PHD

TEACHER USE OF CODESWITCHING IN THE SECOND LANGUAGE CLASSROOM: EXPLORING TEACHER PRACTICES AND PERCEPTIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF UNIVERSITY ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS IN CHINA

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Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath
Department of Education
May 2019
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Jie Chen, 6th May 2019
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Abstract

For much of the twentieth century, teacher use of codeswitching (CS) was seen as a contentious issue within ELT, because of the assumption that English is best taught and learned without the use of students’ first language (L1). In recent decades, however, studies focusing on the context of EFL classrooms where teachers and students share the same L1(s) call for a re-examination of the role of the L1 in classroom instruction. However, in China, ‘English-only’, the exclusive use of English as the medium of instruction, has been viewed as an ‘unwritten rule’ by many ELT institutions, which is inconsistent with the CS practices of many teachers in their teaching.

This thesis explores teachers’ CS practices and their perceptions of CS use in university EFL classrooms in China. The study employed (1) semi-structured interviews to investigate teachers’ views towards L1 use, (2) audio-recorded classroom observations to examine the practice of CS by the teachers in the classroom, and (3) follow-up stimulated-recall interviews to elicit teachers’ rationales for their CS practices. The findings indicate that teachers’ perceptions of CS use, and their classroom practices in specific circumstances, are more complex than has previously been acknowledged. The findings show that the majority of teachers, while recognizing the importance of English use in the EFL classroom, identify a range of valuable functions for L1 use in their teaching. From a pragmatic perspective (Verschueren, 1999), the study identifies a number of individual, environmental and classroom-specific factors that may affect teacher CS use in the EFL classroom. The study offers empirical evidence for EFL teachers regarding L1 use in their teaching, affirms the value of L1 use, and sheds light on how and why the L1 may be used in EFL classrooms.
List of abbreviations

BERA  British Education Research Association
CA   Conversation Analysis
CET  College English Test
CET4 College English Test Band 4
CLT  Communicative language teaching
CS   Codeswitching
CUP  Common Underlying Proficiency
EFL  English as a foreign language
ELT  English language teaching
ESL  English as a second language
FL   Foreign language
FLA  First language acquisition
GCSE General Certificate of Secondary Education
GRE  Graduate Record Examinations
IE   Integrated English
IELTS International English Language Testing System
L1   First language
L2   Second or additional language
MA   Master of Arts
RO   Rights and obligations
SLA  Second language acquisition
SRI  Stimulated recall interview
TL   Target language
TOEFL Test of English as a Foreign Language
UK   United Kingdom
USA  United States of America
UPET University Public English Teaching
WLS  Watching, listening and speaking
Chapter 1 Introduction

This introductory chapter provides an overview of the impetus and the background context for the research study, introduces the research questions, provides a definition of key terms as they are used within this thesis, and describes the overall organisation of the thesis. More specifically, the first section presents my personal motivation for conducting the study. This is followed by a historical overview of EFL in China for UK readers who may not be familiar with this background information, but which is important in terms of contextualizing the current study. The subsequent section goes on to provide general information about EFL in the Chinese tertiary context, before discussing teaching methods at tertiary level in China, as they are relevant to the topic of codeswitching. This is followed by an introduction of the research questions that guided the study. The chapter concludes with a list of definitions of terms specific to the thesis and a description of its overall organisation.

1.1 Initial impetus for the study

My initial interest in the role of L1 in L2 teaching was developed during my master’s study at the University of Edinburgh in 2013. I first heard the term ‘codeswitching’ in a TESOL Methodology course taught by Professor Mairin Hennebry. Later I read a paper written by Hennebry with three other researchers published in the same year about the effects of L1 and L2 instruction on learners’ L2 vocabulary acquisition (Hennebry et al., 2013). My experience in Edinburgh was the first time for me to study in English-speaking classes in the UK where the teachers did not share my L1. My difficulty of understanding the teachers and my classmates during the course meant that this topic resonated for me. During this same period, I also taught GCSE Mandarin courses in a secondary school in Edinburgh. I often thought about the issues related to the language choices of instruction. Questions such as whether to maintain the Mandarin-only instruction, or if not, when and how much to use English always lingered in my mind.

After graduation, I was given the opportunity to teach English in a university in
Jiangsu province in China. The students in my class were all from non-English majors and had different levels of English proficiency. At the beginning, I attempted to maintain the English-only principle in my teaching, which had been influenced by the teaching theories learnt in my MA courses. Nevertheless, it seemed to be impossible to avoid the use of Chinese in my class. Switching from English to Chinese either consciously or unconsciously frequently took place during my teaching. Consequently, I wondered if the English-only principle ever worked in a situation where both the teacher and students shared the same L1 like the university EFL classroom in China.

I shared my questions with two of my colleagues but found that they seemed to face a similar dilemma. I searched a number of academic papers and found that this English-only assumption - that English is best taught without the use of students’ L1 - has been questioned in recent decades. However, I could find little literature on teachers’ L1 use within the Chinese ELT context in particular, and so I decided that this would be the focus of my PhD study.

I decided to conduct my research in the EFL classroom at the tertiary level in China for two major reasons. First, I was more familiar with English teaching in higher education than other educational sectors because of my personal teaching experiences. Moreover, my own knowledge and the documents I had read led me to believe that EFL teachers at primary and secondary levels in China used substantial Chinese in their classes, which had a focus on forms and test preparation (e.g. Cheng, 2013). In contrast, the majority of ELT syllabi at tertiary level encouraged communicative-oriented classrooms and teachers normally had more freedom to decide whether and how to use the L1. This influenced the overall objectives for the present study: the first was to investigate the ways in which the L1 was used by teachers in the EFL classroom, and the other was to examine the perceptions that practicing teachers had regarding L1 use.

1.2 Overview of the education system in China

This section provides an overview of China’s overall education system to give
readers a general understanding of the broad context in which the study was carried out. Table 1 below summarises the structure of the education system in China in general, including the four major education levels, forms of schools for each level, duration of education at each level, and students’ ages. As the table shows, students in China usually have to spend at least twelve years completing primary (6 years) and secondary (6 years) education before starting tertiary-level education. In China, there is a nine-year compulsory education policy which enables Chinese students over six years old to have free education at both primary education (Grade 1-6) and junior secondary education (Grade 7-9). This is funded by the Chinese government. In contrast, senior secondary education (Grade 10-12) and higher education in China are not compulsory and students have to pay tuition fees, although these are minimal.

At the end of nine years of compulsory education, students have to take the annual Senior High School Entrance Examination (‘中考’, Zhongkao). Students are examined in Chinese, Mathematics, English, Physics, Chemistry, Political Science, etc. After three years of senior secondary education, students have to take the National College Entrance Examination (‘高考’, Gaokao) to gain admission to tertiary study. Chinese, Mathematics and English tests are compulsory for all candidates. Students who choose the social science area (‘文科’, Wen ke) take another two tests in History, Politics or Geography, and those who choose the science area (‘理科’, Li ke) undertake two further examinations in Physics, Chemistry or Biology.

**Table 1. The organisation of the education system in China**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Institution and school</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>Ages 18-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>College and vocational school</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Ages 18-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior secondary</td>
<td>Senior secondary school</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Ages 15-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senior secondary school (vocational)</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Ages 15-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior secondary</td>
<td>Junior secondary school</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Ages 12-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>Ages 6-12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Debates on the effectiveness of Gaokao for selecting academically competent students, and its influence on primary and secondary school education, have been widespread. This final exam involves stress and competition, as those who obtain high scores in Gaokao can gain access to top universities, which are closely associated with future careers and even marriage prospects (e.g. Liu, 2013). The pressure caused by Gaokao has also influenced the English curriculum in secondary schools, as well teaching and learning in the classroom (Liu & Liu, 2005). In 2016, around 7.7 million (82.1 per cent) students out of the entire 9.4 million students who participated in Gaokao obtained admission to higher education, which includes universities, lower-ranking colleges, and vocational schools (Cao & Zhang, 2017).

1.3 A history of ELT in China

This section has been included to illustrate the broad sociocultural background in which current ELT in Chinese higher education is rooted. The development of ELT in China has been associated with political and economic factors such as China’s foreign policy and its relationship with certain English-speaking countries (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996). According to Ross (1992), the English language has been seen as a barometer of modernization and this barometer effect is reflected by the changes in ELT methodology in China since 1950. For the purposes of this study, this has been broadly divided into three phases, although there is not consensus on this among researchers (e.g. Cheng & Wang, 2012; Lu, 2015; Song 2005).

In the first phase, from 1950 to 1965, the Soviet Union had a great influence on China’s foreign language (FL) education policies, and Russian became the dominant FL taught in both secondary schools and tertiary-level institutions, while English was largely abandoned (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996). Many teachers who had previously taught EFL were forced to switch to teach Russian during that period (Adamson, 1997).
According to Chang (2006), in 1952 only eight universities provided EFL courses, and there were only approximately 545 English language teachers in China. In addition, as a socialist country at that time, China’s isolated attitudes towards the capitalist West, particularly the USA, also affected its ELT development (Cheng & Wang, 2012).

Influenced by the close relationship with the Soviet Union, China adopted Soviet pedagogical models which emphasized reading-based and teacher-centred principles (Cheng & Wang, 2012). However, in the late 1950s, there was a breakdown of the relationship between the Soviet Union and China, and the Chinese government dropped its policy of ‘Learn from the Soviet Union’ and began to ‘learn from all the advanced experiences of the world’ (Dzau 1990, p.19). During that period, the improved relationships between English-speaking countries and China increased the popularity of English as a tool to communicate with the outside world, and English education was revived. For example, in 1964, English was officially regulated by the Ministry of Education as the first FL in schools and universities (Chang, 2006). In the classroom, the development of listening and speaking skills received more emphasis than previously and audiolingual methods became influential (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996).

The second phase lasted from 1966 to 1976: the years of the Cultural Revolution (文化大革命, Wenhua Da Geming). During this period, China’s interaction with the outside world was cut off, and ELT was considered to be the cultivation of bourgeois ideas and thus was completely abandoned both in the education system and society (Cheng & Wang, 2012; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996). Many intellectuals, including English language teachers, had to undertake forced manual labour and were subjected to persecution (Adamson, 2004).

However, after Chairman Mao had died, from 1977 onwards, English started to receive great attention from the government, and English education has now become a very important part of China’s education system. The announcement of China’s Open Door Policy in the late 1970s led to greater interaction and trade between China and other countries. According to Yao (1993), English became the dominant
FL taught at college-level intuitions by 1981: among the total of 445 institutions at tertiary level teaching FLs at that time, there were 31,089 students and among them, 24,368 students were English majors. By the late 1990s, the number of international companies and corporations in China has greatly increased, leading to a demand for bilingual people who were fluent in Chinese and at least one FL so as to facilitate exchanges in technology, science and foreign business. Therefore, ELT became associated with the development of China’s science, technology, and economy. Against such a background, English became a compulsory subject in secondary schools and was stipulated as one of the compulsory examination subjects in the Gaokao by the end of 1990s (Cheng & Wang, 2012).

In the twenty-first century, this enthusiasm for English education has spread across the entire country. In 2001, China joined the World Trade Organization and since then English has been a compulsory subject in primary schools across the country. In 2008, China hosted the Olympic Games in Beijing. At that time, the status of English reached a new peak and received a lot of public support. Motivation to learn English was high, not only because of the compulsory English test in the Gaokao, but also because for some years students had to pass the College English Test (CET) in order to obtain a bachelor’s degree. Although by the time the current study was conducted this policy had been dropped by most universities in China, a good CET score still enhances applicants’ competitiveness in job interviews, and other international tests such as IELTS, TOEFL and GRE have become part of the core entry requirements for further study in English-speaking countries. The current popularity of English education in contexts related to tertiary study mean that research into this area, with a specific focus on China, is more important than ever if students are to obtain the best education that can be offered.

1.4 Current EFL education at the tertiary level in China

There are two main strands of English language education at the tertiary level in China: one is ELT for English-major students with a relatively smaller number of students and the other is for students of non-English majors who make up the majority of university English learners in China. For English majors, according to the
latest syllabus (Ministry of Education, 2000) there are three primary teaching objectives of ELT for English majors at the tertiary level: these are language-skill-based, language-knowledge-based, and professional-knowledge-based. The present study, however, focuses on non-English majors, the courses for whom are described below.

ELT for non-English majors, also known as College Public English (大学公共英语, Daxue Gonggong Yingyu) or College English (大学英语, Daxue Yingyu), is a two-year compulsory course for all university students of non-English majors in China. As explained above, the Ministry of Education set up the CET in 1988 (Yang & Weir, 1998), and although it is no longer compulsory, it has had an influence in the classroom. Many researchers have reported on the negative washback effect caused by CET on English teaching and learning. For example, the teachers in Jin’s (2006) study reported that many students were not interested in participating in classroom activities to practise their oral English; instead, they spent a lot of time memorizing vocabulary and grammatical rules which were assessed in CET.

The mainstream type of College English is called Comprehensive English or Integrated English, and aims to incorporate the four macro skills into one course. This century, the Ministry of Education in China has emphasised the development of students’ ability to use a range of language skills in various communicative ‘real life’ contexts. Accordingly, the Chinese government established new requirements for ELT for non-English majors at the tertiary level in China in 2004. As the College English Curriculum Requirements (Ministry of Education, 2004) states:

The objective of College English is to develop students’ ability to use English in an all-round way, especially in listening and speaking, so that in their future work and social interactions they will be able to exchange information effectively through both spoken and written channels, and at the same time they will be able to enhance their ability to study independently and improve their cultural quality so as to meet the needs of China’s social development and international exchanges. (Ministry of Education, 2004 translated in Li 2012, p.110)
These new requirements emphasized the importance of developing students’ listening and speaking ability, unlike previous curriculum documents. To achieve this, teachers are expected to be facilitators in the class, and are encouraged to organize diverse classroom activities such as group discussion, presentations, and dialogues based on various situations to stimulate students’ engagement and overcome their shyness (Li, 2012).

The formal version of College English Curriculum Requirements was introduced in 2007 following a three-year trial. Apart from the emphasis on the development of students’ speaking and listening skills in general, the formal version of this document also took into account the wide range of conditions and unbalanced qualities of English teaching and learning across different regions in China:

As China is a large country with conditions varying from region to region and from college to college, the teaching of College English should follow the principle of providing different guidance for different groups of students and instructing them in accordance with their aptitude so as to meet the specific needs of the individualized teaching. (Ministry of Education, 2007 translated in Li 2012, p.110)

Universities in China recruit students from the whole country. According to Li (2012), students from urban areas or more developed south-eastern regions (e.g. Shanghai and Shenzhen) usually have more advanced level of English than those from rural or western areas (e.g. Tibet). As a result, some tertiary-level institutions have begun to separate students into different classes according to their language levels (Cheng & Wang, 2012), as assessed by an entry test.

1.5 EFL teaching methods in Chinese tertiary settings

The old grammar-translation approach which had been widely used in a typical teacher-centred EFL class in China (Dzau, 1990) was widely criticised by experts and practitioners after the implementation of College English Curriculum
Requirements in 2004, who attributed the ‘deaf and dumb’ English (聋哑英语, Longya Yingyu) spoken by a large number of Chinese students to the ineffectiveness of those traditional ELT methods. Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and task-based teaching were gradually introduced and have continued to impact ELT methods in the twenty-first century (Cheng & Wang, 2012).

However, in spite of these developments, research suggests that the grammar-translation method remains in ELT pedagogy and curriculum in different levels or regions in China, and that teaching methods which include the use of the L1 such as the grammar-translation method have been used together with other teaching methods which basically discourage L1 use, such as CLT (Adamson, 2004). In a survey conducted by Dai (2008) on teachers’ views on CLT in China, the majority of participants suggested that a communicative approach which adopts a total exclusion of L1 use might be mainly applicable for those classrooms where the students intend to go to an English-speaking country, but that for those whose major purpose was to pass examinations or understand English literature, teaching methods such as CLT with the avoidance of L1 use might not be the most suitable.

As for government policies, they rarely discuss specific teaching approaches and the roles of L1 use in ELT in China. Only two syllabi in the secondary-level EFL curriculum regulate that teachers should try to maximize English use with a proper use of Chinese (Ministry of Education, 2000). According to the syllabi, teachers in junior high school can use the L1 when they consider it difficult to explain clearly through using English only. The syllabi also suggest that teachers in secondary school EFL classrooms can compare Chinese and English to some extent in their teaching. However, for university EFL classrooms there are no specific regulations on what medium of instruction teachers are expected to use in their teaching and to what extent the L1 can be used in the classrooms. Some researchers consider that one reason for the lack of specific regulations regarding this issue might be that the policy makers of the syllabus for tertiary-level EFL courses might have taken for granted that English should be the dominant medium of instruction considering students’ higher language competence compared with those in primary or secondary levels (Song, 2005). However, empirical studies suggest that university teachers use
English and Chinese with considerably varying degrees in their teaching (e.g. van der Meij & Zhao, 2010), which seems to contradict the above assumption. Another possible explanation for the lack of reference to the use of L1 in national policies of EFL teaching at tertiary level is associated with the fact that China is a vast country with an unbalanced development of EFL education and various teaching and learning objectives in different regions (Song, 2005). In addition, government and institutional lack of confidence in making explicit pedagogical recommendations might be another possible interpretation of the current situation (Guo, 2007).

This issue of the use of the L1 in Chinese EFL classrooms is discussed in more detail in the literature review chapter, but it is presented briefly here to illustrate the complexity of the situation and to provide a rationale for the current study. My own personal experience and the research conducted to date therefore led me to develop the objectives and research questions for this study. These are presented in the next section.

1.6 Research objectives and research questions

For the reasons presented above, and with regard to previous studies as described in the literature review chapter, the current study focused on the context of university EFL classrooms for non-English major students in mainland China. Within this context, the study aims to explore a variety of factors that may influence teachers’ language choices between the L1 and the L2 in the EFL classroom. The current study takes a pragmatic perspective (Verschueren, 1999). It considers teacher CS as language choices which are made taking into account multiple factors from the social, mental and physical world, and are drawn from a wide range of possibilities (variability and negotiability) in order to fulfil or satisfy communicative needs. The research purpose was achieved by collecting audio data from a group of EFL classrooms in one Chinese university and interview data from a small number of EFL teachers, which enabled the following three specific research questions to be answered in the light of empirical evidence.

In order to fulfil these research objectives, three research questions were developed:
1) To what extent and in what ways do teachers codeswitch in the university EFL classroom in China?

2) What rationales do teachers provide for their CS practices in the university EFL classroom in China?

3) What are teachers’ perceptions about the use of CS in the university EFL classroom in China?

1.7 Definition of terms

In this thesis, there are a number of key terms and expressions which are open to interpretation according to context, or which have been variously described within the research literature. These are defined below.

1.7.1 EFL and ESL

According to Crystal (1995, p.108), the term ‘English as a foreign language’ is defined as ‘English seen in the context of countries where it is not the mother tongue and has no special status, such as Japan, France, Egypt and Brazil’. In contrast, English as a second language (ESL), another common term used in ELT research, is defined by Crystal (ibid) as ‘English in countries where it holds special status as a medium of communication’; it can also be used to refer to ‘the English immigrants and other foreigners who live within a country where English is the first language’. In the current study, the research context is defined as the EFL classroom as Chinese (Mandarin) is the official mother tongue of Chinese people and English in China is seen as a foreign language which has no special status.

1.7.2 Codeswitching

In this study I have chosen to use the term ‘codeswitching’. A detailed description of how this term is used in the thesis, and its relationship to associated concepts, such as ‘translanguaging’ is provided in section 2.3.1.
1.7.3 L1 and L2

The present study is primarily focused on one side of CS, i.e. the switching from English to Chinese by teachers in the EFL classroom. I therefore adopted the term ‘L1 use’ as a synonym for teacher CS which means the practice of switching from English to Chinese by the participants in this study. When reviewing the literature, I found that the L1 was also used as an umbrella term for other expressions related such as ‘native language’, ‘shared language’, ‘own language’, or ‘mother tongue’. The meanings of such terms tend to differ depending on the specific studies. Similarly, L2 is used to describe English in the results and discussion chapters, where it is used at all. The term L1 is used to describe in this context Mandarin Chinese rather than any other language or dialect that the participants in this study may be familiar with and have used or use in their daily lives.

1.7.4 Chinese

For the purposes of this study, the term ‘Chinese’, when it is used as a language, is used to describe Mandarin Chinese, as this is the common and shared language used in the EFL classroom in higher education in China. It is used interchangeably with ‘Mandarin’.

1.8 Overview of the thesis

This thesis comprises seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature and outlines the theoretical backdrop to the present study. Section 2.1 reviews the historical and social background of the monolingual approach which dominated language teaching for centuries, and the later changing climate that L1 use has been increasingly recognized by more researchers and practitioners. This section ends with the request for a re-consideration of the role of L1 use in the L2 classroom and establishing a judicious framework for teacher L1 and L2 use. Section 2.2 reviews a number of theoretical assumptions and arguments opposing and acknowledging the role of L1 use, particularly in the fields of L2
learning, SLA and bilingual education. Section 2.3 provides a review of different approaches of analysing CS both in naturalistic settings and classroom settings. Section 2.4 reviews recent empirical studies on teacher CS in the L2 classroom relevant to the current research.

Chapter 3 explains the research design and the methodological rationale. It then presents contextual information about the research site and the participants, followed by a detailed description of the procedures of data collection and data analysis. Finally, concerns about validity and ethical issues are also discussed.

Chapters 4 to 6 discuss the main findings. Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the distribution of teacher CS including timed analysis. Chapter 5 provides a functional analysis of the participants’ CS practices in the classroom. Chapter 6 presents a qualitative analysis of teachers’ interviews.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by providing a summary of the major findings in this study relating to teacher use of CS, presents a conceptual framework for teacher CS, and discusses the key findings of the study related to the research questions and connects the results of the present study with the previous literature. It also presents the implications the study may have for language learning and teacher education, points out some research limitations and makes several recommendations for further research.
Chapter 2 Literature review

This chapter contextualises the current study by examining the theoretical and empirical research that has been conducted into teacher use of CS in the L2 classroom. Section 2.1 begins by presenting the background to the debate about the use of the L1 in the L2 classroom within the context of English language education and EFL education in particular in order to explain the political, social and educational reasons behind the rise of monolingual teaching. It then goes on to provide a brief discussion about how the situation has changed according to the recent changing socio-political climate around the world on bilingualism and bilingual speakers and the development and evolution of theories of learning and teaching. This section ends with researchers’ and teachers’ request for a re-examination of the role of L1 use in the L2 classroom and suggestion for establishing a judicious framework for L1 use.

Section 2.2 presents a number of theoretical arguments opposing and acknowledging the role of L1 use in the fields of L2 learning, SLA, and bilingual education. Section 2.3 defines the concept of CS and other related ones such as translanguaging. It also explores the different theoretical perspectives from which teacher use of CS has been examined in both naturalistic and classroom settings, which have informed the theoretical framework for the analysis of teacher CS practices in the current study. Section 2.4 reviews recent empirical studies on teacher CS in the L2 classroom relevant to the present study. These research findings have been organised according to several overarching topic areas, including the overall distribution of L1/L2 in teacher utterances in the classroom, language functions of teacher CS, teachers’ perceptions of CS use, and research findings about teacher CS particularly in Chinese EFL classrooms. The chapter concludes by identifying the gap in the current research literature which the current study sets out to address.

2.1 L1 use in the L2 classroom: a contentious issue

This section presents a historical analysis of the situation regarding CS practices in
language education. The sub-sections show how monolingual approaches originated, how the scholarly literature has repositioned itself over time and where the current situation now stands.

2.1.1 Origins of monolingual teaching

The monolingual approach is used to refer to exclusive use of the L2 as the instructional language to develop students’ ability of thinking in the L2, with minimal interference from the L1 (Howatt, 1984). The widespread acceptance of the monolingual approach in the twentieth century can be attributed to multiple factors that go beyond theory into a more practical domain (Hall & Cook, 2012). For example, in classes where L2 learners speak various languages, it is not usually possible to adopt a bilingual teaching approach (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009). In addition, even when the students share a common L1, many ‘native-speaker’ teachers of English are employed by institutions throughout the world to teach English in classrooms where those teachers are unfamiliar with the L1 of their students. West (1962, p.48 in Butzkamm, 2003) claims that ‘one cannot but suspect that this theory of rigid avoidance of the mother tongue may be in part motivated by the fact that the teacher of English does perhaps not know the learner’s mother tongue’.

From a socio-political perspective, it has been argued that the monolingual approach is motivated by a desire to enhance neo-colonial control among ‘Western’ English-speaking nations (Auerbach, 1993; Phillipson, 1992). It has been argued that this approach ensures that the world becomes dependent on ‘native-speaker’ language ways of teaching and language norms in a one-size-fits-all approach that denies cultural and linguistic differences (Phillipson, 1997) and the social contexts in which the classrooms are located (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009). The domination of the international textbook market of monolingual textbooks published by ‘Western’ organisations supports this system (Hall & Cook, 2012). As a consequence, the contributions to classroom pedagogy made by non-native speaker teachers remain unrecognised, and this includes the use of the L1 (Howatt & Smith, 2014). While the context of the present study differs from those that tend to be the focus of the
literature cited above, not least because it is concerned with a situation in which teacher and students share the L1, the literature nevertheless provides meaningful insights into the social and political origins of this widely-accepted monolingual principle which has greatly influenced teaching methodology and educational policies in many countries in recent decades. That includes ELT education in China where the current study was located.

In addition to these social and political factors, theories of L2 development have also influenced attitudes to L1 use in different teaching methodologies over the years. There have been many influential teaching methods in language teaching over the past century which hold distinctive attitudes towards L1 use. The negative attitude towards L1 use in teaching approaches can be traced back to the late nineteenth century when the Reform Movement drew on research in phonetics and psychology to reject the Grammar Translation method which dominated foreign language teaching at the secondary level (Phillipson, 1992). Nevertheless, this movement did not dogmatically oppose L1 use. Wilhelm Viëtor, for example, the main initiator of the Reform Movement in modern language teaching, seems to have accepted the useful role of the L1 both in ‘the presentation of new language’ and in ‘question-and-answer work’ in some early pages of his book (Howatt & Widdowson 2004, p.191). This apparent inconsistency regarding the role of the L1, mainly with regard to its use in the Grammar Translation method, has remained an issue throughout the recent history of language teaching reform and has continued to ‘provoke both heat and confusion into modern times’ (Howatt & Widdowson 2004, p.191). While there are a number of language teaching methodologies that have influenced L2 teaching in different historic periods and pedagogical contexts, this section will focus on two key teaching approaches that are particularly relevant to the discussion on whether the L1 should be used in L2 teaching, particularly in the context of China: Grammar Translation and CLT.

The Grammar Translation method traces its history back to the teaching of Latin and Greek in the sixteenth century. It was a dominant language teaching approach in the nineteenth century and ‘in modified form it continues to be widely used in some parts of the world today’ (Richards & Rodgers 2001, p.6). It is underpinned by the
idea that an L2 could and should be taught in the same way as that used to teach Latin and Greek, with the same learning objectives. For example, the learning focus is on accuracy rather than communicative ability, and on literary texts rather than daily interaction. In this model, the L1 ‘is maintained as the reference system in the acquisition of the second language’ (Stern 1983, p.455).

On the other hand, CLT is based on two key assumptions: first, that language is a system for the expression of meaning and the major function of language is for interaction and communication; and second, that the primary purpose of language learning is not to acquire grammatical and structural linguistic features but develop language functions and communicative meaning manifested in discourse (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). CLT has been greatly influenced by the theory of social constructivism, which views knowledge as socially constructed (Nunan, 1999), with knowledge and skills being acquired through constructive processes which usually take place in learners’ interaction and collaboration with others. CLT, with its aim of developing communicative competence, provides opportunities for learners to improve their language competence through communicating and making meaning during classroom interaction. Such an idea distinguishes CLT from other traditional language teaching approaches and largely guides syllabus design and specific teaching methods which support a communicative perspective on language teaching and learning (Littlewood, 2014).

The development of communicative competence is the fundamental objective of CLT (Macaro, 1998). The concept of communicative competence stands in contrast to Chomsky’s (1965) notion of linguistic competence, which is criticized as lacking consideration of speakers’ ability to understand others’ utterances according to the specific conversational context. For example, Canale and Swain (1980) classify ‘communicative competence’ into four aspects: grammar competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence and strategic competence. Richards (1998) defines the concept of ‘communicative competence’ as ‘the knowledge both of rules of grammar, vocabulary and semantics, and rules of speaking – the patterns of sociolinguistic behavior of the speech community’ (p.145). Understanding specific socio-cultural rules, therefore, plays a crucial role in the development of a learner’s
communicative competence in English language. However, questions such as what societies those socio-cultural norms are supposed to belong to or whether a native-standard model of communicative competence is appropriate to be adopted in non-native contexts (e.g. the EFL classroom) remain unresolved or may be given different answers because of ideological distinctions.

In addition to the ideological discrepancies, it is commonly accepted that CLT shifts away from a focus on language as a system comprising certain structures, and towards the development of students’ communicative competence in a natural and authentic environment (Song, 2005). In such a context, the concern about maximum exposure to target language (TL) input in the classroom has become an important argument against L1 use in the L2 classroom, especially in teacher’s talk (Butzkamm, 2011). This was greatly influenced by Krashen’s acquisition hypothesis (Krashen, 1985) which highlighted the importance of ‘sufficient exposure’ to L2 input for acquisition (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009). The positive correlation between L2 learning outcomes and the amount of TL input has been supported by some empirical studies (Macdonald, 1993), suggesting that in order to achieve a ‘sufficient amount’ of comprehensible input, anything other than the L2 should be kept to a minimum. In CLT, it has also been argued that a lack of sufficient input may also deprive learners of the chance to negotiate meaning, which is an important part of the L2 learning process (Macaro, 2005). In short, it seems reasonable to argue that the more learners are exposed to L2 input, the more they will achieve. This hypothesis forms the bedrock of the theoretical argument for maximizing teachers’ L2 use, thereby implicitly rejecting a place for the L1 in the classroom (Macaro, 2005). In spite of this, however, it has been argued Macaro (1998) that there is no evidence supporting the argument that the L1 must be excluded from CLT, as one of its important advantages is its in-built flexibility that permits teachers’ flexible selection of what is appropriate for the needs of students. In other words, if the L1 is perceived as beneficial to facilitate students’ L2 learning at specific moments, L1 use should not be prohibited in the implementation of CLT.

However, there seems to be a lack of consensus regarding the nature of a communicative approach, which may also result in gaps between theory and ELT
practice in the classroom (e.g. Harmer, 2003). Empirical studies also suggest that there is a gap between language policy and the reality of teacher practice in terms of the adoption of CLT. For example, Liu (2015) investigated teachers’ attitudes and practices regarding the use of CLT in the EFL classroom in a primary school in China, and found that most teachers were not guided by their stated understanding of CLT but adopted their own teaching approach including a large amount of grammar explanation and vocabulary drills, during which a certain amount of the students’ L1 was used. The issue of whether students’ L1 should be allowed within the framework of CLT remains unresolved. Although a large number of studies have been conducted to investigate teachers’ attitudes towards CLT and how they adopt communicative approaches in the classroom, the relationship between teachers’ perceptions of the purpose of developing students’ communicative competence promoted by CLT and their choices of the L1 and the L2 is rarely considered. It is necessary to investigate how the ideological preference of Western teaching approaches, particularly the strong version of CLT, which aims to develop standard English and therefore implicitly favours native speaker teachers and rejects L1 use, influence teachers’ CS practices in the EFL classroom.

Beyond the classroom, the monolingual principle has historically considerably influenced educational policies and regulations regarding L2 teaching approaches and methods in many countries around the world. For example, although there has been a revision suggesting a ‘gradual shift in policy ... to a measured inclusion of the mother tongue’ (Meiring & Norman 2002, p.28) in recent years, National Curriculum documents in the 1990s strongly promoted the total exclusion of the L1 in modern FL classrooms in England (Macaro, 1998). In Hong Kong, the English Language Curriculum Guide (Curriculum Development Council, 2004) required teachers to build up a language-rich environment: for instance, teaching English through English and encouraging students to communicate with their peers in English as well.

In a large-scale global quantitative study on teachers’ L1 use (Hall & Cook, 2012), teachers were asked to consider the social culture and their institutional attitudes regarding the use of L1 in the L2 classroom. The findings suggested that an institutional context which was in favor of English-only classrooms and therefore
opposing L1 use appeared to prevail in a number of institutional settings. While the majority of teachers in this study claimed that most of time they had the freedom to decide for themselves the balance in the amounts of L1 and L2 use in their teaching, 63 per cent of the teachers revealed that their schools or institutions expected and encouraged them to teach only in English. Liu et al. (2004), who focused on teacher CS in secondary-level EFL classrooms in South Korea, report that ELT in South Korean schools are traditionally taught nearly exclusively in Korean, and since 2000, the Ministry of Education in South Korea has encouraged teachers to use English more frequently in the classroom and to gradually move towards English-only teaching. In China, which is the location for the current study, ‘overuse’ of the L1 by teachers in the EFL classroom is viewed by many ELT educators and experts as a barrier to effective instruction in language teaching, and efforts to encourage teachers to shift away from traditional grammar-translation methods to a more communicative approach have been made by a number of ELT practitioners at various levels of EFL classrooms (Lu, 2015). Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the emphasis on developing students’ ability to use language skills in various communicative contexts in ‘real life’ has been highlighted by the Ministry of Education in China. In spite of the tendency of education ministries and institutions to favor monolingual teaching, teachers and students’ attitudes towards this approach does not seem to have been fully consistent with this expectation (Hall & Cook, 2012). Meanwhile, practical issues such as how to adapt CLT to specific educational contexts have undergone widespread discussion and whether the L1 should be totally avoided by teachers within a communicative framework is one of those subjects under debate (e.g. McMillan & Rivers, 2011).

To sum up, the widespread English-only ideologies are influenced by a number of hidden economic, ideological and socio-political factors (Canagarajah, 1999). These were initially generated from the context of language education in the U.S. where English is the only acceptable medium of interaction in the classroom, which, according to Auerbach (1993), is influenced by political factors more than a pedagogical understanding, as it helps to maintain the domination and authority of English. These English-only ideologies were later unconsciously accepted as the natural and essential way of ELT on a global level and have become associated with
an implicit assumption of the superiority of native speaker teachers of English. Holliday (2006, p.385) uses the term ‘native-speakerism’ to describe ‘the belief that native speaker teachers represent a Western culture from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English Language Teaching methodology’, which leads to the popular taken-for-granted idea that the medium of teaching should be English only while students’ L1 is not recognized as a useful pedagogic tool in the process of language acquisition of English. In addition, the popularity of Western teaching approaches such as CLT on a global level enhances the ideology of native-speakerism because they aim to develop students’ communicative competence according to so-called ‘native speaker’ norms (Nelson, 2011). Many scholars argue for a critical re-examination of these common beliefs and ideologies in ELT, particularly the potential role of L1 in different language education settings (e.g. Kubota & Okuda, 2016; Lin, 2015; Pennycook, 2008). The present study is not focused on the controversial relationship between non-native and native speaker teachers. However, the understanding of the ‘native speaker fallacy’ (Philipson, 1992) and its influence on ELT methodology in history has helped to contribute to the findings in the current study, as it has enhanced understanding of the complex interplay between teachers’ ideological stances and their practical choices of the L1 or the L2 in the EFL classroom.

2.1.2 The changing climate

Although the monolingual assumption has dominated language education and theories of language teaching and learning for centuries, since the early twenty-first century the interest in L1 use in the L2 classroom has increased and the reality that CS behaviors do exist in many L2 classrooms, particularly those in which students and the teacher share the same L1, has been more readily accepted and acknowledged. One of the reasons for such increasing interest is the developing socio-political and academic perspectives on bilingualism and multilingualism.

Hall and Cook (2012) observe that the changing social and political climate regarding language teaching and learning in recent decades may have influenced the increased research interest in L1 use. According to Crystal (2003), against the
background of globalization and contemporary migration, the number of non-native-English speakers around the world has increased significantly. This has led to a re-examination of the effects of bilingualism and multilingualism on the global world. The increasing recognition of bilinguals’ CS practices as normal behavior in a social community has also influenced the perspectives on classroom CS, according to Cook (2008), who describes it as a common characteristic of L2 use between bilingual speakers who share two languages. The relationship between bilingual speaker identity and their language choices has also been re-evaluated in a number of studies, particularly those within postcolonial settings. For example, in a paper that reviewed a number of studies on classroom CS in post-colonial environment, Ferguson (2003) notes that bilingual norms and language attitudes in society have had an impact on classroom CS and thus it is necessary to link the understandings of classroom CS with the broader sociolinguistic climate outside. From a sociolinguistic perspective, Ferguson (ibid, p.43) points out ‘the classroom is not only a place for formal learning but also a social and affective environment in its own right, one where teachers and pupils negotiate the relationships and identities’. Similarly, Canagarajah (1995), who analyzed teacher CS practices in secondary school ESL classrooms in Jaffna, Sri Lanka, suggests that CS practices which were rather common in Jaffna society influenced classroom CS practices. He (ibid) also argues that the language classroom is a valuable preparation for students who need to understand the symbolic values of different language codes, code choices to negotiate meaning and their identities in particular communication contexts. Therefore, as Hall and Cook (2012) comment, studies on classroom CS are not only related to how languages can be best learnt but also to reveal ‘learners’ sense of who they are and who they want to be in a complex multilingual world’ (p.279).

Although the interest in bilingual speaker identity and language choices has been particularly evident within the post-colonial settings, many other studies with the interest in the relationship between CS, identity, cultural integrity, and intercultural communicative competence have also been conducted in other international and cross-cultural contexts. For example, in the area of intercultural competence, researchers have pointed out the positive roles of learners’ own language in the development of intercultural communicative competence, referring to bilingual
speakers’ ability to understand different cultures including their own and to communicate effectively and appropriately with people from other cultures (Levine, 2011). L1 use and translation have been found to be an effective tool for comparing L1 and L2 cultures and increasing learners’ awareness of cross-culture similarities and differences (Crawford, 2004).

While the present study is focused on EFL contexts where the classroom in the major or only source of students’ exposure to the L2 rather than, for instance, the ESL context where bilingual competence (e.g. the ability to use CS as a communicative strategy in social settings) is considered as a learning goal related to students’ sense of identity, these findings described above, particularly with regard to their implications of social and affective functions of L1 use, also help to improve our understandings of L2 teaching and learning in EFL contexts in which the present study is located. They emphasize that the reality and potential benefits of L1 use in the classroom have been increasingly recognised in more language classrooms across the world and the re-examination of L2-exclusive use is needed in all environments in which this occurs.

Butzkamm (2011) criticizes the monolingual approach which has dominated language teaching for century by first re-examining its theoretical origin, the intention to imitate first language acquisition in the L2 classroom, on the grounds that students who normally spend a few hours a week in the L2 classroom cannot be compared with children who acquire their L1 over a large amount of time. Similarly, Swain (2005) criticizes the effectiveness of the naturalistic teaching approach which insists on the exclusion of L1, especially in classroom contexts where there are limited opportunities and time for exposure to the L2. According to Atkinson (1987), teaching methods and techniques involving the use of L1 can be useful given the amount of time needed to fulfil a specific pedagogic objective, as using many of these bilingual techniques may save teachers much time spent on lesson preparation. Butzkamm and Caldwell (2009), too, argue for exploiting the positive role of learners’ ‘mother tongue’ (their term). According to Butzkamm (2011, p.379), the long-standing issue over the mother tongue taboo ‘simply throws the baby out with the bathwater’, as students’ mother tongue is the ‘greatest pedagogical resource’
brought by L2 learners to the classroom teaching and learning, which lays ‘the foundations for all other languages we might want to learn’ (Butzkamm & Caldwell 2009, p.13).

At the same time, it has been pointed out in some of the research literature that L1 use should not be casual but systematic and theoretically justified. For example, drawing on Krashen’s input hypothesis which asserts that ‘humans acquire language in only one way – by understanding messages, or by receiving comprehensive input’ (1985, p.2), Butzkamm and Caldwell (2009) notes that L2 learners should not only understand the messages they receive but also the linguistic rules. This principle is similar to Cook’s (1993, p.61) reference to the terms ‘decoding’ and ‘codebreaking’ language. To be specific, decoding utterances refers to understanding the messages, while codebreaking language refers to understanding its linguistic structure and how messages are encoded according to the linguistic rules. A great many empirical studies on teacher L1 use have found that grammar explanation is a common function of L1 use (e.g. Liu et al., 2004). However, more evidence on this aspect is needed, as few studies have broken down L1 use for grammar explanation beyond this broad level.

2.1.3 Calling for ‘judicious’ L1 use

The reality is that traditional grammar translation and L1 use have been used in the L2 classroom in some countries and regions in the world, in spite of the monolingual tradition that dominated language teaching for hundreds of years. For example, Adamson (2004) points out that Grammar Translation has influenced teaching methods in English language education in China for many decades and this traditional teaching approach still remains in the ELT curriculum in the new century. Cook (2010) notes that the term Grammar Translation is problematic because it sounds old-fashioned and is connected with the stereotype about non-monolingual teaching methods across countries and regions. In spite of that, a number of studies have found bilingual instruction and CS practices in English language classrooms around the world, for example in South Korea (e.g. Liu et al., 2004), Vietnam (e.g. Pham, 2015), Saudi Arabia (e.g. Bukhari, 2017), Cyprus (e.g. Copland & Neokleous,
2011), Hong Kong (e.g. Pennington, 1995; Lin, 1990; Littlewood & Yu, 2011), Thailand (e.g. Forman, 2012), Turkey (e.g. Üstünel, 2015; Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005), Sri Lanka (e.g. Canagarajah, 1995), Turkey (e.g. Eldridge, 1996), South Africa (e.g. Adendorff, 1996), Taiwan (e.g. Raschka et al., 2009), and mainland China (e.g. Cheng, 2013; Song, 2005; van der Meij & Zhao, 2010; Qian et al., 2004; Tang, 2002). Additionally, other studies conducted in FL classrooms have also documented L1 use practices in the classroom (e.g. Edstrom, 2006; Kim & Elder, 2008; Macaro, 1998; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownile, 2002).

The literature cited above shows that the L1 has been used in a wide range of language classrooms in spite of the monolingual assumption that has dominated language teaching and public discourse over the last century. Furthermore, as reviewed above in this section, with the changing social, political and academic climate, there have been a number of publications acknowledging the potentially positive results of L1 use on L2 teaching and learning. Ideas in bilingual cognition, bilingual teaching techniques and other theories of L2 learning provide the rationale for investigating the potential benefits of L1 use in this study. Positions have gradually shifted from maintaining complete exclusion of L1 use towards varied degrees of acknowledgement of the possible pedagogic values that the L1 may serve for L2 learning including direct influence (e.g. being used in a teaching method or facilitating students’ L2 lexical acquisition), and implicit influence (e.g. creating enjoyable classroom environment or facilitating classroom management) (Littlewood & Yu, 2009).

Whilst recognizing the reality that the L1 has been used in many contexts around the world and acknowledging the potential benefits of L1 use, ‘there is near consensus that teachers should aim to make maximum use of the TL’ (Turnbull & Arnett 2002, p.21) and some researchers also suggest some concern about overuse of the L1 (e.g. Cook, 1991; Turnbull, 2001; Turnbull & Arnett, 2002). In addition, it has been suggested that recourse to the L1 by teachers could be because of their lack of L2 proficiency or used as a strategy to repair communication breakdowns in the L2, and that in these circumstances some teachers are less aware of how, when and to what extent they used the L1 (e.g. Polio & Duff, 1994). Indeed, it has been suggested that
teachers may make their own decisions regarding L1 use arbitrarily in the absence of clear research findings (e.g. Turnbull & Dailey-O’Cain, 2009).

Thus, there has been a call for more empirical studies to search for a suitable ratio of L1/L2 use (e.g. Crawford, 2004; Turnbull & Arnett, 2002) and to investigate how and why the L1 should be used in the classroom (e.g. Hall & Cook, 2015; Macaro, 2009). There is considerable agreement on this, although the terms used differ: teachers can facilitate learning by allowing the ‘judicious’ use of the L1 (Hall & Cook, 2012). Therefore, many researchers have been calling for a structured and balanced use of the L1 (e.g. Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009; Crawford, 2004; Edstrom, 2006; Turnbull & Arnett, 2002). Other terms have been used than ‘balanced’: such use is ‘appropriate’ in Stern (1992), ‘purposeful’ in Edstrom (2006), ‘principled’ in Littlewood and Yu (2013), ‘selectively and effectively’ in Deller and Rinvolucri (2002) and ‘optimal’ in Macaro (2005) and Hall and Cook (2012). Cook (2001) provides several factors that should be considered regarding the ‘judicious’ use of the L1. First, he takes into account the issue of teaching and learning efficiency. To be specific, he asks whether it is possible to accomplish something more effectively through the use of L1 in the classroom. Second, echoing Macaro’s (2005) argument for L1 use in facilitating students’ cognitive process and L2 learning, Cook (ibid) highlights the need to consider if L2 learning will be assisted by combining the use of L1 and L2. Third, he suggests considering whether teachers feel more natural and comfortable to address certain topics or functions in the L1 and finally if both the use of L1 and L2 facilitate students to learn about specific L2 communication strategies for the future needs outside the language classroom.

Some researchers have also suggested specific classroom activities in which the L1 could be exploited to facilitate communication and learning. For example, Atkinson (1987) presents a number of teaching techniques involving the use of L1 which he found effective, such as eliciting students’ responses, checking comprehension, reinforcing language, discussing learning strategies, and giving instructions to lower-level students. Similarly, Cook (2001) also recommended some potentially positive ways of using the L1 in classroom instruction such as explaining grammar, organizing activities, and maintaining discipline. Against such background, however,
there are numerous gaps in understanding of and evidence on the extent to which, how and why, the L1 is used in the L2 classroom, as Hall and Cook (2012) observe, which provides the rationale for exploring teacher L1 use in the EFL classroom in this present study.

Macaro (1998) identifies three major types of teacher attitudes towards L1 use in the L2 classroom: the virtual, the maximal and the optimal. The Virtual Position considers the L2 classroom as a ‘virtual reality’ that mirrors the native-speaking environment outside where L2 learners might enter in the future; it views L2 learning as similar to L1 learning and highlights the significance of providing a constant target language model; thus, this position rejects any pedagogical value of L1 use and believes that the L1 can be excluded from the L2 classroom as long as the teacher is skilled enough. The Maximal Position also disagrees with the pedagogical value in L1 use; however, it admits that perfect teaching and learning conditions may not exist. The Optimal Position acknowledges L1 use as a shortcut in facilitating classroom communication and enhancing L2 learning in some respects.

Although teachers’ attitudes towards the L1 in the L2 classroom may differ across individual teachers or educational settings, previous studies tend to show a certain similarity in their findings, with many teachers seeming to be closer to the Maximal Position. As Macaro (2006, p.68) suggests in a review of the literature, there is an ‘overwhelming impression that bilingual teachers believe that the L2 should be the predominant language of interaction in the classroom’, although most teachers are not in favor of total exclusion of the L1 in the classroom. This view has also been reported in other studies (e.g. Almulhim, 2014; Hall & Cook, 2013; Inbar-Lourie, 2010). Many studies have found that teachers also desire a principled framework for the appropriate balance between the amounts of L1 and L2 use. For example, a teacher in Bateman’s (2008) study suggested a principled framework for teachers’ L1 and L2 use, which might help reduce teachers’ tiredness and still be able to provide sufficient L2 input to students. As that teacher said, ‘I think it’s better to find established patterns that work, like some parts that you always do in Spanish (like welcoming the class) and some things that you always do in English (like explaining grammar)’ (Bateman 2008, p.20). Consequently, more empirical studies are needed
in order to investigate, on the basis of maintaining maximum L2 use, when and why teacher CS might be used to bring about more effective L2 learning, which constitutes the fundamental purpose of the current research.

2.2 Theories of L1 use in L2 learning

While the first section in this chapter provided a historical analysis of the situation regarding CS in the language classroom, this section focuses in particular on theoretical perspectives that have been presented in the literature, either opposing or supporting the use of the L1 in L2 learning.

2.2.1 Theories opposing the role of L1 use in L2 learning

The association of L2 language acquisition research with monolingual approaches to language teaching and the avoidance of the L1 in the L2 classroom can be traced back several decades (Ellis, 1994; Krashen, 1985). While these positions have been questioned by researchers more recently, they represented an initial attempt to establish a theoretical framework to understand the controversial issue of the role of L1 in L2 learning as well as teacher CS use in the L2 classroom.

The arguments in SLA centre around the different levels of similarity that L2 learning shares with first language acquisition (FLA) (Cook, 2001). The focus of the present study and space do not permit a very detailed discussion of theories of FLA, and thus I will only present a broad overview here. Arguments which compare FLA and SLA mainly intend to explore to what extent the L2 is acquired subconsciously or implicitly or whether it is learnt via conscious or explicit processing (Macaro, 1998). One of these fundamental assumptions is the ‘naturalistic’ way of language teaching and learning. To be specific, it suggests that SLA can be accomplished through imitating the process of children’s learning of the first language, i.e. the way we learn our mother tongue as babies (Butzkamm, 2011). Supporters of this theory argue that if the duplication of FLA in L2 learning is feasible, this implies a priori that there should only be one language involved in the learning process, which justifies the exclusion of the L1 in L2 learning. Moreover, they state that as
monolingual children always succeed in learning their L1 without involving another language, L2 learning can be successful without the involvement of another language.

The comparison between SLA and FLA is questionable for several reasons. For example, the amount of time children spend on learning their L1 is much more than that provided for the L2 courses. Butzkamm (2011) argues that FLA takes several years when young children can hear a great number of L1 utterances and they can listen to the L1 speech even before birth. He cites the findings of Hart and Risley (1995, in Butzkamm, 2011), who spent one hour every month for two and a half years recording spoken interactions between parents and children in 42 families. Their findings indicated that the most significant factor in children’s FLA process is the large quantity of language children experience. However, L2 learners may only spend a few hours per week in the L2 classroom. In addition, there are many other factors which make the L2 classroom different from FLA situations. For instance, the secure environment and the intimacy between parents and their children cannot be replicated in the L2 classroom between teachers and their students, or students and their peers (Macaro, 2005). Moreover, for most adult L2 leaners, their cognitive and meta-cognitive skills play an important and active role in facilitating L2 learning, and thus the concept of ‘naturalistic’ L2 learning becomes problematic – for example, the transfer of rules from the L1 can be a valuable strategy (Macaro, 1998).

Another argument that has been put forward for the avoidance of the L1 comes from a psycholinguistic perspective: language compartmentalization theory. Proponents of this position hold the view that the L1 and L2 form distinct systems in learner’s mind, and thus the L2 should be learnt through the L2 with the avoidance of the L1 (Cook, 2001). That is, there are two independent systems of languages in learners’ minds, and there should be no connection between the L1 and the L2. Therefore, in order to establish the two isolated linguistic systems, the best way is to acquire the L2 by using the L2 and avoiding any link to the L1. This argument can be linked to Weinreich’s (1968) identification of three possible types of bilingual: coordinate bilinguals, compound bilinguals, and subordinate bilinguals. According to Weinreich (ibid), coordinate bilinguals are considered similar to two monolinguals with two
independent and parallel lexicons together with two isolated sets of concepts to which lexical items are organized. In contrast, it is assumed that compound bilinguals have one integrated system of concepts, but with two categories of lexical items and grammatical rules which are used to express certain concepts. In addition, subordinate bilinguals are assumed to have one dominate language and the other subordinate language, and the latter one is processed with the help of the former language. Early researchers viewed CS as evidence of coordinate bilingualism. In other words, bilinguals' two languages were regarded as being organised in separate and distinct mental lexicons. One consequence of this position is that there are likely to be ‘two less filled or half-filled language balloons’ in the bilingual’s head, meaning that the development of the L2 is at the expense of the L1’ (Baker 2012, p.385).

However, this notion of coordinate bilinguals, and the idea of language compartmentalization that is associated with it, has also been called into question. For example, it does not take into account social or psychological factors that are likely to influence the way bilinguals use their languages (Grosjean, 1989). In addition, as Forman (2010, p.56) argues, it is better to re-consider L2 learners as ‘bilingual plus’ rather than ‘monolingual minus’, since this is fundamental to an understanding of the bilingual teaching which characterizes a majority of EFL classrooms worldwide.

With regard to the communicative approach, it has been argued that the L2 should be used as the language of ‘real’ communication in the classroom, for example, learning materials and teachers’ language use should be authentic (i.e. replicating real situations) since the learning goal is to obtain communicative skills in the L2 (Richards & Rogers, 2001). It has also been suggested that L1 use for managerial or affective purposes might deprive learners of opportunities for experiencing ‘genuine communication’ through the L2 in ‘real life’ situations outside the classroom (Polio & Duff 1994, p.322). From this perspective, the L1 is seen as undermining this principle of authenticity, and teachers who rely on their L1 for teaching purposes might give students the ‘green light’ to do the same (Turnbull, 2001). Proponents of this position link a communicative approach and authenticity, and argue that this can
also encourage student motivation to use the L2 because they can see the practical contexts established in the classroom rather than in the future. In short, this position argues that teachers should maximize the provision of L2 instances by the avoidance of L1 use, and that if it is difficult to completely exclude the L1, it should be kept to a minimum. Influenced by the theoretical assumptions underpinning CLT, there are those who strongly oppose L1 use in the L2 classroom (e.g. Krashen & Terrell, 1983), as the use of the L1 is considered not beneficial to L2 learning for the reason that it impedes natural acquisition of the L2 as it interferes with learners’ concentration on L2 learning. More common in the scholarly literature are arguments advocating the maximum use of the L2 without reference to the L1 (e.g. Macdonald, 1993). The arguments that have been put forward for maximising L2 use are that learners should be in a classroom environment where teachers are expected to offer good language models, and students are given maximum opportunities of listening to and using the L2, which is consistent with CLT (Morgan & Neil, 2001).

In a chapter reviewing the literature regarding teacher use of the L1 and L2 in L2 classrooms, Turnbull and Arnett (2002) reviewed some early studies which found a correlation between students’ L2 learning outcomes and the amount of L2 used by teachers. These findings have been used by several researchers as an argument to maximise teachers’ L2 use in the classroom by many researchers (Turnbull, 2001). For example, Duff and Polio (1990) claim that as the L2 classroom is often seen as the major resource for L2 input for students, especially in, for instance, the foreign language context where students have few opportunities to be exposed to the L2 outside the classroom, teachers should maximise the quantity of L1 input.

2.2.2 Theories acknowledging the role of L1 use in L2 learning

This section reviews theories of bilingual cognition with a particular focus on the relationship between L1 and L2 in bilinguals’ minds, which also have affected our understandings of the potential benefits of L1 use in L2 teaching and learning. Cook (2002, p.5) identifies the features of L2 users, suggesting that ‘few L2 users can pass for native speakers; their grammar, their accent, their vocabulary give away that they are non-native speakers, even after many years of learning the language or many
decades of living in the country’. On the other, L2 users have an additional competence to monolinguals and should ‘see the first language as something that is part of themselves whatever they do and appreciate that their first language is inextricably bound up with their knowledge and use of the second’ (Cook 2002, p.339). A decade before this, Cook (1991) had proposed the hypothesis of the multi-competence model: the compound state of ‘a mind with two grammars’ (p.112). Cook (2003) claims that the relationship between L1 and L2 in the speaker’s mind be viewed as an ‘integration continuum’ (p.6), where both languages are simultaneously available. Cook (ibid) argues that there are three possible relations between these two language systems in multicompetence: total separation, interconnection, and total integration; usually these two language systems are to some extent interconnected, and total separation and total integration are at the two extreme ends of this integration continuum and hardly exist.

This multi-competence model is similar to the concept of ‘compound bilingualism’ in Weinreich’s (1968) conceptualisation of bilingual speakers, which also indicates that the L1 and L2 are not completely independent systems but interwoven in bilinguals’ minds (Cook, 2001). If this argument is accepted, the multicompetence concept provides a rationale for the positive role of L1 use in some situations in L2 learning. Thus, the re-examination of the monolingual approach is associated with a rejection of the idea that bilinguals have two separate language systems in their minds. Widdowson (2003), for example, criticizes monolingual teaching because he rejects the idea that all bilingual speakers integrate their knowledge of two language into a common system of compound bilingualism. As Cook (2001, p.408) suggests, ‘keeping the language invisibly separate in language teaching is contradicted by the invisible processes in students’ minds. Language teaching that works with this fact of life is more likely to be successful than teaching that works against it’.

Cummins’ (2007) Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) model of bilingualism also explores the complicated ways that two or more languages interact in bilinguals’ minds. The CUP model argues that the two languages may be visibly different in outward conversation, but underneath the surface, they are combined as an integrated source of thought in bilinguals’ minds. That is, the thoughts of a bilingual come from
the same central cognitive source. This hypothesis is consistent with other theories or
theoretical arguments in a range of relevant areas, for example, the dual language
model (Kecskes, 2006). The model assumes that there is a dual language system
based on a common underlying conceptual base, which contains ‘common concepts,
culture-specific concepts and synergic concepts’ (Kecskes 2006, p.262). Ellis (1997,
p.133-134) states that ‘in the first instance at least, the acquisition of L2 words
usually involves a mapping of the new word form onto pre-existing conceptual
meanings or onto L1 translation equivalents as approximations’, indicating the
association between the two languages through shared conceptual and cognitive
functioning. Cummins (2000) further explores the relationship between the
bilingual’s L1 and L2 by developing the linguistic Developmental Interdependence
hypothesis. This hypothesis suggests that learners’ L2 competence partly relies on
the level of competence which has already been achieved via the L1. That is, the
more competent the L1, the easier it will be to develop the L2, because the concept
of CUP makes possible the transfer between two languages. Cummins (2007, p.233)
identifies five types of inter-language transfer which might function in different ways
depending on the sociolinguistic and educational context: ‘transfer of conceptual
elements; transfer of phonological awareness; transfer of pragmatic aspects of
language use; transfer of metacognitive and metalinguistic strategies; transfer of
specific linguistic elements’. The logical consequence of this position is that L2
learning is facilitated if teachers can help learners recognise the similarities and
differences between their L1 and L2 as this would develop the different types of
cross-lingual transfer strategies that could improve their L2 development.

The bilingual lexical memory in L2 learners’ minds is a crucial research area of
bilingualism. Varied assumptions and theories are proposed by researchers to
examine the relationship between the lexical forms of the L1 and L2 and concepts in
L2 learners’ minds (e.g. Cook, 2002; de Groot, 2002; Kroll, 1993). The
three-component two-level memory structures indicate that at the lexical level, the
two languages in a bilingual’s mind are separated systems, while at the conceptual
level, they are integrated as a whole (Cook, 2002; de Groot, 2002). This hierarchical
three-component model illustrates the interrelationship between the L1 and the L2
and their connections to the conceptual knowledge and ways of thinking represented

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by the two languages. Because of the limitations of the three-component two-level model such as it cannot clearly explain the fact that the L1 and L2 words in pairs actually do not share exactly the same meaning. De Groot’s (2002) Distributed Model which divides conceptual knowledge into elementary units, suggests that the L1 and the L2 share a part of the units but have some L1- or L2-specific meanings that are not shared by each other at the conceptual level, and the conceptual knowledge is dynamic and different across bilingual individuals. These theoretical assumptions help us to understand the potential benefits of L1 use. In short, if two languages are not separated systems but integrated based on a common conceptual process, they contradict the position that the L2 is best learnt through the L2 and confirm the potentially positive effects of L1 use on L2 learning.

In accordance with this viewpoint, some research has argued for re-examining the potentially effective role of translation as a language learning strategy. While translation has been criticized by those who support certain teaching methods (e.g. the Direct Method), it has been claimed that there is evidence that it has certain benefits in the L2 classroom. For example, drawing on theoretical and empirical research in L2 learning, Cook (2010) calls for a re-examination and reconsideration of the role of translation in L2 teaching and learning, as in many contexts, translation may be an effective tool of language learning such as addressing students’ needs and preferences and maintaining students’ identity in both linguistic and cultural respects. Malmkjar (1998) also suggests that translation should be viewed as the additional skill to the other four skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking, as when students participate in translation tasks, they may also develop the other four skills at the same time.

Further support for the theories described above come from studies that have focused on the learning of vocabulary. Macaro (2005) notes that the majority of vocabulary memorization skills employed by L2 learners are associated with establishing links between the L1 and L2. Other research has investigated L1 use in L2 vocabulary teaching and learning (e.g. Celik, 2003). However, as Macaro (2017) suggests, few empirical studies have until now been conducted into the value of translation for improving learners’ lexical acquisition. The few studies there are in this area include
Lee and Macaro (2013), Tian and Macaro (2012), Zhao and Macaro (2016). Thus, there has been a call for more studies into this area (e.g. Hall & Cook, 2012).

The idea that ‘prior knowledge and L1 use provide a cognitive framework through which new knowledge is constructed and regulated’ (Hall & Cook 2012, p.291) also support the possible value of the L1 in L2 learning. In the language learning field, as learners’ prior knowledge might be processed and stored through the L1, L1 use seems to be necessary in order to engage such knowledge (Cummins, 2007). The idea that L2 learning is most effective when it built upon pre-existing world knowledge and linguistic skills which learners have acquired by the L1 has been supported by many theoretical arguments. Butzkamm (2003) claimed that students’ L1 should be seen as the starting point for the understanding of other knowledge or concepts. Butzkamm (2003) proposed an assumption that the L1 use could be used as a cognitive and pedagogical tool for learners, as people have developed their thinking and communication ability, and also built up ‘an intuitive understanding of grammar’ though the L1 (p.31). This idea of building on prior knowledge of learners has also been supported by other studies. For example, in the study on adult learners’ perceptions of L1 use in language teaching and learning by Brooks-Lewis (2009), the learners confirmed the motivating role of L1 use, as through which they were able to apply their existing linguistic knowledge and communication skills to L2 learning. This is also in accordance with Cummins’ (2007) argument that since the prior knowledge was accumulated via the L1, it was necessary to engage the L1 when learners utilized their prior knowledge. Therefore, if the L2 is best learnt through activating learners’ existing knowledge acquired via the L1, drawing particular attention to the comparison between L1 and L2 is expected to benefit L2 learning, which is a fundamental assumption of Lado’s Contrastive Analysis (1957 in Du, 2016). According to Lado (1957 in Du, 2016), the different features of L2 compared with learners’ L1 were more difficult part of L2 learning than those similar ones, and thus teachers should help learners to consciously identify the differences between L1 and L2 and particularly pay attention to potential difficult learning areas. The benefits of drawing upon learners’ prior knowledge in L2 learning have been further explored by studies on sociocultural theory in the following.
Socio-cultural theory also sheds light on the roles of L1 use in L2 learning, especially with regard to learners’ cognitive development. The central element of this theory is that language is seen as a cognitive tool through which learners mediate their mental processing (Lantolf, 2006). According to the theory, as the L2 takes up so much of a speaker’s attention that it cannot fully serve to mediate cognition, L1 use provides learners with additional cognitive support in accomplishing L2 tasks so as to achieve the desired L2 learning goal (Harun et al., 2014). To be specific, the L1 has been suggested as a tool for the externalisation of L2 learners’ private or inner speech to organize their cognitive activities (Lantolf, 2006; Macaro, 2006). Socio-cultural approaches to language learning suggest that cognitive development, including language development, is a collaborative process ‘driven by social interaction’ (Levine 2011, p.24). L1 use by learners in collaborative talk during L2 learning tasks is ‘a normal psycholinguistic process that facilitates L2 production and allows the learners both to initiate and sustain verbal interaction with one another’ (Brooks & Donato 1994, in Hall & Cook 2012, p.268). In a study, examining the role of the L1 in the collaborative interactions of L2 learners in a writing task, it was found that:

Use of L1 is beneficial for language learning, since it acts as a critical psychological tool that enables learners to construct effective collaborative dialogue in the completion of meaning-based language tasks by performing three important functions: construction of scaffolded help, establishment of inter-subjectivity, and use of private speech (Antón & DiCamilla 1999, p.245).

Some researchers suggest that that the L1 plays a role in scaffolding (Auerbach, 1993) by ‘creating a social and cognitive space’ (Antón & DiCamilla 1999, p.319) and ‘reducing the processing load for learners during cognitively challenging tasks’ (Hall & Cook 2012, p.289). Macaro (2005, p.74) contends that the use of the L1 and instant translations of L2 expressions into the L1 in the L2 classroom help to lighten students’ cognitive load, to ‘counter the constraints imposed by working memory limitations’, and thus, facilitate ‘working memory to work on the meaning of larger chunks of input’. By using the L1 as a frame of reference, language can be more
easily processed by the learners as language moves from input to intake, resulting in a greater understanding of the L2, and thus helps the negotiation of meaning (Brooks & Donato, 1994) and successful communication in the L2 (Swain & Lapkin, 2000). This perspective is in accordance with Macaro’s (2006) argument that L1 use reduces learners’ cognitive load so as to enable communication to continue. In addition, it has been suggested that L1 use may help to reduce learners’ anxiety and stress as the ‘English-only’ classroom would only lead to frustration if the input is incomprehensible to the learners (Ahmad & Jusoff, 2009) and if students’ proficiency levels and their interests have not been given enough attention (Wei, 2013).

It has also been argued that L1 use can have a positive effect in classrooms that genuinely desire to make communication the priority in language learning, and where communicative competence is valued as a key educational outcome. Butzkamm (2003) notes that the L1 could be used to build a more authentic communication environment in the classroom, and that the desire for ‘authentic’ and ‘real’ communication in the classroom clashes with the principle of excluding the L1. This is because in the language classroom, a range of communication situations (e.g. making jokes) need to be solved instantly, and if teachers cannot use the L1, they may well give up on the communication, which undermines the basic premise CLT. From a different perspective, Macaro (2005) suggests that the avoidance of L1 use could lead to increased ‘input modification’ (p.72), which, however, might have some negative influence on classroom communication, for instance, increasing the proportion between teacher talk and student talk. As the current study was located in a broadly communicative L2 classroom with the purpose of developing students’ communicative competence reported by most participants, this is a particularly important point.

This section has discussed the different theoretical perspectives that underpin positions taken on L1 use in L2 learning, with an emphasis on those related to SLA. The section has argued that recent theories on bilingual speakers’ cognition, particularly the relationship between the L1, L2 and concepts in bilinguals’ minds, indicate the potential pedagogic values of learners’ L1 on their L2 learning.
Moreover, the possible benefits of teaching techniques such as translation, drawing on the comparison between two languages, building upon prior knowledge via the L1, and socio-cognitive functions of L1 use to facilitate classroom communication contribute to our understanding of the possible values of L1 use in the L2 classroom.

2.3 Codeswitching

This section moves on from this L1/L2 debate presented in the above two sections to examine how CS has been presented in the scholarly and research literature in its different contexts. It starts with a discussion of CS and a related concept, translanguaging, presenting the differences and potential complementarity of these two concepts. It then reviews several approaches that have been widely used to analyse bilinguals’ CS use. It finishes with the discussion of Adaptation Theory and its value as the theoretical framework of the current study.

2.3.1 Defining CS

From the 1970s onwards, research interest in CS has resulted in numerous studies intended to throw light on the theoretical bases of bilingual speakers’ language choices. While the large number of studies has contributed important insights into CS phenomena in bilingual and multilingual communities as well as teaching contexts, that research, particularly in naturalistic settings, has also led to a proliferation of terms to describe the processes involved. This has in turn resulted in a subsequent conceptual inconsistency as a number of terms have been adopted to define similar concepts or similar terms have been used to represent distinctive concepts, such as code-mixing, code alternation, language-switching, language-mixing, language alternation, and code-changing.

The meanings of these terms differ according to the specific contexts. For example, code-mixing is defined as ‘the mixing of various linguistic units primarily from two participating grammatical systems within a single sentence’ (Bahatia & Richie 2009, p.593), while CS usually refers to switches between sentences, at least according to some researchers (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993). As the present study did not aim to
distinguish the differences between CS and the other similar terms such as code-mixing, CS is used as a generic term to refer to ‘a phenomenon of switching from one language to another in the same discourse’ (Nunan & Carter 2001, p.275). CS is also used in this study to mean ‘L1 use’, ‘learners’ own-language use’, and ‘learners’ mother tongue’ among other terms, all of which can be found within the scholarly and research literature. As outlined in Chapter 1, the present study only focuses on one side of switching, i.e. switching from the L2 to the L1; thus, CS and L1 use are used as interchangeable terms in this thesis.

One comparatively recent concept which has been associated with classroom CS but takes a different approach from the studies cited above is that of translanguaging. While there has been some overlap in uses of the terms ‘codeswitching’ and ‘translanguaging’ within the scholarly literature over the period that the latter concept was gaining recognition, and while it has been used to explain bilingual teachers’ language use in some L2 classroom settings (e.g. Greese & Blackledge, 2010), it is not just an alternative term, but represents a movement in the epistemological orientation of the field. García and Li Wei (2014, p.22) distinguish translanguaging and CS as follows:

Translanguaging differs from the notion of codeswitching in that it refers not simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers’ construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of language, but that make up the speakers’ complete language repertoire.

It could be argued that the two concepts are dichotomous because of their distinct epistemologies and ideological orientations. Thus, the concept of CS is based on the recognition of separated language codes, whereas translanguaging theory reflects a movement from viewing languages as separated codes to integration. Translanguaging theory dismantles named languages (Li Wei, 2018) but takes up an internal view to observe individuals’ language use (Vogel & García, 2017), and thus recognize bilingual speakers’ deployment of their full linguistic resources without
being constrained by the use of socially and politically constructed boundaries of named languages (García & Seltzer, 2017). It follows from this that while CS might be seen as ideologically perceiving bilingual speakers as subtractive and deficient in their language proficiency, translanguaging acknowledges the value of additive bilingualism (García, 2016; Vogel & García, 2017). Historically, theories in second language acquisition have adopted the notion of deficit model which denotes that the final stage of L2 learning is not comparable to the level achieved by the L1 (Birdsong, 2006). Translanguaging challenges the ideas of ‘native speakers’ and ‘standard’ language which implies the ‘deficit’ and ‘incompleteness’ of bilingual students in modernist understandings of language education (Conteh, 2018). For example, García (2009) proposes the term emergent bilingual to overturn traditional conceptualization of language minority students learning English in the United States with the recognition that the power of these students’ own language and culture can be used as a beneficial resource helping them to develop into English-speaking bilinguals (Turnbull, 2018).

Further, it can be argued that the construction of separate languages is predicated on power relationships (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). Scholars of translanguaging argue that conventional concepts such as L1, L2 and native speaker are socially constructed terms used to describe people’s language practice from an external perspective, while translanguaging theory recognizes the way a bilingual individual actually uses language features from an internal perspective (Vogel & García, 2017). In other words, CS, derived from linguistics, tends to support the idea that languages are separate linguistic systems, while translanguaging sees language use as discursive practices (García & Li Wei, 2014).

In spite of these apparently incommensurable distinctions, however, in this study I have taken the position that it is more promising to view CS and translanguaging as complementary, differently oriented, concepts, than to adopt a binary conceptualization which places CS and translanguaging in antithetical positions. As Nikula and Moore (2019) claim, the notion of translanguaging encompasses the idea of language alternation in a way similar to CS but goes beyond CS. MacSwan (2017) points out that although it questions viewing language as politically and ideologically
defined construct, translanguaging has never aimed to substitute CS or any other term related to language alternation, as it does recognize the material impacts of socially constructed named languages. In the realm of translanguaging, multilinguals are defined as those who are conscious of the political existence of named languages and are able to utilise the acquired structural characters (Li Wei, 2018).

This suggests that language can be analyzed both as a system and as discursive practice and that there is no need or rationale for a dichotomy. For example, Tuner and Lin (2017) position named languages in translanguaging theory, arguing that named languages can be used as a tool for learners to expand as well as transform their holistic linguistic resources. Moreover, some researchers aim to establish more holistic understandings of the relationship between named languages and translanguaging. For example, MacSwan (2017) comes up with a multilingual perspective on translanguaging that recognizes the existence of discrete languages and multilingualism as well as other core ideas of this area.

Teaching named languages is an important goal in many language education programmes across the world, particularly in the globalized world (Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015). At the same time, it does not mean such language education programs have to support the idea of deficit models of bilingual learners and reject the value of drawing on their full linguistic repertoire. Describing and analysing language practice from the external perspective does not necessarily lead to advocating the ‘native-like’ language practices while denying the uniqueness of an individual’s language practice. With the clear awareness of these two different orientations of language alternation theories, both conceptual perspectives can bring about insightful knowledge and understanding of bilingualism as well as language education.

As presented in Section 2.1, there has been an increasing recognition of the need to incorporate students’ L1 in FL teaching and learning (Li Wei, 2018). Translanguaging research usefully informs language education theory and practice, especially with regard to views about the linguistic resources that students bring with them to school, which rejects the monolingual approach that neglects the benefits of students’ full linguistic resources including the L1 (MacSwan, 2017). The natural
interaction between the languages in bilinguals’ minds, and the linguistic resource this represents, has been recognized widely in translanguaging theory, and has contributed to changing the monolingual ideology that has dominated FL education for many years (Turnbull, 2018).

The above discussion suggests that in spite of certain differences between CS and translanguaging as well as the contexts where they are commonly studied, these two conceptual notions need not be at odds, since both of them dismantle the traditional isolation of languages in language education (Garcia & Lin, 2016). There is no reason as to why literature in translanguaging and bilingual education programs cannot shed light on FL teaching and learning, especially the ways that teachers draw on their own and their students’ full linguistic repertoire through the use of CS. This common recognition of drawing on speakers’ full linguistic repertoire makes it possible to share knowledge about bilingual language practice provided by studies conducted in different forms of language education settings (e.g. bilingual education in its various forms, CLIL, immersion education and FL education).

For the current study, being aware of both these conceptual positions helped me to understand and examine the complexity of the discursive and systematic nature of EFL teachers’ language practice. Translanguaging research has provided a theoretical foundation for acknowledging the value of incorporating students’ linguistic repertoire in language teaching and learning and also helps to re-examine an age-old question of the role of L1 in L2 and FL teaching and learning (Li Wei, 2018). I have also drawn on the concept of translanguaging in my analysis of the dynamic ways that teachers draw on their own and their students’ full linguistic repertoires through the use of CS so as to fulfil complex communicative needs in the language classroom, which is an idea aligned with the Adaptation Theory (Vershueren, 1999) that sees language practices as dynamic adaptation to various communicative needs from a pragmatics perspective (See details in Section 2.3.3).

The reason I have ultimately selected CS as the overarching term to be used in this study is because of its specific focus on the EFL classroom in an area of China where English is not widely spoken in the broader community. One corollary of this is that
CS is a more widely understood term than translanguaging. In addition, previous studies show that the monolingual principle has still received widespread encouragement by multiple ELT institutions and experts in China, and many non-native teachers of English language are still not confident about their own L1 use in the classroom (Hall & Cook, 2012). Therefore, the current study aims to make empirical and theoretical contributions to our deeper understanding of the value of the L1 which is shared by the teacher and students in the EFL classroom. While I have chosen to use this term, it should not be taken to imply that the paradigm of translanguaging has been rejected. Rather, I have adopted the language-user inclined values of translanguaging theory, and base the analysis of my data on the acknowledgement of the value of translanguaging pedagogy which draws upon speakers’ full linguistic repertoire.

2.3.2 Major approaches to CS and research findings

Definitions of CS in both naturalistic and classroom settings have been made from various theoretical perspectives, and these theoretical understandings of CS have given rise to a number of different research traditions in CS studies. These include, for example, structural, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and conversation analysis approaches. From the structural perspective, CS can be viewed as ‘the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent’ (Poplack 2000, p.214). The sociolinguistic approach attempts to explain why bilingual speakers talk the way they do in particular social settings, while the psycholinguistic approach studies mechanisms involved in bilingual language production, perception and memorisation of multilingual speech. The conversation analysis approach focuses on the sequential patterns of CS (e.g. Li Wei, 2002). The Conversation Analysis (CA) approach has also been adopted to examine the meaning of CS which is believed to derive from the sequential development of conversation (Auer, 1995). This sequential approach has been used to analyse classroom CS in some empirical studies and has contributed to our understanding of the potential pedagogic values of CS or L1 use in L2 teaching and learning (e.g. Üstünel, 2009). However, given the research focus of the current study, the CA approach, which is focused on the relationship between teacher CS and pedagogical sequencing in classroom
interaction, will not be further considered in this section. The psycholinguistic approach, which is interested in the role of L1 use in learners’ language production in bilingual communities and L2 classrooms, has already been discussed in Section 2.2, and thus will not be discussed further in this section.

The structural approach to CS mainly seeks to identify the morpho-syntactic constraints which may govern language choices. Various models and classifications of linguistic constraints have been put forward, including the Free Morpheme and Equivalence Constraint (Poplack, 1980), the Syntactic Government Constraint (Di Sciullo et al., 1986) and the Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Such studies represent early attempts to systematically describe the morpho-syntactic structures of CS, i.e. the grammatical constraints of CS. While much of the literature on this was produced in the 1980s and 1990s, it has some relevance to the current study as it helps shed light on the structure of CS patterns in teacher utterances. For example, the distinction between intra-sentential CS (a switch from one language to another within one sentence) and inter-sentential CS (a switch between sentences or at the end of one sentence) in Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame model has helped inform the analysis of frequencies that appears in this study. Considering the foci of the present study, however, this section only presents a brief discussion of these studies and theories adopting the structural approaches to CS, and more details about how the concepts of inter-sentential and intra-sentential CS can be used in this study will be presented in Chapter 3.

Studies from a sociolinguistic perspective, particularly those which have investigated CS in community settings, investigate the social function or meaning of CS (Kamwangamalu, 2010). In other words, they examine the relationships between bilingual speakers’ language choices and crucial social elements such as their identities, interpersonal relations between them, and the degrees of the formality of the context (Li Wei, 2002). It is this approach which is the most relevant to the current study.

One aspect of the sociolinguistic perspective is to connect certain language codes with a type of social groups or identity, for example, the ‘we-code’ and ‘they-code’
proposed by Gumperz (1982, p.66). The concept of ‘we-code’ is used to refer to the language that bilingual speakers use for less formal events and for communication among in-group members to indicate privacy, intimacy and subjectivity, while in contrast ‘they-code’ describes the language used with out-group relationships and represents distance and authority (Gumperz, 1982). While recognizing the important contribution made by the identification of the ‘we-code’ and ‘they-code’ in the sociolinguistic approach of CS studies, it is also important to avoid attaching a certain type of social identity to a specific language code.

Gumperz (1982) differentiated CS into two types: situational CS and metaphorical CS. The concept of situational CS suggests the social factors that lead to CS, such as changes in communication settings, speakers and relationships between speakers. In other words, language choices are constrained by specific ‘social norms’ which require that in a particular situation, or when considering a particular topic, one language is more appropriate than another, and speakers who do not conform to the norms may be ‘punished’ in some way (Blom & Gumperz 1972, in Li Wei 2007, p.88). As for Metaphorical CS, Gumperz (1982, p.61) assumes that bilingual speakers may ‘build on their own understanding of situational norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood’ rather than be constrained by ‘a fixed, predetermined set of prescriptions’. This early distinction between situational CS and metaphorical CS has continued to be critiqued and developed over the decades, with Myers-Scotton (1993) pointing out the similarities between them and arguing that the metaphorical meaning of CS probably derived from its situationally-based meaning. This argument supports the pragmatic approach taken within this study, as explained in Section 2.3.3.

Gumperz (1982) proposed another concept of ‘conversational CS’, claiming that CS acts as ‘a contextualization cue’ in discourse that ‘signals contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual setting is conveyed through prosody or other syntactic or lexical processes’ (1982, p.98). In other words, CS utterances, as contextualization cues, can provide additional information about the communication context and convey some inference for listeners to interpret the ongoing conversation. Gumperz (1982, p.75-81) produced a list of conversational functions of CS:
quotation marking (CS utterances as direct quotations or as reported speech), addressee specification (directing the message to one of the possible addressees), interjection (serving as a sentence filler or an interjection), reiteration (repeating another message for the purposes of clarification, amplification or emphasis), message qualification (elaborating the preceding information), and personalization versus objectivization (distinguishing a more personal or objective tone).

This classification of CS functions represents an early attempt to examine and distinguish the discourse functions of CS from a sociolinguistic perspective. However, it has been criticized because this list fails to contain all conversation topics and situations that bilingual speakers may encounter, and does not take into account the fact that language is dynamic, and people may speak in a wide variety of ways or styles in different communicative situations (Kamwangamalu, 2010).

While the ideas described above emphasise the influence of external social norms on CS, the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993) emphasizes the roles of bilingual speakers in language choice, mainly for the purpose of explaining bilingual speakers’ socio-psychological motivations for CS. According to this model, language choices are guided by the interpersonal relationships desired by bilingual speakers. To be specific, language choices can be made at some moments to index solidarity, while they can also be made to signal a social distance between the speakers, particularly when there is a certain power difference. In other words, the Markedness Model claims that code choices in a conversation are tied to particular ‘right-and-obligation (RO) sets’ which is ‘an abstract concept, derived from situational factors, standing for the attitudes and expectations of participants toward one another’ (Myers-Scotton 1993, p.84-85).

According to this model, bilingual speakers are rational actors and their language choices are always rational choices, although the process of interaction may be a negotiation of choices until a RO balance is reached (Davis, 1996). Myers-Scotton (1993) classified CS into three types: CS as an unmarked choice, CS as a marked
choice, and CS as an exploratory choice. According to Myers-Scotton (ibid), the language code which is more tightly associated with a certain RO set usually stands for the unmarked language choice which signals solidarity in that particular communicative context; while the language choice which is more unexpected to the specific interpersonal relationship and signals social distance between speakers, it can be seen as the marked choice. The exploratory choice expresses the situation where speakers are not sure of the RO set signaled by language choice. Exploratory choice increases the complexity of analysis of CS as it indicates that the relationship between a language choice and a RO set is not fixed; on the contrary, it may be influenced by a variety of factors such as the speaker’s personal understanding of this relationship, the content of the ongoing conversation, or the broad cultural background where the conversation is located (Kamwangamalu, 2010). Therefore, with regard to the topic of this thesis, which is teachers’ perceptions of CS in EFL classrooms, it is meaningful to explore individuals’ perspectives of the association between RO sets and language choices. For example, different teachers might hold distinctive perspectives about whether L1 use can imply solidarity in a certain situation, which might inform their different reactions and behaviors.

While many studies which have adopted a sociolinguistic perspective have focused on naturalistic CS (e.g. Martin-Jones, 1995), there has been some research conducted within classroom settings. Adendorff (1993) analyzed teacher CS in a Zulu-English bilingual community in South Africa and found that in an English lesson, the teacher used Zulu as it served as not only a pedagogic function but also a social function (e.g. encouragement). Zulu, as a local language, could be understood by every student so the implicit symbolic function of the CS was to establish teacher-student unity.

Some research suggests that teachers negotiate interpersonal relationships with their students through CS use (e.g. Camilleri, 1996; Flyman-Mattsson & Burenhult, 1999; Lin, 1996; Merritt et al., 1992). The students’ L1, as a ‘we-code’ (Guthrie, 1984), is a preferred code for teachers when they want to establish a less-distanced relationship between teachers and students. Ferguson (2003) also claims that English (the L2) usually stands for a more distanced, formal language code than the L1 which is a closer, warmer, more personal one in many classrooms, and thereby teachers may
switch from English to the L1 to index rapport with the students, to create friendly classroom environment, and to encourage greater students’ involvement. In other words, the L1 and the L2 can be used to serve distinctive symbolic functions in the L2 classroom, and the L1 is more likely to be the preferred language code used by teachers to build rapport and to reduce distance with students, and thereby it is more likely to maintain learners’ positive feelings of the L2 classroom and improve their engagement in L2 learning. For example, Canagarajah (1995) found that some teachers switched to the L1, which was the less formal and more personal language, to encourage the participation of the students who appeared reluctant, scared or nervous. Kraemer (2006) observed that some teachers switched to the L1 to temporarily ‘foreground their role as peer’ rather than their role as teacher when they talked about things not directly related to the classroom such as talking about their personal life or expressing concern about their students. Polio and Duff (1994) also note similar situations where the teachers used the L1 to temporarily background their role as teacher with authority and power and to digress from instructional sequence, for example, in one case the teacher stopped a grammar explanation and switched to the L1 to ask about the condition of a student who was coughing seriously.

These studies have enhanced our understanding of the social functions of CS in conversations between bilinguals and provide a rationale for building up the functional framework according to the specific research setting of each study. There is less comprehensive description of all the empirical data derived from different research settings, nor are there coherent or unified theoretical results which can be applied to explain all CS examples functionally. However, the functional approach to analysis has been revealing, and has therefore helped to inform the current study.

2.3.3 Pragmatic approach to teacher CS

An approach to CS that is relevant to the present study is the pragmatic approach. There are a number of theories associated with this approach, but this section mainly discusses the Adaptation Theory proposed by Verschueren (1999) which adopts the pragmatic perspective on language use, as this is the theory that has primarily
In order to explain how adaptability works in communication, Verschueren (1999, p.65) proposes four aspects of investigation: 1. contextual correlates of adaptability, 2. structural objects of adaptability, 3. dynamics of adaptability, 4. salience of the adaptability. Contextual correlates are used to refer to a number of ingredients of the communicative context, including ‘the utterer, the interpreter, the physical, social, and mental worlds and the lines of vision’ (Verschueren 1999, p.76). Within the context of EFL classrooms, the utterer (teacher) and interpreter (student) should be seen as ‘functional entities or social roles’ (p.77). The physical, social and mental worlds have to be activated by teachers’ cognitive processes. The lines of vision indicate the different worlds possessed by speakers. That is, teachers’ perceptions of students’ vision would affect the language choices. For example, teachers’ perceptions of students’ language proficiency or learning motives could affect their CS practice.

The social world in the Adaptation Theory refers to social conventions that are commonly accepted by a given group of the society. The physical world in this theory is used to refer to the influence caused by the changes or development of the physical world on language choices. As for the classroom context, the social world suggests that social settings and institutions may impose many types of principles and rules which would affect teachers’ CS practice. This is consistent with some empirical studies which have found that teachers’ L1/L2 use is likely to be influenced by the external culture of ELT or educational policies regarding L1/L2 use in the classroom (e.g. Hall & Cook, 2012; Liu et al., 2004; Song, 2005). Verschueren (1999) observes some difference between the notion of the mental world and the real cognition of human beings in the process of language use, as there are properties of teachers’ mental world that trigger the choices, such as personality, emotions, beliefs, desires and motives.

With regard to the second aspect of investigation, the structural objects of adaptability, this is a concept that has been developed by Yu (2001). In an analysis of CS between Chinese and English in social media in China, he proposed a concept of
‘linguistic reality’ to replace the physical world in Verschueren’s Adaptation Theory. This linguistic reality consists of two aspects: real existence and real nature of a language (ibid). The former refers to the linguistic elements and linguistic structures, while the later refers to the characteristics and properties of those linguistic elements and linguistic structures of the language in its own right compared with other languages. As the present study does not adopt structural approaches which focus on linguistic or syntactic constraints on CS like those of Poplack (1980) or Myer-Scotton (1993), for example, CS for linguistic reality in this study mainly refers to switching from the L2 to the L1 for culture-specific language items. As Yu (2001) notes, each language has its own specific linguistic reality that other languages may not share because of different historic, social and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, it might not be easy to find an exact word or expression that shares the same meaning in another language.

In addition to the above contextual correlates, Verschueren (1999) proposes three properties of language to illustrate the dynamic feature of language-choice procedures, namely, variability, negotiability and adaptability. Variability is the property of language which suggests the wide variety of possibilities from which choices can be made. Verschueren (ibid), however, highlights that the variety of possible choices are not static or stable. In other words, it is not fixed but changing constantly. During the moment-to-moment communication process, a language choice may exclude alternatives or establish new ones for the present communication goals of the exchange through negotiation. For example, if a teacher finds the students cannot follow him or her, s/he may make the choice to use the L1 instead of the L2. At this moment, this language choice (L1 use) rules out the L2 use. However, this choice is not fixed and with the interaction between the teacher and students, the language code selected may change according to particular purposes. Thus, this is just as much about choices within a language as choices about which language.

Similarly, negotiability indicates that choices are neither made mechanically nor dependent to strict regulations or fixed form-function relationships; they are made relying on the basis of more flexible rules or strategies. For example, the L1 should be used to start the lesson or the L2 should be used to explain vocabulary.
Adaptability is the key concept proposed by Verschueren (1999) which helps to account for what people do when using language and why people are able to approach, to some extent, satisfactory communicative needs by making negotiable linguistic choices from a variable range of possibilities. Thus, the dynamic features of adaptability suggested by this theory also provide the rationale for re-examining the role of L1 use, as the possibility of teachers’ dynamic adaptation to various communication needs in the classroom through choosing different language resources, here the L1 and L2, suggests that it is impractical to stipulate that bilingual teachers must adopt the monolingual approach in the L2 classroom, particularly in the EFL classroom where teachers and students share a common language.

Adaptation Theory also considers the salient feature of CS, which is about the different degrees of consciousness or awareness of the process of adaptability communicators are involved in. In other words, mental processes are decided by different manners of processing with different degrees of salience from the completely conscious to the completely unconscious. Social norms set up patterns of ‘markedness’. That is, something which is more marked will be more clearly noticed, and more conscious or salient. Advance planning can also be expected to show a higher degree of salience or consciousness than planning on the spot. It is also related to ‘metapragmatic awareness’ (Verschueren 1999, p.195) which means the reflexive awareness of the linguistic choice-making process. Although exploring teacher cognition is not the focus of this study, it may help to explain the discrepancy and inconsistency between teachers’ reported perceptions of their L1 use in surveys or interviews and their actual CS practice as found by some studies (e.g. van der Meij & Zhao, 2010).

To sum up, the key element of Adaptation Theory is that choices are made, consciously or unconsciously, about language to be used. These choices are made taking into account multiple factors from the social, mental and physical world, and are drawn from a wide range of possibilities (variability and negotiability) in order to fulfil or satisfy communicative needs. Drawing on this theory, rather than focus on a single factor the present study aimed to identify the multiple factors that influence teachers’ L1 use and to examine the complex interplay among those factors.
Adaptation Theory has previously been used in research into teacher CS in the Chinese context (e.g. Chen, 2004; Wang, 2003; Xi, 2006). However, most of these papers are theoretical discussions rather than empirical studies, meaning that there is a gap between theory and empirical evidence which this study sought to address.

2.4 Empirical studies on teacher L1 use in the L2 classroom

This section provides a critical review of current empirical studies on teacher CS in the L2 classroom which are in particular relevant to the research purposes of the present study, i.e. the extent to which, how and why CS is used by teachers in the L2 classroom.

2.4.1 Distribution of teacher CS

The ratio of L1 use to L2 use by teachers in the classroom has been identified as an important criterion to measure or describe the quality of the linguistic environment (Guo, 2007) based on the foundational argument that there must be a sufficiency of L2 input for language acquisition to take place. Therefore, it is useful to understand the ‘quantitative context’ when discussing the quality of the linguistic environment of a classroom (Macaro 2001, p.533).

The quantity of L1 and L2 use has been measured by a number of ways, for example through examining the transcripts of teacher talk (e.g. Duff & Polio, 1990; Kim & Elder, 2005), or by obtaining estimates by teachers or students based on their experience (e.g. Levine, 2011; Littlewood & Yu, 2009). With the latter, however, it has been found that teachers often underestimate or differently report the extent to which they use the L1 in the classroom. This might be due to implicit negative attitudes towards L1 use or the lack of awareness among interviewees of their language use (Hall & Cook, 2012) or lack of awareness of their own CS practices (Kim & Elder, 2005). One study which recorded and quantified the teachers’ L1 and L2 use and explored teachers’ perceptions of their L1 use found that the teachers in their study lacked awareness of the extent to which they actually used the students’
L1 in the classroom (Polio & Duff, 1994). Similarly, in her introspective study, Edstrom (2006) found that even though as a language teacher she always tried to use the L1 in a principled way, her self-awareness did not help her to obtain an accurate estimation of her CS use. According to her estimation, CS in the class took up around 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the total lesson time; however, through the analysis of class recording transcripts, she found that CS use was as much as 23 per cent of the total time. Copland and Neokleous (2011) also found contradictions between the teachers’ actual CS practices and their stated beliefs about their L1 use and suggested that it might be due to their ‘guilt’ about using the L1.

Van der Meij and Zhao (2010) examined the frequency of teacher CS in the university EFL classroom for English-major students in China, which is more relevant to the research setting of the current study, and found out that the participants used CS much more frequently and for longer in the classroom than that they perceived. They found that the accuracy of teachers’ perceptions of the amount of CS they used was low and they considerably underestimated their CS frequency. For example, the findings showed that the time spent on long codeswitches was ten times more than the participants thought. Given these kinds of discrepancies reported in previous studies, in the present study it was considered necessary to include an examination of the number of actual L1 and L2 uses in EFL classrooms, and led to the decision to undertake classroom observations and transcribe teacher utterances in those classes. In addition, since the discrepancy between teachers’ perceived and actual L1/L2 use was possibly affected by implicit negative attitudes towards L1 use that may still prevail in many classroom settings, it provides an impetus for exploring teachers’ personal perceptions of and attitudes towards the role of L1 in the L2 classroom (Hall & Cook, 2012).

A range of ways of measuring the quantity of L1 and L2 have been adopted in previous research on this issue. Among them, there are two major approaches to examining the overall distribution of teacher L1/L2 use in the classroom. Some studies have used timed analysis approaches based on counting the length of time spent in each language (e.g. Duff & Polio, 1990; Macaro, 2001). Others have examined the ratio of L1/L2 use by counting the number of words produced in the
L1 and L2 (e.g. Guthrie, 1984; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002).

No matter which approach has been employed, it has been found that there is a wide variation in the amount of L1 use by teachers in different research settings. For example, within the language teaching environment, some studies have been conducted in FL classrooms (e.g. Duff & Polio, 1990; Macaro, 1998; Kim & Elder, 2005; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002), while other studies have focused on the EFL classroom (e.g. Guo, 2007; Hall & Cook, 2013; Liu et al., 2004; Pham, 2015). Several studies have found a relatively low ratio of L1 to L2 use by teachers in the classroom. For example, Guthrie (1984) quantified L1 and L2 use of six university French teachers working in the same institution and found that all these teachers used the TL most of the time, the average L1 use in all six classes being 15 per cent. Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) also found relatively low percentages of L1 use in their study, of up to 18.15 per cent. Similarly, de la Campa and Nassaji (2009) found an overall use of 88.7 per cent of L2 words and 11.3 per cent use of the L1. In contrast, Liu et al. (2004) found that there was a very low amount of L2 use by the teachers in the secondary-level EFL classroom in South Korea in their study, with an average of 32 per cent L2 use. Such a wide variation in the amount of L1 and L2 used by teachers across different institutional settings makes it impossible to generalize about teachers’ L1 and L2 use, and therefore it provides a rationale for examining the amount of teacher L1 use in the specific classroom setting in the present study, i.e. university EFL classrooms in China.

Furthermore, it has also been found that the frequency of teachers’ L1 and L2 use varies between different teachers within the same research setting. For example, Duff and Polio (1990) found that the variability across different FL classrooms in terms of the amount of TL used ranged from 10 per cent to 100 per cent. Turnbull (1999) found a considerable variance in teachers’ L2 use (French in this case) by the four teachers in this study, ranging from the highest (89 per cent) to the lowest (4 per cent). Kim and Elder (2005) investigated seven FL teachers’ language use and found a high level of variation in the proportion of TL use, which ranged from 23 per cent to 88 per cent. Copland and Neokleous (2011) found that the amount of L1 used by the four teachers in two after-school private language institutions in Cypriot also
varied considerably. In their study, one teacher conducted the class in the L2 most of time while another teacher used the L1 dominantly. Another three studies conducted in a similar context, the university EFL classroom for non-English majors in China, were consistent regarding the variation in the distribution of CS used by teachers in the same institutional context (i.e. Guo, 2007; Lu, 2015; Song, 2005). For example, Lu (2015) found considerable variation between the four participants. Teachers’ Mandarin use varied greatly from 0.78 per cent to 74.83 per cent. This considerable variance between teachers suggests that in addition to the nature of the institutional setting, there are other complex factors that may influence the amount of L1 used by teachers. While these studies are very useful in identifying the discrepancies, the reasons why this should occur have not been explored to the same extent. Therefore, the present study aims to address this gap in our knowledge by examining whether the amount of teacher L1 use differs across participants, and if so, why they use the L1 differently in the classroom.

In addition to the overall distribution of L1/L2 use in teacher utterances, the patterns of teacher CS have also been examined from other perspectives. For example, some studies examined the patterns of teacher CS at different sentential levels. For example, Pham (2015) classified CS patterns into lexical CS, phrasal CS, sentence CS, and mixed CS. She found out that lexical CS was the most frequently used by her five participants. In that study, lexical CS referred to situations in which teachers used the L2 predominantly, whilst they summarized the meaning of new L2 lexical items via single words in the L1. Guo (2007) examined the length of intra-sentential CS and intersentential CS in two teachers’ classroom discourse and found that one teacher used intra-sentential CS twice as much as the other one. These studies provide us with an overview of teacher CS patterns at the lexical and sentential levels. As identifying specific grammatical features of teacher CS discourse in detail is not the focus of the present study, these studies will not be further discussed in this section.

Some studies have also suggested variation regarding the patterns of teacher CS between different classroom activities of the same teacher. For example, in a study by Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002), a teacher used a large amount of the L1 (55.51
per cent of her total speech) during grammar instruction, while she did not use the L1 at all when conducting a listening exercise in the class. Guthrie (1987) classified lessons into three phases, form-focused, content-focused and exercise-focused, and found that most teachers varied greatly in their patterns across three phases. Du (2016) found all four participants used the L1 more often during reading and writing activities than listening and speaking activities.

Research that has examined the distribution of functional categories in teacher CS is of particular importance to this study. A wide range of studies have examined functional distribution of L1/L2 in teacher utterances, and the evidence suggests that the amount of L1 used by teachers differs across functions. For example, Macaro (1998) found that teachers used the L1 more frequently for message-oriented utterances than medium-oriented ones in the secondary-level FL classroom in England. Littlewood and Yu (2009) classify the three most common purposes of L1 use as establishing social relationships, conveying complex meanings to make sure students’ comprehension and saving time, and managing classroom discipline. Liu et al. (2004) investigated teacher CS in the EFL classrooms of 13 high schools in South Korea and classified the teachers’ CS patterns into eight major functional categories: greetings, directions or instructional comments, questions, explaining grammar or vocabulary, giving background information, managing students’ behaviour, giving compliments or confirmation, and making jokes or personal talk. They counted the frequencies of the L1 and L2 used by the teachers regarding each function, showing that the L1 was used more often than the L2 when explaining text, grammar and vocabulary, providing background information and controlling students’ behaviours.

In a study within the Chinese EFL context, Guo (2007) noted that L1 use in terms of different functions in teacher discourse was not distributed evenly: both participants used CS for ‘translation L2>L1’ (p.216) the most frequently; however, they differed in terms of the other functions. Other studies have found that the ratio of L1 use to L2 use by teachers regarding the same function might differ across teachers. For example, Polio and Duff (1994) found that in their study all the teachers used the students’ L1 to some degree in their grammatical explanations in the university FL classrooms, while the frequency differed greatly across these teachers. Similarly, an
investigation into nine English language teachers’ L1 use in university EFL classrooms in Thailand found that the L1 was used for metalinguistic reasons (e.g. explaining grammar) by every teacher in the study, and sometimes as a dominant classroom technique (Forman, 2010). There has also been variation reported when it comes to grammar instruction, with some studies finding that the L1 was commonly used while in other studies the L1 was not used extensively for this function. For example, the teachers in Crawford’s (2004) large-scale study of FL teaching nominated this as the most common function of L1 use in their English language classes, while Forman (2012) found that some teachers in his study used the L2 extensively when explaining grammar, and the L1 was used occasionally to support. Because the classification or labelling of CS functions adopted by each study might be different, it is difficult to make direct comparison between different studies. However, these findings present a broad overview of the functional patterns of teacher CS, and provide the rationale for further in-depth exploration on how and why CS is used by teachers from a qualitative approach in the present study.

In summary, these studies suggest that teachers’ L1 use seems to be a very common practice in various language classrooms, especially where teachers and students share the same L1, which provides an impetus for the re-consideration of the implementation of the L2-only teaching approach. Furthermore, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the quality of the linguistic environment only by the amount of L2 used by teachers in the classroom (Guthrie, 1984). By investigating in more depth how and why the L1 is used, it might become clear what ‘optimal’ L1 use in the L2 classroom could be.

**2.4.2 Functions of teacher CS**

Against the background of the calling for establishing a principled use of the L1 by teachers in the L2 classroom, as described in Section 2.1.3 above, prior research has explored how the L1 is used by teachers in the L2 classroom, through establishing or adopting various functional frameworks based on certain features of teachers’ language use. There has been variety in the identification of specific functions of teacher L1 use because of the different theoretical perspectives adopted by the
researchers and specific social and educational contexts with varied teaching objectives and content. For example, Canagarajah (1995) analysed CS utterances in ESL classes of 24 secondary school teachers in Sri Lanka and found that CS was used by the teachers for classroom management (e.g. opening the class, compliments, encouragement, admonition, managing discipline and unofficial interactions) and for transmission of lesson content (e.g. reviewing previous lesson, explanation and clarification, negotiating cultural relevance). Polio and Duff (1994) conducted a qualitative study examining the classroom utterances of a group of university FL teachers and found a range of contexts in which English (students’ L1) was used or not by the teachers (e.g. grammar instruction, classroom management, to demonstrate empathy and solidarity with the students, to provide translation for unknown L2 words, compensating for students’ apparent lack of understanding, interactive influence by students’ L1 use). De la Campa and Nassaji (2009) in their study in German language (the L2) classrooms identified 14 major functional categories of L1 use by the teachers such as translating a previous L2 utterance, comparing L1 and L2 forms or cultural concepts, evaluating students’ performance, describing the objective of an activity, expressing personal comments on events, dealing with classroom equipment, and creating humorous effects. Forman (2012) provides ten principles of L1 use according to classroom observation as well as the reasons for L1 use reported by the participants in his study, for example, L1 use for cognitive purposes (e.g. explaining L2 vocabulary, grammar and cultural points, L1 use for affective purposes (e.g. facilitating convenient and natural interaction between teacher and students), L1 use for pedagogic purposes (e.g. time-effectiveness, conveying meaning successfully, ensuring all students’ participation and responding to immediate classroom needs).

Different social environments, teaching objectives or other influential factors make it difficult to compare the different research contributions to our understanding of the functions of L1 use by teachers. This also includes the classification and labelling of different CS functions and other terminology, which has proliferated in previous studies. In other words, many terms are employed to define similar concepts or similar labels are used to represent different concepts. For example, the term ‘affective functions’ in one study was used to refer to ‘spontaneous expression of
emotions and emotional understanding in discourse with students’ (Raschka et al. 2009, p.161), but in another included the purpose of establishing social and interpersonal relationships between teachers and students (Sali, 2014). Despite the different classifications and labels of functions of teacher CS, at an overarching level there does seem to be a certain level of similarity. As Edstrom (2006) suggests, even though there is a wide range of amount of L1 use by teachers, the general identified functions of teacher CS are relatively consistent. For example, based on the research conducted on secondary-level FL classrooms in England, Macaro (1998) proposed two distinct functional categories of teacher utterances in the L2 classroom: message-oriented discourse and medium-oriented discourse. Message-oriented discourse refers to that which transmits new messages to students, and medium-oriented discourse is that which is used by teachers to draw students’ focus onto the L2 itself. After reviewing a number of studies on classroom CS, Ferguson (2003) suggested three broad categories which those purposes may fall into: CS for curriculum access, CS for classroom management, and CS for interpersonal relations. Drawing upon Ellis’s (1994) identification of different goal orientations of classroom discourse, in the study in the secondary-level FL classroom in New Zealand, Kim and Elder (2005, p.361) classified the functions of L1 use into ‘core goal’ and ‘framework goal’. The former included a medium-oriented goal related to the teaching of language itself, a message-oriented function for explaining subject content, and activity-oriented discourse, while the latter was used to refer to CS associated with organizing and managing classroom events. Sali (2014) examined teachers’ language use in secondary-level EFL classrooms in Turkey and found that they used the L1 for academic purposes (e.g. explaining metalanguage, reviewing previously learnt material, explaining learning strategies and checking comprehension), for managerial purposes (e.g. managing discipline, drawing attention, and monitoring students’ behaviours), and for social or cultural purposes (e.g. drawing on shared cultural items and praising).

Thus, despite the differences in the terms used within the literature, there seems to be consistency in the broad classification of CS functions in teacher utterances: the recognition of the dual nature of teacher CS in the L2 classroom in both medium and message orientations. This distinction derived from the comparison between L2
classroom discourse and the nature of naturalistic conversation between bilinguals. Therefore, to expand our knowledge of the judicious and optimal L1 use in the L2 classroom aimed by the present study, it is necessary to recognize the dual nature of classroom CS in both medium and message orientations. This functional approach contextualises teachers’ language choices in the L2 classroom discourse and thus informs the present study. As Macaro (2005) suggests, the switching between medium-oriented and message-oriented functions is a factor contributing to the complexity of classroom discourse, and it is within this complex context that teachers’ language choices between the L1 and L2 need to be examined and against which the debate on L1 use must be made.

The sub-sections below discuss the range of specific functions of teacher CS that have been identified in the research literature.

2.4.2.1 Maintaining classroom discipline or exercising control

Teacher CS for discipline management is a frequently used function found by earlier research. Switching to the L1 has been found to assist teachers to make their points more strongly and their commands or admonitions more forceful and emphatic (Duff & Polio, 1990; Ferguson, 2003). It has been suggested that the reason for this is because the L1 enables teachers to convey authentic feelings (e.g. anger, frustration or disappointment), which cannot be achieved by only using the L2, and thereby helps strengthen the effect of the messages conveyed by teachers (Sali, 2014). It has also been found that the different language choices in these situations reflect the teacher’s own sense of authority, seriousness and power, which was bound up with use of the L1 (Cai & Cook, 2015). Almulhim (2014) found that teachers believed that the L1 could be used as an effective tool when managing students’ behaviours as if these expressions were said in the L2, it might not look as serious as the L1 utterances and thus might fail to attract students’ attention to these messages or instructions. Much of the research indicates that the rationales put forward by teachers themselves reflects to a great extent the conclusions reached by researchers through classroom observation. For example, in a study which focused on non-native speaker teachers in the EFL classroom in Turkey, the participants claimed that
students in their classes tended to ignore or not take seriously the teacher’s instructions in the L2, while the same instruction or warning in the L1 appeared to be more effective (Tatar & Yildiz, 2010). Similarly, Canagarajah (1995) also observed in one of his studies that when students were reluctant to follow teachers’ directions, the teachers switched to the L1, as it helped to strengthen the seriousness of their messages.

2.4.2.2 Drawing students’ attention

Earlier research suggests that teacher CS from the L2 to the L1 may play the function of dramatically gaining students’ attention in the classroom. As the L1 is a shared language code by both teachers and students, it then can be used as a more effective and emphatic tool of awareness-raising (Canagarajah, 1995; Sail, 2014). For example, Liu et al. (2004) found that teachers sometimes switched from the L2 to the L1 to highlight important points, as CS in these cases was more likely to catch students’ attention thereby helped to make the L2 input more salient. Sali (2014) found that some teachers used the L1 to direct the students’ attention to important information about, for instance, learning strategies, effective learning habits and strategies for passing examinations. Similarly, Polio and Duff (1994) found that teachers predominantly used the L2, but switched to isolated L1 words or phrases (e.g. review section and homework) about the specific culture of the university classroom context, because these L1 administrative words or phrases might help attract the students’ attention to the important messages. Moreover, some research suggests that CS is used to indicate changes of topics and therefore attracts students’ attention more effectively. For example, Merritt et al. (1992) identified teacher switching to the L1 as an attention-focusing device for drawing students’ attention when the modality was changing. To be specific, they (ibid) observed that in their study, one participating teacher selected the L1 at the beginning of a new lesson activity in order to obtain the students’ attention, and then switched back to the dominantly-used language, the L2. Canagarajah (1995) also found that teachers may use the L1 to open a lesson, and then switch to the L2 suggesting that the ‘real’ lesson has started (ibid, p.180).
2.4.2.3 Giving instructions and explaining administrative issues

CS use has been found as an efficient tool for teachers to facilitate students’ comprehension of complicated activity instructions, and to repair their misapplication of activity instructions so as to improve task efficiency, particularly after the L2 has failed to achieve such pedagogic purpose (Grant & Nguyen 2007; Polio & Duff, 1994; Sali, 2014; Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005). For example, some teachers in the study of Macaro (2001) claimed that using the L2 only when delivering activity instructions sometimes made them worry about ‘losing the class’, as students may lack complete comprehension of these instructions. Some participating teachers in his study suggested that it was not necessary to avoid the L1, as it proved to be a more efficient tool of maintaining successful communication between teachers and students in those situations. Some studies have suggested that whether to use the L1 or not for giving task instructions may depend on its level of complexity or difficulty in terms of students’ understanding (e.g. Atkinson, 1987). Forman (2010) argued that the L2 may be used by teachers to deliver routine instructions or simple messages; however, when conveying complex or abstract ones, the combination of L1 and L2 use may help students with their accurate understanding. Sali (2014) observed that teachers used the L1 before they started a new task or when there was a change of tasks. Canagarajah (1995) noted that the teachers normally used L2 formulaic language for routine instructions for administrative purposes or classroom activities, while they used the L1 when giving new or extra directions. By doing this, the teachers did not need to keep repeating and explaining each and every instruction to ensure students’ comprehension.

2.4.2.4 Eliciting students’ responses

Many studies have emphasized the scaffolding role of the L1 in the classroom interaction (e.g. Forman, 2012; Üstünel, 2015). As the present study is focused on teacher use of CS, those studies which have investigated scaffolding within students’ collaborative activities or other student-to-student interaction will not be considered in this review. However, among those studies which have investigated teachers’ use of the L1, it has been found that teachers use the L1 for the function of eliciting in
two different ways (Ma, 2016). With the first, teachers used the L1 to ask students to provide the L2 expression about a given word or topic. With the second, the teachers often use the L1 as ‘scaffolding’ to assist students to produce an utterance in the L2 in a task which the students would have found difficult to do independently. This type of ‘eliciting’ in the L1 has also been found in other studies. For example, Sali (2014) states that ‘eliciting answers’ was the second mostly frequently observed CS function in his study. The purpose of this function was to prompt and solicit more students’ responses and thus to increase their engagement. He found that the teachers switched to the L1 to reduce learners’ discomfort and facilitate their L2 production particularly when students needed to be prompted or lacked the resources to produce the desired L2 output.

2.4.2.5 Checking learners’ comprehension

It appears from the literature that comprehension checks in the L1 generally follow explanations about various aspects of the L2 and act as a closing move in codeswitched utterances (de la Campa & Nassaji, 2009; Sali, 2014). Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) observed that L1 use for checking students’ understanding often followed teachers’ L2 utterances. For example, in one study, teachers used L1 to check whether or not the students had understood grammatical explanations (Sali, 2014).

2.4.2.6 Indexing solidarity and building rapport

Teacher CS has been found as affective support in many previous studies. The L1 as a shared language between teacher and students can be seen as a ‘we-code’ (Guthrie, 1984) which has been found as a preferred language choice by teachers in terms of building up a less-distanced relationship with their students (Camilleri, 1996). Grim (2010) found that some participants in the study used vocabulary from their students’ register to provide a sense of shared linguistic and socio-cultural identity. Researchers have observed that switching to the L1 can be used to show the teacher’s concern for an individual student (Polio & Duff, 1994), to make an apology (Grim, 2010) or to tell jokes (Edstrom, 2006). Teachers in many studies have reported the
potential of L1 use for improving student-teacher relations, particularly when it comes to creating humour or enjoyment. For example, some teachers in Pham’s (2015) study indicated that using the L1 to make jokes would be beneficial to create an enjoyable classroom, while telling jokes in the L2 was found to be unsuccessful in achieving the same humorous effect, probably because of the shared cultural knowledge of the L1 which was needed to interpret the jokes. This function has also been found by Polio and Duff (1994).

2.4.2.7 Expressing emotions

Teacher CS has been found to be used when teachers express their negative emotions. Sali (2014) found out in his study that the participating teachers seemed to prefer to use the L1 to express their negative feelings such as frustration or anger in the classroom probably because using the L2 was difficult for them to convey ‘authentic feelings’ (p.313). Some researchers claim that the L1 seems to be a spontaneous language choice when teachers used the L1 to convey displeasure at their students’ classroom performance and it seems not to be easy to identify the reason behind such type of L1 use. Thus, Rolin-Ianziti and Brownline (2002) proposed a question that whether the choice of L1 use in this case is because of teachers’ pedagogical intention or their ‘internal state of mind’ (p.419), which provides a place for further exploration in the present study.

2.4.2.8 Explaining vocabulary

Another function of teacher CS is for clarifying or reinforcing the meaning of L2 lexical items, especially new or abstract vocabulary. Researchers have found many teachers did use the L1 for this function. For example, Liu et al. (2004) observed that some teachers in their study used the L1 to define and compare abstract vocabulary. Polio and Duff (1994) noted that teachers may switch to the L1 to express something which they perceived as difficult for students’ understanding. Therefore, the L1 can be used to explain perceived difficult L2 vocabulary words by teachers in the L2 classroom; however, more research findings are needed about how the L1 can be used in this case and in which situations L2 lexical items may be considered as
difficult by teachers.

2.4.2.9 Explaining grammar

Teachers’ decisions about using which language (the L1 or the L2) to explain grammar seems to be dependent on the perceived level of difficulty of the grammar points, students’ comprehension and time issue. Many teachers in prior studies revealed that their grammar explanations in the L1 could be interpreted faster and with more clarity. Samar and Moradkhani (2014) argue that it may be difficult for learners to understand some complicated terminology of grammar and grammatical rules through the L2 and in that case the L1 is the preferred language choice by teachers as it helps simplify the explanation of grammar points and meanwhile ensure students’ instant comprehension. Some teachers in one study of Sali (2014) reported that L1 use for explaining grammar was caused by her concern about students’ lack of comprehension about grammar points. Some teachers in one study of Polio and Duff (1994) revealed that they worried students might not know about L2 grammatical terms as the textbooks used explained grammar in the L1.

2.4.2.10 Explaining cultural references

According to Kraemer (2006), there were two reasons for teachers’ L1 use when explaining cultural references: one was related to allocated time as using the L1 to explain cultural or history knowledge is faster than using the L2 only, and the other one reported by the participants was related to the textbooks used in which cultural references were explained in the L1. As for the former reason, some researchers explain that as the main objectives of teaching may be developing students’ language knowledge or skills, teachers are able to spend less time explaining cultural issues via the use of L1.

2.4.3 Teachers’ perceptions of teacher CS

While the preceding section discussed research findings mainly based on researchers’ observations of CS behaviour, this section focuses on studies which have
investigated teachers’ attitudes or rationales for their CS practices. There is some overlap between the two, as most of the research indicates that the rationales put forward by teachers themselves reflect to a great extent the conclusions reached by researchers through classroom observation. However, the focus in this section is on the information provided by teachers which would not be available through the analysis only of teacher utterances in a classroom situation. By examining accounts of teachers’ views on their CS use, it is possible to add another layer of understanding to this issue, and also provides an insight into how teachers themselves interpret their CS practices and what factors may influence their understandings of or perspectives on L1 use in the L2 classroom.

Evidence has shown that in some contexts, teachers appear to hold negative attitudes towards L1 use, even though the L1 has been widely used in practice. Chowdhury’s (2013) study also found that teachers felt that they should not have switched codes in the classroom when they did, and Copland and Neokleous (2011) found teachers were critical of their L1 use, as they thought using the L1 as the ‘simple solution’ to classroom communication and a ‘hindrance to learning L2’ rather than a valuable pedagogic resource for making learning simpler and more effective.

However, it is clear that teachers’ attitudes towards L1 use are more complicated than simply feeling guilty (Hall & Cook, 2015). A number of studies have found that some teachers consider L1 use as unfortunate but inevitable (e.g. Macaro, 2006; Song & Andrews, 2009). Other studies have reported that teachers seemed to hold positive attitudes towards L1 use in their teaching, particularly in relation to its pedagogical value. For example, Pham (2015) found the teachers in her study suggested their support for the use of CS in their pedagogical practice as it helped with facilitating students’ cognitive processes, conveying complicated information, and addressing students’ affective needs.

Teachers’ attitudes towards CS use have also been investigated from another perspective, i.e. their responses to official policies and/or institutional regulations, which in many countries have been found to be in favor of total or almost total avoidance of the L1 in the L2 classroom. The research seems to show that most
teachers agree that such policies or regulations influence their L1/L2 use in the classroom to some extent, and the influence may differ among individual teachers or across different social backgrounds and teaching traditions. At the same time, there seems to be a tendency among teachers to reject an approach that excludes any L1 use.

Macaro (2001) studied a group of student teachers’ decision-making regarding the use of CS in their teaching in the L2 classroom and found that one teacher in his study who favored the maximal use of L2 seemed to be significantly influenced by governmental regulations that were in favour of L2-exclusive teaching rather than by her personal theoretical understandings or by her colleagues in the same school. In contrast, teachers in other studies seemed to hold contrasting views from those expressed in the policy or unwritten regulation of their institutions. They argue that teachers are best placed to make decisions on when and where to use the L1 (e.g. Chavez, 2016). Liu et al. (2004) investigated teachers’ perceptions of the curriculum regulations on maximal use of English in EFL classroom in South Korea and found that the majority of teachers agreed that their L1 and English use were influenced by such regulations, while other teachers revealed that they did not consider English-only teaching necessary or helpful. Most of the teachers in Grant’s (2017) study which focused on university EFL classrooms in Vietnam discouraged a fixed English-only policy in their educational setting because of, for instance, students’ low ability and the lack of frequent exposure to English outside the classroom. They suggested that guidance on L1 use should be flexible depending on each teacher. Most teachers in a study by Almulhim (2014) in university EFL classrooms in Al Ahsa revealed that they were not convinced by the advice given by their department on English-only teaching, as it was unfeasible to apply it in all kinds of situations without taking into account factors such as students’ language levels, types of classes, and lesson time.

Similarly, the teachers in a study by Pablo et al. (2011) in an EFL classroom in Mexico revealed that there was not a written document by their school or any authority that prevented them from using the L1 in class, but they were told by their school to keep L1 use limited, and some of them said they always tried to use the L1
as little as possible in the classroom because of this implicit policy regarding L1 use in their educational context. In an extreme example, Harbord (1992) observes that official policies and a monolingual orthodoxy in teacher training colleges at the time made teachers feel they were betraying their students when resorting to the L1. Even though the responses to policies may differ across individual teachers and educational settings, it is clear that the gaps between official policies or implicit expectations and teachers’ actual practices may result in some teachers’ feeling guilty, which is ‘not a healthy outcome of a pedagogical debate’ (Macaro 2005, p.69). Thus, it is necessary for more research to investigate how the L1 is actually used by teachers in practice and why it is used so as to establish a framework which could lead to judicious and optimal L1 use, thereby helping to fill the gap between policies and teacher practices and reducing teachers’ unhealthy feelings caused by their L1 use.

These studies suggest that teachers’ understandings of the goals of L2 teaching or learning also influence their language use. Studies suggest that specific requirements of different curriculum or syllabi may influence the overall L1 use by teachers. To be specific, different curriculum requirements may have their own teaching emphasis such as developing L2 knowledge and cultural knowledge, developing students’ communicative competence, or teaching examination strategies; the perceived roles of L1 use for achieving these teaching objectives may not be the same, and thus teachers’ CS practices may be influenced by curriculum or syllabi requirements. Thus, teachers who aim to develop students’ communicative competence might not tend to use the L2 as much as those who emphasize the importance of appreciation of knowledge of language through explaining grammar. For example, Liu et al. (2004) claim that the focus on language forms in examinations regulated by Korean English curricula made EFL teachers increase the amount of L1 use in the classroom. Song (2005) suggested that teachers who considered explaining aspects of the L2 as the most important part of their teaching goals supported L1 use in the classroom. Edstrom (2006) who considered helping learners understand the difficulty of learning a new language and clarifying complex information about the L2 culture as one important aspect of her teaching objectives acknowledge L1 use in this area.
Some studies suggest that teachers’ decision making about CS use may be based on their understandings of theories of L2 learning and about how SLA works. For example, Both Dickson (1996) and Song (2005) suggest that teachers’ understandings of L1 use is related to theories of bilingual competence, particularly the relationship between the L1 and the L2 in learners’ minds (e.g. de Groot, 2002; Ellis, 1994). For example, some teachers in Song’s (2005) study emphasized drawing on the conceptual knowledge shared by two languages for students’ better L2 learning. For example, one teacher argued that students should focus on learning the L2 forms rather than the conceptual knowledge which had been built up in their L1 before learning the L2, and L1 translation of L2 expressions could help the students link the L2 forms with the conceptual knowledge that they had acquired in the L1.

Teachers who considered taking care of students’ affective needs as an important part of teaching and learning appeared to support CS use in the classroom. Edstrom (2006) argues that teachers have a moral obligation to respect their students as individual human beings and highlights the importance of a positive classroom environment and the positive affective influence on students and their L2 learning. Studies have found that many teachers considered building up good relationship with students and creating pleasant and enjoyable classroom atmosphere as very important parts of their teaching, which cannot be achieved by using the L2 only at some points. For example, Dickson (1996) found that most teachers disagreed sacrificing what their educational principles of establishing friend relationship with their students and putting their enjoyment and interest as priority in order to maximize L2 use in the classroom.

Multiple factors that constrain teachers’ maximal use of the L2 have been reported in the literature, including laziness, fatigue, lack of motivation or L2 language competence, and time issue. Song and Andrews (2009) suggest that for non-native-speaker teachers, teaching in the L2 constantly requires much effort and a brief switch to the L1 could save their effort. Pennington (1995) identifies as elements that might lead to increased L1 use lack of L2 knowledge, lack of preparation or lack of interest or motivation, while Macaro (1998) identified tiredness as a factor, and Edstrom (2006) suggests laziness may be a factor. In
Dickson’s (1996) study, teachers stated their fatigue and stress were due to the fact that they were required not to use the L1. In a study by Bateman (2008) which focused on student teachers’ beliefs about L2 use in university Spanish (the L2) classrooms in America, one participant revealed that L2 use required her to make more effort and thus sometimes her L1 use was just because of her tiredness. The teacher complained about the poor weather conditions within the classroom and her exhausted status, saying that using Spanish was the least of her concerns under that circumstance. In some studies, participating teachers have revealed that they use the L1 because of their uncertainty about or lack of knowledge of certain terms in the L2 (e.g. Kim & Elder, 2005; Song, 2005). Teachers also see the time-cost effectiveness through L1 use as the motive behind their codeswitching in the classrooms. Negotiation of meaning in the L2 may lead to unexpected and lengthy utterances which may cost precious class time (Polio & Duff, 1994). Researchers found that the L1 was perceived by teachers as a time saver for teachers to convey comprehensible messages more quickly, such as giving complicated procedural instructions for classroom activities (de la Campa & Nassaji, 2009; Pham, 2015) and going through the exercise sessions (Song, 2005).

Evidence has shown the potential negative effects of maximum L2 use on students’ affective aspects (e.g. anxiety, frustration and demotivation), particularly those at lower levels. It is clear that L1 use may help students at lower levels understand better and reduce their anxiety about language learning. For example, many teachers in one study (Pham, 2015) suggested that using the L1 might reduce the stress or frustration which students might experience in an English-only classroom. Similarly, teachers in the study of Dickson (1996) suggested that the use of the L2 without considering students’ language ability was meaningless, as it decreased pupil motivation and increased negative perceptions of the language as difficult and unachievable. This is echoed by Forman’s study (2010), in which the participants suggested that without L1 use sometimes those students with low levels of language proficiency might become nervous and frustrated, and even lose their confidence and interest in learning English.
2.4.4 Empirical studies in Chinese EFL classrooms

The issue of teacher use of CS in the EFL classroom in the context of mainland China has received increased interest in the recent two decades, perhaps because of the increasing need for English in a globalised environment. Nevertheless, it is still not an issue that has been comprehensively examined within the Chinese context, and particularly not within the university EFL classroom.

EFL teachers in China show a tendency to acknowledge L1 use in L2 teaching and learning. For example, a study by Tang (2002) investigated teachers’ attitudes towards CS through questionnaires administered to 100 students and 20 teachers in a university in Beijing. The results showed that 72 per cent of the participating teachers believed that the L1 should be used in the EFL classroom. Similarly, a study by Song (2009), which investigated teacher attitudes towards CS through a survey of 61 EFL teachers in a Chinese university, showed that the participants as a whole appeared to hold almost neutral attitudes towards this issue. They seemed to recognize both positive and negative effects of L1 use. These participants differed in their attitudes as individuals, which suggests that there were different rationales underlying their attitudes. Similar findings have also been reported by other studies such as Du (2016), Liu (2010), Lu (2015), and Yao (2011).

In brief, these previous studies have shown that most teachers seemed to believe that the monolingual teaching approach which might be powerful and influential from a theoretical point of view, was not suitable to be used as the main principle in English language teaching in China. In addition, teachers in different studies also reported a number of situations where L1 use might be inevitable in the L2 class and might facilitate L2 teaching and learning. For example, Song (2009) found that teachers felt the L1 was most useful when helping students practise the use of L2 expressions (56 per cent) and explaining difficult concepts or ideas (44 per cent), and two participants suggested that the L1 could be used to provide the students with advice on effective language learning. In the same study, teachers gave as their rationales for L1 use that ‘it is more effective’ (44 per cent), followed by ‘it aids comprehension
greatly’ (39 per cent). In a study by Yao (2011), 52 teachers took part in the survey which showed a very high percentage of the teachers who agreed that using CS helped them to express themselves more clearly (80.8 per cent), and helped students understand the subject matter better when the L1 was used to explain, among other things, grammar or lexical items (71.3 per cent). They also found the L1 useful for explaining cultural points, eliciting students’ responses to the teacher’s questions, and clarifying the lesson content.

At the same time, some studies have shown that teachers’ perceptions of their own L1 use might differ from their actual behaviour. For example, van der Meij and Zhao (2010) found that CS occurred seven times more frequently than the teachers reported they used it, a finding that illustrates the importance of data triangulation.

Other studies have investigated teacher CS practices in the EFL classroom in China with specific reference to the contexts in which teacher CS occurs from the functional perspective (e.g. Cai & Cook, 2015; Li, 2018; Qian et al., 2009; Rui & Chew, 2013; Tian, 2014). Most of these findings seemed to be consistent with other studies reviewed in Section 2.4.2. For example, Qian et al. (2009) conducted a case study examining the functions of two teachers’ CS in classroom interaction in primary English classrooms in Beijing. The study classified three main types of teacher CS: methodological functions (e.g. for translation or clarification), social functions (e.g. for praise or disapproval), and multiple functions (e.g. reminding and highlighting). Li (2018) reports three functions of L1 use in secondary school EFL classrooms including ‘L1 as a classroom script, promoting responses through L1, and giving instruction through L1’ (ibid, p.7-9). While these studies help provide a general picture of the situation in China, they were not focused on the tertiary sector.

There have been some studies analysing CS functions at the tertiary-level EFL classroom, such as Cai and Cook (2015), Du (2016), Guo (2007), Lu (2015), and Tian (2014). Through a linguistic analysis of the CS instances of two teachers’ classes, Tian (2014) reported six functions of these teachers’ CS use including ‘translation L2-L1, translation L1-L2, grammar teaching, explaining vocabulary, personal comment, and information giving’ (p.46), and found that translating from
L2 to L1 was the most frequently used function by both teachers. Cai and Cook (2015) focused on three types of functions of L1 use: explanation, direction and classroom management. These findings helped inform the present study, particularly in understanding the contexts in which teacher CS occur in the classroom. However, these two studies were conducted in university ‘intensive reading’ classes with a particular focus on explaining grammar and vocabulary in written texts so as to develop students’ reading ability. There have not yet been any studies reported on settings where listening and speaking were the predominant macro-skills, which is what the present study sets out to address.

2.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has had two purposes: to review the scholarly literature on both theoretical and empirically-based issues relating to CS in a language education context, and to identify the conceptual, methodological, and contextual gaps that the present study aims to address.

The studies discussed in this chapter demonstrate that there are multiple factors that may influence teachers’ language use in the L2 classroom. The extent to which, and how, CS is used are not decided by single factor, and may vary according to specific cultural backgrounds and educational tradition, among other factors. Understanding what is known about the possible influences of these factors on teacher language use, and what remains to be explored, has helped inform the present study in terms of its overall focus and the methodological approach. For example, there is still little evidence on what possible factors may influence teacher use of CS particularly in the Chinese ELT context and the university EFL classroom for non-English majors.

As this chapter has shown, previous studies have employed different approaches (e.g. timed analysis, discourse analysis, and conversation analysis) to analyse the patterns of teacher talk and teacher-student interaction. There has also been some research into teachers’ attitudes and perceptions of CS use in the L2 classroom and the internal and contextual factors that might be associated with their CS use. These studies have helped to inform the present study both in selecting the perspectives
from which the issue of classroom CS could be examined and interpreting the data collected from these different perspectives. This review of the literature has also provided a rationale for conducting both a functional analysis of CS behaviour and a thematic analysis of teachers’ perceptions of L1 use in the present study. Few studies have attempted to combine these two strands together and to compare the findings generated from classroom observation and the reported perceptions of teachers regarding L1 and L2 use. If in the longer term we are to address the issue of ‘optimal’ L1 use by teachers in the L2 classroom, it is necessary to be aware of whether there is consistency between teachers’ actual language use and their rationales and perceptions regarding this issue, and if not, what these contradictions or inconsistencies might be and what factors might cause these inconsistencies.

In short, this chapter illustrates that both researchers and EFL teachers have been calling for further empirical studies on how and why teacher CS is used in the L2 classroom, which might contribute to the establishment of a theoretical framework of judicious teacher language use with particular reference to L1 use in the L2 classroom. This is what the present study seeks to address.
Chapter 3 Research methodology

The previous chapter explored the relevant research literature and explained how it helped facilitate the development of the research questions and form the theoretical framework for the investigation of teachers’ practices and perceptions in relation to CS use in the university EFL classroom in China. The chapter identified the theoretical approach which underpins this study: Verschueren’s (1999) Adaptation Theory (See Section 2.3.3), with its key tenets of variability, negotiability and adaptability. This socio-culturally situated theory positions language use as pragmatic; that is, it takes into consideration the social, cognitive and cultural complexities involved in its functioning (Verschueren, 2009).

This chapter describes how the methodological position adopted for this study was derived from and is aligned to the study’s theoretical framework, and explains the methods used for data collection and analysis. It begins by outlining the research aims and reminding the reader of the research questions. It then provides an overview of the epistemological stance and research paradigm taken for this study, before presenting the research context and participants, the data collection methods, and the different data analysis approaches. It concludes by discussing the ways in which the validity of the study was promoted, describes how ethical issues were addressed, and includes a section about researcher’s reflexivity and lens.

3.1 Research questions

As described in the introductory chapter, the study was focused on the context of university EFL classrooms for non-English major students in mainland China. Within this context, it aimed to explore the ways in which CS is used by EFL teachers in the classroom, to investigate EFL teachers’ attitudes towards and perceptions of L1 use in ELT classrooms, and to explore the internal and external factors that influence teachers’ practices and reported attitudes. Based on the rationale for this research described in Chapter 1 and the relevant previous studies reviewed in Chapter 2, the following research questions were identified:
1) To what extent and in what ways do teachers codeswitch in the university EFL classroom in China?
2) What rationales do teachers provide for their CS practices in the university EFL classroom in China?
3) What are teachers’ perceptions about the use of CS in the university EFL classroom in China?

Question 1 was focused on investigating teachers’ actual practices regarding CS use in the specific research context to provide the baseline data on which the other research questions could draw. Several aspects of the issue were examined, such as the quantity of L1 used and the ways in which teacher CS was used. Question 2 and 3 were intended to explore teachers’ perceptions of L1 use in ELT, in order to uncover the influences and identify possible rationales for their actions.

3.2 Research approach

To address these questions in a way that might capture and help explain the complexities inherent in language use as explained by adaptation theory, the study called for an approach which could elicit in-depth and rich data, which would promote the production of multifaceted insights, and which was in line with the tenets of the social constructivist perspective that underpins adaptation theory. There is an extensive body of literature that supports the use of qualitative research in such circumstances. For example, among others, Bogdan and Biklen (2006) and Flick (2018) discuss the link between qualitative research and a constructivist epistemology which recognises that individuals construct and understand their own realities; Creswell (2014) emphasises the value of qualitative research in understanding complex social phenomena; and Stake (2010) discusses the focus of qualitative research on the experiential.

What I was seeking in the current study was an understanding of and evidence for how and why teacher CS took place in the chosen research setting, in other words, the effects of multiple factors and the complex interplay among those factors on
teachers’ language choices between L1 and L2. Therefore, a qualitative paradigm which tried to make sense of and interpret social phenomena, and which would uncover the complexity and richness of each aspect associated with this issue (Creswell & Miller, 2000) was deemed to be the most suitable approach.

The research was a naturalistic and exploratory study which had the primary focus of exploring Chinese EFL teachers’ language choices in the classroom and the complex influential factors behind them. The qualitative approach was expected to shed light on the richness and complexity of each aspect associated with the issue and to promote understanding of their unique features. The study was conducted largely in a natural setting (i.e. the university EFL classroom) with a small group of EFL teachers in a Chinese university. This enabled me to become very familiar with the research setting and investigate each participant’s circumstances and obtain first-hand information about what actually happened in the L2 classroom in order to obtain in-depth, person-centred data. According to Peshkin (1993), the phenomenon being studied is rather complicated, when it is associated with human beings, events and situations characterized by a number of variables, and it is this complexity that I was seeking to uncover in the present study. To enrich my understandings of this complexity, I adopted multiple data collection methods (i.e. classroom observation, semi-structured interviews and stimulated recall interviews), and the analysis of the collected data was conducted from a wide range of perspectives.

Although the overall approach was qualitative, this did not preclude the inclusion of methods which involved numerical data. The difference between a qualitative paradigm and a quantitative one, according to Maxwell (2010, p.477), is not dependent on the use of numbers but on the ‘mental models of the two communities of researchers’. That is, the difference exists between considering the world regarding variables and correlations. Quantitative studies are based on an analysis of the influence of distinctive variables on differences in other variables. The quantitative approach usually compares different individuals or groups when a specific variable takes different values and other variable(s) will change accordingly. In addition, empirical studies adopting quantitative approaches are often associated with experimental or correlational designs (Maxwell, 2004). This contrasts with the
qualitative approach, which is more based on the contextual analysis of specific people, events or settings than drawing general conclusions (Sandelowski, 2001). The current study’s aims of addressing ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions rather than simply ‘whether’ and ‘how much’ therefore help confirm its qualitative nature.

In addition, it can be argued that the use of numbers together with qualitative methods and data does not necessarily make a study mixed-method research. Simply counting things (for example, in this study, counting the number of CS instances) can be considered important data for qualitative research for three reasons. First, it contributes to the internal generalizability of a qualitative study (Maxwell, 1992). This does not mean the generalizability of conclusions to other settings but the generalization within the research setting or group of individual participants as a whole. In this study, the numbers about the distribution of L1 and L2 in teacher discourse laid the foundations for exploring teacher CS in this setting, because, as Macaro (2001) claimed, it is only meaningful to examine L1 use in a L2-predominant classroom environment. Second, these numbers also enable to identify and accurately describe the diversity of CS practices in the setting studied. Additionally, the use of numerical data could also help to identify patterns that might not be apparent from the interview data. As individuals are often less conscious of larger patterns which are beyond their immediate experience, the numbers thus can enrich the participants’ perspectives so as to provide a clearer and more in-depth understanding of what is happening in a specific setting (Maxwell, 2004). Finally, they helped to present data for the interpretations and to counter arguments that a qualitative researcher might simply cherry-pick the data for instances that support theses interpretations (Maxwell, 2010).

In summary, the study is located at the broadest level within the qualitative tradition. It is conducted within a constructivist/interpretative paradigm as its purpose is to understand the constructed realities of the participants, and it adopts what might best be described as a naturalistic approach to contextualised data collection and a data-driven process of analysis, it draws its theoretical position from Verschueren’s (1999) Adaptation Theory.
3.3 Research setting and participants

This section introduces the location where the study was conducted and provides background information on the teaching programme with which the teacher participants were involved. It then introduces the participants, providing some general information about their course and students as well as some information about the participants’ professional backgrounds.

3.3.1 The research site

As explained in Chapter 1, this study arose because of my personal learning and teaching experience in the university EFL classroom for non-English major students and because of my reading of the research literature, which indicated that there were no specific requirements and guidelines on teacher use of CS at the national level, and that even though many tertiary institutions expected their teachers to use English only or to minimize L1 use in the classroom, the majority of teachers made their own decisions on whether to use the L1 and to what extent (e.g. Lu, 2015; Song, 2005). In addition, studies on teacher CS in university EFL classrooms in China are scarce, and more are required (Du, 2016).

The university selected for this qualitative study is a public university located in eastern China. It has been named YSU in this thesis. This is a fictitious name chosen to protect the identity of the research site and the participants. There were two reasons for choosing YSU as my research site. First, it is a multidisciplinary university in China, providing courses on a wide variety of subjects with an emphasis on social science including Chinese literature, law, management and foreign language studies. It is also one of the ‘211 Project’ universities. The ‘211 Project’ is a cross-century project formulated by the Chinese government aiming to invest in around one hundred leading universities and make them into scientific and educational training centres, and comes under the direct management of the Chinese Ministry of Education. It was ranked as one of the top 10 per cent of comprehensive universities in China in 2017. In that year, there were more than 40,000 students in
YSU, including about 20,000 full-time undergraduate students, 12,000 postgraduate students, 8,000 part-time students, and a small number of international students. In addition to its high status among Chinese universities, the other reason for choosing it was my familiarity with this university. I spent six months working as a teaching assistant at YSU, teaching EFL courses for non-English majors. Therefore, I knew many of the language teachers at the School of Foreign Language Studies at YSU, the school in which the study was conducted. This familiarity was beneficial for me in two key ways. First, it enabled me to obtain convenient and straightforward access to this university, and second it facilitated the process of recruiting participants and collecting data, given that the project demanded high levels of cooperation from the participants and their students. This was because, I presumed, as a former employee and fellow teacher I was not perceived as a threat.

The School of Foreign Language Studies has around 250 full-time language teachers and provides a wide variety of language-learning facilities, such as language labs and multi-media classrooms. It consists of three departments: English Language and Literature, Asian and European Language and Literature, and University Public English Teaching (UPET). This study was undertaken at the department of UPET, which aims to provide EFL courses to the non-English-major students in the first two years of their university education. The department of UPET is made up of over 100 full-time EFL teachers divided into three teaching clusters, teaching more than 10,000 undergraduate students from over 50 different subject areas. There are three types of university EFL courses for students with different language levels and learning needs. The largest one, that most non-English-major students take, is known as ‘视听说’ (Watching, listening and speaking), which is particularly focused on improving students’ communicative abilities (See more details in Section 3.3.2). This course was of particular interest for this study because the majority of previous studies in this context have been conducted in ‘intensive reading’ classrooms (the term used by Cai & Cook, 2015). In the event, the majority of participants taught this class, as explained in Section 3.3.3 below, although this was not the only type of class included in the study.
3.3.2 The English curriculum

According to the institutional documents provided by one teacher and the information published on its official website, the department of UPET provides ‘2+2+X’ English curriculum. The non-English-major students’ English programme weekly consists of three components. The first ‘2’ refers to two 45-minute teacher-oriented EFL classes; the second ‘2’ refers to two 45-minute online-material-based self-study, and ‘X’ refers to further input and practice conducted during students’ spare time. There are three main types of EFL class: Integrated English, the ‘watching, listening, speaking’ classes described above, and IELTS courses. These three types of classes are provided for students of different language proficiencies, and are explained in more detail below.

1. Integrated English. This type of EFL courses is particularly provided for students, e.g. students of Sports, Arts and Cooking subjects, who obtain access to higher education not as a result of their National Matriculation Examination results but because they have certain talents in sports or arts. These students normally have lower levels of English proficiency. The integrated English courses aim to develop students’ basic skills, especially in reading comprehension. The textbook is *Experiencing English Integrated Course Book* and teachers mainly adopt the traditional grammar-translation approach, very similar to that of the high school English classes, such as explaining new words and phrases, analysing grammar and sentence structures and helping students to understand the content of the texts. There are very few opportunities for teacher-student interaction and communication. Teacher talk tends to dominate the whole class and students have to listen to the teacher and take notes.

2. Watching, listening, speaking (WLS). This consists of two 45-minute teaching classes, usually combined as a single 90-minute class with a short break, as well as two 45-minute internet-based self-study classes every week. Based on the College English Curriculum Requirements (Ministry of Education, 2004; 2007) that highlighted the importance of fostering students’ communicative competence, this
course is made up of three parts. The ‘watching’ component involves students watching English videos or movie episodes in class, followed by teacher-organised follow-up discussion or debate activities related to the video topics. The ‘listening’ component is still mainly textbook-based (*New Horizon College English: Listening & Speaking* and *New College English: Listening & Speaking Course*), and involves the teacher playing the listening audio first and students answering the listening questions in the textbooks (i.e. multiple choice, vocabulary filling, etc.). The speaking component comprises a variety of communicative activities for students. For example, they might take part in dubbing a movie episode, giving presentations (i.e. introducing a book recently read), conducting role-plays and holding debate competitions. The oral session is intended to be student-centred, while teachers only play a guiding role to give support or instructions on particular occasions. In these English classes, teachers have relatively highly autonomy in terms of designing an activity or deciding on how much time is allocated to each of the components.

3. IELTS course. This course is only for second-year non-English-major students who have passed CET4 with high scores (>550). In consideration of the growing number of college students in China who are seeking opportunities to study abroad, especially in ‘western’ English-speaking countries, the department decided to set up the IELTS course to help those who want to study abroad after graduation to prepare for their IELTS exams.

The assessments consist of three parts: the performance in classes as well as the results of two exams (mid-term and end-term). In terms of the class performance, the ‘classroom participation records (课堂参与纪录)’ provided by one participant showed that only the times of participation in classroom activities (e.g. oral presentation, answering questions voluntarily) had been recorded. The two exams are different depending on what type of class the students attend. The term-end exams for students from speaking and listening English course and IELTS course are made of two parts: written and oral tests (there is no oral test for students from the integrated English courses). The written tests are very similar to CET4 including listening, reading, translation, and writing tasks. For the majority of students, the examiners ask questions about different topics (Most topics come from the textbook
topics) and the students have to give their opinions. The requirements for students from the IELTS course are relatively higher that they need to interact with the examiners in more complex ways.

3.3.3 The participants

As the aims of this study are to explore teacher CS practices and their perceptions in relation to L1 use in the L2 classroom, it was hoped that it would be possible to recruit a relatively diverse group of participants who taught different types of classes and student levels. In order to maximize options, all seventy-three teachers who were assigned to teach EFL courses for non-English-major students were invited to participate in the study through email. This initial email included a general introduction of the purposes of this study as well as the data collection procedures. From this process, thirteen teachers indicated their willingness to participate. However, because of a number of factors including clashing availabilities (explained in more detail in Section 3.4), ultimately ten participants were selected. A profile of the ten participants is provided in Table 2 below.

Table 2. The participants’ profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Types of class</th>
<th>Student information</th>
<th>Years of teaching</th>
<th>Educational background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>WLS</td>
<td>2nd Law</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>PhD candidate in English Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>WLS</td>
<td>2nd Mechanical Engineer</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>MA in English literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T3</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>WLS</td>
<td>2nd Agriculture</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>PhD in English Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T4</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>WLS</td>
<td>2nd Arts</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>MA in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T5</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>WLS</td>
<td>1st Nursing</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>PhD in Corpus Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T6</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>WLS</td>
<td>2nd Management</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>MA in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T7</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>WLS</td>
<td>1st History</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>PhD in Applied Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T8</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>WLS</td>
<td>1st Physics Teaching</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>MA in English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These ten participants were all from the School of Foreign Language Studies. They had all obtained their master’s degrees in ELT or English literature. Three of them, T3, T5 and T7, had completed their doctor’s degrees in English Literature and Linguistics, respectively. Two participants, T1 and T10 were in the process of undertaking their doctoral studies when the study was conducted. All the participants had more than ten years of teaching experience and had experience of staying in English-speaking countries either because they had been studying for a degree or because they had been visiting scholars. All the participants were assigned solely to teach EFL courses for non-English-major undergraduates, except for T5 who also taught English-major undergraduates and postgraduates. Each participant normally had two or three classes during one semester. For example, T1 had two different classes of students from Law and Management (both second-year), although because of time constraints only the classes involving students studying law were included in this study. The majority of participants taught the mainstream WLS courses.

3.4 Data collection

In order to achieve the research goals, multiple methods of data collection were adopted: namely, semi-structured interviews, audio-recorded classroom observations and SRIs. This combination of a variety of methods was selected to facilitate data triangulation and strengthen the credibility and robustness of findings (Bryman, 2008; Creswell, 2007).

The semi-structured interviews performed two functions. As they were the first stage of the data collection procedure, they provided a background profile for each participant and the contexts where CS took place, and helped to establish fundamental trust - an essential element in social science research - between the participants and me. Additionally, however, these interviews were undertaken to
obtain in-depth information about teachers’ perceptions of CS use in ELT and their own CS practices in the classrooms.

Classroom observations were employed to identify teachers’ CS practices including the patterns of CS and the functions they played in the EFL classrooms. Audio recordings were made during the classroom observations, which were used as stimulus materials for the follow-up SRIs and later data analysis. I attended the classes as a non-participant observer, because on the one hand, I wanted to obtain a holistic picture of the research contexts where CS practices took place, which could not be achieved only by audio recording; on the other, I had also taken the potential influence of my presence on the classrooms into consideration and figured out a few effective ways to undermine it to the largest extend. Further detailed explanation will be provided in Section 3.4.2.

As a type of introspective research method, SRIs were conducted to investigate teachers’ awareness of and rationales for their own CS practices. Audio recordings of the classes were used to assist teachers to recall their thought processes while CS practices took place.

Table 3 below shows a summary of the data collection instruments and the specific research question related to each instrument. It shows that in practice there was a considerable overlap between the findings from each instrument and the research questions that they were intended to address, and to that extent each method added to the richness and complexity of the overall results.

**Table 3. Summary of data collection methods**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research questions involved</th>
<th>Data collection instruments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. To what extent and in what ways do teachers codeswitch in the university EFL classroom in China?</td>
<td>Classroom observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What rationales do teachers provide for their CS practices in the university EFL classroom in China?</td>
<td>SRIs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. What are teachers’ perceptions about the use of CS in</td>
<td>Semi-structured interviews;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The next table, Table 4, shows a summary of the data collection process in chronological order: how many times each method was used with each participant, when each method was used, who was involved. On two occasions during observations, not one instance of CS occurred, once for T5 and once for T7; this is noted in the table. Because of this, there was no follow-up SRI after these two classroom observations. In addition, because of time constraints, in Week 3, T2 did not participate in the SRI session and the CS instances observed in her class were included in the SRI in Week 4. Each of the data collection methods is explained in more detail in the sub-sections that follow.

**Table 4. Summary of data collection procedures**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>SSI</th>
<th>CO</th>
<th>SRI</th>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>SI</th>
<th>CO</th>
<th>SRI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One/Two</td>
<td>T1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Four</td>
<td>T1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>T2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>T3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>T4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>T5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>T1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>T1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>T1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>T1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>T2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>T3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>T4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No CS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No CS</td>
<td></td>
<td>T5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No CS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(SSI: semi-structured interview; CO: classroom observation; SRI: stimulated recall interview.)
3.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interview is a technique commonly used in qualitative research, and it basically aims to explore the in-depth accounts of the interviewee about a specific topic rather than seek to quantify aspects of the his/her ‘life story’ with numbers (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009, p.30). It has many advantages. First, it offers both the researcher and participants some flexibility and freedom while the researcher, to some extent, retains a level of control over the interview sequence (Bryman, 2008). In addition, its flexibility enables the researcher to ask for further clarification or elaboration according to the information provided by the participants (Berg, 2007). For this study, therefore, it was hoped that the interviews would generate in-depth information, while the additional probes would assist in clearing up misunderstandings or drawing out specifics from initially vague responses.

The participants were interviewed before the classroom observation and SRIs for two reasons. First, the interviews provided information about the research setting. Second, they offered the opportunity of comparing what the teachers reported about their CS use and what they actually did in the classrooms. Each interview lasted around forty minutes. Participants were given the choice of whether the interview should be conducted in English or Mandarin, and all of them chose Mandarin, although during the interviews there was some occasional switching to English when it came to expressions in relation to the lesson content in the textbook. With their permission, all the interviews were audio-recorded, and then transcribed for analysis.

During these initial interviews, I was aware that in social science studies, participants’ emotions and characteristics can affect the interaction and potentially the quality of interview data. I was therefore aware of the importance of ‘learning how to listen’ (Richards 2003, p.48). As Rubin and Rubin (2005) suggest, the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee should be regarded as a ‘conversational partnership’ (p.79). In that case, building a trusting relationship with the participant and creating a comfortable conversational environment is a necessary part of data generation. Therefore, I commenced the interviews with some preliminary questions,
i.e. the participants’ general experiences in ELT, so as to establish initial contact and to make them feel comfortable by talking about general issues. During the interview, while I retained the prepared guiding questions and prompts in mind, I also tried to adapt to the participants’ spontaneous responses and not force them back prematurely to the questions. This did mean that sometimes the participants tended to drift away from the focus of discussion, mainly to talk about experiences or feelings which were not necessarily related to CS. In these circumstances, I tried not to interrupt their talk, both to make them feel comfortable and because I felt it was still useful, as it would help build background knowledge of the participants and the research context.

The interview questions were piloted with two English teachers from YSU who were not among the final ten participants. The piloting process was conducted in order to provide feedback on the clarity and intelligibility of the questions and the nature of the answers that they were likely to elicit. The interview began with questions about the participants’ background information, followed by five main sections: (1) Teachers’ philosophical understandings of ELT regarding L1 and L2 use; (2) Teachers’ previous experience regarding L1 use in the EFL classroom; (3) Teachers’ perceptions of external culture of ELT regarding L1 use (e.g. institutional policy and regulations); (4) Teachers’ perceptions of the ‘L2-only’ approach; (5) Teachers’ perceptions of their CS practices in the EFL classroom (See Appendix 3). As a result of the piloting process, I made some modifications of the order of interview questions. The two teachers in the pilot study, suggested that questions about teachers’ philosophy of ELT appeared to be more general than the other, and thus they felt easier to answer at the beginning, which also helped them expand their ideas about the other questions. Thus, I moved the section, which was previously placed in the end of interview questions to the first one. In addition, these two teachers strongly supported my decision on using Mandarin to conduct interviews as they felt more comfortable and convenient to use their native language to talk about this issue.

3.4.2 Classroom observation

According to Creswell’s (2007) categorisation, there are four types of role that a researcher might take in classroom observation: complete participant,
participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant and complete observer. Basically, however, observation can be categorized as either being participant or non-participant. The latter, which is defined as ‘a situation in which the observer observes but does not participate in what is going on’ (Bryman 2008, p. 257) was chosen in my study because I wanted to reduce the interference of the presence of an outsider in the classroom with the teacher and students but I also wanted to immerse myself in the setting. As a researcher in a qualitative study, my main purposes were to understand the participants’ perspectives on the issues and their rationales for certain practices within a particular setting and then to interpret them. The observations helped to develop my understanding of this phenomenon, teacher CS, as well as the rationales provided by the participants in the interviews. Furthermore, as Morrison (1998) suggests, observation enables researchers to gather data from four aspects, the physical aspects (e.g. seating, the physical organisation of the classroom), the human aspects (e.g. age, gender, culture of the participants), the interactional aspects (e.g. verbal, non-verbal interaction), and the programme aspects (e.g. resources, learning materials, task content, etc.). All these aspects of the data can provide the researcher with a holistic view of the context as well as the interrelationships of the contextual factors (Morrison, 1998).

Another advantage of observation is that it is a primary source of data, providing the researcher with moment-to-moment data in unique situations. As Cohen et al. (2007, p.456) suggest, observation offers the opportunity for the researcher to immerse himself/herself in naturalistic social settings to gather ‘live data’.

For this study, the method of audio-recorded non-participant classroom observation was considered particularly important because these observations would act as both a source of data and analysis, and also serve as material for stimulus selection for the subsequent SRIs. In terms of data, the observations were intended to enhance the trustfulness of the data collected through the semi-structured interviews by providing a comparison between what participants said about their CS behaviours and how they actually behaved in the classroom. It was therefore possible to compare whether and in what ways people might behave differently from the ways they reported behaving. As a source for stimulus material for the SRIs, they would provide evidence of actual
behaviour about which participants would be invited to comment.

Classroom observations, together with SRIs, took around eight weeks in total. Due to the necessity of the presence of the researcher in the observational processes, the ten participants were allocated into two groups according to their lesson schedule: five teachers were observed in the first period (Weeks 1-4) and the other five were observed in the second phase (Weeks 5-8) (See Table 4). T1 – T5 were observed in the first period and the other five participants were observed in the second period. Each participant was observed three times and each observation took around 45 minutes.

To record the classes, several recording devices were trialed in the pilot study and a smartphone with a recording function (I used iphone6) was found to be the most suitable. As each classroom was equipped with a microphone for the teacher, it was very easy to capture the teacher’s voice clearly. In addition, given the length of each observation, it was not practical for the participants to identify their CS instances through listening to the whole classroom recordings during the SRI. Hence, I decided to identify and mark the CS instances myself in advance of the SRI. Most teachers’ classes were in the morning and I aimed to conduct the SRIs in the afternoon on the same day, when participants’ memories were still fresh. Through the pilot study, I discovered that I could save a considerable amount of preparation time for the SRI if I was able to mark the timing of each CS instance during the observation, so that I would be able to find the marked moments on the recording and therefore find the CS instances more efficiently. By placing the smartphone on the desk beside me, I was easily able to achieve this. In addition, as a handy smartphone is much less noticeable than a camera supported by a tripod, I believed that it would effectively minimize the participant’s awareness of being recorded so as to improve the naturalness of their behaviour. Because I was investigating a potentially sensitive topic, L1 use, sensitive because it might not align with official institutional guidelines or expectations, it was essential to make the participants feel comfortable about their teaching. I judged that the use of video recording devices like a camera would cause too much pressure, and this is what one teacher indicated in the pilot study. I concede, however, that the audio recordings had some shortcomings; for
example, they were unable to capture certain information like teachers’ gestures and students’ expressions. I attempted to mitigate this disadvantage by taking field notes during the observations.

A number of other measures were taken to reduce the observer effect. For example, I experimented with the position of the researcher in the classroom a number of times during the pilot phase. At first, I thought that sitting at the back of the classroom would be best. In that case, however, it was difficult to gauge students’ reactions and expressions when teacher CS took place, which I felt might influence my understanding of the contextual elements. Eventually I found that the right-hand corner at the front of the classroom was the most suitable place for the observer as it maintained a certain distance from both the teacher and students and also enabled me to capture students’ reactions as well.

As another way of reducing the observer effect, during the observation I tried to avoid interaction with both the teachers and students, including eye contact and any verbal or non-verbal responses. In addition, by attending the classes a couple of times before the formal data collection process began, I sought to build trust with the participants and their students. Furthermore, by conducting multiple observations I believed that the validity of data would be strengthened as the participants’ awareness of being observed would gradually decrease and they would behave more naturally over time.

3.4.3 Stimulated-recall interviews

SRIs are an introspective method using visual or audio stimuli to prompt participants to recall their cognitive processes while performing a task (Gass & Mackey, 2000). It is common to use the SRI method in qualitative research, as the main objective of qualitative research is to describe and understand the phenomenon being studied in a specific setting and to investigate the subjectivity of the researcher and the participants (Vesterinen, 2010). Hence, this method suited my research paradigm and research focus on how EFL teachers understand teacher use of CS in the L2 classroom. Table 5 below displays the features of the way SRI was employed to
collect introspective data in the study, based on an adaptation of Sanchez’s (2010, p.89) identified characteristics of SRI.

Table 5. Features of SRI in this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>My research</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object of introspection</td>
<td>EFL teachers’ rationales or reasons behind their codeswitching practices;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Factors influencing their decision making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modality</td>
<td>Oral introspection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to concrete action</td>
<td>The introspection was related to concrete classroom events or actions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant training</td>
<td>No specialized training on the part of the participants in this session was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>needed, but basic instructions were given to them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulus texts</td>
<td>A recall support (audio recordings of selected classroom events) was used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to prompt participants’ responses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>I identified and marked all the teacher codeswitching episodes which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>occurred during the class. In order to save time, relevant episodes were</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chosen as the stimulus texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elicitation procedure</td>
<td>The interviewee was required to listen to the provided audio episodes and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>explain their reasons behind their actions (e.g., decisions, reactions, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>behaviors)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In my study, SRI was used to help participants to present their introspective accounts of their CS practices. Introspection is based on the assumption that human beings are able to observe their internal processes as they might do real-world events (Gass & Mackey, 2000). It therefore provides some access to people’s otherwise unobservable thought processes as they verbalise their thoughts (Gass & Mackey, 2000).

What is more, the assistance of specific stimulus materials reduces the problem of forgetting in research situations (Eskelinen, 1991). With certain stimuli, participants can recall their actions and thoughts more easily and accurately. In my study, it would have been very hard for the participants to recall what they did, said and
thought during a 45-minute class, even though the interviews were conducted as soon as possible after the observation. The freshness of participants’ memory plays a crucial role in SRIs, and it has been suggested that the time gap should be no more than three days (Gass & Mackey, 2002) to diminish the reduction of the accuracy of participants’ memory over time. In this study, taking into account other practical factors such as both participants’ and the researcher’s schedules and the time for transcribing, all the SRIs were conducted within two days of the observation, with the exception of T2’s second SRI as explained above. A few lessons were predominately delivered in English. For example, there were only one CS instance in one of T7’s class. In that case, I decided not to organise a separate SRI but to conduct it immediately after the class.

An advantage of SRIs is that stimulated recall requires participants to interpret very concrete, personal events, which can help to generate more detailed information, in this case supplementing the data from the background interviews conducted at the beginning of my study. However, the data from SRIs can do more than supplement data from the initial interviews, they can provide a point of comparison. With only interviews or surveys (e.g. Tang, 2002; van der Meij & Zhao, 2010), teachers are likely to draw upon their pedagogic theories to report their own thinking and practice (Vesterinen et al., 2001). For example, the participants in my study might have reported their assumed ‘optimal’ theories or principles in ELT classrooms regarding L2/L1 use, which could be inconsistent with their actual thoughts or practices in naturalistic classroom settings. Hence, the combined use of recordings from classroom observation and stimulated recall in this study helps to explore teachers’ perceptions of their CS use in specific situations and in relation to concrete classroom events, which enhances the validity of data and deepens the understanding of the complexity of this research phenomenon.

What is more, SRI can do more than stimulate recall. They have also been observed to stimulate participant reflections beyond those ideas which they had initially perceived (Nind et al., 2015). As Marland and Osborne (1990) suggest, data generated by stimulated recall can therefore be classified into interactive and post-interactive thinking. The former refers to thought processing in the interactive
situation, including factors influencing specific decision-making and practices. The latter refers to reflective general or specific thoughts arising during the SRI. Previous studies have found that teachers were not always aware of their CS practices (e.g. Liu et al., 2004). In that case, asking teachers to recall their interactive thoughts is not necessarily useful as they may switch codes subconsciously. Nevertheless, SRI as a reflective tool still serves to raise teachers’ awareness of their L2/L1 use and to stimulate their reflection on this phenomenon through observing their own teaching practices in the classroom, which could potentially produce implications for teacher education in terms of how L1/L2 could be used in EFL classrooms.

The SRI sessions normally lasted up to 60 minutes depending on the number of CS instances identified. Given the complexity of recalling and verbalising their prior practices and thought processes, participants were free to choose their preferred language during the SRI sessions and all of them indicated that they felt more comfortable with using their common language, Mandarin. Through the pilot study, I found that using multiple types of stimuli might also help the participants to recall more about specific classroom events. Therefore, I transcribed the marked CS instances immediately after the class, and during the SRI session the transcripts were given to the participant as a reference, if he/she needed, to facilitate his/her recall. This activity also helped clarify some unclear recording episodes, for example, when teachers were talking and students were holding a group discussion at the same time. In addition, most teachers used prepared Kejian (a type of courseware in the form of PowerPoints) to guide their lesson procedures. Therefore, showing the teacher the Kejian was also used as a tool to assist his/her recollections.

Oral explanation by the researcher about specific requirements of SRI was presented to the participant prior to the SRI so as to ensure nobody would misunderstand what they needed to do in the SRI. Prompt questions were asked at suitable times by the researcher to facilitate the participant’s retrospection and to elicit the interpretation of his/her thoughts and practices. The prompt questions can influence the nature of the data (Nind et al., 2015) and as Mayer and Marland (1997) suggest, the participants should be seen as the experts, and the researcher has to help and assist them to recall the events and avoid asking leading questions, making evaluative questions or doing
anything that indicates lack of interest or disagreement. Hence, the stimulus questions were designed carefully and piloted with two EFL teachers who did not take part in my study in order to make sure they were clearly presented and did not impose any of the researcher’s views which would constitute interference with the participant’s answers. There were two types of questions adopted in the SRI sessions: retrospective questions, which elicited interactive thoughts based on recall; and reflective questions, which elicited perceptions of CS use in their teaching based on reflections on their specific CS practices as the following.

At the beginning of each SRI, the participant was encouraged to provide a very brief summary of this lesson, (i.e. What do you feel about today’s class? How was students’ performance today? What were your lesson objectives?) which was a helpful start for the participant to trigger his/her memory about this class and also provided more information to help the researcher to understand the context. I then played the recording that including CS instances and followed by asking the prompt questions. The participant was free to listen to the recording as many times as he/she wished and could also refer to the transcripts, Kejian and textbook at the same time. When sometimes the participant seemed to be struggling about certain CS instances, I found that it was helpful to ask him/her to start by describing what happened or what he/she was doing at that time. This appeared to provide the participant with a ‘way in’ and he or she would gradually recall why he/she wanted to switch to another language at that point. Aside from the planned questions, I also asked some impromptu questions, based on the participants’ comments. In addition, the participant was told to feel free to add anything they wished if it occurred to them during the interviews.

One very important principle which was maintained over the duration of the SRIs was that participants should as far as possible feel comfortable and at ease, particularly since the topic, as stated earlier, could be considered sensitive. In addition to avoiding leading questions or making evaluative comments, I found it necessary to pay attention to participants’ affective reactions when faced with the stimulus. For example, some of the participants gave the impression that they felt guilty or embarrassed about their behaviour when being asked to recall why they
chose to use the L1 at certain moments. This seemed to be because they had used the L1 a lot, in spite of their previous claim that they followed the principle of maximizing the target language. In addition, it appeared that much of their L1 use was unconscious and therefore they could not recall why they had switched codes. To alleviate their embarrassment and stress, I did not include all CS instances in those interviews with participants who used a large amount of the L1 for sentence translation; and I also used reflective or indirect questions such as ‘How do you feel about it? Did CS here help to achieve your purpose? instead of pressurizing them to recall their thought processes.

3.5 Data analysis

This section explains the different forms of data analysis that were applied in order to address the research questions.

3.5.1 Timed analysis of audio recordings

A timed analysis of recordings was conducted to provide evidence of the frequencies of L1 and TL use by teachers. A modified coding system from Duff & Polio (1990, p. 165) was adopted to quantify the amount of L1 and L2 spoken by the teachers in the observed classes, because this coding system was efficient enough to provide a general picture of the distribution of L1/L2 used by teachers in their teaching and it was less time-consuming than some other methods (e.g. Macaro, 2001; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie, 2002). Teachers’ utterances were classified into seven categories (See Table 6 below), which generally included all types of teacher talk. A beginning point, when the teacher began to talk to the whole class, was selected and counted as 0:00, and then a timer software on the computer was set and every 15 seconds the teachers’ utterances were marked as one of the seven categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6. Coding system of timed analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L1: The utterance is completely in Mandarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1c: The utterance is in Mandarin with one word or phrase in English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mixed: The utterance contains a substantial amount (more than a single word or phrase) of both languages

L2c: The utterance is in English with one word or phrase in Chinese

L2: The utterance is completely in English

Pause: No teacher speech

?: The utterance was not clear enough to be coded

(Table adapted from Duff & Polio 1990, p.156)

3.5.2 Functional analysis of CS episodes

Data analysis in this section was conducted primarily with the first research question in mind. Therefore, teachers’ utterances which contained CS practices were examined with the particular focus on their functions. As outlined in Chapter 2, there are a variety of models established by previous studies which can be adopted to analyse the functions of teacher CS in the L2 classroom. These include, for example, the classification of different social functions of CS in naturalistic settings (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993), the pedagogic purposes of and reasons for teachers’ use of students’ L1 in FL classrooms established by Duff and Polio (1994), and the multiple-category coding scheme named ‘Functional Language Alteration Analysis of Teacher Talk’ adopted by Kim and Elder (2005, p.355). The current study employed a coding system adapted from Macaro’s (1998) and Guo’s (2007) functional categorisations for several reasons. First, in analysing discourse objectives, Macaro (1998; 2001) classified teacher CS into medium-oriented CS and message-oriented CS, and this provided the basic framework for analysis in this section. Second, Macaro’s (1998) classification is a combination of both discourse features and pedagogic purposes. Therefore, it provides multiple perspectives for revealing and describing the complexity of CS functions in the L2 classroom. Following Macaro’s (ibid) classification, Guo (2007) provided a coding system for analysing the relationships between teachers’ language choices and various discourse and pedagogic functions within the EFL classroom for non-English majors in two Chinese top universities. Since this research context is quite similar to that of the current study, his coding scheme also informed the functional analysis.
In the present study, only identified CS episodes were transcribed, since this was the part of the class that was the focus of the research, although the the antecedent and subsequent utterances of CS instances were added so as to contextualize teachers’ CS utterances. CS episodes were identified by the L2 boundary. As the major focus of the present study was switching from the L2 to the L1 within a generally L2-dominant discourse, each L1 utterance bounded by the L2 was counted as one CS. The transcripts were checked a second time to ensure their accuracy and integrity. For the thesis, an English translation of teachers’ utterances in Mandarin was provided, although the analysis was conducted in Mandarin.

Each CS instance was classified by its grammatical features, orientations, and functional categories. Quantitative analysis was also adopted in this section to show the distribution of the patterns of teacher CS practices. The nature of the CS instance may be classified according to the point at which the language switch occurs. In this study, the participants’ CS patterns were classified into two types:

- **Intra-sentential switching**, which is also called lexical CS or code-mixing by some researchers, involves a shift in language in the middle of a sentence, usually performed without pause, interruption or hesitation (Milroy & Muysken, 1995). In this study, lexical switching refers to instances when the participants predominately used English in their discourse, but used a Chinese word or a short phrase within the same sentence.
- **Inter-sentential switching**, in this study, is used to referred to CS that takes place between two sentences.

This grammatical taxonomy of CS instances has been used by previous studies (e.g. Guo, 2007) to provide an illustration of CS patterns used by participants in the classroom from a specific angle.

In addition to the above quantitative analysis, CS episodes were chosen for further qualitative analysis. Due to the limitations of a PhD thesis, it was not possible to analyze every CS episode qualitatively. For the study, 52 CS extracts of the total of
more than 800 instances in the present study were selected as the samples analyzed in Chapter 5, based on several criteria such as the balance between the analysis and the total space, the balance between each functional category, and the possibility of relating to the reflection reported by the participants in SRIs. Within each functional category, the selected CS extracts were analyzed and compared according to their discourse features and possible pedagogic objectives. SRI data related to certain CS extracts were also presented so as to complement those that could not be revealed only through the functional analysis itself.

3.5.3 Thematic analysis of interview data

Auerbach and Silverstein (2002) suggest that it is impossible for researchers to identify patterns instantly after reading a large number of transcripts. Therefore, a systematic coding method must be used to organize the extensive data sets, and this can be seen as the first step of data analysis. In this study, I adopted an inductive, constantly comparative approach to generate themes from the data of semi-structured interviews and SRIs.

All the interviews were conducted in Mandarin and the interview recordings were then transcribed in their entirety in Chinese. The whole transcribing work was conducted by myself in order to obtain a general impression of the data. Then the transcripts were checked with the participants to ensure there was no misunderstanding of their words or inaccuracies in the transcript. The data were analysed in their original language (Mandarin) but the generated codes, categories and quotes from the participants were translated into English in order to obtain feedback from my supervisor and to present in the thesis.

Turning to the coding procedure, the first step was coding within each interview. Once I had obtained a general impression of the data, I re-read the transcripts with a particular attention to those related to my research questions. As the transcripts were from dynamic oral talks, as long as one unit was comprehensible by itself, regardless of length - phrases, sentences, or paragraphs, it was regarded as a unit of coding. To avoid missing any potentially useful information, all these units were identified and
coded with a particular attention to those directly related to the research questions. In vivo coding was adopted, i.e. assigning conceptual labels to the units of coding by using words or short phrases directly taken from the participants’ own words, to retain the key information as much as possible (King, 2008). Where this was not practical, some labels were generated based on the essential component of each unit’s meaning. Then the conceptual labels were compared with each other within each interview transcript for the purposes of refining and where necessary reformulating. The next step was to further compare and refine codes across interviews. Once this stage had been completed, the codes were scrutinised again and similar codes were grouped to form categories. According to Rubin and Rubin (1995, p.241), ‘examining the material in individual categories allows you to refine what a concept means’, and ‘comparing material across categories allows you to figure out which themes seem to go together or contradict each other’. Therefore, when the primary categories had been derived, I further analysed the material within and across the categories and formulated an improved categorisation of the data by creating or eliminating certain categories. Subsequently, these categories were scrutinised a second time to identify connections at the conceptual level. Broader categories that incorporated teacher-perceived factors that influence their CS practices were formulated. Then, a detailed presentation and interpretation of the collected data, including direct quotations from the participants, in each category were noted. Through this process I was able to re-examine the original data and make sure that all evidence was grounded in the data. Then some further modifications were applied to these categories and a final list of categories was generated during this process.

3.6 Reliability and validity

Some actions and decisions were taken into account in the present study so as to minimize invalidity and to maximize validity. Data triangulation refers to ‘the combination of different methods, methodological perspectives or theoretical viewpoints’ (Miller & Brewer 2003, p.326). It is seen as an ‘attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint’ (Cohen et al. 2007, p.141). It is believed to increase
the degree of validity as ‘the multiple sources of evidence essentially provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon’ (Yin 2009, p.116-117). Multiple research methods were used to triangulate classroom data, as explained in the above sections, including semi-structured interviews, classroom observation, and follow-up SRIs. As the current study aimed to investigate multiple factors involved in EFL teachers’ language choices between the L1 and the L2 in the classroom. The two types of teacher interviews could enable me to explore teachers’ reported perceptions of this issue which provided the major component of research data. The follow-up SRIs which elicited the participants’ rationales or motivations for their CS use in the classroom provide triangulated evidence for the investigation of various factors that may influence teachers’ language choices between the L1 and the L2 in Chinese university EFL classrooms. Classroom observation helped to obtain insight into how the participants actually codeswitched in their everyday teaching practice in the EFL classroom, and to provide contextual information about the specific classroom interaction in which CS practices took place.

Building trust with the participants during the procedures of data collection also became a key issue in relation to the validity of this study. As outlined in Chapter 2, it became clear that L1 use could be a sensitive topic for the participants since it might not be recommended by their institution or might be regarded as ‘recourse to the L1’ by some people. Against such background, the participants were unlikely to reveal their perceptions easily and their teaching behaviours, especially with regard to the language choices between the L1 and L2, might change when being observed by the researcher. Therefore, to diminish the influence of the sensitivity of this research topic on the participants, establishing rapport and trust with them was significant in this study. First, the semi-structured interviews, conducted before the classroom observations, were seen as a good opportunity to familiarize myself with the participants. It was essential to convey to the participants that I was not an external ‘expert’ from a ‘Western’ university sent to evaluate their teaching competence, but a learner and listener who came to hear and understand their perspectives. The second key element was early engagement so that rapport could be built over time. This involved attending classes one month before the formal observation commenced, sharing break time conversations and showing interest in
the participants’ lives, and conducting multiple observations with audio-recording devices. Thirdly, keeping casual contact with the participants also helped to establish a trusting relationship.

Member checking (Creswell, 2009) was also an important step adopted in the early stage of data analysis. The transcripts of CS episodes and interviews (semi-structured interviews and SIRs) were given to the participants to check for accuracy and to provide any additional information where they thought necessary. Moreover, another crucial aspect related to data validity in the present study was the translation of the transcripts. As outlined in Section 3.5, the Chinese discourse in the CS episodes and the transcripts of both semi-structured interviews and SIRs were later translated into English. When I translated the interview transcripts, I focused more on the meaning of the texts rather than translated literally. Even though that approach risked producing English transcripts with a less oral or natural style, I decided to adopt it because literal translation of the participants’ spoken discourse in Chinese would be likely to produce too rigid and sometimes inaccurate English texts. Although certain characteristics of the spoken style were likely to reduce or disappear when they were read by others, I decided to give priority to the accuracy of translation. The translation was conducted separately by myself and a colleague who was a competent bilingual in Mandarin and English. I then checked for accuracy by comparing both translated texts. I made some changes and improvements according to her feedback so as to obtain the most accurate and appropriate translation. In order to help readers better understand the analysis in Chapter 5 and to give them the opportunity of translating for themselves, a translation of the Chinese utterances in each selected CS extract is provided in brackets. As some expressions and concepts in these CS extracts were related to specific Chinese culture and traditions, I focused on their core meanings and provided some extra information when necessary for a reader unfamiliar with the Chinese context. For example, in the following CS example, presented below, the Chinese expression ‘四级’ (Si Ji) was not translated according to its literal meaning which is ‘Fourth Band’. Instead, it was translated as ‘College English Test Band 4’. This is because in the Chinese ELT context, ‘四级’ is a short name for ‘大学英语四级考试’ (College English Test Band 4). In short, where it was felt that further information would assist those readers who might not be
familiar with specific concepts related to Chinese society and culture, this was provided.

I’ve checked your essays yesterday. 我昨天把你们上次写的作文都看了。有些人写的东西，里面的语法错误，简直太离谱了。你们这种态度，想要通过四级是不可能的 [Yesterday, I checked your essays of last time. Some of them, the grammatical errors are too serious. With such attitude, it will be impossible for you to pass the College English Test Band 4]. (T10O2)

3.7 Research ethics

The present study follows the Code of Good Practice in Research (University of Bath, 2011) and BERA (British Education Research Association) Guidelines for Ethical Research. With regard to the participants, after the initial email contact had been made and the number of available teachers had been identified, these ten teachers were provided with a more detailed participant information sheet (See Appendix 1) including a short introduction to the researcher, the general procedures of this study, what participants would be expected to do as well as the objectives that the research results would serve. They were also informed that due to the nature of the research itself, audio recording and classroom observation would be necessary, but anonymity and confidentiality would be ensured. That is, pseudonyms would be given to them in the research and no real names of the participants or the institution would be presented in the thesis.

The current study contained overt classroom observation, in other words, the participants were aware that they were being observed (Cohen et al., 2007). Even though participants would be more likely to behave naturally if they were unaware of the fact of being observed, it is important and necessary for the researcher to obey certain ethical principles of conducting observation research. In this study, all the participants and their students were informed they were being observed by the researcher and the potential influence that they might be exposed to during the observation process. Before my data collection process commenced, I gained
informed consent from all the participants (See Consent Form in Appendix 2). In addition, the participants were reassured that even though signing the consent form suggested that they were willing to participate in the study, they were still free to withdraw from the study at any time. Moreover, they were also informed that if they had any disagreement with the findings reported in this research, their perspectives could be included in the appendix of the thesis.

One important ethical concern of the present study is the sensitivity of the topic of L1 use by teachers in the EFL classroom. As reviewed in Chapter 2, English-only has been a widespread principle in ELT advocated by many mainstream institutions and experts. Previous studies within the research contexts similar to the context where the present study was located (e.g. Lu, 2015) suggested that many teachers were expected to use maximum English by their departments or they considered English-only as an ideal method in the EFL classroom at the tertiary level in China. In addition, some studies also identify teachers’ English proficiency as one factor influencing their language choices and suggest that some teachers lack confidence in their own language ability to conduct a L2-only lesson (e.g. Liu et al., 2004).

Against such background, the investigation of teachers’ practices and their perceptions regarding L1 use could be a very sensitive topic for the participants in the present study. For example, teachers might feel nervous or uncomfortable when being observed by a researcher with the intention of investigating their L2 and L1 use. Since their language choices were possibly associated with the ‘ideal’ pedagogic methodology, they would be likely to change their behaviours when being observed and had the potential to try to avoid the use of L1 in their teaching. Moreover, there was also a risk of tension and embarrassment when teachers were asked to report their reasons for their actual L1 use in the SRIs.

Careful consideration about these ethical issues was made when doing the research design. First, all the participants were explicitly informed that the ultimate goal of this study was to reveal the complexity of teacher’s L1 use in the L2 classroom rather than examine and judge their pedagogic methods, teaching quality and language proficiency. In addition, they were assured that their classroom performance would
not be reported to their institution. Furthermore, when giving them the consent forms, the participants were assured that complete anonymity would be ensured throughout the entire research, and the institution they worked in and the people involved in this study would be reported under pseudonyms. They were told that the collected data would be used as a confidential resource and would not be disclosed to other people or organisations except for the researcher herself and her supervisor. To that end, data were stored electronically in password-protected files on a single computer whose contents could only be accessed through a different password.

3.8 Reflexivity and positionality

One key aspect of qualitative research that distinguishes it from quantitative research is that the researcher plays an intimate role in both data collection procedures and data analysis (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Thus, ‘our own biases shape the research process, serving as checkpoints along the way’ (Bourke 2014, p.1). As Cohen et al. (2007) suggest, it is therefore incumbent on qualitative researchers to recognise and acknowledge their own inescapable position in, or influence on, the research. To understand and construct the researcher’s positionality, self-reflection or a reflexive approach is necessary. This involves researchers engaging explicitly and self-consciously with their stances and how they have influenced the research process (Greenbank, 2003). It also involves researchers being sensitive to their own cultural, political and social background (Bryman, 2012), and how this might impact on or shape the research. This section presents issues related to reflexivity and positionality that I encountered during the whole research journey. It describes how my own views and positions as a researcher might have impacted the design, data collection and the co-construction of data interpretation in the research process.

The process of examining my own positionality, or engaging in what Macbeth (2001) terms ‘positional reflexivity’, assisted me in this study to become more conscious of the part I played in shaping the research and to try to minimise the impact of my own biases. As I explained in Chapter 1, my personal past experiences influenced my decision to investigate CS use in the EFL classroom in China. What is more, my previous English learning and teaching experiences affected the ways of collecting
the data and interpreting the research findings. In addition to my previous experience, I was also aware of my relationship to and with my participants, as discussed below.

I brought to the data collection process an assumption that my teacher participants may view me from the perspective of a privileged outsider, as a PhD student at a UK university and in a powerful position as interpreter of their professional activities. For this reason, I consciously sought to make my participants feel comfortable: by learning how to listen, by building trust and rapport, and by giving participants choices, for example, about the language they wished to communicate in (See Section 3.3.3). However, while I was an outsider to the immediate community of which my participants were part, I was also an insider in a number of ways, which provided me with easier access to the educational context being studied as I was seen as ‘one of us’ (Berger, 2013). For example, I had insider knowledge of the educational system and ways of English teaching and learning in Chinese context, and as a fellow Chinese national, I shared the language, Mandarin, of my participants. This helped me to raise relevant and meaningful questions in the interviews, and communicate and understand participants both in the classroom observations and interviews. My previous identity as a college English teacher provided me with similar experiences with the participants, which I shared with them, thus further establishing security and rapport.

While I sought to be seen as ‘one of us’ in the sense of empathising with and demonstrating respect for the participants, I nevertheless deliberately situated myself as an outsider at some points in the research. Sometimes the change was simply because not all people are exactly the same and differences always exist (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). But I was also conscious of the potential risk resulting from an insider position in this study; specifically, the danger of subjectivity during the data collection and in the data analysis. Therefore, it was important to maintain an informed reflexive consciousness to contextualise my subjectivity in the interpretation and representation of collected data during the research process (Palaganas et al., 2017). While I had undertaken a short period of language teaching experience, I had not engaged in pre- or in-service training in China, unlike the majority of my participants. In addition, my identity as a PhD researcher from the
UK enabled me to bring an external view to the research and may have helped prevent me from being bounded by the familiarity with the culture. It also made me more conscious of the potentially negative impacts brought by my prior knowledge on data interpretation and thereby become more careful about selecting appropriate methods to reduce bias and increase validity.

In addition to gaining understanding about the participants' practices and perceptions about CS use, as a consequence of conducting the study I have also developed my personal knowledge and understanding of L1 and L2 use in language teaching, which has influenced my own teaching philosophy and approach.

3.9 Chapter summary

This chapter presents the methodology and methods adopted by the current research. This study investigates the extent to which and how the participating teachers used CS in university EFL classrooms and their perceptions of teacher CS within the same research context through a qualitative research approach. Data collection took around a period of eight weeks. Multiple data collection methods were employed in the present study, including semi-structured interviews, audio-recorded classroom observation and follow-up SRIs. During the data collection procedures, the questions of semi-structured interviews were piloted with two EFL teachers of YSU but were not included in the ten participants so as to make sure, for instance, the questions could be understood easily and the order of them was reasonable. I observed the participants’ classes as a non-participant observer and each participant was observed multiple times so as to minimize the influence of my presence in the classroom on the participants’ teaching practices. Each SRI was conducted as soon as possible after the classroom observation considering the accuracy of the participants’ memory. Data analysis consisted of three main parts. The coding system developed by Duff and Polio (1990) was used by the present study to do timed analysis of the transcripts of the participants’ classroom discourse. The participants’ CS instances were identified and analysed based on a variety of linguistic and pedagogical features. Thematic analysis was used to organize and interpret the participants’ perceptions of CS use in the university EFL classroom. The present study followed ethical
requirements from University of Bath Code of Good Practice in Research and BERA Guidelines for Ethical Research.
Chapter 4 Quantitative analysis of teacher CS practices

This chapter presents the quantitative analysis of the transcripts of lesson audios with a particular focus on the distribution of teacher CS practices. Section 4.1 reports the results from the timed analysis of L1 and L2 distribution in teacher talk. Section 4.2 provides a finely-tuned analysis of teacher CS utterances in terms of several linguistic features, i.e. grammatical structures, orientations, and pedagogical functions.

4.1 Overall percentage distribution of teacher L1 and L2 use

The timed analysis employed in this study provides evidence to address the Research Question 1: To what extent and in what ways do teachers codeswitch in the university EFL classroom in China? The timed analysis in this section refers to the analysis of teacher utterances by sampling the utterances at regular intervals. Adopting the method employed by Duff and Polio (1990), and as explained in the previous chapter, lesson recordings were coded into particular categories by stopping each recording every five seconds to make as objective a judgement as possible as to what the teacher was doing.

Table 7 presents the distribution of teacher language use. As each teacher was observed three times, the results in this table show the percentage of teacher L1/L2 utterances in three classroom observation sessions in total. The participants’ language use has been classified into five categories: L1, L1c, Mix, L2c, and L2. The L1 and L1c categories were both considered to be Chinese and, likewise, L2 and L2c were considered to be English. What Table 7 illustrates most clearly is the wide range in the amount of L1 used in the classrooms, which varied from 3 to 53 per cent. The average use of L1 in teacher talk was 22.7 per cent.
Table 7. Summary of teacher utterances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Chinese (L1 L1c)</th>
<th>Mix</th>
<th>English (L2c L2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T10</td>
<td>(41.9 +11.7) = 53%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>(7.3 + 31.6) = 39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>(38.1 + 3.1) = 41%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>(3.2 + 46.2) = 49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T3</td>
<td>(26.7 + 6.7) = 33%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>(12.5 + 45.5) = 58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T8</td>
<td>(25.4 + 5.4) = 31%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>(2.2 + 66.1) = 68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T9</td>
<td>(13.2 + 7.6) = 21%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>(5.7 + 73.3) = 79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>(12.6 + 5.9) = 19%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>(0.6 + 75.6) = 76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T6</td>
<td>(8.1 + 4.2) = 12%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>(3.1 + 82.7) = 86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T7</td>
<td>(2.4 + 6.7) = 9%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>(1.4 + 86.7) = 89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T5</td>
<td>(3.8 + 1.3) = 5%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>(1.7 + 93.2) = 95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T4</td>
<td>(1.1 + 2.1) = 3%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>(3.5 + 90.6) = 94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>4.35%</td>
<td>73.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Frequency of teacher CS by type

This section provides a detailed breakdown of participants’ CS behaviour. It first provides details for each participant across the different classes that were observed, and then categorises the CS activities into three different features: grammatical type (i.e. intra-sentential CS and inter-sentential CS), functional orientation (i.e. medium-oriented CS and message-oriented CS), and pedagogical function (e.g. giving instructions, eliciting or indexing rapport). The first of these was to facilitate a distinction that is frequently identified in the research literature, and which, it was expected, might be relevant to the rationales put forward by the participants in their SRIs. The functional orientation followed the categorisation system identified by Macaro (1998) as described in Chapter 2 and 3. The pedagogical function was selected as a key feature which is believed to help examine how teacher CS can be used in the EFL classroom.

4.2.1 Quantity of teacher CS across participants and lessons

The total number of teacher CS episodes identified by the L2 boundary approach in
the whole corpus was 810 with an average number of CS instances in each of the 30 classes observed being 27. This overarching statistic does not convey the considerable variation between the individual participants, however. The results show that T10 codeswitched far more frequently than the other participants. In her lessons, there were 177 CS episodes identified with a mean production per class of 57. In contrast, T7 engaged in CS only twice in total: as shown by Table 8, she did not use the L1 in the second classroom observation, and only codeswitched once in each of her next two lessons. These findings are consistent with the timed analysis to the extent that T10 used CS most frequently and T7 the least. However, a comparison between the different figures reveals that the numbers of CS instances do not necessarily link directly to the percentage of overall language production. For example, the figures in Table 8 show that T8’s classes have 98 CS episodes, and T3’s have 67 CS episodes, which appears to be a large difference. However, the timed analysis shows that they differ only slightly, 31 per cent to 33 per cent respectively. This difference provides support for Macaro’s (1998) argument that oral CS can be delivered quickly, thus a large amount of communicative content can be expressed without taking up much time as those exponents of L2 exclusivity have argued. Therefore, the findings provide support for at least one positive function of teacher CS, a matter that will be returned to in Chapter 7.

Table 8. Quantity of teacher CS across participants and lessons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Lesson 1</th>
<th>Lesson 2</th>
<th>Lesson 3</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T9</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T8</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As the table indicates, there was a wide variance in the number of CS instances across participants and also across the different classes. For example, the number of CS episodes in the third observation session (290) is higher than the former two sessions (236 and 284, respectively), which is also consistent with that shown by the timed analysis. The reasons for this did not form part of the study, but there could have been several factors influencing this variance, for example the lesson topic, the day of the week, or the changing attitude of the participant towards being observed.

### 4.2.2 Inter- and intra-sentential CS practices

Table 9 illustrates the distribution of inter/intra-sentential CS of the ten participants across all three classroom observations. The number of CS instances of each category used by each of the ten participants has been shown as a percentage of the overall instances of teacher CS. The findings show that in general, the participants used inter-sentential CS more often than intra-sentential CS. To be specific, in the ten participants’ lessons, there were 556 inter-sentential CS episodes and 254 intra-sentential CS episodes. This is also consistent with each participant’s lessons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Intra-sentential CS</th>
<th>Inter-sentential CS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T9</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inter-sentential CS refers to episodes when the participants shifted from English to Chinese at the sentence level. The findings showed that these Chinese sentences were either translations or reiterations of the preceding English discourse (Example 1) or that they provided new and additional information (Example 2, 3, 4).

1) What does this mean? He was allowed to sit up. 他被允许坐起来，坐在床上，对吧 [He was allowed to sit up, sit on the bed, right]? (T1O1)

2) These four letters stand for small office or home office. We call it SOHO, small office or home office. What is it? 一种小型办公，或者说家庭式的办公，比较适合谁？自由职业者。[a sort of small office or home office. Suitable for whom? Self-employed] Like a painter or designer. SOHO, small office or home office. Now your task. (T3O1)

3) We need a verb. 这句话缺少一个谓语，不能说一个名词充当一个谓语 [Your sentence doesn’t have a verb. (You) cannot use a noun to be a verb]. (T6O1)

4) This is a seven-star luxury hotel in Dubai. Do you know that? 就是迪拜的帆船酒店，高 321 米，它曾经是世界上最高的饭店建筑。但是最近已经被我们香港的丽斯卡顿饭店超过了 [It's) Burj Al Arab. It is 321 meters in height. It used to be the tallest hotel in the world, but recently it has been overtaken by Ritz-Carlton in Hong Kong]. (T6O1)

In addition, the findings revealed that intra-sentential CS was usually used by the participants to provide the L1 equivalents to L2 lexical items (Example 1 and 2). There were also other situations such as switching to a Chinese-specific lexical item (Example 3) or switching to elicit students’ responses (Example 4).

1) No.5 ended in vain, what does ended in vain mean? It means fruitless, 徒劳的，没有结果的 [fruitless], end in vain. (T3O1)

2) First, look at the Word Tips here. Adopt, adopt, here, adopt, for
instance, 养子，收养的孩子 [adopted kid, a kid adopted by somebody]? (T8O1)

3) Ah, you will choose 土豪金 [rich-redneck gold]. Well, if you, in the speaking test, you can just say ‘the golden colour’. (T1O1)

4) Be accustomed to, be accustomed 什么意思？[What does be accustomed mean?] (T1O1)

4.2.3 Medium and message-oriented CS

Table 10 illustrates the findings with respect to how the different orientations of teacher CS were distributed in the corpus. The overall number of message-oriented CS instances in total (424) was slightly higher than that of medium-oriented CS (386), although at the individual level, three participants, T3, T4, T9, used medium-oriented CS slightly more often than message-oriented CS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Medium-oriented CS</th>
<th>Message-oriented CS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T9</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T10</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In total</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.4 CS practices by pedagogical function

Teacher CS instances were classified into a variety of pedagogic functions according to the coding scheme described in the previous chapter. These functions are divided into four broad categories: Medium-oriented CS, Message-oriented CS and another two categories (i.e. Eliciting responses and Checking comprehension) which are an overlapped area of the former two types of functions. The functional category of medium-oriented CS is further divided into four sub-categories: Translation L2 to L1, Translation L1 to L2, Echoing in the L1 and Teaching grammar. Message-oriented CS consists of three functions: Giving instructions, Giving information and Indexing rapport. The analysis of specific CS extracts and the participants’ comments on their some of these CS extracts are presented in Chapter 5. This section is only focused on presenting the quantitative distributions of these functional categories across the participants. Figure 1 showed that in general the functions of teacher CS did not distribute evenly. For example, the function of ‘translation L2 to L1’ was the most frequently-used one in the participants’ overall utterances (31.5 per cent), followed by ‘giving information’ (30.2 per cent); while ‘translation L1 to L2’ (7.6 per cent) and ‘teaching grammar’ (2.5 per cent) were the least frequently-used two functions.

Figure 1. Functional distribution of teacher CS
An examination of the contexts in which such CS practices took place revealed that the participants’ teaching practices of translating L2 to L1 were often associated with a variety of language modifications typically associated with teacher discourse in the L2 classroom, and unlike most naturalistic discourse (Macaro, 2009). The patterns of teacher CS within the overarching function of translation from L2 to L1 were divided into four types, using a coding scheme adapted from the one established by Guo (2007, p.227-228). This adapted coding system distinguished between different types of teachers’ L2 input modifications before and after CS discourse. CS examples of each category will be presented in the following Chapter 5.

Type 1: CS immediately after the L2 target term or utterance
   a) Isolated CS
   b) CS; Paraphrase
   c) Others

Type 2: CS after repeating the L2 target term or utterance
   a) Repeat; CS
   b) Repeat; CS; Repeat
   c) Repeat; CS; Paraphrase
   d) Others

Type 3: CS after paraphrasing the L2 target term or utterance
   a) Paraphrase; CS
   b) Paraphrase; CS; Paraphrase
   c) Paraphrase; CS; Providing meta-linguistic information in the L2
   d) Paraphrase; CS; Repeat; Paraphrase
   e) Others

Type 4: CS after eliciting through the L2 the L2 target term or utterance
   a) Eliciting in the L2; CS; Repeat
   b) Eliciting in the L2; CS; Written form in the L2 provided
   c) Eliciting in the L2; CS; Highlight the L2
   d) Others
4.3 Chapter summary

This chapter reports the research findings concerned with the first question of the present study – To what extent and in what ways do teachers codeswitch in the university EFL classroom in China? It chooses several significant dimensions to present the extent to which CS was used by the participants in the EFL classroom in the research setting. In general, the research found that all of the participants codeswitched in the classroom but there were discrepancies in the amount of L1 use among individual participants. The study also examined how the participants used CS from the aspect of sentential levels (intersentential CS and intrasentential CS), the aspect of pedagogic orientations (medium-oriented CS and message-oriented CS) as well as the aspect of discourse functions. The results showed that all the participants’ CS practices took place at different sentential levels. Some of their utterances were intersentential CS while the others were intrasentential CS. The results also showed that all the participants’ CS use included both medium-oriented utterances and message-oriented ones. In addition, CS was used by the participants for various discourse functions and there were discrepancies in the frequencies of CS utterances across different functional categories.

This chapter has addressed the question about the extent to which and how the participants used CS in the EFL classroom. It suggests that CS practice is not uncommon in the participants’ classroom discourse, which provides a rationale and basis for the subsequent stages of the study. The use of statistical data in this chapter complements the analysis of specific CS extracts provided in the next chapter. It also helps to provide evidence to support the CS instances for the analysis in Chapter 5, and promote validity by demonstrating that the findings in the following chapter were not ‘cherry-picked’ to support a particular position.
Chapter 5 Functional analysis of teacher CS practices

The focus in this chapter shifts from quantifying teacher CS to a qualitative approach in an attempt to better understand the contexts in which teacher CS occurs with particular reference to its pedagogic functions in the classroom. In other words, this qualitative analysis sheds light on when and why teacher use of CS takes place.

The coding system for the functional analysis in this chapter was explained in Chapter 3. In the following sections, each of these functional categories are examined in detail together, illustrated by a number of relevant CS episodes selected from the data from the lesson recordings. Comments provided by the participants during the SRIs associated with specific CS episodes are presented together in this section. Note that as for some CS extracts and SRI episodes presented in this chapter, T=teacher, R=researcher, S=student.

5.1 Medium-oriented CS

Medium-oriented CS instances were classified into four major sub-categories, as presented in the following sub-sections.

5.1.1 Translation L2 to L1

‘Translation L2 to L1’ describes teachers’ CS practice of providing a Chinese equivalent of an English word or phrase. This was the most frequently occurring functional category of teacher CS found in the participants’ discourse (more details are provided in Chapter 4). Examples of how these four categories appeared in the data are provided in the following sub-sections. These CS instances demonstrate how the participants used the function of translation to teach L2 lexical items or phrases. In addition, even though translation (L2 to L1) generally occurred in the participants’ classroom discourse, the participants’ reasons for translating as well as their attitudes towards teacher translation were varied, with six participants more willing to translate an English lexical item into Chinese than others. Their perceptions of this
form of CS are also described in the examples of ‘translation L2 to L1’ below.

5.1.1.1 CS after the L2 target item

Within this type, there were no other L2 input modifications such as repeating, paraphrasing or elicitation between the L2 target item and its L1 translation. Several extracts from the data are presented below to demonstrate how CS was used after the L2 target item in different situations. These extracts show that teacher CS took place immediately after the participant had presented the target L2 item. Extract 1 below illustrates how T1 provided the Chinese equivalents when introducing the English phrase ‘bosom friend’.

Extract 1
S: We are good friends.
T: Ah, she is your good friend. Well, then you can say ‘you are bosom friends’. In Chinese we can say 知己, 或者是闺蜜 [close friends, or close female friends]. OK, please continue. (T1O1)

In this extract, T1 was listening to a student’s presentation on the topic of ‘friendship’. During student presentations, T1 often stopped them to provide language input, as she did in this extract. Immediately after providing the new phrase and the translation, she asked the student to continue with her presentation. In the SRI, T1 stated that her decision to introduce this phrase ‘bosom friend’ was because it occurred to her when she heard the student saying ‘we are good friends’ and thought her students might not know the synonym. T1’s explanation for providing the Chinese equivalents at that time instead of an explanation or paraphrase in English was that it would attract her students’ attention and thereby enhance their impression of this new phrase. T1 explained that she did not translate it as ‘好朋友’ (good friend) but used another two ‘fashionable’ words. According to T1, the Chinese word ‘闺蜜’ was a popular word among the younger generation, and thus translating ‘bosom phrase’ as ‘闺蜜’ was more likely to impress the students and help them to memorize it easily:
Its meaning actually is not complex. But I translate it on purpose. I know ‘闺蜜’ is a very popular word among young people nowadays. So I estimate it might help to leave a deeper impression on some students’ minds. Next time when they want to describe the idea of ‘good friends’ they might think of the phrase ‘bosom friend’ that we have learnt today. (T1S1)

In addition, T1 claimed that providing the Chinese equivalents directly would be quicker than providing a lengthy English paraphrase, especially in the middle of students’ presentations. Thus, it appeared that the decision to translate was also influenced by her desire to make this interruption of the student’s presentation as short as possible.

This type of ‘Translation L2 to L1’ also took place in T10’s classroom. In Extract 2 below, T10 used Chinese to clarify the meaning of the new word ‘parade’ which appeared in an episode of a listening comprehension recording. Unlike T1 in Extract 1, T10 not only provided its Chinese equivalent ‘游行’, but also further clarified its meaning in Chinese.

Extract 2

Here, parade, even though we translated it into ‘游行’ [You Xing],但是要注意，它跟游行的意思还是有差别的, (游行) 在我们国家游行是不被允许的, 是带有负面意思的, 但 ‘parade’ 在英语里面就是指像我们国庆阅兵那样的一种活动 [but pay attention, its meaning has some difference with You Xing. You Xing is not permitted in our country, as it has negative meaning, but ‘parade’ in English is similar to the events like military parade on the National Day]. OK, in the audio, we hear that one afternoon, Jack described a parade passing by. (T10O2)

In this extract, T10 initially translated the word ‘parade’ to ‘游行’ (You Xing), but asked the students to be aware that ‘游行’ in Chinese had two meanings: one was the same as the meaning of ‘parade’, while the more commonly used one referred to demonstration or protest, which was to some extent a cultural sensitive topic in
Chinese society. Interestingly, T10 did not avoid the L1 definition which might have led to misunderstanding but continued in Chinese to further explain this potential misunderstanding. In the SRI, she explained that she did not avoid giving the ‘inaccurate’ Chinese definition here because she knew some ‘词汇书’ (vocabulary books) clarified ‘parade’ by the Chinese word ‘游行’, and some students probably memorized this word by remembering this Chinese ‘equivalent’. She therefore felt it necessary to remind students of this difference at that moment.

In Extract 3 below, T3 was having a discussion with the students about the topic of ‘superstition’. T3 stated she used the Chinese expression ‘正月’ to clarify her English utterance ‘the first month of the lunar calendar’, and she also talked in Chinese to clarify the difference between the meanings of ‘uncle’ and ‘舅舅’ (The latter particularly refers to a mother’s brother). In the conversation between T3 and the student, T3 first repaired the student’s utterance ‘the first month’ as ‘the first month of the lunar calendar’ and then she gave its Chinese equivalent ‘正月’.

Extract 3
S: The first month, we can’t have our hair cut, the first month.
T3: Of the lunar calendar. Otherwise, it would be?
S: Be harmful to uncle’s heath.
T3: That’s right. To your uncle’s health (laugh). Have you ever heard of this? No? Actually, maybe here people believe that. During the first month of the lunar calendar, 正月 [the first month of lunar year], you’re not allowed to have your hair cut. Why? It’s said it will be harmful to your uncle, uncle here refers to? 舅舅, not叔叔, 对舅舅的身体不好, 对舅舅的健康不好 [Your mother’s brother, not your father’s brother. (It’s) not good to your mother’s brother’s health. (It’s) not good to your mother’s brother’s health]. (T3O1)

The SRI with T3 later indicated that she had translated this phrase for the purpose of helping the students to establish the exact connection between the word ‘正月’ and its L2 expression. T3 claimed that once such connection was built up, students would be able to think of the correct English expression when they wanted to describe the
concept of ‘正月’. In the SRI, she also linked it to L2 learners’ ‘Chinese thinking’, a perspective which was consistent with her views expressed in the semi-structured interview:

As for these students of intermediate levels, Chinese thinking is still inevitable. So, if I did not give its Chinese equivalent, they might not know how to express the concept of ‘正月’ in English. That is because their understanding of the phrase ‘the first month of the lunar calendar’ might still be ambiguous without connecting to its Chinese equivalent. (T3S1)

In Extract 3, T3 also switched to the L1 to clarify the word ‘uncle’. Linguistic gaps between Chinese and English seemed to lead to this CS, because ‘舅舅’ in Chinese is used to refer to mother’s brother particularly while another word ‘叔叔’ is used to mean father’s brother. In contrast, the word ‘uncle’ in English can be used to refer to either mother’s or father’s brother. As reported in the SRI, T3 used the L1 in this case to emphasize the meaning of ‘uncle’.

The above three CS extracts demonstrate how the participants used this type of CS to achieve their own pedagogic purposes. However, there was another form of CS that occurred after the introduction of the L2 item. That is, after switching to the L1 to translate a L2 lexical item, the teacher continued with other L2 input modifications, such as providing a paraphrase, examples or eliciting in the L2. Extract 4 below was an example of this.

Extract 4

Prop, you can say prop oneself up, 表示支撑，支撑起自己，for example, prop yourself on your elbow. (T1O2)

This CS extract was situated in the context of focusing on form: teaching the students the L2 word ‘prop’ and related phrases. The word ‘prop’ was one of the several new words in the Word Tips in the textbook. The Word Tips included a group of key words or phrases of the listening comprehension passages of each unit. At that time, T1 was explaining the language items which students would later hear in a recording.
This type of CS occurred very often in T1’s classroom discourse when she was teaching L2 words and phrases displayed in the Word Tips. In the SRI, she explained that she usually provided Chinese equivalents to these words or phrases for the purposes of clarification. She argued that it was very important for the students to have a clear understanding of these words, which would facilitate their completion of the subsequent listening comprehension tasks. She also felt that the students did not need to understand and memorize every new word uttered in the classroom, but they were expected to learn the words in Word Tips. T1 explained that she had translated to clarify: if the meaning of the word ‘prop’ was clear to the students, they could understand both the phrases ‘prop yourself up’ and ‘prop yourself on your elbow’ very easily.

5.1.1.2 CS after repeating the L2 target item

CS instances classified into this type shared a similar sequence of discourse to the previous type to some extent: medium-oriented CS after repeating the L2 target item. In Extract 5 below, T2 was having a discussion with the students about the topic of ‘successful people’. She first checked the students’ understanding of the phrase ‘the world of free nuclear weapons’ in English. When only a few students murmured the meaning of this phrase in Chinese, T2 repeated this phrase, waited for a few seconds, and then gave its Chinese translation, ‘无核世界’ (a world free of nuclear weapons).

Extract 5

Promote, promote, promote the world of free nuclear weapons, got it?
Promote the world free of nuclear weapons, 无核世界 [a world free of nuclear weapons], 核武器 [nuclear weapons], nuclear weapons. That is why President Obama got the Nobel Prize. (T2O2)

In the SRI, T2 revealed that the repetition of this phrase and the silence before she gave its Chinese equivalent were for the purpose of giving the students some time to consider its meaning. She argued that she preferred to provide a repetition of the L2 new word firstly before giving its Chinese equivalent instead of giving its Chinese equivalent immediately after this word, because this repetition gave the students
sufficient time to translate it into Chinese in their minds. This ‘self-translation’ by the students themselves she thought helped them to learn this phrase better:

I don’t tell them the Chinese equivalent straightaway. I often repeat it a few times. I feel during that period of time, more students might be able to think of its meaning, especially when they have learnt the word before. (T2S2)

The following two extracts were both from T3’s classroom discourse, which demonstrated how CS occurred after the repetition of the L2 target words (‘karma’ in Extract 6 and ‘superstition’ in Extract 7). However, in Extract 6, the Chinese equivalent to the word ‘karma’ was followed by a paraphrase in the L2, while in Extract 7, the Chinese equivalent to the word ‘superstition’ was followed by a repetition of this word. T3 claimed that the repetitions in both extracts were used to highlight the target items.

Extract 6
Karma? K-a-r-m-a. Karma. 是一种因果报应 [It is a sort of karma]. So if something bad happens to you and something good must happen to balance. (T3O3)

In the SRI, T3 claimed that:

I feel ‘karma’ is an unfamiliar word to them. And its meaning is a bit difficult. So I first gave the Chinese translation ‘因果报应’, and then gave the paraphrase. It’s a bit abstract concept. Two types of explanation, well, they might help learners to have a clearer understanding of this abstract word (T3S3).

Extract 7
Besides mysteries, we’ll talk about superstition. Superstition (T3 wrote this word on the blackboard). 迷，迷信 [superstition]. Super-, superstition. We’ll talk about superstition in English countries. (T3O3)
T3 indicated that the pronunciation of the word ‘superstition’ was rather difficult, which is why she repeated it several times. She also explained in the SRI why she gave this Chinese equivalent instead of paraphrasing:

This utterance occurred in the beginning of this lesson. The main topic of this lesson was ‘superstition’. It’s not necessary to spend much time explaining it in English such as showing pictures or giving examples at that time. We’ll spend a lot of time doing tasks related to the topic. So I told them its Chinese meaning directly. Just give them a general impression and let them know what the lesson is about. (T3S3)

5.1.1.3 CS after paraphrasing the L2 target item

The data indicated that a paraphrase in the L2 was often provided first before the participant switched to the L1 equivalent in some cases. Participants gave a number of reasons for their actions. The first, and most commonly reported, was to build up connections among a L2 word, a synonym which had been learnt previously, and its L1 equivalent, as Extract 8 below illustrates.

Extract 8
Then when were those friends may cause serious problems, maybe you, because he/she is your friend, and you would ignore it and this is detrimental to the company as a whole. What does detrimental mean? Detrimental, detrimental, do you know the meaning? Is harmful, harmful, 对什么什么是有害的 [Be harmful to something]. Detrimental to the company as a whole. (T3O1)

In the SRI, T3 recalled the situation and said that the students seemed to be confused about the meaning of ‘detrimental’ which was an unfamiliar word to them. When she asked twice what detrimental meant, nobody provided the answer. As a result, she made a second attempt, using the synonym ‘harmful’ which she expected to be a more familiar word to the students. T3 stated that she had noticed a small number of
students murmuring in Chinese, which suggested to her that they knew the word ‘harmful’. She went on to explain further:

The word ‘harmful’ is not a new word to them. As students usually memorize a word together through linking to its Chinese definition, I was thinking the provision of its Chinese meaning perhaps helped the students to retrieve it. Then through the more familiar word ‘harmful’, their understanding of the less familiar word ‘detrimental’ might be improved. (T3S3)

The second commonly reported rationale for CS after paraphrasing was the participants’ uncertainty about the accuracy of their paraphrase or explanation in the L2. As shown by Extract 9 below, T2 was explaining a term ‘Magic Realism’, which one student had said in her presentation to the other students in the classroom. T2 suggested in the SRI that ‘Magic Realism’ was a complicated term and that she was worried about her explanation in English.

Extract 9

Sorry, excuse me. Magic Realism, right? That is combination of reality and some, you know, fairy tales, you know, fairy tales. That is his writing style. 魔幻现实主义 [magic realism]. (T2O1)

In the SRI, T2 revealed:

Honestly, I feel my explanation in English is not good. I don’t know how to explain it in a more accurate way. I knew ‘fairy tale’ was not a proper expression. But at that time, I just couldn’t think of a better word. It’s too difficult to explain it in English. So I told them its Chinese equivalent. I thought a lot of students knew this concept, but in Chinese. In fact, my idea was supported by the students’ reactions. I saw some students nodded and one student even murmured ‘百年孤独’ [One Hundred Years of Solitude]. (T2S1)
T2’s words show that she was not confident when explaining this abstract and complicated term, but also that the students actually had had conceptual knowledge about this term in Chinese. As she explained, T2’s L1 use in this situation took advantage of the students’ pre-existing conceptual knowledge and helped to save time for the ‘not good’ explanation in English.

In Extract 10, T6 first paraphrased the meaning of ‘rewarding’ as ‘with good results’. However, when she heard one student translated it as ‘成果’ which is a noun in Chinese, she repeated the student’s words with a question tone. Then she repaired the student’s translation by providing a more accurate Chinese expression ‘富有成果的’.

Extract 10
The situation is like that. Then just one word, rewarding, actually we have learnt this word one year ago, rewarding means with good results (One student said ‘成果’ [good results]). 哎, 成果? [Uh, good results?] 准确地讲是富有，富有成果的 [More accurately, we should say being, being fruitful]. (T6O1)

It seemed that T6’s L1 use here was influenced by the student’s L1 utterances. This was supported by T6’s statement in her SRI:

I noticed the student’s translation was not accurate enough. The meaning of ‘成果’ [good results] is close (to the meaning of ‘rewarding’), but it’s a noun. Perhaps my paraphrase ‘with good results’ confused them. They might think it as a noun. So I gave the Chinese equivalent to highlight that ‘rewarding’ was (an) adjective. (T6S1)

Extract 11 below also demonstrates how T3 switched to the L1 after giving the L2 paraphrase of the phrase ‘rip off’.

Extract 11
And next rip off, what is rip off? Charge too much. 可以指要价太高 [It
can refer to charging too much]. Or, as we often say, (it) can refer to cheating somebody by charging too much money]. (T3O2)

In the SRI, T3 commented:

Actually, ‘charge too much’ is not accurate enough. But the full explanation in English was quite lengthy. You can see, I added two more accurate Chinese equivalents afterwards. In that case, I think the students are able to get the core message. (T3S2)

5.1.1.4 CS after eliciting through the L2 of the L2 target item

The participants in the SRI reported a range of reasons for switching to the L1 after eliciting in the L2. Four CS extracts and the participants’ comments on their own CS practices are presented below, with an explanation as provided by participants.

Extract 12

Then two phrases, the first one, up one’s alley, so a-l-l-e-y, alley, the meaning, alley? Alley? What is it? Alley? 指的是小巷、小街、胡同 [refers to narrow lane], alley. (T8O1)

In the SRI, T8 recalled that when she failed to receive active responses from the students, she was concerned about whether they had understood and so provided the Chinese equivalent. However, when T8 was asked why she did not attempt to provide L2 explanation or paraphrase for the word ‘alley’ but switched to the L1 straightaway she seemed to become rather defensive. This might be because of her anti-L1 attitude, as he had indicated in the semi-structured interview. She admitted her L1 use here might be due to the purpose of saving time:

Why not explain in English first? Why? It’s because giving Chinese equivalent here is very convenient. It saves time. If I explain in English. It must be very long. Well, how to explain alley in English? It’s a bit hard. How will you explain it? (T8S1)
In addition to her stated purpose of saving time, T3 provided another example. She asked the students to look at a picture of Stonehenge in their textbooks, and then attempted to elicit the students’ translation into its Chinese equivalent.

Extract 13
How about picture 5, picture 5? What is it? Stonehenge. What is Stonehenge? 巨石阵 [Stonehenge] right? 巨石阵 [Stonehenge]. It's also a kind of mystery. (T3O1)

She explained her actions in the subsequent SRI:

T: Isn’t it a common knowledge? Why didn’t they know about it?
R: So you mean they didn’t know this word?
T: I’m not sure. They didn’t give me any reaction. Or maybe only a few students said the answer. I can’t remember. I was not sure if they actually didn’t know or just kept quiet. But in case somebody did not know. I decided to tell them. I think it’s necessary to tell them. After all, it is a common knowledge. (T3S1)

There were other examples of this type of translation. Extract 14 shows how T1 switched between English and Chinese to help the students learn cognates.

Extract 14
We’ve already learned the word, custom, c-u-s-t-o-m, 表示风俗、习俗，是吧 [(it) means custom or habit. Right?] So here customary, as an adjective, it means? 合乎习俗的, 合乎惯例的, 或者, 惯常的 [customary]. OK, who can tell me? Here, in many countries, it’s not customary to call someone early in the morning. What does it mean? (T1O1)

In this extract, T1 first provided the L1 equivalent to the L2 word ‘custom’. In the SRI, T1 explained that the first L1 use was to help the learners review a learnt word.
She expected them to learn the new word ‘customary’ based on their knowledge of its cognate ‘custom’. T1 further explained:

Not only these two English words (are cognates), their Chinese equivalents are related. So, since they have already know custom means ‘习俗’ [custom], it’ll be easy to remember its adjective form ‘习俗的’ [customary] is customary. (T1S1)

5.1.2 Translation L1 to L2

This function is used to refer to teacher CS when the teacher provided an English equivalent or paraphrase for a Chinese word or phrase. Compared with the previous type, this function appeared far less frequently in the data. Three examples (Extracts 15-17) are presented below to illustrate this type.

Extract 15
My question is, most of us know 莫言 [Mo Yan, a Chinese novelist] is the first Chinese to win the Nobel Prize in Literature. Do you know any other awards in literature? 矛盾文学奖 [Maodun Literature Prize], Maodun Literature Prize, for this novel ‘蛙’ [Frog, the title of the book]. Frog. (T2O1)

T2 claimed that the students in her class were not motivated to practise English, and that she obtained few responses to her questions in the L2. She therefore felt that translating from the L1 to L2 was probably easier for the students, particularly when an item required not only linguistic but also conceptual knowledge. In the SRI, T2 noted:

Taking the example of talking about Mo Yan in English, they at least have to know Mo Yan is rewarded Maodun Literature Prize. If they don’t know that, it’ll be difficult for them to do the speaking practice even in Chinese. So, here, it’s like that, I give them some information and they just need focus on language forms. (T2S1).
With Extract 16 below, T3 suggested that the L1 word ‘自媒体从业者’ contained a particular connotation related to Chinese political and social context: ‘We Media’ is an organisation that the populace appears to trust more than official media. As she shared a similar cultural background to her students, T3 estimated that giving the Chinese word first might help to arouse the students’ interest and their pre-existing world knowledge and thereby to engage in her planned classroom activity more actively.

Extract 16
These four letters stand for small office or home office. We call it SOHO, small office or home office. What is it? 一种小型办公，或者说家庭式的办公，比较适合谁？自由职业者. [a sort of small office or home office. Suitable for whom? Self-employers] Like a painter, designer or 自媒体从业者 [We Media worker]. 自媒体 [We Media]. We Media. OK, SOHO, small office or home office. Now your task. (T3O1)

In another example, shown in Extract 17 below, T4 suggested in the SRI that saying the word ‘传单’ [flyer] first and then giving its English translation might help to attract the students’ attention. She explained that most Chinese learners were not immersed in an English-speaking environment and thus they adopted ‘Chinese thinking’. In other words, their English practice often occurred when they wanted to describe something in Chinese society. T4 considered that this word ‘传单’ was very close to the students’ real life; therefore, they possibly had thought about how to express it before, such as when preparing for an English speaking test.

Extract 17
I know a lot of students do part-time jobs. For example, 发传单 [distributing flyers], distributing flyers. Has anyone distributed flyers on campus? (T4O1)

She felt that when a word which was familiar to them was said by the teacher, the students might become more attentive as they might want to know how to say it in
English. T4 commented:

‘发传单’ [to distribute flyers] this phrase is very common in the students’ daily life. I know a lot of students are doing part-time work -- distributing flyers. Students tend to describe things that are familiar to their life in English speaking or writing activities, but (they) lack sufficient English equivalents. So when they want to express something, they might create by themselves. That’s what we call Chinglish stuff. (T4S1)

T4’s words suggested that she seemed to relate her CS use in this case to L2 learners’ ‘Chinese thinking’. However, T4 also revealed that she did not think about the reason for doing so before the SRI and her CS practice in this extract was perhaps subconscious.

5.1.3 Echoing in the L1

Teacher ‘echoing in the L1’ describes situations where the teacher echoes a student’s response in the L1. This type of teacher CS occurred in all the participants’ classroom discourse. A typical pattern of teacher-student interaction was found to be associated with teacher echoing in the L1: the teacher asked the students to provide the Chinese meaning of a certain L2 lexical item or phrase; students responded to this question in Chinese; the teacher then repeated this answer to show his/her agreement. For example, Extract 18 and 19 below illustrate how the L1 was applied in this type of classroom interaction in the EFL classroom.

Extract 18
T: They will spread diseases. Spread diseases. Spread diseases. Do you think so? Then, what does spread diseases mean?
S: 传播疾病 [spread diseases].
T: Yes, 传播疾病 [spread diseases]. Raising pets might spread diseases.
(T8O2)

Extract 19
T: Actually we heard a lot about Feng Shui. That means ancient Chinese, even now, many Chinese believe in Feng Shui. For example, the location of your house or the tomb. What does tomb mean?
S: 坟墓 [tomb].
T: 坟墓 [tomb]. The ancestor’s tomb will influence the fortune of your family. (T3O1)

Classroom observation revealed that in six participants’ classrooms the students used the L1 to respond to their teachers’ medium-oriented elicitation of the meaning of a L2 word or phrase. As shown by the above two CS extracts, both T8 and T3 elicited the students’ responses to the specific L2 words. The students in both extracts responded in the L1, which were repeated by their teachers afterwards. In the SRIs, the teachers indicated that they accepted their students’ L1 use in these situations. As T8 stated, she did not expect the students to provide a L2 paraphrase, which was too difficult for students at an intermediate level. Therefore, she accepted their L1 response and confirmed it by repeating it. Extract 20 below is another example which demonstrates how teacher echoing in the L1 is used by T3 three times.

Extract 20
T: Well, question 5, why does the passage mention heavy metal? What is heavy metal? What is it? Heavy metal? Metal?
S: 金属 [metal].
T: Yes, 金属 [metal]. Then, heavy metal?
S: 重金属 [heavy metal]
T: Right. 重金属什么? [heavy metal what?]. Does it refer to a type of music here? Very noisy.
S: 重金属音乐 [heavy metal music].
T: Great! 重金属音乐 [heavy metal music]. (T3O1)

In the SRI, T3 claimed that her reason for echoing in the L1 was to confirm the student’s answer and that it also gave other students the opportunity to check their own answers:
My main purpose here is to confirm the student’s answer. To let him sure that his understanding is correct. Additionally, it also helps the other students in my class. For those who got the same answer in their minds, it can be a confirmation, while for those with wrong answers, my repetition might help to attract their attention and correct their answers. After all, they are more attentive to my words than a student’s utterance. (T3S1)

The SRI data revealed that participants provided a range of interpretations for their echoing practices. Indeed, one participant (T10) provided distinctive reasons for the same response in two different situations, as Extract 21 and 22 below illustrate.

Extract 21
S: Raccoon.
T: How to spell it?
S: R-A-C-C-O-O-N.
T: What’s the Chinese?
S: 浣熊 [raccoon].
T: 啊，浣熊 [Ah, raccoon]. OK. Thank you. (T10O2)

Extract 22
T: What is the Pekinese? What kind of dog? Do you know what the English name for Beijing? Peking, right? Pekinese is a kind of dog that is raised by people in Beijing, Peking. So, what is Pekinese?
S: 京巴狗 [Pekinese].
T: Right. Pekinese refers to 京巴狗 [Pekinese]. (T10O2)

T10 revealed in her SRI that she actually did not know the word ‘raccoon’, which is why she asked the student ‘what’s the Chinese?’ When asked about her echoing, she appeared confused:

Why did I echo it? I can’t remember. I can’t think of any particular reason for doing it at that time. I guess it was unconscious. Cos actually, I didn’t know its meaning. Maybe I just cannot help but to echo the student’s words.
In contrast, T10 seemed to be more aware of her echoing in the L1 in Extract 22 as she attributed this to her concern that other students might not hear the student’s answer because the classroom was quite noisy at that time (Classroom observation showed that both extracts took place in a group activity: the students were divided into eight groups and each group were required to come to the front to write down their answers on the blackboard one by one. These extracts took place when T10 was talking to someone who had finished this task while students of group 8 and 9 were still doing their tasks). As T10 commented:

I remember it was quite noisy at that time. The student’s voice was very low, so I repeated her answer very loudly. Well, in case some students had not heard it. (T10S2)

In Extract 23 below, S1 and S2 provided the Chinese equivalent to the phrase ‘fitting room’ respectively. Both these words ‘试衣间’ and ‘更衣室’ can be understood as the same meaning to ‘fitting room’. Interestingly, T9 echoed both their words after giving confirmative feedback ‘对’ (correct; right).

Extract 23
T: Light jacket. So do you know what is a light jacket? For example, today I’m wearing a light jacket. Thin …
S: 薄型夹克 [light jacket].
T: Yes, 薄的 [thin], 薄型夹克 [light jacket]. Actually, it’s a dialogue between Jack and the salesman. Jack wants to buy a light jacket. In the video, Jack wants to try the jacket without going to the fitting room. Do you know this phrase?
S1: 试衣间 [Fitting room].
S2: 更衣室 [Fitting room].
T: 对 [Right], 试衣间 [fitting room], 更衣室 [fitting room]. Both are correct. Sometimes you may see the sign ‘fitting room’ or ‘try on’ on the
In the SRI, T9 was asked why she repeated the words of both students. She could not remember precisely; however, she surmised that one possible reason for doing so was to give her agreement and appreciation to both the students’ efforts through CS:

Perhaps I felt necessary to confirm both answers. When a student hears her teacher repeated his words as a sort of confirmation, he must feel encouraged. I feel happy now that I did so at that time. (T9S3)

5.1.4 Teaching grammar

Grammar explanations were found when the teachers were correcting students’ grammatical errors or when they were introducing new language. Five of the teachers agreed that they would use the L1 when explaining certain grammatical difficulties or at least employ L1 metalinguistic terms, as they believed it would help the students to have a clearer and more lasting understanding of the specific grammar points. The following extract (Extract 24) containing teacher CS practices show the specific circumstances where CS was used for the function of explaining grammar:

Extract 24

我们要用名词做主语。不是 thin is good, being thin is good. Is that grammatically correct? I mean for the sentence, 你如果这边放一个名词的话，这个句子还合乎语法吗？We need a verb. 这句话缺少一个谓语，不能说一个名词充当一个谓语。(T5O2)

In this extract, T5 was commenting on one student’s performance in a speaking activity, and he codeswitched with Chinese to clarify and highlight the correct grammatical usage after the student made a grammatical mistake. He first spoke English, and then switched to Chinese, pointing out a grammatical mistake made by the student, in an attempt to make his point clear and comprehensive. T5 also suggested in the SRI that he repeated the sentence ‘we need a verb’ in Chinese, not because he was worried about the students’ comprehension as it was a very simple
sentence, but because he wanted to highlight its importance, and to remind other students to avoid making the same mistake in the future. As he commented:

In Chinese language, adjective can be used as subject, so students tend to make such mistakes quite often, especially when they’re speaking, although, they are supposed to know about this grammatical rule. So I felt necessary to point it out particularly, and Chinese might help to make it very clear and explicit. (T5S2)

5.2 Eliciting responses

Using CS for elicitation was the second most frequently occurring functional category. The term ‘elicitation’ is used in this study to refer to something that the teachers said to prompt students’ active thinking, to allow them the chance to participate in the learning process by expressing their acquired knowledge or critical ideas about certain questions or topics. The findings suggest that teachers believed that L1 use was helpful from a number of perspectives, as described in this section.

One situation where CS was used to elicit student responses was when the teacher gave the L1 expression and asked the students about its L2 equivalent. Participants stated that this type of elicitation prompted students to contribute and participate in the learning process rather than listen to the teacher passively. Four teachers acknowledged the necessity of helping learners establish appropriate connections between L1 and L2 equivalents when it came to specific situations. For example, in Extract 25 below, it can be seen that T1 elicited L2 vocabulary through CS.

Extract 25

Sophomore means second-year college students. We have freshman, sophomore, and 大三学生怎么说 [How about third-year undergraduates]? 大三学生[Third-year undergraduates]? Yes, junior, j-u-n-i-o-r, junior. (T1O2)

In the SRI session, T1 reported that she assumed that most of students already knew
this word ‘junior’ as they had just learnt it in the previous unit in the textbook, and that by asking this question through CS she provided the students with an opportunity to recall this L2 word and produce it, further enhancing their memory of it. Moreover, T1 stated that she found it helpful for the students to establish connections between certain L1 and L2 equivalents, especially those concepts that were closely related to the students’ daily life such as ‘junior’ in this case. She explained that students tended to talk about something related to their everyday life in the speaking activities; however, as they lived in a Chinese social context, and were more likely to think predominately in Chinese. Therefore, she felt it was necessary to make the students realise how the equivalent L2 expressions related to those concepts or ideas stored or processed in their minds through Chinese.

In addition, four teachers noted that the questions for eliciting were important, and if the question itself was not comprehensible, for instance, if it was too abstract or complicated, it would prevent students from producing fruitful ideas. They argued that in such cases, using Chinese to create comprehensible questions was likely to facilitate the generation of better ideas by the students, and would therefore improve the quality of L2 output as students were able to spend more time thinking about the question rather than struggling to understand it. Extract 26 below demonstrates how T1 clarified her question through the use of CS so as to successfully elicit students’ ideas.

**Extract 26**

T1: So generally speaking, the characteristics of Chinese people are? 从名族性格上, 中国人总体上更 [In terms of the national personality, Chinese people are]?

S: Shy; conservative; gentle. (T1O2)

Furthermore, two teachers also stated that using simple and short Chinese expressions in some situations could achieve the purpose of provoking students’ active thinking about their teacher’s utterances more quickly than when using English. Extract 27 below illustrates this.
Extract 27

…… 你的背景和你呈现的字体之间要有一个 sharp contrast [there should be a sharp contrast between your words and the background]. (这) 叫什么啊 [What’s it meaning]? (T10O2)

In the SRI, T10 indicated that she thought it was important to arouse students’ attention and thinking through elicitation. She also claimed that it was quicker and more convenient to achieve this through the use of Chinese. For example, she said,

Such elicitation is quite necessary during teaching, but if I keep using English to ask, for example, ‘What does this word mean?’ or ‘Do you know about the meaning of sharp contrast’, it will seriously interrupt my talking and reduce teaching efficiency. It’s too lengthy. But if I said, ‘refer to?’, they probably can’t get my point. (T10S2)

The final CS extract in this section (Extract 28) demonstrates how the L1 was used by T3 to elicit her students’ responses.

Extract 28

T: …有一句俗语叫什么来着? [There’s an old saying? What is it?] (One student murmured). Ah, that’s right! 孟才智 [student’s name], tell us.

S: 正月剃头死舅舅 [If you have your hair cut in the first month of lunar year, your uncle would die]. 原来应该是新旧的旧 [Initially the Jiu (uncle) was Jiu (old)]. (T3O1)

Both T3’s question ‘有一句俗语叫什么来着?’ (There’s an old saying? What is it?) and the student’s answer ‘正月剃头死舅舅’ (If you have your hair cut in the first month of lunar year, your uncle will die) were said in Chinese. In her SRI she explained that she did not expect a response in the L2 as she had asked for a Chinese saying. Also, CS use in this extract seems to reflect T3’s pragmatic attitude towards L1 use in her teaching and her emphasis on building up active classroom interaction. In the SRI, she said:
Here, my primary purpose was to provoke their interest in this topic and provide them more opportunities of engaging in this discussion on this topic of ‘superstition’. L2 input or practice was in the second place. By asking something we were all familiar with, their interest was aroused. And once they felt interested, their engagement in L2 practice in the latter would not be a problem. (T3S1)

5.3 Checking comprehension

Another pedagogical function of teacher CS which was identified by the teachers during the SRI sessions was that of checking students’ comprehension. The teachers acknowledged the need to use CS for checking whether or to what extent the students had understood certain messages conveyed by the teachers during the classes. The findings show that there were two major patterns of the teachers’ CS practices in terms of comprehension checking:

- Asking questions such as ‘Is it clear?’ to elicit students’ short responses
- Asking questions such as ‘What does this word mean?’, ‘How to say X in English?’, ‘Could you tell me what happened here?’ to elicit students’ expanded responses

Classroom observation showed that teacher’s questions for checking comprehension were sometimes expressed in Chinese and sometimes in English. However, in some participants’ classroom discourse (e.g. T10 and T6), there was no overall tendency for these questions to be asked in English most of time. This evidence differs from the observation made by Macaro (1998) and Guo (2007). Macaro (1998, p.195) claimed that ‘questioning is rarely couched in L1’ and ‘questioning techniques are so ingrained in teacher and pupil interaction that the latter are expecting them automatically as discourse forms’. Guo (2007, p.254) supports Macaro’s argument, arguing that ‘it seems that, with a few exceptions, there is no need to ask a question completely in L1’. In the SRI, the participants were asked about their views on this issue. Two participants did not appear to have consciously considered their L1 use with regard to this function. For example, when T5 was asked to comment on his CS
practice, i.e. ‘听清楚了吗?’ (Do you understand?) at the beginning of a speaking activity, T5 seemed to be slightly embarrassed about his L1 utterances as if he had been caught out. This might be related to his strong anti-L1 attitude, as he had reported in the previous semi-structured interview. He also appeared unconscious of why he asked the question in the L1 which was obviously inconsistent with his claimed ‘L2-only’ principle:

R: Here, you said in Chinese: ‘听清楚了吗?’ (Do you understand clearly?)
Why do you think for this L1 use?
T: Ha ha, let me think about it. Normally, I don’t use Chinese in my class.
Here, here. I haven’t realized it (before the SRI). It’s a bit strange to listening to your own voice.
R: Ha ha, yeah, it is a bit strange.
T: I guess perhaps at that time the classroom was a bit noisy. You see, I asked ‘Are you clear?’ at first. Maybe the students were distracted. I then switched to Chinese to repeat it. (T5S1)

In contrast, the other participants seemed to be more conscious about their L1 use. For example, T3 stated that both the L1 and L2 were acceptable for the pedagogical purpose of checking students’ comprehension; however, the L1 seemed to be more effective as it enabled the utterer (the teacher) to strengthen the tone and to emphasize the importance of the utterances, and thereby was more likely to obtain more responses from the students. For example, in Extract 29 below, taken from T10’s observed class session, the teacher used Chinese to check students’ comprehension and successfully obtained confirmation that they had understood.

Extract 29
都清楚了吧 [All you guys get it]? 是不是都清楚了 [Are you all clear]?
啊，看来都清楚了 [Ah, all you seem to get it]. (T10O1)

In the SRI session, T10 recalled that after asking the questions twice in Chinese, she noticed many students nodding their heads and a few students sitting in the front replied to her ‘听清楚了’ (I got it) very loudly, which made her feel very certain
about the students’ clear understandings of her words. She explained that the students tended to be more willing to respond to her questions when they were asked in Chinese, perhaps because using Chinese helped to strengthen her tone and highlight the importance of the utterances. For example, she said,

When I was not sure if they had been following me, I tended to ask the question ‘is it clear’ quite often. I usually asked in English, and sometimes I did use Chinese too. In this case, both languages were accepted by myself, but if I wanted to strengthen my tone, I might choose Chinese. (T10S1)

The following CS extract (Extract 30) demonstrated a situation where the teacher did not succeed in obtaining students’ responses to her comprehension-checking question in Chinese, but still reflected the reason given by T6 for her CS practice in Extract 31.

Extract 30
We start from group one and try to avoid repetition, avoid repetition, try to avoid repetition, are you clear? 听清楚了没有? 不清楚的现在问啊 [Ask now if you are not sure]. Well, 我的意思是每个人说的时候尽量说不同的词，不要重复啊 [I mean, try to give a different word, and not to repeat what others have said]. 从第一组开始吧 [Let’s start from group one]. (T6O1)

In this extract, T6 was checking the students’ understanding about a particular instruction for a classroom activity. The students needed to brainstorm English vocabulary about animals and tell the whole class one by one. In her SRI session, T6 recalled that she checked with the students in English first but had not received many responses. After that she asked them again in Chinese, but only a few students nodded showing their confirmation; thus she felt necessary to clarify this instruction in Chinese. T6 claimed that using the L1 in this situation was to provide a second chance for the students to give their responses, and meanwhile to help herself to attain a better understanding of the students’ comprehension. T6 explained that when the students did not give active responses to her initial comprehension-checking
question in English, she was not very sure whether the students had already understood but were reluctant to give explicit responses, or whether they indeed had understanding difficulties. When many students still did not show their confirmation to her later question in Chinese, she was to some extent more convinced that the majority of students had not completely understood.

The above two extracts showed the teachers used CS to check students’ comprehension by asking simple questions. Checking students’ understanding of a word (See Extract 31) or asking them to retell the messages (See Extract 32) was another way in which teachers used CS for comprehension checking. With regard to Extract 31 below, T8 explained in the SRI that her purpose here was to make sure that the students had completely understood the meaning of the word ‘dub’.

Extract 31
You can just give voice to the video, or in other words, just dub, d-u-b, just like I’m playing the video, right? And your job is just to provide voice, for, for the characters. You see, it’s mute right? And you job is just to provide voice. So actually, we have three dialogues, right? You can choose anyone of them. What you need to do is to practice with your partner. Yes? Dub, d-u-b, 什么意思啊? [What does (it) mean]? Dub. 为电影配音 [Adding a new soundtrack with actors giving a translation to a film]. OK, we have all the lines, dialogue one, dialogue two and dialogue three. Just speak as fast as you. You need to follow the video. (T8O1)

Classroom observation in this class indicated that when only a few students provided explicit responses, T8 tended to switch to Chinese to check their understanding again: ‘什么意思啊?’ (What does (it) mean)? In this case, she waited for a few seconds, repeated the word ‘dub’ in a louder voice, and switched to Chinese again to explain the meaning of this word: ‘为电影配音’ [Adding a new soundtrack with actors giving a translation to a film]. The findings of classroom observation were supported by what T8 reported in the SRI. According to T8, the main purpose here was to make sure that the students had understood clearly rather than help them focus on form:
R: Here, you asked ‘what does it mean’ in Chinese. Why did you do that?
T: I wanted to know if they had got it. Well, here, the students seemed confused. I was not sure whether they had understood my requirements. I thought I had explained very clearly, even though I talked in English. But not many students nodded which they usually do when they’ve got my messages. It was a key message. If they couldn’t get it, they might fail in this task.
R: I remember in some previous extracts, you asked similar questions. Are there any differences?
T: As I said before, in previous extracts, I wished to attract their attention to the language, to the word, and to help them memorize it. But here, I didn’t think so. ‘Dub’ is not a common word. It was the first time to mention it in my class, so actually I didn’t expect them to memorize it at the first sight. (T8S1)

Extract 32 below demonstrates another situation where CS was used for the purpose of checking understanding. T10 claimed that using Chinese in such circumstances helped to eliminate the possibility that students failed to provide accurate answers because they had not understood the question itself. This then helped T10 to figure out the students’ actual comprehension levels.

Extract 32
OK, these are all the requirements for this homework. Are you clear about them? 我请一个同学来说说看吧 [Let me ask one student]. 李明，请你把刚才我所讲的要求复述一遍 [Li Ming, retell the requirements I just said please]. (T10O1)

T10 reflected on her CS practice shown in this extract and said that she preferred Chinese rather than English when checking students’ comprehension in such a case, as it helped to avoid the potential issue caused by students’ lack of comprehension about the English question itself. She was then able to focus on addressing the primary task in this situation, which was checking comprehension about particular messages.
5.4 Message-oriented CS

Message-oriented CS instances were classified into three major sub-categories, as presented in the following sub-sections.

5.4.1 Giving instructions

Another function suggested by the teachers for their CS practices was giving instructions. ‘Giving instructions’ in this study was used to refer to two situations: one was giving procedural directives, which normally requested an action of the students, and the second was giving relatively complicated instructions for conducting speaking or listening activities. In the SRIs, the teachers reported their reasons for using CS to give instructions in specific situations, as the following extracts illustrate.

Five teachers suggested two benefits of using CS when giving procedural directives. They argued that such instructions were normally very simple, and thus they used the L1 not for worrying about students’ comprehension but for drawing students’ attention more effectively. For example, in Extract 33, T2 switched to Chinese to draw the students’ attention to the required page. As she said in the SRI:

I don’t know about other teachers’ classes, but in my class, there are several students, you know, they always can't get to the right number, no matter how many times I’ve told them. You have to, you have to use Chinese to tell them very clearly, otherwise, your (English) words are just as flying passed their ears. (T2O2)

Extract 33
Now turn to page 51, page 51. We will listen twice, we will listen twice to fill in the table in page 51 about their experience of starting the company. Page 51, 51. 翻到第51页。听到了没有 [Turn to page 51. Have you got it]? (T2O2)
In addition, three teachers also stated that some Chinese expressions relating to procedural instructions were simpler and shorter than their equivalent English expressions as if they used English, they would have had to produce complete sentences, as the following extract shows.

Extract 34

Exchange your role. 交换 [Exchange your role with your partner]. (T5O2)

In the SRI, T5 recalled that this CS practice occurred in the middle of a speaking activity where all the students were undertaking conversation tasks in pairs. He explained that at that time it was very noisy in the classroom, and when he gave the instruction of ‘exchanging roles’ in English, only a couple of students heard him, while most students were still engaged in the tasks. However, when he switched to Chinese to give this instruction again, he found that more students paid attention. T5 suggested that using Chinese seemed to be more likely to attract students’ attention, especially in a noisy environment. In addition, T5 also noted that Chinese expressions seemed to be more concise sometimes:

I only needed two words ‘Jiao huan’ (translated as ‘exchange’), instead of saying ‘Jiao huan ni men de jue se’ (translated as ‘exchange your roles’), as the students could get my point. But, you see, when I speak English, I usually say it in a complete form, as the students might not understand. Meanwhile, as L2 input, I felt it better to provide complete and grammatically correct utterances. (T5S2)

Five teachers suggested that they preferred to use Chinese to clarify new or complicated activity instructions to ensure students’ clear comprehension. They argued that it was particularly significant for all the students to fully understand the requirements, otherwise it could influence the outcomes of these activities. For example, T9 suggested that as communicative activities involved extensive peer interaction, the individual student’s lack of comprehension would impact on other students’ participation. There were many examples where CS practices occurred for
explaining complex instructions for class activities, but one has been selected for illustrative purposes below.

Extract 35
Then for two minutes, tell you partner all the information you’ve got. Are you clear? 我们刚才是用对话的形式，接下来我们再换一种形式，每人用一到两分钟的时间，快速地将你有的信息说出来 [We did conversation practices in pairs, and next we will change to another type. I need you to talk all the information you have collected within two minutes]. Is it clear? (T5O2)

In the SRI, T5 firstly stated that he usually gave routine task instructions in English, unless the students had comprehension difficulties, as shown in this situation. He recalled that he failed to obtain much reaction from the students after checking the students’ comprehension (‘Is it clear?’), so he switched to Chinese to further explain the instruction. T5 stated that he noted that some students looked very confused by this instruction, perhaps because it was his first time that he had introduced this type of task in the speaking session, so he decided to use the L1 to repeat his instructions:

This is a new type of activity. We’ve never done before. We usually do peer conversation practices every lesson, so this was new to them. I wanted to make it very clear at the first time, so I don’t need to explain again next time. It’s very important information. I have to make sure everyone gets it. Only in that way, this activity can achieve its expected purpose. (T5S2)

In another situation, T1 was providing complicated instructions for the students in a listening comprehension activity, as shown in Extract 36.

Extract 36
Ah, centimetres. 因为我们平常不太习惯用 inches, 英寸. 但是他后面又用了一个 centimetres, 给我们一个感觉啊, 到底是多少? 那他讲到了这个模特的三维换算成厘米, 那就是 C 里面所讲到的 [As we don't usually use ‘inches’, inch. But he used ‘centimetres’ later, which gave use a
confusing feeling. What is it exactly? If his information about the model’s measures is transferred to centimetres, that will be the option C]. (T1O3)

In the SRI, T1 recalled that this question was a little challenging for the students as it required both a clear understanding of the listening material and some calculation techniques. Therefore, she said that when some students chose the wrong options, she chose to use Chinese to help them to distinguish the differences between each option, and to compare them with what was said in the listening material.

5.4.2 Giving information

The functional category of giving information involving the use of L1 in the participants’ utterances is classified into the ‘message’ end of the continuum of teacher CS.

5.4.2.1 Outside plane shift

The concept of ‘outside plane shift’ was first used by Macaro (1998, p.187) and has been adopted here. It refers to teacher utterances that include ‘information not directly related to the current topic of discourse’. According to Macaro (ibid), such utterances may switch to ‘another temporal plane’ (e.g. shifting to a previous lesson or a forthcoming examination) or to ‘a different topic or syllabus content’. In this study, the participants’ CS practices of this functional category were found to be mainly related to managing administrative tasks.

‘Administrative tasks’ in this study mainly refer to those classroom issues which are not directly related to lesson content in the syllabus or textbooks, such as giving assignments, making announcements, and checking students’ attendance. Four teachers in the semi-structured interviews agreed that they used Chinese to manage administrative issues in order to ensure their students’ accurate comprehension within the time available, as the following extracts illustrate. Extract 37 below relates to a situation where one participant used Chinese to clarify the homework requirements.
Extract 37

你们俩要记住了，一定要在下个礼拜之前能告诉大家是关于哪一部电影或小说的解读 [Remember that you guys must let us know about which movie or novel that you want to share your perspectives]. And of course there will be more communication. 这样我们课堂上才会有更多的交流 [(Only if you have done it like that,) we’ll be able to have more communication]. 如果 (其他同学) 没能够 (也) 看, 我们 (课上) 就没法交流 [If other students haven’t watched it, we won’t be about to discuss it (in the class)]. (T2O2)

T2 recalled in her SRI session that the she was very disappointed about the outcomes of this L2 activity – one student shared his/her point of view about a certain movie or novel with the whole class – as the student had not informed the other students which movie he was going to talk about which could have given them the opportunity to watch it or at least to acquire some basic information about it; thus, she felt it was necessary to switch to Chinese to clarify her requirements for this homework given to the students, and to draw their attention to its importance. As she stated:

In case the students haven’t realized its importance for the outcome of our next lesson, I deliberately said it again in Chinese. (T2S2)

T2 also pointed out a very interesting reason for her CS practice in this situation, which was not mentioned by the other teachers. She explained that in her class a couple of students attempted to find an excuse for their low-quality homework on the basis that they had not understood the teacher’s requirements as they were given in English. As a consequence, she would usually use Chinese to give homework or to clarify the English requirements so as to eliminate the possibility of students using it as an excuse for what she felt was their laziness.

Four participants also stated that CS for managing administrative tasks was more convenient, as a lot of expressions or concepts involved when assigning homework or making announcements were closely related to the university context or the broad
social context where the students live, and it was difficult to translate them into English properly without causing misunderstanding among the students. The following extract illustrated T10’s CS practice when making an announcement in the class.

Extract 38
有一个通知啊，我们现在开设了一个新的专业，英语教育。有兴趣的同学可以申请，作为你的本科的二学历，可以去教务系统上面报名
[This is a notice that our department has now launched a new subject, EFL Education. You can apply for it if you are interested. It could be as your second degree. You can go to the online administrative system to apply].
(T10O1)

In the SRI, T10 explained that some Chinese expressions such as ‘教务系统’ (‘the online administrative system’) were difficult to translate as they were closely associated with the specific Chinese university context, about which teacher and student shared a common understanding. She therefore contended that it was not necessary for the teacher to insist on using English, as convenient communication and successful information transmission were more important than providing L2 input in such circumstances.

Furthermore, three participants noted that although many students were able to perform very well in various speaking tasks in the classroom, most of them were still not proficient with real communication, including those related to addressing certain administrative tasks. They therefore suggested that in such circumstances, Chinese was a more suitable language for the teachers to use. They felt that it would increase communicative effectiveness, and would not bring the students too much stress or even embarrassment.

For example, in once class, T3 talked to the class monitor in Chinese directly (Extract 39), rather than translating or repeating the English utterance in Chinese, although this was a very common pattern of her CS practices in many other situations.
Extract 39
对了，班长，那个 XXX (student’s name) 怎么又没来上课？是不是在宿舍睡觉 [Ah, class monitor, why was XXX absent again? Was he still sleeping at the dormitory now]? (T3O3)

In the SRI, she explained that in this situation, she was talking with an individual student (the class monitor), and she assessed that the student would not be capable of accomplishing this type of conversation with her in English.

5.4.2.2. Inside plane shift

The functional category of ‘Inside plane shift’, a term adopted from Macaro’s (1998, p.188) study, refers to teacher CS utterances which were ‘related to the procedures and pedagogy of the immediate topic and/or discourse’. According to Macaro (ibid), these codeswitches ‘do not shift the attention of the learner away from business in hand but provide further contextual information or repair such that the business in hand can proceed more fruitfully’. He also argues in the same study that these utterances were related to teachers’ planned objectives of a lesson or a part of it. In the present study, teacher CS practices within this functional category can be classified into two major types: CS practices which transmitted information on exam strategies and those which contained information on the lesson topics, especially historical and culture-related topics.

Extract 40 demonstrates teacher CS when discussing exam strategies. ‘Exam strategy’ here is used to refer to the instructions or techniques given by the teacher for helping students complete questions in listening comprehension exercises.

Extract 40
T: Around 34, 24, 34, the chest, the hip, the thigh, 也有的同学说 C 和 D 里面好像也听到了. 那个单位就不是 inches. 是什么 [I heard some students were saying that they had heard some similar information to the option C and D. Their measurements are not ‘inches’ but…]?
As shown in Extract 40, the L1 was frequently used by T1. According to T1, it was more convenient and efficient to use Chinese, as her primary purpose was to giving clear instructions so as to help the students to find out the right answer to this multiple-choice question rather than worry about L2 input.

The second aspect of Inside plane shift was those CS utterances containing information on the lesson topics, particularly those historical and cultural topics, as shown by Extract 41.

Extract 41

When we talk about images. 我们在学文学的时候，或者作文的时候，老师在讲的时候，这有一个什么样的形象，用一个形象去代表一个国家的历史 [When we are learning literature or literature writing, when the teacher is teaching that, there is a sort of image, to represent a nation’s history]. For example, in China when you walk around some ancient places always find a turtle like creature very big. 一个很大的乌龟形状的驼着一个纪念碑 [A giant turtle, and there is a memorial on its back]. 很多地方都可以看到 [You may see it in many places]. 那就是一个很重要的 image [That is an important image]. When does the turtle come from …

(T10O2)

In the above extract, the L1 was used extensively by the teacher to transmit information related to Chinese culture. In the SRI, T10 explained that she wished to discuss some Chinese cultural events relevant to the specific unit topics because students were more familiar with them than the content in the textbooks which were
mainly about cultures of the L2-speaking countries. In addition, she thought it might help to improve students’ competence in cross-cultural communication. For example, when talking about the topic of ‘images’, T10 frequently switched to Chinese to talk about something related to Chinese culture. She indicated that a number of Chinese-specific terms did not have English equivalents, but she wanted to provide more information about this topic and help students to understand it more deeply and thoroughly, and felt that the use of the L1 would achieve this.

5.4.2.3 Evaluative feedback

The findings indicated that giving feedback through CS could take two forms: echoing students’ L1 utterances as a form of acknowledgement, and providing elaborated feedback for evaluating students’ performance. A number of extracts are provided below which illustrate teacher CS practices with regard to evaluative feedback.

The first type of circumstances where CS was used for giving feedback was when teachers echoed students’ L1 utterances to show their agreement, as the following extract illustrates.

Extract 42
Teacher: Most popular one, Rush Hour, you know?
Students: 尖峰时刻。
Teacher: 对，尖峰时刻。(T2O2)

In the SRI, T2 reported that she was a little surprised when she heard some of the students provide the movie’s Chinese name. She regarded her CS practice in this situation as acknowledging the students’ contribution and efforts:

Everyone is happy to hear that someone else agrees with his idea. When I repeat the student’s answer, he will feel his practice and ability received the teacher’s approval, which will be an encouragement for his continual engagement. (T2S2)
The second type of circumstance was when CS was also used to provide comments on students’ performance in classroom activities. Two teachers suggested their CS use in such circumstances were mainly to promote student comprehension, as this might influence the improvement of their performance in the future activities. For example, Extract 43 below shows how CS was used by T9 to provide feedback and suggestions on one student’s performance in a presentation activity.

Extract 43
Just change those texts to key words or phrases, that is about the text, 避免第一个大段的文字 [firstly no long texts], and the font, 字体 [font], 不小于 28 号字 [no smaller than 28], and the lines, 行数 [number of lines], 在一行的幻灯片上展现的行数, 不要超过 6 行,不要超过 6 行 [the number of lines on each slide, no more than six, no more than six]. (T9O1)

5.4.2.4 Reprimand

The pedagogical function of reprimanding through the use of CS was observed in some classes. Participants reported that the function of reprimanding mainly occurred when teachers managed classroom discipline through CS, or when teachers expressed their disappointment or anger with some students’ performance in classes through CS, as the following extracts illustrate.

Extract 44
Well, let’s look at the first part of today’s lesson. Unit 6, the truth can be stranger than fiction in page 92. Ah, you two in the back, please pay attention to page 92, 92. 哎，后面的两个同学注意了，我们已经在看课本（的内容）了。不要再交头接耳了[Well, you two in the back please pay attention. We’ve already been looking at (the content) in the textbook. Don’t talk with each other anymore]. (T8O1)

In the SRI, T8 recalled that at first she attempted to ask the students to stop talking by repeating her instructions ‘please pay attention to page 92’ in English; however
when she felt it was unsuccessful she switched to the L1 to warn them. T8 explained that sometimes if teachers kept using the same language (i.e. the L2), some students might be off-task. She felt switching to the L1 was likely to attract those students’ attention more effectively:

I repeated the page number many times, but they were still talking. When I switched to Chinese, they suddenly stopped talking. I guess it was because I switched to Chinese. If I said in English, like, ‘don’t talk please’, it could be too mild and polite. I don't know why, but I just feel Chinese is more powerful. (T8S1)

In addition to reprimanding distracted students and controlling discipline, CS was also used when teachers expressed their disappointment with students’ poor performance. For example, in the following extract T6 reprimanded her students because of their poor performance in their homework through CS.

Extract 45
I’ve checked your essays yesterday. 我昨天把你们上次写的作文都看了。有些人写的东西，里面的语法错误，简直太离谱了。你们这种态度，想要通过四级是不可能的 [Yesterday, I checked your essays of last time. Some of them, the grammatical errors are too serious. With such attitude, it will be impossible for you to pass the College English Test]. (T6O1)

In her SRI, T6 revealed that she tended to use Chinese when she wanted to reprimand certain students, because it was easier for her to express anger or disappointment in her own mother tongue, which was Chinese. Nevertheless, she also revealed that sometimes her CS practices seemed to be unconscious when reprimanding students and expressing her negative feelings.

Extract 46 is from T10’s class, when she was providing feedback about the poor quality of the students’ writing. She initially expressed her disappointment with the students in English, and then switched to a Chinese expression ‘蓝瘦香菇’. In the SRI, T10 explained the meaning of this phrase, which was an online buzzword
literally referring to ‘blue skinny mushroom’ but a humorous way of saying ‘feeling upset and sad’.

Extract 48
I’m a very optimistic person, but when I mark your writing, I feel, feel very disappointed. Well, very 蓝瘦香菇 [feel very sad and want to cry]. You’ve made so many grammatical mistakes in your writing, which are very basic mistakes, and you shouldn’t have done that. 所以你们一定要好好重视写作练习啊 [So you guys must put emphasis on your writing practice]. (T10O3)

5.4.3 Indexing rapport

One final function, that of indexing rapport through CS use, was identified. Six participants agreed that the L1 was more suitable for addressing affective issues and establishing good interpersonal relationships. It was also suggested that the function of indexing rapport through CS took different forms including making jokes, encouraging students’ participation, praising, and talking about personal stories, as the following extracts illustrated.

First, four teachers contended that some jokes depended for their success on shared knowledge about certain cultural events or topics by both parties, which could not be easily translated into another language. For instance, the following extract showed how T3 stated a humorous expression through the use of CS.

Extract 47
T3: Jack, is Jack here today?
Student: 他没有来 [He is not here].
T3: 又没来啊 [He is absent again]? 他真是我们最熟悉的陌生人了 [He is indeed the most familiar stranger]. (T3O1)

In the SRI, T3 explained that at that time she used the name of a Chinese song, ‘the most familiar stranger’, which was perfectly consistent with that situation, and made
all the students laugh. In addition, she doubted that it would have brought about the same humorous effect if she had translated it into English:

> When I said that, all the students burst into laughter. It is a very popular song. You must know as well. Elva, Xiao Yaxuan (a Taiwanese singer). Well, the most familiar stranger. It exactly described what happened that time. But if I translated it at that time, I feel it’s not necessary, and the students might not understand. (T3S1)

Moreover, CS use was also used by two teachers to encourage students to participate in classroom activities. For example, the following extract illustrated how T5 encouraged the female students in his class to take part in a speaking activity.

**Extract 48**

> Well, we’ve got a male volunteer now. Girls? Anybody wanna come to the front? Any volunteer? Come on! 巾帼不让须眉。咱们妇女也应该顶起半边天 [Jinguo’ (women) are no inferior to men. Women are supposed to hold up half the sky]! (T5O1)

In the SRI, T5 recalled that after none of the female students expressed a willingness to participate, he switched to an ancient Chinese proverb ‘巾帼不让须眉’, which was normally used to indicate that women were as capable as men, and a proclamation of Mao Zedong ‘women hold up half the sky’, to create a positive effect and reinforce his support and encouragement for female students.

Giving compliments was very commonly used by the majority of teachers. Six participants indicated in their SRIs that Chinese was considered as an effective language choice in terms of praising the students as they felt that the L1 was able to convey stronger emotions. For example, the following extract illustrated how CS was used to achieve the purpose of praising in a specific circumstance in the classroom.

**Extract 49**

> Anyway, it’s good, right? 因为他们是现场，准备的时间也比较紧，然后
两个人出现这种情况是非常正常的 [As they improvised, and the time of preparation was limited, it is very normal that such small mistakes happened]. 他们也已经谈了一些 benefits and problems (of raising pets), right [They have already contributed some information about benefits and problems (raising pets), right]? It’s good. 非常好 [Fantastic]! (T9O2)

In the SRI, T9 recalled that at that time she felt that students were unhappy with their performance and wanted to provide some positive feedback. She also claimed that she considered the last sentence ‘非常好’ had a similar meaning to the English expression ‘it’s good’, but the former seemed to transmit a stronger affective force than the latter regarding the purpose of praising and encouragement.

Three teachers also reported that in order to build up a close relationship with their students they chose to discuss some topics which were not in the textbooks, such as personal experiences, popular social affairs happening lately, or ‘潮词’ (fashionable words) and internet buzzwords mostly used younger generations. In such circumstances, they felt that the L1 was a more suitable and efficient language choice. For example, in the following extract, CS was used by T3 when she was talking about her own view on the topic of ‘ideal husband’ with her students.

Extract 50

Well, as for my ideal husband, when I was young, 我想 [I decided], 绝对不要找学文科的 [never to marry a man studying social science], 一定要找一个理科男 [must be a science man], 但是，哈哈，你们都知道我老公吧，他就是学政治的 [but, (laugh), you all know my husband right? He studies politics]. See, the ideal will never become true. (T3O3)

T3 explained in the SRI that the purpose of sharing her personal story was to lighten the classroom atmosphere at a time when she perceived the students were rather passive, perhaps because they were feeling too shy to discuss the topic.
5.5 Chapter summary

This chapter reported the functions of teacher CS identified in the present study. It also illustrated how participants’ CS practices spanned the major elements of classroom interaction, and revealed the perceived value of teacher CS to the smooth running of the classroom and scaffolding of L2 learning.
Chapter 6 Qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews

This chapter presents the analysis of the findings of the semi-structured interviews conducted with the ten participants. Their answers to interview questions were used in part to address Research Question 3: What are teachers’ perceptions about the use of CS in the university EFL classroom in China?

As explained in Chapter 3, the semi-structured interviews were conducted before the classroom observations and the SRIs. All the participants were interviewed according to a group of prepared interview questions related to this research question. These questions could be divided into five broad categories: Category 1 explored the participants’ philosophy of ELT with particular respect to L1 use; Category 2 investigated the participants’ previous learning and teaching experience related to L1 use; Category 3 explored the participants’ perceptions of social culture of EFL education and institutional culture regarding L1 use during their teaching; Category 4 explored participants’ perceptions of using the L2 only in the EFL classroom; Category 5 explored the participants’ perceptions of their actual classroom practices in relation to L1 use. The analysis of the interview data below is presented according to each of these categories.

6.1 Teachers’ philosophy of ELT regarding L1 and L2 use

In the semi-structured interviews, the participants were asked about their understandings of several major teaching approaches or methods such as Grammar Translation and CLT, and were asked to talk about the teaching approaches used in their classroom. They were also asked about their own teaching objectives and the role of L1/L2 use so as to fulfil different teaching objectives.

6.1.1 Interview question 1

*How would you describe your pedagogic approach, styles or method of ELT (e.g. Grammar Translation; CLT; a mixture of different methods).*
Eight participants had heard about CLT and were aware that many ELT experts and intuitions encouraged teachers to use CLT instead of the traditional Grammar Translation method. For example, T4 suggested that CLT had become a ‘fashionable’ teaching approach in China, which suggested a more advanced and effective teaching trend. T4 said CLT seemed to have come into favour in China since the College English Curriculum Reform in 2007. T3 and T4 indicated that their department promoted this teaching approach; however, whether to use it was still decided by teachers themselves. As T3 explained:

I don’t know if there is any written document in our department, but we were encouraged to use CLT when running a public class or attending teaching contests. But in practice, it’s still up to ourselves. (T3I)

The participants’ understandings of CLT appeared to differ to some extent. The data suggested that two participants considered creating a native-like environment through minimizing L1 use in the classroom as the most important part of adopting the CLT approach. For example, T5 argued that as the ultimate goal of English learning was to achieve communicative purposes through English in real-life situations where using the L1 was normally impossible, teachers should try to build-up an authentic environment in the classroom where students could develop their communicative competence better. According to T5, CLT is focused on developing students’ communicative skills, especially in listening and speaking. T5 considered CLT as equating to teaching English through English and therefore highlighted the importance of creating an ‘authentic’ communicative environment in English and minimizing the use of L1 in the classroom.

On the contrary, the other participants presented positive perspectives regarding L1 use within CLT, and gave several reasons for their views. Both T3 and T9 stated that since the primary purpose was to help students convey meaning with the L2, anything which could provide more opportunities for them to expand discussion of the meaning of a text or a topic should be welcomed in the EFL classroom, including the use of the L1. T3 claimed that using CLT methods was to provide students with
opportunities to communicate. As L1 use might be useful in helping students accomplish various communicative tasks, it should not be excluded in CLT. In the interview, T3 stated: ‘Communication, communication. As long as it facilitates communication, no matter using the L1 or L2, I feel it’s OK’ (T3I).

T10 felt strongly that CLT was suitable for teaching Chinese students who were going to study in English-speaking countries, but not for those whose major goal of learning English was to pass English exams such as CET4 and English Test for Postgraduate Study (‘考研英语’, a compulsory English test for applying for master courses in China). T10 argued that these exams were not intended to test learners’ communicative competence in English-speaking contexts, but their analytical skills in reading and knowledge of English grammar, and therefore CLT was not suitable for those students. Six participants claimed that they adopted a mixture of the methods which combined the features of CLT and Grammar Translation.

6.1.2 Interview question 2

*What is your understanding of the major objective of ELT in the context of university EFL classrooms in China? Does it influence your L1 and L2 use in the classroom?*

Interview question 1 investigated the participants’ understandings of their respective teaching approaches or methods adopted in the EFL classroom and the roles of the L1 in different approaches. The participants’ answers suggested that the participants’ decisions to adopt a particular teaching approach or a mixture of several seemed to be influenced by their perceptions about the teaching objectives in the EFL classroom. Therefore, Interview question 2 was aimed to explore the participants’ perceptions of the objectives of language teaching in the university EFL classroom and whether these perceptions were reflected at all in their use of the L1 and L2.

An important theme that was mentioned by four of the participants in the interviews was their understanding of ‘L2 ability’. According to all the participants, their fundamental teaching objectives were to develop the students’ ‘L2 ability’. However, their perceptions differed as to what this concept might mean in practice. For
example, T5 said developing students’ L2 ability was to develop their competence to use the L2 in real communication:

I think the core of my teaching objectives is to develop students’ communicative competence. That is, to use the L2 to achieve various communicative purposes. In other words, as long as they can express themselves clearly or make the listener understand, there is no need to put too much emphasis on the so-called ‘standard English’. (T5I)

Four teachers seemed to consider ‘L2 ability’ as a mixture of several concepts in language learning and teaching. For example, T4 divided ‘L2 ability’ into three different concepts: ‘knowledge, skills and competence’. According to her, ‘knowledge’ referred to knowledge about aspects of language (e.g. phonology, lexis, syntax, semantics), and ‘skills’ contained four major types (i.e. listening, speaking, reading and writing). She stated that language learners had to master the basic knowledge and the four skills of the L2 before their language competence was developed, so the language knowledge and skills in a language formed the basis on which the language competence was cultivated. In the interview, she distinguished those three concepts as follows:

Language itself involves the issue of stuff, that is vocabulary and grammar. These are knowledge-related stuff. Then, there is something about skills. I think skills include four parts, listening, speaking, reading and writing. As for the language competence, it is a type of application competence as the occasion requires. But it includes various aspects like thinking ability in the L1. (T4I)

Similar perspectives on the multifaceted nature of L2 ability were revealed by two other participants. From one perspective, it was an ability to apply the knowledge and skills of a language properly according to specific circumstances. For example, T2 said appropriate words and sentence structures might be chosen according to certain contexts. Another perspective was that a speaker would be able to draw on various knowledge and abilities, such as subject-matter knowledge, personal communication skills, and L1 competence. T1, for instance, emphasized that such
knowledge bases and abilities included not only those directly related to the L2 language itself, but also those accumulated in one’s life experiences. T4 illustrated her similar perception with the reference to one’s L1 language ability, which she suggested might not be necessarily reach a high level. For example, she expressed doubts about her own language ability in Chinese to the extent that she was uncertain whether she could articulate 100 per cent of what she wanted to express at particular points. For example, she said in the interview:

> Even when we learn Chinese, how well can we learn it? It’s not the case that we can articulate what we want to express on every occasion. There are too many elements involved. (T4I)

During the discussion of what it meant to develop their students’ L2 ability, the participants provided more detailed explanations of their teaching objectives in the EFL classroom. T5 and T7 both stated that rather than focusing on language forms or language skills, ELT teachers should give priority to developing students’ ability to use the L2, and the meaning that was transmitted by the L2 in a communicative context should be the primary focus in the classroom. According to T5, the students had acquired enough knowledge about the language in EFL classes in their high schools, and therefore, the main duty of university ELT teachers was to help them to achieve a more advanced level of using the L2 to convey various meanings accurately according to specific communicative needs:

> The students’ English levels in our university are relatively quite good. I mean, they passed the national English testing in Gaokao with high scores. So their knowledge about vocabulary or grammar has reached a certain level before they attended the university. So I feel, the goal is to learn to talk about something in English. After all, English is only a medium which they might need in their future career. (T5I)

T5’s words suggested that the focus of his teaching objectives shifted from a particular emphasis on the language knowledge to the development of students’ ability to understand the meaning conveyed by others, either in oral or written
domains, as well as expressing their own ideas or feelings through the L2. T5 claimed that he often selected a few topics (some were in the textbook and some were created by the teacher himself) for classroom discussion. He explained that when the students did not focus on the language form but focused on these discussion topics and materials, they would have more opportunities to use the language, which, according to T5, was the most effective way of learning a language.

Both T3 and T9 stated that since the primary purpose was to help students convey meaning in the L2, anything which could provide more opportunities for them to expand discussion of the meaning of a text or a topic should be welcomed in the EFL classroom, including the use of the L1. T9 said that she allowed herself and the students in her class to use certain amount of the L1 so as to convey meanings successfully. T9 described an episode that occurred in her class just before the semi-structured interview. In the class, she was having a discussion with the students on the topic of ‘fashion’. During the discussion, she noticed the students experienced difficulties in understanding the meaning of one expression in the text: ‘fashion is a cycle’ and the otherwise active discussion was interrupted by this obstacle. In this case, she chose to explain it in Chinese, as she felt that the students’ L1 was faster and easier than the L2 to explain difficult or abstract expressions and helped to make the conversation continue without being disturbed for long time. In the interview, T9 said:

‘Fashion is a cycle’ is a relatively difficult concept for the students, as the topic ‘fashion’ itself has already been a relatively unfamiliar topic to them. As my primary purpose was to give them more opportunities to talk about their own ideas or to exchange their ideas with others rather than learning the meaning of this sentence, I don’t need to only use English here. Using Chinese is more economical and convenient to convey meaning successfully. Then they can go back to the active discussion very quickly. (T9I)

In the interviews, T1 and T2 revealed a teaching orientation towards transmitting information about the L2 through the use of CS. While recognising the student-centred principle of CLT aiming to develop students’ communicative skills,
they argued that knowledge centred on the form and structure of the L2 should be included in the lessons as well. They seemed to make this statement from the perspective of what they perceived to be their students’ needs. Three of them reported that the students in their classrooms still needed to obtain language knowledge from the teachers. For example, T2 noted that for her students, one important aim was to gain language knowledge about, for instance, lexical items and grammatical rules. T2 said in the interview,

Well, according to my students, they came to class with a purpose of gaining knowledge, so as their teacher, I felt I had to fulfil their needs by developing the knowledge they wanted. (T2I)

Moreover, three participants suggested that knowledge of the L2 was the basis of developing L2 skills and competence. For example, T1 compared knowledge development with ability development in her teaching, as she said in the interview:

In fact, I think learning English is a process of developing knowledge, and developing skills. Of course, ability is the ultimate goal, but you must have the knowledge and skills as the premise. (T1I)

Therefore, those participants suggested that the L2 classroom should be focused on developing knowledge and skills which constituted the foundation of the ultimate goal of developing ‘language ability’. For example, T2 said:

In my opinion, language ability has to develop in one’s whole life. It’s an ultimate goal. It’s not what teachers can do in the classrooms. So we should be practical. I mean, we should acknowledge there is something that teachers cannot do. So we should be more focused on what we can do. That is knowledge development. (T2I)

While recognizing the objective of developing students’ skills as regulated by the curriculum (specifically speaking and listening skills, considering the type of classes observed in the present study), two participants implied that knowledge development
should be included in the EFL classroom. They acknowledged skills development, particularly speaking and listening skills, was an important objective of the class. However, they highlighted that it should not occupy all the class time.

Two of them argued that knowledge could be considered as the basis of skills development. For example, T8 described the process of creating L2 output as constructing a building and saw language knowledge as the construction materials. Interestingly, T8 provided another metaphor of cooking food suggesting a similar preference in her interview.

We often said ‘巧妇难为无米之炊’ [Making bricks without straw. Literally translated as no matter how smart a housewife is, she can’t cook a meal without rice]. You must have some ingredients there, and then you can use them to cook dishes. (T8I)

Additionally, three participants suggested that skills development should not be confined to the class, but should depend on the students’ practice after class. Four participants suggested that the limited time in class and the large class size (40-60 students) constrained teachers from developing students’ skills, which suggested that knowledge development was considered more efficient than the development of skills in their classrooms. They also claimed that students nowadays had more access to L2 input outside class thanks to the development of technology and the Internet, and so suggested that students should spend more time listening to native speakers and imitate their accent and intonation after class. Thus, they considered their main teaching objective as helping students draw attention to certain language forms rather than providing L2 input in the class. For example, T1 suggested the computer-based self-learning session (90 minutes each week) as a very good opportunity for the students to practice their skills through a wide range of learning materials. T1 added:

Now there are numerous video and audio materials (of learning English) online, and they are so convenient to get access. So, students can watch or listen to them as long as they want after class (T1I).
T7 said her understandings of the ultimate goal of language learning was to develop ‘英式思维’ [English thinking]. She said that her initial thinking about the concept of ‘English thinking’ came from a book, *The Translator’s Guide to Chinglish* (Pinkham, 2000), she had read a few years ago when preparing for her master’s degree. She defined ‘English thinking’ as L2 learners’ ability to think in English with no reference to the L1 and therefore developing students’ ability to think in English was placed as the most important part of her teaching. In the interview, T7 described her understandings of ‘English thinking’ as follows:

English thinking is a kind of unconscious or subconscious thinking process. It’s like developing a habit. Once it has been established, the learner is able to express ideas in English rather than think in Chinese firstly and then try to translate into English. Also, while reading or listening to English, the learner can understand the English text straightaway without searching for the Chinese equivalents. (T7I)

For her, English thinking is an ability of EFL learners, with which they can avoid the negative influence imposed by the L1, especially in relation to speaking and writing. The ability to think in English prevents EFL learners from translating inappropriately from Chinese to English or vice versa. T7 said in addition to being as an EFL teacher, she also worked as a translator. The experiences accumulated through the work of translation made her understand that L2 learners cannot acquire the ‘authentic’ meaning of a new word only though knowing about its so-called L1 equivalent:

The meaning of a word doesn’t exist if it is not placed in a specific context. When it is translated into Chinese, the Chinese expression is just its translation rather than its meaning. Meaning is different from translation. This is very important. Meaning is meaning. Translation is translation. Translation is always related to the context. Different contexts, different identities of speakers. The translation will be different. (T7I)

T7 thought ‘English and Chinese thinking’ as a very interesting issue in L2 learning. She also pointed out that many EFL teachers in China did not pay attention to develop students’ ability of ‘English thinking’ and used too much Chinese in the
classroom. In the interview, she said as follows:

I note that many Chinese students have a learning habit. When the teacher is explaining a new word, the students always mark it with one or two Chinese expressions. They think these Chinese words as the meaning of the L2 word. Unfortunately, they are actually not the same. (T7I)

As suggested above, T7 opposed students’ habits of making inappropriate equivalence between certain L1 and L2 expressions. Moreover, T7 pointed out that Chinese students tended to translate their ideas from Chinese into English rigidly, which might lead to inaccurate or redundant English expressions, and which she called ‘Chinglish expressions’.

T7 suggested that to develop students’ ability to think in English and to reduce the interruption of ‘Chinglish’, they should be exposed to English as much as possible, and teachers in the EFL classroom, whose English utterances might be a major resource of English input for the students, should try to use the English all the time. Meanwhile, teachers should develop students’ ability to explain English words in English which helped them to really acquire L2 vocabulary. She disagreed with the method adopted by other teachers that asking the student to understand a L2 word through translation and memorize its Chinese expression or so-called equivalent. She thought the latter suggested that the students learned English by comparing it with Chinese; however, she promoted the way of learning and teaching in an English environment. In other words, she encouraged students to learn English in English and try not to think about the Chinese translation.

Overall, the data suggested that the relationships between teachers’ understandings of teaching objectives and their L1 use in the class was rather complex. Three key aspects of the findings can be summarised as follows:

- The participants’ understandings of teaching objectives seemed to exert a great influence on their L1 use in the classroom.
- The participants’ understandings of teaching objectives appeared to be
associated with the specific syllabi; however, some participants’ understandings of teaching objectives might differ from the syllabi.

- The participants with similar understandings of teaching objectives might hold different positions regarding L1 use in the L2 classroom.

This complex picture can be illustrated with the following examples. T9 who taught the lower level Integrated English claimed that the L1 was intensively used in her class to analyse texts and sentence structures, and explain grammar points and meanings of new vocabulary. T10’s IELTS preparation course syllabus was focused on developing students’ test strategies so as to achieve better performance in IELTS examinations. However, T10 argued that developing students’ communicative competence should be the ultimate goal of ELT, and so she always tried to maximize L2 use in her class. Nevertheless, she found it difficult because the L1 was more suitable when explaining complex exam strategies because it was quick and helped avoid misunderstandings. The participants who taught WLS courses, which encouraged the adoption of CLT by teachers, agreed with the syllabus’ focus on communicative ability rather than language forms and suggested employing the CLT approach in their classrooms. Others considered developing L2 knowledge as an important part of their teaching objectives, in which L1 use played an effective role.

These views appeared to be founded on participants’ perspectives of their students’ needs. Three of them reported that the students in their classrooms still needed to develop language knowledge from the teachers. They also suggested that knowledge of the L2 was the basis of developing L2 skills and competence.

### 6.2 Teachers’ previous experience regarding L1 and L2 use

In the semi-structured interviews, the participants were asked whether they had thought about the issue of L1 use in L2 teaching and learning before and if so, what experiences they had had in relation to this. The findings suggested that all the participants had thought about this issue before and their thinking about L1 and L2 use was related to either their previous experience as English learners themselves or their previous EFL teaching experience.
6.2.1 Interview question 3

*Have you thought about the issue of L1 use in the EFL classroom as language learners? If so, what learning experiences have influenced your perceptions of L1 use?*

Three participants reported the negative feelings they had experienced in the L2-only classroom when they were majoring in English at college and explained how such experiences influenced their perspectives with L1 use in their teaching. For example, T10 recalled her experiences of feeling upset and anxious in the classrooms where her teachers adopted an ‘English-only’ approach. She further explained that as an English-major student at that time, most of her courses were conducted predominantly in English, which was very different from her experiences at high school where the teacher used Chinese to explain quite often, and therefore she had found it very challenging to become accustomed to this ‘English-only’ approach. As a consequence, she explained, she suffered from enormous negative feelings such as frustration, anxiety, and even loss of interest in L2 learning. T10 said the anxiety she experienced during that time made herself doubt whether ‘English-only’ was suitable with every student considering such many differences between individual learners and pedagogic contexts. As she stated:

> I was from a suburban town where the quality of English education was very poor, so when I came to university, I found it difficult to get accustomed to my teachers’ way of predominately using the L2. My classmates, especially those from big cities, their language proficiencies were much better than me. Therefore, I felt extremely ashamed and nervous when I could not understand. (T10I)

However, the findings suggested those participants who reported their negative feelings in an ‘English-only’ classroom as language learners had different reactions and attitudes towards this teaching approach adopted by their teachers. Only T3 said that she had told her ‘English Reading and Writing’ teacher the difficulties of understanding she experienced and asked if it was possible to use Chinese to explain
certain difficult vocabulary and expressions. However, according to T3, the teacher had not shown understanding but had asked her to work harder after class so as to catch up with the other classmates. In the interviews, she recalled her teacher’s words and also rationalised why the teacher did so:

I knew that she (her teacher) would not change her teaching ways only for me. In our time, obedience with the teacher was the most important. Teacher and student are not equal. So after that, I did not complain to anybody anymore but spent more time improving my English. But honestly, I was very nervous in the classroom. The experience was terrible. (T3I)

Therefore, she said such experiences made her think about the role of L1 use in addressing some students’ negative emotions caused by comprehension difficulties, and suggested that those unhappy experiences enabled her to have more compassion for her students and certainly influenced the use of L1 in her own teaching. T3 stated that she preferred not to teach entirely in English, because she wanted to avoid causing her students the same frustration that she had experienced as a learner. In contrast, two other participants (T4 and T5) revealed that at that time they did not think their teachers should adapt language use to students and considered the ‘English-only’ teaching approach as a more advanced method. However, when they were asked to clarify the word ‘advanced’ they used in the interviews, both participants did not provide a very clear explanation. For example, T4 stated that even though she felt much more challenged than her peers in the ‘English-only’ classroom, she believed that the principle adopted by her teacher must be advanced and would help learners learn English better, even though she had not known the reasons:

At that time, I just felt my teachers were university professors, and thus, what they did must be good to us. I seemed to unconsciously accept their teaching approaches including the ‘English-only’ one. If I couldn’t understand, it was my problem rather than the teaching approach itself. I worked very hard after class. I remembered I kept listening to BBC for 4 hours every morning and reading a number of English novels. And finally my English ability improved a lot, but
honestly I don’t know it is because of the ‘English-only’ approach or just my personal efforts after class. (T4I)

Furthermore, a number of participants explained how their views on L1 use had been formed as a result of their learning experience of their own teachers’ practices related to L1 and L2 use in the classroom. First of all, T3 reported her unsuccessful experience of information transmission:

The teacher was introducing the Scaffolding Theory to us. We, however, did not even know the meaning of the word ‘scaffolding’. I remember both of us were struggling a lot. It dawned on us when one classmate whispered ‘脚手架’, the Chinese translation of ‘scaffolding’. Otherwise, we would have stumbled around for a longer time. (T3I)

Four participants suggested that the preference for L1 use in their teaching, especially when explaining L2 lexical items, seemed to be influenced by their own habits of L2 learning. For example, T1 said in the interview that she still consulted an English-Chinese dictionary in order to find the Chinese meaning of a L2 word, and when she prepared some example sentences to illustrate the usage of a word before class, she was used to looking for the translation. The rationale for doing so was related to her understandings of the relationship between L1 and L2. T1 explained that the conceptual knowledge had been constructed and stored in the L1 before students learnt the L2 words, and thus the principle task in L2 learning was to make links between the conceptual knowledge in L1 and L2 forms. Accordingly, she stated that while looking up an English-Chinese dictionary, she thought the Chinese explanation would speed up the establishment of the connection between the concept and the English words. Similar experiences were reported by other participants (e.g. T2, T3, and T10), who all suggested that their personal learning habits regarding L1 use influenced their teaching practices in the classroom.

6.2.2 Interview question 4

Do you think your previous teaching experience influences your perceptions and/or
practices related to L1 use in the EFL classroom? If so, have your perceptions of L1 use changed over years of teaching?

As explained in Chapter 3, all the participants had more than ten years of experiences of teaching in the university EFL classroom. Five participants claimed that when they were student teachers or less-experienced teachers, they tended to be strict with the ‘English-only’ principle in their teaching. For example, T3 said in the interview:

At the beginning of my career, I always tried to maintain the English-only approach. I seldom spoke Chinese in the classroom. As I said, this English-only approach was adopted by my teachers at college. So at that time, I took it for granted that a good EFL teacher should not speak Chinese in the class. But honestly, I did not think about it very carefully at that time. (T3I)

Four participants stated that their views on L1 use had become more pragmatic and less dogmatic after many years of teaching. Even though they generally favoured maximising L2 use in the classroom, those participants agreed to use the L1 when necessary. For example, T2 claimed that at the beginning of her teaching career, she had tried to imitate her own university teachers in using the L2 only but she found it did not work successfully in her own case. She compared the differences between the students in her current class and her peers at college. According to T2, those distinctive characteristics between these two types of classrooms made maintaining this L2-only approach unsuccessful in her own teaching. First, she suggested that the students of non-English-major students in her current EFL classrooms had a lower level of English ability, while her peers were English-major students who were at an advanced level. Thus, using the L2 all the time caused more misunderstanding and comprehension difficulties in the former classroom. Second, her students were less motivated to learn a language, and thus it was necessary to use the L1 to, for example, make jokes or talk about something related to Chinese culture, so as to maintain a more cheerful classroom environment and to improve the students' learning interest. Meanwhile, as her students were less motivated, when they found it difficult to follow the teacher’s words, they were more likely to feel bored or to give up, and to blame it on the teacher’s teaching method. However, according to T2, her peers when
she was a student seemed to be much more motivated, and appeared to be more respectful to the teacher’s teaching method. If they suffered from listening difficulties, they would not blame the teacher and expected him/her to use more the L1, but spent more time improving their English after class.

Students nowadays are ‘95 后’ [people born after 1995]. They are less obedient than my generation. If they can’t follow the class, they tend to blame on you. So, as a teacher, you have to adapt to their needs, both cognitive and affective. While using certain amount of the L1 was therefore necessary. (T2I)

T9 and T10 also reported similar feelings and attitudes about L1 use in the classroom. T9 recalled her unsuccessful experiences of maintaining the L2-only approach in her class and suggested that the students often appeared to be confused. She suggested that such experiences gradually changed her views and practices of L1 use under different circumstances. Moreover, T1, T3 and T8 revealed the feedback in terms of teacher use of CS from their students had also affected their perspectives. For example, T1 said there were students who asked her privately to use more Chinese because they found it difficult to understand her utterances completely, especially when they were discussing those topics unfamiliar to themselves. T8 revealed one of her unforgettable experiences of receiving negative feedback from one student who complained about her using the L2 all the time without taking care of students’ feelings. She suggested that the student’s words and his negative emotions made a deep impression on her and stimulated her to re-think this issue:

I remember clearly that one of my prior students said to me angrily, ‘You obviously knew that we cannot understand, but you still kept using English. You must be showing off how good your English is’. You see, he even thought ‘I’m showing off my English’. This really surprised me! I did so for helping them get better outcomes. But, you see, they disliked it. (T8I)

Six participants claimed that previous teaching experiences made them understand that the decision to use the L1 or not should not be totally determined by pre-existing pedagogic theories but adapted to the specific contextual features such as students’
ability and their real feelings.

6.3 Teachers’ perceptions of external culture of ELT regarding L1 use

‘External culture’ in this section is a term used to refer to the environment outside the immediate classroom, such as the department or the institution as a whole, or more broadly, government policy. This section explores participants’ responses to questions about their classroom use of the L1 and the external culture in which they were embedded.

6.3.1 Interview question 5

Does your university or department have any regulation about L1 and L2 use in the EFL classroom?

Five participants indicated that there was an underlying assumption of the monolingual principle in their professional context. They said that although they had never seen a written document that required them to use English only in the classrooms, and they could decide for themselves the appropriate balance of English and L1 use in their teaching, they were aware of this implicit culture that favoured ‘English-only’ teaching in their university. For example, two participants reported that they were required by their university to use English only when they participated in teaching contests or giving public classes. When they were asked why the university required them to do so, two participants stated that English proficiency and the ability to conduct an English-only class are widely considered as ELT teachers’ important qualities. Thus, reducing or excluding L1 use signalled teachers’ high-level English proficiency and pedagogic competence. T2, for instance, said in the interview:

Many examiners believe that conducting an English-only class signals a teacher’s high-level English proficiency and pedagogical competence. It also shows the public the university’s pedagogical orientation – favoring ‘English-only’ classrooms, which is assumed as an ‘advanced’ pedagogical principle by many
Three teachers reported their tendency of using the L2 only to the mixed use of L1 and L2 when an expert observed their classes. They explained that the experts were employed by the department to observe lessons and make comments on teachers’ performance. T2 recalled an expert who observed her lesson revealed that the L2 proficiency and the competence of conducting classes in the L2, as one of the most crucial qualities of an L2 teacher, was one criteria for his evaluation of teachers’ work. For example, T2 said,

I would try to reduce or even exclude L1 use if an expert observed my class, as that is one aspect of this evaluation of my teaching performance. I had to leave a good impression on the expert. (T2)

In addition, both T2 and T4 mentioned that the teachers who taught courses to English-major students were required to use the L2 only in the classrooms by their department. They claimed that since the English-major teachers were usually seen as superior models to those who taught English to non-English majors, the English-only regulation for the former to some extent suggested the department’s favor of the monolingual approach.

6.3.2 Interview question 6

What are the culture/discourse of ELT more broadly than your institutional culture, in relation to L1 use (e.g. Do you know any governmental policy on teachers’ L1 use in the classroom)?

Six participants reported their perceptions of the social expectations of ‘English-only’ classrooms. They said that the twenty-first century has witnessed a significantly increased popularity of English learning in Chinese society because of, for example, the increasing number of Chinese people studying or working abroad, or the rapid and widespread impact of Western culture on the Chinese society thanks to technological development. They suggested that, against this social background, the
pursuit of higher quality of teaching and learning environment has become the common goal of various ELT stakeholders including policy makers, institutions, practitioners, learners, and parents, and to provide an ‘English-only’ or ‘native-like’ classroom atmosphere has been regarded as one promising approach. Three participants said that many institutions, especially some private ELT schools such as New Oriental English, claimed that they provided ‘English-only’ classrooms conducted by native-speaker teachers, with the assumption that native-speaker teachers who usually did not speak the L1 of the students were able to provide a real English environment to learners and thereby were likely to help them produce more fruitful L2 learning outcomes. Moreover, they stated that this ‘English-only’ tendency was also in accordance with many parents’ expectations. For example, T3 said:

You can see a lot of ads of ‘英语培训机构’ [private ELT institutions] in the streets that use ‘English-only’ as a gimmick to advertise themselves. And many parents are very willing to send their children to such classes, even they have to pay expensive fees. (T3I)

Moreover, the data also suggested that four of the participants seemed to establish a straightforward connection between the exclusive use of L2 and CLT, and thereby interpreted the relevant education ministry policies and institutional regulations as being in favor of English-only classrooms. For example, two participants reported that the professional training they received related to CLT and task-based approach suggested that L1 use seemed not to be favored by such approaches. For example, T10 reflected on her prior experience of attending a professional workshop about CLT and said:

I remember the expert said that Chinese traditional teaching methods were basically teaching English in Chinese, while CLT was the opposite, which encouraged teaching English through English with a communicative way. (T10I)

Based on this assumption, three participants claimed that although there were no policies and regulations about the exclusion of L1 use in the EFL classroom at both
the national and institutional levels, the policies or regulations that advocated CLT were often interpreted as in favor of ‘English-only’ teaching. For example, in terms of the relevant national policies, T1 said the new College English Curriculum Requirements administered by the Ministry of Education in 2004 and 2007 advocated CLT approaches with the pedagogical purpose of developing students’ oral and listening skills as well as their communicative competence for their future work and social interactions, as shown by the following extract from the related documents provided by T1:

Classroom teaching should put students to the fore with teachers as facilitators, thus changing the previous teacher-centred style, and fostering students’ learning and research ability. Teaching should be focused on CLT and task-based language teaching, using various teaching activities. (Ministry of Education, 2007)

In addition to the ministry policies, two participants reported that the College English Curriculum Reform implemented by their university since 2008 changed previous ‘综合英语’ (Comprehensive English) to ‘视听说’ (Watching, Speaking and Listening English): the former emphasized the development of students’ language knowledge mainly through the Chinese-specific ‘grammar-translation’ method, while the latter was focused on developing students’ communicative abilities through the adoption of CLT or task-based approach. They also reported that this new curriculum required to use the textbooks which were underpinned by a CLT framework. For example, T5 said the current textbook used was regulated by the department, and its editors recommended teacher users to adopt CLT and task-based approach in the classroom.

In summary, eight participants reported that there were no explicit policies or regulations about L1 use in the university EFL classroom in China at both national and institutional levels, and the rest suggested that they were not aware of any policy or guidance that required them to use English only in their teaching. In spite of that, seven participants reported an underlying assumption of the L2-only approach in their institutional context. This implicit institutional culture that favoured
English-only teaching appeared to be an influential factor regarding the participants’ L1 use in the classroom; however, it seemed not to exert fundamental influence on their perceptions of L1 use. Two participants had ever been asked by their department to only use English when they took part in teaching competitions or giving public classes. Another example of the institutional influence on teachers’ language use was the observation of an expert. Three participants revealed that they would try to avoid or even exclude L1 use in their teaching if an expert was observing the class.

6.4 Teachers’ perceptions of ‘L2-only’

This category explored the participants’ understandings of issues related to L2 use in the classroom such as teaching English through English, the relationship between the L1 and L2, and their feelings of conducting L2-only teaching.

6.4.1 Interview question 7

*What do you think of teaching English through English in the EFL classroom?*

This sub-section presents participants’ views in favour of L2 only use in the semi-structured interviews. As the ‘anti-L1’ arguments were mainly provided by two participants, T5 and T7, this sub-section reports the findings mainly from these two participants.

Both T5 and T7 emphasized the importance of creating a ‘native-like’ environment through excluding the L1 in the classroom, which was influenced by their understandings of the objective of L2 learning - to communicate with people in an English-speaking country. T7 claimed that the ultimate goal of English learning was to communicative with people in real situations, and thus as a teacher, it was necessary to create a ‘native-like’ environment, which was impossible to achieve if the L1 was used in the classroom, and therefore, grammar and examination strategies were not included in her lessons. She explained that the best way of learning English was to live in an English-speaking country, and to communicate with local people.
However, the majority of students in her classes would not have such opportunities; thus, she felt obliged to try her utmost to build up an ‘authentic’ environment in the classroom for the students, and the exclusion of the L1 was the first step to creating such an environment. T7 used a metaphor to illustrate her view:

Practicing English in a native-like classroom is like rehearsing in a virtual venue for communication in real situations in the future. You’ve got to deal with any kind of difficulties through all the language resources you’ve already had. So the more vivid the virtual classroom is, the better learning outcomes will be. (T7I)

The findings suggested that participants’ pedagogical purpose of creating a native-like environment in the classroom was influenced by their understandings of the requirements of CLT. T7 stated that the CLT approach emphasized that the communication situations created in the classroom should try to reflect real situations outside it, and since resorting to the L1 was not normally an option in real communicative interactions, the L1 should not be allowed in the classroom.

Both T5 and T7 claimed that L1 use would cut down on the amount of exposure that students had to the L2, while L2 input was closely related to students’ learning outcomes. They also mentioned that most students lacked opportunities or motivation to use English outside the classroom, and therefore creating an English-enriched classroom environment in the class was essential. The findings indicated that their perceptions here seemed to be influenced by the related theories in SLA that they been exposed to in their previous professional training and their experience as L2 learners. For example, T5 argued that learners were more likely to acquire L2 vocabulary or expressions if they were exposed to a large amount of L2 input. T7 stated that a large amount of L2 input was beneficial to learners’ production of L2 output. Additionally, T7 reflected on her own English learning experience, and suggested a positive correlation between L2 input and learning outcomes. As she reported:

I listened to BBC at least two hours a day when I was in university. And I felt once I stopped doing so for a period of time, both my listening and speaking
ability would obviously retrogress. So, I’ve still kept reading or listening to some English resources every day until now. (T7I)

T5 suggested that L1 use undermined the learning process, as it deprived students from the opportunity of negotiating meaning. He claimed that learners did not need to understand everything said by their teachers; however, an English-only environment helped to develop learners’ own in-built language system and activate their cognitive process and thus enhance their memorization of L2 vocabulary and expressions. He argued that exclusive use of the L2 provided students with more chances of negotiating meaning, as they would be able to practice asking for clarification, rephrasing their utterances and checking understandings, for example, which were essential communication skills. To illustrate his views, T5 talked about his preference for watching English movies without Chinese subtitles, which he believed to be good way to develop one’s ability:

As I said, I never watch [English] films with Chinese subtitles. You know why? As if there are Chinese subtitles, you will unconsciously rely on them as long as you have understanding obstacles. But in fact, you can gradually overcome those obstacles through stimulating your potential cognitive capability. After a period of practice in this way, your listening ability will improve quite a lot. (T5I)

T7 emphasized her disagreement with providing L1 definitions for explaining L2 vocabulary. She explained that many teachers tended to provide simplified Chinese definitions of English vocabulary for convenience or saving time, and thus their students were likely to only memorize these Chinese definitions, and when students attempted to use this word in their speaking or writing, they tended to use it according to its translated Chinese meaning. However, she argued there was always a discrepancy between the original meaning of an English word and the translated meaning in Chinese, which might cause the inappropriateness of expressions. In the interview, she used an example of the word ‘parade’ to illustrate her point of view here:

Taking the word ‘parade’ for instance, if you look it up in the dictionary, you will
see one of its Chinese definitions is ‘游行’ (You Xing), which is normally understood as a demonstration, and its another meaning as parade is much less used. In that case, some learners might connect ‘parade’ with ‘demonstration’ straightaway. (T7I)

Moreover, when they were asked whether they were concerned about students’ comprehension difficulties when it came to certain cultural references, both T5 and T7 claimed that they did not consider L1 use as an inevitable scaffold for helping students understand cultural references if the teacher had prepared the classes sufficiently well. At the same time, T7 stated that she seldom introduced Chinese culture in the classes. She argued that the contents of the textbooks were all about Western culture, and that in any case as introducing cultural references was not the major objective of the current curriculum, it was unnecessary to talk about them in detail. For example, she said:

I noted that even when CCTV (Chinese Central Television) introduced Chinese culture, it just gives very general information. This is not a culture course, and I just need to explain in English very briefly. Why we have to go for such depth? (T7I)

Both T5 and T7 did not consider L1 use as an effective resource for stimulating students’ motivation in their classes. T7 claimed that stimulating students’ motivation was beyond her capability, as the students in her classes were all adults rather than young learners, and thus their motivation was mainly the result of their goals. For example, T7 argued:

They are not kids. If they don't see the point of learning English, even though I try to indicate my kindness or make some jokes in the classroom, their motivation would not be stimulated neither. (T7I)

Moreover, they also expressed their concern about the potential disadvantages that might be brought about once L1 use was allowed in the classroom. They said that once the teacher started using the L1, there was no way back. In addition, they
argued that teachers’ L1 use could become an excuse for students’ L1 use, and in that case, students would rely too much on the L1, and would lose motivation to develop their L2 skills.

Two participants claimed that adopting the monolingual principle also helped to develop their own L2 competence. T5, for example, revealed that he had sometimes allowed himself to use some Chinese in the classroom, but a period of time later, he felt his English proficiency had deteriorated.

T7, uniquely among the participants, gave an addition reason for avoiding L1 use in her classes: she felt very tired when switching between two languages, as she had to switch between two different language systems as well as two ‘modes of thinking’ if she frequently switched codes:

I feel too tired when I codeswitch. It is like that my brain has to switch between two different systems. In that case, I’d rather keep on in one system. (T7I)

6.4.2 Interview question 8

Do you feel confident to talk in the L2 exclusively in the EFL classroom? Why or why not? Do you feel comfortable to talk in the L2 and not switch to the L1 at any point in the EFL classroom? Why or why not? Do you use the L2 all the time during the class? If not, what factors influence your decisions of not using the L2 exclusively?

Interview question 8 included a number of subsequent probes. The initial part of this question was concerned with the participants’ perceptions of their spoken English proficiency in terms of accomplishing various teaching tasks in the EFL classroom.

The majority of participants agreed that they were confident in their own English ability and claimed that they were able to speak English throughout the class if they were required to do so. For example, T3 claimed that she felt confident about her own language proficiency and talking in English all the time in the EFL classroom would not be difficult for her. As she argued:
It won’t be a problem for us university teachers to talk in English all the time in the class. I mean, teachers’ language proficiency can’t be the reason for using the L1 in the class. After all, most of us have MA degrees in English or TESOL, and many teachers have experiences of study or working in English-speaking countries. As for me, I’m quite confident about communicating with native speakers. So I don’t think our English proficiency can be a problem in classroom communication. (T3I)

In the interview, she talked about one of her recent experiences of conducting an ‘English-only’ public class (‘全英语公开课’) with the second-year non-English-major students. She described the communication between the students and herself in the class as successful most of time and felt that the students’ reaction was very positive. She had also been aware of the potential differences between conducting public classes and ordinary lessons. For example, the public class was well prepared in advance and the students might be more focused and motivated, which probably made it easier for the teacher to use English exclusively.

In contrast, four participants suggested that they were not confident that they could teach successfully by using English only. For example, T10 said she was not pleased with her own English proficiency as she could not speak English like a native speaker. When asked what she understood by ‘English of native speakers’ in the interview, T10 considered it as advanced communicative competence and the ability to think in English:

I wish to reach a level where I’m able to say whatever I want in English easily. For example, I feel difficult to achieve humorous purposes in a conversation, but I can do it in my mother tongue, well, making a joke or telling a funny story. In fact, I’m still translating the thoughts in my mind which are formed in Chinese. If I were a native speaker, I would not need to translate; I could think in English straightaway. (T10I)

T10’s worry about her English proficiency was mainly related to her perceived lack
of competence in ‘real life language’. She clarified that ‘real life language’ was different from ‘standard English’. The latter was what learners learnt from the textbooks in the EFL classroom, which probably was not used by native speakers in their real life. She provided an example of the English expressions ‘How do you do? I’m fine. Thank you’, which were usually placed in the first lesson of the textbooks of secondary schools and were the first group of expressions that most Chinese students learnt when they started learning English. She argued that this expression was seldom used by people in English-speaking countries nowadays and therefore it was not ‘real life language’. T10 stated that it was easier for herself to talk about something related to the textbook content; however, when students were doing role plays in a particular situation such as buying food in a fast food store, sometimes she felt unconfident to provide them with certain expressions more like ‘real life language’.

As for real life language, we do not have such environment. Although we are English teachers, we still lack competence in expressions used by native speakers in their daily life situations. Just like that when I was in the USA last year, I felt easier to understand our teachers in the class, but more difficult to communicate with a salesman in a grocery shop. I think, it is because what we have learnt is so-called standard English, but in real life people might not talk in such ways. (T10I)

One of the probes in question 8 was aimed to uncover whether the participants would feel comfortable to talk in English in some specific situations. For example, when asked if they would feel comfortable not to switch to the L1 when their students did not respond to their prompts, three participants indicated that they felt uncomfortable and upset in such circumstances. In addition, four participants claimed that they would feel uncomfortable to use English when they expressed personal feelings such as excitement, anger and disappointment. T9 described them as teachers’ ‘emotive needs’, and revealed that even though she was aware that English should be used as much as possible in the classroom, it was difficult to use English all the time, especially when eager to express strong feelings:
Teachers are not robots. You can’t set up a programme in them, such as a pedagogical principle, and expect them to do exactly as the programme requires. We also have our emotive needs. Sometimes the L1 might help to meet those needs. (T9I)

T3 recalled her experience about sharing her personal story with students in the classroom and suggested that at that moment she was eager to tell this interesting story rather than develop students’ L2 ability, and thus the L1 was a more suitable choice. T3 said that her CS practice when expressing personal emotions seemed to be unconscious. As for the example of using the L1 to tell the story, T3 estimated that her eagerness to share the story perhaps overtook the pedagogical principle that English should be used as much as possible in the classroom.

In addition, three teachers reported that ‘saving face’ could be one of the factors related to CS use in the classroom. Specifically, they suggested that teachers were expected to be a knowledgeable person, a model, and a symbol of correctness in the pedagogical settings in China, which could be influenced by the traditional Confucius philosophy that the teacher should be ‘万世师表’ (models for thousands of ages) and ‘一日为师终生为父’ (One-day teacher, life-time father). They therefore stated that they were expected to impart completely accurate information in the classroom, and it was not acceptable to acknowledge a lack of expertise in any area. In terms of L2 ability, they contended that what they said in the L2 as the students’ L2 input resource should be absolutely accurate, and they should not tell the students if they actually did not know the proper L2 expressions. Accordingly, they reported that the L1 was used when they lacked language competence at specific points. T6 revealed that when she was talking about the movie, Hobbit, in her last lesson, she actually did not know its English expression, so she said the Chinese name instead without letting the students know the truth.

I will feel very embarrassed if letting them know that I actually don’t know how to say Hobbit in English. They must think I’m a very poor teacher, as I’m supposed to know it as an English teacher. So I choose to use Chinese, you know, to save my face. (T6I)
Furthermore, for five participants, good interaction with students seemed to be a very important factor influencing their language choices. Six teachers claimed that they would feel upset and unmotivated if there was a lack of interaction between students and themselves in the classroom, and they seemed to connect lack of students’ responses/interaction and the worth of their efforts together. For example, T2 revealed:

If my students can’t understand, what’s the point of my efforts in saying a lot in English? Sometimes I’ve tried my best to modify my words in English, but they still can’t get it, and don’t give you any positive responses. I feel so upset at that point. You know, you’ll feel very unmotivated at that time. (T2I)

Two participants considered the reasons which might lead to lack of interaction: one possibility was students’ lack of comprehension of certain information given by teacher and the other was their lack of enthusiasm about L2 learning. They suggested that the L1 might be helpful to improve those two issues - either to facilitate the students to understand certain information, or to stimulate their interest through meeting their affective needs such as reducing their anxiety.

A further probe in interview question 8 was focused on other potential factors in addition to their English ability that made the participants feel challenged about conducting the class exclusively in the L2.

Five considered the number of lesson hours regulated every week affected whether the English-only approach would be beneficial in the classroom. On this issue the participants differed. Three participants claimed that as there were only two lessons each week giving students the opportunity to listen to and practice English, it was particularly necessary for the teacher to create a native-like classroom environment by trying to avoid the L1. In contrast, other participants argued that it was impractical for the students to improve their English through staying in a ‘native-like’ environment created by a non-native speaker teacher for 90 minutes per week. First, the idea that it would be possible to create a ‘native-like’ environment was doubtful,
and even if it was, the students’ learning outcomes could not be ensured without the facility of L1. They claimed that it was important to think about how to enhance students’ learning outcomes from using the limited time more effectively, and teacher use of the L1 was likely to be one method.

T6 reported the large size of her current class (about 50 students) made it necessary to use the L1 during lessons, especially when she gave procedural instructions and managed disciplines. T6 said:

This class I’m teaching now is a combination of two prior classes. It is an abnormal circumstance, as usually there would not be such many students. I felt exhausted after a few attempts of using English only, because I had to raise my voice repeating many times, especially when they were in the middle of group discussion. You cannot imagine how noisy the classroom is when over fifty students were talking at the same time. Thus, I usually used Chinese directly if I wanted to attract their attention effectively. (T6I)

Moreover, the participants’ perceptions of learning materials also seemed to affect their attitudes about teacher use of the L1. Six of them suggested that the variety of latest audio-visual learning resources obtained from the Internet or provided by the textbook significantly replaced teachers’ job of providing L2 input in the classroom.

Apart from their perceptions of the curriculum, the participants also reported their perceptions of the influence of the students on their CS use. Seven teachers considered students’ ability as a crucial factor affecting their attitudes about CS use, and they suggested that it did not seem suitable to exclude L1 use in the classroom considering that the students’ language levels, especially the speaking and listening skills, were often less developed than their reading and writing abilities. In addition, the great disparity between students’ language proficiencies reported by the teachers seemed to be another factor that affected the teachers’ attitudes about CS use in their teaching. They articulated that because of the different qualities of EFL education across China, the students from different areas were likely to have different levels of language abilities. For example, T8 reported that in one of her classes there were
several students from some underdeveloped areas in western China where listening skills were not required by the secondary school curriculum and Gaokao (the national College entrance examinations which could be different between provinces). Under these circumstances, she suggested that it was very difficult to implement an English-only teaching approach to meet individual students’ comprehension and learning needs.

With regard to the students’ learning styles, five teachers reported that many students tended to learn a new word by memorizing its Chinese definition or by referring to a bilingual dictionary, which was possibly associated with their prior learning experiences at secondary schools where L2 lexical items were taught through L1 explanations. In addition, four teachers found that many students preferred to have the clear and explicit comprehension of either vocabulary, text, or the teacher’s L2 utterances. For example, T9 noted that many students tended to rely on familiar expressions in their L2 practice rather than use new ones unless they were certain about their meanings. Apart from T7, all the teachers claimed it was essential to adapt the teaching methods, including the choice of L1 or L2, to the students’ learning styles.

In addition, as discussed earlier, two teachers felt that they lacked the competence to use ‘real English’ in classroom communication. For example, T9 said that English she learnt was mainly for talking about some formal or serious topics such as the topic ‘Friendship’ in the current textbook. Even though some topics were related to daily life conversation in Western countries, it was difficult to copy and use them in a different Chinese context. For example, she said when she wanted to care for someone who seemed to be sick, she could not find suitable English expressions to indicate her worries and willingness to help in that specific situation. She attributed these issues to the fact that she had not stayed in English-speaking countries for a long time and therefore had not learnt enough ‘real English’. Moreover, two teachers indicated that current communicative-oriented Speaking and Listening classes, which were very different from the traditional reading classes which they used to teach for many years, required the teachers to have higher language proficiency. They explained that teacher-centered traditional classes did not require much interaction.
between teachers and students, so most of the time teachers just needed to transmit lesson content according to what they had already prepared. In contrast, WLS classes gave students more opportunities to produce output, therefore requiring the teachers to produce spontaneous language themselves. For example, T1 suggested even though the key topic of each session had been regulated by the textbooks, the specific content of classroom spontaneous communication between teacher and students or student and student including conversation activities or oral presentations was very random. T3 also said that she felt it challenging to explain some L2 words in the students’ oral presentations to the other students through English, as some words were technical terms or related to a specific area which she was not familiar with. Three teachers also pointed out the difficulty of explaining terms or abstract concepts in English in the classroom. For example, T8 argued that if not using the L1, she had to decide to use simpler expressions or to avoid talking about such topics; however, both approaches had their own disadvantages.

6.5 Teachers’ perceptions of their CS practices

This section reports on the participants’ perceptions about when to use CS and reasons for using it in the classroom.

6.5.1 Interview question 9

When is the L1 mostly used in the EFL classroom (e.g. explaining grammar and vocabulary; giving activity instructions; giving administrative information)?

Five teachers claimed that explaining L2 key words in Chinese helped to overcome students’ comprehension obstacles, and thereby made classroom communication more fluid and speedy. Moreover, two participants also reported that they used CS when teaching learning strategies for memorizing new words. For example, T6 recalled in one of her class, she asked students to link the English word ‘blush’ with the Chinese expression ‘不拉屎’ [bu la shi, constipation]. She explained that when a person suffered from ‘不拉屎’, his/her face turned red, which was associated with the meaning of “blush” in English. For another, T6 taught the word ‘agony’ by
connecting it to a Chinese expression ‘爱过你’ [ai guo ni, having loved you in the past], which had similar pronunciations and associated meanings. In the interview, T6 argued that the value of the L1 should be recognized, as it increased the efficiency of learners’ L2 learning if it could be used properly, and such strategies could also make L2 learning more interesting, and thereby stimulating students’ enthusiasm.

Three teachers claimed that they did not spend much time explaining grammar in these classes, as they believed that grammar should not be the major pedagogic focus for EFL classes at the tertiary level. This was because students were expected to already have acquired a sufficiently high level of grammar knowledge in their secondary EFL classes. For example, T5 stated: ‘grammar should not be the work of we university (EFL) teachers, as the students have already spent much time learning grammar in their secondary schools’ (T5I). Moreover, two teachers revealed that neither the curriculum guidance nor the textbooks provided specific requirements about which grammatical points should be taught in the class. Instead, it was up to teachers’ own decisions depending on the specific situations that arose during their teaching.

Three teachers indicated that they used CS to explain cultural references, as it would be helpful for them to develop intercultural communication ability and also that telling students some interesting things about Western culture related to new vocabulary would stimulate their enthusiasm and help them to remember. In addition, they suggested that providing certain culturally relevant information helped to broaden the students’ perspectives, and it could also be used as a resource for some of the speaking activities such as student discussions about a given topic. In order to achieve such purposes, four teachers highlighted the role of the L1 as helping to clarify certain English expressions, and others stated that the L1 helped them to explain unfamiliar or difficult cultural concepts more clearly.

Moreover, four teachers pointed out that culture-specific language items are the language-internal reason for the use of L1. They explained that because of various political, economic, geographic and historic factors, cultural concepts differ between
countries. For example, T3 noted that ‘中国化’, (‘Chinalism’), referring to the fact that China has its own systems in various areas such as social media (e.g. WeChat and Weibo), search engines (e.g. Baidu), and online shopping platforms (e.g. Taobao), has led to great discrepancy between China and the other countries in terms of the culture and language. T3 provided an example of ‘Chinalized’ American culture:

Who is Scarlett Johansson? To me, that lady is not Scarlett Johansson but ‘嘉丽约翰逊’ (si jia li yue han xun), because I knew her as ‘斯嘉丽约翰逊’ from the beginning. And she played in the movie ‘午夜巴塞罗那’, which literally means “the midnight of Barcelona”, but I know it is actually called *Vicky Christina Barcelona*. (T3I)

Additionally, the teachers also pointed out that a number of expressions in Chinese cannot be translated into English in a simple way, such as idioms and proverbs, jargon, neologisms and items specific to the university context. Considering the shared cultural backgrounds between teacher and student, the teachers claimed that using Chinese directly in certain situations was preferable either because of convenience of communication or special communicative effects produced such as humour or irony that can be understood by the students easily.

6.5.2 Interview question 10

*What do you think of the roles of L1 use in relation to students’ cognitive needs?*

In the semi-structured interviews, six participants reported their theoretical understandings of the relationship between the L1, the L2, and conceptual knowledge, and suggested that establishing connections between the L1 and L2 might enhance L2 learning. Four participants’ reported understandings of L1 and L2 relationship appeared to be consistent with the three-component model reviewed in the literature. For example, T3 suggested that the two language systems of L1 and L2 represented the same conceptual knowledge but expressed in different forms. She argued that adult learners had already established substantial conceptual knowledge in the form of L1 before they started to learn the L2. Therefore, L2 learning of adult
students most of time did not involve the initial establishing of concepts which had already established in the L1. T6 also suggested that students’ cognitive competence in the L1 such as reasoning, making references and critical thinking styles might influence their L2 learning because of the interrelated cognitive abilities shared by the L1 and L2 in learners’ minds. Other participants suggested that the development of English thinking should be dependent on students’ language proficiency. For example, T9 suggested that for most EFL learners at the intermediate level in her class, Chinese was still the language of thinking. As a result, helping students to make appropriate and solid connections between L1 and L2 was beneficial for L2 learning, as it helped learners to shorten the time spent for searching for the equivalent, especially in the process of producing L2 utterances.

T3 suggested that the two language systems of the L1 and the L2 represented the same conceptual knowledge, but expressed in different forms. That is, the two language systems differed in the forms, but there was certain similarity in the conceptual knowledge that the two languages stood for. She observed that while students learned the L1, they were gaining, at the same time, the conceptual knowledge that was represented in the L1, and therefore, before they learned the L2, they had established that conceptual knowledge in their minds. She claimed that L2 learning, especially for adult students, generally did not require the initial establishment of concepts, because most concepts were already established in the L1. As she explained:

The process that students learn Chinese, their mother tongue, they get into contact with concepts that this language represents. That is, language learning is developed together with cognition. When they learn English, actually, they have known a lot of those concepts. (T31)

In addition to the establishment of the concepts in the L1, T6 claimed that the abilities that students had gained in their L1 could be transferred to their L2 learning. She further explained that the students at the tertiary level were mature in their cognitive development which had been attained when they learned the L1, and thus students could draw on the existing high-level abilities of understanding and thinking
when they learned the L2. T6 suggested that students’ cognitive competence in the
L1 such as reasoning, making references, and critical thinking styles would affect
their L2 learning, because the L1 and L2 were interdependent in terms of cognitive
capabilities. T6 explained:

Don’t you feel that if a person has a high ability of the mother tongue, he usually
will be good at learning the L2 as well, coz language is connected with cognitive
competence, while such competence is shared by the L1 and the L2 or even the
L3. (T6I)

Three participants stated that since students had both constructed conceptual
knowledge and gained thinking abilities in their L1 learning, L2 learning should
mainly focus on the language form of the L2, rather than establishing the conceptual
knowledge in the L2. For example, T9 said ‘the purpose of my teaching is not to
teach students the concepts, but to help them learn how to use these concepts’ (T9I).
Based on such understandings, three participants suggested the benefits of
establishing connections between the L2 and the L1 equivalents. T9 explained that
Chinese was the ‘language of thought’ for the majority of students at the intermediate
level, so when they talked in English, they thought in Chinese first and then searched
for equivalent L2 expressions to express their ideas. Hence, those participants
suggested that helping learners to establish appropriate and solid connections
between these two languages was likely to reduce the ‘searching period’ in the
process of L2 production, and thereby enable them to speak the L2 more fluently. In
contrast, the lack of proper connections between the L1 and L2 might lead to the
failure of producing L2 output.

They also explained that some information was so important that they felt necessary
to ensure all the students were able to understand completely. For example, T10
stated that the requirements or instructions for certain L2 tasks were considered as
very important information which should be understood by all the students without
misunderstanding. Any individual student’s lack of comprehension in this situation
would not only affect himself/herself but also interrupt the other students’
performance and the learning outcomes of the L2 tasks. They also suggested that
sometimes the information they attempted to transmit to the students could be very complex, abstract or easily misunderstood, and thus it was difficult to make such information clear and comprehensible through the L2 only. In summary, six teachers perceived that the L1 played an inevitable role of providing clarification of difficult or important information in the classroom.

6.5.3 Interview question 11

*What do you think of the roles of L1 use in relation to students’ affective needs?*

Five participants noted that adapting to the students’ language choice and taking account into the students’ affective needs in some circumstances was one of the factors provoking their CS practice. For example, T8 stated that adapting to the interlocutor’s language choice in some circumstances seemed to signal a kind of respect or rapport, and she tended to do so in her everyday communication, such as with other Chinese people when she worked as a visiting scholar in America, or with her relatives when she went back to her hometown. In terms of communication with students, especially when talking to an individual student, she suggested that sometimes she tended to adapt to the student’s language choice to reduce the distance.

T8 argued that teacher CS could not only be used to facilitate students’ understandings of L2 lexical items but was needed to address students’ affective needs, as she considered their active engagement in the learning process as the most important part of the class and did not want to be too strict with the language they used in the conversation with her. She explained the students in her class were not competent enough in dealing with L2 communication in all circumstances in the classroom, especially when addressing real communicative needs rather than taking part in some conversation activities; thus, as a language teacher, she had to consider the students’ affective needs in related to the language choices. She said:

> One of my students ever said to me, ‘You obviously know that I can’t handle this conversation in English, but you insist talking to me in English. You must want to
embarrass me’. Well, he is very brave, as usually no student dares to talk to the teacher like him. But I guess other students must have the same feelings just without telling me. (T8I)

6.6 Chapter summary

In summary, this chapter reports the participants’ perceptions of L1 and L2 use in the EFL classroom. It suggests that teachers’ CS use in the university EFL classroom are associated with multiple factors. The choices between L1 and L2 use are associated with the participants’ understandings of different teaching objectives such as developing students’ communicative competence or their language knowledge; they are influenced by the participants’ previous learning or teaching experiences, the external culture of ELT with respect to L1 and L2 use, and their understandings of theories of L2 learning and SLA. The perceived language ability of the participants themselves and perceived capabilities of students also appear to affect their choices of the L1 and the L2. Finally, the participants’ L1 and L2 use seem to be associated with how they perceived their students’ cognitive processing abilities and affective needs.
Chapter 7 Discussion and conclusion

The previous three chapters reported the findings with regard to teacher use of CS produced in this study. As previously described, the research was guided by the following research questions:

1) To what extent and in what ways do teachers codeswitch in the university EFL classroom in China? 
2) What rationales do teachers provide for their CS practices in the university EFL classroom in China? 
3) What are teachers’ perceptions about the use of CS in the university EFL classroom in China? 

While there is a re-emerging debate on L1 use in ELT and there have been many previous studies of L1 use in specific educational contexts, to my knowledge there has been little qualitative research that has combined the exploration of both teachers’ CS practices and their perceptions of the issue in tertiary ELT in China. As outlined in Chapter 1, this study aimed to obtain new insights into the extent to which, how and why CS was used by teachers in the university EFL classroom in China. The findings suggested widespread CS practices in this research setting and identified the potential value of L1 use in language teaching and learning. They also revealed the complexity of teacher decision-making in terms of L1 use in the classroom. Consequently, this study provides a valuable addition to the current research literature about teacher use of CS in the L2 classroom. It also offers a meaningful resource for ELT practitioners and educators about L1 use and provides a foundation for further studies that seek to explore optimal L1 use in the L2 classroom.

This chapter begins with Section 7.1 as a summary of key findings from this research with the purpose of addressing the above three research questions. The following Section 7.2 outlines a conceptual framework of teacher CS built up upon the results of the current study. Next two sections bring together the findings of teacher
practices and perceptions in relation to the use of CS in the EFL classroom and provide more detailed discussion of the main contributions of this study from two primary perspectives. The first perspective, as presented in Section 7.3, discusses what the numbers revealed about teacher CS practices and Section 7.4 discusses multiple factors that may affect teachers’ language choices between the L1 and the L2 identified by the study. It then moves on to discuss the major contributions and significance of this study to wider audiences, including researchers, ELT experts, practitioners, and teacher trainers. It ends with a brief discussion of the limitations of this study and provides several recommendations for further studies.

7.1 Summary of key findings

The first research question sought to examine how teacher CS was distributed in the participants’ classroom utterances. Timed analysis suggested that all the participants codeswitched in the classroom to some extent; however, the L1/L2 distribution in these ten participants’ classroom discourse varied greatly. The calculation of the quantity of teacher CS episodes bounded by the L2 also supported this wide variance. In addition to the overall distribution of teacher L1/L2, analysis of the research data also showed that the participants used both inter-sentential CS and intra-sentential CS, the former being used more often than the latter. In general, the total number of message-oriented CS instances was slightly higher than that of medium-oriented CS instances. In addition, in general the functions of teacher CS were not distributed evenly, with the function of ‘translation L2 to L1’ occurring most frequently.

The second research question aimed to understand the in-depth reasons behind the patterns of teacher CS. The rationales for using CS in the classroom provided by the participants have been classified into three major categories. First, the participants perceived there was a pedagogical value of CS use, as they felt that it enhanced L2 learning, for example with regard to grammar knowledge and the acquisition of L2 lexical items. Second, they also claimed that teacher CS served to maintain classroom interaction and facilitate classroom communication. Third, the participants perceived that teacher CS can also be used as affective and interpersonal support in the classroom.
The third research question aimed to investigate participants’ perceptions about overall L1/L2 distribution in the university EFL classroom. Analysis of the research findings indicated that the majority of participants acknowledged that L2-only teaching is not suitable for the university EFL classroom in China. Even though there were no explicit educational policies about whether the L1 was allowed in the EFL classroom, the participants perceived in the institutional culture an implicit position that favoured English-only teaching. This was possibly caused by the perception that the L1 was considered as a hindrance to L2 learning and using the L1 was often associated with teachers’ incompetence, which had been taken for granted by policy makers and ELT experts for long time. However, five participants expressed disagreement with this English-only implied expectation of their institution and claimed that whether and how much to use the L1 should be dependent on multiple individual and environmental factors.

Although the participants in general agreed that L1 use was necessary and could be beneficial to classroom communication and L2 learning in the EFL classroom, the study also found that the participants’ theoretical perspectives on optimal L1/L2 distribution differed according to three primary factors: teachers’ ideologies of ELT, teachers’ understanding of teaching objectives and teachers’ understanding of the relationship between the L1 and the L2. The participants who emphasized the importance of teaching language knowledge and skills through the teaching of grammar and vocabulary based on texts and those who aimed to prepare students for English language examinations (e.g. IELTS) appeared to accept more L1 use in their class. However, others who considered the development of learners’ communicative competence as the ultimate goal of L2 learning agreed with maximizing the L2. Moreover, some participants acknowledged students’ pre-existing conceptual knowledge acquired via the L1 and claimed that helping students to establish appropriate links between the L1 and L2 equivalents could be beneficial to their learning outcomes and additionally could avoid possibly L2 lengthy explanation of the concept itself, thereby increasing teaching efficiency.
7.2 Conceptual framework of teacher CS

The key finding was that the teachers in this study made choices as to whether to use the L1 or L2 with different degrees of salience and adapted to multiple contextual and individually-specific factors in order to satisfy their perceived needs to achieve their pedagogical goals. Figure 2 below is a conceptual representation of the overarching picture that emerged from the combined findings from the semi-structured interviews, the observations and the SRIs.

**Figure 2.** Factors involved in teacher CS practices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual factors</th>
<th>Environmental factors</th>
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<tr>
<td>Personal ideologies</td>
<td>Educational culture of the institution</td>
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<td>Understanding of the language learning</td>
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<td>Perceptions of their own language ability</td>
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Classroom-specific factors

Scaffolding of L2 learning
Facilitation of classroom management
Building rapport

The choice of L1/L2 use

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Figure 2 lists a number of factors which are associated with teacher CS use. It presents the complex construct of teacher CS involving a variety of components concerning language teaching and learning. The present study suggests that teachers’ decisions making about L1/L2 use are influenced at two different levels: the macro-level, where individual and environmental factors influence their decision making about the overall amount of L1/L2 use; and the micro-level, where classroom-specific factors affect their language choices about when to codeswitch between the L1 and L2 (although this study mainly focuses on switching from the L2 to the L1) in classroom communication. None of these factors play an independent role in teachers’ decision making about L1/L2 use in the classroom. The interplay and interrelationship between them constitute a comprehensive picture of teacher CS, which has not been fully explored by previous studies, suggesting the complex nature of this linguistic and pedagogic issue.

7.3 What the quantitative analysis revealed

As explained previously, the quantitative analysis adopted in the present study mainly aimed to examine the extent to which and the ways in which teacher CS was used in the university EFL classroom. To identify the overall amount of L1/L2 distribution in the participants’ discourse in the classroom, the present study adopted two approaches to data analysis: timed analysis of teacher CS and the calculation of the quantity of teacher CS bounded by the L2. Even though this section does not directly compare the amount of teacher L1 use with that identified by previous studies, some of which have adopted different frameworks or calculations, the present study’s finding of a wide range of L1/L2 use across the participants is consistent with many previous studies on teacher L1/L2 distribution in Chinese EFL contexts (Guo, 2007; Lu, 2015; Song, 2005) and those in other countries (Copland & Neokleous, 2011; Duff & Polio, 1990; Turnbull, 1999). Compared with some previous studies which contained fewer observed lessons or participants (e.g. Guo, 2007; Lu, 2015; Macaro, 2001; Pham, 2014; Tang, 2002), the present study observed thirty lessons of ten EFL teachers, which helped to provide a broader picture of the significant variance in the amount of L1/L2 across the participants’ discourse.
The study also showed that teacher CS in all the participants’ classroom discourse occurred at both inter-sentential and intra-sentential levels, even if this was infrequent (as in the case of T7 who only used inter-sentential twice in the classroom). Overall, the participants used inter-sentential CS more frequently than intra-sentential CS. This is in accordance with the findings of Guo’s (2007) study which was also conducted in the context of Chinese university EFL classrooms. However, it is not consistent with some other studies on teacher CS use. For example, Pham (2015) observed that the most frequent grammatical pattern of teacher CS in her study was those took place at the lexical level, which was similar to the definition of intra-sentential CS in the present study.

The findings also indicated that the overall number of message-oriented CS in the participants’ classroom discourse was only slightly higher than that of medium-oriented CS. Thus, in the present study, the participants’ teaching emphasis on medium and message were balanced. That is, they tended to put similar emphasis on both the forms of English language and communication in the university EFL classroom. This overall distribution of teacher CS by orientations is similar to Guo’s (2007) study and Macaro’s (1998) study; however, Guo’s (ibid) results are much closer to those of the present study. Macaro’s (1998) study suggested that the participants in his study used message-oriented CS more than twice as medium-oriented CS, while Guo’s (ibid) study found out that the former was used slightly more than the latter. This inconsistency may be explained by the context, as Guo’s (ibid) study, like this one, focused on Chinese university EFL classrooms, while Macaro’s study was conducted in the secondary school FL classroom context in England. Moreover, the overall tendency towards a higher frequency of message-oriented CS may not be consistent across individual participants, as the data show that three of the ten participants used medium-oriented CS slightly more often than message-oriented CS.

The present study identified nine pedagogical categories of CS functions, which are in general similar to some previous studies conducted in EFL contexts in China (Cheng, 2013; Guo, 2007; Lu, 2015; Tang, 2002) and in other L2 classrooms across the world (de la Campa & Nassaji, 2009; Pham, 2015; Polio & Duff, 1994; Sali,
such as translation, teaching grammar, eliciting responses, checking comprehension and indexing rapport. The study shows that first the functions of teacher CS in the whole corpus of teacher discourse did not distribute evenly (See Figure 1). For example, the function of ‘translation L2 items to the L1’ in the study was the top one used in the whole corpus compared with the other categories; while ‘explaining grammar’ was used the least frequently. Therefore, it seems that teachers’ language choices between the L1 and the L2 may be associated with their perceived role of L1 use in specific classroom function. Further discussion about this point will be presented in Section 7.4.3.

7.4 Factors affecting teacher CS practices

As outlined in Figure 2, the present study shows that teachers’ language choices between the L1 and L2 were made in adaptation to a variety of influential factors, including individually-specific, environmental, and class-specific perspectives, so as to achieve different communicative needs in the university EFL classroom.

7.4.1 Environmental factors

The following three sub-sections discuss the major external or environmental factors perceived by the participants to affect their CS practices in the university EFL classroom.

7.4.1.1 Educational culture of the institution

The study found that teachers’ language choices between the L1 and L2 were influenced by their perceived external culture of the institution which favoured English-only teaching to some extent. The research literature suggested that there were no specific policies and regulations on whether and to what extent the L1 was allowed in the class in many ELT contexts either conducted in Chinese EFL contexts or other countries across the world (e.g. Hall & Cook, 2013; Pablo et al., 2011; Song, 2005), except for a few studies that found explicit documents that opposed L1 use (e.g. Liu et al., 2004; Macaro, 1998). However, as explained in Chapter 2 (Section
2.4.3), an implicit English-only favoured institutional environment has been reported by many EFL teachers in some prior studies. Previous studies have suggested that the influence of educational policies on teachers’ practices in the class regarding CS use varies across teachers, from greatly influenced (e.g. Macaro, 2001) to not convinced and unfeasible to apply (e.g. Almulhim, 2014). The current study found that in general, institutional expectations of English-only classrooms seem to affect the participants’ teaching practice regarding the choices between L1 and L2 use in specific circumstances (e.g. being observed by an expert of their department), while individual teachers’ perceptions and reactions towards such implicit English-only favoured environment within their institution differed. As described in Section 6.3, some participants revealed that they would try to avoid or even exclude L1 use in their teaching if an expert was observing the class; however, some also revealed that their practices regarding L1 and L2 use would return to ‘normal’ after the classroom observation by an expert.

7.4.1.2 Teaching approach (CLT) advocated

The participants’ decisions to L1 or L2 use were influenced by the recent popularity of CLT at both the national and institutional levels. As described in Chapter 6, the desirability of using the L2 as the major medium of instruction was acknowledged by the majority of participants considering the pedagogic aim of developing students’ communicative competence as required by the College English Curriculum Reform in 2007 (See Section 6.1). As Cai and Cook (2015) point out, the overall amount of L1 use is expected to be reduced in a communicative-oriented EFL classroom. However, the study suggests that teachers’ perceptions of how to apply CLT in their own classroom settings with regard to decision making about L1 and L2 use may not be completely consistent with such a generally recognized view.

As described in Section 6.1, two participants considered that creating a ‘native-like’ environment through minimizing L1 use in the classroom was an important part of the CLT approach. This suggests that the ultimate goal of learning English was to interact with ‘native speakers’, a goal that the recent research literature would indicate is somewhat outdated, given that most communication in English worldwide
now takes place between English L2 speakers, and that the notion of the ‘native speaker’ has in any case been called into question. In contrast, for other participants, the idea of ‘communication’ in CLT was a goal within the classroom as well as more broadly and that, therefore, the L1 had a useful role to play. According to these participants, since the primary purpose was to help students convey meaning with the L2, anything which could provide more opportunities for them to expand discussion of the meaning of a text or a topic should be welcomed in the EFL classroom, including the use of the L1. The different understandings of L1 use in CLT by the participants suggest that generally accepted definitions of CLT may not be suitable for the current research setting, i.e. Chinese university EFL classrooms, where various other contextual factors are involved such as curriculum design, materials, students’ levels and allocated class time, as discussed in the following two sub-sections.

7.4.1.3 Examination regime

Another possible factor is the contradiction between the pedagogical goal of communicative competence development and the type of language knowledge required by the examination regime. As described in Chapter 2, the study of Liu et al. (2004) found that despite a South Korean government policy that encouraged maximal English use in the EFL classroom, some teachers did not change the amount of their L1 use because the L1 played an essential role in the test and form-focused curricula with which they were presented. In the current study, teachers’ L1 use was related to the explanation of ‘test strategies’ and ‘examination points related to L2 knowledge’ required by semester examinations and CET. The major examinations of Chinese university students’ English ability are focused on students’ language knowledge and examination strategies rather than their communicative skills, which may influence teachers’ implementation of teaching approaches and therefore influence their language choices between the L1 and the L2 in the classroom.

7.4.1.4 Class time allocated

As the literature review explained, limited class time has been considered a challenge
for teachers to deliver information clearly through the exclusive use of L2 (e.g. de la Campa & Nassaji, 2009; Forman, 2010; Kraemer, 2006). In the current study, the majority of participants agreed that when they felt time pressure, they would use the L1 so as to convey information more quickly. Therefore, English-only teaching may not be beneficial within an educational setting where there is limited lesson time allocated, as the L1 can be used as a time-saver to help teachers convey comprehensible messages faster in the classroom.

Moreover, the study indicated that developing students’ language skills through CLT may not be suitable for Chinese university EFL classrooms with limited class time. The results showed that the participants felt it necessary to spend the limited class time on, for instance, grammar points, rather than the development of L2 skills; they considered their main teaching objective as drawing students’ attention to certain language forms via the assistant of L1 use rather than providing L2 input which students were able to obtain after class through online learning materials. Therefore, teachers’ choices of L1 use as a useful tool in explaining language points clearly and quickly help them to achieve the purpose of developing learners’ language knowledge with limited class time.

7.4.1.5 Culturally-specific language items

The study found that teachers chose the L1 for Chinese culturally-specific language items such as proverbs, terms, jargon and web neologisms as they may not have appropriate English equivalents, or because they thought an English expression may cause misunderstanding. As described in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3.3), bilingual speakers’ language choices can be made to adapt to the linguistic reality that which may not be shared by other languages, an important development of Adaptation Theory made by Yu (2001). For different political, economic, geographic and historical reasons, there are many differences between the cultural contexts of China and English-speaking countries. Therefore, when teachers want to talk about concepts or expressions particularly related to Chinese culture, they may choose to switch to Chinese (the L1). In addition, through using the L1, teachers can create humorous or other affective communicative effects based on their shared cultural
background with their students; thereby helping to smooth or strengthen classroom communication.

7.4.2 Individual factors

The study found that in addition to the above perceived environmental factors, teachers’ language choices between the L1 and the L2 are affected by a number of individual-specific factors, which are discussed in the following sub-sections. While these factors are discussed under individual headings below for the purposes of clarity, in terms of the overall study they sometimes overlapped as different facets of the same phenomenon.

7.4.2.1 Personal ideologies of ELT

The participants’ expressed positions reflected the differing ideologies of ELT that have been observed and discussed in the scholarly literature (See Section 2.1.1). The study found that teachers who considered achieving ‘native-speaker-like’ language proficiency in Standard English as the ultimate objective of English teaching and learning tended to support CLT and avoid L1 use in the classroom. In these cases, ‘native speakers’ was understood as people from ‘Anglo’ English-speaking countries, since understanding the social norms within such countries was believed by these teachers to be essential to learners’ development of their communicative competence. These teachers’ perceptions can thus be argued to be ideologically aligned to the concept of ‘native-speakerism’ (Holliday 2006, p.385). For these teachers, creating an ‘authentic’ English-speaking environment in the EFL classroom played a critically important role in their teaching as they believed it helped learners to develop their communicative competence, and the use of L1 which was considered damaging the ‘authenticity’ should be reduced as much as possible. In contrast, other participants appeared to reject the notion of ‘Standard English’ and to position English teaching and learning within a globalized context where English is an international language that does not ‘belong’ to any specific group (Pennycook, 2008). Their ideological position seemed to be more associated with L2 users’ multi-competence (Cook, 2001) or translanguaging (e.g. García & Li Wei, 2014), as
a consequence of which they were also more likely to recognize the value of students’ L1 in the EFL classroom.

7.4.2.2 Personal teaching goals

The participants’ different understandings of the teaching objectives influenced their perceptions of the overall amount of L1 that can be used by teachers in the classroom. ‘Personal teaching goals’ in this study is identified as the participants’ personal philosophy of the ultimate objectives of language learning and teaching. The study found that the participants’ personal teaching goals sometimes differed from the required curriculum or syllabi goals, and thereby may not be consistent with the teaching approach advocated by their institution.

Participants’ individually unique teaching goals, together with other factors such as the advocated teaching approach, allocated lesson time and perceived students’ language ability influenced teachers’ CS decisions. Teachers who acknowledged the importance of building learners’ L2 knowledge in the classroom appeared to support a certain amount of L1 use in their classroom. Others recognized L1 use as a scaffolding tool for successful information transmission in the classroom, and two participants in particular whose goals were to develop students’ capacity to think in English seemed to reject or try to minimize L1 use in the classroom as making reference to the L1 was seen as hindrance to learners’ L2 learning outcomes. It appears, therefore, that teachers’ personal understandings of the goals of L2 teaching influence their perceptions about the overall amount of L1 use in the EFL classroom and may affect their CS practices accordingly.

7.4.2.3 Understanding of the language learning process

In addition to their understandings of teaching objectives, the results indicated that the participants’ theoretical understandings of the processes involved in language learning and the place of language in the brain influenced their views about L1 use.

The study found that teachers’ choices of L1 and L2 use when explaining L2 lexical
items seemed to be associated with their understandings of the relationship between L1 and L2 in bilinguals’ minds, which, as described in Chapter 2, has been an important issue in studies on bilingual learners’ acquisition of L2 vocabulary (Cummins, 2007; de Groot, 2002). As explained in Chapter 2, the concept of common or shared conceptual and cognitive knowledge has been proposed to demonstrate the connection between L1 and L2 in bilinguals’ minds. The hypothesized benefits of establishing links between the L1 and the L2 for learners’ L2 learning has also been claimed in previous studies, both theoretical (e.g. Butzkamm, 2003; Celik, 2003) and empirical (e.g. Forman, 2010; Pham, 2015; Song & Andrews, 2009). In the current study, some participants’ understandings seemed to be consistent with the three-component two-level memory model proposed by de Groot (2002) that although these two languages seemed to be distinctive in terms of their lexical forms, they are integrated more or less at the conceptual level. Thus, as described in Section 6.5.2, these teachers supported providing L1 equivalents instead of spending time explaining the concept itself which students had already learnt via the L1. According to them, adult L2 learning did not usually involve the initial establishing of concepts as they had already been established in the L1.

However, some participants’ perspectives on this issue seemed to be more similar to the previously reviewed hypothesis of separated language systems in bilinguals’ minds (See Chapter 2), and they therefore rejected the essential role of L1 use in assisting L2 lexical acquisition. For these participants, ‘English thinking’ (i.e. thinking in the L2 with no reference to the L1) was an important ability of L2 learners, as it enabled learners to avoid the process of translation between Chinese and English and thereby accelerated the speed of understanding others or expressing themselves. According to them, L2 learners with poor English thinking ability tended to involve substantial translation in their learning process, which sometimes was based on inappropriate connections between L1 and L2 lexical items and could be harmful to the outcomes of L2 learning. This study has therefore found that teachers’ different understandings of students’ cognitive processing, particularly the relationship between the L1 and the L2 in bilingual learners’ minds, seemed to affect their decision making about L1 and L2 use.
7.4.2.4 Understanding of students’ affective needs

The potential value of the L1 in addressing some affective aspects of teaching and learning in the L2 classroom were considered as a crucial reason for some of the teachers’ CS practices during lessons. This is in accordance with the literature, in which CS for social and affective purposes has been identified as one reason for teachers’ L1 use (e.g. Canagarajah, 1995; Forman, 2010; Grim, 2010; Littlewood & Yu, 2011).

How participants’ understanding of students’ affective needs influenced their decision making about the overall amount of L1 use appeared to be governed by two issues: whether taking care of students’ affective needs was considered as their pedagogic priority; how the L1 could be used to address students’ affective needs. The later issue has been examined by many previous studies, as identified in Chapter 2. Like the current study, previous studies have reported the usefulness of L1 use in addressing students’ affective needs including reducing negative emotions caused by comprehension difficulties, indexing friendship and rapport, and creating a cheerful and humorous classroom environment (Grim, 2010; Pham, 2014; Polio & Duff, 1994; Sali, 2014).

However, the current study uniquely found that it was necessary to consider the influence of both issues on teachers’ perceptions of the overall amount of L1 use in their teaching. The majority of, but not all, participants acknowledged the issue about learners’ affective aspects as an important area of L2 teaching and learning. Those participants who did not consider meeting students’ affective needs as their pedagogic priority in the university EFL classroom were more likely to reduce the overall amount of L1 use, while others who recognized the importance of addressing such issues, which is consistent with Edstrom’s (2006) reported ‘moral obligation’ (See Section 2.4), may increase the overall amount of L1 use accordingly.

7.4.2.5 Teachers’ perceptions of their own language ability

As explained in Chapter 2, previous research indicates that teachers’ language ability
has been considered as a possible factor related to their L1 use (e.g. Kim & Elder, 2005; Liu et al., 2004). In the current study, five participants claimed that they were confident in their English ability and they were able to speak English all the time in the classroom if they were required to do so. However, four participants in their interviews revealed that they were not confident about their own language proficiency. One issue is related to lack of competence in ‘real life language’. This term in the present study was used to distinguish it from ‘standard English’. The latter was what learners learnt from the textbooks in the EFL classroom, which they felt was probably not used by native speakers in their real life. Teachers’ lack of competence in ‘real life language’ may have caused them to switch to the L1 when necessary.

7.4.2.6 Teachers’ perceived lack of motivation

Chapter 2 also revealed that multiple factors that constrain teachers’ maximal use of the L2 such as teachers’ laziness, fatigue and lack of motivation have been identified in previous studies (Dickson, 1996; Edstrom, 2006; Pennington, 1995; Song & Andrew, 2009). However, the reasons why teachers lack motivation or when they feel tired particularly have not been fully revealed in that literature. The current study suggests that unlike the reasons identified by previous studies, teachers’ L1 use may be related to students’ low motivation or lack of engagement, as in this study participants explained that they had the negative feeling that their effort spent on using the L2 to communicate did not receive active responses from their students, which they felt was partly caused by their low motivation and interest rather than lack of comprehension. This study did not aim to explore the reasons for students’ low motivation in the university EFL classroom; however, it at least suggests that teachers’ CS practices may also be linked to their negative experiences in the classroom.

7.4.3 Classroom-specific factors

The study found that CS was used in various pedagogic contexts so as to fulfill different communicative needs in the university EFL classroom. Table 11 presents
the pedagogic contexts of teacher CS use identified in the study. These CS practices can be grouped into three major types: facilitating or developing L2 learning, managing classroom interaction, and building affective support and indexing rapport. Each of these types is discussed in more detail in the three sub-sections that follow.

### Table 11. Pedagogic contexts for teacher CS use in the EFL classroom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scaffolding of learning</th>
<th>Classroom management</th>
<th>Building rapport</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explaining target items</td>
<td>Checking comprehension</td>
<td>Using humour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translating vocabulary</td>
<td>Giving instructions for activities</td>
<td>Praising and encouraging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching grammar</td>
<td>Managing administrative tasks</td>
<td>Talking about personal stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echoing students’ words</td>
<td>Giving feedback</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliciting responses</td>
<td>Reprimanding and control</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussing exam strategies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Explaining cultural references</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.4.3.1 Scaffolding of L2 learning

According to participants, providing its L1 equivalent may help students learn the L2 target item better and save limited class time. The results suggest that participants’ decision making about the language (the L1 or the L2) chosen to explain a L2 item was not always planned in advance but was influenced by what they perceived to be their immediate communicative needs. Two major elements of classroom communication that seemed to affect the participants’ language choices in lexical explanation were identified: perceived students’ instant comprehension and perceived lesson time. As explained in Chapter 5, the participants claimed that providing the L1 equivalent could help to link the L2 form to students’ pre-existing knowledge about abstract terminology, to avoid lengthy L2 explanation and the interruption of immediate communication, and to provide quick explanation of key L2 words for later lesson events or activities.
This scaffolding role of L1 use in L2 production has been identified in previous studies (e.g. Forman, 2012; Pham, 2014; Üstünel, 2009). The current study went further to find that participants were interested in all students’ responses, in both the L2 and L1, because, according to some participants, students’ contribution to the class should include all their cognitive production about certain topics. The data suggests that in some situations the teacher may not expect students to use the L2 and therefore they may use the L1 to communicate with their students. For example, Extract 28 in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2) shows how T3 used CS to maintain classroom interaction. According to T3, her reason for using the L1 in this case was to provoke the learners’ interest in this topic and to offer them more chances of engaging in this discussion about the topic of superstition, while L2 speaking practice was considered secondary. Therefore, teachers’ language choices under these circumstances were adapted to their purpose of achieving their communicative needs.

CS was perceived by the participants as useful in adding historical or cultural information related to the immediate lesson topic. This function of teacher CS is consistent with the concept of ‘inside plane shift’ (Macaro 1998, p.188), as described earlier in this thesis, and used to refer to the provision of additional contextual messages related to the immediate topic or discourse without shifting students’ attention away by using CS. For example, Extract 41 in Chapter 5 (Section 5.4.2) shows how T10 switched to the L1 to provide some culturally-related information so as to deepen students’ understanding of the immediate topic ‘image’. In this case, according to T10, L1 use served two purposes: first, using the L1 to explain something related to Chinese history and culture helped the students’ comprehension; second, it could also enhance the students’ understanding of the L2 topic or concept of ‘image’.

7.4.3.2 Facilitation of classroom management

Teacher CS for addressing classroom management issues has been identified by previous research studies, as explained in Chapter 2 (e.g. Canagarajah, 1995; Ferguson, 2003; Guo, 2007; Sali, 2014). Littlewood and Yu (2011), for instance,
claimed that CS can be used in classroom management contexts such as class opening, transition management, task instructions guidance and discipline control. The present study observed some situations of CS use for classroom management similar to those identified by previous studies but also found that the participants perceived CS as having a supportive role in avoiding misunderstanding, maintaining contact with the students and saving time during classroom management.

The participants clearly supported CS as a pedagogical tool for facilitating classroom interaction in a number of different ways. They perceived that they could manage classroom interaction more effectively by eliciting students’ responses via the use of L1, and that this would prompt learners’ active thinking and to provide opportunities for learners to engage in learning process. This was evident, for example, when some participants suggested that when teachers ask students about the L2 equivalent to a given L1 word or expression, they are prompting students to make contributions to classroom activities rather than listening to their teacher passively. A second example of where participants perceived that CS was a useful pedagogical tool was when they switched to the L1 to clarify some complicated questions to ensure students’ understanding, as in the situation described in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2) where the teacher asked about the characteristics of Chinese people in both English and the L1 to clarify the abstract question and succeeded in eliciting the student’s L2 responses. In this case, the participants perceived that students could focus on thinking about the question itself and organize their L2 utterances rather than spend time struggling to understand the question.

Earlier research studies suggest that teacher CS can be used to facilitate students’ understanding of classroom instructions or repair their misapplication of task instructions given in the L2 first (e.g. Forman, 2010; Grant, 2007; Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005). Some studies note that whether or not to use the L1 for giving task instructions may depend on its level of complexity or difficulty in terms of students’ understanding (Atkinson, 1987). The results from this study suggests that there seem to be two situations in which task instructions were considered more difficult for learners by the participants, as described in Chapter 5 (Section 5.4.1). One was giving instructions for a new activity; and the other was giving instructions
to students for a listening comprehension activity.

The finding in this study that teachers used CS for administrative tasks (e.g. giving assignments, making announcements and checking attendance) has been reported in previous studies (e.g. Liu et al., 2004; Lu, 2015). The results from this study provide insights into why the L1 was chosen by the participants in such situations rather than the L2, as described in Chapter 5 (Section 5.4.2.1). Administrative language items related to specific Chinese educational or university contexts may not have suitable English equivalents, and thus using Chinese at these situations were perceived as a more efficient language choice for communication by the participants.

Another rationale for using CS put forward by participants in this study was to gain students’ attention when checking students’ comprehension or when they wished to maintain control of the class. This has also been found in previous research, as described in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.3). In this study, as described in Chapter 5, the participants held the view that the L1 represented a more powerful language code indexing a certain authority of teachers or enhancing the seriousness of the utterance than the L2. Therefore, switching to the L1 may serve as an attention-focusing device, particularly in a noisy environment and by focusing students’ attention it could be used to control students’ behaviours and maintain classroom discipline.

7.4.3.3 Building rapport

The findings suggested that CS was used by the participants in addressing some affective aspects of teaching and learning in the university EFL classroom, something that has also been found in previous research studies (e.g. Canagarajah, 1995; Forman, 2010; Grim, 2010; Littlewood & Yu, 2011).

The results from this study suggests that there seem to be several situations in which CS was considered as a tool for building rapport with the students by the participants, as described in Chapter 5 (Section 5.4.3). One was using humor (e.g. making jokes, using internet buzzwords), where the participants argued that the L1 helped to achieve humorous effects more successfully than the L2 as understanding some jokes
was based on shared knowledge about certain cultural events or topics by both the teacher and students, which might not be easily translated into another language. The second was giving encouragement, where the participants claimed that switching to the L1 helped to reinforce the teacher’s support for the students and was more likely to reduce their tension and stress which might not be obtained by using the L2 only. Another situation was giving compliments in which the participants considered the L1 as an effective language choice as using the L1 enabled them to convey stronger emotions. The final situation of CS use was telling personal stories where the participants argued that the L1 could be used to narrate teachers’ personal stories, which helped to enliven the classroom atmosphere when they perceived that the students were not motivated. These communicative situations discussed above illustrate the participants’ perceptions about how CS can be used by teachers to address social and affective aspects in classroom communication.

7.5 Research implications

The investigation of teachers’ perceptions and practices related to their use of CS in the university EFL classroom in this study supports the call in previous literature that the monolingual teaching which has dominated L2 teaching for a long time needs to be re-considered and more evidence about what exactly happens in the L2 classroom about teacher language use are needed so as to build up a framework of judicious L1 use (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009; Littlewood & Yu, 2011; Macaro, 2009). This section discusses the contributions of the present study to a wider audience including researchers, practitioners, teacher trainers and policy makers.

Firstly, research findings on teacher CS practices and perceptions can be used to inform teacher trainers and the design of teacher training programmes. This study suggests a lack of consistency in terms of teachers’ theoretical perspectives on the use of CS, influenced by their personal philosophy of ELT, theoretical understandings of L2 learning, and perceptions of the implicit institutional culture that appears to favour English-only teaching. In addition, some participants in this study seemed to be less aware of their own CS practices and lacked a full understanding of this issue. Therefore, this study suggests that teacher education
would benefit from including relevant programmes to increase teachers’ awareness of this issue and help them acquire more comprehensive knowledge. ELT educators need to try work towards some established guidelines or principles of judicious L1 use in the L2 classroom.

Furthermore, the research provides evidence of the benefits of analysing teacher use of CS from a pragmatic perspective. Guided by Adaptation Theory (Verschueren, 1999) which states that language choices are made consciously or subconsciously, taking into account a range of contextual factors, in order to fulfil bilingual speakers’ various communicative needs, this study suggests that bilingual teachers make choices between the L1 and the L2 with different degrees of salience, adapting to multiple factors (e.g. the linguistic reality, social conventions, and other contextual elements), so as to satisfy communicative needs in the EFL classroom. This study is an attempt to establish a conceptual framework of the analysis of bilingual teachers’ language choices between the L1 and the L2 in the EFL classroom. Figure 2 presents multiple factors that were perceived by the participants to affect their CS use at both the overall level and specific situations in classroom interaction in the university EFL classroom in China. This conceptual framework may shed light on theoretical understandings of the complexity of teacher CS and may also be applied to the analysis of bilingual teacher CS practices in other educational contexts across the world.

7.6 Limitations

This was an exploratory study conducted at a single institution and with a small group of teachers. Although it is hoped that the findings will resonate for a range of stakeholders in Chinese EFL education in the university sector, the results cannot be generalised beyond the immediate context. In addition, while it explored teacher participants’ perceptions of their imagined and observed CS practices, the study did not take a specific theoretical approach to understanding those perceptions, such as a study of beliefs or attitudes. Furthermore, the study was focused on bilingual teachers’ perceptions and practices related to CS while students’ perceptions and practices were not examined. Some of the recommendations for future research,
discussed in the section below, could address some of the current study’s limitations.

7.7 Recommendations for future research

A number of reasons for CS were put forward in this study, which demonstrated that perceptions were influenced by a wide range of contextual factors. Future research, involving quantitative studies with large numbers of participants, might help explore further the correlation between teachers’ perceptions and other contextual factors such as their language proficiency, years of teaching experience, and the levels of students’ language ability. It would also be useful to have results from longitudinal studies that investigate how teachers’ perceptions and practices in relation to CS use may evolve over several years of teaching or when students are making progress to higher levels of language proficiency.

While the research draws attention to the ideological nature of language teaching, learning and theorizing, as an exploratory study it did not focus to a great extent on the ideological implications of the participants’ perceptions and the environment in which their practices took place. Further research into ideology and language teaching in contexts such as those described in this study, would be likely to generate useful implications for future practice.

This study investigated teacher use of CS only and did not include a student perspective. Therefore, it may be fruitful to conduct studies on students’ perceptions of this issue in the Chinese context, and their reactions to teacher CS practices in the classroom. Moreover, research involving other agents in the education process, such as policy makers and educational authorities, may also provide useful information on beliefs about CS practices.

It may also be fruitful to undertake a comparative study of teacher and student participants drawn from two or more learning settings or from two or more cultural and educational backgrounds. Such studies could contribute greatly not only to a situated understanding of CS practices but would contribute to our understanding of the commonalities and differences between language practices across settings.
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Appendix 1: Information sheet

INFORMATION SHEET

Teacher use of codeswitching (CS) in Chinese university
English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) classrooms

You are invited to take part in a research study on teacher classroom language use. The major objective of the current study is to obtain an understanding of language use by teachers in university EFL classrooms in China.

If you are willing to participate, you will be invited to take part in one semi-structured interview in the beginning. This is an individual and face-to-face interview conducted by the researcher. Then your classes will be observed three times over the course of one semester, at a mutually convenient time. After each classroom observation, you will be invited to participate in a follow-up stimulated recall interview (SRI) which will require you to provide comments on your language use from audio recordings. Each SRI session is expected to be conducted as soon as possible after classroom observation given the accuracy of your memory.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you have the option to withdraw from this study at any time, with or without providing a reason and with no penalty.

All data collected will be kept confidential, stored on password protected machines and anonymized to ensure that no participants are identifiable. The results of this research will be published but no data will be used that may reveal your identity. Only the researcher herself and two supervisors will have access to the information you provide. If you have any query about this study, please feel free to contact either the researcher or the supervisor. Their contact information is provided in the following:
**Student researcher:**
Jie Chen  
Department of Education  
University of Bath  
Email: jc2247@bath.ac.uk  
Mobile: ***********

**Supervisor:**  
Dr Katie Dunworth  
Department of Education  
University of Bath  
Email: C.M.Dunworth@bath.ac.uk

If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this study, please contact Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (email: m.c.henderson@bath.ac.uk).

Thank you for your consideration about participating in this study.

Kind regards,  
Jie Chen  
Student researcher
调研参与者信息单与知情同意书

调研课题：大学英语课堂教师语码转换现象及原因探究

尊敬的老师您好，我是英国巴斯大学教育学院的一名在读博士生。非常荣幸能够到**大学进行数据采集。我的研究课题是关于大学非英语专业学生英语课堂中教师英汉语码转换的使用情况及其影响因素。数据采集的过程主要分为三部分：

一对一采访：您将受邀参加一次为时30到45分钟的面对面单独采访。采访主要关于您对于英语课堂中教师语码转换行为的看法，内容范围将会涉及到您之前的学习和工作经历，您所在的部门情况以及您目前所教授的课程及学生情况等等。

课堂观察：如果您愿意参与，调研者将会以非参与者的身份观察您的本学期的课堂教学共三次。您的课堂话语将会被录制下来作为日后数据分析的依据。

回忆采访：每次课堂观察结束后，研究者将会播放录制下来的教师课堂话语，您将会被要求对此作出相应的评价或阐述。为了保持您记忆的新鲜度，该采访希望尽可能在课程录制的当天进行。

如欲了解更详细的内容，您可以参考下面的英文版本。非常感谢您的参与与配合。

（英）巴斯大学教育学院博士生  陈洁  敬启

2016年4月
Appendix 2: Consent form

CONSENT FORM

Teacher use of codeswitching (CS) in Chinese university English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) classrooms

Name, position and contact email of Researcher:
Jie Chen (Research Student)
Department of Education,
University of Bath, Bath, United Kingdom
Contact email: jc2247@bath.ac.uk
Contact mobile: ************

I confirm that I have been informed of and understand the purposes of the study provided on the participant information sheet and have been given the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary, and I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. I also understand that any information that is likely to identify me will not be used in published material.

I agree to participate in the study as explained to me.

Name: _____________________
Signature: __________________
Date: ______________________
Appendix 3: Semi-structured interview guide questions

Background information
• Would you please tell me something about your academic background?
• How long have you been teaching university English courses?
• Which year of students are you teaching?

Section 1: Teachers’ philosophical understandings of ELT regarding L1 and L2 use
1. What do you understand the major objectives of ELT in the context of university EFL classrooms in China?
2. How would you describe your pedagogic approach, styles or method of ELT (e.g. Grammar Translation; CLT; a mixture of different methods).

Section 2: Teachers’ previous experience regarding L1 use in the EFL classroom
3. Have you thought about the issue of L1 use in the EFL classroom as language learners? If so, what learning experiences have influenced your perceptions of L1 use?
4. Do you think your previous teaching experience influence your perceptions and/or practices related to L1 use in the EFL classroom? If so, has your perceptions of L1 use changed over years of teaching?

Section 3: Teachers’ perceptions of external culture of ELT regarding L1 use
5. Does your university or department have any regulation about L1 and L2 use in the EFL classroom? If yes, please explain. If no, does your department expect you not to use the L1 in your teaching? If so, why do you have such feelings?
6. What are the culture/discourse of ELT more broadly than your institutional culture, in relation to L1 use (e.g. Do you know any governmental policy on teachers’ L1 use in the classroom)?

Section 4: Teachers’ perceptions of the ‘L2-only’ approach
7. What do you think of teaching English through English in the EFL classroom?
8. Would you feel challenged to teach only in the L2 without being allowed to use the L1 to some extent in the EFL classroom? If so, what aspects of difficulties do you have?

Section 5: Teachers’ perceptions of their CS practices in the EFL classroom

9. How much of the L1 is usually used in your teaching? When is the L1 used in the EFL classroom (e.g. explaining grammar and vocabulary; giving activity instructions; giving administrative information)?

10. What do you think of the roles of L1 use in relation to students’ cognitive needs?

11. What other aspects do you think using the L1 can play a positive role in the EFL classroom?
Appendix 4: Sample of semi-structured interview transcript

T8I (03/05/2016)

T8: 我觉得我对自己上课用汉语还是不满意，但是因为英语不是我的母语，我觉得我的表达没有办法像这种母语是英语的 native speaker 那样，我使用母语可能比如说你讲一个笑话什么的，英语就讲不出那种感觉，至于使用的多少或者频率的话，应该还是少数吧，但是不可能一点不用的。我的情况是这样，据我所知国内的（老师）应该也都是吧。多多少少肯定是要用的。

R: 你刚刚说“不满意”是什么意思？

T8: 我希望自己可以达到完全不用汉语（的水平），非常自如地想说什么就说什么。

R: 为什么你觉得这样好呢？

T8: 因为你教的是外语么，如果我能够用英语达到我的目的的话，那我肯定是用英语。

R: “达成目的”？

T8: 比如说活跃气氛啊，调节一下的这种时候。但是就存在一个问题，首先我们的课堂用语还是偏正式一点，相对于课堂外的日常对话，我对这种非课堂的语言的把握（存在问题）。

R: “非课堂的语言”？

T8: 就是比如开个玩笑，对于这种非正式的语言的驾驭，我觉得自己不够。

R: 有点像 real life language 那种吗？

T8: 对。另一个就是学生的理解。有的时候他如何对你讲的不理解的话，也达不到那个（教学）效果。

R: 你刚刚谈到涉及到生活的一些表达，你不太能够驾驭，你认为是什么原因呢？

T8: 比如说我们课文上的这些东西的话，那应该是没有问题的，生活（的语言）的话，第一个我们本身缺少这样的环境，尽管是英语老师，但是有一些他们的日常生活的场景，我们把握得还是不好。就像我自己到国外去的感觉，在课堂上或是学校里面听课更容易，出去跟小店里面的人交谈，那个感觉就要困难。因为我想我们自己学习英语的时候，总是学所谓的 standard English 么，但是生活当中它不是这么使用的。

R: 在我今天采访你之前，你自己有想过关于母语使用的问题吗？或者你们老师
之间有过相关的讨论吗？
T8：假如没有老师听课或领导检查的话，为了解释更清楚，就会掺杂一些（中文），但是现在从小学到大学，如果你要开公开课，你肯定不讲（中文）的。
R：为什么呢？
T8：其实，我们毕竟在这样的环境下教么，其实用汉语未必就不好，或者说你的语言功底就差，但是可能说大家是这么认为吧。
R：你说的“大家”是指？
T8：普遍认为。
R：如果去参加比赛，学院的领导也是支持你们全英文吗？
T8：如果我们去参加比赛肯定是全英语，包括我有个同学在中学（教英语），她（上公开课）也肯定是全英语的。
R：为什么呢？是评分标准里面规定的吗？
T8：也不是，就是感觉上像是一个unT8ritten T8ord。就是你觉得，反正你一届一届下来，别人都是这样，你能不这样吗？你本身是教外语的，如果中文用得很多的话，怎么算是教外语呢？而且对学生来说也是一个输入。你输入多，（学生）才有可能产出率高么。我只能这么理解吧。
R：那如果你要去参加比赛，全英语教学对你有什么挑战吗？
T8：平时的课堂上肯定有很多something unexpected，学生的反映，比如我今天上午的课在两个不同的班级，我要教的东西是一样的，但是有可能讲到某一个地方的时候，两个班可能是不一样的，以为学生的反映是不一样的，或者有些学生的回答让你觉得需要补充的，这个是有可能的。
R：那么像这种（临时）多讲的，没有备课的内容，你会讲中文还是英文呢？
T8：就是我们还是尽可能地用英文吧。
R：“尽可能”，那么就是还有情况是没有办法讲英文的咯？
T8：比如说，因为你也是即兴地，自己没有准备的，不够确信表达是否准确的，相当于我可能会先paraphrase，但是还是会再加一个汉语，让学生更清楚一下。比如我想要表达，用一个单词的话，假设，但是如果觉得对这个词把握不是十分准确，那我可能就换一种说法，但是这个说法自己也不是特别满意，准确度上，那我可能会加一句（中文）解释一下。
R：就相当于没有找到特别准确的英语表达来表达想说的东西？
T8：对的。还有就是活跃气氛会用到汉语。还有就是比如说学生都没有什么反映，我感觉是怕他们不懂，比如说我一个生词，我通常会用英文来解释，但是如果解释以后，学生的反应好像还是没听懂，那时候我会用中文补充解释一下。
还有就是比如我让他们把书翻到多少页，我说了两遍，还是会习惯性地加一个中文，就是因为我们多年的实践下来，你讲英文很多学生他就是翻不到那个地方。

R：他们听不懂吗？
T8：他们是不是在不在意，他要是认真听肯定没问题，但是总归会有少部分学生注意力不集中，他出于种种原因，有的时候你在教室里转一圈，他（的课本）还在原来的地方。

R：所以你用中文跟他们讲？
T8：对，他们听中文肯定比英语更加容易些。

R：你提到用中文活跃气氛，具体是？
T8：就是一两句话就可以起到 amusing 的效果，比如双关，用中文就是比较容易达到那种效果，学生比较容易理解那个笑点，很快地做出反应。

R：谈到全英语教学，对于大学英语来说，你觉得可行吗？
T8：我觉得是可行的，假使外教来上的话，可能一开始有一些学生不太能够理解，假如说学生足够重视这个课程的话，他也按照你的要求，比如课前考后都来做一些那个的话，应该没有问题。但是现在学生专业课也很忙，你让他课前课后拿出时间来准备英语，不太可能，但我会给他布置课后的作业，我们这个听说课课后主要是听力练习，说的部分，它那个软件好像有问题。然后还有一些，这个单元不是有一些生词和文化的内容，它会有一些选择题，或者它给你几个打乱的对话中的句子，你看以后给它重新排序，它跟阅读理解不太一样。

R：那学生对于课堂里老师的中文使用是什么态度呢？
T8：我们没有问过学生，可能也有个别，比如外省的，或者刚进大学的时候，每个老师上课习惯用的课堂用语不一样。还有就是我们现在教的材料跟高中也是不一样的，他们需要适应。

R：今天在课堂上我听到你说“Let’s take a break. 我们休息一下吧。”为什么要英语和中文都说呢？
T8：这个我没有刻意地这样做，但我想可能是他们不像小朋友那样，你说了以后他们就立刻动起来，他们常常就是笔放下，往桌上一趴，或者我怕他们没有听到，再强调一遍。而且我下课就不用英文了。因为学生他来问你的时候他是用中文，我是这样的，如果人家跟我用 Hi 开头，那我肯定也是用英文，如果人家用中文的话我一般也是用中文跟他回。我觉得首先是他选择了这种语言，那我也要跟他一致。而且我觉得下课的时间，应该是比较随意一
些的，英语就像是我的工作语言，上课的时候是我工作的时田，课间么，就是相对来说随意一些。

R：关于母语的使用，有没有接受到相关的培训？

T8：比较少。我是02年开始教书的，那个时候教语法多，但是后来侧重要培养学生的运用能力，语法现在是我们基本上都不讲的，他们在高中都学过了。

R：那以前是不是汉语使用得比较多？

T8：是啊，因为有很多术语，讲那个的时候是为了应试么，从效率上来讲肯定也是穿插了中文，你能讲得更快一些，学生理解也更好一些。

R：对你来说，现在的时听说课跟以前的传统的阅读课有什么不一样嘛？

T8：就是教学方法上不太一样，以前精读课的课文肯定比现在听力的文本难，那个时候肯定老师讲得多，现在我们只是helper。

R：那你觉得上这两种课哪个更好上一点？

T8：精读课老师和学生的互动少，顶多就是提问，所以老师只要把课备好，上课就比较轻松。但是这个课更灵活一点，有时候是让他们课后准备一些到课堂上来表演。

R：那你觉得听说课的教学效果好吗？

T8：这个就跟学生的配合相关性比较高了。有的班的学生就特别配合，准备得特别认真，上课的效果就特别好。比如上次布置他们回去设计一个英文的广告，有些人做得就特别好。

R：那为什么这些同学特别积极呢？

T8：这个是跟班风有关系，好的班基本上每个人都很积极。

R：跟学生水平有关系吗？

T8：我觉得没有关系。因为水平的话，差距应该不是特别大。有些男孩子他就是不喜欢英语，有些女孩她就是很喜欢英语。

R：其他还有什么因素会影响到你的汉语使用吗？教材呢？

T8：我到现在使用了四五套教材，教材的影响好像不大。我们现在基本不讲单词，主要是提醒他们注意下有些单词，这样听的时候可以注意到。以前传统的课的时候单词会讲。不过像有些课本上只有英文解释的，那我可能不确定学生能不能看懂，那可能会说一下它的中文解释。因为我自背单词的时候喜欢有中文、英文解释，还有例句的，只有中文的意思，我觉得很难背。有些单词你看英文的解释会更清楚，比如说中文的意思有歧义，表面上看这几个单词都有这个意思，只有看英文的解释才知道那些细小的差别。所以我要是讲单词，也会尽量用英语，还有举例子。
R：学院里面有规定要都用英语吗？

T8：没有这样明确的规定，但是这似乎是大家默认的，因为我工作到现在没有哪个人跟我说你不能讲汉语，而且我们大学的课程教师的自主性相对来说是比较高的，不会有人来非常严格地对你的课进行评估，因为大学的中心不是在（教学）这一块，只要你不出现特别的事件。但是我们刚工作的时候会去听一些老教师的课或者一些公开课，我感觉就是说像一种（不清楚），就感觉应该多用英语。

R：那英语专业是怎么样的？

T8：我觉得他们老师肯定也会使用一些中文，因为学生水平高了教材也会相应变难了。去年我听过一个老师上公开课，讲中东的 bazaar，那种有关文化方面的东西，有时候只用英语还是不够的。
Appendix 5: Sample of CS instances and SRI transcript

T3O1 (13/04/2016) and T3S1 (14/04/2016)

1. (23:00) Would you repeat the first sentence? Loudly. Bakery? You can buy the bread, cakes. 烘焙,是不是? [Chinese translation of bakery, isn’t it?]

T3:第一个讲到的是 bakery,我记得那个小孩, XXX说的,烘焙,因为她是想要开一个烘焙 店,然后这个单词我们平常可能接触得不多,虽然我用英语重复了这个单词一遍,然后又用英文解释了 you can buy the bread, 但是我发现下面的有几个学生还是这样盯着我,也有两三个同学在说“哦,面包店”,但是大多数还是盯着我,不知道什么意思。我认为他们盯着我看的意思 就是希望我能给他们一个反馈,告诉他们是什么意思,然后直接能够理解,所以我就告诉他们 是“烘焙”的意思。我之所以用中文解释,主要是看同学们的反应,我看到他们的表情,有二个同学在小声地说“哦,面包店”,还有几个同学直愣愣地看着我,这种眼神我们是熟悉的,就是 希望能直接给他们一个反馈,中文意思,那我就说了。如果再重复用英文说“你们可以买面包蛋糕的地方”,他们可能还是不会了解。还是为了他们能够直接明了地,避免误导,或者还在猜。他们渴望的眼神,做老师就知道这个时候直接给他们答案。[The word bakery, I remember XXX (the student’s name) said she wanted to have a bakery store. I thought it was an unfamiliar word to many students, so I repeated it and explain it in English, but I noticed there were still several students staring at me with confused expressions. I saw that kind of expressions as asking me to give their Chinese explanation which would let them understand directly, so I did it. That I switched to Chinese was based on students’ response. I was familiar with this type of confused expressions, eager to get the answer. If I repeated English explanation for more times, they would possible still not be able to understand. I switched codes here was to help them understand straightaway, and avoided misunderstanding and free them from painful guessing.]

2. (24:40) My ideal job is to be a pasta chef (student). OK, excuse me. Could you repeat? Your ideal job, chef? Pasta chef (student). What is it? Chef, 煮意大利面的 chef,是不是?[the chef who cooks Italian pasta, right?]
就跟第一个差不多。她说完以后，下面的学生没有反应，后来他们又开始小声议论，就是因为他们不知道是什么意思，不知道这个同学想做的具体职业是什么。所以我在这里转换成中文解释的目的是跟第一个一样的，希望能让他们直接了当地了解，不会有歧义。[It is very similar to the first CS instance. After the student said what her ideal job was, there were no response from other students and a little later, they began discussing, which indicated that they did not understand what her ideal job was. So I switched to Chinese to explain it so as to let students understand straightway without misunderstanding.]

R (Researcher):这里chef你并没有翻译成汉语，厨师，是什么原因呢？[Why you did not translate the word CHEF?]

T3:我这里没有解释这个词啊，那我可能是无意识地漏掉了，忘记跟他们解释这个单词了。Pasta 就像是一个专有名词，即使我用英文解释，比如 foreign noodles 或者 noodles made in Italy,我觉得专业术语没有必要用英文解释，越解释越迷糊，这样这个单词就不会阻碍下面的交流。[Perhaps I forgot to explain it in Chinese. Pasta is a term. If I explained it in English, for example, foreign noodles or noodles made in Italy, it would be more complicated. It is not necessary to explain terms in English. Otherwise, this word would become an obstacle for the following communication.]

3. (47:40) Being a nurse or a teacher is not a well-paid job. So being a boss and earning a lot of money, that’s a good choice (laugh). OK, let’s have a break. Boss?叫我高老板哈?[Call me Boss Gao?]

T3:这个是快要下课了，那个小孩姓高，他说想做老板的，然后我就说 teacher 不是一个 well-paid job,应该是像高老板一样的可以 make a lot of money,我这里是开玩笑的，挺幽默的，其他学生都会觉得很好玩，还有一个同学说“请叫我高总”，跟学生之间有很好的互动，让他们感觉亲切一些，不要觉得怕老师。这个班跟我其实不是特别熟，因为我上个学期才接手，他们班，以前他们班是另外一个老师教的，他们跟我有一点距离，我能够感觉到。本来人就少，他们喜欢坐在后面几排，而我其他班上的话，我基本上规定他们从前面开始坐。但是这个班，我才带了他们一个学期，所以跟我不是很熟，对于这个班，说得难听点，我不希望让他们觉得他们是庶出，呵呵，他们是护理 2 班，我还有一个班是护理 1 班，我不想让他们觉得护
理 1 班是嫡出,我内心一直有这种感觉,我就怕他们有这种想法,就觉得我对1班的学生更 加了解,可能打成绩的时候会偏向他们。所以我对这个班是比较宽容的,也希望能跟他们有互动,建立良好的师生关系。所以有时候我喜欢跟他们开玩笑。他们可以轻松一下,更有精力听下面的内容。希望能幽默,引起他们的共鸣,跟我不至于太过陌生。我希望能让他们感觉到我是很友善的。[It was near the end of that class. The student’s surname is Gao. He said he wanted to become a boss, so I said teacher is not a well-paid job, not like Boss Gao who can make a lot of money. I made a joke here, I felt it was quite funny and other students would think so as well. Another student followed my words saying ‘Please call me CEO Gao (in Chinese). It was a good interaction with my students and made them feel I was an amiable teacher and not afraid of me. Actually students of this class were not familiar with me very much as I took over them from another teacher half a year ago. I can feel they are not very close with me as they always sit in the back of the classroom but students of my another class were not like that. I did not want them to think they were like step-children and I treated another class better and gave them higher marks. I was more tolerant to this class and hoped to have good interaction and relationship with them. Thus I’d like to play jokes with them and they could feel relaxed and became more energetic on study. I hoped to give them friendly impression.]

4. (01:04:21) Question 4, how can people who is more productive at night benefit from working at home? Many people think the pros of working at home outweigh the cons... obvious benefit is flexibility (recording). Here, flexibility, what is flexibility? What is it? Flexibility? 一种灵活性,是不是?[a sort of flexibility, right?] 灵活性[flexibility], flexibility.

T3:这个单词,学生可能比较熟悉的是它的形容词性,这个名词他们相对来说不是很熟悉,所以我现在黑板上把这个单词写下来,让他们知道这个单词是如何拼写的,然后我用中文解释了一下这个词的意思,希望他们知道“在家里工作的一个很大的好处是有灵活性”。所以这个词应该是说是一个比较重要的词,我需要强调一下。[In terms of this word, students were more familiar with its adjective form, so I wrote it down on the blackboard, letting them know how to spell it, and then I explained it in Chinese, hoping them to know ‘one of the advantages of working at home is with highly flexibility’. This is a crucial word, which I needed to highlight.]
R: 这个词在你播放的录音里面出现了对吧?这里我用斜体标出来的是录音的内容吧。[This word was from the listening texts right?]

T3: 对,这个词比较重要,是答题的关键,并且这个词他们又不是特别熟悉,所以我就先写下来,然后告诉他们中文的意思,是要强调。[Yes, it is a key word to answer the listening questions and it is not familiar to them, so I wrote it down and told them its Chinese meaning to highlight.]

5. (01:05:11)Paradise, heaven, 天堂 [paradise], paradise, so which one?

T3: 这个 paradise 我们知道是天堂,对于喜欢晚上工作的人来说,在家工作是一个 paradise, 然后这个词,他们好像也不太清楚,所以我就先用了一个他们比较熟悉的近义词 heaven, 然后说了天堂, 一方面也可能是随口说的吧, 但也是一种强调吧, 希望学生能更清楚明了。这也 是理解录音对话内容的一个重要的词。理解这个词的意思对于他们理解整个句子是有好处的。[For those who prefer working at night, working at home is a paradise. The students were not familiar with this word as well. I paraphrased by using a synonym, heaven, which is a common word, and then switched to Chinese. It might be unconscious, but could be a sort of emphasis, as I hoped students could understand it clearly. It was a key word for understanding this part of listening.]

R: 这里你说“随口说的”? [You said you mentioned its Chinese meaning unconsciously?]

T3: 这是一种下意识的行为, 特别是遇到单词, 如果是句子的话, 我可能需要停顿一下, 自己在心理组织一下, 然后再说出来。但是看到这个单词的话, 随口就讲出它的中文意思了。特别是我觉得学生更希望我能告诉他们中文是什么意思, 他可能觉得中文好接受一些。虽然我这里已经有一个 paraphrase, 但是我怕自己 paraphrase 得不清楚, 或者我担心部分同学还是没有理解, 那我为了能让所有人都了解这句话的意思, 我下意识的就说出来了。[I think it is an unconscious behaviour, especially when it comes to vocabulary. For sentences, I might need stop for a while for organizing in mind and then speak aloud. When I saw this word, I automatically said its Chinese meaning. Meanwhile, I did believe that my students wanted me to do it as they felt Chinese was easier to understand. Though I paraphrased it, I worried if I did it well enough or if students could understand my
paraphrase. In order to make sure all of the students understand it, I switched to Chinese.

6. (01:10:30) These four letters stand for small office or home office. We call it SOHO, small office or home office. What is it? A sort of small office or home office. Suitable for whom? Self-employers] Like a painter or designer. SOHO, small office or home office. Now your task.

T3: Here SOHO is a discussion topic. Students needed to know what it meant. We had a listening practice before about working from home. Here I wanted to introduce SOHO, a trendy type of working from home. I wanted them to know about it. They may learn it in Chinese, such as SOHO pubs. When I told them the four letters stood for ‘small office or home office’, I saw many students had got it. Some were nodding. I switched to Chinese here was to confirm the ideas in their mind by providing a definite explanation. According to my Chinese explanation, they could make sure their understanding was right. It was different from the previous cases.

7. (01:36:18) No one to communicate, to share your opinions, even gossip, eight [gossip], no one to share, you’ll be lonely.

T3: This is the last point in working from home. Students see it in textbooks and PPT. This word ‘八卦’ is not high frequency word. I said ‘八卦’, they understood what I meant. They could understand what I said. When they understand this word, they can remember this part.
忆更深了。之后口语考试的时候，可能也会有类似的主题。比如在家办公有什么缺点，他们就会想到“八卦”，想到这个词，就会想到没有人八卦这个缺点。[This is the last part about the disadvantage of working at home. For instance, can’t talk about the marital life of the boss. It was not from the textbook and PPT. I just thought of it by accident. Female employees really like gossiping in the office. Gossip is not a common word to them. I used Chinese translation so as to let them understand. Once they learnt this word, they could understand everything about this topic much better. There could be similar topics in the oral test in the end of each term and they might be able to think of this word and related information we have discussed in classes.]

T3: 总体来说，大多数情况(使用中文)都是希望交际不被打断，交际能够顺利地进行。[As a whole, I switched to Chinese in most cases in order not to interrupt communication, to keep communication going on well.]

R: 交际的不被打断？[What do you mean by not to interrupt communication?]  

T3: 对，交流的时候，如果有些词你听不懂，他不知道什么意思，他的注意力就会一直集中在没听懂的地方，刚刚你说的什么呀，他就会没心情听你下面的内容，一直在纠结那个词什么意思，所以我索性告诉他什么意思，让他们能顺利地继续往下听。不至于纠结，一直猜。还有一种就是强调比较重要的词。[Yeah, during communication, students may focus on those areas if they come across some unknown words, struggling with what the teacher said just now and being unable to follow you. If I could tell them directly, they would follow me efficiently rather than spend a lot of time guessing its meaning. And another reason is to emphasize important words.]
Appendix 6: Explanation of the coding of data sources

Coding of each data source contains three codes:

The first code is, for instance, T1I, which means the quote is from T1’s semi-structured interview.

The second code is, for instance, T1O1, which means the CS extract illustrated is from T1’s first classroom observation.

The third code is, for instance, T1S1, which means the quote is from T1’s first SRI session.