

# Code switching in student-student interaction; functions and reasons!

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**ABSTRACT:** Today's students of English will communicate mostly with non-native speakers, in predominantly non-native speaking environments. English teachers know that if they are to realistically prepare students for international communication, they must focus on speaking activities that promote communicative competence and fluency. Presence of mother tongue in communicative exchanges is frequently detected by teachers in EFL classrooms. This study analyses student-student interaction during a group-work speaking activity, to uncover some of the reasons for code switching (CS). It also presents participants' perspectives revealing mixed feelings towards this linguistic behaviour, which is sometimes intentional and sometimes unconscious. The aim of this paper is to illustrate how EFL students alternate between foreign language and native language to perform certain pragmatic functions and counter-balance for language deficiencies. It also considers the relationship between students' language level and the functional character of their switches.

**KEY-WORDS:** EFL, student interaction, fluency, code-switching.

## 1. Introduction

Around the world, English is increasingly being learnt to be used as the international, common, functional language. One of the main aims of EFL (English Foreign Language) teachers is to get students speaking as much as possible, as it is known that «to promote communicative competence, learners must get practice in communicative exchanges in the classroom» (Hancock 1997: 217). Learners must be able to speak fluently if they are to communicate effectively in international English. Pair and group-work speaking activities are excellent opportunities for maximizing speaking time and acquiring fluency. In such communicative exchanges, using own language and target language interchangeably is common and attested by many studies and authors: «Alternation between languages in the form of

code switching is a widely observed phenomenon in foreign language classrooms» (Sert 2005: 1). The limited scope and range of this qualitative study does not allow us to draw conclusions on whether code switching (CS) should be banned from EFL classrooms, or introduced as a resource. The aim is to provide other ELT (English Language Teaching) teachers with a better understanding of this linguistic phenomenon, as a «heightened awareness of its use in classroom discourse will obviously lead to better instruction of either eliminating it or dominating its use during the foreign language instruction» (Sert 2005: 1). This paper uncovers some of the reasons and functions of CS from two sources. First, the transcription and analysis of selected extracts of students' "naturally-occurring language use" and second, participants' perspectives on their own CS. Students' interactions and their voices reveal that CS is a strategy that learners resort to, intentionally or unconsciously, to achieve their communicative objectives. It also seems possible to establish a connection between the language level of the students and the functional character of their switches. An unexpected finding of this study revealed by students in their interviews is that their teacher also alternates between the two codes when giving instructions or teaching new grammar and vocabulary. This confirms Sert's (2005: 1) belief that «In ELT classrooms, code switching comes into use either in the teachers' or the students' discourse».

## 2. Code-switching, a growing worldwide phenomenon

The term CS is used to refer to the choice to alternate between two or more codes within the same sentence or conversation, or the use speakers make of "more than one language in the course of a single episode" (Heller 1988:1). Nunan & Carter (2001: 275) define it as «a phenomenon of switching from one language to another in the same discourse». This behaviour implies the use of one main, host or matrix language, and a secondary, guest or embedded language (Sridhar 1996 *apud* Mc Kay, Hornberger 1996: 57). Although some linguists feel that languages "should be kept strictly demarcated" (Eldridge 1996: 303), or separated inside speakers' heads, CS may occur naturally, unconsciously, and even go unnoticed, suggesting there is involuntary mixing. CS can also be wilfully used to show solidarity, to include or exclude, to mark one's roles and rights, and to express an idea

quicker or more accurately. Most studies on CS, or at least those involving English, relate to bilingual communities, as this is a natural phenomenon among immigrant groups, particularly in the second generation. In the 21st century, as English continues its spread around the world as the most internationally-used language, CS is becoming a natural universal consequence of globalization and multilingualism. In most countries, there is evidence of CS with English as one of the language pairs, in a wide variety of sociolinguistic settings as the internet, music, media, advertising, business and every day conversation. This subsequently leads to a subtle but constant borrowing and assimilation of English words and expressions into many languages. Jenkins (2009: 95) states: "...speakers who have more than one language available to them code-switch/mix as a matter of choice and for a range of pragmatic and expressive reasons (...).

## 2.1 Code switching in ELT

CS has been regarded by some members of the ELT community, as negative, undesirable behaviour, "a failure to use and learn the target language or unwillingness to do so" (Elridge 1996: 303), leading to a lowering of standards (Bailey & Nunan 1996). It has even been considered a "sign of laziness or mental sloppiness and inadequate command of the language" (Sridhar 1996 *apud* McKay, Hornberger 1996: 59). In EFL contexts where students share the same L1 and only use English inside the classroom, exclusive use of L2 in class is unrealistic, as the two languages are active inside the learners' heads and will influence each other. Furthermore, learners tend to converse inside the class in their mother tongue as naturally as they would outside the class because their sense of identity is inevitably bound with their native language. For Tarone (1977) (cited in McDonough 1995: 23), a language switch is a communicative strategy, just like literal translation, appeal for assistance, mime, paraphrase, or avoidance. McDonough (1995: 25) refers to it as an 'achievement strategy' that learners resort to, to compensate for their lack of language competence. There are both opposing and supporting views of the use of CS in classroom instruction as a form of effective learning strategy. Cook (2002: 333) believes that in multilingual classrooms CS could be a problem as students do not share the same mother tongue. According to Sert (2005), students should share the same native language if CS is to be

applied in instruction. The most recent researchers of English as a *Lingua Franca* defend that CS and mixing can no longer be considered interference errors or fossilization, but 'bilingual resources' (Jenkins 2006, Seidlhofer 2001). Jenkins (2009: 95) recently stated that because "almost all Asian-English speakers are bi- or multilingual and make extensive use of CS and code mixing, it seems logical to include this phenomenon in grammars and dictionaries of Asian English".

## 2.2 Types of code switching

A switch can be spontaneous, natural and unintentional, and work in the same way as fillers, hesitations, pauses, repetition of words, and speech marks as 'er', 'uhm', 'ahm', that students resort to, to keep a turn and avoid breakdowns in communication. Unintentional slips in the mother tongue that are unconscious and natural function as discourse markers in the L2, as 'right', 'yeah', 'so', 'you know'. Martin-Jones (1995: 99) describes discourse-related switching as a speaker-oriented resource used to accomplish different communicative acts at certain moments within the interaction, and participant-related switching as listener-oriented because the speaker takes account of the "hearer's linguistic preferences or competences". For Milroy & Muysken (1995), single-word switches are generally concerned with an unknown word, and are predominantly intra-sentential, as they happen inside a sentence. Phrase-switches and clause-switches depend on the purpose or function of the switch but are mostly inter-sentential because they take place between sentences. Hancock (1997) considers off-record discourse as negotiation between students as they are behaving as their normal selves, as opposed to on-record discourse, when they are putting on an act. Off-record discourse which may happen in the L1 is named metatask if it concerns the task, and metalanguage if it concerns language or vocabulary. Self-address (Hancock 1997), when a student speaks to himself and prompting or modelling, which are requests and offers of unknown words, may also take place in the L1. For Eldridge (1996), examples of functional switches are: equivalence, the use of or elicitation of an equivalent in the other language; floor holding, making use of stopgaps; reiteration, to reinforce, emphasize or clarify messages; group membership, switches that occur as in-group identity markers; and

alignment, switches to mark rights or roles of speakers.

### 3. The study

#### 3.1 Participants and Procedure

This study was carried out during the academic year of 2004/2005 (Pre-Bologna) at the Institute of Social and Political Sciences (ISCSP), which belongs to the Technical University of Lisbon. Twenty-one Portuguese Media Studies undergraduates were placed in groups of three for a sixty-minute lesson. This was a mixed-abilities class because students did not take a placement test and were grouped according to their degree, regardless of their level of English. All students carried out the same communicative activity for the compulsory subject of 'English for the Social Sciences II'. Their task was to discuss 'Gender discrimination at work', one of the topics on the syllabus, and they could use the previously studied article 'Germany's glass-ceiling' (Time Magazine, May 08, 2000). The aim of the activity was to boost communication and develop fluency. Three groups were chosen randomly and recorded for forty minutes, but were not told the purpose to ensure naturalness. The nine students were all girls of approximately the same age (19 to 21), whose level of English ranged from pre-intermediate to upper-intermediate:

Group I- Rita = *Ri*, Hilda = *Hi*, Nadia = *Na*. (Appendix A)

Group II- Fátima = *F*, Cristina = *C1*, and Carla = *C2*. (Appendix B)

Group III- Raquel = *Ra*, Sónia = *So*, and Fernanda = *Fe*. (Appendix C)

The three recordings, a total of forty minutes, revealed 46 instances of CS. The total corpus selected for transcription and analysis consists of three extracts of twenty-minutes each which revealed 28 switches (see Appendix A, B and C). These were analysed according to Eldridge and Hancock's previously mentioned categorizations. Two weeks after the recordings, semi-structured group interviews were carried out with the nine participants. Each group listened to their recording with the help of a copy of the transcript and answered questions as: Do you remember speaking in Portuguese? Did you notice at any time you were using both languages? Why do you think you used a Portuguese word? Do you notice anything about what comes before

or after that Portuguese word? Students' views, feelings, and opinions were recorded and used to complement my analysis.

### 3.2 Key for Transcription

(.) = short pause

(...) = long pause

(inaud.) = unable to understand

( ) = additional commentaries

*Italics* = L1

(= ) = translation into English

< = overlapping talk

### 4. Findings and Analysis

#### Group I (Appendix A)

The following samples of functional CS are requests for help with unknown words in the foreign language, translation appeals or examples of "elicitation of an equivalent item in the other code" which Eldridge (1996:305), calls Equivalence. These are intra-sentential samples of prompting:

Line 7 *Hi* It's like the now ab ... (unfinished word) er (...) er how can we say ahm... *aborto* (=abortion) in English

Line 35 *Hi* sometimes sometimes it's from it's like to uhm how can I (...) to (.) when we have to er uhm to uhm *impor* (=impose)

Lines 42 *Hi* and they have (.) womens to (.) to take their (.) they have ahm (.) how can I say (.) they have (.) er *horário* (=schedule)

The English equivalents 'to impose' and 'timetable' are modelled by colleagues and used by *Hi* in her following turns. She is one of the weakest students in the class who is eager to talk in order to improve her English. *Hi* manages long turns, holds the floor, and achieves the aim of the activity. In the interview, she says CS was not intentional as she does remember using Portuguese to request her colleagues' help. There are two possible reasons

why *Hi* is the only code switcher in the group. First, she has a more relaxed attitude about choice of language which is functional and justified: 'I wanted to give my opinion, to talk and to talk and talk, if I don't know one word, I don't have the vocab to get the right words, I ask people in the group to help me'. Second, she is a weaker, pre-intermediate learner who lacks vocabulary and code switches to compensate for lack of language competence. She comments that she has learnt three new words, suggesting language acquisition. In the previous utterances there are hesitations, pauses, repetition of words, and speech marks as 'er', 'uhm', 'ahm', all contextualization cues. *Na* believes that these represent: 'thinking time needed to speak in English'. In fact, *Ri* mentions that she could tell at these moments, that *Hi* was "in trouble" searching for words. *Ri* modelled the word 'impose' and then self-corrected to 'to impose'. She commented: 'I wanted to give her the correct grammar form for what she was trying to say'. *Hi* wants the equivalent for 'horário', *Na* suggests 'schedule' and *Ri* suggests 'timetable'. In *Ri*'s opinion she was feeding *Hi* a simpler word. She is one of the strongest, upper-intermediate students in the class who uses her language advantage to take on a teacher-like role in this group, hence the modelling. *Ri* and *Na* who are stronger students whisper and giggle together at one time, suggesting their perception that CS is a deviation from the expected linguistic behaviour. In the interview this is confirmed. *Ri* ends by saying it was a good thing *Hi* was able to get help but she should try and explain herself in English instead. *Hi* is not too happy about this comment and explains that in the past she had a Spanish teacher who taught her that when one does not know a word, one should naturally ask for it and she sees no harm in that. In this group, the stronger students who do not switch hold a negative view of it, unlike the weaker student who switches but is not upset because she believes it is functional.

#### Group II (Appendix B)

This group performs several utterances which illustrate that both codes are available and used naturally:

Line 26 C2 they think that they er take they take er in the kind of *licença de parto* (= maternity leave) that there are women women should

Line 37 C1 to to change the diaper go to mummy when it's time to er (...) er *fazer o biberon* (= warm the baby's bottle) go to mummy

Line 40 C1 when they cry at night go to mummy *depois entretanto* (= then in the meantime) they get tired go to mummy.

In the previous inter-sentential switches the students do not expect any modelling. They switch due to lack of vocabulary, but continue speaking in the other code within the same stretch of talk.

Line 16 C2 *pois* (= right)

Line 32 C2 *diapers é isso* (= that's it) (whispers)

It is highly unlikely that C2, an intermediate/upper- intermediate student, did not know the words *pois* and *é isso* in English, suggesting the latter as unintentional slips of the tongue.

Line 10 C1 for me (.) he don't know the places of er er (...) the places *pratos* (= plates) er  
F plates

Line 29 C1 *nã nã nã* (= no no no) *hã hã hã* (sounding ironic) two months in the house taking the baby giving him food changing the er the er *fraldas* (= nappies) (giggles)  
F *diapers acho que é* (= I think it is) diapers

In the previous cases of Equivalence, *F* models the words plates and diapers suggesting that she acknowledges CS as functional. However, in the interview, this intermediate/upper-intermediate student excuses and justifies her colleagues' linguistic behaviour: 'We are all Portuguese, we all know the language, if we don't know it in English, we say it in Portuguese'. She smiles and insists that this is normal. We find two samples of metalanguage, off-record discourse about the language, 'diapers *acho que é*' and 'diapers *é isso*'. *C1* refers to what she calls the 'diaper incident',



as something which should be avoided, but then acknowledges CS as functional: 'Sometimes I cannot remember the word and want to get on with the task'.

Line 13 C1 *talheres* (=cutlery) because he er he (...) *ele não tem medo para mim é ridículo e agora já estou a falar em Português* (=he's not afraid for me it's ridiculous and now I'm speaking in Portuguese)

In line 13, C1, an intermediate-level student raises her voice censoring herself for using Portuguese. This 'self-reprimand' could be one of the following; on-record discourse to be heard by a potential audience, a case of alignment to keep to the rules, or an instance of self-address, as she seems to be talking to herself. In the interview, she is very upset about the amount of Portuguese she spoke and excuses herself: 'the tape recorder was running and no one was speaking, so Portuguese slipped out'. C1 switches the most but also speaks the most, suggesting that CS is connected to her effort to hold the floor and maintain the flow of communication. This weaker student believes CS should be avoided and reprimanded, while her stronger colleague excuses and justifies it.

#### Group III (Appendix C)

In group III, Ra is the only code switcher. The strongest student in the class, she performs the longest stretches of talk and switches in eleven out of sixteen utterances. She only becomes aware of this when listening to the recording, feels embarrassed and apologizes. She is the class representative who is always surrounded by colleagues and has a motherly-like attitude. This can be seen in the following samples of participant-related switching, as Ra is using CS to gear her colleagues through the activity. This is off-record discourse in the mother tongue to show solidarity or group membership. It is also a case of metatask as the student is evaluating, commenting and managing the activity:

Line 2 Ra (...) *vá mais* (= so what else?)

Line 5 Ra *ahm portanto* (= so)

Line 6 Ra vá (= c'mon)

Line 38 Ra então (= so) so we can say the school system in the majority of countries

Ra is an upper-intermediate student, who is loud and dominating and takes on a teacher-like role. She sometimes summarizes what others say or does not let them finish their turns. The following are examples of off-record discourse, suggestions or instructions to manage the language of the activity.

Line 1 Ra still happening acho que fica melhor (= I think it sounds better)

Line 4 Ra let me just read this não tou a ver (= I can't find this)

Line 30 Ra this could onde é que está esta parte? (= where is this part?)

In the following turns, Ra speaks Portuguese and then manages to say it in English. She is probably taking into account her colleagues' weaker English, as speakers "take into account perceptions of their own proficiency and the proficiency of the interlocutors in (...) (i.e. psycholinguistic considerations)" (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2001: 86). Fe and So are both pre-intermediate students.

20 Ra the career ladder I think we can say that não? (= no)

21 Fe I don't know

22 Ra quando querem subir de posição? (= when they want to move up the career ladder)

23 women feel a lot of prejudice especially when they want to reach to the top

24 management

She confirms this in the interview: 'All elements in the group are Portuguese, sometimes I say the Portuguese word followed by the English equivalent *então* (=so) so, *então* is like 'you know' in English'. In all her turns *Ra* switched to hold the floor and keep the low of communication but she believes she was being careless.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper concludes that in the EFL classroom, when learners activate one language they do not necessarily deactivate the other. It is sometimes impossible, even unrealistic, for students to shut out or switch off their own language as it is an important part of their identity. The participants of this research all shared Portuguese and one student referred to it as a 'positive common asset'. This study illustrates that CS is a sign that both codes are active inside a learner's head, and that interaction is taking place caused by "the very involvement that is so valuable to language acquisition" (Hancock 1997: 233). Natural ongoing communication is also attested by a fair amount of overlapping talk, fillers and hesitations, pauses and repetition of words, giggles and whispers. The presence of the tape recorders and a potential audience may have led the students to alternate between on-record (English) and off-record (Portuguese) discourse. To get information conveyed students switched codes, avoiding breakdowns in communication and performing longer turns. CS was used to fill in lexical or grammatical gaps in the target language, to negotiate language and meaning and to manage the activity and the other participants. This means that, whether intentional or unconscious, CS helped students perform different pragmatic functions in relation to the task they were carrying out. It is not possible to state that CS should be incorporated into the classroom in a mechanistic way or banned as we don't know what we are banning along with it (Zentella *apud* Hornberger 1996: 466). However, EFL teachers promoting fluency will encounter CS in student-student interaction in the same way as speech marks and mistakes. Being aware of its reasons and functions will help them deal with it in their classrooms. Students' perspectives add an enriching dimension to this study. Most considered CS unintentional and unnoticed, and overtly or covertly, all acknowledge it as functional and helpful. Although for some learners more speaking means more switching, the scope of this study does not allow

for any generalisations. It is possible that if learners are aware that their negotiation takes place in the mother tongue, they may “in the long term do more of their off-record negotiation in the target language” (Hancock 1997: 224). Learners revealed mixed feelings towards their use of Portuguese, but it is not possible to establish a connection between holding a negative or positive view and the frequency of the switches. CS was found in the discourse of students with different levels of English and there seems to be a pattern between level of English and the functional character of the switches. There seems to be a tendency for the weaker learners (pre-intermediate / intermediate) to use L1 as a translation appeal, a mechanism to prompt and clarify information or to counterbalance for perceived deficiencies. The stronger learners (intermediate/upper intermediate) tend to use L1 to manage and comment the activity and to gear and help colleagues by modelling. All students, weaker or stronger, alternated between the two codes to hold the floor and manage turn taking, working towards communication.

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## Appendix A

### Group I

- 1 *Na* I think men won't give up their career to (.) to help women in (.)  
home things and
- 2 *Hi* < it's the
- 3 question we have to change it
- 4 *Na* not men and I think they won't change
- 5 *Ri* < perhaps
- 6 *Hi* < it's like the now ab... (unfinished word) er
- 7 (...) er how can we say ahm(...) *aborto* (=abortion) in English
- 8 *Na* I (.) don't know
- 9 *Ri* what? ahm (whispers, giggles)
- 10 *Hi* we have a lot of mens discussing these things but why (.) is the  
women the
- 11 principal affected about these things (...)
- 12 *Na* (inaud.)
- 13 *Hi* and this is for me to change (...) because we need to have womens  
talks about
- 14 women things (laughs) in my opinion
- 15 *Ri* uhm but I don't think as you are saying that men have to give up  
their career (.)
- 16 because perhaps if uhm women and men helped each other none  
of them would
- 17 have to give up their carrers (.) uhm they both could have their  
carrers and then
- 18 *Na* < yes yes but the problem
- 19 is that men are educated to be ahm I don't know how to say it (...)  
like ahm
- 20 women in the kitchen and men in the job like that
- 21 *Ri* yes yes and men sitting down and watching T.V.
- 22 *Na* < yes yes that's it
- 23 *Ri* and reading the newspaper but that's where the school uhm comes  
in and even
- 24 the women they have to to be able to teach those values to their children
- 25 *Na* < yes yes

- 26 *Ri* it's not right to say hey women have rights and then they go and  
they have a  
27 daughter and a son and act in the same way  
28 *Hi* <that's it I talked about (.) we have to change things of  
29 society ahm in our education at schools in our house that's it it's  
not to talk  
30 about equality uhm all about discussions about womens womens  
womens we  
31 have we don't have anything (.) in fact  
32 *Na* < if anything changes (inaud.)  
33 *Ri* that's it that's what I think ahm I think I think we have to stop  
discussing  
34 *Hi* < sometimes sometimes it's from it's like to uhm  
35 how can I (...) to (.) when we have to er uhm to uhm *impor*  
(= impose) (all laugh)  
36 *Ri* impose to impose  
37 *Hi* to impose something because in parliament about some parliaments  
in Europe  
38 have imposed a number of womens of womens they need and  
sometimes they can  
39 get from this way it's not just talk about oh we have some countries  
we have to  
40 teach womens from the parliaments from the governments and this  
is (...) and  
41 they have (.) womens to take their (.) they have ahm (.) how can I  
say (.) they have  
42 (.) er horário (=timetable)  
43 *Na* schedule  
44 *Ri* timetable schedule  
45 *Hi* <ok they have timetable er (.) and they can change...

## Appendix B

### Group II

- 1 *F* and even the women felt that they should do that because it's er their  
2 *C2* <their job

- 3 C1 yes their er the job to take care of the children the fields and the house and for me
- 4 C2 I'm totally against
- 5 C1 < and why er why don't men er why are us that can that should do
- 6 their these functions why don't men er (.) get home and do their meal (giggles) and
- 7 (.) they are they don't
- 8 C2 < their view they feel
- 9 C1 < they feel even today my brother she had 26 year old
- 10 and she and he don't do their bed his bed for me (.) he don't know the places of er
- 11 er (...) the places *pratos* (= plates) er
- 12 F plates
- 13 C1 *talheres* (= cutlery) because he er he (...) *ele não tem medo para mim é ridículo*
- 14 *e agora já estou a falar em Português* (= he's not afraid for me it's ridiculous and
- 15 now I'm speaking in Portuguese) (volume is up and loud giggles)
- 16 C2 *pois* (= right)
- 17 C1 so (...) ah this is a serious problem er
- 18 F yes a serious problem uhm
- 19 C1 > and we are (inaud.) in this article
- 20 April 2000 four years ago and
- 21 F I think it's because of the justice
- 22 C1 < you know that Germany is a developed country and
- 23 we know that and how can er the situation is in developing countries it's shocking
- 24 F it's justice that there are no
- 25 C2 yeah (inaud.) children er to educate to educate we see we
- 26 see they think that they er take they take er in the kind of *licença de parto*
- 27 (= maternity leave) that there are women women should could choose two for her
- 28 and two for their husband but I don't think that their husband who prefers to be



- 29 C1 *nã nã nã* (= no no no) *hã hã hã* (sounding ironic) two months in the house taking  
30 the baby giving him food changing the er the er *fraldas* (= nappies) (giggles)  
31 F diapers *acho que é* (= I think it is) diapers  
32 C2 diapers *é isso* (= that's it) (whispers)  
33 C1 er no not really (.) today  
34 C2 uhm I don't get er I don't knew anyone like that  
35 F <but it's ridiculous because they are also their children  
36 C1 oh but in our days er fathers in my opinion er a lot of them even today er they they  
37 love their babies but when it's time to to change the diaper go to mummy when  
38 it's time to er (...) er *fazer o biberon* (= warm the bottle) go to mummy  
39 F <when they cry at night  
40 C1 when they cry at night go to mummy *depois entretanto* (= then in the meantime)  
41 they get tired go to mummy.

## Appendix C

### Group III

- 1 Ra gender discrimination at work is still happening *acho que fica melhor* (= I  
2 think it sounds better) (...) *vá mais* (= c'mon what else) (all giggle softly)  
3 Fe so women feel the prejudice  
4 Ra ahm let me just read this *não estou a ver ahm* (= I'm  
5 not getting this) *ahm portanto* (=so) women women feel (.) a lot of prejudice ahm  
6 *vá* (=c'mon) women feel a lot of prejudice  
7 So <at work ahm especially at management  
8 Ra < especially  
9 when they want to reach  
10 Fe < operate operate

- 11 Ra or they want to reach to higher or the top top positions
- 12 Fe yes
- 13 Ra at work management positions exactly (...) so women feel a lot of prejudice
- 14 especially (.) when they want to reach (.) to ahm the top reach to (.) the top
- 15 management positions to (...) *áh ou* (= ah or) we can say when they want to ahm
- 16 how do we say climb the (.) the work ladder *não* (=no)
- 17 So to work with men?
- 18 Ra when they want to succeed how ca we say (...) jump the
- 19 Fe jump yes
- 20 Ra the career ladder I think we can say that *não?* (=no)
- 21 Fe I don't know
- 22 Ra *quando querem subir de posição?* (= when they want to move up the career ladder)
- 23 women feel a lot of prejudice especially when they want to reach to the top
- 24 management
- 25 Fe < jobs?
- 26 positions
- 27 Fe I I said (inaud.)
- 28 Ra ahm reflect this will reflect this will reflect (giggles)
- 29 So you said something (to Fernanda)
- 30 Ra this could (whispers) *onde é que está esta parte?* (= where is this part?)
- 31 Fe school state system antiquated
- 32 Ra *á então* (= ah so) the school system in the majority of
- 33 countries is old fashioned
- 34 Fe < yes
- 35 Ra so what can we say from this? that
- 36 So < that ti is not the way women are treated at work
- 37 but also in all society (.) especially in it's the reflect of some ides
- 38 Ra *então* (=so) so we can say the school system in the majority of countries is old

- 39       fashioned ahm (laughs)  
40 *Fe*   uhm how can we say?  
41 *Ra*   *então* (=so) women are not ahm (...) *valo* (unfinished word)  
          *valorizadas* (=valued)  
42 *So*   valued (general volume goes down)  
43 *Ra*   are not (.) *então* (=so) *não sei como é que se diz desvalorizadas*  
          (= I don't know  
44       how to say undervalued)  
45 *So*   undervalued?  
46 *Ra*   *onde é que está esta parte aqui?* (= where is this part here?)