Code-switching in CLIL classes: a Case Study

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Abstract   This paper aims to analyse the phenomenon of the linguistic alternation (code-switching) between mother tongue and foreign language (English) according to the CLIC methodology, which provides for the use of the second language as a vehicle for the learning of a discipline. After having analysed the main research that have examined the code-switching phenomenon, an observational study that has involved a sample of 25 students has been carried out in four classes that have been videotaped and transcribed. Moreover, the analysis made use of the data that have been collected by means of two anonymous questionnaires that were given to the students. The results reveal a general poor metacognitive awareness on the part of the students and show that their linguistic choices are subject to several variables, among which the type of activity and interaction in which the student is involved in class seems to be very important.

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Keywords   Code-switching. SLA. CLIL.

1   Introduction

The aim of this paper is to explore the use of students' code switching in content and language integrated learning (CLIL). Subsequent to a brief review of the main studies related to the occurrence of code-switching both in SLA and in CLIL education (sections 1 and 2), the following research questions have been addressed (section 3.1):
   a.   How often does code-switching occur?
   b.   What forms of code-switching are used in CLIL classes?
   c.   What functions does code-switching serve in the classroom?

Initially data were collected at a secondary school in Italy (Trento), as illustrated in section 3.2 and 3.3. Four 50-minute lessons were video-recorded and transcribed; further data were gathered by means of two anonymous questionnaires addressed to students. A short sample of the lesson transcript has been reported in the appendix.

The final goal of this study was to analyse students' interaction in CLIL classes, in order to have a clear and genuine reflection of students' use of code-switching. The findings (section 3.4) show that the L2 is the dominant language in all of the CLIL classes recorded, although code-switching does occur in every single lesson. The reasons and circumstances which trigger code-switching have been examined, which may contribute to further investigation of the relationship between the L1 and the L2 in CLIL teaching and have direct pedagogical implications, as suggested in the final section.

2   Code-switching in Second Language Acquisition (SLA)

Code-switching is generally defined as «the use of more than one language in a single speech act» (Setati, Mamokgethi 1998, p.34) and it describes «any switch within the course of a single conversation, whether at word or sentence level or at the level of blocks of speech» (Baker, Colin 2001, p. 114). Code-switching is a natural linguistic behaviour whose occurrence proves that languages are not sealed unites in the L2 learner's mind but they are actually interlaced and they naturally interact with each other (Baker 2001, Cook 2001, Ellis 2005).

The role of the first language (L1) in L2 learning (ESL, EFL) has been the cause of considerable controversy and is well documented in literature. On one hand, the exclusive use of the second language (L2) in a ESL / EFL context is believed to constitute the best practice for learning, since the learner should be exposed to as much L2 input as possible, while on the other hand it has been argued that a regulated use of the L1 is of significant importance in the learning process, especially for beginner students. However, this latter vision recognizes a specific pedagogical value to the L1.

The idea of L1 exclusion, which lies behind certain teaching methodologies (i.e. direct/natural method), rests on the belief that «the L1 may interfere in the L2 learning process, and secondly […], by increasing exposure to the L2, the learners will become more proficient» (Lasagabaster, David 2013, p.3). Nevertheless, in the last two decades this monolingual approach has been questioned and the role of the L1 in SLA has widely been taken into consideration. For instance, L1 use has been linked to «issues of language acquisition, identity and the acceptance of the bilingual speaker rather than the monolingual one as the norm» (Liebscher and Dailey O'Canin 2005, p. 234). Therefore, if the language classroom is to realistically resemble a bilingual community rather than an L2 monolingual one, bilingualism ought to be accepted in the form of code-switching, which is a natural phenomenon in multilingual societies (Ariffin and Husin 2011, Lasagabaster 2013, Liebscher and Dailey O'Cain 2005). Furthermore, there is evidence that «target language exclusivity can sometimes result in language being overly simplified, with an over-reliance on cog-

nates» (McMillan and Turnbull 2009, p. 34): this is one of the cases where resorting to the L1 is actually considered to be a valuable asset. The issue, as Macaro (2009) phrases it, is understanding whether using «the L1 can be a valuable tool and when it is simply used as an easy option» (Macaro, Ernesto 2009, p. 545).

3   Code-switching in CLIL

The acronym CLIL stands for *Content and Language Integrated Learning* and it is a method that combines the learning of a specific discipline with the learning of a foreign language. Hence «the aim of CLIL is twofold: learning subject matter together with learning a language» (Van de Craen, Piet 2002, p.6). This methodology has been widely employed recently in educational systems both in Europe and in the rest of the world.

Similarly to L2 classes, even in CLIL classes the optimal use of code-switching is still open to debate: some believe that the use of the L1 should be as little as possible (e.g. CLIL practice in Canada and Finland) while others see the L1 as a useful learning support (Ricci Garotti 2006, Lasagabaster 2013, Gil, Garau and Noguera 2012).

Apparently, it has been observed that the use of the L1 is a rather common practice in the CLIL classroom (Lasagabaster 2013, Gil, Garau and Noguera 2012) as a tool to simultaneously develop students' L2 proficiency, cognitive skills and knowledge of the discipline being taught through the L2 (Adler 1998). Mèndez and Pavon (2012) provide evidence of the usefulness of code-switching in CLIL classes as a tool to help students process and interiorize complex concepts related to the subject matter. Ricci Garotti (2006) also recognizes that the L1 plays a crucial role in the implementation of a successful CLIL curriculum. She claims that especially low L2 proficiency learners cannot be expected to be 'active bilinguals' from the very beginning: only after a certain amount of time will they gradually develop their active bilingualism, which includes productive abilities in the L2. However, although resorting to the L1 might be a useful tool in CLIL classes, learning should be conducted primarily through the L2 (Lasagabaster, David 2013, p.17). Papaja (2007) also analysed when and why the L1 was used in CLIL high-school classes in Poland. She sustains that students tend to switch to their L1 to avoid misunderstandings and ambiguities. As for teachers, they admitted to relapse to their L1 in order to introduce new topics and new vocabulary, to check students' understanding of the subject, to manage the class and to give instructions for specific tasks. Likewise, Pollard (2002) stresses the role of code-switching and the way it affects students' acquisition and ability to communicate their knowledge on the subject matter. She observes that «a lack of fluency in English and a minimal vocabulary prevented students from voicing

their ideas in English even though they did actually have knowledge on the subject» (Pollard, Susan 2002, p.9). Therefore, given their low language proficiency, they did not show what they really knew about the subject: they often knew the answer to the questions the teacher was asking them, but they did not know how to phrase the answer so they didn't reply. The consequence, as Pollard (2002) observes, is that «their grades were not an accurate reflection of their knowledge in the subject matter» (Pollard, Susan 2002, p.11). This gap between the knowledge of the subject and the language level is one of the biggest problems that the CLIL teacher has to face.

4 The Study

4.1 Research Questions and Objectives

The present research aims to investigate the use of code-switching in CLIL classes addressing the following questions:
   a. How often does code-switching occur?
   b. What forms of code-switching are used in CLIL classes?
   c. What functions does code-switching serve in the classroom?

The final goal of this study is to analyse students' interaction in CLIL classes, in order to have a clear and genuine reflection of students' code-switching. The analysis is designed to be qualitative in nature; quantitative information was only used to report the overall frequency and distribution of the types of code-switching which were identified in the lesson transcripts. Both a linguistic and a social approach have been implemented to understand this behaviour both in its frequency and motives. In addition, even possible pedagogical reasons for code-switching have been taken into account.

4.2 The Source of the Data

This study was undertaken at a secondary school in Trento (Italy) and involved a class of 25 first-year students. In accordance to the school syllabus, one subject is taught entirely in English for the duration of the whole year. The CLIL teacher is an Italian native speaker who attended a specific training course regarding CLIL pedagogy. It should also be noted that the abovementioned teacher is also the writer of the present article. Thus, although perfect objectivity may not be attainable, an impartial perspective has been attained by considering exclusively the data gathered through the following methods:

- two anonymous questionnaires
- lesson video-recordings and transcripts
- written copy of the students' English final grades provided by the English teacher.

All participants received detailed information concerning the research project: they were told that four lessons would be video-recorded for academic purposes and that further data would be collected by means of anonymous questionnaires. Written parental permission was obtained and students were clearly informed that the questionnaires would be handled with the utmost confidentiality. Students were also given the option of not participating in the study.

Twenty-four students were present at the first video-recorded lesson on May 8th, twenty-four on May 14th, twenty-five on May 22nd and twenty-four on May 29th. On the basis of the answers that the students provided in the first questionnaire, it was found that three students started to learn English in kindergarten, eight in the first year of primary school, nine in the third year of primary school, two in the fourth year and two in the fifth. One student started in the first year of *scuola media*. Furthermore, thirteen students had never had any CLIL experience before the current year while twelve did: eight in German and five in English.

Overall the class showed a high academic profile, confirmed by the fact that 7.4/10 was the average English final grade of the class[1] and 8.1/10 was the average final grade for the subject taught in English. This high academic profile is confirmed by the fact that in the first questionnaire all 25 students stated that they felt that their language level was adequate to study a subject in English. What's more, even the students' attitude towards CLIL seemed to be very positive since all 25 of them stated that studying one or more subjects in a different language was a sensible choice.

4.3   Instruments for Data Collection

Data were collected by video-recording four 50-minute lessons which constituted a micro-didactic unit which focused mainly on human rights, the war in former Yugoslavia and the current situation in the Balkan peninsula. Video recording took place over a period of one month in May 2015, which is towards the end of the school year: the four lessons were video-recorded by a colleague on 8th, 14th, 22nd and 29th May for a total of 185,02 minutes.

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1   The English teacher provided a written copy of the students' final grades for her subject.

The material recorded was subsequently transcribed into written form and analysed in order to illustrate when code-switching occurs and what its main reasons and functions are. Additionally, two anonymous questionnaires were administered to the class. Both questionnaires were written in the students' first language to guarantee understanding. The first was administered on 18th May 2015 and aimed to collect relevant information about students' personal background, their perception of the current CLIL course, previous school experience with foreign languages and CLIL, etc. Twenty-five students completed this first questionnaire and all of them were deemed valid. The second questionnaire was administered on 25th September 2015 and aimed to collect data on students' perception of code-switching in CLIL classes. Twenty-four students completed this second questionnaire and all of them were deemed valid. The answers of the two questionnaires were counted by hand and analysed to determine their incidence and frequency. Percentages of relevant data were calculated and visualized in charts.

4.4   Procedure, Data Analysis and Results

4.4.1   How often Does Code-switching Occur?

Setati's (1998) research method was taken as the model too answer these questions. Transcripts of the four 50-minute lessons were made and every turn was counted as one utterance, regardless of its length. Turns clearly uttered in English but mispronounced were still regarded as English. Both English utterances which were spontaneously produced and those which were read were deemed valid. However, only single students' utterances were included in the measurement since, when many people spoke at once, it was impossible to classify their utterances as either Italian or English, therefore they were disregarded. The cases of utterances where the same student talked and was interrupted by the teacher (who facilitated him/her for example with pronunciation or vocabulary problems) were counted as only one utterance. Only students' turns were taken into account for the present study, while the teacher's parts were disregarded.

Turns were counted and divided into three categories: those uttered completely in English, those uttered completely in Italian and those where both English and Italian were identified (mixed utterances). Every lesson was considered separately. Percentages were then calculated to quantify the amount of English and Italian spoken by students. For the purpose of this measurement the following cases have not been included in the analysis:
   a.   When students said something completely incomprehensible, due to voice overlapping, background noise or poor quality of the audio

in the video recording. This was particularly common during group work.

b. Students' utterances consisting of just interjections (i.e. eh, beh, ehm);
c. Students' utterances consisting of just the article 'the' or the conjunction 'and';
d. Cases of language ambiguity, when students' utterances are made up of just one word which could be considered both English and Italian, for example names of nations and capital cities which have the same spelling and similar pronunciation in both languages. For the same reason, utterances consisting of just the adverb 'no' were also disregarded.

Table 1. Classification of students' code-switching

	Day 1 44, 25 minutes	**Day 2 43,29 minutes**	**Day 3 49,2 minutes**	**Day 4 48,28 minutes**	**AVERAGE**
Total n° of students' utterances	116	141	112	115	
Utterances in L1 (Italian)	24 (**20.7%**)	22 (**15.6%**)	27 (**24%**)	35 (**30.4%**)	22.7%
Utterances in L2 (English)	87 (**75%**)	112 (**79. 4%**)	81 (**72.3%**)	67 (**58.3%**)	71.25%
Mixed utterances	5 (**4.3%**)	7 (**5%**)	4 (**3.6%**)	12 (**10.4%**)	5.8%
Other languages				1 (**0.9%**)	

As seen in Figure 1, English was the dominant language spoken by the students during CLIL classes (71.25% on average per lesson). Turns uttered using only Italian represent an average of 22.7% and those where both English and Italian appear in the same turn represent 5.8% of total utterances. During the fourth lesson, one student produced an utterance in Spanish.

For the second part of the analysis, every lesson was broken down into sections according to the different activities and types of interaction that took place during each class. The number of turns uttered entirely in English or Italian and those where both languages were present was counted by hand. The distribution of L1, L2 and mixed utterances was then calculated for every activity / type of interaction. Four types of interaction were taken into account:

a. Interaction between the teacher and the whole class
b. Students' group work
c. Students' prearranged oral presentations
d. Spontaneous interaction between one student and the whole class

Distribution of L1, L2 and mixed utterances clearly changes according to the type of activity students are involved in. In order to better understand the correlation between choice of language and type of activity, the average percentage of language usage for each type of activity was calculated, summing up the partial results of the four lessons. The results show that English is the dominant language used in three out of four types of activities: when the teacher interacts with the whole class and prompts a student to answer her questions (82%), in students' oral presentations (75%) and when a student plays the role of the teacher and interacts with his/her schoolmates (92%). On the contrary, data are completely reversed in the case of group work, where students clearly tend to speak Italian (45%). Moreover, in group work the number of mixed utterances is the highest (12%), compared to the other types of activities. Therefore, the data seem to suggest that, when students work in groups, without the direct control of the teacher, they readily tend to switch to Italian.

4.4.2   What Forms of Code-switching Are Used in CLIL Classes?

The same criteria used for the data selection in the first research question, were also applied to the following second research question. Every lesson was considered separately on the account that its structure and proposed activities varied considerably. Berk-Seligson's study (1986) was taken as a model to carry out the investigation. Following her procedure, the discourse level, rather than the single sentence level, was taken into account to determine whether an element was a code-switch or not: «it was decided to count a given sentence as a code-switch not only if a speaker changed from one language to another between sentences in his or her own monologic stretch of speech, but also if the speaker's sentence was in a different language from an immediately prior sentence uttered by another speaker» (Berk-Seligson, Susan 1986, p. 323). The percentages obtained were then calculated to quantify the types of code-switching that occurred in students' interactions.

   Poplack's framework (1980) was used to classify the different forms of code-switching. Following her classification, all instances of code-switching were divided into three categories: tag-switching, inter-sentential switching and intra-sentential code-switching. Tag-switching is the use of one language for a simple tag (single words or tag phrases) inserted into a sentence uttered in another language. The tag respects the entire grammatical structure of the sentence. Inter-sentential code-switching occurs when adjacent sentences or clauses are uttered in different languages. Inter-sentential switching might also occur between speakers' turns in a dialogue. Inter-sentential code-switches were further divided according to whether they occurred between different speakers' turns or in the same

speaker's utterance. Instances of switches from both English to Italian and from Italian to English were deemed valid. Finally, intra-sentential code-switching is the use of the L1 within the sentence-frame, at the level of single word, phrase or clause. Following Berg-Seligson's model (1986), in this category both «large constituents (independent clauses, coordinate clauses, subordinate clauses, prepositional phrases, adverbial phrases) and smaller constituents (determiners, nouns, noun phrases, verbs, verb phrases, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, subordinate conjunctions, coordinate conjunctions, interrogative words, and clause markers) have been included» (Berk-Seligson, Susan 1986, p. 323). The average percentage of each type of switch was calculated summing up the partial results of the four lessons as to better understand the distribution and frequency of the different types of switches.

Figure 1. Types of code-switching
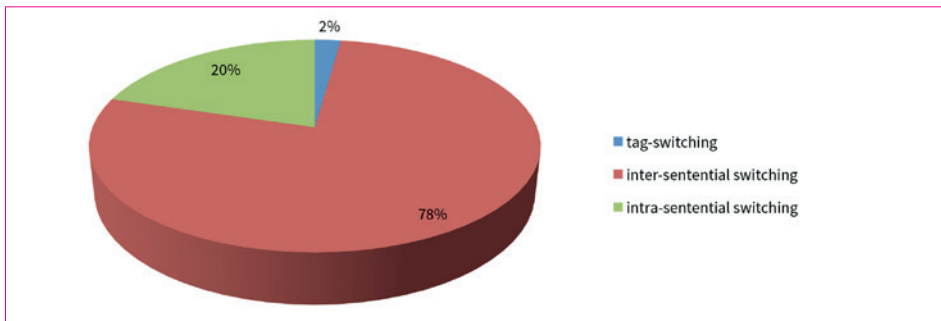
As shown in figure 1, the most common type of code-switch is the inter-sentential one (77.4%), of which 58% occurred between different speakers' turns and 19.4% within the same speaker's utterance. Inter-sentential switching is particularly frequent when the teacher gives procedural instructions: in this case, students tend to ask questions or clarifications in Italian rather than in English, even though the teacher's prompts are always in English. Only two instances of tag-switching to Italian were recorded: both occurred at the beginning of students' prearranged oral presentations during the fourth lesson. In fact, two students started their speech with the Italian term *allora* and then continued their presentation in English.

    On the whole, code-switching is a common phenomenon in students' interaction and inter-sentential code-switching occurs most frequently out of the three patterns. This result confirms Poplack's study (1980) according to which intra-sentential code-switching is associated with high bilingual ability. On the contrary, inter-sentential switching is associated with lower bilingual ability as it is the case of the students considered in the present

investigation who had a rather low English competence (A2 on average, some B1). Indeed, integration between languages is much weaker in inter-sentential code-switching since every sentence is syntactically separate from the adjacent ones.

4.4.3   What Functions Does Code-switching Serve in the CLIL Classroom?

Azland and Narasuman's (2013) method of data analysis was taken as a model to carry out the investigation: in their study they analysed reasons of code-switching in SLA using Malik's taxonomy as a framework of reference. She identified ten communicative functions which form the basis of code-switching (Malick 1994 in Azland, Narasuman 2013):
   a.   Lack of facility
   b.   Lack of register
   c.   Mood of the speaker
   d.   To emphasize a point
   e.   Habitual experience
   f.   Semantic significance
   g.   To show identity with a group
   h.   To address a different audience
   i.   Pragmatic reasons
   j.   To attract attention

All instances of code-switch identified in the video-recorded sample were classified according to Malik's ten communicative functions. The same criteria used for data selection in the previous research questions were also applied to this third research question. The condition and time of code-switching were evaluated to determine reasons for code-switching according to Malik's framework. When more than one interpretation was possible, the dominant one was selected and considered for the purposes of the investigation. Lastly, the following criteria were followed in order to apply Malik's categories as systematically and objectively as possible:
   a.   The cases where the teacher used English to ask for the explanation of a term and students replied translating it into Italian were considered as examples of code-switching produced 'to show identity with a group'. In fact, the teacher demonstrated solidarity with the class and wanted to create «a supportive language environment in the classroom» (Azland, Narasuman 2013, p. 460) where everybody could understand the terms and the concepts used during interaction.
   b.   Malik's category 'lack of register' was disregarded because, given students' linguistic level, they were not able to pay attention to its appropriateness and suitability yet.

c. The category 'habitual experience' includes all the instances of code-switching involving fixed phrases of greetings, short commands, requests, invitations, expressions of gratitude, etc. Discourse markers and fillers were also included in this category.

d. The function 'emphasize a point' concerns the cases of code-switching where the speaker wants to underline a statement, for example by repeating it twice or rephrasing it, both in the L2 and in the L1, or by adding intensity to it in order to make it clearer.

e. The category 'semantic significance' includes all those instances where code-switching is used to express a speaker's attitude, intention or emotion.

f. The category 'pragmatic reasons' accounts for the cases of code-switching produced «to call attention to the context of conversation» (Azland, Narasuman 2013, p. 460), which for students is the task that they are instructed carry out.

g. No example of code-switch produced 'to attract attention' was recorded in the sample since, according to Malik's framework, this category concerns written and spoken advertisements. Likewise, no example of code-switch 'to address a different audience' was found.

After classifying all instances of code-switching according to Malik's categories, the average percentage of occurrence of each communicative function was calculated summing up the partial results of the four lessons. It was found that the class mostly code-switched 'to show identity with a group': this is not surprising since students shared the same L1. In fact, even if they were asked to always speak English during CLIL classes, they knew perfectly well that both the teacher and their class-mates understood everything they said in Italian; that is precisely why they often relied on their L1, particularly to ask questions related to the procedure needed to complete activities or tasks. The second most frequent communicative function of code-switching is 'habitual experience' which represents 18.3% of total cases: generally, students tend to use the L1 for classroom language which is the routine language employed for example to make requests, to ask or give instructions, to encourage or correct, to control the class, etc. As for Malik's communicative function of 'semantic significance', ten instances were found throughout the four lessons. They represent 11% of all cases. Six cases of code-switch produced 'to emphasize a point' were found in the recorded sample: students code-switched in order to stress a concept or a word. For example, they repeated or rephrased something in two languages (L1 and L2) to make sure that the rest of the class understood exactly what they were saying. The following extracts from lesson 4 exemplify this category. The code-switched part has been underlined:

Student: Allora, Ratko… Ratko Mladic./ Ratko Mladic eh… who was eh… the former Bosnian milit… Serbian militar leader, *cioè il primo generale serbo, e bosniaco*. Accused of committing war crimes and genocides, of the… against human… humanity […].

Finally, it was found that students tend to switch to English 'for pragmatic reasons' that is when they refer specifically to the task they have to complete. In actual fact, technical terms and key-terms of the tasks were often uttered in English, even if the rest of the discourse was in Italian. On the contrary, procedural data related to task completion were uttered in Italian, in line with Gil, Garau, Noguera's findings (2012). Only one case of code-switched produced for 'mood of the speaker' was registered.

The data from the lesson transcripts were compared with the information collected through the second questionnaire. It was found that students do not seem to have a very clear idea regarding the use of the L1 and the L2 during CLIL classes. In fact, 54% of students stated that in general it is good to use both Italian and English during CLIL classes, while 46% stated that it is not. Thus, there is no significant difference between the two groups. This result is similar to Azland and Narasuman's findings (Azland, Narasuman 2013). In contrast, students showed a very clear opinion concerning the language the teacher should speak: in fact, 22 out of 24 claimed that the CLIL teacher should speak only English. Furthermore, students admitted to speak mainly in English when prompted by the teacher, while they tend to speak Italian when they have to talk amongst themselves during group work, that is when the teacher is not in direct control. This confirms the results of the transcript analysis of the present study. However, many students do not seem to have a clear metacognitive perception of their work in class and of the languages they use. In fact, 6 out of 24 students stated that they do not know whether they speak English when prompted by the teacher and 5 stated that they do not know whether they mainly speak English with their classmates during group work. Finally, students' replies seem to suggest that they consider both students' and teachers' code-switching as an asset in particularly challenging situations, for example when there is a term or a concept which is particularly difficult to understand. This confirms the results of the transcript analysis of the present research where it was found that students pay particular attention to discipline-specific terms and they tend to utter them in English while classroom language is often uttered in Italian.

4.5 Limitations of the Present Study

Due to the small sample considered in this study, the results cannot be generalized to all CLIL educational contexts, also considering that the

data were collected at a *Liceo Linguistico* which is a type of high school that pays particular attention to foreign language learning and CLIL experiences. Therefore, students who choose this school are generally more inclined towards experiences concerning foreign languages, such as CLIL.

Another possible limitation is that the author of the present study is also the CLIL teacher of the class which was taken as a sample to collect the data. Although only the data from the lesson transcripts and from the questionnaires were considered, at times the teacher's personal knowledge of the students might unconsciously have had a slight influence on data screening and perception.

Nevertheless, the results of the analysis show certain patterns and tendencies in the occurrence of code-switching in CLIL classes. This indicates that code-switching is a meaningful linguistic and cognitive behaviour and has significant pedagogical implications.

4.6 Conclusions

The findings of the present case-study show that, although English (L2) is the dominant language in all of the CLIL classes recorded while code-switching to Italian (L1) occurs in every single lesson in many forms and for different purposes. Students' language choices vary according to what they are required to do in class and code-switching is particularly frequent when students have to interact with each other.

The use of code-switching in L2 and CLIL classes is still controversial, especially with respect to whether or not and to what extent code-switching should be allowed. However, the present study suggests that, although there may be arguments against students using their mother tongue, the use of the L1 can significantly help avoid breakdowns in interaction, bridging the gap between the students and the teacher and better understand concepts, especially in the case of low L2 proficiency students or very cognitively demanding tasks. Therefore, if on the one hand teaching should be conducted primarily in the L2, on the other hand, students' code-switching, if regulated and monitored by the teacher, seems like a necessary tool to facilitate communication and to convey knowledge of the subject matter.

Appendix

Sample of the transcripts (from lesson three)

Transcription Conventions
The four 50-minute lessons were video recorded and subsequently tran-
scribed, reporting every error and incoherence uttered by the speakers.

Colours
Red: teacher's utterances in English
Black: students' utterances in English
Blue: teacher and students' utterances in Italian
Grey: utterances produced in other languages

Other conventions
The code 'students' indicates turns uttered by more than one student
at the same time.
The code '*' indicates unintelligible words, segments or sentences, due to
poor quality of the audio, voice overlapping, unclear pronunciation, etc.
The code 'Italian pron.' indicates a word intentionally pronounced in
Italian. It is particularly used in the case of proper names whose spell-
ing is the same in English and Italian.

Sample

TEACHER   Ok, so did you know about Tito? Do you remember maybe
from last year? Something. He was * Yugoslavia. Ok? Sht! What is
resistance? Resistance movement?
[BRUSIO]
STUDENT   I… come si chiamano?
STUDENT   Ribels.
TEACHER   Eh?
STUDENT   Ribels.
TEACHER   Rebels. Rebels. Somehow. Andrea, do you have a better defini-
tion for resistance?
STUDENT   No. Però… Come si dice?
STUDENT   People who fight to the liberty of… of their country.
TEACHER   Exactly, very good. Did we have resistance in Italy?
STUDENTS   Yes.
STUDENT   Partigiani.
STUDENT   Parti… Eh quelli che…
TEACHER   Yes. The partisans for example. Eh… you know that we have
a liceo linguistico here? Very near, what is the name?

STUDENTS   Sophie Scholl.

TEACHER   Who is Sophie Scholl?

STUDENT   She was a girl that with her brother and other guys made a resistance against the… the Nazist…

TEACHER   Very good!

STUDENT   But in Germany.

TEACHER   In Germany. Yes, exactly. She was part of… she was a member of a movement, a resistance movement and the name is?

STUDENTS   La Rosa Bianca.

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