

Teacher Codeswitching in the EFL Classroom

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Language teachers' use of their students' native language during second/foreign instruction is often viewed negatively, even by the teachers themselves. However, teachers' occasional codeswitching between the target language and their students' L1 may have some positive effects. The present study analyzes the codeswitching of a Japanese teacher in one EFL classroom. The data shows that the teacher's codeswitching into the students' L1 not only performed a number of social functions, but also played an important interactional role.

語学教師による学生の第一言語の使用は教師自身によって否定的に捉えられている。しかしながら教師による学生の第一言語と目標言語とのコード切り替えは、時として肯定的な効果もあると考えられる。本研究は、一人の日本人教師の英語授業内におけるコード切り替えを検討した。分析の結果、教師の日本語と英語のコード切り替えは教室内でいくつかの社会的役割を持つばかりでなく、談話における重要な役割を持っていることがわかった。

It is generally agreed that Japanese is the main language used for English instruction in the majority of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classes taught by Japanese teachers in Japan. Kaneko (1991) investigated 12 Japanese junior and senior high school EFL classes and found that the teachers spent approximately 70% of the time instructing the students in Japanese. Similarly, LoCastro (1996) points out "the strong preference for the use of Japanese" (p. 49) in a great majority of Japanese EFL classes. However, as Polio and Duff (1994) have argued, it may not be reasonable to expect nonnative teachers to use the target language (TL) exclusively, since the teachers themselves have probably had limited exposure to the TL and its culture.

In general, use of the first language (L1) in EFL or ESL (English as a Second Language) classrooms has been controversial. Some researchers have found benefits in using the students' L1, especially in facilitating the development of useful learning strategies (e.g., Atkinson, 1987; Auerbach, 1993). However, the TL-only notion is still so powerful that EFL/ESL teachers who admit that they use the students' L1 in their

classes are usually apologetic (Adendorff, 1996; Auerbach, 1993; Canagarajah, 1995).

The aim of the present paper is to describe some positive effects of one teacher's English-Japanese codeswitching (CS) behavior in an EFL classroom in Japan.

Research on Codeswitching

Codeswitching is defined as the "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation" (Myers-Scotton, 1993c, p. 1) and is recognized as a "common characteristic of bilingual speech" (Grosjean, 1982, p. 146). Dabène (1990) divides CS into two types: *CS by incompetence* and *intentional CS*. Earlier works on CS focused on the *CS by incompetence* model and CS was thus regarded as a remedial strategy used by people who were not fluent in the L2.¹ However in a study of CS between dialects in a Norwegian village, Blom and Gumperz (1972) showed that CS is indeed the normal behavior of bi-/multilinguals since it fulfills various sociolinguistic functions. Although the study dealt with CS between dialects, not languages, it stimulated considerable subsequent research on CS between languages (Myers-Scotton, 1993c). Thereafter, research on CS often focused on what Dabène (1990) termed *intentional CS* (e.g., Dabène, 1990; Dabène & Billiez, 1986; Eastman, 1992), and now such linguistic variation is considered "a strategy for accomplishing something" (Myers-Scotton, 1993c, p. 94).²

There are two main types of research on CS: linguistic research and sociolinguistic research. The former analyzes the syntactic nature of a switch, examining the type of grammar a bilingual speaker uses in both languages and investigating which grammatical items tend to be switched. Research investigating the grammatical features of CS between two typologically different languages (e.g., Kato, 1994; Nishimura, 1989) as well as two typologically similar languages (e.g., Poplack, 1980) has found that CS is syntactically rule-governed regardless of the typological difference between the two languages. Regarding this point, Myers-Scotton (1993b) claims that "typological specifics of the language pair may determine the options chosen, but the options themselves are not language-specific" (p. 492). Myers-Scotton's claim is reflected in her Matrix Language-Frame model (Myers-Scotton, 1993a; 1993b), which views the basic constraints of CS in any two languages as being under the control of the same abstract production process. In terms of grammatical items that are subject to CS, switches of nouns or other single items have generally been found to be the most frequent (see Fotos, 1995; Kato, 1994; Poplack, 1988).³

The second type of CS research, sociolinguistic research, attempts to investigate the sociolinguistic functions of a switch. Two kinds of CS have been proposed: situational and conversational, or metaphorical (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982). In situational codeswitching, people switch codes in association with particular settings or activities. This type of CS can be linked to the concept of diglossia in society (Gardner-Chloros, 1991). In conversational or metaphorical CS, people employ CS within a single speech exchange to convey "metaphorical" meaning. This type of CS is closely associated with the individual's discourse style and his/her language choices. While many researchers find the distinction between the two types of CS useful, some researchers have found problems with the distinction, claiming that the use of the terms is ambiguous or inconsistent (e.g., Auer, 1984; Myers-Scotton, 1993c).⁴

Studies of the sociolinguistic aspects of CS have examined the motivations underlying CS. For example, CS has been used to "express shared ethnic identity" (Nishimura, 1995, p. 157), to show shared experience and solidarity (Duppenhtaler & Yoshizawa, 1997), to encode power and solidarity (Goyvaerts, 1992), to accommodate to the linguistic environment (Gardner-Chloros, 1991), and to "express authority along with anger or annoyance" (Myers-Scotton, 1993c, p. 133).

Most research of CS in ESL/EFL classrooms has investigated how CS performs various sociolinguistic functions, although L2 learners' CS between the L1 and the TL has often been regarded as due to low proficiency in the TL. However, recent research findings have shown that students' CS may be intentional and may fulfill various social functions. Fotos (1995) looked at learners' CS in EFL classrooms in Japan. Her analysis of CS indicated that her subjects switched from English into Japanese to: 1) indicate topics; 2) emphasize important utterances; 3) clarify; 4) frame discourse; 5) separate feelings from facts; and 6) signal repair. Her subjects' use of these functions suggests that they were successful both in making their speech salient to their listeners and enriching their speech. Ogane (1997) also looked at EFL learners' CS in an English classroom in Japan. She found that the learners used CS both to involve their interlocutors in communication and to express "their dual identities of L1 speaker and L2 learner" (p. 119).

Studies which examine teachers' CS have also explored the sociolinguistic functions of codeswitching. Canagarajah (1995) studied teachers' CS in L2 classrooms in Jaffna and found that CS served useful functions for classroom management and content transmission. Summarizing the different functions that CS served in the classrooms, Canagarajah concludes that English is generally used as the code symbolizing for-

mality or detachment, while Tamil is used as the code which expressed informality and familiarity. Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi and Bunyi (1992) examined teachers' CS among English, Swahili, and mother tongues⁵ in three primary schools in Kenya. They found that CS between languages is often used in order to focus or regain students' attention or to clarify lesson materials. Much like Canagarajah (1995), they also found that the Kenyan teachers used their mother tongue or Swahili for more affectively positive matters and English for more formal matters. Thus, these two studies have linked teachers' CS in classrooms with affective factors. However, there have been few studies investigating Japanese teachers' CS in EFL classrooms.

Research Questions

The present study describes a Japanese teacher's CS behavior in an EFL classroom and addresses the following three questions:

1. What are the functions of teacher L1 use or CS in the Japanese EFL classroom?
2. In what discourse context does teacher CS tend to occur?
3. What are some effects of teacher CS in the classroom?

Method

The data analyzed for this study are based on 23 minutes taken from a 60-minute video-recorded EFL class and a subsequent audio-recorded session in which the teacher and the students viewed and discussed the 23-minute segment. This retrospective session was conducted one week after the video-recorded class session.

Subjects

There were only two male Japanese students registered for the EFL class and these students agreed to be video- and audio-recorded. They were enrolled in a required elementary level first-year Business English class taught by a Japanese teacher (the writer of this paper) at a business college in Tokyo. Shin and Taro (not their real names) were 19 years old at the time of recording. The class met once a week for 60 minutes and the aim of the course was to equip students with the basic English conversational skills needed for business. Although both students had studied English in junior and senior high school for a total of six years, this was their first experience studying conversational English. At the time of the recording they had been studying English at the business college for five months.

The students' English proficiency and motivation for studying English was low. Shin had passed the third (next to the lowest) level of the STEP (the Society of Testing English Proficiency) test⁶ when he was in high school but he refused to study for subsequent proficiency tests. Taro had passed the fourth level of the STEP test when he was in junior high school but had not taken any proficiency tests since. Although the teacher usually spoke only English in her other classes, in this type of class, with students at such a low proficiency level, she sometimes used the students' L1, Japanese, as well.

Procedures

A 60-minute lesson was video- and audio-recorded at the business college and a 23-minute segment was transcribed and analyzed. The video camera was placed in front of the students throughout the lesson and the audiocassette recorder was placed on a table between the two students. The 23-minute segment occurred approximately two minutes after the class started and can be divided into three parts. In the first part the teacher and the students casually talked about how they spent their weekend. In the second part the students worked on a "strip story" activity⁷ based on a dialogue. Although they had studied the dialogue previously, the activity was quite difficult for them and it took over 10 minutes to finish. In the third part the students tried to perform a pair activity, but had considerable difficulty understanding the procedure. The remainder of the lesson was not transcribed because the students worked on the pair activity by themselves and there was little teacher-student interaction.

One week after the recording the students were asked to attend a playback session of the 23-minute segment and this retrospective session was also audio-recorded. The session was conducted outside the class time. Following Tannen's (1984) suggestions that it is important for a researcher to give control of the recorder to the subjects—especially when the researcher is one of the subjects—to make comments on their own ideas, the teacher/researcher attended the session, but refrained from comment. However, when the students did not discuss a part of the tape that the researcher was interested in, she played the part again and elicited their comments through use of general questions in Japanese such as "What is going on in this segment?" or "How did you feel then?"

Transcription and Analysis of the Data

The 23-minute segment was first transcribed using a simplified version of the Jefferson transcription system (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). After identifying all occurrences of CS the researcher retranscribed each instance in detail, relying on both the audio-tape and video-tape. Cod-

ing and interpreting was done with the help of several additional coders who were qualitative researchers. Although inter-rater reliability was not established, the coding of the examples was checked repeatedly through discussions, as suggested in the CS literature (e.g., Canagarajah, 1995; Fotos, 1995). In the transcript, the Japanese switches are given in italics, and idiomatic translations are provided under the Japanese utterances. Since an interactional sociolinguistic approach was used for analyzing the data, presentation of the transcribed portions in "close transcription" format is suggested to be necessary. The Jefferson system (see the transcription conventions in the Appendix) is the most widely used system in the field of discourse/conversation analysis and is designed to represent dynamics of turn taking such as overlaps, gaps, pauses, and audible breathing, and characteristics of speech delivery such as stress, enunciation, intonation, and pitch (see the discussion in Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). In the past, researchers have argued that turn-taking (e.g., Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) and prosody (e.g., Gumperz, 1982) convey significant meanings, and the interpretations of the present data are largely based on those characteristics of discourse. Therefore, the notation of these features in the transcripts is necessary to support interpretation of the data.

Close transcription has been mentioned (Davis, 1992; 1995; Brown, in press) as an important criterion contributing to the credibility of discourse analysis such as in the present research. Here credibility refers to demonstrating that the researcher's reconstruction of meaning is a believable and accurate version of the discourse studied (Davis, 1992; 1995; Brown, in press). Research in discourse analysis must, therefore, achieve credibility by attaching transcripts of audio and video recordings giving the talk and actions that have occurred, thereby allow the readers to reanalyze and check the author's interpretations for themselves.

Full transcription also contributes to *confirmability*, the "full revelation or at least the availability of the data upon which all interpretations are based" (Brown, in press, p. 328). As mentioned, most of the interpretations in this research are based on both video- and audio-recorded interactions in the classroom, so it is necessary for the transcript portions presented to show as much detail as possible.

Results and Discussion

In the first 5 1/2 minutes of the 23-minute segment Shin and Taro talk about what they did on the weekend and the teacher does not use any Japanese. It is after the 5 1/2-minute segment that the teacher begins to use

some Japanese. At this point she introduces the first activity. As shown in Table 1, in the rest of the transcribed segment, the teacher uttered 140 Japanese words (approximately 18% of the total number of words in this segment as measured by a word processor word count function).

Table 1: Frequency of Teacher's L1 and L2 Use

Language	English (TL)	Japanese (L1)	Total
Number of words	618 (81.53%)	140 (18.47%)	758* (100%)

*In counting words, backchannels (e.g., un, mhm, uhuh), short responses (e.g. un, yes), and proper nouns (e.g., Taro, Shin, A, B) were omitted.

The functions of teacher CS will now be examined. Any use of Japanese by the teacher is considered to be CS because the base language in the teacher's utterances during the lesson is English, as shown in Table 1. The discourse environment in which the CS took place will then be examined, especially the students' reactions. Finally, the effect of CS on the discourse will be discussed.

Types of Codeswitching

Analysis of the data revealed that most of the teacher's CS occurred in four contexts: (1) Explaining prior L2 utterances; (2) Defining unknown words; (3) Giving instructions; and (4) Providing positive and negative feedback. The number of each type of switch and the percentage of the total accounted for by each type of switch are presented in Table 2.

Examples of each type of CS are given and discussed below.

Table 2: Frequency of Each Type of Teacher CS

	Type of CS						Total
	explanation	definition	instruction	feedback			
				negative	positive		
# times	10 (33.33%)	7 (23.33%)	5 (16.67%)	6 (20.00%)	2 (6.67%)	30*	(100%)
# words	63 (45.00%)	23 (16.43%)	35 (25.00%)	14 (10.00%)	5 (3.57%)	140**	(100%)

* Total number of times does not include the teacher's short response *uns* 'yes' to the students' questions. If those *uns* are included, the total frequency is 37.

**Total number of words does not include backchannel *uns* or short response *uns*.

open. I just want you to have these (2.0). Don't show it to Shin. Don't show it to Shin.

123. Shin: *e nandesuka*
'Huh? What?'

((The teacher finishes distributing slips of paper and goes back to her seat. The students remain silent.))

124. Teacher: You just read (.) and <find out (.) which comes first second third and fourth (.) find out the order.> (.)
dorega saishoni kite douiu junjoka. (.)
misenai otagaini misenaide yomimasu (.) sorede
kokoni kaitearukara A
ga saki toka B ga saki toka C ga saki toka D ga saki
toka °futaride°
'Which one comes first and in what order? Don't show, don't show them to the other person. And as (the letters) are written here, you two work together and (figure out) which one comes first, A or B or C or D.'

Here the utterances in Japanese in line 124 reformulate the previous English statements in lines 122 and 124.

Definition of unknown words

Studies of CS in ESL/EFL classrooms often mention that teachers provide definitions of words in the students' L1 (e.g., Canagarajah, 1995; Polio & Duff, 1994). This type of CS always occurred after the students asked for the meaning of words that had appeared in the texts, as shown in Example 3 below.

Example 3

((Shin is reading a slip of paper in the first activity.))

229. Shin: Maybe you (.) should be a se, securitary *tte nandesuka*
'What does "securitary" mean?'
230. Teacher: Secretary (.) *bisho*.
'Secretary.'
231. Taro: [((yawning))]
232. Shin: *bisho*
'Secretary.'

In Example 3, Shin asks the meaning of "secretary" and the teacher gives the Japanese counterpart, *bisho*.

of the English class she always used Japanese. For example in the playback session in which the teacher and the students talked casually about the lesson, the teacher used only Japanese. Moreover one of Shin's comments in the playback session indicates that Japanese was the code the students wanted the teacher to use. He said, (translation) "In your class, you don't give enough explanation in Japanese. I always want you to speak more in Japanese." Thus, the teacher seems to have used Japanese for affective purposes rather than instructional purposes, especially when she gave positive and negative feedback.

Use of CS to provide positive feedback is also found in Canagarajah's study (1995), when teachers used the L1 to express compliments to students. Canagarajah suggested that compliments in the TL are routine, whereas compliments given in the L1 have impact and are more effective in strengthening the force of the speech act.

Positive feedback: In this paper, positive feedback refers to praise or a compliment uttered by the teacher. In the data there were only two cases of positive feedback, both of which were uttered in Japanese.⁸ The two cases occurred when the students accomplished something that was difficult for them. One instance took place when the students finished the first activity, and the other occurred when the students finally understood how to perform the pair activity. As explained in the previous section, completing the first activity and understanding the procedure of the second activity were the most complicated tasks for the students in the transcribed segment. When the students accomplished those tasks, the teacher praised them in Japanese, the code the students preferred the teacher to use, thus strengthening the force of the positive evaluation. In Example 5, the teacher provided positive feedback, *un soudesu* (Yes, that's right), with a high falling tone when Shin understood how to perform the second activity.

Example 5

303. Shin: *de yousuruni kono can she [type] toka can she use a compu[ter] tokatte iufuuni kiite ikundesuka*=
'And, in short, we are supposed to ask "can she type" or "can she use a computer" and so on?'
304. Teacher: [*un*] [*un*]
305. Teacher: =*un soudesu*
'Yes, that's right.'

Negative feedback: Negative feedback in this paper refers to error correction or criticism given to the students. The teacher's negative

feedback was always preceded by a student's language error or failure of some type. In providing negative feedback, the teacher sometimes used Japanese and the switches were almost always accompanied by Japanese final particles (e.g., *desho*, *ne*). Studies of final particles in Japanese often claim that these function as markers for showing an attitude of cooperation (e.g., Itani, 1996; Maynard, 1993). Regarding the mitigating or soothing effect of the L1, according to Canagarajah (1995), bilingual teachers often utter tags, discourse markers, particles, and backchannel cues in the L1 in order to reduce their perceived power over their students. In the following example, the teacher provides negative feedback in Japanese when she blames the students for their failure to remember what they have studied before, but softens the feedback with the final particles *ne* and *desho*.

Example 6

((The teacher and the students are discussing the first activity after its completion.))

267. Teacher: We did it before (.) summer vacation. (5.0)

268. Teacher: °*ne mitakoto arudesho*°

See? You've seen it before, haven't you?

269. Taro: [[[nods strongly]]]

270. Shin: *[e] yarimashita koko.*

'Really? Did we study this page?'

In line 267, the teacher informs students that they have done the activity before. However, there is a long pause following line 267. This pause, as well as the difficulty the students had in completing the activity, suggests that the students did not remember performing the activity previously. Therefore the teacher's comment in line 268 is criticizing the students by indicating that they should have remembered the dialogue. However, by using Japanese, especially the final particles *ne* and *desho*, the criticism is mitigated. As indicated in Examples 5 and 6, the teacher's L1 utterances strengthened the force of the act when she gave positive feedback and mitigated the force of the act when she provided negative feedback.

Thus in the present study the teacher used switches into the L1 to define unknown words, to explain prior L2 utterances, to give instruction, and to provide positive and negative feedback.

Codeswitching "Triggers"

In the previous section, several social functions of CS in teacher talk were explored, and as in most previous research, the analysis examined the utterances of the CS sender (i.e., the teacher). However, to understand

the local environment in which the CS took place, it is necessary to examine the discourse environment of all participants in the speech act, especially the listeners' reactions. According to Bilmes (1997) listeners are active participants in interactions and send various signals in the form of facial expressions, postural variations, eye movements, and short vocalizations. Bilmes suggests that one can not understand what is going on in a social scene by examining the behavior of only one participant in the interaction.⁹ Therefore, in this section, the focus is on students' verbal and non-verbal behavior in the discourse environment in which the CS occurred.

Interestingly, a closer look at the discourse environment revealed that regardless of the function the teacher's CS performed, it was always in response to the students' behavior, either "positive achievement" or "negative responsiveness." "Positive achievement" refers to the students' successful completion of a difficult task. In such cases, as presented in the previous section, the teacher provided "positive feedback" in Japanese. The teacher responded to the students' "positive achievement" by switching into Japanese, intensifying the force of the positive evaluation. In this case, CS functioned as an affect-creating device.

Students are considered to be showing "negative responsiveness" if they fail to give an appropriate response in a timely manner.¹⁰ When the students showed "negative responsiveness," the teacher occasionally responded by switching into the L1 for explanation, instruction, definition, or "negative feedback." As mentioned, CS for negative feedback has an affective function. Therefore, in the case of negative feedback, the teacher's CS represents not only a response to the students' negative responsiveness but a display of affect as well. The students' negative responsiveness may be a result of their lack of comprehension due to a lack of proficiency in the TL. However, some of the comments by Shin and Taro during the playback session indicate that their lack of comprehension may also be due to boredom, uneasiness, sleepiness, or discomfort. In the playback session, both Shin and Taro admitted that they had felt uncomfortable during the lesson. Shin said, (translation) "I felt dull and sleepy during the lesson," and Taro said, (translation) "I felt reluctant to study." Moreover, Taro expressed the high anxiety he had felt during the lesson. He said (translation), "I felt very nervous about being called on throughout the lesson." The students' negative responsiveness was indicated verbally and nonverbally, as will be explained below.

Verbal indicators of "negative responsiveness"

Verbal indicators of negative responsiveness shown in the data included verbal expressions of incomprehension or incorrect interpretation of the teacher's TL input by the students, as in the following examples.

Example 7

190. Teacher: Shin (from the first one) would you read the two.
 191. Shin: *misete*
 ‘{Should I} show {you}?’
 192. Teacher: >*[ryou]ubou ryouhou yonde*< *un*
 ‘Both, read both, uh-huh.’
 193. Shin: ((reading)) D ga “I’m not sure I can type pretty
 well (.) Maybe you should be a secretary.”

In the example above, the teacher tells Shin to read two slips of paper in line 190, but Shin interprets her utterance as a request to show the slips to the teacher. As soon as Shin starts to say *misete* ‘{Should I} show {you}?’ in line 191, the teacher notices Shin’s lack of comprehension of her prior TL utterance and therefore switches into the L1 for an explanation (line 192). The teacher’s Japanese utterance is then followed by Shin’s compliance as he begins to read (line 193). In the next segment, the student also expresses his incorrect interpretation verbally.

Example 8

((Taro has been told to read a slip of paper labeled “A” but starts reading “B.”))

161. Taro: I’m starting to.
 162. Teacher: *sore B desho?*
 ‘That’s B, isn’t it?’
 163. Taro: *a bontoda.*
 ‘Oh, that’s right.’
 164. Shin: *°oi yare yare°*
 ‘Oh, come on.’
 165. Taro: ((starts reading “A”)) “But also speak French. I’d
 like to use that. (.) Do you like to meet people?”

In line 161, Taro starts reading a slip labeled “B” instead of “A” by mistake. The teacher switches into Japanese to give Taro negative feedback, saying that he is reading the wrong strip (line 162). Taro acknowledges his mistake (line 163) and starts reading “A” (line 165). However, what is of interest in this segment is Shin’s comment in 164. Shin utters *oi yare yare* (Oh, come on!), a comment that may indicate that Taro’s mistake has had a negative effect on the flow of the lesson and the teacher’s switched utterance has helped Taro to get back on the “right track” in the interaction.

Nonverbal indicators of “negative responsiveness”

Nonverbal indicators of negative responsiveness include silence, short nods, sighs, yawns, wry grins, giggles, throat clearing, head tilting, look-

123. Shin: *e nandesuka?*
 'Huh? What?'

(4.0) ((The teacher finishes distributing slips of paper and the students remain silent.))

124. Teacher: You just read (.) and <find out (.) which comes first
 t:n t:n t:n
 second third and
 t: n n t:n t:n n ((t: grins wryly))
 fourth (.) find out the order.> (.) *dorega saishoni*
kite douiu junjoka. (.)
misenai otagaini misenaide yomimasu (.) *sorede*
kokoni kaitearukara A ga sakitoka B ga sakitoka C
ga sakitoka D ga sakitoka °futaride°
 'Which one comes first and in what order. Don't
 show, don't show them to the other person. And
 as {the letters} are written here, you two work
 together and {figure out} which one comes first, A
 or B or C or D.'
 s: N N N N N

125. Shin: *a:: baa baa baa baa wakarimashita.*
 'Oh, hum, hum, hum, hum, I see.'

Commenting on this segment in the playback session, both students admitted that they felt extremely dull, sleepy, and uneasy. These feelings are reflected in their nonverbal behavior. During the teacher's turn in line 120, the students make various nonverbal signs. Taro gives short nods, scratches his head, then both students look at each other. There is a relatively long silence (1.5 seconds). The turn is then followed by Taro's giggle in line 121. The teacher continues explaining in the TL in line 122. During the turn, the students remain quiet, and Taro gives some short nods. In line 123, Shin expresses his lack of comprehension verbally. In line 124, the teacher keeps explaining in the TL very slowly; however, during the explanation, the students again send various nonverbal signs such as short nods, a wry grin, and silence. Finally in the middle of line 124, the teacher switches into a Japanese explanation. This is immediately followed by Shin's positive response to the teacher's utterance in line 125. The next example also illustrates the students' nonverbal negative responsiveness.

Example 10

248. Shin: *tte kotowa B D [A C]?*
 'Does it mean {the order is} B D A C?'

249. Taro: [((clearing throat))]
 ((s: sigh))
250. Teacher: Uh-huh oh kay (?) [a:~:nd] *jaa sono junbande saigo tadashii junbande mouikkai yonde mimashou (.) hai*
 'Then, in that order, finally, in the correct order, let's read them again.'
251. Shin: [°B D A C°]
252. Taro: ((reading)) I'm starting to look for a job. (.) What kind?

In the example above, Taro's throat clearing in line 249 and Shin's sigh during the teacher's turn in line 250 are followed by the teacher's switch into Japanese. After the switch, the students immediately follow the teacher's instructions (lines 251 & 252). In the next example Taro's yawn and both students' relatively long silence seems to trigger the teacher's CS.

Example 11

((The teacher and the students are talking about the first activity.))

265. Teacher: That's uh:: <page eighteen.>
 (1.0) ((Taro yawns))
266. Shin: Eighteen?
267. Teacher: We did it before (.) summer vacation.
 (5.0) ((Both Shin and Taro look down at Shin's textbook and remain silent.))
268. Teacher: °*ne mitakoto arudesho*°
 'See? You've seen it before, haven't you?'
269. Taro: [((nods strongly))]
270. Shin: [e] *yarimashita koko*
 'Really? Did we study this page?'
271. Teacher: *un yarimashita*
 'Yes, we did.'

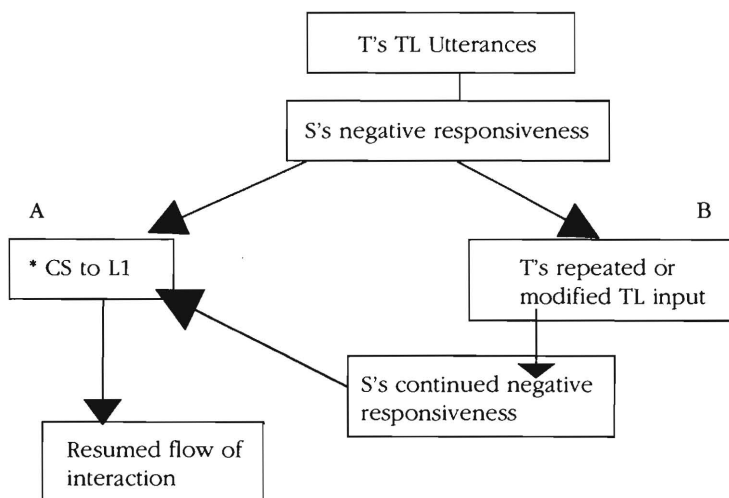
In line 265, the teacher tells students to look at page 18 of the textbook. However, Taro yawns without following her instructions. In line 267, the teacher tells the students that they studied it before summer vacation. The students then look down at the textbook and remain silent for five seconds. While the students are still looking at the textbook, the teacher criticizes the students softly in Japanese, saying *ne mitakoto arudesho*? 'you've seen it before, haven't you?' in line 268. The teacher's negative feedback in the L1 is immediately followed by Taro's strong nod in line 269.

As shown above, the students' verbal or nonverbal negative responsiveness often triggered the teacher's CS.

Effects of Codeswitching

In this section the effects of teacher CS into the L1 triggered by the students' negative responsiveness will be examined. Interestingly, as can be seen in the examples in the previous section, when the teacher switched to the L1 in reaction to the students' negative responsiveness, the switches promptly produced reactions to the teacher's preceding utterances. In other words CS seemed to result in the resumption of the flow of interaction. These findings are shown in the left half of Figure 1. When the teacher chose to take Path A (CS to L1) after students displayed negative responsiveness, the flow of interaction resumed.

Figure 1: The relationship between students' negative responsiveness and CS



* By the teacher or one of the students.

T: Teacher

CS: Codeswitching

S: Student

TL: Target language (English)

L1: Students' first language (Japanese)

However the teacher did not always switch to Japanese after the students exhibited negative responsiveness. She occasionally repeated or modified her TL utterances. In such cases the students' negative

responsiveness continued, and only when the teacher or one of the students switched into Japanese did the flow of the interaction resume. Consider Examples 12 and 13.

Example 12

((The teacher and Taro are talking about Taro's girlfriend.))

- t: n n n
80. Teacher: Hum. (1.0) oh kay so how did you get a girlfriend?
t:n
81. Taro: Girlfriend
82. Teacher: hun how
t:n
83. Taro: how=
t:n t:n
84. Teacher: =<did you get a girlfriend>
85. Taro: *itsu getto shitaka tte?* (.) [ah:::]
'When did I get a girlfriend? Uhhh.'
86. Teacher: [how]
87. Taro: how *ka* °how *tte*° ((looks at Shin))
'Oh how, how'
88. Shin: °how how how°
89. Taro: °how *tte nani*°
'What does how mean?'
90. Shin: °how *tenee* how *dayo douyatte*°
'How means how. *douyatte* (in Japanese)'
91. Taro: oh (.) *ano::u sono:: nomi* drinking *de*
'Well, uhm, {we met when we went} drinking.'

In lines 82 and 84, the teacher repeats her question at a slower speed. However, Taro fails to respond to the teacher's question correctly (line 85), and the teacher utters "how" again in line 86. Taro then looks at Shin (line 87) and asks him for the meaning of "how" in line 89. In line 90, Shin tells Taro the meaning in Japanese and finally Taro is able to answer the teacher's question. In the next example, the teacher switches into Japanese after she has repeated the TL utterances a few times.

Example 13

((The teacher tells Taro to read one of his slips and he begins to read.))

130. Taro: ((reading)) I'm starting to look for a job. (2.0) what kind
(1.0) ((Taro grins and tilts his head))

It was shown that the teacher in the present study used CS when explaining prior TL utterances, giving instructions, defining unknown words, and providing positive and negative feedback. The study also indicates that regardless of the nature of the specific discourse function performed, teacher CS into the L1 was always in response to the students' behavior, either their positive achievement (two instances) or their negative responsiveness (28 instances). The main interactional consequence was that when the teacher switched into Japanese in response to students' negative responsiveness, the flow of interaction was restored. Thus the teacher's use of CS into the L1 affected the interaction by either fortifying it (after a positive achievement) or restoring it (after negative responsiveness).

The chief pedagogical implication of this result is that in EFL classes with students whose proficiency in the TL and motivation are low, CS into the L1 may allow the teacher to enhance the flow of interaction in the TL.

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Notes

1. According to Fotos (1995), when CS research first began in the 1950s CS was regarded as undesirable behavior on the part of people who could not speak fluently in the L2. For example, Weinreich (1953) claims that one's transition from one language to the other within a single sentence or on a given occasion is not the behavior of an ideal bilingual. Labov (1971, as cited in Gumperz, 1982) calls CS "idiosyntactic behavior" (p. 70). In fact, Dabène and Billiez (1986) note that some educators still view multilingual competence in immigrant children negatively—probably because they believe that multilingual competence impedes the success of target language acquisition.
2. However, current research also shows that some CS, especially CS among low-proficiency L2 speakers, is indeed a strategy to compensate for communication problems (see Færch & Kasper, 1983; Poullisse, 1997; Wagner & Firth, 1997).
3. Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Matrix Language-Frame model provides an explanation for the frequent CS of nouns. For a detailed discussion on this point, see Myers-Scotton (1993a, pp. 493).
4. In her Markedness Model, Myers-Scotton (1993c) suggests two alternative types of CS: "unmarked" and "marked." For further discussion, see Myers-Scotton (1993c).
5. According to Merritt et al. (1992), although there are more than 30 mother tongues in Kenya, most of these languages have little, if anything, in writ-

ten form.

6. The STEP third level is usually considered to be equivalent to a TOEFL score of around 400.
7. The "strip story" activity was originally introduced by Gibbon (as cited in Nation, 1995). In the present study, the teacher cut up the dialogue the students had studied in the previous lesson into four pieces so that each student could have two pieces. The dialogue is one between a man and a woman, and each piece contains one turn by the man and one turn by the woman. The students had to put their pieces together to form the complete dialogue.
8. The teacher also used English utterances for feedback, such as "O.K.," "mhm," "yes," "yeah," and "right," throughout the lesson. These and the CS backchanneling utterances were categorized according to Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975), various classes of feedback acts: *evaluate*, *marker*, *acknowledge*, *reply*, or *accept* acts. It was found that the teacher used *evaluate* acts, which are characterized by a high falling tone that shows strong agreement, only for two CS responses. Other instances were categorized as *marker*, *acknowledge*, *reply* or *accept* acts. In this paper, only the two *evaluate* acts, both of which are positive, are regarded as "positive feedback."
9. Although Bilmes (1997) is talking about conversation, a different speech event from classroom interaction, interaction in a class between a teacher and only two students can be much like conversation.
10. In their analysis of interviews between counselors and students at a junior college Erickson and Shultz (1982) have shown that knowing *when* to do or say something (in a timely manner) is as fundamental as knowing *what* to do or say in face-to-face interaction. According to these authors, regularity in timing, expressed at the level of speech prosody and kinesic prosody, is essential to the success of interaction.

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Appendix

Transcription Conventions

[]	overlapping talk
=	latched utterances
(0.0)	timed pause (in seconds)
(.)	a short pause
co:lon	extension of the sound or syllable
co::lon	a more prolonged stretch
.	falling intonation (final)
,	continuing intonation (non-final)
?	rising intonation (final)
CAPITAL	emphasis
° °	passage of talk that is quieter than surrounding talk
< >	passage of talk that is slower than surrounding talk
> <	passage of talk that is faster than surrounding talk.
hh	audible aspirations
*hh	audible inhalations
(hh)	laughter within a word
(())	comment by the transcriber
()	problematic hearing that the transcriber is not certain about
' '	idiomatic translation of Japanese utterances
{ }	words or phrases which are not explicitly stated in the Japanese versions.