analytic units is needed which can serve to divide the flow of conversation into manageable and appropriate chunks. Units at three levels are discussed here:

- *the utterance*, in order to identify points of language alternation and changes in voice quality;
- *the episode*, in order to trace language and voice alternation through longer sequences while keeping within identifiable entities;
- *conversation*, as potentially constituting an identifiable entity.

Utterance

An utterance is defined through a combination of syntactic, prosodic, and semantic criteria. It is used here to refer primarily to verbal contributions. Certain nonverbal contributions were also categorized as utterances, particularly when accompanied by vocal cues. The typical example of the latter type is imitation of movements such as dolls falling or climbing accompanied by vocal imitation of the movement. Finally, laughter and the rare occurrence of hiccupping or coughing were included where such elements could be seen to have a conversational function.

The *turn* is frequently seen as the basic unit in conversation analyses, as illustrated in the theoretical overview in Chapter 2 where the notion was specifically related to Sacks *et al.* (1974), and as suggested by others (e.g. Brown & Yule 1983, Andersen 1986). This does not necessarily imply that the "turn at talk" is the adequate unit of analysis in all studies of conversational interaction. A turn can be loosely defined as "everything A [the current speaker] says before B [the next speaker] takes over" (Stenström 1994, p 34). Thus, a turn may consist of one single utterance or several utterances, depending on how long the current speaker keeps the floor. For the purposes of the present study, however, there are arguments against adopting this unit. It is perfectly possible for speakers to move from one interactional project to another in the course of a single turn, and to indicate such changes through contextualization cues. Also, code-switching is assumed to be employed for contrast purposes within one and the same project, from one utterance to the next within the turn or from one turn to the other. Thus, the turn is too wide a unit to uncover relevant changes in the direction of interaction.

On the other hand, what speaks against adopting the *move*, an interactive unit within an interactional exchange (Stenström 1994) which in many cases is smaller than an utterance, as a unit of analysis, is firstly that move boundaries are not necessarily associated with contextualization cue boundaries. Secondly, the individual contributions in the child conversations to be analyzed in this study do not display a structure which makes it relevant to introduce the notion of moves. The structure of each contribution is generally simple enough for the utterance to be the most relevant unit of analysis at the lowest level.

Episode

Conversational interaction has been analyzed elsewhere as a continuous flow of speech without dividing it up into episodes, e.g. by Sawyer (1994) who presents children's role play interaction in this fashion. However, Sawyer approaches conversations where the participants are consistently preoccupied with role play, enacting and directing, whereas my material

includes long sequences which deal with topics other than the fictional play. The transitions from fictional play to real life talk are typical examples of the kind of contextual contrasts which are marked (and created) through code-switching, and this aspect of the interaction in the present material suggests that episode structure is essential for an understanding of how these conversations work.

Several of the analytical units used to divide a flow of discourse into smaller sections are based on intuitively sound yet theoretically vague entities. Thus, Brown and Yule (1983) say about 'topic' that it is "the most frequently used, unexplained, term in the analysis of discourse" (p 70). Similarly, Edelsky (1993) describes 'episode', which is related to, if not identical with the notion of 'topic', as an imprecise term, and Cook-Gumperz (1992) applies the concept 'event' without offering a definition of the term beyond a list of descriptive headings suggesting the topical content of conversational units.

Thus, there appear to be several terms in use which are closely related but difficult to define precisely. Part of the explanation for this theoretical vagueness stems from the need to incorporate into analyzable chunks units which are less than tidy. In projects where the objective is to isolate sequences with a narrative quality it might be easier to apply a more strictly defined analytical unit. The difficulties may also in part stem from the age of the informants studied: with the present material it is less straightforward to refer to the structure of a conversation the way Stenström does: "The message of a conversation, what the conversation is about, is developed within a topical framework" (1994, p 138). When an instrument is needed for dividing children's play related conversations into sections without leaving problematic and untidy sections out, it is more problematic to rely strictly on a topical framework, i.e. on the "aboutness" of individual sequences.

What is important when dealing with informal speech is to avoid categories which restrain the presentation of the conversation in an artificial manner. A problem with using different sets of criteria, as with Edelsky's functional and topical episodes, when dividing a stretch of speech into sections or parts is that it can be difficult to tell whether an episode is always at the same level of generalization.

Taking these problems into consideration, I found a combination of topical and activity-based episodes to best reflect the intuitive division of the conversations into units. These units sometimes developed smoothly from one topic or activity into the next, and sometimes followed each other as unrelated episodes where new initiatives did not grow out of the previous interaction. The need for a two-way organization of episodes is also pressing in the type of material we are dealing with here. Children not only discuss themes or topics, but also enact fictional role parts and relate to their playmates.

The definition of an episode finally adopted is based on the starting point of each unit, i.e. the utterance which initiates something new into the conversation, and on the content of the episode, in terms of a topic or an activity. The content of an episode is further centered around a topic, i.e. what the participants talk about, or an activity, i.e. what the participants do. Nonverbal contributions were accepted into the utterance category because such elements clearly play an important role in the conversations in the present material and can be part of topic as well as activity based episodes. However, the starting point is not always readily detectable. There are a number of instances of episodes gradually developing into something different from the previous topic or activity. Thus, I had to allow for a number of cases where an episode is identified very much on the basis of the concrete sequential development. This is in part caused by the fact that there are more than two participants. One out of three may initiate something new, which may then be adopted by the two other speakers – but not necessarily at once.

The problems associated with delimiting episodes are solved by introducing three separate episode types, individual, transitional and parallel episodes, with an episode defined as an interactional entity consisting of more than one utterance dealing with a topic or focused on an activity. The starting point of an episode is the initiation point of a new topic or activity, and the end point identified indirectly through the beginning of the next episode.

With the explicit aim of analyzing the interaction without excluding any part of it on the basis that it is too untidy to be fitted into an overall structure, the material was divided into episode units. Episodes were found either to

occur in a consecutive pattern, one after the other, or to co-occur in different ways. The large majority of utterances in the material are coherent in the sense that they connected either backwards or forwards, i.e. they belong to a conversational episode as described above. A limited number of utterances, however, are isolated elements which do not produce further interaction. Rather than as single utterance episodes, they are described and defined, on the basis of their status as isolated elements, as *islands* in the conversational landscape. Thus, four separate units were identified: three different episode categories, and a last category comprising utterances which were neither directly related to the preceding interaction nor followed up in subsequent utterances.

- **Individual episodes** are characterized by a unified topic or type of activity and clearly identifiable starting and end points.
- **Transitional episodes** are like individual episodes except for the fact that one episode is initiated prior to the completion of the previous one. In some instances the basis for classifying episodes as transitional is that it is difficult to identify individual utterances as belonging to one episode or the other, i.e. they may be ambiguous with respect to content. In other instances the problem of identifying a clear initiation point is a question of one or several participants not leaving the topic of the first before the conversation has reached well into the next episode.
- **Parallel episodes** are episodes where the triad is split up into two subgroups, and where each of these subgroups engages in different activities or deals with separate topics. In some instances one speaker is actively trying to work him- or herself into the topic or activity of the parallel episode. In other cases a speaker is occupied on his or her own without attempting to join in the topic or activity of the other speakers' parallel episode.
- **Islands**[3] are single utterances which do not produce further interaction. Such individual utterances may occur in between

3. The notion *island* as employed here is different from *embedded language islands* as defined in Jake and Myers-Scotton (1997), where it is used to refer to a certain type of single donor language constituents embedded in a target language sentence.

episodes or they may be produced during, but not as part of, an ongoing episode, i.e. they are similarly to, but not identical with, parallel episodes.

Examples of these four structural units are included in the following to illustrate how the typical as well as the less typical structure is organized.

Individual episodes

The extract in (3) below is a representative of individual episodes. Jim initiates the episode and is joined by the other two participants who both contribute imitations of Jim's first line. This repetition of one utterance constitutes the whole episode. The episode is identifiable as one unit through the joint activity of the speakers: an evaluation of the immediately preceding activity. There is general agreement in the group about the characterization of the verbal activity in this preceding sequence, which is used as an illustration of transitional episodes in the next section.

```
1 JIM:  <you're be> [<] +...
2 JIM:  you're being funny.
3 TOM:  0 [=! laughs].
4 TOM:  you're being funny.
5 TED:  you are being funny.
6 TOM:  you're being funny.
7 TED:  you're being funny.
8 TOM:  <you're being funny> [>].
```

(3): You're being funny – **4** (I-1, p 2)

Language-wise the episode in (3) contrasts with the preceding as well as the subsequent interaction: Norwegian is used both prior to and immediately after the episode. The main point to notice about this episode is the fact that an utterance suggested by Jim is picked up by the two other speakers. By adopting and repeating Jim's English utterance, the group does in fact share a common language during the whole of this episode.

Transitional episodes

(4) below represents two transitional episodes where the second one only gradually emerges as separate from the first. This sequence occurs immediately prior to the interaction contained in the previous example and thus provides the background for the mutuality and harmony displayed in that episode. Tom and Ted, albeit in a rather hostile fashion, both respond to Jim's initiation of topic in line 1, where he points to the microphone which is suspended above their heads, marking that as a possible new item of conversation. The germ of an alternative topic or activity is introduced with Tom's response in line 3, long before the first of the two transitional episodes is finally closed. Tom's rather unfriendly response to Jim provides a pattern for a series of gradually more playful utterances (in lines 8, 10, 13 and 15) which at the end of the sequence are no longer directly related to Jim's first initiative, but constitute the second of the two transitional episodes which can be described as "word play activity". The ultimate closure of the first episode occurs sometime after Jim's final utterance in line 9.

1 JIM: hæ?
2 TED: ta +/.
3 TOM: **ikke rør!**
(don't touch)
4 TED: **de va ikke æ de va** +/.
(it wasn't me it was)
5 JIM: I got one of those.
6 JIM: <that> [=? but] is pink.
7 JIM: I got one those for my first [?] birthday.
8 TED: **ikke &kn snakk**!
(don't &t talk)
9 JIM: that Frank have <got me> [>].
10 TED: <don't> [<] talk!
11 TED: just play.
12 TOM: 0 [=! laughs].
13 TED: don't talk.
14 TOM: 0 [=! laughs].

(4): I got one of those – **2** / Don't talk – **3** (I-1, p 1)

15 TED: don't **bæsj**.
(don't poop)
16 XXX: 0 [=! laugh].
17 TOM: **bæsj**.
(poop)
18 XXX: 0 [=! laugh].
19 TED: <**bæsj**> [>].
(poop)

(4): I got one of those – **2** / Don't talk – **3** (I-1, p 1)

As suggested above, the transition from the first transitional episode to the next does not take place momentarily from one utterance to the next, but results from a gradual transition from one to the other. In (4), that transition is accompanied by a gradual shift from hostility to playfulness. One indication that the speakers have moved from the first episode to the next is the laughter introduced from line 12 onwards which indicates a new mood in the interaction. The laughter displays the participants' reactions to their own performance.

Stenström (1994) accounts for various ways of moving from one topic to another: *topic change*, *topic shift*, and *topic drift* (pp 154–157). This account is only partly relevant since it does not discuss episodes which gradually develop from one topic to the next in terms of a sequential development of utterances. Nor does her account also include the possibility of defining an episode on the basis of activity in addition to topic centered episodes.

Parallel episodes

Characteristic of the conversations in all three groups is that the participants occasionally form two separate units. In some instances, one speaker moves between two different activities or topics, alternately interacting with each of the other two group members. In such cases, two separate turn-taking systems are established, as described in Sacks *et al.* (1974) with reference to larger multi-party conversations splitting up into separate turn-taking systems.[4] However, the more typical situation is that of two speakers taking part

in a "dyadic" conversation while the third party is either waiting passively at the side or making active efforts to get access to the floor.

		[www]	
1	JIM:	Ted # see here.	
2	JIM:	see here.	
3	JIM:	*0 [=! imitates doll's movements].*	
4	TED:	I'm not looking.	
5	JIM:	*0 [=! screams].]*	
6	TED:		**XXX DU VASKE ALLE [/] ALLE TINGAN.** (you clean all the things)
		[www]	
7	TED:		**ÅSS [/] ÅSSÅ E'N XXX.** (and [/] and it's xxx)
8	JIM:	<see here> [>]!	
9	TED:		**<MEN Æ> [<] <KAN IKKE XXX>** [>]. (but I cannot xxx)
10	JIM:	<see here # Ted> [<]!	
11	JIM:	*0 [=! imitates falling].*	
12	JIM:	see here.	

(5): Ted, see here – **18** / Nå skulla du flytt – **19** (I-1, p 14)

Some of the episodes categorized under this heading are similar to Stenström's (1994) *topic digression*, i.e. exchanges which move away from the main interaction with respect to topic and which represent a corresponding moving away from the main exchange structure. For the present purposes, all instances of parallel activity, i.e. conversational sequences where more than one topic or activity are being handled simultaneously, are categorized

4. The fact that such interactional sequences cannot be referred to in terms of complete turn-taking systems here since one speaker is left alone during parallel episodes, was discussed in *Group composition*, p 31.

as parallel episodes. The lack of a turn-taking partner for the isolated speaker is often the explicit problem, as illustrated in (5). Note that Ted initially responds to Jim's initiative by explicitly rejecting Jim's request (line 4), before engaging in the contrasting conversation in a parallel episode between Tom and himself.

In other instances, the third party engages in verbal activity independently of the interaction between the other two. In (6) Bob and Dan are discussing equipment necessary in a spaceship, while Per is enacting a baby role play. The two parallel activities are contrasted, both in the sense that two separate topics are being discussed, as well as in the sense that the activity taking place during the dyadic conversation is at the directing level while Per is engaged in activity at a fictional level. The sequence further illustrates that the speakers in Triad 3 do not adopt a contrasting language for role play

1	BOB:	<WE NEED> [<] THE BEDS IN THERE DO YOU THINK IN THE SPACESHIP.	
2	DAN:	NO!	
3	DAN:	BECAUSE XXX.	
4	PER:		*I'm a little baby.*
5	BOB:	<XXX IN THE SPACESHIP> [>].	
6	PER:		*<washing the baby>* [<].
7	DAN:	<BUT WE NEED XXX IN OUR SPACESHIP> [>].	
8	PER:		*<washing the baby>* [<].
9	PER:		*<walking the baby>* [<].
10	PER:		*walking the baby.*
11	PER:		Bo [//] Bob.
12	PER:		*rocking the baby.*
13	PER:		*rocking the baby.*
14	PER:		*rocking the baby.*
15	PER:		*<rocking the ba>* [>] +...

(6): We need beds – **6** / Look here, sje her – **5** (III-3, p 4)

purposes. I return to a discussion of the means employed by the speakers in the different groups to mark such level contrasts in Chapter 8.

Parallel episodes are presented in separate columns as in the two previous excerpts in all further examples of the same type. The columns serve to visually organize elements in the two separate episodes.

Islands

On several occasions, one participant made contributions which were not followed up during the subsequent conversation. Due to lack of response from the other participants, or due to their lack of initiative power (they are utterances of a kind which do not demand response, cf. Feilberg's (1991) distinction between *weak* and *strong* initiatives), they appear in the conversations as individual contributions, most of all like islands in the conversation. In (7) on the following page Jim does not participate in the ongoing play activity. His utterance in line 5 is an isolated expression of sentiment inserted at a point during Tom's active role play (cf. the directing and fiction level marking of the surrounding utterances).

1	TOM:	***å mam [//] pappa.*** (oh mum [//] daddy)	
2	TOM:	***mamma # pap*** +... (mummy # dad)	
3	TOM:	**OGSÅ TATT PAPPAN ET PLASTER PÅ LILLEBRØREN SÅ DANSA DÆM IGJEN.** (and then the daddy gave the little brother a bandage and then they went on dancing)	
4	TOM:	0 [=! *imitates dancing*].	
5	JIM:		I wish xxx [//] I wish I was at home.
6	TOM:	**MEN HVOR VA DEN ANDRE BEIBIEN?** (but where was the other baby)	
7	TOM:	***hei beibi xxx mamma mamma xxx*** +/. (hey baby xxx mummy mummy xxx)	

(7): I wish I was at home – **33** (I-1, p 41)

While the language structure in sequences including islands may be similar to that of parallel episodes where one individual is isolated (as will be demonstrated in the later analyses), they are different in function. Parallel episodes represent one speaker's attempt at getting access to the floor or constitute separate activity conducted by that individual; language islands do not seem to have conversational participation or other activity as their goal.

It could be objected that the analysis of the latter unit, i.e. islands, is retrospective since an utterance can be defined as an island only after it has been established that such a contribution did indeed fail to instigate further interaction. This, however, follows naturally from an analytic approach which seeks to explain interactional contributions in the light of the sequential development, preceding and subsequent.

Fuzzy borders

Although the majority of the episodes correspond to one of the categories outlined, there are certain fuzzy borders which deserve comment.

There are examples of episodes identified as *individual* episodes where the participants are not totally focused on a joint activity or topic from the start. (8) on the following page illustrates an instance where Tom joins in Ted's project after first having suggested a different line of action (lines 2–3). From line 7 onwards he is able to integrate his own initial story line in Ted's project. However, in line 13 he briefly returns to his initial plot. This is an example of the balancing of different factors. From a topical perspective, the two speakers' interaction is not focused during the first 5 or 6 utterances. However, even though the plot is not a unified one from the start, the two speakers are engaged in activity related to the doll's house throughout the episode. Thus, joint activity was judged to be more important in the classification of this episode than the fact that the two speakers need a few introductory lines before they jointly develop the same story. These two speakers' management of interaction confirms Sawyer's characterization of young children's play:

1 TED: ***jeg vil gå*** +/.
(I want to go)

2 TOM: ***dere barn***.
(children)

3 TOM: <***nå er det dusjen***> [>].
(now is the shower)

4 TED: <***jeg vil gå***> [<] +...
(I want to go)

5 TED: ***ja # jeg vil gå opp på taket***.
(I want to go up on the roof)

6 TED: **Æ TOK STIGEN OPP SÅ DU KLART IKKE Å FÅ DÆ OPP.**
(I lifted the ladder up so you didn't manage to get up)

7 TOM: **MEN Æ BARE KLATRET OPP OGSÅ HOPPA Æ ET STORT SKRITT XXX** +/.
(but I just climbed up and then I jumped a big leap xxx)

8 TED: **NEI DU KLATRE [//] DU MÅTTA KLATRE OPP STIGEN.**
(no you climbed [//] you had to climb up the ladder)

9 TOM: <**Å JA**> [>].
(okay)

10 TED: <**MÅTT DU**> [<].
(you did)

11 TED: **MEN DU HADD [/] MEN DU HADD IKKE STIGEN FOR VI HADD DEN.**
(but you had [/] but you didn't have the ladder because we had it)

12 TED: ***dokker*** +/.
(you)

13 TOM: ***barner [?] # nå blir jeg sint på dere***!
(children # now I am getting angry at you)

14 TED: **DA HOPPA VI NED.**
(then we jumped down)

15 XXX: *0 [=! imitates jumping]*.

16 TED: **NEI FOR DU KLARTE IKKE Å HOPP SÅ HØYT # PÅ TAKET # SJØ.**
(no because you didn't manage to jump as high # up on the roof # you see)

17 TOM: **JO FOR Æ HADD MAMMAN.**
(yes because I had the mummy)

18 TED: **OG MAMMAN KLARE IKKE Å HOPP SÅ HØYT BARE PAPPAN.**
(and the mummy doesn't manage to jump that high only the daddy)

19 TOM: **MEN Æ VAR PAPPAN.**
(but I was the daddy)

20 JIM: **HER <BEIBIN>** [>].
(here the baby)

(8): Jeg vil gå opp på taket – **4** (I-3, p 3)

> Even after children begin social play, it may be inaccurate to speak of a single shared play frame. [...] there may be multiple frames in play in the interaction of these younger children (1994, p 265).

The important point seems to be that the turn-taking is coherent at the surface level. The participants work towards and allow the inclusion of each other's contributions into a joint conversational product.

Conversation

It has been pointed out that much of the research which claims to have identified features typical of conversational interaction has been based on structured and fairly formal encounters rather than the informal interaction typical of everyday life behavior (Edelsky 1993). This fact invites two assumptions.

First, conversational interaction, when studied in more formal settings, will appear to be more tidy and perhaps not altogether representative of conversational interaction generally. Characteristics such as avoidance of simultaneous talk and the one-at-a-time character of conversation might be the basis for our understanding of how conversation works in terms of turn-taking, but not necessarily equally typical of all kinds of conversation (Edelsky 1993).

Secondly, a *conversation* as an interactional unit seems to suggest itself more readily when the empirical data originate from telephone conversations, courtroom interaction, or consultations in a medical clinic than when everyday interaction is the object of study. Conversation, as a face-to-face activity in the course of the day, is typically intertwined with nonverbal activity and can typically be interrupted by long or brief pauses, to be taken up at a later point etc. A description of conversation in the sense of informal social talk should therefore be based on characteristics of the ongoing interaction rather than on attempts to identify the nature of introduction and end points of conversations. How the onset or termination points of conversational interaction are managed is an irrelevant issue in this context.

Thus, the notion of *conversation* is used to refer to the recorded material, not as an analytic entity, but rather as a stretch of discourse characterized by a certain mode of interaction.

Contextualization cues

Contextualization as a theoretical approach to interaction was referred to more generally in Chapter 1. Here the more detailed characteristics of those signals referred to as *contextualization cues* will be presented, with specific reference to code-switching and voice quality contrasts.

Through the use of a metaphor we can describe contextualization as a method of *coloring in* the interaction, carried out by contextualization cues. Contextualization cues generally refer to non-verbal or non-textual elements, vocal (pitch, voice quality, volume) and non-vocal (code-switching, gaze, body posture, movements, pauses, interruptions). An essential aspect of contextualization cues generally is that no one cue can be given an unambiguous interpretation. One cannot refer to the 'situated meaning' of language alternation or voice quality contrasts as such. It is the pattern in the use of such signals, or the co-occurrence of several signals at specific points during interaction which makes it possible to infer the meaning of cues.

The central properties of contextualization cues are presented in Auer (1992, pp 29 – 35). The following list of characteristics which are of specific relevance for the current project is largely based on Auer's account.

Cues tend to co-occur. Contextualization cues are no decisive clues to what is going on in a conversation. They may be studied separately or at specific points in the interaction where more than one cue co-occur or «bundle together in time to varying degrees» (p 29). Rather than changing the general line of interpretation, additional cues will make parts of the interaction stand out more clearly. More than one cue can either be introduced simultaneously to indicate an abrupt change in interactional direction, or cues can be added up consecutively to gradually signal more strongly the new interactional context.

Cues have no intrinsic[5] *meaning.* Contextualization cues cannot be assigned an independent meaning, therefore they cannot be interpreted in isolation. On the other hand, such cues are often crucial for the understanding of what is going on in a given sequence of interaction. Thus, the cues are meaningful, even if no decontextualized meaning can be attached to them.

Cues are meaningful primarily through their ability to create contrast. Contextualization cues in the basic sense establish contrasts between different sections of the interaction, i.e. cues color in the interaction by "indicating otherness": "The mere fact of (usually abruptly) changing one (or more than one) aspect of the interaction may be enough to prompt an inference about why such a thing happens" (p 31). According to Auer, the direction of the change for certain types of cues is irrelevant. He presents the onset and the termination of physical movement accompanying a given sequence as an example of this. It is clear from Auer's presentation, however, that the interpretation of most contextualization cues is not totally arbitrary. The use of high voice and a high onset is typically a marker of competitive utterances regardless of the specific cultural context in which they are presented. Thus, cues have at least an inherent meaning base or meaning potential.

The two cues in focus in the present project differ in the sense that one suggests itself as primarily contrast creating, while the other has a clear meaning potential: alternation between English and Norwegian seems to be essentially a contrastive cue where direction is not crucial for how the cue is interpreted; this is not so, however, with the marked vs. unmarked voice distinction, where marked voice seems to be associated clearly with a specific reality level. This may also be the case with the kind of dialectal switching between local and standard forms of Norwegian identified in parts of the material, an issue discussed in *Marking fiction level speech*, p 173.

5. Professor Nils-Lennart Johannesson suggests replacing Auer's original term *referential* by *intrinsic* in the description of contextualization cues. *Non-referential* as used in the original text is adopted from the description of certain lexical items. *Intrinsic* is more adequate when referring to the kind of general decontextualized meaning intended here.

Cues can have a natural meaning base or be conventionalized. The effect of a contextualization cue has two separate aspects. First the cue establishes a contrast between what has taken place before and what comes next, i.e. it signals that something new is going to happen. Secondly, in those instances where the interpretive value of a cue is not restricted to that of mere contrast, the cue itself suggests a direction of interpretation.

The meaning potential in these latter instances can be either *conventionalized*, e.g. in code-switching between different languages, or *natural*, e.g. the contrast between mutual gaze and gaze aversion. In the first case, certain values will be associated with one or the other language in a specific speech situation, but the link between language and social values results completely from the social situation in question. There is no inherent quality in a specific language system which is directed towards a given value system. This kind of situation is described by Myers-Scotton in her work on code-switching in African communities (1993). She finds certain social values to be associated with one language rather than the other, and therefore the language as well as the direction of the switch is of importance.

In the latter case, i.e. with direction of gaze, a cue can be described as natural or non-arbitrary because certain aspects of conversational interaction seem to be universal. In any speech community there is a specific marking of turn-final contour (the shape of this contour can vary from one community to the next), gaze plays a part in natural conversation, with focused interaction being accompanied by mutual gaze rather than gaze aversion. These and other cues are said to have a natural meaning base.

It is still clear from Auer's presentation that values associated with "natural" or "non-arbitrary" cues can be overturned in specific social and cultural circumstances. He uses as example the interpretation of mutual gaze in focused interaction as aggressive or threatening rather than a sign of joint activity or focus. No rules can therefore be said to be universal in an absolute sense.

Language alternation

As accounted for in the section *Code-switching*, p 4, Auer (1984) in his discussion of bilingual conversation applies a set of terms with *language alternation* as the generic concept, referring to any change of language, irrespective of duration or length of section and *code-switching* and *insertion* as subcategories referring to a point of alternation and a specific section of an utterance produced in a contrasting language respectively. The two categories of language alternation are illustrated in the two following examples:

```
1  ADA:  oh daddy.
2  ADA:  WHO'S GOING TO BE THE DADDY?
3  FIE:  0 [=! laughs].
4  FIE:  du.
         (listen)
5  ADA:  ja.
         (yes)
6  FIE:  DET DER VA FAREN HANS # NEI.
         (that one was his father # no)
```

(9): Example of code-switch (II-3)

In (9) a switch from English into Norwegian occurs from the utterance in line 2 to that in line 4. Language alternation occurs at a certain point in the interaction and the position of a potential switch back into English cannot be anticipated. This type of alternation is referred to as a *code-switch*.

```
1  FIE:  it's bestefar can [/] can [/] can do it.
         (it's grandfather can [/] can [/] can do it)
```

(10): Example of insertion (II-3)

In (10) an identifiable Norwegian element is "inserted" into an English context, and this is referred to as an *insertion*.

Auer's findings suggest that code-switching rather than insertion is the relevant phenomenon to focus on in a conversation analytic approach to discourse among bilinguals. The switching point marks the point in time as well as in the conversation where speakers go from doing one thing into

doing something else, whereas elements shorter than a complete utterance only in rare cases can be seen to mark this kind of transition in activity. Code-switching can take place during an utterance, however. Examples are repair sequences, which can be used to infer that code selection is indeed part of the speaker's contextualization repertoire (see *Participants' awareness*, p 101).

Auer's model suggests a further division between discourse- and participant-related alternation. His division corresponds in large part with Gumperz' (1982) identification of two different types of code-switching, i.e. *situational code-switching* and *conversational code-switching*. Situational code-switching refers to instances where there is a close relationship between language use and social context: with changes in the setting, language choice will be affected; conversational code-switching is a strategy employed by speakers within one and the same speech situation to communicate how they "intend their words to be understood" (p 61). The same distinctions can be traced in Myers-Scotton's concepts *marked* and *unmarked* code-switching. The unmarked choice is based on a "rights and obligations set associated with a particular conventionalized exchange" (1988, p 160), cf Gumperz' *situational code-switching*, whereas the marked choice signals that "the speaker is trying to negotiate a different rights and obligations balance" (Auer 1995, p 167).

Jørgensen (1992) adopts the general direction of these ideas talking about "globally" determined switching as the type of switching governed by community norms, and "locally" determined switching which corresponds to Gumperz' *metaphorical switching*, i.e. the switching which can only be studied and understood through a close analysis of the sequential development of conversation. In his study, Jørgensen finds that children from the age of seven upwards exploit code-switching as a power tool:

> It does seem [...] that even successively[6] bilingual children acquire code switching skills for purposes of social control, and they do so at a younger age than expected (Jørgensen 1992, p 180).

6. This refers to the opposition between *simultaneous* and *successive* acquisition of two languages, a central issue in research on early bilingual acquisition. The terms are used to refer to exposure to and acquisition of more than one language before or after a specific age, notably 3 years (McLaughlin 1978), while others have argued that a cut-off point should be based on linguistic and cognitive developmental criteria. A more complete exposition of this issue is given in Lanza (1990).

Thus, there seems to be a common understanding that the local, micro-level operation of the meaning potential in bilingual speech is different from the switching process which depends on the "normative framework" (p 179) of a language community. For an illustration of the operation of these two different levels from the current set of data, we can turn to the instant switch into English, triggered by the entry of the English-speaking adult at several instances during the recording process. This kind of situation exemplifies a shift from a setting where code-switching has been employed in the free interaction between the children, into a situation where the activity is being monitored by an adult who is associated with a specific language and certain language norms, i.e. English which is the unmarked language choice in the presence of a teacher at the school. In (11) the switch from Norwegian to English can be observed to take place from line 8 to 9 and is directly related to the adult person's entry into the room.

1 TOM: **jo det [/] det var ikke æ.**
(yes it [/] it wasn't me)

2 TED: **jo.**
(yes)

3 TOM: **nei det va ikke.**
(no it wasn't)

4 TED: **jo.**
(yes)

5 TED: **æ ska +/.**
(I will)

6 TOM: **nei.**
(no)

7 TED: **æ ska si det.**
(I will tell her)

8 TED: **æ ska si det.**
(I will tell her)

9 TED: you know what?

10 TED: Tom he took off this xxx.

(11): Du har ødelagt den nå – **20** (I-1, p 18)

Marked vs. unmarked voice

Pitch has been demonstrated to be a distinct characteristic of voice types like caretakerese and other adult language directed towards children when this type of language is compared to speech directed to adult addressees (e.g. Warren-Leubecker & Bohannon 1984). Pitch has also been suggested to be a part of children's role play register. Andersen (1992) notes that children playing roles depict fathers with deep and loud voices and mothers with softer voices, exaggerated intonation and a higher pitch. Halmari and Smith (1994) in a study of register variation in two Finnish/English bilingual children, found that pitch alternations, as one element in the more general concept of voice quality, was used to mark movements between negotiation and play in children's interaction.

To my knowledge, the physics of such pitch estimates have not been worked out in studies of children's role play behavior. Pitch is generally described as a cue or signal used for various interactional purposes and merely described as higher or lower (e.g. Cook-Gumperz 1992). Cook-Gumperz characterizes fictional mother/mother speech as having a higher pitch than "normal" voice, her results being based on the following method:

> When I was transcribing this game and its discourse, I relied particularly on formulaic features when these were found in conjunction with a "measured voice", for distinguishing the narrative speech, whereas everyday speech, by contrast, has a flexible use of prosody (p 185).

Thus, Cook-Gumperz explicitly uses "voice" to refer to a combined effect of what I refer to as "voice quality" and lexical content as well as formulaic features. The term must therefore be applied with caution.

Identification of reality levels in children's role play on the basis of voice characteristics is problematic because of the implicit assumption that there is a fixed correspondence between the two factors. When the point is to disclose the way in which children contextualize utterances, one cannot start out by identifying utterances on the basis of those cues that are the objects of investigation.

Pitch variation seemed to be part of the variation between utterances at different reality levels in my material. For the present purposes, it suffices to

say that fundamental frequency is what we perceive as pitch: "We can say in a very general way that an increase in frequency of vibration leads to the sensation of a higher pitch" (Fry 1979, p 8). A more accurate account of the notion of pitch would have to take into account the influence of factors like intensity, duration, whether the frequency is steady or changing, and the presence of external noise (Pittam 1995). I felt that the fact that these other factors might influence one's perception of pitch level was an important argument for measuring fundamental frequency levels more accurately, since it is easy to be led by one's expectations about how something should sound.

The variation in voice quality, which was initially assumed to amount to a variation in fundamental frequencies, was clearly discernible through merely listening to the recordings. Thus, as a method of testing the reliability of my perception, fundamental frequency of the voice was measured in a sample of utterances. Pitch level was measured for a limited sample of utterances in the material, four utterances by five separate speakers, selected independent of the reality level codings for each utterance. Utterances were

Table 10: F0 mean in marked and unmarked utterances
(F0 = Fundamental frequency)

Informants	Marked		Unmarked	
	F0 mean	st. dev.	F0 mean	st. dev.
Ada	362	52	338	43
Ada	304	37	393	19
Fie	390	75	387	77
Fie	364	63	384	77
Tom	281	47	261	6
Tom	465	126	316	51
Jim	382	52	388	35
Jim	450	83	388	58
Ted	368	44	324	25
Ted	325	36	350	54

divided into two groups, ten utterances pronounced with a voice perceived as *marked* and ten utterances pronounced with a voice perceived as *unmarked*. The results of this test are presented in Table 10.

The test did not confirm that pitch levels corresponded with what I perceived as a contrast between marked vs. unmarked voice. The difference within the utterance pairs is very small in most cases, and the difference does not demonstrate a consistent pattern in terms of high and low frequency levels. Only two utterances (by Tom and Jim) are clearly above the average level with values above 450. These are both utterances produced with what was perceived as a marked voice. On the basis of these results I decided that it was better to judge voice quality in an alternative manner, namely by relying on hearer perception. These procedures were described in Chapter 4.

Levels and cues illustrated

To illustrate the principle of contextualization through the use of code selection and voice quality contrasts, an extract from one of the conversations in the material is presented below. The extract is presented in three versions as (12), (13), and (14). The first entry is a doctored version where the initial Norwegian utterances have been translated into English and all hints about voice quality contrasts have been removed. From the general content of the conversation and from certain lexical clues (the reference to "mummy", who is undoubtedly a fictional character, and the idea of 'swinging', which can only be an activity suitable for very small characters in the current setting) it is nevertheless possible to conclude that some of the interaction goes on at a fictional play level while some of it is part of the conversation between two little girls, Ada and Fie:

1 ADA: *now I'm going to [/] now I'm going to play # mummy.*
2 ADA: *am I allowed?*
3 ADA: *am I allowed +...*
4 FIE: *yes.*
5 ADA: *+, mummy?*

(12): I'm going to play (Constructed – 1)

6 ADA: *abossi bossi bossi.*
7 ADA: *I'm swinging.*
8 FIE: here is a stool.
9 FIE: there's a new stool here # in the kitchen.
10 ADA: let me see.
11 ADA: oh # that one has been in the bedroom and like that.
12 ADA: boh +...
13 ADA: *mummy # look at me.*
14 ADA: *look at me.*

(12): I'm going to play (Constructed – 1)

In the next entry, (13), the conversation is presented the way it was originally conducted with respect to choice of code. We note that fiction level utterances are spoken in English while the "private" conversation is conducted in Norwegian. Thus, the introduction of one cue has made the organization of the sequence more clear.

1 ADA: *now I'm [//] I'm going to play # mummy.*
2 ADA: *er/are I allowed?*
3 ADA: *am I allowed +...*
4 FIE: *yes.*
5 ADA: *+, mummy?*
6 ADA: *and abossi bossi bossi.*
7 ADA: *I'm <swinging>.*
8 FIE: <**her er det en krakk**>
(here is a stool)
9 FIE: **det e en ny krakk her # i kjøkkenet.**
(there's a new stool here # in the kitchen)
10 ADA: **få sjå.**
(let me see)
11 ADA: **å # det har nå vært på soverommet og sånn det da.**
(oh # that one has been in the bedroom and like that)
12 ADA: boh +...
13 ADA: *mummy # look at me.*
14 ADA: *look at me.*

(13): I'm going to play (Constructed – 2)

The third entry, (14), illustrates how a second set of contextualization cues was originally part of the set of signalling devices to contrast speech within two different reality levels. In addition to code-switching between

```
 1  ADA:  *now I'm [///] I'm going to play # mummy*.
 2  ADA:  *er/are I allowed*?
 3  ADA:  *am I allowed*+...
 4  FIE:  *yes*.
 5  ADA:  +,*mummy*?
 6  ADA:  %and abossi bossi bossi%.
 7  ADA:  *I'm <swinging>*.
 8  FIE:  <her er det en krakk>
           (here is a stool)
 9  FIE:  det e en ny krakk her # i kjøkkenet.
           (there's a new stool here # in the kitchen)
10  ADA:  få sjå.
           (let me see)
11  ADA:  å # det har nå vært på soverommet og sånn det da.
           (oh # that one has been in the bedroom and like that)
12  ADA:   boh +...
13  ADA:  *mummy # look at me*.
14  ADA:  *look at me*.
```

(14): I'm going to play – **2** (II-1, p 1)

Norwegian and English, the speakers make use of a marked voice quality for some of the utterances in the sequence (* * for marked voice, % % for singing or chanting voice). The effect of such an additional layer is added contrast between the two reality levels, and thus a clearer signal.

Guiding principles

A conversation analysis approach to conversational interaction is participant-oriented in a fundamental sense: "rather than analyzing social order *per se*, it seeks to discover the methods by which members of a society pro-

duce a sense of social order" (Schiffrin 1994, p 232). Thus, the analyst infers, not only directly on the basis of what is said, but based on the reactions and responses which are given by the interlocutors in the conversation. Any analytical category employed to organize interactional material must be shown to be relevant from the participants' point of view.

In addition to the general orientation towards the speakers as active participants, a second important principle should be mentioned. In order to achieve a successful interpretation of utterances, interactants (and indeed analysts) depend on an important presupposition which may seem too obvious to deserve attention but has nevertheless been demonstrated to have important theoretical implications for the understanding of how conversation works: any utterance with its accompanying set of contextualization cues must be understood within a *sequential* framework.

At the outset, *sequence* has been shown to be of fundamental importance for the understanding of turn-taking in conversation (Sacks, Schegeloff & Jefferson 1974). Turns do not just follow arbitrarily one after the other. Certain types of turns require a specific next turn, as in the *adjacency pair*, the classic example, where a greeting typically demands a return greeting and a question can be complemented by nothing but a response move. However, the concept of sequence has implications far beyond such standard examples of turn-sequences. It can be seen to work in less strictly structured sets of turns, and it is equally relevant to employ the idea of sequenciality to explain the work of language alternation: the positioning of a switch is exactly what participants in a conversation take into consideration when making inferences about the meaning of that switch. The ordering of turns and the parallel ordering of different languages are two levels working in tandem to produce an organized and understandable whole. Thus, it is the positioning of a switch, as with any other type of cue, that provides the explanatory value of a specific language choice for a specific utterance, and not the fact that an utterance is presented in English or Norwegian.

The sequential perspective is not limited to what directly precedes or follows a specific utterance. It is often necessary to study longer sections of the ongoing interaction in order to understand the implications of language choice at a specific point in the conversation. From a turn-taking perspective,

sequenciality amounts to a question of "who speaks when". Understanding the function of an utterance is to a large extent a matter of realizing the implications of relative positioning:

> [...] there do not seem to be criteria other than placement (i.e. sequential) ones that will sufficiently discriminate the status of an utterance as a 'statement', 'assertion', 'declarative', 'proposition', etc., from its status as an 'answer' (Schegloff & Sacks 1973, cited in Cheepen 1988, p 11).

In fact, Cheepen (1988) suggests that sequenciality is also relevant in relation to the management of topics in discourse, i.e. that topics can be seen to appear in a non-arbitrary order. The fundamental problem for participants in making sense of the ongoing conversation, as well as for the analyst, is to provide answers to the "why that now"- question for each separate level of linguistic organization.

In a study of code-switching as a conversational activity the sequential aspect has clear and important implications. Li (1992) argues that whereas a "grammatical-structural" definition presupposes that code-switching is an aspect of the language practice of the individual, the sequential perspective makes it possible to analyze monolingual utterances from one speaker in a conversation as significant contributions to a bilingual conversation:

> The recognition of contrastive choices of language by different speakers in consecutive turns as code-switching is important, because they often reflect the language ability and language attitudes of different conversation participants (p 41).

Similarly he is careful to emphasize that a sequential approach complements rather than invalidates structural and functional approaches to code-switching practice:

> The sequential approach to language choice, as Auer (1984) suggests, is intended to incorporate the existing models (either functional or grammatical) into an 'interpretive' framework which focuses on the 'members' methods' of using code-switching as a communicative strategy in conversational interaction (p 41).

Participants' awareness

How can it be established that speakers have a conception of an "appropriate" use of contextualization cues, i.e. of a relationship between a cue and a specific reality level in the context of role play, or a connection between the use of a specific code and the signalling of a specific attitude to a co-participant? We can only find indirect evidence for speakers' awareness of their application of contextualization cues, i.e. evidence that the participants themselves perceive differences between contrasting ways of contextualizing specific sections of interaction. There are two potential types of evidence:

- repair sequences where one type of cue is replaced by a different one;
- participants' reactions to a local occurrence of a specific cue.

Goodwin (1981) argues that rather than viewing repair sequences from the Chomskian perspective, i.e. as degenerate elements in speech, they may be regarded as "emergent products of the interaction of speaker and hearer in the construction of the turn at talk" (p 170), i.e. they may be seen as a way of handling a speech situation by allowing the speaker to adjust his or her utterance so that it appropriately fits the conversational structure. In addition, Goodwin makes the point that conversational repair is indeed instructive in terms of providing insight into grammatical and conversational structure:

> [...] if a child grew up in an ideal world where he heard only well-formed sentences, he would not learn to produce sentences himself because he would lack the analysis of their structure provided by processes such as the repair process (p 172).

Similarly, repair sequences where alterations in code choice or voice quality can be observed are indicative of the way in which such cues work in interaction.

In the CHAT transcripts, the codes for different types of voice quality are inserted for complete utterances. With the limited number of instances where voice quality is altered in the middle of an utterance, I decided against a method of indicating shifts in voice quality in a more detailed manner. Instances where such intra-utterance shifts between marked and unmarked

voice quality was observed are dealt with on an individual basis in the later discussions.

The excerpt in (15) suggests that the speaker is aware of voice quality contrasts; the example thus supports the idea that the use of different voice qualities serves a conversational function. The only correction or alternation resulting from the retracing in the second utterance in this extract is the change in voice quality: following the repetition, a change from unmarked to marked voice can be observed.

1 TED: **JAMMEN DU SA** +"/.
(but you said)

2 TED: +" ***hvor e [/] *hvor e <du henne>*** [>].
(where are [/] where are you)

(15): De herran gjømt sæ – 2 (I-2, p 2)

1 TOM: ***ah # det der e ikke noe <ne og fra>***[?].
(ah # that there is nothing down and from)

2 TOM: ***nå kom*** **[//] OGSÅ KOM PAPPAN VET DU.**
(now came [//] and then the daddy came you know)

(16): Også kom pappan vet du – 9 (I-3, p 9)

Similarly, in (16) Tom's level shift from fiction to directing is not matched by a corresponding shift in voice quality from the beginning of the utterance. A trace of the marked voice quality carries over from the previous utterance, hence the repair. An additional indication that the second of these utterances should indeed be read as a directing level contribution is Tom's use of past tense which has been found by Åm (1989) to contextualize directing level utterances in role play among Norwegian children. Thus, the "slips of voice" in the sequences above indicate that voice quality is employed as a contextualization cue in these children's interaction.

Andersen (1992) similarly argues that spontaneous repairs are strong evidence of a speaker's awareness of language form and language function. In her study of role play behavior among monolingual English-speaking children in an age range comparable to that of the informants in the present project, she identified phonological repairs as the most frequent type, fol-

lowed by less numerous categories of lexical and syntactic repairs. The repair data in Andersen's study supported her general findings of development of socio-linguistic competence, which indicates that this kind of data are valuable sources of information.

Similarly, repair sequences involving code-switching suggest the corresponding relevance of code choice as a cue. In (17) we can observe a transition from fiction level interaction to directing activity. The transition takes place with Fie's utterance in line 3 and is marked through a parallel shift from marked to unmarked voice. Fie's hesitation marks a repair where she switches from English to Norwegian. It is reasonable to see this switch as a sign of her awareness of her own failure to adequately mark the transition from fiction to directing level by means of language.

1 ADA: *no # we just let him go.*
2 FIE: *but xxx.*
3 FIE: HE [//] E EH **HAN [/] HAN** +/.
(he [//] e eh he [/] he)
4 ADA: **SÅ SPRANG DU LIKSOM**.
(then we pretend that you ran)
5 FIE: **NEI # HAN GJOR IKKE DET # BARE LITT**.
(no # he didn't do that # just a little)

(17): I want to on the horse – **15** (II-3, p 12)

In a similar fashion, participants' reactions to certain utterances suggest that certain cues inserted at specific points in the interaction are conceived of as inappropriate or atypical usages by the speakers themselves.

Laughter following an utterance where there is a mismatch between the verbal content and the accompanying set of cues is an example of such a reaction. (18) is about setting up an arrangement for the dolls to play hide-and-seek. Ada has initiated the episode, but well into the process, she becomes aware that one of the roles has not yet been cast. My focus here is Fie's response to Ada's question in line 7. Why the subsequent laughter? The verbal content of this utterance suggests that she has temporarily left the fiction level, she is actually casting the play. The voice quality, however, does not match the verbal content. A directing level suggestion is uttered with

1 ADA: *I'm going to hide # all right*?
2 ADA: *bye bye*.
3 ADA: *xxx I'm going in the <xxx>* [>].
4 FIE: <*but I'm> [<] going to wash*.
5 ADA: *oh daddy*.
6 ADA: *WHO'S GOING TO BE THE DADDY?*
7 FIE: 0 [=! laughs].
8 FIE: **du**.
(Ada)
9 ADA: **ja**.
(yes)
10 FIE: **det der va faren hans # nei**.
(that one was his father # no)
11 FIE: **nei.**
(no)
12 FIE: **glemt av faren nede vi.**
(we forgot the father downstairs)

(18): Shall we play hide-and-seek? – **11** (II-3, p 7)

the marked voice associated with fiction level utterances. Fie's reaction indicates that her response to Ada's contribution is that it sounds odd. After the brief exchange in lines 7 and 8, the two speakers switch to Norwegian for the subsequent real life utterances and go about the business of finding a potential daddy figure. Thus, (18) represents an instance where a speaker reacts to an utterance where the lexical contents suggests a directing level contribution while the language code and the marked voice quality retained from the preceding utterance is associated with a fiction level contribution.

Summing up

Group conversations in child triads, where the majority of the participants are bilingual speakers, are the objects of analysis. These conversations will be analyzed from three different perspectives, more specifically defined as interactional projects: *managing role play, fighting for the floor,* and *social maneuvering*.

Hypotheses about the organizing function of code selection in the conversations were presented in relation to each of these interactional projects. At one level of the analysis, code-switching will be related to the episode structure of the conversations, i.e. to individual, transitional, and parallel episodes. At a more detailed level, conversational sequences constituted by single episodes, or combinations of episodes in the case of transitional and parallel ones, will be analyzed in terms of how code selection can be said to contextualize the interactional structure of these sequences.

Chapter 6

QUANTITATIVE SURVEY

In the next five chapters, the data from the conversations are analyzed from various perspectives. First, quantitative measures are used to establish what speakers are the most active ones, what language is spoken, how many utterances are produced during the individual sessions, and where language alternation takes place. In Chapter 7, the notion of *episode* is further developed and the episode structure for each session presented through *episode charts*. Chapters 8, 9, and 10 focus on interactional projects, *managing role play*, *fighting for the floor*, and *social maneuvering*, and how language choice is employed in the sequential structure of conversations to carry out such projects.

However, before turning to the quantitative survey of the conversations, details about the language background of the individual informants in each of the groups are presented.

The individual groups and informants

At the outset of the recording period, the three triadic groups all included one English speaker with a limited Norwegian repertoire, judged by his or her language production at school and by parental reports. Two of these speakers came from all English families, the third had German as her home language but spoke only English at school. The other interactants in the groups were all bilingual speakers of English and Norwegian in the sense that they came from linguistically mixed families, with Ada in Triad 2 as the one exception with her all Norwegian background. She, on the other hand, had a fairly solid English background through her school experience.

The total age span between the youngest and the oldest informants is two and a half years, from 3;11 to 6;4. The age difference between informants within the groups exceeds the age differences from one group to the next. Thus, in terms of age, the groups and the informants form a continuum. Rather than treating age as a variable in the material, the limited number of informants makes it natural to view the subjects as representatives of the general age group, i.e. 4-6 year olds (or pre-schoolers in the Norwegian context).

Triad 1 (Ted, Tom, and Jim)

Triad 1 consists of three boys from the youngest age group at school. During the recording period their ages spanned from 3;11 to 5;3 years: Ted was 4;9 years at the first taking and 5;3 at the last, Tom matured from 3;11 to 4;5 years, and Jim from 4;6 to 5;0 (see Table 5, Chapter 3). Thus, there was almost a year's difference between the oldest and the youngest speaker in this group.

On the basis of parental reports[1] about the informants' language practice in a wider context, all three boys were defined as bilingual speakers, but to varying degrees. Jim came from an all-English family and spoke English at home and some Norwegian with other children. He developed much of his active competence in Norwegian immediately prior to and during the

1. Questionnaires were distributed during the recording period. A sample is included in Appendix 1.

project period. Tom and Ted both lived in mixed English/Norwegian families. Ted spoke both English and Norwegian at home, Tom mainly Norwegian. With both languages represented in their home environment, Ted and Tom had both acquired the two languages simultaneously, and over a more extended acquisition period than was the case with Jim.

Triad 2 (Mia, Fie, and Ada)

Triad 2 comprised three girls, their ages spanning from 5;5 to 6;1 in the first session and from 5;8 to 6;4 in the last. Fie was the youngest, while Ada and Mia were the same age (see Table 5, Chapter 3).

Fie had a mixed English and Norwegian family background and spoke both languages at home. Ada came from an all Norwegian family and had acquired English at kindergarten and school. Mia had a German family background. In the school environment she functioned as a monolingual English speaker but had obvious passive competence in Norwegian. My impression was that the three girls constituted a group where the interaction was less aggressive than in Triad 1, and where an alliance between Fie and Ada, which might have led to hostility in the group, was checked and controlled by all three participants' ability to cooperate and play together.

Triad 3 (Bob, Dan, Per, Kim, and Rod)

Five different informants constituted Triad 3. The participants in each session varied from one session to the next with only one informant, Bob, being present during all of them. The informants in this group were very close in age, with 5 months being the maximum age difference in one single session. The whole recording period covered the age range from 5;5 to 6;0 (see Table 5, Chapter 3).

Bob came from an English speaking family, and his parents reported on a limited Norwegian repertoire, practiced with peers only. The other participants in the group, present during one or two recordings each, were Kim, Per, Dan and Rod. All four came from families with one English and one

Norwegian parent. According to parental reports, all four informants used both English and Norwegian at home, and adjusted their play language to that of their interlocutors. The boys in this group all gave the impression of being active individuals with great ability to interact and play with each other.

Quantitative overview

A quantitative survey is included to provide a concrete overview of the various groups and an impression of the individual informants' speech production. Three different aspects of speech production are measured: speech quantity related to the individual speaker, proportion of English vs. Norwegian per session and speaker, and frequency of language alternation.

Brown (1973) identifies five distinct developmental levels of MLU (Mean Length of Utterance) in child language, calculated on the basis of average number of morphemes per utterance. Each level refers to a developmental stage corresponding to a specific complexity level in the grammatical structure of a child's language. However, at a certain point, increasing language complexity will no longer be reflected through the use of increasingly longer utterances but rather through variation in the grammatical structure of the utterances themselves. Thus, this measure is only useful as an indication of language development up to a certain point.

However, MLU can still be used for alternative purposes. It represents a more reliable measure of language production than merely counting utterances simply because it takes into account that utterances vary in length. Contributing the same number of utterances in a given conversation is not necessarily equivalent to producing the same amount of speech. Thus, the various conversations are presented in terms of MLU figures for each of the participants. The figures are based on word counts rather than the standard morpheme counts.[2] Since my aim here is to measure quantity rather than

2. The material was not coded at the morpheme level since morpheme structure is not a focus in this study. An identical method is applied in Holmen (1993) for the calculation of utterance length in 8- to 10-year-old bilinguals to prepare for a similar analysis of conversational behavior.

complexity, a word/utterance ratio was considered equally revealing as a morpheme/utterance ratio. The actual count was carried out on the complete transcripts with the following modifications:

- strings like xxx (incomprehensible material) and www (untranscribed stretches of interaction) were excluded;
- all material realized through repetitions (accurate repetitions as well as repetitions with corrections) was excluded[3].

Thus, left for MLU calculations were the running, comprehensible parts of the conversations.[4] Further, speech production for the individual speaker was measured in terms of MLT (Mean Length of Turn), i.e. the average number of utterances the speaker contributed before the floor was taken over by the next speaker, and in terms of overall number of utterances.

The relative proportions of Norwegian and English speech was then calculated, including estimates of the number of mixed utterances and utterances where it was unclear which language was used (e.g. due to incomprehensible speech). Thus, these counts give an impression of the "bilingual quality" of the conversations as well as serving as a test of how comprehensible the interaction was.

Finally, instances of language alternation within utterance boundaries are discussed in some detail in order to distinguish between code-switches and insertions and to estimate the proportion of intra-utterance code-switches in the material as a whole.

Triad 1

Counts of MLU and MLT values, number of utterances per speaker, and the relative proportion of Norwegian, English, mixed, and uncertain utterances for the Triad 1 conversations are presented in the following.

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3. Transcription procedures were accounted for in more detail in Chapter 4.
4. Feilberg *et al.* (1988) provide a rule set for calculating MLU, their main point being that such counts should normally be morpheme based. They further specify elements which should be omitted and methods for including or excluding grammatical morphemes in such a way as to realistically represent children's grasp of grammatical complexity.

MLU and MLT

MLU values in the speech of the individual informants in Triad 1 are presented for the separate sessions (Table 11). Ted tended to produce the longest utterances with an average of 5.4 words per utterance. The values for the two others are lower, counted across the three sessions: 4.5 for Tom and 4.7 for Jim. The figures place all three informants in this group well above the

Table 11: MLU for each informant and session – Triad 1

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
Ted	5.6	5.5	5.3
Tom	4.2	5.0	4.4
Jim	4.9	5.0[a]	4.2

a. A warning is appropriate here since Jim's contributions in session 2 are very limited in number, see Table 13 below.

4.0 limit, the MLU level identified by Brown as the upper level where this measure can be employed to evaluate linguistic complexity.[5]

When considering the amount of speech produced by the individual speaker in terms of turn length, the number of utterances was compared to the number of turns. This provides an alternative measure of the talkativeness of each of the individuals (Table 12). The tendency for Ted to rest in the

Table 12: MLT for each informant and session – Triad 1

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
Ted	1.6	1.9	1.7
Tom	1.4	1.7	1.5
Jim	1.3	1.0[a]	1.4

a. The same warning as issued in Table 11 is relevant here.

5. Considering that a morpheme count will produce higher values than a word count in most cases, we are safe to assume that the speakers range above Brown's 4.0 limit in spite of the difference in calculation methods.

upper range with respect to speech quantity, suggested by the figures in Table 11, is strengthened through the MLT measurements. For each session, his scores for conversational activity in terms of average turn length are the highest.

Finally, as the last count of overall speech quantity, the number of utterances for the individual speaker was calculated (Table 13). The same figures were presented in Table 7, Chapter 3, with totals for session rather than speaker. Combined with the figures for average number of words per

Table 13: Number of utterances per informant and session – Triad 1

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3	TOTAL
Ted	259	153	282	694
Tom	179	155	233	567
Jim	135	6	120	261

utterance and average number of utterances per turn, the results for the overall number of verbal utterances further strengthens the impression of Ted as the most dominant speaker in Triad 1.

The three speakers differ most with respect to the last count, where the number of utterances per informant was calculated. The totals show a spread from 694 utterances by Ted, the most productive speaker in this respect, to 261 utterances contributed by Jim. Ted produced by far the highest number of utterances during the first and the last sessions. During the second session he and Tom contributed equal numbers of utterances (153 vs. 155). It is worth noticing that session 2 in this group was different from the other two: since one participant, Jim, hardly contributed to the interaction at all during this session. Thus, large sections of this recording can be characterized as dyadic with an additional "sleeping" participant. Analyses of the separate sessions will show what consequences this has for the organization of the conversations and the speakers' choice of code.

On the basis of the three separate counts presented so far, it can be concluded that Ted is the dominant speaker in terms of quantity in this group.

Choice of language

The next step in the quantitative mapping of the material concerns the amount of English and Norwegian spoken by the individual informants. The complete set of utterances was split up into the following categories:

- Norwegian utterances;
- English utterances;
- mixed utterances[6];
- utterances which are unidentifiable with respect to language.

The rationale behind a quantitative approach at this level is to distinguish between the participants in terms of the type of contributions typical for each of them: was the language production of any of the informants completely or nearly monolingual? Was there an equal division between Norwegian and English in the speech of any of the informants? The results for Triad 1 are presented in Tables 14 to 16. Two of the speakers, Tom and Ted, demonstrated a clear preference for Norwegian in the recorded conversations, judging from their relative production of Norwegian and English utterances; the third participant, Jim, developed from a predominantly English production in the first session to a more equal distribution of English and Norwegian in the last. The differences between the sessions in terms of the number of contributions from each participant and amount of English produced by each speaker, seem to suggest that the question of conversational interlocutor is essential for a discussion of code choice. However, I will argue in the later analyses that it is necessary to take other aspects of the

6. The term *mixed* does not suggest language mixing in the sense that the speaker is unaware of the distinction between the two linguistic systems, but refers to the co-occurrence of elements from different languages within the same utterance. The term *switching* is reserved for the conversational practice to be analysed later. Thus, utterances which are mixed in the form sense may be employed as part of this switching strategy.

conversation into consideration to reach a more complete understanding of the patterns of code selection.

Table 14: Utterances according to language – Ted

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
English	45	3	28
Norwegian	195	146	229
Mixed	6	1	4
Uncertain	13	3	21
Total	259	153	282

Table 15: Utterances according to language – Tom

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
English	10	1	3
Norwegian	145	142	213
Mixed	8	2	3
Uncertain	14	10	15
Total	179	155	233

Table 16: Utterances according to language – Jim

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
English	77	3	44
Norwegian	20	1	50
Mixed	17	0	5
Uncertain	21	2	21
Total	135	6	120

When Ted's and Tom's choice of language is compared on the basis of the figures in Tables 14 to 16, Ted seems to be more open to language variation than Tom, with an English production near six times higher than that of Tom (73 utterances vs. 13). The numbers are not adjusted for relative frequency,

but nevertheless give a clear indication that the roles adopted by the two individuals are different.

In addition to illustrating the relative proportion of English and Norwegian speech, these figures indicate that code-switching took place inter-sententially rather than intra-sententially in the material. Language alternation occurring within utterance boundaries, i.e. in utterances categorized as mixed, are discussed in more detail in the section *Code-switching vs. insertion*, p 124. A pattern where code-switching takes place primarily at utterance boundaries indeed suggests that code-switching is used for communicative purposes since inter-utterance switching is the switching type regarded as the relevant object of investigation in the exploration of local processes of language negotiation and language choice:

> The lacuna is precisely in those patterns of code-switching which go beyond the sentence, i.e. code-switching between conversational "moves" or "intonation units", each representing full "constructional units" in terms of their syntactic make-up (Internet presentation of Auer (forthcoming)).

Whereas the category *Mixed utterances* represents the total number of language alternations within utterances, number of code-switches from one utterance to the next cannot be calculated on the basis of the tables above. I return to the question of how to count occurrences in the latter category in *Managing role play*, p 148.

Triad 2

The counts of MLU and MLT values, number of utterances contributed by each participant, and the proportion of utterances in the various language forms are presented for Triad 2 in the same order as for Triad 1.

MLU and MLT

The MLU values for the speech of the girls in Triad 2, like in the previous group, demonstrated MLU levels well above what Brown identifies as the upper level of any significance for evaluating linguistic complexity (Table 17).[7] Even though the figures for the first session are below the 4.0 limit, there is no reason to assume that this is due to a subsequent speedy

progress in linguistic development in the time span between that recording and the next in all three children. After all, the informants were all either close to or above the age of six, and the recording sessions in question were only one month apart. However, the figures do show that once they spoke, the informants contributed utterances of comparable length. No individual participant limited her utterances to single words to any significant degree.

Table 17: MLU for each informant and session – Triad 2

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
Ada	3.9	4.5	4.2
Mia	3.3	5.0	5.5
Fie	3.7	4.3	4.4

One of the speakers, Mia, stands out with a considerably higher MLU than the other two in sessions 2 and 3.

With respect to turn length, Mia and Fie are comparable, while Ada is clearly more talkative according to this measure of speech production (Table 18). In terms of utterance numbers, presented in Table 19[8], Ada is responsible for the largest number of utterance contributions with a total of

Table 18: MLT for each informant and session – Triad 2

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
Ada	1.8	1.9	1.4
Mia	1.3	1.3	1.4
Fie	1.4	1.4	1.7

7. Note that the calculation of average utterance length is still based on word counts rather than morpheme counts.
8. These figures were presented in Table 8, Chapter 3, with totals for session rather than speaker.

373 utterances, while Mia has the equally clear position as the least productive participant, with 170 utterances altogether.

Table 19: Number of utterances per informant and session – Triad 2

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3	TOTAL
Ada	123	159	91	373
Mia	44	85	41	170
Fie	69	108	119	296

While the various calculations of speech productivity seemed to establish a consistent picture of Ted as the most dominant individual in Triad 1, the pattern of quantitative dominance appearing through a combination of calculations of MLU, MLT, and overall number of utterances is more ambiguous in the present group. Mia contributes the longest utterances on average. On the other hand, her MLT scores are comparable with those of Fie, while her overall number of utterance contributions is far below that of the other two participants.

Thus, Mia produces longer utterances than any of the other two. Once she gets access to the floor she manages to keep it as long as Fie, but she does not take the floor as frequently as her co-participants. Fie and Ada have almost identical MLU scores, while Ada tends to keep the floor during longer stretches of time than the other two. The last session is an exception where Fie contributes the longest turns. I regard high scores on average turn length and a high overall utterance frequency as a more significant measure of quantitative dominance than long utterances in isolation. On that basis, the outcome of these counts is that Ada is judged to be the quantitatively most dominant of the three participants.

Choice of language

While the dominant language in Triad 1 as a whole was Norwegian, this is not true for Triad 2. Only in one session does a speaker produce more Norwegian than English – Fie in session 1 – but this situation is outweighed by her English production in the next two sessions. The complete set of

figures concerning the proportion of English vs. Norwegian speech in this triad is presented in Tables 20 – 22. One of the speakers, Mia, is close to monolingual in terms of production (Table 21). During the three sessions her Nor-

Table 20: Utterances according to language – Ada

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
English	76	115	56
Norwegian	39	23	27
Mixed	2	4	2
Uncertain	6	17	6
Total	123	159	91

Table 21: Utterances according to language – Mia

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
English	42	82	39
Norwegian	1	0	1
Mixed	0	2	0
Uncertain	1	1	1
Total	44	85	41

Table 22: Utterances according to language – Fie

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
English	15	62	59
Norwegian	46	40	51
Mixed	1	0	4
Uncertain	7	5	5
Total	69	108	119

wegian production is limited to two utterances, one in each of the sessions 1 and 3. Two mixed utterances were found in session 2, whereas a total of three utterances could not be identified with respect to language. Thus,

96.5% of Mia's production could positively be identified as English. We cannot conclude from the above figures, however, than Mia completely lacks Norwegian competence. Observation of group interaction revealed that she has receptive competence of Norwegian and is able to follow the conversation in both languages. She offers adequate response and is able to pick up on what goes on, making the appropriate moves when an activity is being carried out in Norwegian. While the other two speakers alternate between English and Norwegian, the majority of their contributions are in English. Ada is English-dominant in terms of utterance numbers during all three sessions (Table 20). Fie contributes a larger number of Norwegian utterances during the first session, whereas the opposite is the case for the other two sessions (Table 22).

As with the previous group, language alternation in Triad 2 is predominantly inter-sentential, that is, only a small proportion of the utterances are mixed, and as will be made clear in later analyses, the majority of the switches occur at utterance boundaries.

Triad 3

Counts of MLU and MLT values, total number of utterances, and the proportion of Norwegian vs. English in the Triad 3 conversations are presented below.

MLU and MLT

As suggested in the earlier descriptions of the three groups, Triad 3 is special since the participant setup varies from one recording to the next. Since Bob is the stable subject, the calculations of conversational activity are primarily interesting as a means of comparing this individual speaker on the one hand to the remaining set of speakers on the other.

The MLU figures in this triad show larger differences between Bob and the other speakers than was the case between the speakers in any of the other groups. Even more clearly than in Triad 1, there is one speaker in the group who produces longer utterances than any of the others on an average. This is particularly noticeable during the first session with Bob's MLU level

Table 23: MLU for each informant and session – Triad 3

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
Bob	6.7	5.0	5.2
Dan	4.1	—	4.7
Per	—	4.2	4.3
Kim	5.3	—	—
Rod	—	3.4	—

1.4 above the next in line (Table 23). However, unlike the situation in Triad 1 but similar to that in Triad 2, the other quantitative measures of conversational activity did not match the first. With respect to turn length, the first four speakers, Bob, Dan, Per, and Kim, were fairly comparable (Table 24). The fifth participant, Rod, is represented by a low MLU score and a high MLT score compared to the other speakers. This can be explained by an extended

Table 24: MLT for each informant and session – Triad 3

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
Bob	1.6	1.4	1.3
Dan	1.2	—	1.5
Per	—	1.8	1.4
Kim	1.5	—	—
Rod	—	2.0	—

series of calls to his co-participants towards the end of the session where he attempts to persuade them to hide under the table. With this particular episode in mind, I conclude that, for the conversations in general, there is no significant difference between the speakers in terms of turn length. The number of utterances produced by each speaker, presented in Table 25, must be approached with the same degree of caution as the rest of the figures for this triad, since only the first speaker is present during all three recording sessions. Thus, the total number of utterances in this table simply gives the number of contributions from each participant regardless of the number of

sessions he participates in. However, the individual speakers' activity during each session can still be compared on an individual basis. The figures suggest that all speakers were active during the recorded sessions and that no speaker is out of range compared to his interlocutors in any of the sessions. No speaker can be said to be consistently producing a significantly higher number of utterances than the others (Table 25[9]).

Table 25: Number of utterances per informant and session – Triad 3

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3	TOTAL
Bob	81	86	136	305
Dan	50	—	171	222
Per	—	78	142	220
Kim	82	—	—	82
Rod	—	125	—	124

On the basis of the three quantitative measures, no speaker in Triad 3 could be clearly identified as dominant.

Choice of language

The calculation of the proportion of the Norwegian, English and mixed utterances for the Triad 3 speakers revealed very limited production in Norwegian (Tables 26 to 30). Of the five different informants present in this group at different times, only Dan, Per, and Rod spoke Norwegian at all. The amount of Norwegian spoken is too limited to be discussed further at this point. Thus, the third group is different from the other groups in terms of language choice. The analysis of quantitative proportions and the later analyses of conversational extracts will be colored by this fact. In many respects, the analyses of the conversations in Triad 3 will contrast with those of the others, and serve to complement the picture of language practices in the whole set of informants.

9. These figures were presented in Table 9, Chapter 3, with totals for session rather than speaker.

Table 26: Utterances according to language – Bob

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
English	81	80	133
Norwegian	0	0	0
Mixed	0	1	1
Uncertain	0	5	2
Total	81	86	136

Table 27: Utterances according to language – Dan

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
English	50	—	163
Norwegian	0	—	6
Mixed	0	—	1
Uncertain	0	—	1
Total	50	—	171

Table 28: Utterances according to language – Per

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
English	—	68	117
Norwegian	—	1	13
Mixed	—	1	5
Uncertain	—	8	7
Total	—	78	142

Table 29: Utterances according to language – Kim

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
English	81	—	—
Norwegian	0	—	—
Mixed	1	—	—
Uncertain	0	—	—
Total	82	—	—

Table 30: Utterances according to language – Rod

	SESSION 1	SESSION 2	SESSION 3
English	—	118	—
Norwegian	—	1	—
Mixed	—	1	—
Uncertain	—	5	—
Total	—	125	—

Code-switching vs. insertion

It is evident from the survey of the proportionate use of Norwegian, English and mixed utterances that language alternation takes place within utterances only in a small proportion of the total set of verbal contributions. The material contains 72 utterances spoken in a mixed language form, and the intra-utterance language alternations were realized partly by insertions and partly by intra-utterance code-switches (Table 31). In the material from Triads 2 and 3 there are 11 and 10 insertions into contrasting matrix language utterances respectively, all of them Norwegian insertions into English utterances. Insertions are by far most frequent in Triad 1, however, with altogether 38 instances, Norwegian and English, into English or Norwegian matrix language utterances.

Table 31: Language alternation within utterances
(CS=Code-switch, Ins=Insertion)

Triad 1		Triad 2		Triad 3	
CS	**Ins**	**CS**	**Ins**	**CS**	**Ins**
9	38	4	11	1	10

Both lexical words and function words are inserted, as illustrated in 1 to 4 in the list below, with a slightly higher representation of the former category. In Triad 1 there are several occurrences of insertion types each represented by a large number of tokens. This is especially the case with the insertion presented as 3 in the list, of which there are 11 tokens from the

same session. Thus, the overall number of insertions does not reflect a corresponding large number of individual insertion types. The insertion in item 4 has an English lexical base with Norwegian inflection[10], and was simply classified as an English insertion without further category distinctions. Similarly, the term insertion was employed as a structural notion, and thus donor language elements in utterances with a contrasting matrix language are classified as such without considering the possibility of classifying them as a type of borrowing, or nonce-borrowing (see the discussion of terms in *Code-switching*, p 4).

1	ADA:	eh # she is [//] he is **fiselort**. (eh # she is [//] he is farting turd)	(II-2)
2	PER:	**jammen** I was the police. (but I was the police)	(III-3)
3	JIM:	Ted # she ate **bæsj**. (Ted # she ate poop)	(I-1)
4	TOM:	**også hunnan** catchet **pusekattan**! (and the dogs catchet the pussycats)	(I-3)
5	TED:	but then [/] but then you can be # **hvor e beibihunnan** # eh # then you <can> [>] be they. (but then [/] but then you can be # where are the baby dogs # eh # then you <can> [>] be they)	(I-3)

With the perspective adopted in the present study, insertions are less interesting than code-switches. 13 of the utterances classified as mixed utterances belong to the latter category and are therefore significant in the present discussion. The utterances contain code-switches from English into Norwegian or from Norwegian into English, and in one instance, presented as 5 above, two separate code-switches within one and the same utterance: a switch from English to Norwegian followed by a subsequent return to English. In this example code-switching co-occurs with movements between different levels of reality and are interpreted in later analyses as contextualizing exactly those level contrasts.

10. Petersen (1988) presents words of this type as evidence for the speaker's dominant language, i.e. dominant language corresponding with the inflectional endings employed by a speaker.

Summing up

The groups were found to differ widely with respect to the relative amount of English and Norwegian spoken. The observed code-switching was primarily concentrated in Triads 1 and 2, while very little Norwegian was spoken during the Triad 3 conversations, and consequently few code-switches from one language to the other occurred.

In all groups, code-switching primarily took place from one utterance to the next. Some of the language alternations within utterance boundaries were found to be code-switches and are included in the later analyses.

In two of the groups, one participant was found to have a dominant position. In the third triad, no such dominant speaker could be identified.

Chapter 7

EPISODE STRUCTURE

The aim of this study is to identify and describe patterns in the organization of conversation between bilingual speakers. A *quantitative* survey of the conversations, displaying structures in overall language production within the groups and by the individual informants, and presenting the relative proportion of the two languages used in the group as well as by the individual speaker, appeared in the previous chapter. A *qualitative* perspective, seeking to trace the sequential development of the same conversations with respect to code selection is presented in the present and subsequent chapters.

As an introduction to this second and main part of the analysis, the conversations from the three triads are presented in episode charts outlining the episode structure in each of the conversations, and relating language choice in the individual episodes to the overall pattern of language choice for the individual conversation as well as to the pattern of language choice generally adopted in each group. The visualization of the conversations through episode charts serves three purposes:

- it illustrates the overall interactional structure;
- it illustrates the role of code selection in the episodic organization of the conversations;
- it prepares for later discussions of individual episodes and sequences, and the role of code selection within these units.

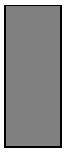
Note that the distinction between 'sequence' and 'episode' is a necessary one. A sequence, as the term is used here, is no analytic unit; instead it denotes a series of utterances constituting a single episode (*individual*), two separate episodes (*transitional* or *parallel*), or parts of such episodes.

Episode charts

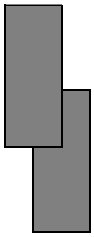
Applying the interactional units as they were described in the section *Episode*, p 75, the episode structure in the nine triadic sessions are presented through episode charts, Figures 1 – 9, in the following.

Episodes are represented by rectangles. All rectangles have equal size with the exception of some that represent parallel episodes where the starting and end point of one episode might be surrounded by the starting and end point of others. Thus, each rectangle reveals the positioning of an episode without telling its relative duration. The gap between each (set of) episode(s) does not signal a halt in the interaction but simply represents the transition from one topic or activity to another, i.e. from one episode to the next. Instances of observer presence, i.e. situations where the observer was called into the room, are marked as such [*Observer present*].

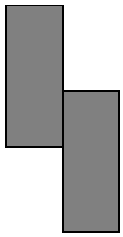
- *Individual episodes* are represented by single rectangles in the chart.



- *Transitional episodes* are represented by partly overlapping rectangles, indicating that part of the interaction either belongs to both parts of the episode or is difficult to assign to one part or the other.

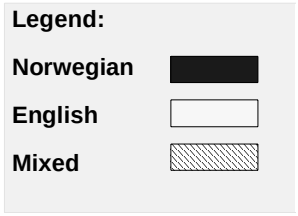


- *Parallel episodes* are represented by rectangles positioned side by side with no overlap to indicate that utterances in the two episodes are produced independently of each other in the sense that they belong to separate systems.



- *Language islands* are marked as small circles.

- Each episode is marked for language, *Norwegian*, *English* or *Mixed*. The interaction during episodes marked as Norwegian or English is monolingual with no contrasting language elements. In mixed episodes both languages are employed, by one or more speakers, for whole or part of utterances, or in an alternating pattern where one speaker uses one and the other(s) the contrasting language.



- A key utterance which can be said to represent the contents of each episode is used as a title, also serving as a reference in sequence titles in the later analyses. Similarly, episode numbers in later discussions refer to the numbers presented in the charts. The episode structure provides a tool by which sequences can be isolated and related to code choice: code choice can be studied as organizing conversation at two separate levels, between episodes as well as within individual episodes.

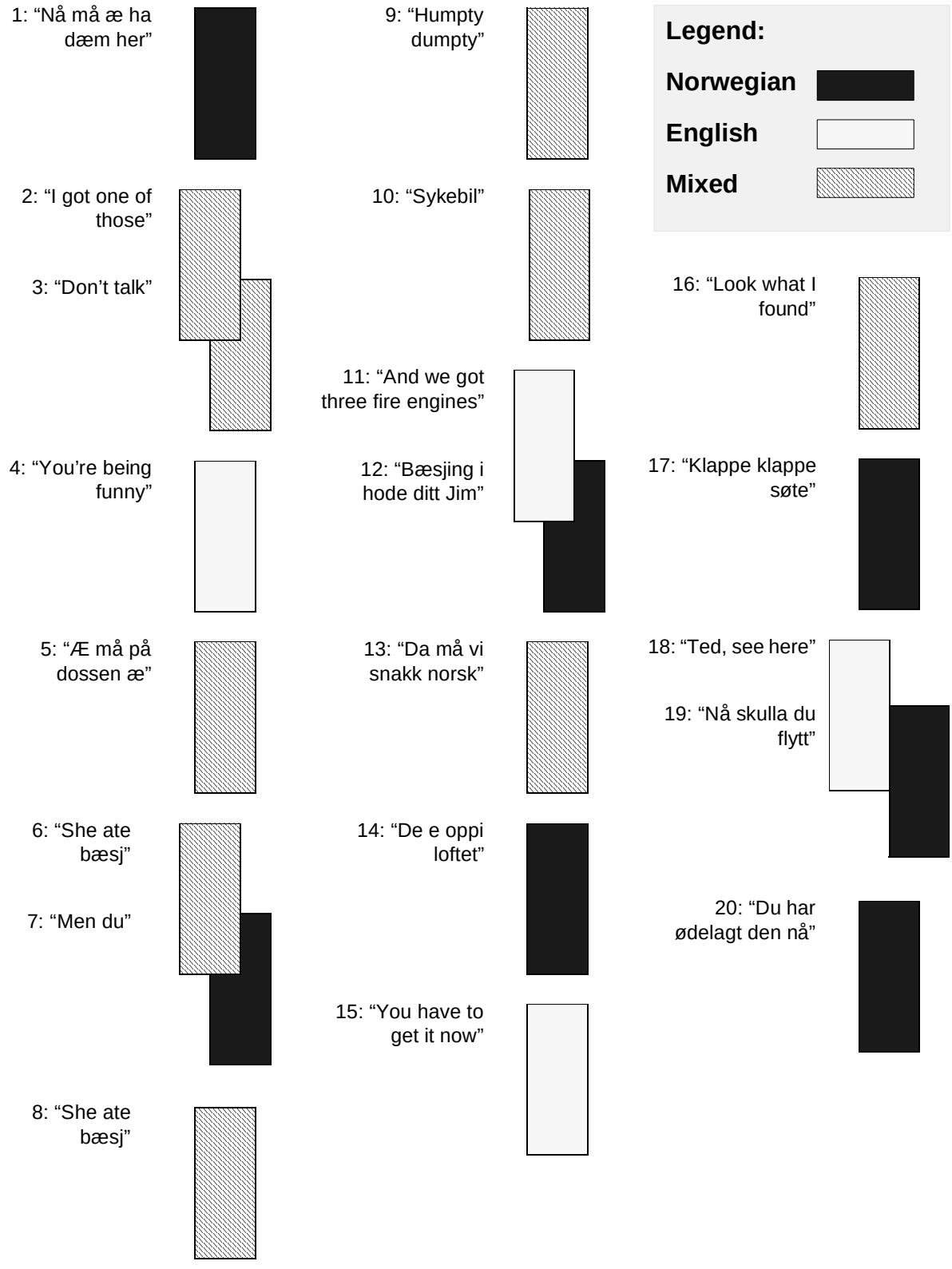


Figure 4: Episode structure – *I-1*

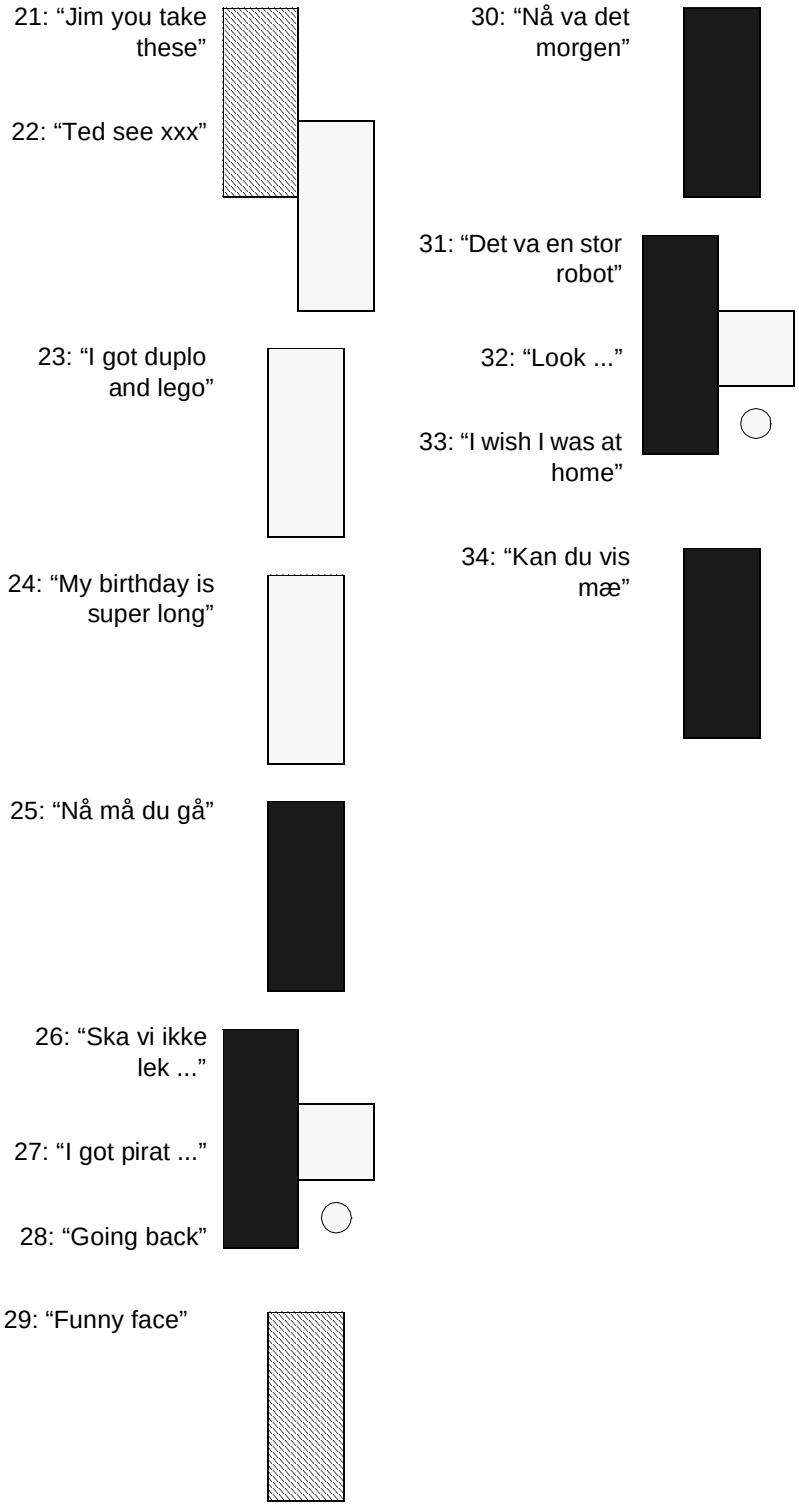


Figure 4 (continued):Episode structure – *I-1*

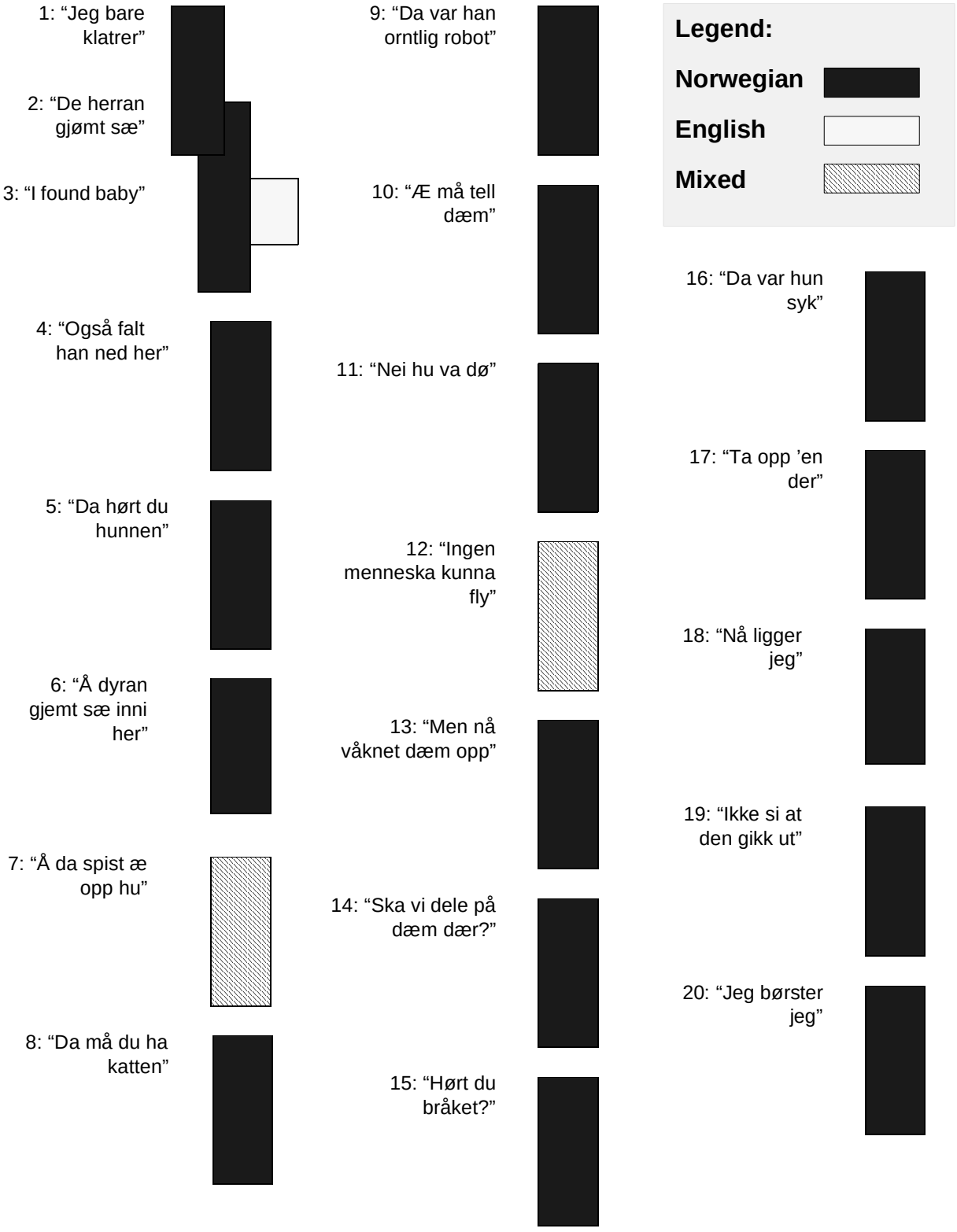


Figure 5: Episode structure – *I-2*

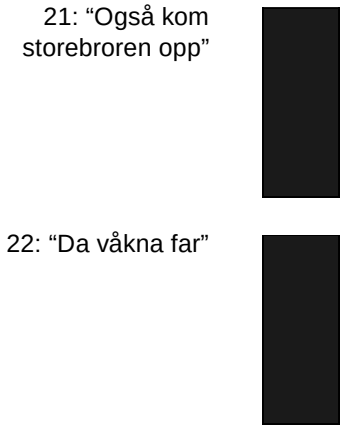


Figure 5 (continued):Episode structure – *I-2*

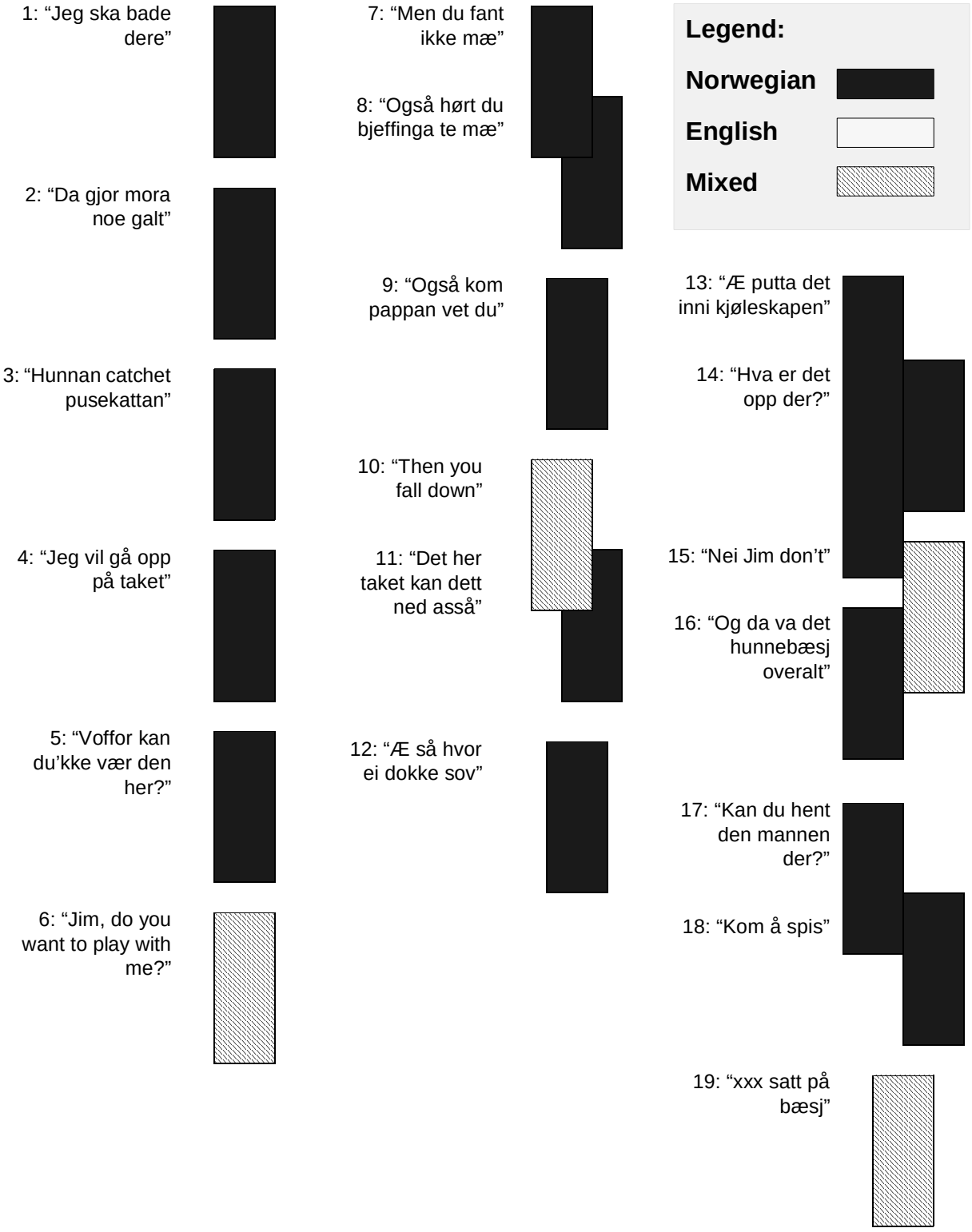


Figure 6: Episode structure – *I-3*

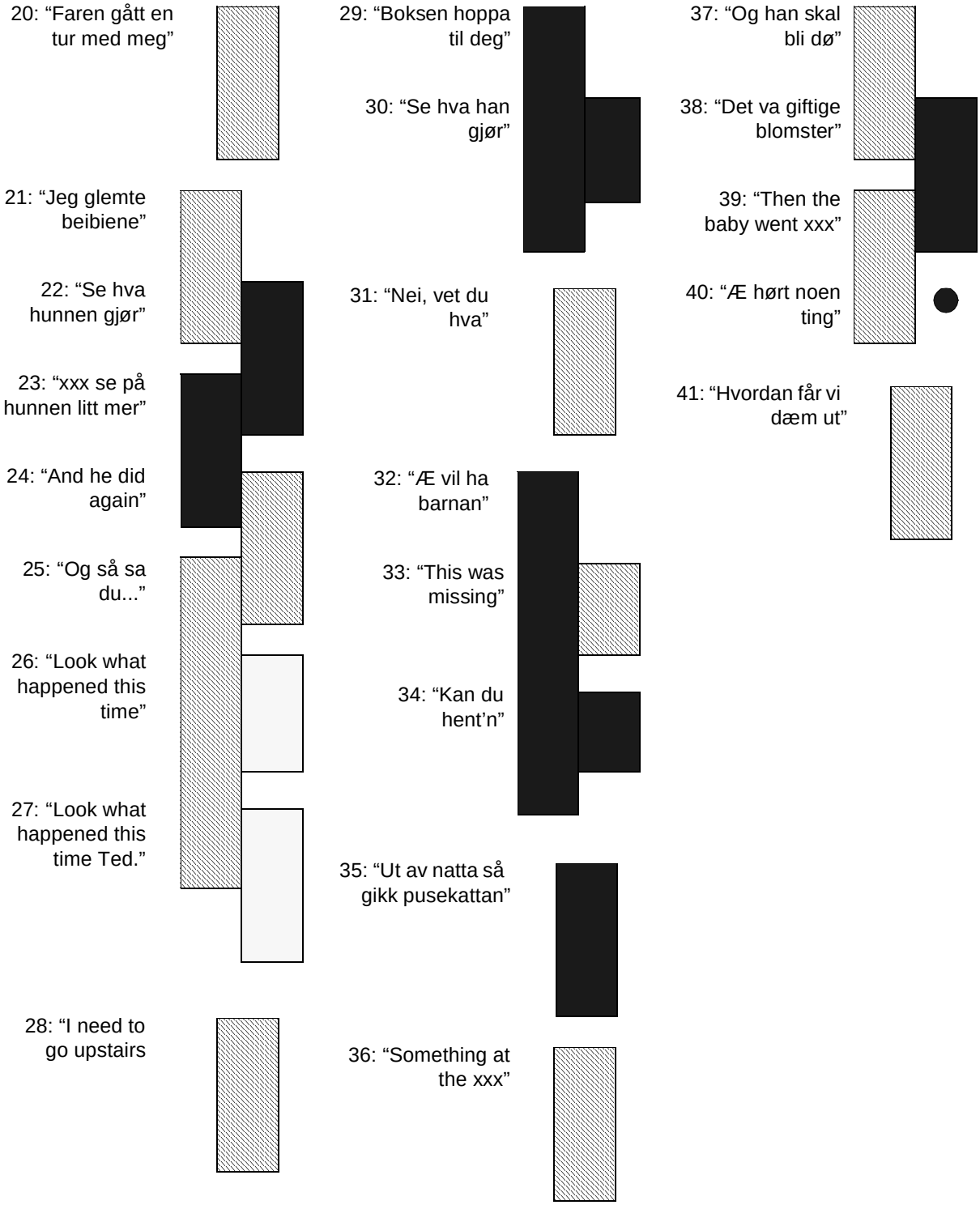


Figure 6 (continued):Episode structure – *I-3*

Triad 1

Episode charts for Triad 1, sessions 1 to 3, are presented on the preceding pages in Figures 4 to 6. The conversations in this triad consist of 34, 22, and 41 units respectively. The large majority of the units are full episodes with an additional 3 language islands. The interaction develops from one topic or activity to the next in an orderly sequential pattern during most of the time. It is typical for the sessions to be organized around recurring topics, a fact which is reflected in the titles given to each of the episodes. In session 1, several episodes center around toilet talk, while the topic of pet animals is central in the activity during session 3.

The relative proportions of Norwegian and English in the speech of the individual speakers were presented in terms of numbers in Tables 14 to 16, Chapter 6. The charts provide an overview of language proportions from a different perspective. Rather than giving a quantified representation of code choice, the charts illustrate how the different language forms are used in different sections of the conversations and how the interaction during each session moves between an English, a Norwegian and a mixed code. In quantitative terms there is more English spoken in the first session than in the third. This is reflected in the charts through the fact that there are ten all-English units in the first session as opposed to only two such episodes in the third.

The second session stands out as somewhat different from the two others. The quantitative survey revealed that Jim's participation during this session was very limited. In the episode chart, the contrast between the nearly dyadic interaction during this session and the triadic interaction during the two others is given a visual illustration. The striking difference between the second session compared to the two others is the absence of parallel episodes during most of the session. Thus, the interaction during this session can be characterized as sequential with respect to episode structure whereas the two other sessions incorporate a certain proportion of parallelism at the episode level.

Code choice in parallel episodes deserves comment. In Triad 1, there is a tendency for the language form in such parallel episodes to represent contrasts, e.g. English used in one and Norwegian used in the other or a mixed

code in one episode contrasted with English or Norwegian in the other. This tendency is stronger in the first session than in the third. During the first session parallel episodes are performed in contrasting language forms throughout. Examples of such parallel episode sequences are discussed in subsequent chapters, particularly in Chapters 9 and 10, where participant constellations and social relationships within the triads are focused on.

Triad 2

The three sessions with Triad 2 are presented in Figures 7 to 9 on the following three pages. The sessions are made up of 16, 24, and 20 units respectively, with two of the units in session 2 classified as islands. As was the case in sessions 1 and 3 in the first triad, the fact that there are three speakers in all three sessions is reflected through a certain proportion of parallel interaction where two of the speakers are involved in conversations while the third speaker engages in a separate topic of activity. The number of parallel episodes is lower in these conversations than was the case in the previous triad. This could indicate that the speakers in this group are more willing or able to include each other in whatever activity is going on. When parallel episodes do occur they do not last for extended sequences, as was the case during the third session with Triad 1.

Whereas a majority of the episodes in the Triad 1 conversations were conducted in a monolingual form, the mixed language episodes constitute nearly half of the units in Triad 2. Thus, the speakers in the second triad code-switched to a larger extent within the episode than the speakers in the first triad. Only a limited number of the interactional units were conducted in Norwegian in this triad, 2 and 3 episodes and islands in each session. The distribution of Norwegian, English, and mixed language episodes are approximately the same from one session to the next; no single session stands out as different from the others as was the case in Triad 1.

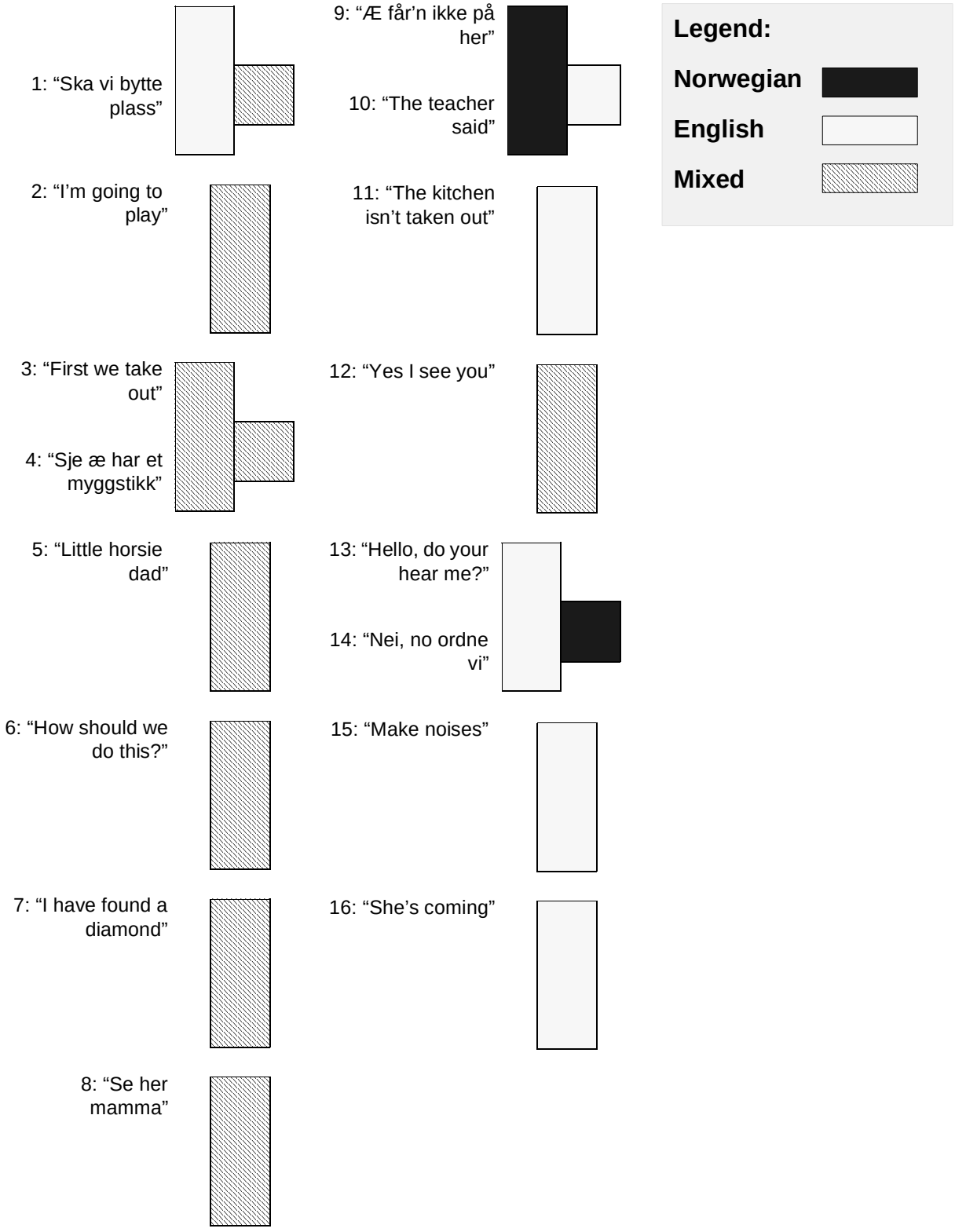


Figure 7: Episode structure – *II-1*

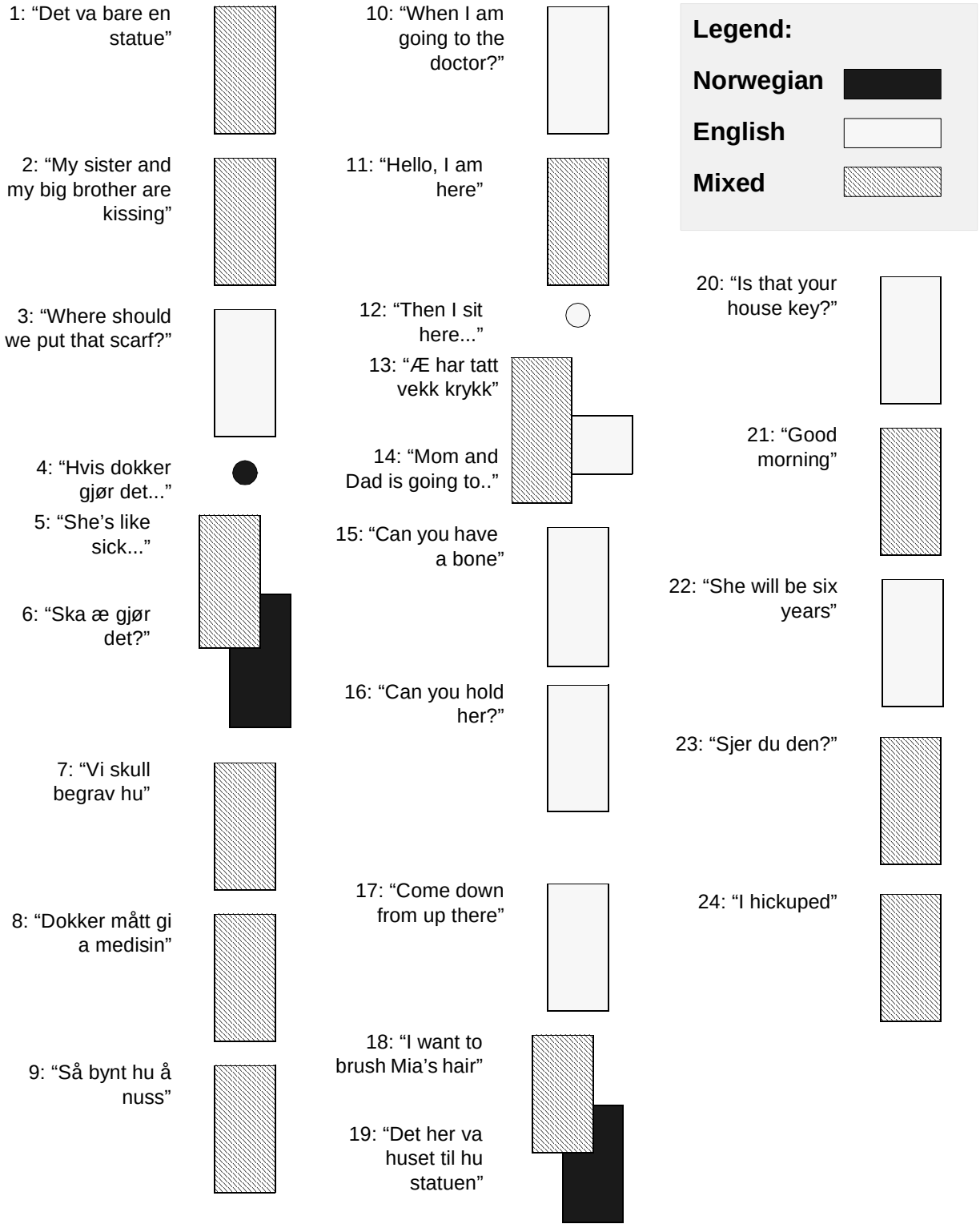


Figure 8: Episode structure – *II*-2

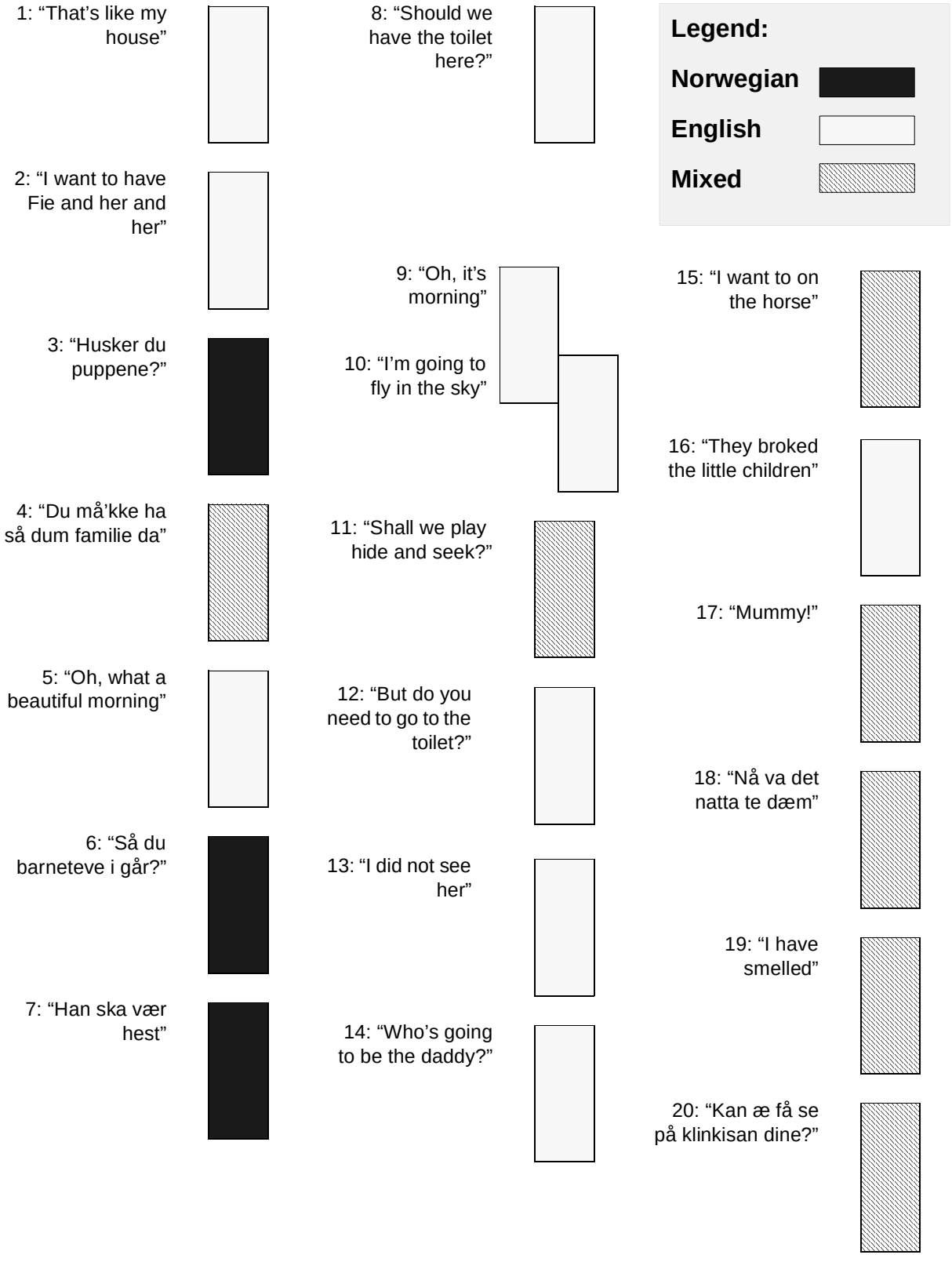


Figure 9: Episode structure – *II-3*

Triad 3

Episode charts for the conversations in Triad 3 are presented in Figures 10 to 12. The sessions consist of 17, 17, and 25 separate episodes respectively. No islands were identified in these conversations.

The conversations in Triad 3 stand out from the rest of the material by the scarce amount of code-switches. The large majority of utterances are spoken in English, only sessions 2 and 3 contain mixed language episodes.

As in the rest of the material, the triadic character of the interaction is reflected through the presence of parallel episodes. In the first session there is only one parallel episode, in this respect the session is like the second session with Triad 1. The difference between these two sessions is that whereas the absence of parallel activity in the Triad 1 episode reflects the non-participation of one of the speakers, in the first session with Triad 3, all three participants are active, but primarily within the framework of individual episodes, i.e. the speakers contribute to joint topics or activities almost throughout. In sessions 2 and 3 large sections of the conversation are constituted by parallel episodes.

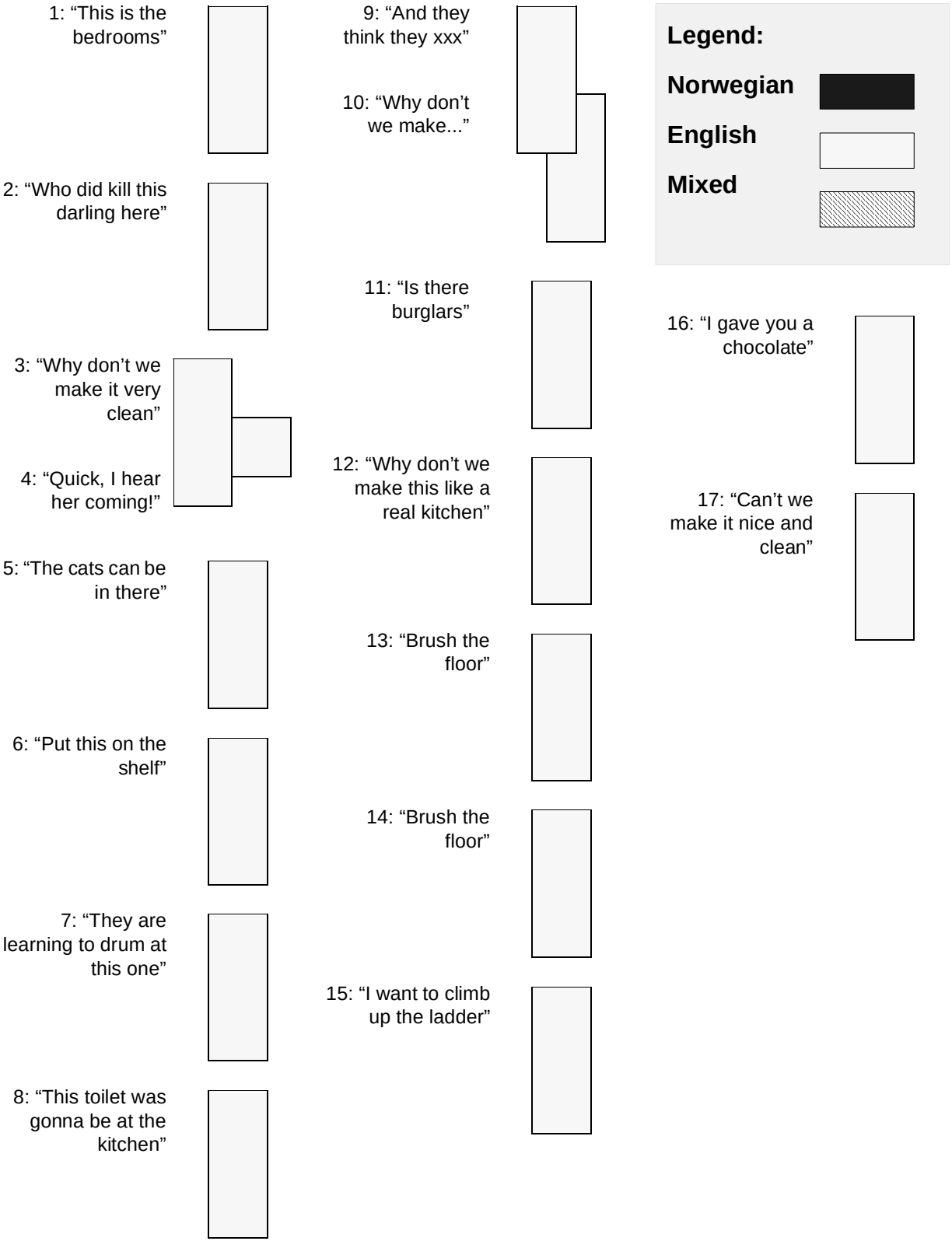


Figure 10: Episode structure – *III-1*

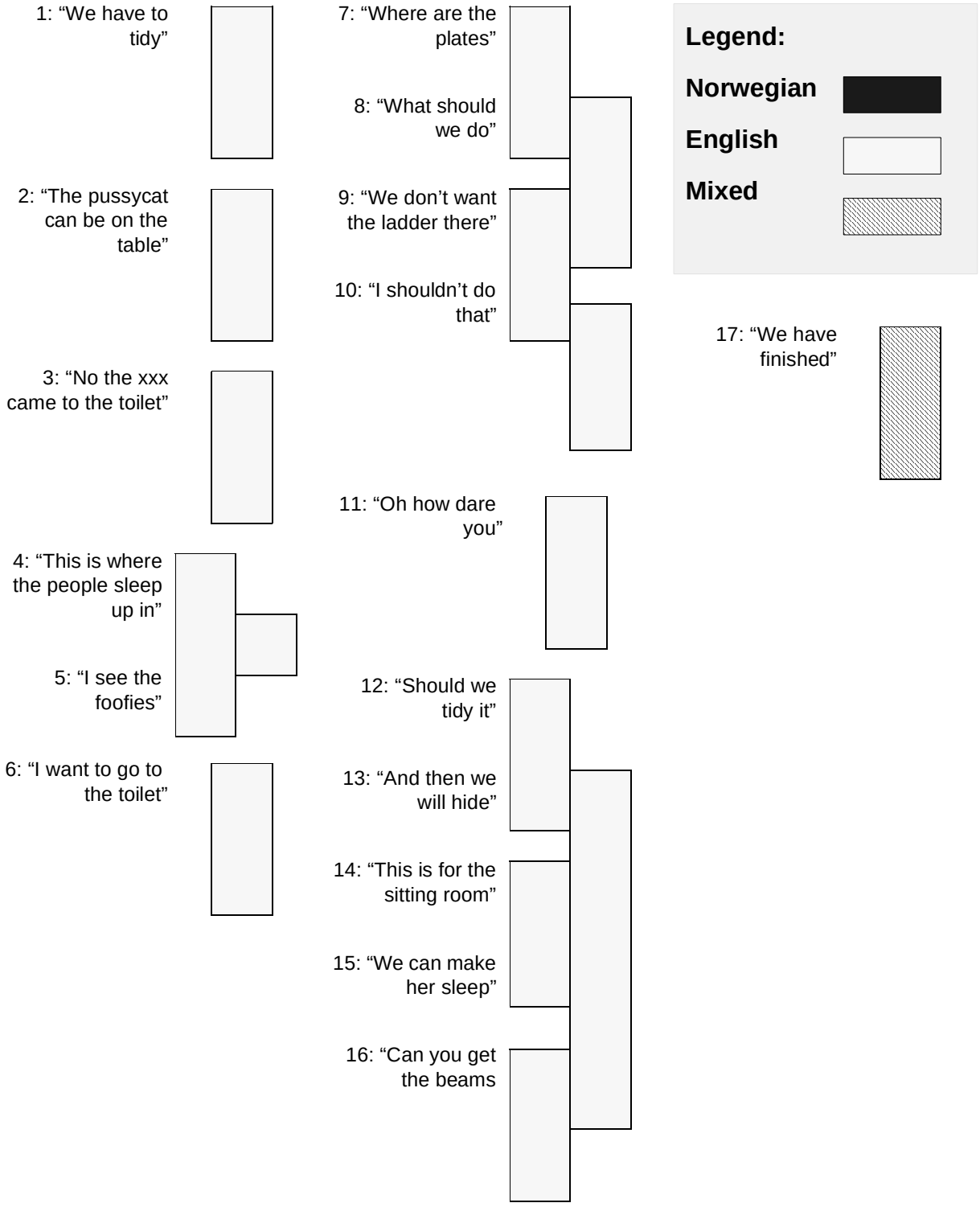


Figure 11: Episode structure – *III*-2

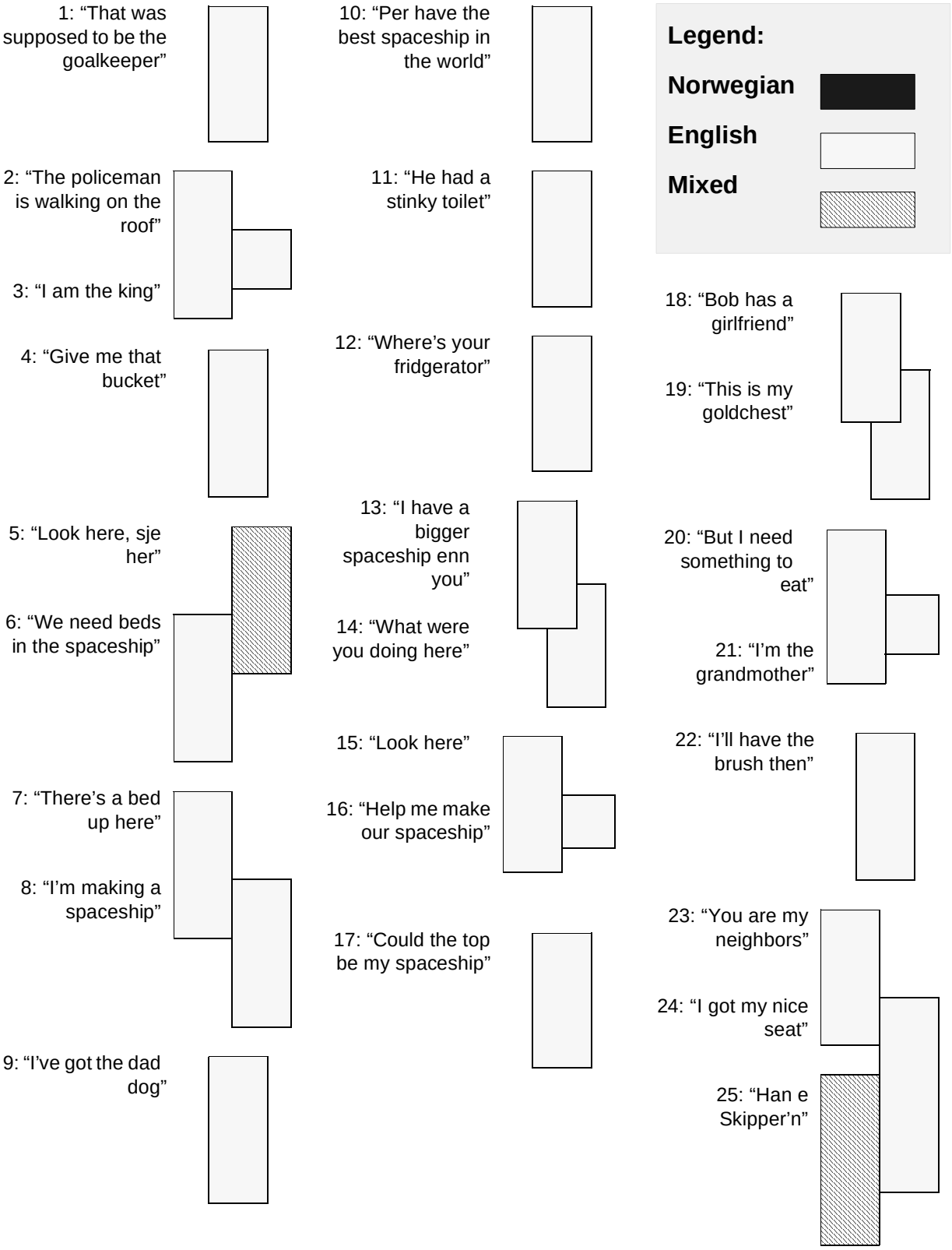


Figure 12: Episode structure – *III-3*

Summing up

On the basis of the preceding presentation of episode structure in the conversations at hand, it is possible to point to some general patterns and correspondences between episodes and code choice across the three triads. Code-switching co-occurs to some extent with episode boundaries in the conversations, i.e. episodes are contrasted by means of language alternation. This was most readily observed in Triads 1 and 2, but the few cases of contrasting language form in Triad 3 also point in the same direction: it is not the case that utterances spoken in different languages are spread across the conversations in a random fashion. Thus, my general hypothesis about the function of contextualization cues in general and code-switching in particular adopted from Auer (1984):

> [...] that is, of informing co-participants about the ever-relevant question 'what are we doing now?' – even though its contribution to answering it may be restricted to the information 'something different from before' (p 18).

can be said to have some relevance at the episode level. However, the main purpose of the episode charts is to indicate places of particular interest with respect to language patterns, given that only by investigating code choice from an utterance by utterance perspective can its local functions be revealed. Thus, the notion of episode is a crucial instrument when it comes to isolating units where code-selection can be seen to play a role. The relationship between code selection and interactional projects is the focus of the last three chapters.

When episode structure of the interaction in the three triads is compared, the most striking difference between the various groups is the difference in language pattern. This serves as a confirmation of the figures in the quantitative survey presented in Chapter 6. With respect to episode structure as such, the interaction between participants in Triads 1 and 3 displays a larger proportion of parallel episodes and activity than is the case for the interaction in Triad 2. In Triads 1 and 2 the tendency is for parallel episodes to be conducted in contrasting language forms, English as opposed to Norwegian or a mixed language form as opposed to monolingual English or Norwegian. In Triad 3, this pattern can be said to be repeated in the sense

that in two of the three episodes where a contrasting language code is introduced, this happens in parallel episodes.

The episode charts do not reveal what kind of interactional project the participants are engaged in during each unit, and how this is reflected in the participants' choice of code. This is the topic of the three next chapters.

Chapter 8

MANAGING ROLE PLAY

From the quantitative analyses carried out in Chapter 6 and the episode structure presented in Chapter 7, I turn to a more detailed discussion of the conversations. In Chapter 5 three interactional projects were identified, providing structure to the analyses of individual sequences in the present and two subsequent chapters: *managing role play, fighting for the floor,* and *social maneuvering*.

With the overall point of departure being to investigate the role of two specific contextualization cues in the management of such interactional projects, the questions governing the analysis of individual sequences and episodes in the conversations are: why a switch from language A to language B (or from B to A) at a specific point in the conversation? – and similarly: why a change from marked to unmarked voice or vice versa? From an analytical point of view, speech sequences where these contextualization cues are employed as well as sequences with no use of the same cues can give insight into contextualization patterns.

Managing role play

Research on play interaction between bilingual as well as monolingual children has established the relationship between contextualization cues and shifts between contrasting reality levels. Several studies have found that level shifts between the directing and enacting of fictional plots in role play are marked by code-switching. Kwan-Terry (1992) found that an English/Cantonese subject used Cantonese for directing purposes and English, his L2, to enact fictional role characters. Loke (1991) identified a similar pattern in English/Mandarin speaking subjects in Singapore. She proposes a distinction between a general *whole play interaction* and *pretend play*, which is "developed by children *within* the whole play situation" (p 293). Her whole play situation covers all interaction during a play session rather than focusing specifically on role play sections of the interaction and thus corresponds to the scope of the material in the present study.

Halmari and Smith (1994) in their study of Finnish/English code-switching propose that code-switching in play interaction be regarded as a feature of *register* variation which also includes features of prosody and grammar. The subjects of their study, two girls age eight and nine, were found to switch between Finnish and English in a highly structured manner: English was used for all fiction level interaction while Finnish was the primary, although not sole, directing level language. The subjects were further found to switch almost exclusively at utterance boundaries rather than at points within the utterance. The study identified level onset points, i.e. points where the interaction moved from "on-stage" talk to negotiation of the plot, or vice versa, as typically marked by code-switching. Following Halmari and Smith, such level onset points are specifically focused on here in relation to the interactional project of managing role play.

In the section *Managing role play*, p 66, role play was defined as including interaction at all three levels of reality. The overall project of *managing role play* can therefore be divided in three parts:

- marking fiction level utterances;
- marking directing level utterances;
- marking real life level utterances.

The following discussion of code-switching as contextualizing reality level shifts does not take into consideration the relative duration of interactional sequences which take place within the same level. This is purposely left out because the variation is so great that information about duration is not very instructive. To illustrate this variation, three separate sequences are included here. (19) covers the first half of an episode which, except for the initial real life contribution where Ted calls Tom's attention, represents an uninterrupted series of 15 directing level utterances.

1 TED: <men du> [<]?
(but listen)

2 TED: MEN DU # VOFFOR KAN DU'KKE VÆR DEN HER?
(but listen # why can't you be this one)

3 TED: SJÅ # NEI DEN HER # FOR DA &K HAR DU ENNÅ MERE ENN MÆ.
(look # no this one # because then &c you have more than me)

4 TED: DA HAR Æ BARE EN # OG DU HAR TRE.
(then I have only one # and you have three)

5 TOM: JAMMEN +...
(yes but)

6 TOM: NEI.
(no)

7 TED: JO FOR +/.
(yes because)

8 TOM: JAMMEN DA E DU MAMMAN.
(but then you are the mummy)

9 TOM: DA E DU EN JENTE.
(then you are a girl)

10 TED: JA.
(yes)

11 TED: OG [/] OG DA XXX +/.
(and [/] and then xxx)

12 TOM: DA E DU EN JENTE DA.
(then you are a girl)

13 TED: JA.
(yes)

(19): Voffor kan du'kke vær den her? – 5 (I-3, p 4)

14 TED: **OG DU TRENG'KE Å VÆRE MAMMAN.**
(and you don't have to be the mummy)

15 TED: **OG VIL DU IKKE VÆRE MA [/] MAMMAN?**
(and don't you want to be the mu [/] mummy)

16 TOM: **Æ VIL DET.**
(I do want to)

(19): Voffor kan du'kke vær den her? – **5** (I-3, p 4) *(Continued)*

During other sequences, as in (20) below, interaction is conducted through frequent shifts between different levels of reality where talk within one and the same reality level lasts for one or two utterances only. Fie directs and Ada enacts the plot from the beginning of the episode.

1 FIE: **SÅ BYNT HU Å NUSS VET DU.**
(then she started kissing you know)

2 FIE: *<*don't [/] don't kiss father* [?]> [>].*

3 ADA: *<0 [=! imitates kissing]> [<].*

4 FIE: **SÅ NUSSA DE HER VET DU.**
(then these were kissing you know)

5 ???: *0 [=! imitates kissing].*

6 ADA: **no*!*

7 ADA: **don't kiss my brother*.*

8 FIE: **DET VA IKKE BROREN.**
(it wasn't the brother)

9 FIE: **XXX HU HER SÅNN.**
(xxx her)

10 ADA: **oh oh oh # I'm missing my trousers*.*

(20): Så bynt hu å nuss – **9** (II-2, p 13)

In the large majority of cases, shifts from one level of reality to another take place from one utterance to the next, as in the two previous examples. There are instances, however, where a shift from one level to the next occurs in the middle of an utterance, as in (21). In this example there is a transition from directing level to fiction level talk in the middle of the utterance in line 3. The transition takes place in the course of a period of hesitation and repair in the utterance. It is reasonable to see this hesitation as a way for the speaker to prepare for and adapt to a new reality level. The change in pronoun forms,

i.e. a shift from the local dialect form of the first person pronoun 'æ' (I) in line 1 to the corresponding standard language form 'jeg' (I) in line 3 of this extract is also worth noticing. The change in pronoun forms from Ted's first to last utterance corresponds with the transition from directing level interaction to fictional enactment. This phenomenon is an aspect of inter-dialectal code-switching and will be touched on towards the end of this chapter.

1 TED: **Å JA MEN SÅ # NÅ SLIKKE Æ INNI.**
(okay but then # now I am licking inside)
2 JIM: *<O [=! imitates barking]>* [>].
3 TED: <***Å DA [//] MEN> [<] [/] *men # nå slikka jeg****.
(and then [//] but [/] but # now I was licking)

(21): Det va giftige blomster – **38** (I-3, p 42)

In preparation for the discussion of code-switching practices it is also necessary to explain how the individual code-switches were counted. During individual and transitional episodes, each instance of an utterance differing from the previous one (or the last decipherable one) in terms of language, was counted as a code-switch. In cases of mixed utterances, only those cases which were identified as full code-switches are relevant here (see *Code-switching vs. insertion*, p 124). With the triadic character of the conversations, the situation was slightly different in the case of parallel episodes. When a parallel episode was initiated in a language contrasting that used in an already ongoing parallel episode, this was defined as a code-switch. However, the end point of such a parallel episode did not always represent a code-switch back into the original language. If a speaker, rather than staying on the floor by involving him- or herself in the parallel interaction, simply stopped talking or playing, no point during the subsequent sequence of utterances could be referred to as the point where the initial language was resumed. The same speaker's entry into a later episode, regardless of the language used, did not alter this situation. This explains why the number of code-switches into English and Norwegian respectively in the tables presented in the subsequent sections sometimes differs in a way which would not be expected in conversations developing in a strictly sequential manner.

I now turn to a discussion of the relationship between choice of code on the one hand and reality levels on the other.

Triad 1

In Triad 1 role play was conducted primarily (but not exclusively) in Norwegian. Real life interaction in the same group, on the other hand, was the least homogenous part of the interaction with respect to language choice. This is reflected in the relatively large proportion of code-switches during sequences of real life utterances. The informants had a weaker tendency to code-switch during directing level sequences than during real life sequences. These features are illustrated in Table 32. With the exception of real life

Table 32: Distribution of switches according to level – Triad 1
(N=Norwegian, E=English)

	Onset of real life	Within real life	Onset of directing	Within directing	Onset of fiction	Within fiction	Total
Switches to N	3 (6.5%)	14 (30%)	17 (36%)	4 (8.5%)	9 (19%)	0	47 (100%)
Switches to E	17 (31%)	19 (34.5%)	7 (12.5%)	8 (14.5%)	1 (2%)	3 (5.5%)	55 (100%)

interaction, code-switching tended to co-occur with level onset points rather than in the course of directing and fiction level talk, i.e. a majority of code-switches related to directing and fiction level interaction contextualized the transition from one level to the next. This tendency was stronger for fiction level interaction than for directing level interaction. Moreover, the tendency in this triad was for code-switching to Norwegian to mark fiction level and directing level onset points: 19% of the total number of code-switches from English to Norwegian co-occurred with a transition from directing or reality level to fiction level talk, while only 2% of the code-switches from Norwegian to English marked a corresponding level shift. For real life interaction, the situation was reversed. Onset points of real life sequences were more

frequently marked by code-switching from Norwegian to English than the other way around: 31% and 6.5% respectively.

In the following, examples of the typical patterns of code selection are presented. (22) illustrates the co-occurrence between code-switching from English to Norwegian and a shift from directing to fiction level speech, i.e. a situation where the use of Norwegian contextualizes fiction level interaction. The same speaker, Jim, is responsible for directing as well as enacting the plot in this scene.

```
1  JIM:  AND HE [/] AND HE DID AGAIN AND XXX SAID IT XXX.
2  JIM:  <*hjelp hjelp hjelp hjelp*> [>].
         (help help help help)
3  JIM:  <XXX THEY SAID> [>].
4  JIM:  <*hjelp hjelp hjelp hjelp*> [>].
         (help help help help)
```

(22): And he did again – **24** (I-3, p 27)

The episode presented in (23), which occurs towards the end of the first session in Triad 1, is typical in the sense that it illustrates the group members' linguistic behavior during sequences of focused role play activity: all three participants contribute to the same plot. On the other hand, it is atypical in the sense that it is a long and uninterrupted sequence compared to most other examples of focused role play in the group. The episode involves all three group members with Tom and Ted as the most active in directing the episode. Jim makes fiction level contributions in lines 3 and 4 based on Ted's initial suggestion. During the larger part of the episode he adopts a less central position, evidenced by the fact that most of his utterances are spoken in too low a voice to be decipherable. Towards the end, from line 38 onwards, he again contributes to the plot. The whole episode is constituted by the directing and enacting of a plot, and the interaction at both levels is conducted in Norwegian with one exception: Jim's English fiction level utterance in line 42, which accounts for one of the three code-switches from Norwegian to English within fiction level sequences in this triad (see Table 32). Here, Jim develops Tom's suggestion about going to bed. His English contribution thus represents no break in the interaction but adds to

1 TED: **NÅ NÅ VA VI [//] NÅ NÅ VA DET MORGEN OG NÅ MÅTT HU EH EH XXX** +/.
(now now we were [//] now now it was morning and now she had to eh eh xxx)

2 TOM: **MEN MEN BESTEMORA OG BESTEFAREN BARE SOV OG SOV.**
(but but the grandmother and the grandfather just slept and slept)

3 JIM: ***nå e det morgen** [?]*.
(now it is morning)

4 JIM: ***nå e det morgen [?]** <**xxx**> [>]*.
(now it is morning)

5 TED: <**MEN MEN DA HUNNAN VÅKNA OPP DA**> [<].
(but but then the dogs woke up then)

6 TED: *O [=! imitates barking]*.

7 JIM: <*xxx*>[>].

8 TED: <**DET VA HUNNEN SOM GJOR SÅNN HER**> [>].
(it was the dog who did like this)

9 TED: *O [=! imitates barking*].

10 TOM: ***xxx hva gjor du te oss***?
(what did you do to us)

11 ???: <xxx> [>].

12 TED: <***xxx> [<] jeg våkna opp dokker***.
(xxx I woke you up)

13 TOM: ***å # tusen takk***.
(oh # thank you)

[www]

31 TOM: ***hæ**:*!
(what)

32 TOM: **OGSÅ SÅ BESTEFAREN.**
(and then the grandfather saw)

33 TED: **SÅ DE HUNNAN?**
(did they see the dogs)

34 TOM: **JA.**
(yes)

35 TED: **NEI # VI SÅ IKKE DE VI.**
(no # we didn't see them)

(23): Nå va det morgen – **30** (I-1, p 32)

36 TED: **DE VISST IKKE HVOR DE VA.**
(they didn't know where they were)

37 TOM: ***je:g legger meg igjen jeg*.**
(I'll lie down again)

38 JIM: <*__åi__*> [>].
(ah)

39 TOM: <*__ta dynen på meg__*> [<].
(pull the blanket over me)

40 JIM: ***å xxx meg*.**
(oh xxx me)

41 TOM: ***xxx meg og*.**
(xxx me too)

42 JIM: <*oi: # bedtime*> [>].

43 JIM: <O [=! imitates snoring]> [>].

44 TOM: <**OGSÅ [/] OGSÅ BESTEF [//] OG MO [//] BESTEMOR OGSÅ BESTEFAR HØRTE NOEN TING**> [<].
(and [/] and grandf [//] and mo [//] grandmother and grandfather heard something)

45 JIM: <O [=! imitates snoring]> [>].

46 TOM: <O [=! imitates barking]> [<].

(23): Nå va det morgen – **30** (I-1, p 32) *(Continued)*

the coherence of the story line in the episode. With this utterance, Jim creates an opportunity for himself to adopt an alternative fictional role in the interaction: his subsequent contributions are non-verbal imitations of fiction level activity, 'grandfather snoring'. Thus, the code-switch can be said to mark Jim's exit from the joint verbal activity.

Apart from Jim's utterance in the example above, there is only one episode in the total set of conversations in this triad where English is adopted as the role play language, presented in (24) below. What makes this episode stand out as special compared to the rest of the interaction in Triad 1, is on the one hand the fact that Jim initiates role play in English and that Tom accepts his suggested code, and on the other hand that the directing level language is equally smoothly agreed to by both participants. The episode has two parts: an initial four lines of fictional utterances and a following three utterances where the speakers agree on adjustments in the plot. The transition from fiction level to directing level is contextualized through code-

switching to Norwegian. Different aspects of the same episode are discussed in *Adaptation through imitation*, p 177.

1 JIM: **eh # I need to go upstairs # eh*.*
2 TOM: **I xxx to go upstairs xxx*.*
3 JIM: **I xxx getting to the loft*.*
4 TOM: **I am going to go to the loft # boom*.*
5 TOM: **OGSÅ FALT DU NED.**
(and then you fell down)
6 JIM: **JA** [?].
(yes)
7 JIM: **NEI [?] OG HAN GÅ OPP IGJEN # HAN GJØR** [?].
(no and he go up again # he does)

(24): I need to go upstairs – **28** (I-3, p 31)

In (25), a sequence which occurs at the very end of a long episode, switching from English to Norwegian co-occurs with a shift from real life talk to fiction level talk. Jim makes a direct request for information about the directing of the plot in the first utterance. His request is denied by Ted in line 2.

1 JIM: COME ON THEN # TELL ME # WHEN?
2 TED: no.
3 JIM: why?
4 TED: ****ha ha # no er dokker kokt opp*.***
(he he # now you are boiled)

(25): Then the baby went xxx – **39** (I-3, p 42)

Ted and Jim are the only participants in this episode and the language contrast established for the episode as a whole is that of English for real life and directing level talk and Norwegian for fiction level utterances.

When analyzed in a broader interactional context, (25) further illustrates the implications of episode structure for the pattern of code selection in the material. When the episode is related to the parallel and partly preceding one, it becomes evident that code-selection not only contextualizes shifts between reality levels within episode boundaries, but also creates a contrast

between parallel episodes. In (26), the beginning of the episode discussed in part as (25) above is presented together with the parallel interaction which has been developed during 22 preceding utterances. Ted is involved in both, while Tom and Jim limit their activity to one episode each. It is the section where the two episodes converge which is useful as illustration here. Jim's contributions in lines 2 and 6 belong to the preceding episode (see Figure 6, Chapter 7). They are included in order to provide a complete impression of the interaction between the speakers during the extended sequence. Tom's utterance in line 21 towards the end of the sequence is likewise analyzed as an island separate from the interaction during Episode 38.

1	TOM:		**<VI LATE BARE [//] VI LATE SOM AT DET VA GIFTIG BLOMSTER OPPI HER>** [<]. (we just pretend [//] we pretend that there were poisonous flowers in here)
2	JIM:	*0 [=! imitates barking].*	
3	TED:		**men kan æ se hva du har oppi.** (but can I look at what you have got in it)
4	TOM:		**ingenting.** (nothing)
5	TED:		**Å JA MEN SÅ # NÅ SLIKKE Æ INNI.** (okay but then # now I'll lick the inside)
6	JIM:	*<0 [=! imitates barking]>* [>].	
7	TED:		**<*Å DA [//] MEN>** ***[<] [/] men # nå slikka jeg*.*** (and then [//] but [/] but # now I was licking)
8	TED:		*0 [=! imitates licking].*
9	TED:		**DA MÅ DU SI NOKKA.** (then you have to say something)
10	TED:		*0 [=! imitates licking].*

(26): Then the baby ... – **39** / Det va giftige ... – **38** (I-3, p 41)

11	TED:		**OGSÅ SPIST OPP BLOMSTERN.** (and ate the flowers)
12	TED:		xxx +/.
13	TOM:		**DA BLITT DU DØ FOR DU [/] FOR DU [//] DET VA GIFTIGE BLOMSTER.** (then you died because [/] because you [/] the flowers were poisonous)
14	JIM:	*<O [=! imitates licking]>* [>].	
15	TOM:		**<XXX <INNI HER> [?]> [<].** (xxx in this)
16	TED:	<**NEI NEI** [//] NO> [<] # HE DIDN'T. (no no [//] no he didn't)	
17	JIM:	YEAH # HE DID AND +/.	
18	TED:		**NEI: # Æ VA IKKE DØ FOR Æ VA SCHÆFERHUNN.** (no: # I wasn't dead because I was a German shepherd)
19	TED:		**Æ VA EN ORDENTLIG** +/. (I was a real)
20	JIM:	**OG OG OG DEN BEIBI GÅ GÅ INNI DER OG [/] OG** [//] AND TED # THEN THE BABY WENT <XXX> [>] +... (and and and the baby go go in there and [/] and [//] then Ted # then the baby went xxx)	
21	TOM:		**<æ hørt noen ting>** [<]. (I heard something)
22	JIM:	+, AND THE BABY GOT COOKED HE DID.	
23	TED:	&N NO.	
24	JIM:	YES.	

(26): Then the baby ... – **39** / Det va giftige ... – **38** (I-3, p 41) *(Continued)*

The interaction between Tom and Ted develops uninterrupted from line 1 to 13. Jim's imitation of fictional activity in line 14 picks up an element from the conversation between Tom and Ted, and has the effect of initiating a new episode. Ted's next contribution in line 16 is a response to Jim's action rather

than a continuation of the conversation between Tom and himself. The transition from one episode (Ted and Tom) to the other (Ted and Jim) co-occurs with a code-switch to English. Note that Ted does not produce an instant switch from Norwegian but hesitates briefly before he goes on in English. I have argued earlier (in *Participants' awareness*, p 101) that this kind of repair sequence, where the only observable change is a switch from one language to the other, is indicative of the speaker's awareness of the appropriateness of one form rather than the other. Jim's subsequent response is interrupted by Ted's next utterance where a switch to Norwegian signals that he has returned to the parallel topic and is now responding to Tom's suggestion in line 13. Jim's following code-switch to Norwegian in line 20 may be interpreted as influenced by the language in the parallel episode and as expressing a desire to become part of the ongoing interaction. However, his subsequent switch back into English has the effect of preserving the contrast between the parallel episodes.

The next excerpt, (27), introduces a different aspect which is relevant for the understanding of how code-switching works in these conversations. Here code-switching co-occurs with shifts between reality levels at two separate points: in line 8 where Jim code-switches from English into Norwegian to signal a shift to directing level speech, and in line 13 where code-switching from English to Norwegian marks Ted's transition to fiction level from directing level talk in line 10. However, the code-switching pattern at level onset points is not the only one worth noticing in this sequence. While Jim uses code-switching to mark the contrast between real life and directing level talk, Ted establishes a language contrast between directing and fiction level talk. Thus, there are individual patterns of code selection related to reality level shifts which work within the more general pattern adopted by the group as a whole, i.e. the use of one specific language for role play purposes.

1 JIM: *0 [=! imitates sighing]*.
2 JIM: **OG HAN SKAL BLI DØ**.
(and he is going to die)
3 TED: NO.
4 JIM: <*0 [=! imitates sighing]*> [>].
5 TED: <xxx>[<].
6 JIM: but [/] but Ted # look # see xxx first.
7 JIM: *0 [=! imitates sighing]*.
8 JIM: **NÅ HAN E DØ**.
(now he is dead)
9 TED: YES.
10 TED: AND THIS ONE.
11 JIM: <*0 [=! imitates sighing]*> [>].
12 TED: <0 [=! makes low sound]> [<].
13 TED: ***hvor e hunnebarnan*?**
(where are the baby dogs)
14 JIM: **TO ER DØ**.
(two are dead)
15 TOM: **NEI # HU E IKKE DØ**.
(no # she is not dead)
16 JIM: **JO**.
(yes)
17 JIM: <xxx> [>].
18 TOM: <**NEI DET E HU**> [<].
(no it is her)
19 TOM: **BARE LILLAN**.
(only the small ones)
20 JIM: **NEI HAN E DØ # OGSÅ**.
(no he is dead # too)

(27): Og han skal bli dø – **37** (I-3, p 39)

The final illustration of the co-occurrence of code-switching with the onset point of a new reality level in this triad, presented in (28) below, does not appear in the figures in Table 32, being one of the few intra-utterance switches in the material as a whole. After unsuccessful negotiations with Tom about the assignment of role characters, Ted turns to Jim in line 1 for a replacement. In line 4 he assigns a role to Jim: "then you can be they". The code-switch from English to Norwegian midway into his utterance co-

occurs with him shortly leaving the role of director of the play because he is unable to find the doll he needs for the plot. Towards the end of the utterance he resumes the directing activity in English. (Admittedly, Ted's real life contributions in lines 1 and 3 are performed in English, but the contrastive effect of a switch from English to Norwegian is nevertheless present in the utterance in line 4.)

1 TED: Jim do you want to play with me?
2 JIM: yes.
3 TED: okay.
4 TED: BUT THEN [/] BUT THEN YOU CAN BE # **hvor e beibin** # EH # THEN YOU <CAN> [>] BE THEY.
(but then [/] but then you can be # where's the baby # eh # then you can be they)
5 JIM: <xxx> [<].
6 JIM: THESE.
7 TED: <YEAH> [>].
8 JIM: <you don't> [<] do <they Ted # xxx say these> [>] # you do.

(28): Jim do you want to play with me? – **6** (I-3, p 6)

To sum up, the speakers in Triad 1 jointly adopt one language for the large majority of the fiction level utterances spoken during their conversations, making role play interaction the most homogenous part of the interaction in terms of code choice. Directing level interaction is also for the most part conducted in Norwegian, but there is more variation within this category. Finally, real life speech is most varied with respect to code choice. The speakers tend to mark onset points at this reality level with code-switching to English as opposed to the switching from English to Norwegian found in the other two levels, but there is more code-switching during same level sequences in this portion of the interaction.

Triad 2

While Norwegian was the code selected for play interaction in Triad 1, the speakers in Triad 2 produced fiction level utterances primarily (but not exclusively) in English. Further, there was a tendency for Norwegian to be the dominant language during real life and directing level speech in this group. Thus, a contrast was established between fiction level language and directing level language. When the first two groups are compared, code selection therefore marks contrasts between different sets of level categories in the two groups: in Triad 1 real life level speech on the one hand was contrasted with directing and fiction level speech on the other, while in Triad 2 fiction level speech tends to be conducted in a language code different from that generally adopted during directing and real life level interaction. For directing and fiction level interaction, the tendency for both groups to select a specific language for role play purposes was most evident in the initial utterance of each new level sequence: the onset point was more clearly associated with a specific language than the overall interaction within each level category.

Table 33: Distribution of switches according to level – Triad 2
(N=Norwegian, E=English)

	Onset of real life	Within real life	Onset of directing	Within directing	Onset of fiction	Within fiction	Total
Switches to N	21 (35%)	14 (23%)	20 (33%)	1 (2%)	3 (5%)	1 (2%)	60 (100%)
Switches to E	2 (3.5%)	20 (34%)	4 (7%)	9 (16%)	21 (36%)	2 (3.5%)	58 (100%)

In Triad 2, code-switching into English and Norwegian tended to co-occur with directing and fiction level onset points respectively: 36% of the total number of code-switches from Norwegian to English co-occurred with a transition from directing or reality level talk to fiction level talk, while only 5% of code-switches from Norwegian to English marked this type of level shift (Table 33). Similarly, 33% of the total number of code-switches to

Norwegian co-occurred with a shift into directing level speech, while only 7% of code-switches from Norwegian to English marked the same level shift.

As in Triad 1, during fiction and directing level speech code-switching was employed primarily for the purpose of marking the first utterance in a sequence, while code-switching in the course of a series of utterances at the same level of reality was more frequent in real life level talk. Examples of the typical patterns of code selection are given in the following.

The sequence in (29) below was presented at the beginning of this chapter to illustrate that interactional contributions at one reality level can be limited to only one or two utterances before the next level shift. In the present context the sequence provides an illustration of the code-switching practice suggested by the figures in Table 33: English is reserved for fiction level talk while shifts into directing level talk are contextualized by code-switches to Norwegian. In this extract Fie carries out the directing while the plot is enacted jointly by Ada and herself.

1 FIE: **SÅ BYNT HU Å NUSS VET DU.**
(then she started kissing you know)
2 FIE: <*don't [/] don't kiss father* [?]> [>].
3 ADA: <0 [=! imitates kissing]> [<].
4 FIE: **SÅ NUSSA DE HER VET DU.**
(then these were kissing you know)
5 ???: 0 [=! imitates kissing].
6 ADA: *no*!
7 ADA: *don't kiss my brother*.
8 FIE: **DET VA IKKE BRØREN.**
(it wasn't the brother)
9 FIE: **XXX HU HER SÅNN.**
(xxx like her)
10 ADA: *oh oh oh # I'm missing my trousers*.

(29): Så bynt hu å nuss – 9 (II-2, p 13)

In the next excerpt, (30), all three participants in the group take part in the constructing and enacting of the plot. Directing level speech is conducted in both languages with Ada code-switching twice from Norwegian to English, in lines 4 and 6, and from English to Norwegian in line 5. These

instances account for three of the ten switches which occurred during directing level interaction in this group (Table 33). In the present context, the essential point to observe is that while directing of the role play is conducted in a mixed language mode, fiction level contributions are all produced in English: lines 10, 12, 15, and 16. The same episode is presented in a different context in *Hostility vs. agreement*, p 201, where the frequent code-switching within the episode is specifically focused upon.

1 FIE: <%oh no la la la la la%> [>].
2 XXX: www
3 FIE: **DET HER VA HUSET TIL HU STATUEN.**
(this was the house that belonged to the statue)
4 ADA: THAT'S THE HOUSE XXX THE STATUE.
5 ADA: **Å NÅ [/] NÅ # VISST DOKKER INGENTING.**
(and now [/] now # you didn't know anything)
6 ADA: YOU DIDN'T KNOW ANYTHING # WHAT [/] WHAT THE SISTER WAS DOING.
7 MIA: BUT SUDDENLY +...
8 ADA: <xxx> [>] +...
9 FIE: <SUDDENLY> [<] THIS ONE CAME.
10 FIE: *I've said it # look*.
11 FIE: +" <*look what they got to me*>.
12 MIA: <OKAY THEN # THE> GRANDMOTHER +/.
13 ADA: *O [=! screams]*.
14 MIA: CLIMBED CLIMBED UP.
15 MIA: *oh # you shouldn't be up there*.
16 MIA: *you are dead now*.

(30): Det her va huset til hu statuen – **19** (II-2, p 20)

The interaction in (31) on the following page is conducted mainly at a fictional level, and coherence is achieved through the smooth turn-taking rather than through a clear topical coherence. The sequence covers two parallel episodes, both of which are conducted in English except for the three initial utterances in Episode 13 (in the left-hand column). The fiction level activity in this episode follows Fie's real life contributions (lines 1 and 2), which suggest an initial topic, that of an injured person. The shift from real

life interaction (lines 1 to 3) to the fiction level utterance (line 4) effects a change in pronoun forms: Fie moves from the local dialect form of the first person pronoun 'æ' (I) to the standard language form 'jeg' (I) in the course of the utterance. I restrict the discussion here to suggesting that Fie's use of a standard pronoun form represents an alternative strategy to the code-switching from Norwegian to English and does indeed contextualize the shift from real life level talk into fiction level talk. During the remainder of the two parallel episodes in this sequence, all three participants speak English.

1	FIE:	**au**!	
		(ouch)	
2	FIE:	**au au au au au**.	
		(ouch ouch ouch ouch ouch)	
3	ADA:	0 [=! laughs].	
4	FIE:	***æ [/] æ har tatt vekk krykkene jeg*.**	
		(I [/] I have taken away my crutches)	
5	FIE:	**kissi kissi**.	
6	ADA:	**I hate you**.	
7	ADA:	xxx +/.	
8	MIA:	HERE I AM THE STATUE AGAIN.	
9	ADA:	*0 [=! imitates movements]*.	
10	FIE:		**now mom and dad is going to** +/.
11	MIA:	**I am nice**.	
12	FIE:		*I should stay +...*
13	FIE:		*<*I should stay xxx*> [>]*.
14	MIA:	*<*I am nice*> [<]*.	
15	MIA:	**I am nice**.	
16	FIE:	**yes # she is nice**.	
17	ADA:	**no # she isn't**.	
18	ADA:	**she is issy fizzy**.	

(31): Æ har tatt vekk ... – **13** / Mom and Dad – **14** (II-2, p 16)

19 ADA: *can you do this then he he he*.

20 FIE: *I can do so*.

21 MIA: but I am too big.

22 ADA: 0 [=! imitates laughter].

(31): Æ har tatt vekk ... – **13** / Mom and Dad – **14** (II-2, p 16) *(Continued)*

Summing up, the informants in Triad 2, as was the case in Triad 1, adopted one specific language for fiction level purposes, but while the first group chose Norwegian for fiction level use, this second group selected English as their "in-character" language. During directing and real life level interaction there was more use of Norwegian. As in the first triad, the switching was most frequent during real life level sequences.

Triad 3

Triad 3 differed from the other two groups in that the interaction was conducted primarily in English at all three reality levels. During the first session no Norwegian was spoken, while in the other two sessions a total of three episodes contained code-switching. In session 2 one of the speakers switched to Norwegian for a duration of two utterances and then switched back into English. The whole operation took place during a real life level episode. In session 3, there were two instances of code-switching to Norwegian, both of which occurred in episodes with parallel activity conducted in English. Thus, switching to Norwegian never occurred during episodes where the whole group was involved but was restricted to one or two speakers. Table 34 shows in detail where the code-switches in these conversations occurred. In spite of the limited number of occurrences, it is worth noticing that there was no code-switching within fiction level portions of the interaction. Thus, as in the first two triads, fiction level talk was conducted in the most homogenous form in terms of code. Due to the low numbers, percentages are not included for this group.

Table 34: Distribution of switches according to level – Triad 3
(N=Norwegian, E=English)

	Onset of real life	Within real life	Onset of directing	Within directing	Onset of fiction	Within fiction	Total
Switches to N	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
Switches to E	0	1	0	0	1	0	2

For the sake of illustration, a sequence containing directing and fiction level interaction during the first session in Triad 3 is presented in (32). Code-switching is not employed to signal shifts between the different reality levels here, such shifts are rather contextualized through a contrast between a normal voice quality and a clearly marked one, described in the section *Marked vs. unmarked voice*, p 94. Except for Bob's contribution in line 19, all fiction level utterances[1] are spoken in a marked voice while the rest of the interaction is performed with an unmarked voice quality.

1 KIM: <I PUT A FLY [/] I PUT A FLYING CHOCOLATE> [<] IN ME SO I COULD FLY.
2 KIM: *<0 [=! imitates flying]>* [>].
3 BOB: <I'M> [<] [/] I'M A BOY AND <I'M WALKING # AND THEN> [>] +/.
4 ???: *<0 [=! imitates movement]>* [<].
5 KIM: MEN THEN XXX [//] THEN I GAVE YOU A CHOCOLATE SO YOU COULD FLY.
6 KIM: *0 [=! imitates flying].*
7 KIM: **I can brush the floor*.*
8 KIM: **I can brush the floor*.*
9 KIM: *0 [=! imitates movements].*
10 KIM: AND I COULD +/.
11 XXX: www.
12 KIM: AND THEN I GAVE YOU A CHOCOLATE.
13 KIM: AND THE YOU &SH +...

(32): I gave you a chocolate – **16** (III-1, p 15)

1. Non-verbal utterances were not coded for voice quality.

```
14  XXX:  www.
15  DAN:  *I can't believe them flying*.
16  KIM:  *I can brush the ceiling*.
17  KIM:  *I can stand on the ceiling*.
18  XXX:  www.
19  BOB:  I can throw water over the house top.
20  XXX:  www.
```

(32): I gave you a chocolate – **16** (III-1, p 15) *(Continued)*

All occurrences of marked voice in the sequences presented so far in this chapter have been indicated in the excerpts by means of an '*' inserted before and after each utterance. The use of marked voice in the whole data set is further discussed in *Marking fiction level speech*, p 173.

The last sequence exemplifying code selection related to role play in Triad 3 represents one of the few cases where Norwegian is spoken in this group. (33) covers parts of two parallel episodes. Bob is the primary speaker throughout Episode 25, but is joined by Dan in line 21. The interaction in the parallel episode is initiated by Per who directs a scene featuring Popeye, the sailorman.

Directing level speech in Episode 25 is conducted in Norwegian, in lines 1 to 19, except for Bob's utterances which intercept the parallel interaction. At the point when Dan has fallen short of arguments in the discussion with Per, he chooses to join Bob in the parallel activity, code-switching into English (line 21). Per, left to play by himself, adopts a role character identity and marks his shift into fiction level speech in line 23 with a code-switch from Norwegian into English. Thus, with no fiction level utterances conducted in Norwegian and with positive evidence that code-switching from Norwegian to English is used to contextualize a shift from directing to fiction level speech, the data from Triad 3 point in the same direction as the data from the two other groups.

1	PER:	**FOR HAN SPISE SPINAT OG DET E VELDIG STERK FOR HAN E SKIPPERN HAN.** (because he eats spinach and that is very strong because he is Popeye he is)	
2	BOB:		I GOT <MY NICE SEAT [?]> [>].
3	PER:	<**HAN E SKIPPERN**> [<]. (he is Popeye)	
4	PER:	**SKIPPERN VET DU.** (Popeye you know)	
5	PER:	**HAN E SKIPPERN.** (he is Popeye)	
6	DAN:	*O [=! imitates fighting].*	
7	PER:	*bang bang [=! strikes back]*!	
		[WWW]	
14	DAN:	**JO FOR DET # Æ KAN BARE BIT DÆ.** (yes because # I can just bite you)	
15	PER:	**NEI MEN SKIPPERN HAN E STERK HAN.** (no but Popeye is strong)	
16	BOB:		I GOT MY <BIG FAT XXX> [>].
17	PER:	<**HAN KLARE Å VINN OVER KJEMPA**> [<]. (he can win over giants)	
18	PER:	**HAN BARE SLÅR DEM MED # TAR BARE EN STEIN VET DU # BANG**! (he'll just hit them with # just takes a stone you know # bang)	
19	DAN:	**DET GÅR IKKE AN MED STEIN FOR DET DU** +... (it doesn't work with a stone because you)	

(33): Han e Skipper'n – **25** / I got my nice seat – **24** (III-3, p 31)

20	BOB:		I'VE GOT MY LADDER.
21	DAN:		I'VE GOT MY LADDER.
22	BOB:		YEAH # BUT YOU [/] I'VE GOT THIS LADDER.
23	PER:	% *I am the shipper* %[a].	
24	PER:	% *I am the shipper* %.	
25	DAN:		*hey xxx come to our house.*
26	PER:	% *I'm the shipper* %.	
27	DAN:		*would [/] would [/] do you want to come into my house?*
28	BOB:		*shut up and don't open that door.*

(33): Han e Skipper'n – **25** / I got my nice seat – **24** (III-3, p 31) *(Continued)*

a. % % indicates that the utterance is being chanted.

Combined results

The findings presented so far cannot be compared directly to those from the Halmari and Smith study. Firstly, their material consisted of dyadic conversations with informants two to three years older than the speakers studied here. Secondly, the Halmari and Smith material does not include interaction of the type categorized as real life utterances in the present study. Consequently, a comparison of findings from the two sets of data must be restricted to the speakers' behavior during *negotiating* and *role-play* (Halmari & Smith), corresponding to *directing* and *fiction level interaction* (the present study). For these levels, however, there are striking similarities. In the Halmari and Smith study role-play utterances were spoken exclusively in English: no code-switching took place within role-play sequences. Even though Triad 3 is the only group where one language is reserved for role-play interaction exclusively, the proportion of fiction level utterances spoken in English in Triad 1 and the corresponding interaction conducted in Norwegian in Triad 2 is very limited.

Tables 35, 36, and 37 illustrate the correspondence between the two data sets. In the first two tables, figures showing number of code-switches during

directing and fiction level interaction in Triads 1 and 2[2] are extracted in order to provide a better basis for comparison. In the third table, figures from the Halmari and Smith study are presented. When code-switches during real life level interaction are excluded from the count, the preference for code-switching at level onset points rather than during interaction within the same reality level stands out more clearly than in the figures presented in Tables 32 to 34. In Triad 1, due to the fact that Norwegian is the language most frequently used for directing as well as fiction level speech, there is no language contrast between the two utterance categories. However, we can note that within each reality level, code-switching to Norwegian occurs more often at level onset points than during same level sequences (57% and 30% vs. 13% and 0).

Table 35: Directing and fiction level switches – Triad 1
(N=Norwegian, E=English)

	Onset of directing	Within directing	Onset of fiction	Within fiction	Total
Switches to N	17 (57%)	4 (13%)	9 (30%)	0	30 (100%)
Switches to E	7 (37%)	8 (42%)	1 (5%)	3 (16%)	19 (100%)

Table 36: Directing and fiction level switches – Triad 2
(N=Norwegian, E=English)

	Onset of directing	Within directing	Onset of fiction	Within fiction	Total
Switches to N	20 (80%)	1 (4%)	3 (12%)	1 (4%)	25 (100%)
Switches to E	4 (11%)	9 (25%)	21 (57%)	2 (5%)	36 (100%)

2. Due to the limited amount of code-switching in the Triad 3 conversations, this part of the material is not compared with the Halmari and Smith study.

Table 37: Distribution of switches – Halmari and Smith's study[a]
(F = Finnish, E = English)

	Onset of negotiation	Within negotiation	Return to play	Within play	Total
Switches to F	23 (74%)	8 (26%)	–	–	31 (100%)
Switches to E	–	9 (30%)	21 (70%)	–	30 (100%)

a. Reproduced from Halmari and Smith (1994).

In Triad 2, the pattern is even more clear. The majority (80%) of switches to Norwegian co-occur with the inception of directing level talk. Similarly, a majority (57%) of switches into English coincide with the onset of fiction level interaction. The corresponding figures in Halmari and Smith are 74% of the switches into Finnish at onset of negotiating and 70% of switches into English at return to play interaction.

Following Halmari and Smith, I will go on to show that fiction level speech is characterized by co-occurrence patterns between a specific language form and certain other features:

> We use these features as corroborating evidence for the notion that code-switching is a speech style which is exploited by bilinguals to embed and contextualize the content of the conversation, and that it is interactional, rather than metaphorical in nature (p 434).

Aspects of bilingual proficiency are not taken into consideration in the present analysis. The language patterns demonstrated so far show that the speakers as a group adhered to certain group norms. These norms were shared by the speakers in all three groups: it was demonstrated that fiction level interaction is the interactional level which is least affected by code-switching. During real life interaction, on the other hand, there is a tendency for speakers to be involved in more code-switching. Even though a lack of proficiency may explain part of the switching in the production of some speakers, this is not sufficient to explain the language practice in the group. The emerging pattern suggests that the same speakers abstain from participating in certain sections of the conversations, with the effect that a certain distribution of language appears.

Marking fiction level speech

In examples presented as illustrations of the general code selection patterns related to the project of managing role play, the speakers' use of contrasting voice quality has been indicated in the transcripts but commented on only briefly so far. Shifts in voice quality were employed fairly consistently at level onset points to mark the movements into or out of fiction level speech, and the large majority of fiction level utterances are produced with a marked voice. The use of voice quality contrasts, marked vs. unmarked voice, was employed widely by speakers in all groups, except for one speaker, Mia in Triad 2, for whom this voice quality contrast was observed in very few contributions only. Whereas code-switching between Norwegian and English was found to have functions other than that of marking reality level shifts, this was the case in only a very limited number of instances of marked voice quality.

One exception to the general rule was detected where voice quality contrast was found to co-occur, not with a transfer from one reality level to the other, but as an indication that two different role characters were the speakers of two different lines within the same fiction level sequence. In (34), the

1 DAN: *I don't wanna go.*
2 DAN: you don't wanna go?
3 DAN: that's all right.
4 DAN: <0 [=! imitates movement]> [>].

(34): I'll have the brush then – **22** (III-3, p 28)

utterance in line 1 is pronounced with a marked voice quality while the voice quality employed in the next two is unmarked. It is evident that this shift does not mark a transition from one level to another but coincides with a transition from the speech of one role character to the next. The manipulation of voice quality enables the speaker, Dan, to cast two different characters. Halmari and Smith identified a similar contrast between two different role characters marked by means of voice quality differences. However, what they seem to have identified is not the use of what I have defined as

unmarked voice quality, but rather use of intonation and pitch range, both within what might be referred to as "character voice", which served to distinguish different sets of utterances. This was also found to be the case in Andersen (1992) who identified pitch level variation as a marker of various social roles in role play during her "controlled improvisation" experiment.

Code-switching between different varieties of Norwegian has been reported to serve the function of marking a contrast between directing of play and enacting of fictional roles. The general pattern seems to be a standard form of Norwegian employed for fiction level speech and the local dialect used for directing level speech (Åm 1989). With the main focus of this study being the function of code-switching between Norwegian and English, I will not go into a thorough discussion of instances of switching between these varieties. The phenomenon is nevertheless observable, in the Norwegian sections of the material, and consistently as a marker of fiction level utterances. The fact that Fie's utterance in line 3 of (31) (the utterance

FIE: ***æ har tatt vekk krykkene jeg*** (II-2, p 16)
(I have taken away my crutches)

is repeated here) contains a transition from the dialect form of the personal pronoun 'æ' to the standard 'jeg' within one and the same utterance does not invalidate the point that this type of switching is indeed used by the speakers as a marker of fiction level utterances. In line with the arguments presented in connection with repair sequences as evidence for speakers' awareness of operational distinctions, the shift from one form to the other in this example suggests that the distinction between two forms of Norwegian is something the speakers are aware of and make use of.

All three speakers in Triad 1 and two speakers in Triad 2 made use of the contrast between different pronoun forms in the Norwegian portions of their speech, distinguishing between standard and non-standard forms of 'I' or 'me' (jeg /æ, meg/mæ) and 'you' (dere/dokker). Similarly, standard inflectional endings could be observed in the data. The use of standard language forms were restricted to fiction level speech but applied with varying consistency. The most surprising finding is that not only the two speakers

with a native-like command of Norwegian employed this type of switching. Even Jim, who had a relatively restricted proficiency in Norwegian, differentiated between standard and non-standard pronoun forms, as in (35).

1 JIM: ***hjelp mæ***.
(help me)
2 JIM: <***hjelp mæ # hjelp mæ xxx***> [>].
(help me # help me xxx)
3 JIM: ***æ kan gå***.
(I can go)
4 JIM: **Å HAN GÅ HJEM.**
(and he go home)
5 JIM: ***jeg går hjem***.
(I go home)
6 JIM: ***å # jeg går hjem***.
(and # I go home)

(35): Hva er det opp der? – **14** (I-3, p 15)

Jim's contrasting use of different pronoun forms in this sequence is not consistent with the shifts in and out of fiction level speech. What can be observed here is that he uses the non-standard 'æ' during the first part of the sequence but switches to standard form 'jeg' in line 5. It can further be noticed that not all of his fiction level contributions are spoken with a marked voice quality. Thus, Jim can be said to apply parts of the same repertoire which is employed in a more consistent manner in the speech of the other informants in the group where this contrast is observed.

In (36) the major pattern is the use of the dialect form 'æ' in directing level speech, and the standard form 'jeg' for role play utterances. The same transition from one form to the other in the course of a fiction level utterance that was noted earlier in (31), can be observed here: starting out with the dialect form in line 2, Tom switches to the standard form halfway into the same utterance. The hesitant start of this utterance might indicate that Tom is not quite comfortable with his choice of pronoun form, i.e. that what can be observed in the first half of this utterance is an attempt to repair the initial beginning. However, there are other possible explanations for his hesitation. The first part of Tom's utterance overlaps with part of Ted's previous

1 TED: **ENN # Æ TOK DEN SÅ [/] <SÅ DU KLART IKKE>**
[>] +...
(but # I took it so [/] so you didn't manage)

2 TOM: <***men [/] men æ> [<] [/] æ vet hva jeg ska klatre opp jeg ja***.
(but [/] but I [/] I know what I'll climb up, I do)

3 TOM: ***nå ska jeg klatre opp et taug***.
(now I'll climb up a rope)

4 TOM: **OGSÅ KLATRA Æ OPP EN TAUG.**
(and then I climbed up a rope)

(36): Også kom pappan vet du – **9** (I-3, p 9)

contribution in line 1, which is a typical setting for a repair (Goodwin 1981). A third possibility is that Tom in fact, in the course of this utterance, shifts from a directing into a fiction level utterance. This would explain in a reasonable way both the repair and the shift from non-standard to standard pronouns. However, the potentially different explanations for his hesitation in this utterance do not alter the main observation, namely that in the course of his first fiction level contribution in this sequence, Tom switches from a dialect form to a standard form, which serves to contextualize the onset of fiction level speech.

In addition to the same contrast between pronoun forms found in the previous example, (37) illustrates that the variation in linguistic form also includes a shift between different plural endings: standard 'barnene' (the children) in line 1 vs. non-standard 'barnan' (the children) in line 3, and follows the same line of level contrast as the pronoun forms presented above. Thus, there is a potentially wider basis for linguistic variation than variation between pronoun forms in the material.

1 TOM: ***jeg vil å ha <barnene mine***> [>].
(I want to have my children too)

2 JIM: <xxx> [<].

3 TOM: **Æ VIL [/] Æ VIL HA [/] Æ VIL HA BARNAN.**
(I want [/] I want to have [/] I want to have the children)

(37): Det va en stor robot – **31** (I-1, p 36)

The standard language / dialect switching was positively identified as not being used for the purposes of other interactional projects, i.e. it is a feature distinctly specific to role play.

Adaptation through imitation

> *"Give the impression – with a few well chosen words – that you can speak the language."*
>
> (Fillmore 1976, p 669)

It was expected that the Norwegian production of one informant in each of the groups would be restricted due to these speakers' limited exposure to Norwegian prior to their school entry. The production of two of the informants, Mia and Bob, indeed was close to monolingual English. Jim, however, demonstrated an ability to adhere to the code-switching standards established in the group by actively switching between the two languages. Within the framework of code selection patterns documented in the preceding sections, the individual speaker may adopt strategies enabling him or her to adapt to those specific patterns. One such strategy, imitation of speech material, is a prevalent feature in the present material and is discussed in the following.

Jim frequently produced Norwegian by imitating the speech of his interlocutors, effectively increasing his Norwegian repertoire and contributing to the bilingual quality of the conversations. Thus, he can be regarded as the catalyst of as well as a contributor to the code-switching pattern established in the group. Imitation was a particularly characteristic feature in fiction level portions of the conversation, as exemplified in the two next excerpts. In (38) Tom's initial question in line 1 is repeated verbatim by Jim in the following utterance. In line 3 of (39) on the following page, Jim combines material from

1 TOM: ***hvor er beibi***?
(where is baby)

2 JIM: ***hvor er [/] <hvor er beibi>*** [>]*?
(where is [/] where is baby)

(38): Æ så hvor ei dokke sov – **12** (I-3, p 14)

Ted's preceding utterances, while his utterance in line 13 is similar to the above example in that a complete utterance is copied.

1 TED: ***for [/] for vi kan hente stigen***.
(because [/] because we can fetch the ladder)

2 TED: ***gå <foran>*** [?][>]*.
(go in front)

3 JIM: ***<gå stige>*** [<]*.
(go ladder)

4 TOM: ***men jeg ska hoppe ned igjen # jeg***.
(but I'll jump down again)

5 TOM: *hi hi*.

6 TED: ***okay da går jeg opp igjen da***.
(okay then I'll go up again)

7 TOM: *0 [=! imitates climbing on the roof]*.

8 TOM: ***hunder # hva er det dere gjør***?
(dogs # what are you doing)

9 TED: 0 [=! laughs].

10 TED: ***kom å ta meg***.
(come and get me)

11 TOM: *0 [=! imitates barking]*.

12 TED: ***<kom å ta meg>*** [>]*.
(come and get me)

13 JIM: ***<kom å ta>*** [<]*.
(come and get)

14 TOM: *<0 [=! imitates barking]>* [<].

15 TED: ***kom å ta meg***.
(come and get me)

16 TED: ***kom å ta meg***.
(come and get me)

17 TED: ***kom å ta meg***.
(come and get me)

18 TOM: ***kom å ta meg jeg skal xxx***.
(come and get me I will xxx)

(39): Også kom pappan vet du – **9** (I-3, p 10)

In Triad 3, several of the speakers display a similar, but not identical, kind of behavior. In (40) Per's contributions are not imitations of verbal material already available. However, the whole episode, in which Per is the sole par-

ticipant, consists of a series of utterances, identical in structure and with very little variation in the lexical content.

```
 1  DAN:  BUT CAN JUST COME DOWN
          AND ASK ME IF YOU WANT
          FOOD.
 2  BOB:  I KNOW BUT THEN YOU GET
          FOOD.
 3  PER:                              <*I'm the grandmother*> [>].
 4  BOB:  <xxx> [<].
 5  PER:                              <*I'm the grandmother*> [>].
 6  BOB:  <AND YOU HAD TO ASK> [<]
          [//] YOU HAD TO COME UP
          AND ASK ME IF YOU <WANT
          THE PLATES> [>].
 7  PER:                              <*I'm the police*> [<].
 8  PER:                              <*I'm the police*> [<].
 9  BOB:  HA HA [=! laughing]
          <YEAH THAT'S A GOOD XXX>
          [>].
10  PER:                              <*I'm the police*> [<].
11  BOB:  YOU HAVE THE
          FRIDGERATOR AND I HAVE
          THE PLATES AND THE CUPS.
12  DAN:  YEAH.
```

(40): But I need ... – **20** / I'm the grandmother – **21** (III-3, p 23)

The strategies adopted by Per and Jim in these examples both have the effect of expanding limited lexical resources in such a way as to fill the interactional needs of the speaker. As such, they resemble what Fillmore (1976) describes as "social strategies in second language acquisition" (p 666), strategies used by the learner to secure a space on the interactional floor by adapting his or her language production in such a way as to fit the requirements of the situation. Fillmore identifies several typical categories of formulas, e.g. *attention callers* ("hey (name)", "hey stupid"), *conversation management* ("you know why (x)", "be quiet (name)"), and *play management* ("I'm not playing", "you're the X, I'm the X"), all of which provide the learner with language instruments to be employed in interaction with native speakers. In second

language acquisition, the value of this behavior is related to the learning process:

> This kind of language was extremely important, because it permitted the learners to continue participating in activities which provided contexts for the learning of new material (p 670).

From a conversational perspective, the same strategies can be specifically related to the task of managing conversation, not in the more restricted sense suggested by Fillmore as one category of formulas, but as an overall strategy used to adhere to language norms set by the group because they provide the type of language material needed to fill slots in the turn system.

It may be that role play interaction invites this kind of behavior since speaking through fictional characters is a way of distancing oneself from what is actually being said, and perhaps because of this, a legitimate way of practicing a new language. Fillmore gives examples where second language learners are supplied with

> just the words and expressions which made sense because they fitted into the learners' discourse or the sentence structures which functioned as their frames of reference (p 702).

A similar strategy can be seen to work in the opposite direction (with respect to the language involved) when Tom resorts to the same technique in real life as well as in role play sequences. Examples of the latter are rare, since the large majority of role play utterances are conducted in Norwegian. One exception to this rule occurred in sequence (23) which was discussed in *Triad 1*, p 152. The only other example of English used in fiction level interaction is presented in (41) where the fiction level part is initiated by Jim and the exchange structured by Tom's repetition of Jim's initial utterances. The setting might be interpreted as having partly effected Jim's success in involving Tom in role play in English. Both speakers have ended up at one end of the table with Ted at the opposite end, thus finding themselves in a position which suggests cooperation between the two of them. The role play sequence is brief, comprising four utterances altogether, and is followed by a series of directing level elements, all conducted in Norwegian. Thus, the sequence is a mirror image of the typical one in terms of code choice. In addition to the fact that Jim conducts role play in English, it is significant

1 JIM: *eh # I need to go upstairs # eh*.
2 TOM: *I xxx to go upstairs xxx*.
3 JIM: *I xxx getting to the loft*.
4 TOM: *I am going to go to the loft # boom*.
5 TOM: **OGSÅ FALT DU NED.**
(and then you fell down)
6 JIM: **JA** [?].
(yes)
7 JIM: **NEI [?] OG HAN GÅ OPP IGJEN # HAN GJØR** [?].
(no and he go up again # he does)

(41): I need to go upstairs – **28** (I-3, p 31)

that he produces directing level utterances in Norwegian, which is a rare phenomenon on his part. It seems only natural that Tom adopts the same practice. After all, Norwegian is the language he seems to prefer, although there are a number of examples where English is selected for directing purposes when Jim takes part in an episode.

This sequence is instructive in terms of how the speakers handle the joint task of managing both their general conversational activity as well as the more specialized role play aspect of the conversations. Other examples have shown how the speakers expand their linguistic and conversational repertoire by techniques such as imitation or repetition as well as through the use of lexical elements from their dis-preferred[3] language in order to adapt to the language of their addressee (or to the language conceived as their interlocutor's preferred language). These are both strategies which serve to bridge the language gap in situations where this is felt to be beneficial.

Summing up

What I have demonstrated in this part of the analysis is that all three triads assigned the status of role play language to one specific language, but that the language chosen varied from one group to the next. Other types of contextualization cues, such as voice quality contrasts and the switching

3. Dis-preferred in the sense of the language used the least by a particular speaker.

between standard and non-standard language in the Norwegian sections of the interaction were discussed. A marked voice quality was found to be reserved for fiction level utterances, although not employed consistently. Alternate use of standard and non-standard forms of certain lexical items, e.g. 1st person personal pronouns, was found to coincide with shifts into and out of fiction level speech. Code-switching was found to occur more frequently at directing and fiction level onset points than during sequences of directing of fiction level interaction. Certain parts of the conversations were found to be more susceptible to code-switching than others, notably interaction during real life sequence. These parts of the conversations are focused upon in my discussion of the next two interactional projects: *fighting for the floor* and *social maneuvering*.

I also identified certain aspects of speaker behavior, strategies like imitation and repetition, which served to facilitate participation in the play conversations in the sense that they allowed speakers to adhere to the norms of code selection established in the group.

Chapter 9

FIGHTING FOR THE FLOOR

> *"'Taking turns' is one of the hardest lessons for children under five years to learn* [...] *the young child cannot without much experience believe that 'his turn' really will come in due time. All that he knows is that the others 'have got it' and he hasn't."*
>
> (Isaacs 1933, cited by Sacks *et al.* 1974, p 698)

The discussion of code selection patterns relating to the project of managing role play in Chapter 8 focused primarily on fiction and directing level talk. It was established that code-switching during interaction within the same reality level occurred more frequently during real life sequences than elsewhere. This finding suggests that real life interaction is indeed the appropriate focus in the last two parts of the analysis.

The particular qualities of the triad were discussed in *Group composition*, p 31, with reference to the possibilities of alliances and exclusions within the group. From a turn-taking perspective, the triad is equally unique because the group design forces the participants to explicitly mark changes in the *participant constellation*, i.e. "the system of 'roles' that hold for all ratified participants" (Auer 1984, p 33). The issue of addressee has been demonstrated to be a factor in children's code-switching in a number of studies (e.g. Fantini 1985, Lanza 1990, McClure 1981).

My discussion focuses on examples where the issue of addressee can be seen to be directly relevant, i.e. in cases where a change in participant con-

stellation can be observed or when the issue of addressee suggests itself as particularly applicable, and is centered around the following:

- increasing the number of addressees;
- restricting the number of addressees;
- calling attention;
- no addressee.

Increasing the number of addressees

The first example of shifts in the participant constellation amounts to including a larger set of participants in the conversation, i.e. relating to how "a present speaker selects more than one addressee in his or her turn" (Auer 1984, p 34).

In (42) Ted's behavior illustrates this point. His code-switch from Norwegian to English in line 7 marks his transition from addressing Tom to including the full set of participants. The sequence is the last part of the second in a series of three episodes in the second Triad 1 session, a session during which Jim occupies an outsider position most of the time. As was illustrated in Figure 5, Chapter 7, the interaction in this session was conducted in Norwegian with only a few exceptions. English was used in

1 TED: **HAN [//] MEN HAN VA IKKE PÅ JAKT TE HUNNAN.**
(he [//] but he wasn't hunting with the dogs)

2 TOM: **NEI.**
(no)

3 TED: **FOR DET VA DYRAN HANNES.**
(because that was his animals)

4 TOM: **SPIS OPP HUN Å HUN.**
(eat her and her)

5 TED: **Å SØSTER.**
(and the sister)

6 TED: *0 [=! imitates eating].*

7 TED: THEY HAVE TO DIE.

(42): Å da spist æ opp hu – 7 (I-2, p 8)

episodes where Jim either contributed to the conversation or was addressed without responding; the latter situation is illustrated in (42). When Ted code-switches from Norwegian to English, this is one of several factors used to signal to Jim that he is included in the range of addressees. As far as comprehension is concerned, the switching is redundant, since Jim several times did prove to understand and follow the conversation in Norwegian and was able to break in at adequate points in time with appropriate contributions. Thus, switching is more a question of signalling an attitude than of securing communication. What Ted is actually communicating in line 7 above is: "we invite you into the group".

Restricting the number of addressees

The second aspect of turn-taking related to code-switching concerns how a speaker signals that he or she is addressing a selection of potential interlocutors. In the present context this amounts to addressing one rather than two co-participants. Auer focuses on how the "code-switching speaker narrows down the constellation by selecting fewer participants as addressees than have been involved as speakers or addressees in the last turn" (1984, p 35). Only in one of the following examples can a speaker be observed to move from addressing the group to addressing one interlocutor only. More relevant in relation to the present material is the issue of addressing one interlocutor rather than two and how such an act is contextualized through code-switching.

In (43), Jim contributes a point of view about people's ability to fly in the air (line 5). He utters his point of view in English, which implies a code-switch from the preceding utterance in the ongoing exchange. His switch into English is followed up by Ted in his response in line 6. However, Ted does not remain in the English mode, but midway into the same utterance switches back into Norwegian. There are two things to notice about speakers' choice of code in this sequence. First, Jim volunteers factual support to Ted which in effect means that he has taken Ted's side in the argument with

1 TED: **NEI DA # INGEN MENNESKA KUNNA FLY.**
(no # no humans could fly)

2 TOM: **JO.**
(yes)

3 TED: **NEI DA.**
(no)

4 TED: **nei da # det kan de ikke.**
(no # they can't)

5 JIM: only helicopters and those things can [/] can fly # can't they?

6 TED: yeah # helicopters and aeroplanes can't but [//] **men ikke sånn kan ikke fly.**
(yeah # helicopters and aeroplanes can't but [//] but not those can't fly)

7 TED: **det vet du ikke.**
(you don't know that)

8 TOM: **joo.**
(yes)

(43): Ingen menneska kunna fly – **12** (I-2, p 13)

Tom. In view of this, it is reasonable to see Jim's use of English as added evidence that he does indeed single Ted out as his addressee.

The second aspect of this sequence worth mentioning is Ted's return to Norwegian in the middle of his response utterance in line 6. It is difficult to tell from the recording whether Ted's switch from English to Norwegian is accompanied by other contextualization cues, e.g. change in body posture or gaze. My interpretation is that Ted signals who he is speaking to, and also that he is speaking to only one at a time, through his choice of language. Thus, the half utterance is what he is prepared to offer Jim at this point, and his switch back into Norwegian is evidence that he has turned back to his original interlocutor, Tom. From such a perspective this sequence illustrates how two separate speakers both negotiate the participant constellation, by attempting to limit the range of addressees for their contributions.

A point typically involving the choice of addressee is at episode boundaries between parallel episodes with different sets of participants. (44) on the following page illustrates one speaker's movements between two parallel episodes. The language code in the two episodes is *mixed* and *Norwegian*

1	TED:		**OGSÅ SPIST OPP BLOMSTERN.** (and ate the flowers)
2	TED:		xxx +/.
3	TOM:		**DA BLITT DU DØ FOR DU [/] FOR DU [//] DET VA GIFTIGE BLOMSTER.** (then you died because [/] because you [//] the flowers were poisonous)
4	JIM:	*<O [=! imitates licking]>* [>].	
5	TOM:		**<XXX <INNI HER>** [?]> [<]. (xxx in this)
6	TED:	<**NEI NEI** [//] NO> [<] # HE DIDN'T. (no no [//] no he didn't)	
7	JIM:	YEAH # HE DID AND +/.	
8	TED:		**NEI: # Æ VA IKKE DØ FOR Æ VA SCHÆFERHUNN.** (no: # I wasn't dead because I was German shepherd)
9	TED:		**Æ VA EN ORDENTLIG** +/. (I was a real)
10	JIM:	**OG OG OG DEN BEIBI GÅ GÅ INNI DER OG [/] OG** [//] AND TED # THEN THE BABY WENT <XXX> [>] +... (and and and the baby go go in there and [/] and [//] then Ted # then the baby went xxx)	
11	TOM:		<**æ hørt noen ting**> [<]. (I heard something)
12	JIM:	+, AND THE BABY GOT COOKED HE DID.	
13	TED:	&N NO.	
14	JIM:	YES.	
15	TED:	YES SO HIS HEAD GOT UPSIDE DOWN AND HE WAS DEAD.	

(44): Then the baby ... – **39** / Det va giftige ... – **38** / (I-3, p 42)

respectively. Jim and Tom participate in the conversation within the framework of one episode each while Ted moves back and forth between the two. His movement from one to the other is reflected in his choice of code, switching from Norwegian to English (line 6), back to Norwegian (line 8), and finally to English in line 13, where he returns to the conversation in Episode 39, which continues from that point onwards. The sequence involves three speakers whose contributions occur in a tight-knit pattern and where the transition from one episode to the next occurs during a series of quick shifts.

The lexical content of the utterances does not provide safe evidence about who Ted's addressee is at the transition points from one parallel episode to the other. His utterances in lines 6 and 8 could potentially be acceptable as responses to both interlocutors. However, on the basis of the video recording a contrast in body direction can be detected, i.e. Ted is physically moving between his two interlocutors and the two episodes. The point to be made here is that this contrast is highlighted through one speaker's, i.e. Ted's, code-switching at different points during the sequence. The effect of language alternation is that the two episodes come through as different: one is conducted in Norwegian with Ted and Tom as interactants, while a mixed code is employed by Ted and Jim in the episode which overlaps and succeeds the first.

The next sequence illustrates Rod's shift between addressing the group, i.e. his two interlocutors in lines 2 and 7, and addressing only one of them in line 4. Prior to this episode, which takes place at the very end of a session, Rod has been trying to talk his two playmates into hiding under the table.

1 PER: we have finished.
2 BOB: now quickly hide under the table.
3 ROD: hide under the table.
4 ROD: **Per # du og gjøm dæ under bordet.**
(Per # you too hide under the table)
5 PER: **ja # men æ må bare** +...
(yes # but I just have to)
6 BOB: but look in here.
7 ROD: no # we have to hide under the table.

(45): We have finished – **17** (III-2, p 20)

During this process, the interaction has been divided in two parallel episodes; Per and Bob trying to tidy up in the doll's house and Rod constantly begging them to come with him and hide. Both episodes have been conducted in English. When Per and Bob's housekeeping project is finally finished, this marks the end of the two separate episodes and all three speakers engage in a joint one, Episode 17 in (45). Rod's language behavior can be traced during three separate stages in this sequence: first he repeats his request from the preceding episode to both participants in the group (line 4). Within the same turn, he then turns to Per exclusively (line 5), evidenced by the fact that he calls Per's name. His switch of addressee is further marked by a code-switch from English to Norwegian. Similarly, he switches back into English in his next utterance in line 7. This utterance can either be said to be directed to Bob, on the grounds that he specifically objects to Rod's line of action in line 6, or it can be seen as directed to the group as a whole, with English as a joint code including all three participants.

Calling attention

Adopting the terminology of Sacks *et al.*, the act of calling attention is a question of self-selection, i.e. a speaker selecting him- or herself as next speaker. All examples of speakers attempting to call the attention of others in the present material are related to the singling out of one specific interlocutor. In this respect, the examples discussed in the following fit into the discussion in the preceding section on the act of limiting the range of addressees. However, the speaker in question here is in a different position than in previous examples: rather than speaking as participant in an ongoing episode, the speaker occupies an outsider position, i.e. "[the] code-switching speaker tries to 'get into' a constellation to which he or she has only been a bystander, or non-addressed ratified participant up to that point" (Auer 1984, p 37).

One speaker calling the attention of one other is a particularly noticeable feature of the conversations in Triads 1 and 3. This activity is carried out during sequences with parallel sets of episodes, i.e. where two of the

speakers in the group are involved in a separate activity and the third party is actively trying to work himself onto the floor.

Keeping within the general framework of contextualization, the main hypothesis is that code-switching may signal a new direction in the interaction. Examples, as I have already demonstrated, are level onset points which are frequently marked by code-switching. Approaching this same point from a different angle, the fact that one speaker's code contrasts with the other participants' code for the duration of one or more episodes can be interpreted as a signal that the speaker remains within a specific activity or topic. In other words, whereas code-switching to the same language by all speakers at level onset points or episode boundaries may signal the group's joint undertaking of a new activity, the extended use of two different languages in parallel episodes may be described as the opposite though related phenomenon; a speaker signalling, through his or her choice of code, a desire to set him- or herself off from the rest of the group.

In (46) two parallel episodes are contrasted primarily through the choice of language. The conversation is effectively divided into two separate turn-taking systems where Ted, after a brief exchange with Jim in lines 1 to 4, adopts Tom as his conversational partner for the rest of the episode. The fact that two separate systems can be identified does not alter the state of uncertainty peculiar to the triad, referred to at the beginning of this chapter. We are not observing two turn-taking systems with separate sets of participants, but rather two parallel interactional episodes where there is a struggle between two speakers over the third one.

The sequence is initiated by Jim calling Ted's attention in line 1, and his continued efforts constitute and structure Episode 18 (in the left-hand column of (46)). Seven consecutive repetitions of attention callers (lines 1 to 36) can be traced, all spoken in English and none of which has the desired effect. In his final attempt (line 37), Jim code-switches from English to Norwegian and is in fact awarded with a quick glance from Ted. Jim seems to realize that this is all he will get from Ted, and the episode is concluded and topic changed. (Note that Ted's response "ikke" (don't) in line 38 is not a response to Jim, but a contribution in the parallel episode and a response to Tom's activity.) It takes Ted only a fraction of a second to communicate to Jim

1	JIM:	Ted # see here.	
2	JIM:	see here.	
3	JIM:	*O [=! imitates doll's movements].*	
4	TED:	I'm not looking.	
5	JIM:	*O [=! screams].*	
6	TED:		**XXX DU VASKE ALLE [/] ALLE TINGAN.** (you wash all the things)
7	JIM:	*ao ao ao ao ao.*	
8	TED:		**DU NÅ SKULLA DU <FLYTT # SKULLA DU> [>].** (now you were supposed to move # you were)
9	JIM:	<xxx> [<].	
10	JIM:	O [=! moves around the table].	
11	TED:		**du # ska æ vis dæ nåkka?** (Tom # shall I show you something)
12	TED:		**nåkka som du vet ikke.** (something that you don't know)
13	TED:		**nei det va ikke i den.** (no it wasn't in that one)
14	TED:		xxx.
15	JIM:	*<O [=! imitates climbing ladder]>* [>].	
16	TED:		**<se her>** [<]. (look here)
17	TED:		**æ kan stikk fingran <inn>** [>]. (I can put my fingers in)
18	JIM:	*<O [=! imitates sound of doll falling]>* [<].	
19	TED:		**Å [/] Å Æ SKA PUTT'N NEDI HER.** (and [/] and I'll put it in here)
20	JIM:	*O [=! imitates drinking].*	
21	TED:		**Å DA DETT'N NED HER.** (and then it falls down here)

(46): See here – **18** / Nå skulla du flytt – **19** (I-1, p 14)

22	JIM:	*0 [=! imitates sound of disgust].*	
23	TED:		**ÅSS [/] ÅSSÅ E'N XXX.** (and [/] and it's xxx)
24	JIM:	<see here> [>]!	
25	TED:		**<MEN Æ> [<] <KAN IKKE XXX>** [>]. (but I cannot xxx)
26	JIM:	<see here # Ted> [<]!	
27	JIM:	*0 [=! imitates falling].*	
28	JIM:	see here.	
29	JIM:	*0 [=! imitates falling].*	
30	TED:		**men du # se her &d nå.** (but Tom # look here &th now)
31	TOM:		xxx +/.
32	JIM:	see here!	
33	TED:		*0 [=! imitates doll's movements].*
34	TED:		<xxx> [>].
35	JIM:	<xxx> [<].	
36	JIM:	see here.	
37	JIM:	**se her.** (look here)	
38	TED:		**ikke.** (don't)
39	TED:		**hva e det?** (what is it)
40	TOM:		0 [=! laughs].
41	TED:		**hvor [/] hvor va det her?** (where [/] where was this here)

(46): See here – **18** / Nå skulla du flytt – **19** (I-1, p 14) *(Continued)*

through a brief glance that attention will not be granted. The interaction between Ted and Tom is not interrupted, and Jim abstains from further attempts at catching Ted's attention after his Norwegian utterance.

The fact that Jim's final attempt to get Ted's attention is in Norwegian seems to be significant. Code-switching from English to Norwegian in the final of a long series of attention callers can be seen to exhaust his repertoire

of strategies to come across to Ted. Structurally, it provides pattern to the sequence. In all similar sequences where a code-switch can be observed, code-switching occurs at the end of a series of repeated calls in the other language. In her study of bilingual interaction between pre-schoolers in Singapore, Loke (1991) found suggestive evidence that the calling of attention from surrounding participants during a play situation was contextualized through code-switching, in her case by a switch from English to Mandarin, but does not relate this to the question of serial position. Gal (1979), however, observed that switching from Hungarian into German in an Austrian context was used in a sequential position not unlike the one presented here: "as a culmination of escalating disagreement and hostility [...serving] as a 'topper' - a last word that was not outdone" (p 117). In Gal's example, the speaker presumably is able to make his or her point. In the extract above, Jim does not achieve what he explicitly asks for, i.e. Ted's attention. However, language alternation is applied in a final position which suggests a specific conversational status and function. The point made by Gal is that the meaning potential of the code-switch is related to the sequential arrangement: "switching to German at a particular point in an argument can accomplish these communicative purposes" (p 117). Unlike Gal, I do not suggest that the direction of the switch can be related to a difference in status between Norwegian and English at a macro-level, but limit myself to the observation that a switch is carried out at a specific point in a sequence of contributions.

In (47) Jim is again trying to get Ted's attention and repeatedly calls on him. Once more it is worth noticing that Jim continues to use one language regardless of the fact that his addressee does not seem to pay attention to him. In this sequence Jim repeats his request directed at Ted seven times with

```
1  JIM:                          <and Ted> [<] # look what
                                 happened this time.
2  JIM:                          look what happened <this time
                                 Ted> [>].
3  TOM:  <xxx> [<].
```

(47): Og så sa du – 25 / Look what happened... – 27 (I-3, p 30)

4	TOM:	*O [=! imitates snarl].*	
5	JIM:		now look # he xxx.
6	TOM:	<xxx> [>].	
7	JIM:		<Ted # look> [<].
8	JIM:		<look what he did> [<].
9	JIM:		<look what he did # Ted> [<].
10	TOM:	**xxx**.	
11	JIM:		oh goodness gracious.
12	JIM:		he sits.
13	TOM:	<*xxx*> [>].	
14	JIM:		<and Ted # look what happened to me [?] this time> [<].
15	JIM:		look # Ted # look what happened to <this man> [?] xxx.

(47): Og så sa du – **25** / Look what happened... – **27** (I-3, p 30) *(Continued)*

no visible response from Ted's side. After a brief halt, and in a subsequent episode, he tries again, but now in Norwegian, as illustrated in (48). It is not clear whether he has altered the range of addressees, i.e. to include Tom, or whether his renewed calls can be seen as a repetition of the preceding sequence. However, as in the previous example, Jim resorts to Norwegian at the end of a prolonged sequence. Code-switching thus again represents the final step in the series of attempts to call the attention of interlocutors.

JIM: xxx.

JIM: **<se hva> [<] [/] se hva han <gjør>** [>].
(look what [/] look what he is doing)

JIM: **se hva han gjør [/] han gjør her.**
(look what he is doing [/] he is doing here)

JIM: <xxx> [>].

(48): Se hva han gjør – **30** (I-3, p 32)

With respect to linguistic context, Jim himself has been the only English speaker throughout the sequence. Thus, his switch to Norwegian is no direct response to the other participants' altering of language.

No addressee

As opposed to instances where speakers actively attempt to engage one other speaker in conversation are single utterances where the speaker does not seem to seek response from others. Occurrences of this sort were defined as islands, i.e. individual utterances which do not connect to the interaction before or after. In the Triad 1 conversations, three instances of such islands were found (see Figures 4 and 6, Chapter 7), two produced by Jim and one by Tom.

1	TED:	***din dumming bæsj storesøster***.	
		(you stupid poop big sister)	
2	XXX:	0 [=! laugh].	
3	TOM:	***ikke gjør det no mer da***.	
		(don't do that any more)	
4	TED:	***ikke gjør det no bæsj nå***.	
		(don't do that any poop now)	
5	TOM:	***gjør det no mer da***.	
		(do that some more)	
6	TED:	***åkei # du sa at æ kunna gjør det mer?***	
		(okay # you said I could do it more)	
7	JIM:		I wonder when we are going back down.
8	TED:	*0 [=! imitates pouring water]*.	
9	TOM:	*0 [=! screams]*!	
10	TED:	*0 [=! imitates pouring water]*.	
11	TED:	***ja men du sa at æ jo kunna gjør det mer*** +...	
		(but you said I could do it more)	

(49): Ska vi ikke lek – **26** / Going back – **28** (I-1, p 24)

All three islands follow a section where two speakers are engaged in role play activity and the third speaker has been involved in a separate parallel episode which has come to a halt. The islands are all utterances spoken in a language contrasting with the language used in the parallel activity,

exemplified by (49) on the previous page where Ted and Tom are enacting a fictional water fight on the beach, in Norwegian. Jim is not involved in the play and his preceding attempt at engaging the others in a conversation about pirate toys has failed (see Figure 4, Chapter 7). His contribution in line 7 seems to directly express this situation. As in parallel episodes where one speaker could be seen to use a language code contrasting with that of the parallel activity for extended periods, the language employed in islands similarly serves to set the speakers off from the other activity. Thus, distance is contextualized through selection of code, i.e. the use of a contrasting language.

Summing up

The focus on the question of addressee might seem to suggest a return to a functional perspective, i.e. an attempt to isolate loci in the interaction and relate them to the question of code selection, an approach which has been criticized on the grounds that it does not take into consideration the participants' active role in exploiting the signalling value of a code-switch (Auer 1995). However, what I have done in this section is to analyze speakers' linguistic behavior in the light of how they define the interactional context, rather than view code choice as a reflection of the participant constellation. I have presented examples from sequences where the speakers' contributions can be seen to address the issue of participation or where a speaker's choice of code can be related to the issue of addressee.

Code selection was related to the act of including a larger set of participants as addressees, as well as to the marking of an utterance as directed to one rather than two participants. Selection of one code rather than the other was also related to individual speakers' calling of attention, where the activity constituted separate episodes, and to islands where the use of code was taken to be a reflection of the lone status of the speaker.

Towards the end of the last part of the analysis, *Social maneuvering*, it will be clear that a number of the instances of code-switching presented in this

study represent an interplay of more than one interactional project, i.e. *projects in interaction*.

Chapter 10

SOCIAL MANEUVERING

> *"If it is from the showers of April that the vine is made to flower [...] and from conversational acorns that social oaks grow, then a spring afternoon's conversation between two small girls may offer some interesting information on the growth of social pragmatic knowledge."*
> (Cook-Gumperz 1992, p 177)

Jørgensen (in press) demonstrates how Turkish/Danish speaking children make use of code-switching to defend a position or to oppose an interlocutor in a discussion, and how choice of code can be related to the inclusion or exclusion of other participants during interaction. From such a perspective speakers are approached, not as "role players" in the fictional sense or as turn-takers in the conversational sense, but as social individuals, and their conversational contributions analyzed in terms of how they define and re-define their own and others' roles, e.g. as opponents, teasing mates, or friends, in their social maneuvering during interaction.

With the general hypothesis being that code-switching is employed to mark new directions in the interaction, my specific hypothesis from the perspective of *social maneuvering* is that code selection reflects shifts in the social setup of the group. In order to shed light on this aspect of conversational interaction, I will discuss, on the one hand, speakers' choice of code during sequences where there is opposition between the participants in a group, and on the other hand, code choice during sequences where there is a feeling of mutual understanding between them. Growing out of this approach is a

discussion structured around oppositions: hostility vs. agreement, and exclusion into the group vs. inclusion from it.

An underlying assumption in this section of the analysis is that patterns of code selection may reflect specific modes of interaction. Support for such an assumption can be found in Auer (1995) where a usual pattern of code selection in conversation is described as follows: interlocutors in a conversation tend to adjust their language choice to that of the other speaker. A sequence which at the outset is bilingual, with turns alternately produced in two different languages by two different speakers, tends to end in a monolingual speech mode:

> After a time of divergent language choice, one participant, 2, accepts the other's language, and the sequence continues with language A as the language-of-interaction. This pattern represents schematically what I call 'language negotiation' (p 125).

A sequence of language negotiation can be presented as a series of conversational turns as below, where 'A' and 'B' represent turns spoken in two different languages, '1' and '2' refer to separate speakers, and '//' marks the point of transition from a bilingual to a monolingual mode of interaction.

A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 // A2 A1 A2 A1[a]

a. Reproduced from Auer (1995)

I propose that the duration of such sequences of language negotiation is indicative of the relationship between participants in a group: opposition between participants is assumed to be reflected in a more extended process of language negotiation before one code is decided upon, whereas during episodes where there is agreement between the participants, that agreement is assumed to be reflected in a smoother language negotiation process where agreement on code choice is reached more quickly.

In Auer's model, the notion of language negotiation is discussed on the basis of dyadic interaction. The principle is nevertheless applicable on triadic conversation, the point being that failure on the part of one speaker to adapt his or her language to that of the others may signal opposition between the speakers. Similarly, agreement between speakers in a group may be reflected in a tendency to select a joint code.

Hostility vs. agreement

Corsaro (1985) in a discussion of children's peer culture from an activity rather than from a language point of view, describes preschool children's humor and their frequent use of references to excretion. His informants were often observed to use "poo-poo" and "pee-pee", in teasing or threatening other children, as exemplified in the following exchange:

A: You got poo-poo on your head
B: Well, you got poo-poo on your head (p 212)

The excerpt from Corsaro resembles Tom's contributions in lines 12 and 13 in (50), which is a representative of the quite substantial number of contributions centering around toilet talk in the present material. This sequence,

1 JIM: do you know why [?] fire engines have sirens?
2 TED: yeah I know that.
3 JIM: and [/] and xxx +/.
4 TOM: <I xxx know that> [>].
5 TED: <I know know know know that> [<].
6 TOM: I know know know that.
7 JIM: and we got <three xxx> [>] +...
8 TED: <I know that>[<]!
9 JIM: and we got <three xxx> [>] fire engines.
10 TED: <I know that> [<]!
11 JIM: xxx [//] my father got a long and I got <xxx> [>] one.
12 TOM: <**xxx bæsj**> [<]!
(xxx poop)
13 TOM: **bæsjing i <hodet ditt Jim>** [>].
(poop in your head Jim)
14 JIM: <xxx fire engine> [<].
15 TOM: xxx.
16 JIM: and I got xxx.
17 JIM: xxx you better be careful xxx along # at any time.
18 TED: I'm not any &s [//] I'm not <scared of any xxx> [>]

(50): And we got three... - **11** / Bæsjing i hodet... - **12** (I-1, p 9)

which covers interaction during parts of two consecutive transitional episodes, shows Pat and Ted while trying to silence Jim by repeating the same phrase over and over again (lines 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 10). In line 6 Tom makes his last contribution in a series of gradually louder and more aggressive responses to Jim and then withdraws temporarily from the floor, while Ted continues the verbal fight with Jim. On Tom's reentry on the floor in line 12, the effect of his code-switch from English to Norwegian seems to be that of aggravating the message, i.e. his attempt to intimidate Jim in order to reestablish himself as a participant in the conversation. However, Tom does not regain his position in the ongoing and still aggressive interaction between Jim and Ted. Thus, his switch to Norwegian coincides with the final one in a series of utterances, after which he in effect leaves the floor.

Sequentially, the turns during this episode can be presented in the following manner with the line entries referring to the transcribed sequence above. The first five turns of the episode are left out.

lines	6	7	8	9	10	11		12/13	14	15	16/17	18
	A3	A1	A2	A1	A2	A1	//	B3	A1	X3	A1	A2

What can be said to happen in terms of language is that Tom introduces a contrasting language in lines 12 and 13 (B3 above). After his entry, the conversation returns to English and his code-switch does not effect a shift in direction in terms of language. The sequence does not represent language negotiation as such. What it suggests is that Tom's use of a contrasting language entry, and the other speakers' refusal to adopt his suggested switch, is indicative of the mood in this section of the conversation, i.e. a sense of hostility between speakers.

As in the discussion of (46) in the previous chapter, where the final position of a code-switch was interpreted as giving the last utterance in a sequence of contributions a particular status, Gal's (1979) analysis can be applied here too. Tom's contribution is in effect a final attempt to check Jim's role in the conversation and perhaps alter the participant constellation. Tom's last contribution in this episode does not have that effect, but his contribution is nevertheless conclusive in the sense that he makes no further

attempts of attacking Jim verbally. In the previous chapter an example was presented where Jim was seen to exhaust his repertoire of possible ways of calling attention through a code-switch from English into Norwegian. Tom similarly resorts to Norwegian in his final statement. And as in Gal's analysis, the point here is not that code-switching is always employed in order to add force to a final statement or attempt: "The point is, rather, that if a speaker wants to [he or she can use code-switching at a particular point in the conversation to] accomplish these communicative purposes" (Gal 1979, p 117).

From language contrast reflecting opposition between speakers, I turn to examples where there is a sense of agreement between speakers. In (51) below, the use of same language code can be seen to reflect a sense of agreement. We enter the conversation at a point when Tom again initiates the excretion topic, but this time as a role play contribution rather than as an attempt to threaten or insult a co-participant. Jim picks up on the topic in line 3, and they both use Norwegian, as all three speakers have been doing up to this point in the conversation. In line 5, Tom comments on the preceding role play interaction, shifting from a fiction level to a directing level perspective, still using Norwegian. He is followed by Jim, who switches into English, or rather into a mixed variety where one lexical item remains Norwegian (line 9). Still within directing level speech, the next development in the conversation is Tom copying Jim's switch into English in line 14.

1 TOM: ***bæsj bæsj bæsj***.
(poop poop poop)

2 JIM: **au wha**.
(ouch)

3 JIM: ***bæsj***.
(poop)

4 XXX: 0 [=! laugh].

5 TOM: <**SPISE BÆSJ**> [>].
(eat poop)

6 JIM: <SHE ATE **BÆSJ**> [<].

7 JIM: TED # SHE ATE **BÆSJ.**

8 TOM: 0 [=! laughs].

9 JIM: HE ATE **BÆSJ**.

(51): She ate bæsj – **6** (I-1, p 6)

10 XXX: 0 [=! laugh].
11 JIM: SHE ATE **BÆSJ**.
12 XXX: 0 [=! laugh].
13 TOM: ***nam nam***.
(yum yum)
14 TOM: HE ATE **BÆSJ**.
15 TOM: SHE ATE **BÆSJ**.
16 XXX: 0 [=! laugh].
17 TOM: SHE ATE **BÆSJ**.

(51): She ate bæsj – **6** (I-1, p 6) *(Continued)*

The participants' linguistic behavior in this sequence, and Tom's in particular, can be described as an adaptation of code choice. The switch from Norwegian in line 5 to English in line 6 (with the Norwegian insertion adopted by both speakers) represents a transition point in the conversation where both speakers go from one language to the other. Tom adopts Jim's choice of code from line 14 onwards, and schematically the sequential pattern of language choice during this sequence can be rendered as below.

lines	1	2 / 3	5		6 / 7 / 9	14 / 15 / 17
	A1	A2	A1	//	B2	B1

The code-switch from Norwegian to English occurs between lines 5 and 6. Tom's fiction level contribution in line 13 does not upset the pattern, i.e. a clear shift from Norwegian to English, since his use of Norwegian in this utterance can be explained on the basis of other factors than those of the social relationship between the two speakers in the sequence. Each entry represents a speaker turn rather than individual utterances. The five separate units thus cover the 11 verbal utterances contained in the episode. The topic of the episode presented in (51) was first initiated at the very beginning of the same session, in the second of two transitional episodes. These introductory episodes are presented in (52). (The same sequence was used as an illustration of the structure of transitional episodes in Chapter 7). This sequence is initiated by a series of fairly hostile utterances where Tom and Ted, like in (50), initially attempt to silence Jim. After the first part, however,

1 JIM: hæ?
2 TED: ta +/.
3 TOM: **ikke rør!**
(don't touch)
4 TED: **de va ikke æ de va** +/.
(it wasn't me it was)
5 JIM: I got one of those.
6 JIM: <that> [=? but] is pink.
7 JIM: I got one those for my first [?] birthday.
8 TED: **ikke &kn snakk**!
(don't talk)
9 JIM: that Frank have <got me> [>].
10 TED: <don't> [<] talk!
11 TED: just play.
12 TOM: 0 [=! laughs].
13 TED: don't talk.
14 TOM: 0 [=! laughs].
15 TED: don't **bæsj**.
(don't poop)
16 XXX: 0 [=! laugh].
17 TOM: **bæsj**.
(poop)
18 XXX: 0 [=! laugh].
19 TED: <**bæsj**> [>].
(poop)

(52): I got one those – **2** / Don't talk – **3** (I-1, p 1)

the whole group gradually shifts into a more playful tone of voice. The important transition seems to occur at the initiation of laughter, when the speakers start relating to what is said as play with words rather than actual threats.

As in the previous episode, the pattern of code selection can be presented schematically where each entry represents a speaker turn rather than a single utterance:

lines	1	2	3	4	5 / 6 / 7	8	9		10 / 11 / 13 / 15	17	18
	X^a1	X2	A3	A2	B1	A2	B1	//	B2	A3	A2

a. (X=Uncertain)

When the code-switching pattern in this sequence is compared to those in the two previous examples, we notice that both types of patterns are represented in one sequence. Jim's switch from Norwegian to English in line 5 is not accepted by the next speaker, Ted, evidenced by his continued use of Norwegian in line 8. However, the process of language negotiation is halted here: in Ted's next contributions (lines 10, 11, 13 and 15) he has adopted Jim's suggested language. The switch back into Norwegian is of the smooth type: when Ted introduces a Norwegian element in line 15, this is adopted by Tom in a full Norwegian entry, and the conversation returns to its original Norwegian base. The transitions between two types of code-switching patterns coincide with a shift in mood in the course of the two separate episodes: a hostile mood, reflected in alternate use of Norwegian and English by the different speakers in the first part, is replaced by a sense of agreement in the second, accompanied by a joint switching from one language to the other.

Auer (1995) describes the latter code-switching pattern, where the switch is simultaneously accepted by all speakers, as typical for 'discourse-related code-switching', i.e. code-switching related to "a shift in topic, participant constellation, activity type etc." (p 125). The assumption is that all participants accept and relate to this kind of shift in the discourse situation from the same point in the conversation. The former pattern where the speakers go through a phase where a joint choice of code has not yet been established, is described as relating to language negotiation within the framework of a homogeneous discourse situation: "instead of redefining the discourse, it permits assessments of/by participants" (p 125). The examples here are all examples of code-switching behavior within one and the same interactional situation, and the two separate code-switching patterns are seen as indicative of the social relationship between the speakers and the interactional mood in the sequence.

So far I have discussed the contrast between a bilingual and a monolingual speech mode as reflective of the degree of cooperation and agreement within the group. I go on to present examples which suggest that a bilingual speech mode, when adopted jointly by the speakers, can also reflect this type

of interactional mood. These sequences are characterized by an explicit cooperative spirit, materializing through a joint effort to code-switch more than in any other part of the conversations.

In (53) the topic of the episode is a shared bilingual experience: language choice when in Norway. The sequence contains code-switching from one utterance to the next as well as within utterance boundaries. Strictly speaking, only Jim's mixed utterances in lines 3 and 4 represent instances of intra-utterance code-switching. Tom's mixed utterances in lines 1 and 10 are performed in Norwegian with English insertions, instances of language alternation which are not considered relevant in the context of this study. However, language alternation in this particular episode, realized partly by code-switching and partly by insertions, is so intense that it deserves

1 TOM: **hvis vi** go to Norway **da må vi snakk norsk**.
(if we go to Norway then we must speak Norwegian)

2 TOM: **da** +/.
(then)

3 JIM: **da må vi** [/] **da må vi** speak Norwegian.
(then we must [/] then we must speak Norwegian)

4 JIM: **da må vi** go into Norwegian don't we Tom?
(then we must go into Norwegian don't we Tom)

5 TOM: yes # we do.

6 TED: yeah.

7 TED: we have to do that.

8 JIM: yes.

9 TOM: Norway.

10 TOM: **hvis vi** go to Norway **da må vi** speak **norsk # ikke sant**?
(if we go to Norway then we must speak Norwegian # right)

11 JIM: yes.

12 TOM: Jim?

13 JIM: ***snakke norsk***.
(speak Norwegian)

14 JIM: ***nei***.
(no)

15 JIM: ***bare litt***.
(just a little)

(53): Da må vi snakk norsk – **13** (I-1, p 13)

comment. (Note that in line 10, Tom adopts a combination of his own 'snakk norsk' (line 1) and Jim's 'speak Norwegian' (line 3): 'speak norsk'). Both Tom and Jim produce mixed as well as Norwegian and English monolingual utterances during the sequence. All three speakers contribute to the topic and to a smooth interaction in the sense that initiatives are responded to and further developed. Thus, in this episode, code-switching, the typical feature of bilingual speech, can be seen to reflect a joint experience and a sense of mutuality and agreement in the group.

The same kind of cooperative spirit between the participants can be observed in the next sequence, (54). In terms of turn-taking, the speakers' behavior during this episode suggests joint projects in the sense that the participants jointly produce full utterances, one starting an utterance and another completing it. As in the previous example, there is frequent code-switching. Note that switching takes place between directing level utterances while fiction level contributions are all performed in English. Ada enacts a mediator role, providing two versions of the same utterance, first

1 FIE: **DET HER VA HUSET TIL HU STATUEN.**
(this was the house for the statue)
2 ADA: THAT'S THE HOUSE XXX THE STATUE.
3 ADA: **Å NÅ [/] NÅ # VISST DOKKER INGENTING.**
(and now [/] now # you didn't know anything)
4 ADA: YOU DIDN'T KNOW ANYTHING # WHAT [/] WHAT THE SISTER WAS DOING.
5 MIA: BUT SUDDENLY +...
6 ADA: <xxx> [>] +...
7 FIE: <SUDDENLY> [<] THIS ONE CAME.
8 FIE: *I've said it # look*.
9 FIE: +" <*look what they got to me*>.
10 MIA: OKAY THEN # THE GRANDMOTHER +/.
11 ADA: *O [=! screams]*.
12 MIA: CLIMBED CLIMBED UP.
13 MIA: *oh # you shouldn't be up there*.
14 MIA: *you are dead now*.

(54): Det her va huset til hu statuen – **19** (II-2, p 20)

in Norwegian and then in English (lines 1 and 2 and lines 3 and 4), by translating what Fie says and by translating her own contribution. The effect of her mediator role and her corresponding linguistic behavior seems to be to make the episode inclusive: her code-switching makes it explicitly evident that all three participants are invited and expected to join in as speakers.

Both the two preceding episodes reflect a distinct cooperative spirit between the participants. The turn-taking is characterized by joint projects in the sense that the speakers cooperate in producing full utterances, one starting and another completing as well as contributing to the joint topic, and the pattern of code selection can be seen as a reflection of this pattern of collaboration.

Inclusion vs. exclusion

The question of inclusion vs. exclusion of conversational participants is closely related to the issue of addressee, as discussed in Chapter 10, but incorporates the idea of social relationships between the participants.

(55) below illustrates the effect of a change in (the set of) addressee(s) on a speaker's code choice, i.e. the excluding use of one language (Norwegian)

1 TOM: **OG DEN OGSÅ BRENT OPP.**
(and that one burnt up too)

2 TED: **MEN DU # DA MÅ DU PUTT DEM INNI HER.**
(but listen # then you have to put them in here)

3 TED: **FOR DE BRENT HELT OPP.**
(for they burned up completely)

4 JIM: æ: # <I bet it a dump> [?].

5 TED: someone's coming.

6 TED: **JA # BUT DE HERRAN BRENT OPP OGSÅ**
(yes # but these burned up too)

7 TED: **XXX [//] MEN DE KUNN IKKE [//] MEN MENNESKAN # DE VA LEVENDE.**
(xxx [//] but they couldn't [//] but the people # they were alive)

8 TOM: **MEN HAN SKA VÆR [?] BRENT OPP OGSÅ.**
(but he's supposed to be [?] burnt up too)

(55): Det va en stor robot – 31 (I-1, p 38)

vs. the including use of the other (English). In the middle of an extended conversation between Tom and Ted conducted in Norwegian, one utterance is offered in English by Ted (line 5). He does not turn towards Jim, the outsider, but actually remains faced towards Tom. Thus, the code-switch is the only factor in this sequence which indicates that Ted's utterance is set off from the rest of the conversation in any way.

There are several possible interpretations of Ted's behavior in this example. Firstly, the change of topic is a possible explanation for the switch: Ted goes from commenting on the fate of the doll to calling attention to something he believes is the entry of somebody from the outside, before returning to the initial topic. Secondly, the code-switch from Norwegian into English and back coincides with a shift between reality levels: directing level speech in lines 1–3 and 6–8, where the consequences of the fire are outlined, and real life speech in line 5. Thirdly, the question of addressee is relevant: during the episode from which this sequence is extracted, Ted and Tom are discussing role play events but leave no room for Jim during their interaction. The utterance in line 5 obviously has relevance for everyone present. Ted's code-switch during this utterance serves to mark it off as different from the preceding and subsequent utterances, suggesting that he is addressing not only Tom but both his co-participants at this point.

The distinction between topic, reality level, and addressee as decisive elements is a difficult one since what Ted signals in fact is a combination of the three: "what I am saying now concerns the situation as experienced by everybody present rather than the directing activity involving only two individuals, and is for everyone to hear and notice". This amounts to interpreting code-selection in the context of managing the social situation rather than limiting the perspective to a question of participant constellation.

I deliberately focus on Ted's contributions in my discussion of this sequence. I do not consider the possibility that Jim's utterance in line 4 of the sequence has triggered Ted's switch to English as relevant. The content of Jim's contribution is unclear. The main reason for disregarding the potential influence of Jim's utterance, however, is the fact that Ted does not provide any signs that his attention is directed specifically towards Jim, which leads me to assume that Jim's choice of language is not significant. Rather than

focusing on one specific factor in the interaction as the explanation for Ted's code-switching behavior during this sequence, I want to suggest that an effect of his code-switch from Norwegian to English and back into Norwegian is that of emphasizing Jim's outsider position by including him in the range of addressees for no longer than is absolutely necessary.

This issue relates to the notion of "we" code (Jørgensen 1992), used in connection with sequences where one speaker wants to monopolize the attention of a particular participant and at the same time exclude others. The term "we" code, used in relation to (55), refers to a joint code as the default language to include the whole group. What is implied in Jørgensen's use of the term is a rather more exclusive meaning, where the "we" code in fact signals that a restricted number of group members rather than the group at large are implied as addressees, exemplified by Jim's use of English during parallel episodes, where he specifically calls the attention of one other participant choosing English as his code. Thus, in some instances English functions as the "including 'we' code" signalling that the whole group is addressed. In other cases, English is the "excluding 'we' code" intended to do the opposite, namely to signal that only one speaker is intended as addressee. These seemingly conflicting interpretations are only possible when the concrete context is taken into consideration.

The two next sequences, (56) and (57), display interaction during consecutive and parallel episodes. The first sequence is initiated at the starting point of Episode 5 (III-3) and covers the interaction well into the parallel one, Episode 6. The second excerpt is from a point near the end of the latter. Only when the two sequences are related to each other is it possible to observe how one speaker, Dan, transfers his loyalties from one interlocutor to the other, and in effect displays an excluding behavior, and how this is contextualized through his choice of code.

In the first sequence, Per's code-switch to Norwegian in line 2 singles Dan out as the addressee. The interaction between Per and Dan is concluded when Dan reacts to the activity Bob is engaged in and chooses to involve himself in that by submitting a protest, line 12. As was demonstrated in the episode charts for this group (Figures 10 to 12 in Chapter 7), the use of Norwegian in this episode is one of very few instances in this group.

1	DAN:		*0 [=! imitates falling]*.
2	PER:		look here [//] **sje her da**. (look here [//] look here)
3	PER:		**slutt opp**. (stop it)
4	PER:		<**sje** [/] **sje her**> [>]. (look [/] look here)
5	PER:		<*la la la la*> [>].
6	BOB:	<WE [/] WE NEED BEDS IN THE SPACESHIP> [<].	
7	PER:		**OG HIV BAKOVER**. (and throw backwards)
8	PER:		*0 [=! imitates falling]*.
9	DAN:		*0 [=! imitates striking a doll]*.
10	DAN:		**Æ SLO DÆ** <XXX> [>]. (I hit you xxx)
11	BOB:	<WE NEED> [<] THE BEDS IN THERE DO YOU THINK IN THE SPACESHIP.	
12	DAN:	NO!	

(56): We need beds – **6** / Look here, sje her – **5** (III-3, p 4)

In (57), which represents a continuation of the interaction in the previous sequence, there is another brief exchange between Dan and Per. This time, however, we can observe Dan's code-switch from Norwegian in his initial protest in line 3 into English in line 5 when rejecting Per's request to join

1	PER:	**we are home**.
2	PER:	<**I want to sleep**> [>].
3	DAN:	<**nei # kutt ut**> [<]. (no # stop it)
4	PER:	**I want to sleep too**.
5	DAN:	NO # YOU DON'T PLAY ON THE SPACESHIP.
6	PER:	xxx.
7	BOB:	HE CAN MAKE HIS OWN SPACESHIP.

(57): We need beds in the spaceship – **6** (III-3, p 4)

Bob and himself in their play activity. The switch to English can be regarded as a way of signalling the power of numbers. Dan not only argues his own position but is able to refuse on behalf of himself as well as his ally, Bob. Per's use of English in lines 1,2, and 4 is related to the fiction level quality of these utterances.

In (58) we can observe code-switching behavior which corresponds to the patterns described as typical for role play interaction in Chapter 8. Fictional speech is conducted in English through the whole episode while there is a shift from English to Norwegian in the course of a series of directing level utterances. The shift in code selection is only made evident when the reality level contrasts are taken into consideration. Ada's switch from English to Norwegian in the middle of the sequence of directing level speech (from line 7 to line 16) might seem inconsistent. However, there are a couple of elements in this episode which suggest a possible answer. Ada is more or less turned towards Fie throughout the episode. However, just prior to the episode, Fie has reproached the two others for misbehavior in terms of positioning:

FIE: **du hvis dokker gjør det kan hu ikke se dokkehuset.**
(if you do that she cannot se the doll's house)

Thus, not denying that it is Fie's comment that has called Ada and Mia back to the table, is seems that Ada and Mia have initiated something together and it would be natural to see them continue this activity. Ada does indeed initiate a new episode, suggesting a new direction in the fictional play, where English is used for fiction as well as for directing level purposes. Mia accepts a less central position temporarily. However, on her attempt to involve herself in the activity (lines 11 and 12), Ada interrupts her and turns more directly to Fie. And at this point in the interaction a code-switch occurs: Ada's next and subsequent directing level contributions are in Norwegian. Thus, her use of Norwegian signals that she has lost interest in Mia and also makes it clear to Mia that she has lost the floor.

```
 1 ADA:  XXX SHE'S LIKE SICK AND TAKING TO THE XXX.
 2 ADA:  0 [=! laughs].
 3 XXX:  WWW
 4 ADA:  *oh # I'm going to swinging swinging swinging*.
 5 ADA:  *on a dingi dingi dingi*.
 6 FIE:  Å DU XXX.
         (and listen xxx)
 7 ADA:  AND THEN THE BABY CAME AND SAID +"/.
 8 ADA:  +" *oh # I go to xxx*.
 9 ADA:  +" *I go to xxx*.
10 ADA:  0 [=! whispers].
11 MIA:  DU [/] DU [//] OH DOES SHE +...
12 MIA:  yes you xxx +/.
13 ADA:  *oh oh the bab* +...
14 ADA:  *oh oh help mummy*!
15 ADA:  *mum* +...
16 ADA:  DU VA LIKSOM MORA # DA.
         (you were the mother)
17 ADA:  +, *mummy # look at baby*.
18 FIE:  *ah # oh no* !
19 FIE:  oh # go upstairs and help her.
20 ADA:  *but mummy # mummy # she isn't there*.
21 ADA:  *she isn't hanging there*.
22 FIE:  *she's on the floor*.
23 ADA:  *oh # she's dead # she's dead*.
24 FIE:  DU TENKT AT HU VA DØ.
         (you thought that she was dead)
25 ADA:  DA SA A +"/.
         (then she said)
26 ADA:  +" *oh # mummy # mummy # mummy*.
```

(58): She's like sick ... – **5** (II-2, p 6)

An essential point, already mentioned, is that it is Mia's active attempt at joining the conversation which effects the switch, not immediately, since the fiction level parts are all performed in the language selected for this purpose, but as soon as an opportunity can be found to mark the opposition

between the speakers. Why then, is it not sufficient to use the question of addressee as an explanation for language choice? The episode presented above demonstrates that it is not until Mia makes her presence evident and visible that Ada resorts to code-switching to signal that she has lost interest in the interaction with Mia. Thus code-switching is not primarily used to signal who the addressee is, but rather to mark who is not addressed. The fact that Ada interrupts Mia and raises her voice at this specific point are additional features of the conversation that strengthen this interpretation.

Projects in interaction

The discussion in this chapter has focused on the role of code choice pertaining to the speakers' social maneuvering during interaction and has related examples of code-switching to the relationship between the individual interactants, as opponents or as friends. Code selection has specifically been discussed in relation to points in the conversations where speakers could be seen to actively include or exclude other participants, or to display attitudes like hostility or agreement towards each other. A preference for same language was found during interactional sequences characterized by agreement and mutuality, whereas hostility was reflected in different speakers using contrasting languages during other sequences. Thus, the notion of language negotiation as a sequential process during turn-taking was related to differences in interactional mood between the speakers in a group. Further, frequent code-switching was found to characterize a selection of episodes where the code-switching mode itself could be seen to reflect a joint sense of agreement and cooperation during certain parts of the conversations.

Throughout the study, I have approached the notions of code-switching and code selection from separate perspectives focusing on one aspect of interaction at the time: *managing role play*, *fighting for the floor*, and *social maneuvering*. However, implicit in many parts of my discussion has been the idea that projects can be seen to interact and that strategies identifiable from one interactional project can be seen to be involved in others: e.g. role play

behavior or aspects of turn-taking exploited for the purposes of social maneuvering. From such a perspective, interactional projects are not seen to operate exclusively in isolation and on a one-at-a-time basis but explicitly combined, i.e. as 'projects in interaction'. I conclude my discussion by analyzing in some detail an episode from the last session with one of the groups, an episode where the interaction between different projects can be seen to be distinctly present. At the same time, the somewhat detailed analysis of this episode serves to highlight an important aspect of my approach to the material throughout this study, namely that the workings of code choice and the use of voice quality contrast can only be understood through a close reading of conversational data.

(59) below constitutes the final part of a session after which the participants all leave the room to join the rest of the class. The extract is interesting for several reasons. It exemplifies a 'dispute sequence' (McTear 1985), which works according to regular dialogue rules with respect to turn-taking, but is typically characterized by a rapid and rhythmical exchange of turns. The episode in question is initiated by Ada with a request to Fie: "kan æ få se på klinkisan dine?" (can I look at your marbles?). Ada is not granted what she asks for and the line of conflict introduced at this point remains basically unaltered to the end, Fie defending her position throughout the episode. There is a brief interlude after Fie's initial refusal of Ada's request when Mia demonstrates her loyalty towards Ada (line 5), who has been accused by Fie as a potential thief. Fie's response in the subsequent utterance (line 6) is surprising in the light of her initial accusation. It is tempting to interpret this as a reflection of the basic loyalty lines in this group, i.e. the alliance between Ada and Fie. After this brief detour, Ada and Fie return to their original conflict, which lasts to the end of the session. From line 17 onwards the dispute is expressed through a series of polarized 'nei' (no) and 'ja' (yes). The dispute is real enough from the beginning, and the end result signals that the conflict is still there. However, the series of requests and rejections never develops into a serious conflict and is gradually turned into a play with words. In line 23 Fie initiates a more playful approach through the use of the humorously loaded word 'jopp' (yes) instead of the plain 'jo' (yes). From line 27 onwards, Fie adds a marked voice to her utterances, a voice quality normally reserved

1 ADA: **kan æ få se på klinkisan dine?**
(can I look at your marbles)

2 FIE: xxx.

3 ADA: **æ ska bare se.**
(I just want to look)

4 FIE: **xxx stjele du stjele.**
(xxx steal you'll steal)

5 MIA: no # she doesn't do that.

6 FIE: she can do it if she want to.

7 ADA: **ska bare se # æ ska lov dæ at æ ikke tar altså.**
(I just want to look # I promise you I won't take any)

8 ADA: **xxx e helt sant.**
(it's true)

9 ADA: **det e helt sant.**
(it's true)

10 ADA: **æ ska ikke ta.**
(I won't take any)

11 ADA: **æ ska ikke ta.**
(I won't take any)

12 FIE: **du får ikke ta.**
(you're not allowed to take any)

13 ADA: **xxx æ ska [/] æ ska ikke.**
(xxx I won [/] I won't)

14 FIE: **jammen gi dæm tebake da.**
(but give them back)

15 ADA: e e.

16 ADA: **kan [?] æ få se på dæm?**
(can I look at them)

17 FIE: **nei.**
(no)

18 ADA: **jo.**
(yes)

19 FIE: **nei # <i klasserommet> [>].**
(no # in the classroom)

20 MIA: <can I look at them> [<] Fie?

21 FIE: **i klasserommet.**
(in the classroom)

22 ADA: **nei.**
(no)

(59): Kan æ få se på klinkisan dine? – **20** (II-3, p 16)

23 FIE: **jopp**.
(yes)
24 ADA: **nei**.
(no)
25 FIE: **jo**.
(yes)
26 ADA: **nei**.
(no)
27 FIE: *__jo__*.
(yes)
28 ADA: *__nei__*.
(no)
29 FIE: *__jo: da__*.
(yes)
30 ADA: *__jai da__*.
(yes)
31 FIE: **nei # kutt ut**.
(no # cut it out)
32 ADA: 0 [=! laughs].
33 MIA: I am <xxx> [>].
34 ADA: % *<I see [?] the mummy> [<] lalala*%.
35 MIA: *doesn't matter*.
36 MIA: does it matter?
37 FIE: *doesn't matter*.
38 FIE: *doesn't matter*.
39 FIE: *doesn't matter*.
40 FIE: *doesn't matter*.

(59): Kan æ få se på klinkisan dine? – **20** (II-3, p 16) *(Continued)*

for fictional level utterances, and is accompanied by Ada who does the same. The conflict culminates in line 31 when Fie switches from a marked to an unmarked voice signalling that she is no longer willing to play the game of being talked into letting Ada have the marbles. She does two things in this utterance: verbally she clearly signals that she is no longer interested in the playful and teasingly prolonged conflict, and her message is aggravated through her shift in voice quality.

Mia's performance during the whole set of conversations is generally lacking in the kind of contextualization cues exploited by her co-participants. This pertains to code-switching as well as shifts in voice quality. The utter-

ance in line 35, however, is a clear example of the use of marked voice. This shift co-occurs with a response to Ada's preceding utterance in line 34:

```
ADA:    <%I see [?] the mummy> [<] lalala%.
MIA:    *doesn't matter*.
```

On realizing that Fie's rejection is absolute, Ada is in need of a face-saving strategy to escape from the situation she has put herself in. As she cannot have the marbles, she grasps Fie's doll, 'the mummy', that was left on the table during the struggle over the marbles. The lexical contents of her utterance combined with her sing song performance of the same suggests a fiction level contribution. And what she does in terms of topic is in fact to suggest an entry into fiction level interaction. Her strategy is that of evasion, i.e. leaving, not only the topic but the real life conversation which the participants have conducted up to this point. What she signals seems to be that despite being defeated with respect to her request about the marbles, she is able to leave the scene victorious.

Returning to Mia's utterance, her performance seems to signal that Ada's move is lost on her and that she does not accept Ada's attempt to shift the focus from the marbles to the doll. In the next line, Mia turns to Fie and returns to her regular tone of voice, asking Fie to confirm the validity of what she has just said, namely that attention should not be paid to Ada's initiative. Fie accepts Mia's suggestion, and signals that she joins in the project of rejecting Ada by copying Mia's use of marked voice, contributing another four identical utterances. In conclusion, the two girls agree jointly that the protection of Fie's marbles was their priority. This time, Mia successfully negotiates her role as Fie's ally.

Thus, the analysis of this episode has demonstrated the interaction between interactional projects; cues and sets of cues typically employed during role play exploited for the purposes of social maneuvering.

Chapter 11

CONCLUSIONS

In this study I have investigated how children use code selection in organizing conversations in bilingual triads, i.e. groups of three speakers. I have adopted elements from Auer's (1984, 1992, 1995) framework: the idea that code-switching is embedded in sequential structures in conversation and the notion that code-switching tends to co-occur with other contextualization cues rather than appear in isolation. My study has focused on patterns of code-switching and voice quality contrasts in a particular communicative situation, i.e. during children's conversations in a role play setting, and with reference to a particular set of language codes, i.e. Norwegian and English. I have suggested that occurrence and co-occurrence patterns of code-switching and voice quality variation are related to points in the interaction where the participants start "doing something new"; in relation to role play, to conversational turntaking, or to the negotiating of social positions in the interaction; e.g. "we are role-playing rather than talking to each other as you and me", "I am selecting only one rather than both of you as my addressee", or "I am trying to exclude you from the present activity". More specifically, I have suggested that code-switching and voice quality alternations contex-

tualize shifts between different levels of reality identified in this set of play interactions; a fiction level, a directing level, and a real life level.

Summary and comments

The data, video recordings of nine triadic conversations from three different groups (referred to as Triad 1, Triad 2, and Triad 3), were analyzed from different perspectives; through a *quantitative survey*, with respect to *episode structure*, and from the point of view of three separate interactional projects: *managing role play*, *fighting for the floor*, and *social maneuvering*. Findings on the basis of analyses from these separate perspectives are summarized in the following.

Quantitative survey. A quantitative survey of the data produced results pertaining to the full data set as well as to the separate triads and the individual speakers. In the material as a whole, the large majority of utterances could be positively identified as either Norwegian or English, i.e. only minor portions of the conversations were undecipherable. Language alternation was found to occur from one utterance to the next rather than within utterance boundaries. Thus, with a sound basis in terms of number of occurrences, language alternation in the material was found to be mainly constituted by inter-sentential code-switches, i.e. code-switches at utterance boundaries. These findings were taken to support the assumption that code-selection is used for communicative purposes by the informants in the material.

The language production varied from one group to the next as well as between speakers, both in terms of quantity and with respect to language. The conversations in Triad 3 were conducted almost exclusively in English, while the conversations in the two other groups were split between Norwegian and English. In two of the groups, one of the three participants had no or very limited production in Norwegian. Quantitative measures suggested that a dominant speaker could be identified in two of the groups, while this was not the case in Triad 3. No direct relationship between a dominant position during the conversations and language behavior was identified.

Episode structure. The interaction was shown to move between separate episodes conducted in a Norwegian, an English or a mixed language code. Four separate interactional units were identified in the conversations: individual episodes, transitional episodes, parallel episodes, and islands. Episode structure, though unable to fully account for the function of code selection and code-switching, turned out to be an important instrument in the analysis of the material. On the basis of episode charts, i.e. visual representations of the conversations, the different language codes could be related to relevant sections of the interaction. Without the notion of episode it would have been difficult to handle in an acceptable fashion the question of how to count instances of code-switching. Further, episode structure provided a key to understanding patterns of opposition between speakers in the groups and constituted a tool for separating parallel lines of interaction. Episode structure was not able to explain the local functions of code selection, however, since code choice, rather than being directly related to the overall episode structure, was found to depend primarily on the nature of the interactional projects within the individual episode.

Managing role play. It was expected that code selection would be found to contribute to the structuring of fictional role play. To test this hypothesis, the total number of utterances were categorized according to three separate levels of reality: *fiction level*, *directing level*, and *real life level*. In the portions of the interaction related to role play, the groups were found to adopt consistent but separate patterns: the speakers in Triad 1 tended to conduct fiction level interaction primarily in Norwegian, whereas the speakers in Triad 2 tended to use English for fiction level speech. In Triad 3, instances of language alternation were few. However, fiction level contributions in this group were produced in English, and the few occurrences of Norwegian were reserved for directing and real life level interaction. Thus, data from the last group are added evidence that fiction level speech is contextualized as different from other parts of the interaction through the use of a separate code.

The finding that fiction level speech was set off from the rest of the interaction is in part based on the analysis of the speakers' code-switching pat-

terns at level onset points, i.e. at points during the interaction where the conversations could be seen to shift from one level of reality to the next. In addition to the finding that there was a certain directionality in the switching, i.e. that onset points of fiction level speech tended to co-occur with code-switching into Norwegian in one group and with code-switching into English in another, speakers code-switched from one language to the other more frequently during real life level sequences than during fiction or directing level speech.

Further evidence that the groups adhered to certain language norms, particularly noticeable during fiction level portions of the interaction, was found in patterns of imitation and repetition. Imitation of language material during fiction level talk was interpreted as a speaker strategy employed to overcome limitations in language repertoire, enabling the individual speaker to adhere to language norms set by the group.

Code-switching between the local dialect and standard language was further observed during Norwegian portions of the interaction. Speakers in Triads 1 and 2 were found to apply certain standard language forms in parts of their fiction level speech and corresponding local dialect forms during directing and real life level speech. This part of the analysis was based on observations of isolated occurrences in portions of the material rather than on a complete survey of the whole data set, and the results are therefore suggestive rather than conclusive. However, on the basis of the available evidence, the initial hypothesis – that it is the contrastive effect of code-switching rather than qualities of a specific language form which is exploited as a contextualization cue – can therefore be said to hold for switching between English and Norwegian but not for switching between standard language and dialect forms.

The use of marked voice quality was found to almost consistently contextualize shifts into fiction level speech. Not all speakers were found to use this cue for all or the majority of their fiction level utterances, but the cue was employed almost exclusively in fiction level speech throughout the material.

Fighting for the floor. My hypothesis from this analytical perspective was that code selection could be related to shifts in the participant constellation, i.e. as part of the speakers' fight for the floor. Code selection was related to the act of increasing the number of addressees, the act of addressing one rather than both interlocutors in the group, the act of calling attention, and to utterances which did not seem to be directly addressed to any of the other participants. On the basis of examples of sequences, code choice was found to be a relevant issue in relation to such points during the conversation. Code-switching as well as non-switching, i.e. selection of the same code for a longer sequence, was found to be related to aspects of the participant constellation.

Social maneuvering. The purpose of this part of the analysis was to identify instances of language alternation where speakers' choice of code could be related to interpersonal relations between participants in the group, i.e. to the speakers' assigning of social roles to themselves or to their interlocutors. Code selection was focused in sections during the conversations where the interactional mood between the participants was characterized by hostility or agreement, as well as at points during the interaction where the issue of inclusion vs. exclusion of individual speakers was central. Use of same language was found to reflect a sense of agreement in the group and willingness to include co-participants in the ongoing interaction. Use of contrasting languages was demonstrated to reflect opposition and disagreement between the participants. In a limited number of episodes, frequent code-switching was found to reflect a sense of mutual agreement between the speakers. Code choice was also found to be significant during sequences where the interaction was split into parallel episodes: the continued use of contrasting languages was found during sections of the interaction where an individual speaker's aim was to make a breach in the ongoing interaction rather than to be included in it.

Final comment. The result of this work is twofold: the study has further documented language practices described elsewhere in relation to other language pairs and in different contexts, and confirmed that code selection is

indeed exploited for communicative purposes. It has also produced a set of tools specifically related to the structural analysis of group conversations.

Suggestions for further work

This study has been concerned mainly with the role of code selection patterns in the organization of conversations between a set of bilingual speakers; the group perspective was the primary focus. Approaching the same material from the perspective of the individual speakers might reveal other aspects of their bilingual production. As suggested in the section *Adaptation through imitation*, p 177, the code selection patterns displayed by some of the speakers in the material point in the direction of learner strategies. Aspects of interactional dominance other than from a quantitative perspective are also potentially relevant for a full understanding of the patterns of code selection in these conversations.

From a methodological point of view, the notion of episode structure is an analytical tool which could be further developed. The visualization of conversational structure proved to be a fruitful way of illustrating the speakers' own "coloring in" of their conversational contributions: interactional structures were made more accessible through the episode charts. Interactional charts are particularly useful in relation to group conversations where the complexity of the interaction invites visualization. Similarly, bilingual conversation contains elements which suggest the use of visualization.

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APPENDIX 1

Tale M. Guldal
Department of English
University of Trondheim
7055 Dragvoll
59 67 84 (work), 93 23 47 (home)

Trondheim, 12-02-92

To:
Parents of children in Mrs Skarsmo and Mrs Farstad's classes

The occasion for my writing to you is a research project which is part of my doctoral work in the Departments of Applied Linguistics and English at the University of Trondheim. My project has brought me in contact with the infant groups at Birralee this semester. My hope is that you will permit your children's parttaking in the first stage of this project which is described in the following.

The focus of my study is the speech of young children with Norwegian and English language background respectively. More specifically I will be looking at the speech of children communicating with each other in a bilingual setting. I am planning to collect material for my study in the infant groups at Birralee. The introductory part of my project involves a pilot study of the speech of a limited number of children. Data from the pilot study will be the basis for deciding on procedures for the main data collection which will take place later.

My data will be video (or possibly audio) recordings of the children in the school setting. What will happen is that I will bring children into a quiet corner of the classroom, in pairs or in small groups, and record their speech while they are occupied with a game. The recording sessions will take place in cooperation with the children's regular teachers.

The tapes will be used for scientific research purposes only and the identity of the participants will be kept confidential.

If there are questions you want to ask or comments you want to make about the project, please feel free to contact me.

I ask your permission to conduct recording sessions in the classroom as described above. You agree to let your child participate in the pilot study only.

Signature of investigator: _____

We agree to permit our child to participate in a study of bilingual language use conducted by Tale M. Guldal as described above.

Signature of parents: _____

_____

(Please keep one copy and return the other one to the school.)

Tale M. Guldal
Department of English
University of Trondheim
7055 Dragvoll

Phone: 07 59 67 79 (work)
07 93 23 47 (home)

Trondheim, November 1992

To:
Parents of children in the 4 and 5 year groups at Birralee

The occasion for this letter is a research project which is part of my doctoral work in the Departments of Applied Linguistics and English at the University of Trondheim.

The focus of my study is the speech of young children with Norwegian and English language background respectively. More specifically I will be looking at the speech of children communicating with each other in a bilingual setting. I will be collecting material for my study in the infant groups at Birralee for a period of eight to ten months during the school year of 1992/93 in approximately biweekly sessions. My data will be video and audio recordings of the children in different situations in the school setting: While playing together in groups of two, while having lunch etc. The recording sessions will take place in close cooperation with the children's regular teachers. I will also be interested in additional information concerning language use in the home etc. for some of the children which I decide to follow more closely. The recordings will be used for scientific research purposes only and the identity of the participants will be kept confidential.

I depend on the participation of children in the 4 and 5 year groups at Birralee in order to carry out this project. I hope that you will be positive about your child participating.
If there are any questions you want to ask, about the project or about other things, please feel free to contact me.

I ask your permission to conduct recording sessions in the classroom as described above.

Signature of investigator: _____

We agree to permit --_____ to participate in a study of bilingual language use, conducted by Tale Margrethe Guldal, as described above.

Signature of parents: _____

LANGUAGE HABITS: INFORMANT AND FAMILY

In order to get a more complete picture of the children's language habits, I would ask you to answer the questions below. If there are other aspects of language use or language development that you think might be of interest, please use the space at the bottom of the sheet. (I use the term 'informant' to refer to the children I have been investigating.)

Informant's name:

1. What is the language background of the parents?
   Mother
   Father

2. What language(s) do the family members use at home?
   (Norwegian, English, other, mixing)
   Mother
   Father
   Informant
   Siblings

3. What language(s) does the informant use when among playmates?
   (Norwegian, English, other, mixing)

4. Is there a conscious strategy behind the family's choice of language(s)?

5. How has the informant's language developed during the school year, i.e. concerning his/her use/understanding of English or Norwegian?

6. What was the background for letting your child attend Birralee?

APPENDIX 2

Transcription conventions

- real life utterances in normal script
- DIRECTING UTTERANCES IN CAPITALS
- *fictional utterances in italics*

www	*untranscribed material*
xxx	*unintelligible material*
[?]	*uncertain interpretation of the preceding word, or of a large section in which case the section is surrounded by angle brackets, e.g.* <xxx> [?]
0	*actions without speech, e.g.* *DAV: 0[=!cries]
&	*phonological fragment, e.g.* (&t &k can't you go?)
[/]	*retracing without correction*
[//]	*retracing with correction*
#	*pause*
.	*marks the end of an unmarked utterance*
?	*indicates the end of a question, a question being an utterance which is marked as such grammatically or by intonation contour*
!	*marks an emphatic utterance*
+/.	*interruption*
+...	*incompletion*
+,	*self-completion*
+"/.	*quotation on next line, used in combination with*
+"	*which introduces the actual quote on a separate line*
+".	*quotation appearing first with the announcement of the quote appearing on the next line*
<xxx> [>] <xxx> [<]	*section in one utterance overlapping section in the following, marked by a combination of two symbols where the arrow in brackets indicate where the overlapping text was found.*
0 [=! text]	*nonverbal activity (e.g. "laughing" or "yelling"), marked by square brackets,* =!*, and text describing the activity.*

APPENDIX 3

Norwegian episode titles with English translations.

8: Jeg vil gå opp på taket – 4 (I-3, p 3)
(I want to go up on the roof)

11: Du har ødelagt den nå – 20 (I-1, p 18)
(You have ruined it now)

15: De herran gjømt sæ – 2 (I-2, p 2)
(These ones hid themselves)

16: Også kom pappan vet du – 9 (I-3, p 9)
(And then the daddy came you know)

19: Voffor kan du'kke vær den her? – 5 (I-3, p 4)
(Why can't you be this one)

20: Så bynt hu å nuss – 9 (II-2, p 13)
(Then she started kissing)

21: Det va giftige blomster – 38 (I-3, p 42)
(The flowers were poisonous)

23: Nå va det morgen – 30 (I-1, p 32)
(Now it was morning)

26: Then the baby ... – 39 / Det va giftige ... – 38 (I-3, p 41)
(... / The flowers were poisonous)

27: Og han skal bli dø – 37 (I-3, p 39)
(And he will die)

29: Så bynt hu å nuss – 9 (II-2, p 13)
(Then she started kissing)

30: Det her va huset til hu statuen – 19 (II-2, p 20)
(This was the house that belonged to the statue)

31: Æ har tatt vekk ... – 13 / Mom and Dad – 14 (II-2, p 16)
(I have taken away... / ...)

33: Han e Skipper'n – 25 / I got my nice seat – 24 (III-3, p 31)
(He is Popeye / ...)

35: Hva er det opp der? – 14 (I-3, p 15)
(What's up there?)

36: Også kom pappan vet du – 9 (I-3, p 9)
(And then the daddy came you know)

37: Det va en stor robot – 31 (I-1, p 36)
(It was a big robot)

38: Æ så hvor ei dokke sov – 12 (I-3, p 14)
(I saw where a doll was sleeping)

39: Også kom pappan vet du – 9 (I-3, p 10)
(And then the daddy came you know)

42: Å da spist æ opp hu – 7 (I-2, p 8)
(And then I ate her up)

43: Ingen menneska kunna fly – 12 (I-2, p 13)
(No humans could fly)

44: Det va giftige ... – 38 / Then the baby ... – 39 (I-3, p 42)
(The flowers were poisonous)

46: See here – 18 / Nå skulla du flytt – 19 (I-1, p 14)
(... / Now you were going to move)

47: Og så sa du – 25 / Look what happened... – 27 (I-3, p 30)
(And then you said / ...)

48: Se hva han gjør – 30 (I-3, p 32)
(Look what he is doing)

49: Ska vi ikke lek – 26 / Going back – 28 (I-1, p 24)
(Let's play / ...)

50: And we got three... - 11 / Bæsjing i hodet... - 12 (I-1, p 9)
(... / Poop in the head...)

53: Da må vi snakk norsk – 13 (I-1, p 13)
(Then we have to speak Norwegian)

54: Det her va huset til hu statuen – 19 (II-2, p 20)
(This was the house that belonged to the statue)

55: Det va en stor robot – 31 (I-1, p 38)
(It was a big robot)

56: We need beds – 6 / Look here, sje her – 5 (III-3, p 4)
(... / Look here, look here)

59: Kan æ få se på klinkisan dine? – 20 (II-3, p 16)
(Can I look at your marbles?)