

AN EFL TEACHER'S CODE-SWITCHING AND
LANGUAGE CHOICE IN PRIMARY SCHOOL:

A case study

Master's Thesis

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<p>Tiivistelmä - Abstract</p> <p>Viimeisten vuosikymmenten aikana kiinnostus ja tutkimus kohdekielen ja äidinkielen käytöstä vieraan kielen opetuksessa on kasvanut tasaisesti. Enemmistö tutkimuksista on keskittynyt koodin vaihtoon ja valintaan luokkahuoneinteraktiossa alakoulua ylemmillä asteilla. Tämän Pro Gradu-tutkielman tarkoituksena oli selvittää kuinka paljon ja mihin tarkoituksiin alakoulun englanninopettaja käyttää äidinkieltä ja englantia opetuksessaan. Lisäksi tutkimus pyrki selvittämään muuttuvatko näiden kielten roolit opettajan puheessa lukukauden aikana.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen aineisto koostui neljästä saman opettajan pitämästä neljännen luokan englannin oppitunnista, joista kaksi ensimmäistä videoitiin tammikuussa 2013 ja kaksi viimeistä toukokuussa 2013. Lisäksi opettajan kanssa järjestettiin teemahaastattelu, joka toteutettiin ja videoitiin toisen oppitunnin jälkeen. Analyysin pääpaino oli opettajan kielenkäytön ja kielivalintojen laadullisessa analysoimisessa videoitujen tuntien ja haastatteluvastauksien valossa diskurssianalyysin ja sisällön analyysin menetelmiä hyödyntäen. Tutkimukseen sisältyi myös määrällinen osa, jossa suomen ja englannin määrä opettajan puheessa laskettiin kunkin kielen sanamäärien mukaan. Lisäksi tutkimuksen tuloksia pohdittiin suhteessa aiempiin tutkimuksiin alalla.</p> <p>Tutkimustulokset olivat hieman yllättäviä, sillä vieraankielen osuus oli pienempi toukokuun tunneilla, vaikka olisi voinut olettaa sen osuuden kasvavan samalla kun oppilaiden kielitaito kehittyy. Äidinkielen suuri määrä ylipäänsä oli yllättävä suhteessa aiempiin tutkimuksiin. Äidinkielen ja vieraankielen funktiot opettajan puheessa olivat sen sijaan samansuuntaisia aiemman tutkimuksen kanssa. Suomenkieltä käytettiin kääntämiseen, kieliopin opettamiseen, yleiseen keskusteluun, tunnin keskeytyessä, kotitehtäviä annettaessa, oppilaita keuhuttaessa ja rohkaistaessa sekä tehtävien ohjeistuksessa. Englanninkieltä käytettiin sanaston opetuksessa ja siirryttäessä tehtävästä toiseen. Englantia ja suomea käytettiin molempia tehtävistä keskusteltaessa ja käskyjen sekä yleisten ohjeiden annossa. Kielen valintaan vaikutti erityisesti tehtävätyyppi, aikarajoitukset ja tuleva koe.</p> <p>Aineiston rajallisuuden sekä tuntien sisältöjen eroavaisuuksien vuoksi laajempien johtopäätösten tekeminen on mahdotonta. Alakoulun englanninopettajat voivat kuitenkin käyttää tutkimuksen tuloksia vertailukohteena omia kielivalintoja pohtiessaan. Myös opetuksen suunnittelussa tutkimuksen tuloksia voidaan hyödyntää, sillä ne osoittavat minkälaisissa aktiviteettityypeissä ja luokkahuonetilanteissa opettaja käyttää äidinkieltä ja kohdekieltä.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

The present study explores the unique nature of communication in the classroom; in particular, the interest is on the teacher's language choice and code-switching between the learner's first language (L1) and the target language (TL) in primary school English as a foreign language (EFL) lessons. As the target language is the first foreign language the pupils learn in school (Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2004) and the focus is on describing the choices related to the two languages, in the present study English will be referred to as the second language (L2).

Over the past few decades the debate on the language of instruction in foreign language teaching and the amount of target language use in relation to the first language use has received a great deal of attention and aroused discussion among researchers and professionals (e.g. Cook 2001, Turnbull 2001, Turnbull and Arnett 2002). For much of the 20th century the use of the L1 was avoided in foreign language teaching largely due to language teaching methodology that emphasized avoiding all connections between the L1 and the L2 (Cook 2001: 403). However, more recent research has examined whether integrating the L1 systematically in teacher-talk can actually accelerate L2 learning (e.g. Turnbull 2001, Cook 2001). According to Turnbull and Arnett (2002), researchers tend to agree that the L2 should be used as much as possible in teaching; rather it is the amount and the role of the L1 where the views differ. Littlewood and Yu (2009: 64) explain that "[p]ositions range from insistence on total exclusion of the L1, toward varying degrees of recognition that it may provide valuable support for learning, either directly... or indirectly."

Several researchers have studied the bilingual nature of foreign language classroom interaction both from the learners' and the teachers' perspectives (e.g. Duff and Polio 1990, Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie 2002, Qian et al. 2009). Many of the studies that have focused on the teachers' language use have

analyzed and classified the functions the L1 serves in teacher-talk and it can be concluded that the L1 has some fairly stable functions in the classroom, which are grammar teaching and translation as well as classroom management as a general category. Some researchers further separate such functions as giving instructions and explanations and encouragement as distinct categories (e.g. Rezvani 2011, Littlewood and Yu 2009). The reasons that are mentioned for the teachers' choice to use the L1 in these situations include lesson content and the type of pedagogic activity, time restrictions, establishing social relationships and routine-like language use or situations. In addition, according to some studies also governmental or departmental policies as well as teachers' own perceptions of their language skills can affect their language choice (e.g. Duff and Polio 1990, Macaro 2001). In general, research in the field of first language and target language use in foreign language classroom interaction has been more interested in examining the different roles of the L1 whereas the analysis of the functions of the L2 has not been that extensive.

Thus, in the present study the functions for both the L1 and L2 in teacher-talk are analyzed. The aim of the present study is to examine the language choices and code-switching of a particular EFL teacher in a Finnish primary school. In addition to the distinct and overlapping functions of Finnish and English, attention will be paid to the amount of each language and changes in the teacher's language choices during a semester. In order to shed light on the research questions four lessons where the teacher taught the same pupils in fourth grade were observed and video recorded. The first two lessons were observed in January 2013 and the last two lessons in May 2013. In addition, a semi-structured interview was conducted with the teacher after the second lesson observation. The data was analyzed through qualitative analysis using techniques from both content analysis and discourse analysis. Also, the quantitative aspect was taken into consideration and the amount of the L1 and the L2 in the teacher's talk was estimated with the help of a word count method. The percentages of each language were calculated from the total amount of words said by the teacher.

Most of the previous research on the use of mother tongue vs. target language and the functions these languages serve in teacher-talk has been conducted on higher educational levels but not that broadly in primary school. Researchers have been especially interested in teachers' language choice and code-switching in university language classes. Furthermore, most of the research has been conducted abroad, albeit the amount of studies in Finland is on the rise. For instance, Nikula (2003, 2005) has been interested in the role of the L1 and L2 in EFL and CLIL (i.e. Content and Language Integrated Learning) secondary and upper-secondary classrooms. Also Yletyinen (2004) examined who uses code-switching and in what type of situations in secondary and upper-secondary school classrooms. Further, Reini (2008) and Sadeharju (2011) analyzed the teachers' use of the L1 and the L2 in secondary and upper-secondary school EFL lessons. The present study approaches the same question from the opposite end, examining an EFL teacher's language choice with young beginner learners in primary school. In addition to the fact that the emphasis is now on a teacher teaching learners who are less advanced in their English learning, the aim is also to find out whether the roles of the two languages change over a semester which distinguishes the present study from the previous studies which have merely looked into the different functions of the L1 and L2.

As the focus is on the teacher's language choice and code-switching, the understanding of the two terms in the present study has to be explained. Code choice is a central phenomenon in interaction since speakers have to constantly decide which code to use (Levine 2011: 47). In this definition a code can mean different styles, variants or dialects of a language, two or more different languages or even non-linguistic means of communication, such as gestures and expressions. The way and reasons why speakers choose a particular code is called code choice. It can be both conscious and unconscious. For the purposes of the present study I will limit the discussion of code choice only to linguistic codes, and in particular to distinct languages instead of to variants, styles or dialects of a language. Thus, in the present study the term language choice is used when referring to the teacher's decisions to use either the L1 or the L2. It is

also important to make a distinction between the use of the terms language choice and code-switching because the goal is to examine the teacher's use of Finnish and English, code-switching, and the reasons behind the actual talk, language choice. The distinction is, however, far from a clear-cut, since the terms can also be used to refer to similar kinds of phenomena (Levine 2011). Language choice and code-switching are intertwined in interaction. They occur simultaneously; when a person switches from one language to another he or she also makes a decision to use the particular language, albeit the decision can be an unconscious one. In the present study the two terms are used to refer to two distinct aspects of interaction: the decision to use a particular language and the actual switch from one language to another.

The present study begins with the presentation of the theoretical background. First, classroom interaction and teacher-talk are briefly presented as they are the context where the teacher makes the decisions to use either the L1 or the L2, after which the roles of the two languages in foreign language teaching are discussed. Second, an overview of language choice and code-switching is presented moving from general definitions to theories and finally to code-switching in the language classroom. Then, previous studies on foreign language classroom code-switching are discussed and the present study is introduced, after which I will move on to the findings of the study. Finally, the results are discussed in the light of previous research and the study is evaluated and suggestions for further research are given.

2 CLASSROOM INTERACTION AND THE ROLE OF L1 AND L2 IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

In this chapter I will first briefly explain the nature of classroom interaction and teacher-talk as it is the context where teachers make their language choices (chapter 2.1). Then I will shift the emphasis on the role of the L1 and the L2 in the foreign language classroom focusing on the teachers' use of the two languages and discuss arguments both for and against the use of the L1 supported by theories and research (chapter 2.2).

2.1 Classroom interaction and teacher-talk

Classroom interaction and the language used in classrooms are different to language use in other situations. The oral communication in the classroom is deliberate to a great extent and used to attain the goals set in the curriculum (Ho 2006: 9). Ellis (1984: 96) further states that the type of input and interaction the teacher provides and maintains are factors that distinguish the classroom language from other linguistic environments. Silver et al. (2014: 130-131) support the view that classroom interaction has its own characteristics by emphasizing that the topics are set by the teacher. Furthermore, the amount of participants in interaction is tremendously larger in the classroom when compared to conversations in ordinary life (Edwards and Westgate 1994: 46). Also, the roles of the participants in classroom communication are predetermined, which is maybe the most visible difference. That is, the teacher acts as the bearer of information and the pupils are responders of the messages (Ellis 1984: 127-129).

The definition of classroom talk differs to some extent between researchers. When focusing on language classrooms in particular, Ho (2006: 13), for instance, defines classroom talk as the teacher's and the learners' linguistic communication in the language classroom. Furthermore, Silver and Lwin (2014: 9-10) point out that in language classrooms language has two important roles: it

is both the medium of instruction and the target of instruction. In the first scenario language is used to execute communicative functions such as talking about the lesson content, managing the classroom and learning and assessing the learners. In the latter scenario language represents what is pursued through teaching and learning. Finally, according to Malamah-Thomas (1987), the teacher's actions and the learners' reactions are not enough to produce interaction. She (1987: 5-8) explains that "interacting means acting reciprocally, acting upon each other". In other words, each reaction modifies the following action in classroom communication turning it into interaction.

According to Edwards and Westgate (1994: 46), in orderly classrooms the teacher is the one directing and controlling the talk by taking and allocating turns, determining the topics for discussion, commenting the ongoing talk and maintaining cohesion. Learners, on the other hand, are mostly in the receiving role in the classroom; they take in the information given by the teacher and their opportunities to comment the content are more restricted (Edwards and Westgate 1994: 47). The view is supported by Ho (2006: 7) who points out that the language classrooms are often based on traditional teacher-centered communication, where the learners' participation is minimal. She concludes by noting that the roles of the teacher and the learner are predetermined:

"Collaboration is sought through a systematic socialization process where teachers and students are socialized into the roles allocated to them through years of the same classroom script. Teachers are socialized into their role as transmitters of the rules of the language and achieving the academic objectives set out by the school while students are socialized into their role as passive recipients of these rules and to achieving the institution's academic, exam-oriented goals." (Ho 2006: 40)

As it has become evident above, teacher-talk has a significant role in classroom interaction. Silver et al. (2014: 130-131) describe teacher-talk in a clear and simple way, yet managing to entail the different aspects of it. They mention that common features in teacher-talk are, for instance, class management, commenting and praising students' answers and learning as well as giving

explanations. They also point out that teacher-talk is both instructional and organizational but also social, since it can be used to establish and strengthen relationships in the classroom. Further, they acknowledge that teacher-talk differs from informal conversations outside the school in the sense that the topics are usually set by the teacher and he or she is also in charge of the interaction. In addition, they have observed that classroom talk tends to be asymmetrical because the communication is not balanced between all the participants, and thus, it is governed by teacher-talk.

Ellis (1984: 96) understands teacher-talk in the foreign language classroom as “the special language the teacher uses when addressing L2 learners in the classroom”. According to Ellis (1984: 96-97), teacher-talk in foreign language classrooms has many features which make the language unique and specially designed for the context. The language and language forms teachers use tend to be more simple. For instance, teachers may choose a more common and easy word or structure instead of a more challenging or multifaceted expression. The degree of language modification is dictated by the learners’ skills and knowledge about the target language. That is, the less competent the learners are, the more the teacher-talk has to be adjusted. Apart from adapting the language for the learners’ level, teacher-talk typically contains more repetitions, clarifications and prompting. Teacher-talk is also distinct in the sense that the amount of questions is very high (Silver et al. 2014: 130). Edwards and Westgate (1994: 87) agree that when teaching the whole class teachers use questions to a large extent.

Teacher-talk has different forms and is used in various ways depending on the situation and activity type. First of all, teachers use a great deal of display questions in the classroom. That is, questions which are not genuine, since the teacher already knows the answer to the question (Silver et al. 2014: 130). These questions are used to discover what the learners know, instead of looking for new information. The IRF (i.e. Initiation-Response-Feedback) exchange is the most apparent feature of classroom talk and it demonstrates the most typical

form of discourse used in the classroom, usually containing display questions (Ellis 1984: 97). It also illustrates the asymmetrical nature of classroom interaction as the teacher is the one in charge (Ho 2006: 18). Many researchers agree that the IRF pattern has important pedagogical functions, such as evaluating the learners' output and giving feedback, and they are confident that the pattern "will most likely remain an unmarked feature in the classroom" (Ho 2006: 19-20). Thus, the teachers' turns in the IRF sequence represent typical forms of teacher-talk. However, the IRF pattern has also been criticized as this type of interaction does not enable students to use the language in creative ways (e.g. Mercer 1995). Silver et al. (2014: 131) agree and mention that if the IRF pattern is used extensively in the lesson, a limited amount of interaction takes place, since the pattern usually concerns only the teacher and one student, while the others observe the dialogue.

Teacher-talk is not, however, restricted to the IRF sequence; rather multiple different teaching methods and forms of teacher-talk are present in the classroom, for instance choice questions and process questions can be used instead of the IRF structure (Mehan 1979 as quoted in Silver et al. 2014: 133-134). The first refers to such questions that the learners can answer by choosing a proper answer from a set of possible choices. The latter, on the other hand, encompasses questions that encourage students to express opinions, interpretations and explanations. Silver et al. (2014: 134) mention that there is yet another type of question that can be used by the teacher, that is, metaprocess questions. In addition to finding out what students know, the replies for these types of questions can reveal what learners know about their own learning. Unfortunately, such questions are infrequently employed by teachers (Silver et al. 2014: 134).

As it has become evident above, teachers use different kinds of questions depending on the situation and the kinds of answers they are anticipating, but teacher-talk is not limited to questions. According to Edwards and Westgate (1994: 91), teacher-talk encompasses dealing with classroom management and

administration as well as demonstrating the subject content. They continue that in traditionally-organized classrooms teacher-talk tends to consist of “the routine classroom activities of teacher-exposition, teacher-questioning, teacher-led ‘discussion’, and teacher-supervised seat-work” (Edwards and Westgate 1994: 114). Malamah-Thomas (1987: 17) explains that “teachers spend a lot of time talking, lecturing, asking questions, giving definitions, reading aloud, giving instructions, and so on”. In the definitions above teacher-talk is seen mainly to have a pedagogic purpose but it also has a social aspect; teacher-talk has also a role in setting up and establishing relationships among the speakers in the classroom (Silver et al. 2014: 131). For instance, giving praise and encouragement and showing genuine interest in the learners represent social aspects of teacher-talk.

2.2 The role of L1 and L2 in foreign language teaching

Over the past few decades, interest in first and second language use in second and foreign language teaching and learning has grown rapidly. Particularly, research in the efficient use of L1 to accelerate L2 learning has been on the rise after having been neglected for several decades (Cook 2001).

The Grammar Translation Method is the best known teaching method that emphasized the use of the L1 but it was then replaced with methods that treated the L1 in the classroom as a negative factor (Johnson 2008: 9-10, Brown 1994: 16-17). That is, in the 20th century, the use of the L1 in language instruction was highly criticized, largely due to language teaching methodology that emphasized avoiding all connections between L1 and L2 (Cook 2001: 403). For instance, teachers following the Direct Method in the first half of the 20th century were encouraged not to use the L1 and keep the languages as separate from one another as possible. As Brown (1994: 14, 70) explains, in the Direct Method practically all teaching was conducted in the target language and the focus was on language that is useful in everyday situations. Furthermore, according to the Direct Method, it was argued that learners should be immersed in the same way as the learners of a first language when they acquire their L1.

By following these guidelines, negative transfer was ruled out and proponents of the method believed that most effective learning could only be accomplished by modeling L1 acquisition.

Today, foreign language teaching is usually designed to develop communicative skills among the learners and teachers often resort at least partially to Communicative Language Teaching, which also puts the emphasis on the use of the L2, but does not exclude the L1. Communicative Language Teaching is not actually a method; rather it is a broader approach to teaching the L2 focusing on all the aspects of communicative competence (Brown 1994: 244-246). As it is not a strictly restricted method, there are also several different interpretations of it. Brown (1994: 244-246) has summarized the common features as follows: language teaching emphasizes communicative competence and aims at engaging learners to use the L2 for meaningful purposes, which can be complemented by fluency and accuracy. In other words, students are expected to use the language in authentic communication and the L1 is used very scarcely for instance in translations. Community Language Learning exploits the L1 even to a greater extent and it can also be used with beginner learners (Brown 1994: 96). In this method the teacher acts more as a counselor than a traditional teacher trying to establish a learning environment that is as comfortable as possible. The L1 is used to build trust between the members in the classroom. Suggestopedia is quite similar to Community Language Learning as it also emphasizes the importance of relaxed atmosphere in the classroom and the L1 has a role in reassuring the learners (Malamah-Thomas 1987: 84, Brown 1994: 97).

According to Macaro (2009: 36-41) three strong arguments that prove the L1 to be beneficial in the foreign language classroom can be found, and he refers to these as theories. First, he presents the Cognitive Processing Theory, according to which the L1 and the L2 are stored in a similar way in the long term memory, and they are both activated in language processing of bilinguals. Further, he explains that:

“since the connections with the first language (especially in nonbalanced bilinguals) are going to be much stronger than connections with the second language, then to ignore the first language during the process of second language learning is to ignore an essential tool at the learner’s disposal”. (Macaro 2009: 37)

Another theory that supports the use of the L1 in foreign language teaching that Macaro brings up is the Sociocultural Theory. It emphasizes the role of inner voice and private speech, which tend to be in the L1, in the mental processes, including language learning. It is important to point out that in his review article of his previous studies Macaro (2009) refers to the Sociocultural Theory as one theory, not as a set of multiple different approaches and views.

The third theory that supports the beneficial role of the L1 in foreign language learning is codeswitching in natural environments (Macaro 2009: 36-41). Macaro (2009) argues that since code-switching is a natural phenomenon in informal speech and in noninstructional contexts it can be used in a similar way in language classrooms. This theory is, however, limited to classrooms that are message-oriented, or as Macaro puts it broadly communicative. What Macaro (2009: 38-39) means with code-switching in broadly communicative classrooms is that the teacher balances between decisions to either switch to the L1 or to maintain the L2 as the language of communication. These decisions have to be well informed and possible effects of either resorting to the L1 or avoiding it have to be judged by the teacher, while making also sure that meaning is communicated mainly through the target language.

Macaro (1997) studied the effects of TL-only teaching through teachers’ viewpoints that related to the use of the L1 in foreign language teaching. After having been studied the effects of TL-only teaching, Macaro (2009: 35-36) arranged the teachers’ attitudes toward first language use in the classroom according to three distinct viewpoints: virtual position, maximal position and optimal position. The first refers to a standpoint which neglects the use of the L1 altogether. According to this view the L1 has neither pedagogical nor communicative value in language teaching. The position is supported by

studies that report on the positive effects of the L2 use on learning outcomes (Turnbull 2001) and Krashen's Input Hypothesis (Brown 1994). Further, findings that show increased student motivation in target language dominating classrooms are used to support the virtual position (MacDonald 1993 as quoted in Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain 2009: 4). Also, the proponents of the maximal position regard the L2 as the best means to teach and learn the language, but admit that this kind of environment is impossible to construct in the classroom. Thus, in the maximal position teaching is conducted in the L2 as much as possible but sometimes teachers are forced to resort to the learners' L1. However, these instances of code-switching to the L1 are not anticipated. The last viewpoint, the optimal use, on the other hand, recognizes that the use of the L1 can be valuable in certain situations in the classroom and it can even facilitate learning more efficiently than using the L2.

For instance, Bateman (2008) agrees that the L2 should be used as much as possible in the foreign language classroom as it enhances learners' skills in listening comprehension, oral production and broadens their vocabulary. He also found that the use of the L2 was often tied to certain activities and it was used in routine-like activities such as warm-up exercises and when checking exercises as well as reading, listening and vocabulary exercises where the content is in the L2. Also, Butzkamm and Caldwell (2009) support the extensive use of the L2 in foreign language classrooms. According to them, the L2 is best learned through authentic use of the target language and teachers should use it for real communication. In addition, they argue that homework can be assigned in the L2 and learners can be praised and corrected by using the target language.

There is also research that supports the view that the L1 can be a useful supplement in L2 learning (Cook 2001). For instance, Ellis (1984) does not deny the importance of the L2 use but claims that it alone does not guarantee foreign language learning, and thus, sees principled L1 use as beneficial in facilitating learning. Also, Turnbull (2001) emphasizes the maximal target language use but

admits that the L1 can be used to support foreign language teaching. However, he recognizes a dilemma in his argument; how is maximal use of target language defined? Macaro (2005 as quoted in McMillan and Turnbull 2009: 33) has attempted to define the accepted amount of the L1 in teachers' talk by suggesting that there is "a threshold (around 10-15%) beyond which teacher use of the first language may begin to have a negative impact on student learning". However, there are no strict guidelines about the appropriate amount of each language in teaching and the decision about the justified L1 use remains eventually as an individual teacher's judgment.

Furthermore, research over the past few decades has indicated that integrating the L1 systematically in teacher-talk can actually accelerate L2 learning (Cook 2001). The L1 can be used in many positive ways in ESL (i.e. English as a second language) and EFL classrooms. Many studies have found that the use of the L1 can be efficient for instance when conveying or checking meaning, covering grammar teaching and terms, organizing tasks, in disciplinary talk and when testing students' language skills (Cook 2001: 414-416). Macaro (1997) and Littlewood and Yu (2009) have reported similar results on functions of code-switching in secondary and tertiary education. Research has also been conducted in primary education, albeit not as broadly as in other levels of education (e.g. Nagy and Robertson 2009). In spite of the growing interest in ESL and EFL teachers' code-switching and functions which the languages used by the teachers serve, a limited amount of research has focused on primary school ESL or EFL teachers' language use and the reasons for their choice of a language. Many studies have examined teachers' code-switching when teaching beginner learners but often these learners are of an older age, who have already developed learning and thinking skills when learning other languages, and who are also generally cognitively more developed than children who are learning their first foreign language (Meisel 2013: 211).

Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain (2009: 5-6) sum up that such studies such as those mentioned above have shown that in small proportions the L1 may further

target language comprehension and production. They continue that the L1 can be particularly helpful in cognitively demanding tasks, especially if the learners' language skills in the L2 are not very developed. That is, the weaker the learners' language skills are, the bigger role the L1 has in facilitating L2 learning (Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain 2009: 6). On the basis of the arguments above, it is possible that in primary school EFL lessons the teacher's use of the L1, Finnish in the present study, is substantially more common than in higher levels of education.

In Finland there are no strict guidelines or official policies for EFL teachers regarding their use of the L1 and the L2 in the classroom. Thus, the language choices in EFL instruction are left to individual teachers who can have diverged views about the use of the L1 and the L2. However, primary school EFL teaching should give pupils preparedness to act in communicational situations in the foreign language (Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2004). That is, English should be used as the means of communication in the classroom, not merely as the object of study. Moreover, in the first years of EFL teaching the focus should be on concrete communicational situations that are closely related to the pupils' life and easily identified with. In EFL primary school classrooms pupils are expected to understand speech that concerns everyday life and routine-like situations in their situational context. This suggests that teachers are encouraged to use the L2 especially in recurring situations and in familiar speech. Interestingly, although according to the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (2004) the emphasis is also on the communicational functions of the L2, Nikula (2005) has found that in EFL teaching the role of the L2 tends to be restricted to the target of study and it is used very material-dependently. Further, many researchers (e.g. Duff and Polio 1990) have pointed out that teachers should use the L2 as much as possible in EFL classrooms because it is often the main place where pupils receive most of their L2 input as the L2 is not essential in their everyday life outside the school. The situation is similar in Finland, where English is not needed when

communicating in society, albeit English can be heard and seen in different media, like for instance, TV, radio and the internet.

3 CODE-SWITCHING

In this chapter I will define the two core terms of the present study: language choice (chapter 3.1) and code-switching (chapter 3.2). First the definition of code-switching is presented (chapter 3.2.1) and it is then further discussed as social interaction (chapter 3.2.2) and in foreign language classrooms (chapter 3.2.3).

3.1 Language choice

Language choice takes place always when a switch occurs in a speaker's language use (Grosjean 2010); that is, when a person switches from one language to another. Whenever a language user changes the language that is being used, he or she makes a decision, a choice, to use another language. In the present study, language choice will be limited to the phenomenon of choosing to use either the learners' first language (i.e. Finnish) or the target language (i.e. English).

According to Auer (1998: 3), language choice is guided by social surroundings and situations. Gafaranga (2005: 282-284) supports the view by stating that language choice reflects social structure and explains that the use of different languages is linked to different identities. Thus, it is important to briefly look into language choice in the language classroom and how it is used in interaction.

In order to analyze bilingual communication in the language classroom we have to regard the classroom as an authentic social environment rather than as exceptional surroundings divorced from the actual social life (Levine 2011: 4). When we are set on this view about the nature of the language classroom, we can admit that language choice is a common phenomenon in bilingual interaction, including foreign language classrooms. Most of the time foreign language teaching and learning involves switching back and forth between the

learners' L1 and L2. However, as shown in chapter 2.2, there are varying approaches in how the use of the two languages is regarded in the classroom.

In the classroom, language choice is closely related to the learners' and the teacher's mutual communication and understanding; it is a means "to negotiate their specific role and identity" (Levine 2011: 34). A multilingual approach to language choice requires the language users constantly to co-construct and negotiate the factors influencing choices of a particular language. Levine (2011: 43-44) encapsulates the definition of classroom language choice to the following tenets: (1) Learning emerges from social interaction and language choice practices are essential part of verbal interaction, (2) Principled language choice can further learning and multilingual communication, (3) Language choice covers for many different roles in social interaction, (4) Language choice reflects social and cultural meaning, (5) The effects of language choice cannot be exactly predicted, and (6) principled code-switching can enhance effective learning.

According to Levine (2011: 50), language choice can be guided by "(1) phonological, grammatical or lexical features of the speaker's languages; (2) discursive or conversational strategic considerations in the moment of interaction; (3) community or group social or historical norms (discourses)..., or a combination of any of these." Legarreta (1977: 10) further concludes that language choice is often affected by the changing contexts in the classroom. In other words, a speaker may choose a particular language for instance because a particular word is better presented in that language, or because a particular language is more effective or easily understood in the situation, or because a particular language is identified with certain groups and communities. In the language classroom the decision to use a particular language often derives from the pedagogic activity which is being discussed and the intentions behind the utterance. For instance, in managerial and disciplinary language the teachers' language choice is often the L1, whereas in vocabulary teaching teachers are more sensitive to use the L2.

3.2 Code-switching

Just as language choice, code-switching is a common and natural language phenomenon especially among multilingual and bilingual speakers, although it also exists in monolingual language societies and contexts, like for instance in language classrooms. Li (2000: 17 as quoted in Turnbull and Dailey-O’Cain 2009: 7) emphasizes that sociolinguistic research has broadly proven that “codeswitching is a characteristic feature of bilingual talk rather than a sign of a deficiency in one or the other of the languages.” Gumperz (1982) further states that code-switching can be used to organize talk, but it can also be used if a bilingual speaker is not able to recall or use the L1 for some reason. Furthermore, code-switching has identity-related functions when it is employed to convey different kinds of relationships, for instance, between languages or speakers (Auer 2005 as quoted in Turnbull and Dailey-O’Cain 2009: 7).

3.2.1 Definition

Defining what code-switching as a term means is however a far more complex issue. Researchers have not been able to agree on a common definition nor define what can be regarded as code-switching. The phenomenon is traditionally described as the use of two or more different codes in the same conversation between bilingual or multilingual speakers (Muysken 1995: 7). Here the term *code* refers to a language. However, many researchers have broadened their understanding of the term and some, for instance, recognize code-switching also between different dialects of the same language (e.g. Scotton and Yule 1977). Gumperz (1982: 66) expands the scope of code-switching even further, referring to the term as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems.” More or less parallel terms, such as, code-mixing, code-alternation and language-alternation are also used to describe speech consisting of two or more languages or dialects. However, most researchers would probably agree on the following definitions: “Code switching is the systematic, alternating use of two or more languages in a single utterance or conversational exchange [and c]ode-switching is the systematic use

of linguistic material from two or more languages in the same sentence or conversation” (Levine 2011: 50). In the present study, the term *code* is used to refer to a distinct language. The term is used to encompass all kind of language alternation between the learners’ first language and the target language. That is, in the present study code-switching occurs between Finnish and English.

The study of code-switching has two major directions: structural and sociolinguistic. Grammatical aspects are the main focus in syntactic code-switching research, whereas the sociolinguistic approach views code-switching as a discourse phenomenon (Boztepe 2003: 3). The aim of the structural approach is to identify the different structural features that are embedded in code-switching, while the sociolinguistic approach focuses on the question why people pursue code-switching.

Sankoff and Poplack (1981 as quoted in Rezvani 2011: 19) identify three types of code-switching according to the syntactical features of each type: tag-switching, intra-sentential switching and inter-sentential switching. Tag switching encompasses only code-switching that involves “the insertion of a tag or a short fixed phrase in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language” (Rezvani 2011: 19). Intra-sentential switching, on the other hand, refers to switches within the clause or sentence boundary. Similarly, inter-sentential code-switching occurs at a clause or sentence boundary, but each clause or sentence has to be either in one language or another. The sociolinguistic approach to code-switching is more significant relative to the present study, and therefore, it is discussed in more detail below.

3.2.2 Code-switching as social interaction

Next I will introduce three models of code-switching which all understand the phenomenon as a social action. The models will be presented in chronological order. Finally, I will conclude by discussing the discourse-analysis approach to code-switching.

Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model treats code-switching as a part of social interaction and social context, such as the situation where language is used or the speakers and their interrelationship. In the core of the Markedness Model are "rights and obligations" (RO) sets which reflect "the attitudes and expectations of participants towards one another" and derive from situational features (Myers-Scotton 1993: 85). The RO sets are divided into unmarked and marked patterns; the first referring to speakers positioning themselves closely relative to the community or group in question. The latter, on the other hand, refers to situations where the speaker's intention is to define or construct his or her position in relation to others, most likely arousing more attention to him or herself. The marked code is the one that in particular interaction between speakers would be regarded as unnatural by most members, whereas the unmarked code would be viewed as the most natural in the same situation (Levine 2011: 52). According to the Markedness Model speakers are aware of the unmarked pattern and choose to either follow or defy it depending on how they wish to position themselves. Criticism towards the Markedness Model questions whether it is possible to claim that code choice merely reflects the social norms in question (Levine 2011: 53). Myers-Scotton (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001: 8) admits that the Markedness Model is flawed in the sense that the link between rationality is not discussed thoroughly and actual explanation on "how linguistic choices translate into social meanings" is missing from the model.

The interactional approach of Auer (1998), Li Wei (1998) and colleagues attempts to explain code-switching through analyzing speakers in interaction and focusing on conversation-internal features. The interactional approach suggests that the reasons for code choice are actually constructed in the context of a particular conversational exchange (Auer 1998, Li Wei 1998). The analytical approach to code-switching focuses on "how the meaning of code-switching is constructed in interaction" (Li Wei 1998: 169). Li Wei (1998: 161) further emphasizes that "[b]ilingual speakers change from one language to another in conversation not because of some external value attached to those particular

languages, but because the alternation itself signals to their co-participants how they wish their utterances to be interpreted on that particular occasion”.

Myers-Scotton’s (2002) Rational Choice Model is founded on both of the models discussed above and tries to cover the phenomenon in a more diversified way. The Rational Choice Model is a revised version of the earlier Markedness Model and shares the same core features as the predecessor; the unmarked and marked patterns are constructed socially and they are part of all bilingual language use (Myers-Scotton 2002: 205-206). In addition, the Rational Choice Model argues that code choice is ultimately rationally based and done by an individual (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001: 1). Principles of rational behavior govern talk and interaction and thus particular choices in conversational exchanges are made in relation to the utility of each code and the code that offers the best overall outcome is chosen (Elster 1979, 1989 as quoted in Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001: 2).

In addition to the models presented above, code-switching can be approached and analyzed with the help of discourse analysis. In discourse-analytical view the context where interaction takes place is given priority (Levine 2011: 62). According to Levine (2011: 62), classroom language choice and code-switching can be studied in a multifaceted way through discourse-analytical method as “it takes into consideration the micro-interactional turns-at-talk as well as the macro-social, historical arc in which code choices happen”. Scollon (2001 as quoted in Levine 2011: 62-63) has merged different views of discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis into three “principles for understanding classroom code choice”. The first principle states that discourse is seen as social action and meaning making includes language use. According to the second principle meaning can be communicated because the speakers share a system of meaning and language is the main such system. The third principle takes into consideration the historical aspect and states that although utterances may have diverse meaningful features, alone they are quite insignificant but when they occur simultaneously they become meaningful. Gee’s (2005 as quoted in Levine

2011: 63-64) view on discourse analysis shares the core ideas with Scollon's principles as he sees that "users of language enact particular identities through language-in-use, called 'discourse with a "little d"' [and] all aspects of context in which language-in-use occurs, "'big D" Discourse'". That is, language use and thus language choice and code-switching can be approached through the different Discourses, or in other words contexts, where code-switching occurs and through different aspects of language-in-use.

The models discussed above are not inclusive or flawless, but they will be helpful in approaching language classroom code-switching from different perspectives, focusing on both why and how the teacher decides on the use of a particular language.

3.2.3 Foreign language classroom as code-switching context

The present study adopts Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain's (2009: 1) understanding of code-switching "as something which is natural for bilinguals to do – and not just proficient ones, but also aspiring ones – and classroom codeswitching as being inherently linked with bilingual codeswitching". They continue that the justified and reasonable code-switching in the foreign language classroom reflects the natural speech of bilingual and multilingual speakers. In addition, Edmondson's (2004) view is adopted when discussing classroom code-switching. That is, all the participants in the classroom share another language apart from the target language that is being taught, and in the present study it is Finnish. Set on this view, the foreign language classroom can be regarded as a multilingual setting for interaction since the speakers have both opportunities and obligations to use these two languages in communication.

According to Edmondson (2004: 158-159), in the language classroom language can be used either for communicational or pedagogic purposes. Pedagogic speech is limited to actual teaching whereas communicational speech has a broader definition as it includes talking in the L2 and about the materials which are used to learn the L2. These speech acts differ from one another also in the

used language. Pedagogic speech can be conducted either in the L1 or the L2 but communicational speech tends to be in the L2.

Ferguson (2003: 39 as quoted in Seedhouse and Üstünel 2005: 307-309) further summarizes that classroom code-switching can be broadly divided into the following three categories: "CS for curriculum access... CS for classroom management [and] CS for interpersonal relations". The first category includes code-switching for such purposes as ensuring understanding and encouraging learners in interaction. Code-switching within classroom management entails disciplining and praising students, motivating them and gaining attention. Finally, code-switching can be used to decrease social distance by switching to the L1 and building rapport with students.

Edmondson (2004) makes also a distinction between what he calls world-switching and code-switching. The first refers to switches which are used to signal a change in discourse type or pattern. That is, speakers shift between the different roles they have in the classroom. Code-switch, on the other hand, always involves a switch in the language. In other words, in world-switching only one language or both of the languages can be used but in code-switching two languages are always present.

Furthermore, Edmondson (2004: 165-172) notes a particular type of switch: speaker-motivated switch. He explains that speaker-motivated, or speaker-oriented, switches are used when there is not enough knowledge or skills in the L2, and thus, the speaker is forced to switch to the L1. These switches are always psycholinguistically motivated as the L1 is used to compensate deficiency in the L2. Speaker-motivated switches can, however, be both unconscious and conscious, and further, they can either be or not be social and communicative. For instance, when students switch to the L1 when they realize that they have made a mistake, the switch is used as self-monitoring. However, the switch can also function as request for help if the speaker anticipates assistance from the teacher or peers, and then it has also an interactional aspect.

Cook (1991: 68 as quoted in Edmondson 2004: 157), on the other hand, regards language-switching and code-switching as different actions. According to him changing a language in order to enable or maintain communication is language-switching. He further explains that only when the speaker who switches from one language to another does not know the word or phrase in the other language can be seen as code-switching. On the contrary, if the speaker him or herself knows the word or phrase but the receiver does not, it is called language-switching as the change in the language is used as a communicative strategy to guarantee mutual understanding. Thus, Cook's code-switching is similar to Edmondson's speaker-motivated switches.

As for Auer (1998), he separates discourse-related and participant-related switches from one another. He defines discourse-related code-switching as a means to organize and structure conversations and by doing this the function at hand can be highlighted. Participant-related switches, on the other hand, are closely tied to the conversation and its members; the switch can occur because the speaker for some reason cannot say the word in one language or the speaker believes that switching to another language is preferred by the listener. In the latter case the switch is similar to Cook's (1991 as quoted in Edmondson 2004) language-switching. It is important to acknowledge that participant-related switches are of different nature depending on the performer. When the teacher initiates a participant-related switch it can be used to scaffold and avoid communication problems. Students, on the other hand, can indicate insecurity in the use of the L2 through participant-related code-switching. It can be concluded that when the teacher uses participant-related switches they resemble language switching described by Cook (1991 as quoted in Edmondson 2004), whereas students' participant-related switches are similar to interactional speaker-motivated switches described by Edmondson (2004).

Seedhouse and Üstünel (2005: 303) make yet another distinction in classroom code-switching: teacher-initiated and teacher-induced code-switching. The former is used to explain switches where the teacher him or herself switches the

language, while the latter refers to such language use by the teacher that is intended as encouragement for the learners to use the opposite language, in other words, inducing students.

As the definitions and discussion above demonstrate, code-switching is an inevitable part of classroom interaction, and thus, deserves to be studied from different perspectives. The present study focuses on the teacher's language choice and the functions of each language in the teacher's talk and all kinds of switches are present in the data but are not discussed further. That is, the focus is on why and in which situations the teacher uses the L1 and the L2.

4 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM CODE-SWITCHING

In this chapter, I will present a broad overview of previous classroom code-switching research that either has focused on a similar research topic or had a similar setting as the present study. First, I will discuss studies that are conducted abroad (chapter 4.1), after which, I will present Finnish studies (chapter 4.2).

4.1 International studies

The studies in this chapter are organized according to the educational level where they are conducted. First, I will introduce studies conducted in tertiary education. Then, I will move on to studies in upper-secondary and secondary education. Finally, I will conclude by presenting studies focusing on classroom code-switching in primary education, which is the context of the present study.

One of the first studies exploring the amount of the L1 and the L2 in teacher-talk and the reasons for the use of the languages was conducted by Duff and Polio (1990). In addition to the teachers' language use they were interested in how the teachers and the students view the use of the L1 in the classrooms. The study was qualitative and exploited student questionnaires, teacher interviews, and classroom observations both in data collection and analysis. Thirteen language classrooms in a university in the United States, all of which offered a different language, were used as a sample. In each classroom two lesson observations were conducted and after the second observation the teacher was interviewed. The results show a vast variance in the teachers' language use regarding the L1 and the L2. The classroom with the highest amount of the L2 was conducted entirely in the target language, whereas the classroom with the smallest amount of the L2 contained only 10 per cent of target language use. Also, the factors influencing the language choice were divergent. The following reasons were given for the use of the L1: giving explanations for target

language concepts which do not have equivalents in the L1, department policy, grammar teaching, classroom management, students are incapable to understand TL-only teaching, the L1 and the L2 are too different from one another, too much to cover in teaching, lesson content and objectives, and limited time. Interestingly, in spite of the clearly varying result between the teachers' language choice the students were generally satisfied with their teachers' use of the L1 and the L2.

Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) conducted an exploratory study about teachers' L1 use in beginner foreign language classrooms in an Australian university. Lessons of four teachers, two of which were native-speakers of the target language and two of which were native-speakers of the L1, with similar content were observed by using audio recording. The data was analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively, the latter given more attention. The results show that the use of the L1 was quite limited during all the lessons, since the average of the L1 use was only 8.8 per cent. A ready coding scheme, which was "established by using categories of reasons for code switching from previous studies", was used to categorize the different functional uses of the L1 (Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie 2002: 409). The following categories were used: translation, metalinguistic uses and communicative uses, which were all further divided into subcategories. An interesting and noteworthy observation was that some instances of code-switching and language choice belonged in many of the categories. The most influential factor affecting the amount of the L1 was the activity type. That is, in grammar teaching the L1 was used more whereas in listening activities the amount of the L1 was notably smaller. The results are in line with previous research as they also indicate that the teachers use the L1 in translations and classroom management in addition to grammar instruction mentioned above. However, the findings of this study are quite consistent between the teachers when compared to the greatly varying results of Duff and Polio's (1990) research. Probable reasons that were mentioned for the particularly small differences in the results were that the teachers were all teaching the same language, there was no differences between the departmental

policies and the lessons were structured in a similar way with similar content (Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie 2002: 422).

Also, Seedhouse and Üstünel (2005) were interested in code-switching in beginner foreign language classes in a university. However, they considered the pedagogical focus and its relationship to the teachers' and students' language choice. Six EFL lessons were both audio and video recorded and analyzed through conversation analysis. Three clear code-switching patterns were found: the teacher switches to the L1 after a student silence, the teacher uses code-switching "to induce learners to code-switch" and the teacher uses code-switching in order to encourage the use of L2 among student turns. The last pattern demonstrates the mostly used pedagogical focus in the data. Students, on the other hand, either were in alignment or misalignment with this focus by either using the L2 or the L1.

Macaro's (2001) study differs from the above ones at least in two ways; the educational context was secondary school and the participants were teacher trainees. Further, his research techniques were varying from quantitative analysis to qualitative analysis where he used video recordings, teacher (trainee) interviews where the video recordings were viewed and discussed together with the participants (i.e. simulated recall interview), and follow-up interviews conducted at the end of the study. The data consisted of 14 lessons taught by six student teachers and two of the teachers were interviewed and their responses analyzed in detail. The interest was, however, similar with the studies discussed above as he studied the student teachers' code-switching and reasons for it. The main findings were that government policies and the student teachers' personal beliefs as well as perceptions influenced the language choice. In addition, the student teachers' use of the L1 was quite limited over the lesson observations and no correlation was found between the teachers' choice of language and students use of the L1 and the L2.

Bateman (2008) continued and furthered research on the aspects that Macaro (2001) had already earlier explored. In other words, Bateman too was interested in the attitudes and beliefs that student teachers have about the use of the L2 in secondary and upper-secondary foreign language teaching. He conducted a longitudinal qualitative study that included 10 student teachers. As research methods he used questionnaires, ongoing self-reporting, pre and post interviews and partial lesson observation. The results show that maximal use of the L2 was seen as very important factor facilitating target language learning. The L2 was used in situations that could be conducted in simple and routine-like language, where the teaching materials were already in the L2, like for instance vocabulary and listening and reading comprehension exercises. The L1, on the other hand, was seen as useful when explaining complex instructions, helping individual students and dealing with disciplinary problems. When looking into the reasons behind the language choices such points as “(1) classroom management, (2) lack of time, (3) linguistic limitations of nonnative teachers, (4) teacher fatigue, (5) building rapport with students, and (6) avoiding unfamiliar vocabulary” emerged from the data (Bateman 2008: 18). Also, the lesson content and subject matter were mentioned as factors influencing the use of the L2; especially grammar- and culture-related teaching had a negative impact on the amount of the L2.

Also, Littlewood and Yu (2009) focused on teachers’ use of the L1 in EFL lessons in junior secondary school. However, they did not rely on self-reports or observation as the studies discussed above, instead they chose to interview 50 students who were in higher education at the time of the data collection. Littlewood and Yu enquired their experience of their teachers’ use of the L1 when they had been in junior secondary schools. The results varied a great deal and in that sense were in line with Duff and Polio’s (1990) findings. The reason for the variation in the use of the L1 may result from the fact that the teachers who were described in the interviews came from different schools, the guidelines about language use may have differed and lesson contents as well as teaching methods may also have influenced the language choice. However,

three purposes for the teachers' use of the L1 emerged from the data: "establishing constructive social relationships... communicating complex meanings to ensure understanding and/or save time... [and] maintaining control over the classroom environment" (Littlewood and Yu 2009: 68).

The studies introduced above have all concentrated on classrooms where the learners are older and thus cognitively more developed (Philp et al. 2008: 5). However, some research has been conducted on primary school EFL teachers' language use. Nagy and Robertson's (2009) study focused on lesson observations in primary EFL classrooms in Hungary. Also their interest was in the way the L1 was used in teaching and especially in the language choices made by the teachers. The participants were four teachers from different schools and three lessons with each teacher were observed and audio-recorded. In addition, field notes were taken during the observations and the teachers were interviewed after each lesson. Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were used to analyze the data. The results support previous findings that the type of activity affects the language choice. Also, the difficulty level and familiarity of the language used were factors influencing the language choice; in routine-like and predictable talk the teachers were more sensitive to use the L2. Further, the findings were similar with previous research as they showed that the L1 was used for translation, instructions, time saving and pupil encouragement.

Furthermore, Qian et al. (2009) analyzed EFL classroom talk of two teachers in primary schools in China. The data was collected from a curriculum innovation project over a four-year period. The aim of the study was to find out whether teachers of young learners (in grades 1-4) use code-switching in their teacher-talk and for which purposes code-switching is used. In addition, the syntactical patterns of code-switching were examined. They found that both teachers used code-switching similarly in tag-switching, intra-sentential switching and inter-sentential switching. From these patterns the inter-sentential-switching made up 82 per cent, intra-sentential switches occurred in 16 percentages of the

switches and tag-switches were very rare with the percentage of 2. In addition, the results show that the quantity of code-switching, more specifically the amount of L1, decreased dramatically at the same time when the learners grew older. The different functions for which L1 was used, included translation, clarification, emphasizing important points, efficiency, like for instance saving time, increasing and decreasing social distance, praising and encouraging learners, and expressing disapproval. The amount of the L1 and the L2 was also reported for each year of the study; in the first year the L1 was used little over 40 per cent of the time, in the second year the L1 made up approximately 10 per cent and during the last two years of the study the role of the L1 was minimal.

Similarly, Rezvani (2011) explored the nature of teachers' code-switching between Farsi and English in EFL classrooms in an Iranian primary language school. However, it has to be pointed out that even though the researchers use the term primary school, the learners were aged between 12 and 16, and thus, closer in age to secondary school students. Nevertheless, the interest was in the different types of switches and the functions they carried. The participants of the study were four EFL teachers with similar education and work experience. The data was analyzed by using functional methods and no pre-imposed categories were determined prior to the analysis. The results are in line with Qian et al. (2009) and the identified functions of code-switching, or switching to L1, were instruction, efficiency, translation, praise and encouragement, correction, explanation and discipline. Also, the types of switches support the findings of Qian et al. (2009) showing that inter-sentential switching was by far the most popular as 79 per cent of switches represented this type. The amount of intra-sentential switching was 18 per cent and tag-switching was used only 3 per cent of the time.

Interestingly, neither of the studies mentioned above defined the functions of the target language. In both of the studies the researchers seem to have contented themselves with merely describing the role of the L1 and the purposes for which it was used. Furthermore, the studies do not report on

overlapping use of the L1 and the L2 in situations that resemble one another, nor is there any evidence that the L1 and the L2 would be used for the same functions. It is therefore impossible to say whether the functions the L1 serves in teacher-talk are fixed. That is one aspect the present study will look into and try to find out how “stable” roles the two different languages, the learners’ first language and the target language, have in the teacher’s language use. I am also interested whether some of the functions switching to the L1, for instance translation and explanation, could be substituted for alternative teaching techniques, such as miming or paraphrasing in the L2. Moreover, I would like to find out whether such functions as praise and encouragement and disciplinary talk could also be conducted in the L2.

Despite the lack of explaining and analyzing the functions of the TL, Qian et al. (2009) and Rezvani (2011) addressed similar questions on EFL teachers’ teacher-talk and code-switching in primary school as I tend to address in the present study. However, the Finnish, Chinese and Iranian language contexts and societies are different from one another. That is, it is impossible to jump to definite and explicit conclusions on the basis of the studies mentioned above. Nevertheless, the results of the studies by Qian et al. (2009), Rezvani (2011) and Nagy and Robertson (2009) encourage me to study teacher’s code-switching in a Finnish EFL classroom and suggest that language alternation is strongly present even in early foreign language teaching.

Before moving on to the specific studies made in the Finnish context a brief overview of the studies presented in this chapter is in order. Although the results are not entirely consistent, some generalizations can be made. The studies were more interested to define the functions for the L1 and the following functions emerged in many of the studies: instructions, explanation, classroom management, encouragement, grammar teaching and translation. Reasons for language choice, on the other hand, included such factors as lesson content and activity type, limited time, establishing social relationships and routine-like situations or language use. In addition, a few studies pointed out

that also governmental or departmental policies and teachers' personal beliefs and perceptions of their language skills can influence the language choice. This indicates that apart from reasons that are closely related to the actual lesson, two factors that are of a very different level can also affect the decisions about the language use in teaching.

4.2 Finnish studies

As the studies discussed in chapter 4.1 demonstrate researchers have been very interested in the L1 and the L2 use in language classrooms over the past two decades. However, classroom discourse and the teachers' language choice in particular have not been studied that broadly in Finland. Especially studies about code-switching and language choice in primary education are still scarce. Some research in the field has been conducted but all the studies tend to focus on other contexts than primary school language classrooms. I will now present the central studies and conclude by explaining the need and reasons for the present study.

Nikula (2003, 2005) has been particularly interested in studying the nature of classroom communication and the functions the L1 and the L2 have. In her study, Nikula (2003) gives an overview on the role of English in traditional EFL classrooms and content-based (i.e. CLIL) classrooms in secondary and upper-secondary schools. She summarizes the way English is used in these settings. In EFL classrooms the role of English is quite narrowed, functionally one-dimensional and mainly related to the teaching materials. That is, from the pragmatic perspective the L2 is a detached language and it is used merely as an object of study. In content-based classrooms English is used in more versatile ways; it is used for both teaching the subject matter and managing the classroom. Also, students use English more actively, for instance, to express disagreement, to negotiate meaning and to ask genuine questions. In EFL classrooms, on the other hand, the students' use of English tends to be limited to their response turns in the IRF sequence. Nikula (2005) continued to study pragmatic implications of Finnish and English in the same setting and focused

on the comparison of the role of the two languages. The goal of the study was to identify the different functions of the L1 and the L2 in classroom discourse, both from the learners' and teachers' perspectives, and show how the language use in the classroom affects the construction of social relationships. The results supported her earlier finding that in the EFL classrooms English is an object of study but in the CLIL classroom English is a tool of study. Furthermore, she found that Finnish plays a very important role and is widely used in EFL lessons for such functions as grammar teaching, classroom management and discipline. The L2, on the other hand, was used in text book and activity related teacher-talk. Nikula has come to the conclusion that when the speakers are released from the assessment of language use English is used in pragmatically more diverse ways.

Also, Myyryläinen's and Pietikäinen's (1988 as quoted in Reini 2008: 23) Pro Gradu Thesis focused on teachers' language use through an evaluation of the reasons the teachers gave for choosing to use a particular language. Although the study reported on teachers' language use, code-switching was not observed or analyzed. More recent studies include Yletyinen's (2004) and Reini's (2008) Pro Gradu theses which both focus on the functions of code-switching in EFL classrooms in secondary and upper-secondary schools in Finland. In her thesis Yletyinen examined both learners' and teachers' code-switching in EFL classrooms, whereas Reini focused only on teachers' language use.

Yletyinen (2004) analyzed her data with the help of discourse analysis and was particularly interested in who uses code-switching and in what type of situations it is used in the classroom. In addition, she classified the different types of code-switching that took place during the observed lessons and finally analyzed the achievements of code-switching. The data consisted of two lessons in upper-secondary school and two lessons in secondary school taught by two teachers. Yletyinen found that code-switching exists in Finnish secondary and upper-secondary school EFL classrooms and it is employed by both the teachers and learners. Learners tend to switch from Finnish to English whereas teachers

switch both ways between the two languages. Yletyinen listed explanation, marking shifts, checking for meaning, unofficial interactions and teacher admonitions as the main functions of the L1 in teacher-talk.

As already mentioned Reini (2008) focused only on the teachers' language use and explored it from the perspective of code-switching and code choice. Both Yletyinen and Reini used data from the same pool of data but it is unclear whether they analyzed the exact same lessons. Reini too used two upper-secondary school lessons and two secondary school lessons taught by two teachers as her data. Reini's study was mainly qualitative and the data was approached by using methods of conversation analysis. She found that the learners' first language had one specific and fixed function which is grammar teaching. Apart from that, the L1 and the L2 were both used for giving instructions, while students were working independently and when discussing text chapters. Reini also discovered that code-switching was used for multiple functions, such as topic change, translation, feedback, quotations, dealing with problematic situations, adjusting to the learners' choice of a language and switching in and out of pedagogical context. In addition, Reini quantified the amount of each language in teacher-talk by using a word count method and found that the amount of L1 varied from 51 per cent in upper-secondary school to 60 per cent in secondary school.

Sadeharju (2012) was also interested in classroom code-switching in secondary school; her emphasis was on student teachers' perceptions of their language use and the justification for their language choices in EFL lessons. She found that the use of the L2 was seen as a very important aspect in teaching and the participants stated that their aim was to speak mainly in the L2. However, Sadeharju did not report on the quantitative nature of the teachers' language use, and thus, it is unclear how much target language was eventually used during the lessons. Four categories for language choice emerged from the data: teacher-related, learner-related, discourse-related and the influence of their teacher trainers. As already mentioned, the participants claimed to use English

as much as possible but reasons for the use of the L1 were discovered as well. Finnish was used only if necessary and for such purposes as gaining students' attention, discussing topics unrelated to the lesson or teaching and using the same language as the learners.

Although the studies presented above all share a common interest in classroom code-switching, and Reini (2008) and Sadeharju (2012) further narrowed down the focus on the teachers' and student teachers' language use, they do not exclude the need for the present study. Firstly, the focus in the present study is on primary school setting and the learners are both younger and less advanced in their English learning. This view is supported by Sadeharju's (2012: 43) observation that in her study "the language skills of the pupils do not pose a hindrance for target language use" which very well can be the situation in the first years of EFL teaching in primary school. Secondly, the present study is structured differently as it is longitudinal. Apart from merely looking into the different functions the L1 and the L2 serve in the teacher's talk, the aim is also to find out whether the roles of the two languages change over a semester. Finally, the present study focuses only on one teacher's language choice and the goal is to describe and analyze it in as much detail as possible.

5 THE PRESENT STUDY

In this section, the main objectives of the present study as well as the data and methodology will be presented. First, the aims of the study are explained, and the research questions are presented and discussed in relation to the goals of the study. Second, the methods for the data collection are explained and justified. Third, the setting of the study is described. Finally, I will explain and validate the chosen methods of analysis.

5.1 Research aims and questions

The present study is a case study that concentrates on language choice and code-switching of a particular EFL teacher in a Finnish primary school. The data consists of video recorded lesson observations and a video recorded semi-structured interview with the teacher. The main aim is to examine the different and possibly also overlapping functions of Finnish and English in the teacher's talk. The present study also explores how consciously code-switching is done and whether it is planned in advance. In addition, attention is paid to the amount of code-switching and changes in the teacher's language choices over the lesson observations, during a span of one semester. That is, the teacher's language use and choice are compared and contrasted between the lessons at the beginning of the semester and at the end of the semester.

Many studies in the field of EFL teaching and teacher-talk tend to focus on the learners' point of view and improvement in their language abilities, or alternatively teachers in secondary or upper secondary schools, where the pupils have extended experience in EFL learning (e.g. Nikula 2005, Reini 2008). The analysis and results of the EFL classroom interaction in these studies cannot be directly set against the present study because the context is different. In the present study, there is no interest in the pupils' language development. Furthermore, the teacher who is the subject of the study teaches fourth graders in primary school who have only studied English for three semesters. After all,

older L2 learners have more mature minds, greater social development, and a larger short term memory capacity to name but a few differences when compared to young, beginner learners of a foreign language. It is important to acknowledge this, since research has broadly proved that the learners' age and their level of the target language skills affect teachers' language use (e.g. Qian et al. 2009). Qian et al. (2009: 721) suggest that "codeswitching in young learners' FL classrooms may have its own characteristics." Only few studies so far have looked at teachers' language choices in the primary EFL classroom, at least in the Finnish context. Hence, the present study seeks to offer important knowledge of the nature of the teacher's language choice and code-switching in early EFL teaching and the different functions the two languages (Finnish and English) serve in the classroom. The goal is therefore to answer the following research questions:

-Which functions and characteristics do Finnish and English have in teacher-talk?

This question aims at finding out how the teacher uses the learners' L1 and L2 and for which purposes these languages are used. Furthermore, the question attempts to explore the EFL teacher's language choice in primary school with beginner learners. In the present study this research question is investigated by observing and analyzing video recorded lessons as they reveal what kind of functions the two languages serve in the teacher-talk. The findings are then compared and contrasted with the interview answers in order to find out whether they support or not the teacher's views on her language use. The interview answers thus supplement the categorization of the functions and help in the analysis.

-How conscious is the teacher's language choice and code-switching?

This question attempts to find out how consciously code-switching is done and whether it is planned in advance. Answers to the questions are mainly discovered by examining the interview answers. However the analysis is supported with specific instances of code-switching from the observation data that were discussed in the interview.

-Does the teacher's use of Finnish and English change during the span of one semester?

This question explores the possible changes in the amount and functions of each language in the teacher's language use. To answer this research question, all the teacher's speech including instances of language choice and code-switching in the video recorded classroom data was transcribed and analyzed. In addition, the language use and choices were organized into categories which were then compared between the lessons. The interview answers provided additional information for the justification for the choices and changes in the teacher's language.

5.2 Data and Methodology

The data comes from two different sources: field observations and video recordings of lessons and an interview with the teacher. The two data sets were analyzed separately before making interpretations. The present study adopts a qualitative research approach and techniques from discourse analysis were used as the main method when analyzing the observation data, whereas theory-directive content analysis was used when analyzing the interview data. In addition, the analysis includes a small quantitative part where the amount of the L1 and the L2 used by the teacher in the observed lessons is calculated using a word count method. That is, the main focus is on describing and analyzing a specific behavior in a specific situation in order to understand the reasons behind the teacher's action (Gay et al. 2006: 399). The quantitative part of the study, on the other hand, provides percentages of Finnish and English in the teacher's talk and thus illustrates the distribution of the two languages. In addition, the study has a longitudinal aspect as the lesson observations are divided into two separate occasions; the first two lessons were observed at the beginning of the semester and the last two were observed at the end of the semester.

5.2.1 Data Collection

The chosen data collection methods for the present study were video observation and an interview. Two kinds of methods were used to collect the

data to make the study valid. In other words, the choice to include two different means to gather information ensured that the study “does what it is intended to do” (Carmise and Zeller, 1979: 12). Furthermore, it can be generalized that when studying people’s intentions to behave in a certain way the best data collection method is to ask questions, but when the focus is on interaction behavior data collection should be done through observations (Jyrink 1977, as quoted in Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 71). As the present study explores both of the above-mentioned aspects it was necessary to combine the two methods which also help to validate the analysis of the present study.

Four 45-minute lessons with the same class and teacher were observed and video recorded and while observing the teacher’s behavior and language use field notes were taken, reporting on instances of code-switching, activity types, general language use and behavior. The data was collected from EFL lessons which followed the English subject syllabus and the National Curriculum for Finnish General Education. The observed lessons took place among fourth graders who had been studying English for three semesters prior to the start of the data collection. The lesson observations were divided into two separate occasions, the beginning of the semester and the end of the semester. I observed two 45-minute lessons in January 2013 and after four months, in May 2013, another two 45-minute lessons were observed. The lessons were recorded with two video cameras in order to secure that all talk would be audible when returning to the data. Video observation was chosen as a data collection method due to its many advantages, such as, easy access to natural environment and interaction, access to rapidly changing situations, re-accessibility, accurateness, ability to observe non-verbal characteristics and material activity, and ease to identify speakers (Jordan and Henderson 1995: 50-53).

In addition to video observation, the teacher was interviewed after the first two lessons in order to get an understanding of her own perception of her language use. That is, the interview enabled the teacher to explain her language choices in detail and talk about her pedagogical views. The interview was conducted on

the same day with the second lesson observation at the school after the teacher's working hours. The interview lasted approximately 45 minutes.

A semi-structured interview was chosen in order to get multifaceted data, since it allows flexibility during the situation (see Appendix 1 for the interview outline). In addition, the decision to conduct a semi-structured interview made it possible to ask clarifying questions or change the order of the questions during the interview (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 73). Furthermore, a semi-structured interview made it possible to correct misunderstandings. Finnish was used as a language of communication during the interview in order to get a maximal amount of information and create a conversational atmosphere, since Finnish was the mother tongue of both the teacher and the interviewer. The interview was also videotaped to secure that all the significant information would be easily accessed when returning to the data.

The teacher did not acquaint herself with the interview questions prior to the interview, although that could have increased the depth of her answers (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 73). I decided to keep the actual questions as a secret before the interview because otherwise they could have affected the teacher's language use during the lessons. The teacher was, however, informed that the study focuses on her language use, but it was not specified in any other way before the first lesson observations. In other words, the teacher was aware that she was the subject of the study and was informed about the theme of the interview. As Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009: 73) point out it is ethically justifiable and necessary to inform the interviewee about the topic which will be discussed.

As the study is longitudinal, I decided to conduct the interview after the first two observed lessons instead of after the second observation period. The decision made it possible to start the analysis right after the first part of the data collection, and thus, expedited the analytic process by four months. It is, however, possible that the fact that the teacher was more aware of the precise research topic had an influence on her language use and behavior during the

latter lesson observations. Thus, this was taken into account when analyzing the data.

Choosing the combination of observation and an interview as data collection method was thoroughly considered. Neither of the methods alone would have been sufficient in terms of the interests of the present study. On the one hand, observation is an effective means to gather information about people because they do not always behave as they might say (Johnson and Christensen 2008: 211). According to Johnson and Christensen (2008: 211) “an advantage of observation over self-report methods [e.g. interviews] is the researcher’s ability to record actual behavior rather than obtain reports of preferences or intended behavior”. On the other hand, it is impossible to know what a person is thinking, and thus, to determine why he or she behaves in a certain way. In the present study the observation was naturalistic. That is, the situation was not manipulated or interfered, apart from the presence of the recording devices and the researcher, in any way and the participants’ behavior seemed genuine and authentic. However, it has to be pointed out that the presence of the recording devices may affect the participants’ behavior, as Edwards and Westgate (1994: 77) explain the phenomenon called “observer’s paradox” takes place in all naturalistic observation. Indeed, during the lessons both the teacher and the pupils made a few comments about the presence of the video cameras. In order to find the reasons for the teacher’s behavior and language choice it was important to include an interview that was qualitative in nature. Patton (1987, as quoted by Johnson and Christensen 2008: 202) explains the benefits of qualitative interview data and supports the view that more understanding of people’s behavior can be found through interviews: “Qualitative interviewing allows a researcher to enter into the inner world of another person and to gain an understanding of that person’s perspective”. Thus, together the two complementary methods enable a more comprehensive reflection.

5.2.2 Setting

In this chapter, I will introduce the school where the study was conducted and the subject of the present study. In addition, the observed lessons are briefly described and the content of the lessons is illustrated in Table 1.

The school where the study was conducted is a medium sized primary school in Southern Finland offering general education for the grades from one to five. The school hosts 190 pupils and approximately 20 members of staff. The subject of the present study is a Finnish primary school EFL teacher. Before conducting the study the headmaster of the school where the participant works was contacted in order to get permission for the study. After receiving the approval of the headmaster, the staff of the school was notified of the upcoming study. An English teacher volunteered to be the participant for the present study. She had started working in the school while writing her master's thesis and got a permanent job immediately after graduating from university. At the time of the data collection she had been working in the school for six years, of which she had been on a maternity leave for nearly half of the time. After finding the participant, the guardians of the children in her English class were informed about the videotaping and their permission was asked prior to the data collection (see Appendix 2 for the consent form).

The time of observations and the lesson objectives as well as the types of activities used and the content of the lessons are summarized in Table 1 below. All the observed lessons were structured similarly, consisting of two main sections and homework, which was given at the end of each lesson. The three first lessons were more vocabulary-oriented than the last lesson. Also, these three lessons contained different types of activities (e.g. vocabulary and repetition) and they all, for instance, had oral communication and pair or group activities. The last lesson, on the other hand, focused mostly on grammar and the only exercise type used during the lesson was individual written work. The third and the last lesson were similar in the sense that both of the lessons included explicit grammar teaching, whereas during the first two observed

lessons no such teaching took place. In all the lessons, most of the teacher's talk was conducted either during instructional speech (i.e. teacher lecturing) or when checking the exercises. In addition, during the last two lessons grammar was approached through teacher-led discussion.

Table 1. The time of observations and the lesson objectives, the content and activity types in the observed lessons

	LESSON 1	LESSON 2	LESSON 3	LESSON 4
Time of observation	January 2013	January 2013	May 2013	May 2013
Lesson objectives	1. Food vocabulary 2. Customer and clerk -situations at a kiosk	1. Adjectives 2. Expressing one's opinion	1. Occupation vocabulary 2. Verb conjugation in the present tense	1. "There is/ There are" - structure 2. "ING" - structure
Checking homework	X	X		
Vocabulary and repetition	X	X	X	
Listening comprehension	X	X		
Drama			X	
Grammar teaching			X	X
Checking exercises	X	X	X	X
New homework	X	X	X	X
Oral communication	X	X	X	
Written communication		X	X	X
Teacher lecturing			X	X
Pair work	X	X	X	
Group work	X	X	X	
Whole class discussion	X	X	X	X

5.2.3 Data Analysis

The present study is a case study, since the focus is on describing and analyzing the data in detail “as a whole unit (i.e., case study research is holistic) as it exists in real-life context” (Johnson and Christensen 2008: 49). Furthermore, the main objective of the present study is to explore and analyze a particular unit, in this case a teacher’s language choice, intensively and in detail (Flyvbjerg 2011: 301). The aim of the present study is to develop a deeper understanding of the participant’s language choice and code-switching when teaching young, beginner learners of English. As the study focuses on a single teacher teaching a particular class, there is no interest in or means to make generalizations, rather the goal is to examine and explain how a real person behaves in real situations (Cohen et al. 2011: 289).

The analysis followed the steps in analyzing qualitative research data suggested by Gay et al. (2006: 469). First, I chose the aspect I wanted to study in more detail, that is, the teacher’s language choice and code-switching. Then, the data was inspected thoroughly and all of the teacher’s talk was transcribed in the observed lessons and in the interview. After that, the transcriptions of the lessons were examined more closely and I started to categorize and classify the data, first according to the chosen language, and then, according to the functions. Similarly, the interview data was categorized according to language choices related to particular activity types. At this point, I started to interpret and evaluate the data. I also compared and contrasted the emerging findings with previous research. Finally, I re-organized the data and summed up the findings. As Seliger and Shohamy (2000: 205) point out the categorization of data can either emerge directly from the data or a pre-imposed coding scheme can be used. In the present study, the categories for the functions of the L1 and the L2 were identified from the observation data, but previous research was used as assistance when defining the functions.

Due to the nature of the study, transcriptions of the observed lessons were used as a tool for the data analysis. In the transcriptions all the speech conducted by

the teacher was transcribed and situations that illustrated functional use of Finnish or English were further transcribed in more detail including the pupils' comments. This enabled the description and categorization of the teacher's language choices and code-switching. All names in the transcripts were changed to protect the participants' identities and keep them anonymous.

The observation data has been analyzed with a discourse-analytic approach that enabled the identification and description of the teacher's language choice and code-switching. The analysis is founded on previous code-switching research that has been interested in categorizing the functions of the L1 and the L2 in foreign language classroom interaction (e.g. Bateman 2008, Macaro 2001). Auer (1998), for instance, has studied the parallel use of multiple languages and their roles in interaction. Furthermore, as Muhonen (2008: 173) explains, discourse-related code-switching is a means to organize communication, which includes segmentation of different activities. Also, Bogdan and Knopp Biklem (1998: 175) point out that qualitative data can be organized and classified according to different activity codes that represent "regularly occurring kinds of behavior". Indeed, in the present study the units of data were classified into groups according to different functions related to distinct activity types.

In the broad understanding of discourse analysis the aim is to study how language functions in context and for instance "classroom data [can be] analyzed according to their structural patterning and function" (Walsh 2011: 83). However, the classification of the different functions was not trouble-free as utterances could have multiple different functions depending on the situation, speaker and reasons behind the utterance (Walsh 2011: 82). For this reason, in the present study it was important to include the content analysis aspect of the interview answers as they help to understand the relationship between the teacher's language use and purposes behind it.

The teacher's interview answers have been analyzed through content analysis. In short, content analysis in the present study refers to the process of

categorizing the data, summarizing the main findings and giving explanations for the defined categories (Cohen et al. 2011: 559-573).

Content analysis, just as discourse analysis, is textual analysis where the focus is on examining documents, for instance transcribed interviews and speech, systematically and objectively (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 103). In the present study content analysis helped to organize the interview data into compact and general categories, but it did not give ready results (Grönfors 1982: 161, as quoted by Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 103). After reviewing and analyzing the data with the help of content analysis, I drew conclusions and described the content of the data in written form (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 106). As content analysis is often understood as a broad theoretical frame for analyzing the data, it has to be explained how the analysis is understood in the present study (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 91).

Content analysis can be divided into data-originated, theory-directive and theory-originated approaches depending on how and how much of data collection, data analysis and reporting the findings is guided by theory (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 95-100). The qualitative analysis of the interview data in the present study adopts the theory-directive approach which has connections to previous theory and knowledge about the studied phenomenon can be used to support the analysis. It can, for instance, affect the decision about the units of analysis. That is, in the present study the categories emerged from the data but previous research was used to support the definitions for each function. For instance, in previous research classroom management is often understood as a broad and uniform category but in the present study different aspects and functions within classroom management were separated into their own categories. Also, in the present study assigning homework is seen as a distinct function instead of being part of for example giving instructions. Thus, the teacher's answers were used to determine the different types of activities according to which the teacher's language choices varied.

Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009: 120) point out that content analysis can be carried on after the categorization by quantifying the data. In the present study, the qualitative research method was supplemented with quantitative tools in order to approximate the amount of L1 and L2 in the teacher's talk. This was done through an estimation of the amount of L1 and L2 used during the observed lessons. The chosen method of estimating the amount of each language was a word count method, meaning that all the meaningful words in Finnish and English said by the teacher were counted and then proportioned to the total amount of the words. The method was adopted from Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) who counted the amount of the L1 and the L2 in a similar way in their study. Meaningful words in this case refer to whole words including prepositions and articles but exclude proper names and quiet mutter. The results of the quantitative part of the study are only indicative and cannot and should not report on exact amount of each language due to the different nature of English and Finnish. The percentages merely reflect the rough amount of each language used during the lessons.

6 FINDINGS

In this chapter the findings of the study are presented and analyzed. The teacher's use of Finnish and English was not completely systematic over the lesson observations. Nevertheless, I was able to divide and categorize her language use and choice of language roughly into three main categories according to the language chosen for a particular function. The three main categories are functions carried out in Finnish, functions carried out in English and functions where both languages were clearly used. Each category is further divided into subcategories that classify the different functional uses of each language in the teacher's talk.

First, I will present and discuss the functions Finnish serves in the teacher's talk (chapter 6.1). Secondly, I will move on to the functions of English (chapter 6.2). Thirdly, I will look into the overlapping functions (chapter 6.3). Finally, I will introduce the distribution of the teacher's Finnish and English usage and report on the differences in the use of the two languages between the lessons observed at the beginning of the semester and at the end of the semester (chapter 6.4).

The analysis includes examples from the classroom interaction and extracts from the interview with the teacher which support the findings that emerged from the observed lessons. All the examples and the teacher's quotations from the interview are both in their original form and translated into English. The translated parts are in italics.

6.1 The functions of Finnish

This chapter focuses on the teacher's use of Finnish during the observed lessons. As mentioned above the teacher's language use was not entirely systematic and for this reason this chapter includes functions which were mainly conducted in Finnish but also instances where English was used. First, I will describe and analyze the functions which were entirely in Finnish:

Translation, Grammar teaching, General discussion, Interruptions and Assigning homework. Then, I will define and analyze the remaining two functions which were conducted in Finnish as a rule but had a few exceptions in English. These functions were *Praise and encouragement* and *Instructions*. Each function is defined and explained in more detail at the beginning of each chapter. Finally, I will conclude by summarizing the main characteristics of Finnish in the teacher's talk. The functions are presented in order of frequency, from the most frequent to the least frequent function.

6.1.1 Translation

When learning a foreign language translation is an inevitable means to develop students' skills. Many studies regard translation as an effective way to clarify new vocabulary and make sure that the learners understand what is said (e.g. Cook 2001, Rolin-Ianziti Brownlie 2002, Seedhouse and Üstünel 2005). However, not all researchers, for instance Turnbull (2001), agree that translation is the best or only means to broaden one's vocabulary. Although Turnbull (2001) admits that translation can be helpful he questions the amount of the L1 usage in L2 teaching. Despite criticism, translation is a broadly accepted and used method of conveying meaning (Cook 2001). In the present study the function of translation is similar to Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie's (2002) definition: switching from the L2 to the L1 makes the message, here a word or a sentence, understandable.

The most common form of translation used by the teacher under the observed lessons was instant translation from English to Finnish (example 1). Other forms of translation were clarifying an unknown or misunderstood word (example 2), checking the pupils' understanding (example 3) and clarifying the difference in meaning of words or sentences (example 4).

Example 1 is an extract from a classroom conversation where the pupils are telling to the whole class what they had said to their partners in the previous

discussion exercise. In the exercise the pupils had been expressing their opinion on such things as school subjects, hobbies and animals.

Example 1)

Teacher Eeva thinks that Finnish is easy. Do you agree? Who agrees eli kuka on samaa mieltä? Who doesn't agree? Or who disagrees eli kuka on eri mieltä?
 [Eeva thinks that Finnish is easy. Do you agree? Who agrees *so who agrees?* Who doesn't agree? Or who disagrees *so who disagrees?*]

In example 1 the teacher repeats Eeva's comment and then asks which pupils agree or disagree with Eeva. Even though the teacher translates the questions immediately after she has said them in English, she manages to paraphrase both questions in English. However, here paraphrasing is not used primarily as a method of conveying meaning. Instead, it offers a little more input in the L2 and possibly the phrases stay in some pupils' mind. As the extract is from the beginning of the classroom activity, it is very likely that the teacher switches to Finnish to ensure understanding. Both of the assumptions can be justified by observing the non-existence of pauses between the English expressions and the Finnish translation; they are practically said without a break.

Example 2 is from the same classroom conversation as the previous example. It demonstrates how the teacher resorts to translation when it seems that not all pupils have understood what has been said.

Example 2)

Pupil 1 I think dogs are cute.
 Teacher Ok. Ok. Who thinks dogs are cute? Who doesn't think dogs are cute. Ok. Anyone else?
 Pupil 2 Kalle, sulhan on koira. Sie et tykkää koirist?
 [Kalle, *you've got a dog. You don't like dogs?*]
 Pupil 3 Nii.
 [Yeah.]
 Pupil 4 Mikset sie tykkää?
 [Why don't you like?]

Teacher Eiku se sano söpö. Cute on niinku söpö.
 [No, she said cute. Cute means like cute.]

On the first line of example 2 pupil 1 says her opinion about dogs. The teacher asks the other pupils to raise their hands, first if they agree, and then if they do not agree with pupil 1. At this point, pupil 2 starts talking to another pupil, Kalle, and asks him why he does not like dogs even though he has one. Then, pupils 3 and 4 participate in the discussion by demanding an answer from Kalle. At this point, the teacher interrupts the ongoing discussion by clarifying the meaning of the word “söpö”. She points out that pupil 1 had said “söpö” and then she translates the word used by pupil 1 from the L2 to the L1.

Pupil 2’s comment reveals that he either does not understand the teacher’s question or the adjective used by pupil 1. Instead, he thinks that the teacher has asked whether the pupils like dogs or not. Also pupils 3 and 4 seem to have misunderstood the question, which is indicated through their turns which agree with pupil 2’s turn. The teacher realizes that not all pupils have understood what she has said, and for this reason, clarifies the meaning of the sentence said by pupil 1. First, she repeats and says the misunderstood word in Finnish to get the pupils’ attention. Then, she translates it from the L2 to the L1, and thus, makes sure that the pupils understand it now.

Example 3 illustrates how the teacher wants to make sure that the pupils understand the words in the exercise they have just done. In it the pupils have just finished listening and repeating a list of English words after the teacher. Then, the teacher asks whether there are any words that the pupils do not understand.

Example 3)

Teacher Onko näist joku, mitä et tiä mikä se on suomeksi? Vai onko kaikki tuttuja? Kysy vaan reippaasti. Ville.
 [Are there any [words] you don’t know, what they mean in Finnish? Or are they all familiar? Just be brave and ask. Ville.]

- Pupil 1 A vet?
- Teacher A vet, mikä se on? Matti.
 [A *vet*, *what is that?* Matti.]
- Pupil 2 Eläinlääkäri
 [A *vet*.]
- Teacher Eläinlääkäri, hyvä.
 [A *vet*, *good*.]

In the example no questions arise right away, so the teacher encourages the pupils to be brave and ask. At this point, pupil 1 says “*a vet*” in rising intonation indicating that it is a question. The teacher repeats the word and continues by asking what it could mean. When pupil 2 gives a Finnish translation of the word, the teacher repeats his answer and praises him. It seems that the teacher does not believe that there are no questions even though no one dares to ask at first, which can be interpreted from her encouragement to get the pupils to point out the words that are unfamiliar. Her hunch is confirmed when pupil 1 asks the meaning of the word “*vet*”. The teacher does not, however, give the Finnish translation, instead she only repeats the word in English to make sure that all the pupils hear it and asks them if they know what it means. Since pupil 1 was the only one to ask for translation, the teacher seems to be confident that some pupils do know the meaning of the word. This is confirmed by the numerous hands that are raised and the teacher nominates pupil 2 to give the translation in Finnish. The answer is correct and the teacher demonstrates this by repeating it and praising pupil 2. The repetition of the word has also another function apart from approving the answer, which is ensuring that all the pupils have heard the correct translation.

Example 4 is an extract from homework revision. The pupils have written their own sentences in English on the smart board which is followed by a teacher-led checking of the pupils’ answers. The teacher reads aloud one sentence at a time and then discusses it with the class.

Example 4)

Teacher Ja sitte skateboarding vaikka se on nyt vähän väärin kirjoitettu on rullalautailu.
Jos tarkotetaan rullalautaa?

[*And then skateboarding even though it is a little misspelled is skateboarding. If you mean a skateboard?*]

Pupil 1 Skateboard.

Teacher Ni skateboard. Ja tota ku siel on toi that ei tarvita enää totkaa. Eli how much is that skateboard vois kysyä.

[*So skateboard. And since there is that that we no longer need this. So one could ask how much is that skateboard.*]

On the first line of example 4 the teacher translates the word “skateboarding” into Finnish and points out that it is a little misspelled. She then continues by asking the translation for the Finnish word “rullalauta”. Pupil 1 gives the correct translation which is then repeated by the teacher. The teacher corrects the spelling on the smart board and makes some minor changes to the sentence simultaneously explaining what she is doing. She concludes by giving an example sentence of the correct use of the word “skateboard”. At the beginning of example 4 the teacher translates an English word that is used in a sentence into Finnish. She picks the particular word because it is misspelled and has a different meaning than the word that should have been used instead. Here, the teacher translates the word immediately and does not even ask the pupils for the translation. Presumably, she does this to save time and move faster on to the main point in the sentence correction, which is to explain and clarify the difference in meaning between the words “skateboarding” and “a skateboard”. It would have probably taken more time to angle the correct translation for skateboarding from the pupils and making sure that everybody understands it. This view is supported by the teacher’s interview answers where she stressed the extent of saving time when using the L1 instead of the L2 (Quotation 1).

Quotation 1)

Se on kumman suuri ajansäästö mitä se sit kuitenkin tekee se suomen kielen käyttö.

[*It is surprisingly huge time saving that the use of the Finnish language gives however.*]

However, the end of the teacher's first turn is similar to her behavior seen in example 3; she says in rising intonation "*Jos tarkotetaa rullalautaa*" and clearly intends the sentence as a question. Again, she seems to be content that someone knows the word in English, which is confirmed by pupil 1 who shouts out the English word. The teacher repeats the English translation, just like in example 3, to confirm that it is right and to ensure that everybody hears the answer. Then, the teacher spells the whole sentence again and shows how the word "*skateboard*" can be used correctly.

As the examples above demonstrate, the majority of translations conducted by the teacher are from English to Finnish. However, a few occurrences of translation from Finnish to English occurred in the observation data. For instance, in example 4 the teacher asks for a translation for a Finnish word "*rullalauta*", which is given by a pupil and repeated by the teacher. Also, in example 2 there is confusion about the sentence meaning and the word "*cute*" is mentioned in the discussion. But when the teacher actually decides to give the translation, she starts by rephrasing in Finnish what the pupil has said, and only then translates the word from the L2 to the L1. The findings are supported by previous research, which has broadly highlighted that translation is one of the most common functions for code-switching in the language classroom (e.g. Turnbull and Arnett 2002, Duff and Polio 1994). The L1 is used to offer equivalent words, translations, to clarify the meaning and ensure learner comprehension (Seedhouse and Üstünel 2005: 308).

6.1.2 Grammar teaching

In the present study grammar teaching as a function is understood as teaching and talking about grammar rules and grammatical regularity. Similar categories can be found in previous research. For instance, Littlewood and Yu (2009: 68) grouped the most common reasons for L2 teachers' use of the learners' L1, where "communicating complex meanings to ensure understanding and/or save time" was one of the categories and it included grammar teaching. Further, Cook (1997 as quoted in Cook 2001: 416) states that even advanced

learners tend to benefit more from grammar teaching that is conducted in the learners' L1. As the present study focuses on the teaching of beginner learners it was no surprise that the function of grammar teaching emerged clearly from the observation data and is thus treated as a distinct category.

During the observed lessons all grammar teaching was conducted in Finnish. The teacher either gave direct grammar instructions (example 5) or clarified a particular grammar point by engaging the learners in the teaching (example 6).

Example 5 is taken from the end of a classroom activity where the class has just finished checking homework. The pupils have written sentences in English on the smart board and then a teacher-led discussion on whether they are correct has been conducted. While some pupils were writing on the smart board, a pupil asked the teacher to tell her whether she had written correctly in her notebook. The pupil was uncertain about which sentence to use: *I have a plan* or *I've got a plan*. Although the question did not come up in the group discussion, the teacher felt that it was an important point to bring up for the whole class.

Example 5)

Teacher: Mut sitte joku tos äsken kysykii, että onko oikein I have a plan tai sitte I've got a plan. Eli ne käy molemmat. Silloin kun on tällänen myönteinen lause ni sen got sanan voi tiputtaa pois. Eli voi sanoo vaa et I have a plan. Mutta, jos sen sinne laittaa eli vaikka lyhentää ni silloin se got pitää olla. Silloin jos käytetään tät lyhennettyä muotoa ni se got täytyy olla. Mut silloin jos kirjoitetaan pitkän ni sen voi tiputtaa pois. Eli I have a plan, I've got a plan ja I have got a plan. Ne kaikki käy yhtä hyvin. Sillei oo välii.

[But then someone just asked whether it is correct to say I have a plan or I've got a plan. So they are both correct. When you have a positive sentence like this you can leave out the word got. You can just say that I have a plan. But, if you put it [the word got] there, for example shorten it, then you have to have the word got there. When you use this abbreviated form you have to have the word got. But when you write the long form you can leave it out. So I have a plan, I've got a plan and I have got a plan. They are all correct. It doesn't matter [which one you use].]

In example 5 the teacher explains and clarifies the three different ways to express that someone has something. The explanation is, as can be seen, quite complex and thus, it can be assumed that the main reason for choosing to use the L1 is the fact that the teacher discusses grammar. In fact, in the interview the teacher mentioned that whenever she deals with grammatical rules she uses Finnish. She further explained that it is easier to use the L1 when she knows that the topic concerns grammar or it is challenging in some other way (Quotation 2).

Quotation 2)

En oikeestaan. Et se tulee vähän niinku siin et sen just tehtävätyypin mukaan ja jos on jotain tuttui ne mitkä tehää tunneil. Tai niinku just sanaston harjoittelu ja kaikki nää ni sit se on aina automaattisest [englanti]. Ja sitte taas just tehtäväst vähän riippuen et kuin vaikee ja mitä siint ymmärtää. Et en mie kyl etukäteen sitä mieta et tän selitän englanniks ja tän suomeks. Se tulee sillee niinku sitte aika loogisest. Et aika tarkkaa se tavallaa et jos sanastoo harjotellaa ni tietenki englanniks ja sit jos on niin kielioppiasioit ni sen tietää että se tehää sit suomeks. Et on niis ne tietyt tyypit kuitenkin. Et ei niit tarvi mieltii et tulee aika alitajunnast.

[Not really. It comes sort of according to the activity type and if there are some familiar [exercises], those we do during the lessons. Or I mean practicing vocabulary and so on, they are always automatically [in English]. And then on the other hand, a bit depending on the exercise, how difficult it is and how much [the pupils] understand. I mean I don't really plan it beforehand that this I will explain in English and this in Finnish. It comes quite logically. It is quite precise that if we are learning vocabulary it is of course in English and then if we deal with grammar, then you know that you do it in Finnish. So there are the distinct types after all. So you don't need to think about them, they are quite subconscious.]

Another example of choosing to use Finnish when discussing grammar is from a lesson activity concerning the grammatical structures *there is* and *there are*. Before moving on to the grammar topic the class has discussed and practiced such prepositions as *in*, *on*, *under*, *behind* etc. Example 6 exemplifies a grammar discussion where the learners are engaged in the construction of meaning.

Example 6)

Teacher: Ja kun sanotaan et jossain on jotain ni alotetaan aina there is tai there are. Ja kuka osaa sanoo milloin käytetään sitä there is alkua? Mikä niis on tavallaan siis se ero? There is ja there are. Veli.

[And when we say that something is somewhere we always start with there is or there are. And who can tell me when we use the there is beginning? What is the kind of the difference between them? There is and there are. Veli.]

Pupil 1: No is on ku se on yks ja are on monikko.

[Well is is when it means one and are is the plural [form]].

Teacher: Ihan oikein. Eli jos sanottais vaikka et pöydällä on kirja. Ja alotettais sillä there is ja sit sanotaan, sanotaan että mikä on. Eli suomes sanotaa ensin missä on, pöydällä, ja sitte mikä on. Englannis tulee toisin päin eli alkuun tulee ensin se there is, oho siirrytääs vähä tännepäin, sit tulee se mikä on, a book ja sitte missä on, on the table. Eli toisinpäin ku suomen kielees.

[Exactly. So if we say for example that there is a book on the table. And we begin with the there is and then we say, say what is. So in Finnish we say first where is, on the table, and then what is. In English it is the other way round so first we say there is, whoops let's move a bit this way, then we say what is, a book, and then where it is, on the table. So the opposite to Finnish.]

The teacher begins the discussion by asking whether someone could explain the difference between the two forms and a pupil gives the correct answer. The teacher then continues on the topic and explains how a full sentence is constructed when using the structures mentioned above. She starts by showing how the Finnish sentence differs from the English equivalent. Apart from the English examples, the only language used during the situation is Finnish.

The examples above exemplify the teacher's language choice in grammar teaching. When asked from the teacher whether she plans her language choices beforehand she responded that her language choices are mostly directed by the activity types but are also subconscious (see Quotation 2 above). The data from the observed lessons confirmed the teacher's perception of her language use when teaching grammar. She regards Finnish as more suitable language for covering grammar items and discussing their use. The finding is supported by

previous research as the use of L1 in grammar teaching is broadly accepted and used in EFL classrooms around the world (Cook 2001: 414).

6.1.3 General discussion

In many studies classroom management is mentioned as a functional category that is in most cases conducted in the learners' L1 (e.g. Cook 2001, Turnbull and Arnett 2002). However, it is not that straightforward to define what kind of speech acts classroom management contains. For instance Cook (2001) understands the term as a main category which consists of organizing tasks, maintaining discipline and gaining contact with individual students. Ferguson (2003: 39 as quoted in Seedhouse and Üstünel 2005: 307-309), on the other hand, suggests that classroom code-switching is divided into three main categories one of which he calls "CS for classroom management discourse". This category encompasses speech acts used to motivate, discipline and praise learners as well as indicate a change in a topic or activities.

In the present study, the broad category of classroom management is divided into seven smaller categories in order to present and reflect the teacher's language choice thoroughly. These categories are *General discussion* (chapter 6.1.3), *Assigning homework* (chapter 6.1.5), *Praise and encouragement* (chapter 6.1.6), *Instructions* (chapter 6.1.7), *Transitions* (chapter 6.2.2), *Indicating the end of an exercise* (chapter 6.2.3) and *Giving orders and general instructions* (chapter 6.3.2). Each of the categories has distinct features that separate them from the other categories within the broader understanding of classroom management. At the beginning of each category I will explain in more detail what the function covers and entails. The first discussed function is *General discussion*.

In the present study general discussion is limited to the teacher's conversations with the class or a pupil that are unrelated to lesson activities, explicit teaching, giving feedback, discipline and maintaining order. In other words, the main operations within this category are talking about general matters (Littlewood and Yu 2009) with the whole class and talking to an individual pupil.

The examples below demonstrate first an instance where the teacher is talking to the whole class (example 7) and then situations where she is interacting with an individual pupil (examples 8 and 9).

Example 7 takes place at the very beginning of the lesson and it exemplifies a discussion that takes place between the teacher and the pupils before they move on to actual teaching and lesson objectives. The teacher has been absent the previous time and the principal has been substituting the class during her absence. In the extract the teacher tries to find out what the class has been doing when she was away.

Example 7)

Teacher Eli viime viikol minä olin poissa. Ja jos yhtää paikkaansa asiat pitää ni te ootte rehtorin kanssa ilmeisest hyppiny vähän

[So last week I was away. And if it stacks up at all you have apparently hopped a little with the principal.]

Pupil 1 Joo.

[Yeah.]

Teacher Asioiden edelle.

[Ahead of things.]

Pupil 2 Ei olla.

[No we haven't.]

Pupil 3 Ei olla.

[No we haven't.]

Teacher Eli menittekö kappaleeseen ykstoist?

[So did you move on to chapter eleven?]

Pupils Ei!

[No!] (together)

Teacher Ette menny, hyvä juttu.

[You didn't, good.]

In the first line the teacher explains that she has been away and has an understanding that the class has hopped a little ahead of things in the teaching materials with the principal. First, pupil 1 claims that it is true but when the teacher defines the question, pupils 2 and 3 say that they have not gone ahead

of things. At this point, the teacher clarifies her question and the whole class replies to her simultaneously. The teacher concludes by thanking the class for the information and stating that it is good that they have not gone further in the book.

The following two examples show a situation during a lesson where the teacher is talking to an individual pupil about matters that are unrelated to the ongoing lesson. In example 8 pupil 1 asks whether his classmate could come and sit behind him. The teacher does not deny it immediately; instead she asks whether his place is there. Pupil 1 claims that Matti's place is behind him but the teacher knows the truth and simply shakes her head as a reply.

Example 8)

- Pupil 1 Voiks Matti tulla tähän mun taakse?
 [*Can Matti come and sit here behind me?*]
- Teacher Katot, onks siel, tota noin niin, Matilla paikka?
 [*Check, if there, um, is Matti's place?*]
- Pupil 1 On.
 [*Yes.*]
- Teacher Ei ole.
 [*No, it's not.*] (shakes her head)

Example 9 is similar to the previous example in many ways. It is a short conversation between the teacher and a pupil which does not concern the ongoing classroom activity. Pupil 1 asks for a permission to go to the bathroom in the middle of the lesson and the teacher replies in Finnish.

Example 9)

- Pupil 1 Voinks mie mennä vessaa?
 [*Can I go to the bathroom?*]
- Teacher Joo.
 [*Yes.*]

The reason for choosing the learners' L1 in examples 8 and 9 can simply be time saving as neither of the extracts are part of the teaching and the teacher may want to carry on the teaching as quickly as possible. Alternatively, the decision can also be guided by the teacher-pupil relationship; by choosing the pupils' L1 the teacher wants to build rapport with them. Similar findings can be found in previous research, for instance, Cook (2001: 416) points out that "when using the L1, the teacher is treating the students as their real selves rather than dealing with assumed L2 personas".

It can be concluded that the teacher seems to prefer to conduct general discussion at the beginning of the lesson in Finnish as demonstrated in example 7. This is probably due to the fact that the discussion usually concerns the lesson that is just starting or it is significant in some other way. Apart from discussing general matters at the beginning of the lesson, the teacher uses Finnish when she is having a conversation, which does not concern the ongoing lesson activity, with an individual pupil, as can be seen in examples 8 and 9. Turnbull and Arnett (2002: 211) also mention that when "interacting informally" with learners the use of the L1 is often preferred.

6.1.4 Interruptions

In the present study interruptions mean situations during the lessons when the teacher's talk or an activity she is carrying out is interrupted. The interruption can be caused by pupils' behavior, if a topic that is unrelated to the ongoing activity comes up, or by technical problems. Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002: 409-410) categorize dealing with classroom equipment under the category of communicative uses, meaning that by switching from the L2 to the L1 the teacher ensures that communication is sustained. In the analysis I have broadened this view to encompass the types of interruptions mentioned above.

During the observed lessons the most typical interruption was caused by a pupil or pupils in the classroom (example 10). Also problems with technical devices disturbed the teaching (example 11). In addition, people who were not

part of the class (example 12) or incidents that were not part of the lesson plan (example 13), like for instance a ringing mobile phone, interrupted the teaching.

The most common type of interruption is exemplified in example 10 which takes place in the middle of teacher-led instruction to a task. A pupil interrupts the teacher by stating that he has difficulties in breathing. The teacher inquires whether he means inside the classroom and pupil 1 replies in the affirmative. The teacher admits that the indoor air may be a little stuffy after the weekend and opens a window in the hope that it will help the student.

Example 10)

Teacher Veli.

Pupil 1 Mmm, mie huomasin äsken et mun on aika hankala hengittää.
[*Um, I just noticed that it's quite difficult for me to breathe here.*]

Teacher Tääl sisäl?
[*Here inside?*]

Pupil 1 Nii, siis jotenki hankala hengittää. Vaikee.
[*Yeah, I mean it's somehow hard to breathe. Difficult.*]

Teacher Okei, täällä, voi olla et tääl on nyt taas jotenki huonompi ehkä viikonlopun jäljilt ilma. Mut mie en tiää et auttaaks toi ikkuna mitää.
[*Ok, here, it can be that the air is a bit stuffy again after the weekend. But I'm not sure if it helps at all to open the window.*]

The teacher's decision to use Finnish stems probably from the fact that pupil 1's comment is unrelated to English teaching and the pupil is already speaking in Finnish. By using the pupil's L1 the teacher indicates that she takes the comment seriously and is concerned about the pupil's well-being. Talking in the learner's L1 makes the care more genuine (Cook 2001: 416).

The following example illustrates how technical problems can interrupt teaching, and which language the teacher uses during these situations. In example 11 the teacher tries to open a document on the smart board while the pupils wait for the activity to begin.

Example 11)

Pupil 1 Mitä sie teet?

[*What are you doing?*]

Teacher Yritän saaha tän toimimaa. Tää on jääny jumiin.

[*I'm trying to get this to work. This is stuck.*]

Pupil 2 Voidaaks myö olla tot parin etsintä-leikkii?

[*Can we play the finding a pair-game?*]

Teacher Joo.

[*Yeah.*]

Pupils Jee!

[*Yay!*] (together)

Teacher Mie en saa tät enää tänne näkymää.

[*I can't get this anymore visible here.*]

Pupil 1 Saaks tuolt muualt?

[*Can you [press] somewhere else?*]

Teacher Eiku otetaa näin. Se nyt jäi jotenki vaan jumiin.

[*No, we can just take it like this. It just got somehow stuck.*]

Pupil 1 No kokeile tuolt ylhäältä.

[*Well, try the one up there.*]

Teacher Ei, ei ku ei se ottan sitä raksiikaa. Joskus näin käy. Koneiden kanssa.

[*No, no I mean it didn't even take the cross-button. Sometimes this happens. With machines.*]

While the teacher is trying to open the document, pupil 1 asks her in Finnish what she is doing. The teacher explains that she is trying to get the program to work but it seems to be stuck. Meanwhile, another pupil (pupil 2) asks about the following exercise and the teacher tells her that they will be doing what she has just requested. The rest of the class is excited about that. At this point, the teacher comments, mostly to herself, that the program just does not work. Pupil 1 tries to offer help. However, after not succeeding to get the program work, the teacher simply states that sometimes things like this can happen with technical devices. The use of Finnish can be explained by the situation; it is unanticipated and delays the start of the activity. Thus, it can be assumed that the teacher regards Finnish as a more convenient language in the situation as it does not concern the actual teaching.

The following example demonstrates a type of interruption caused by pupils who do not belong to the group that is being taught. In example 12 the teacher is about to start checking an exercise with the class when there is a knock on the door. Pupil 1 in the classroom comments the knock which is ignored by the teacher. Instead, she suspends the teaching for a moment and goes to the door and opens it.

Example 12)

- Pupil 1 Noni, mitä asiaa?
[Well, what's the matter?] (pupil in the classroom)
- Pupil 2 Mitä meil tulee huomien läksyks?
[What do we get as homework tomorrow?] (pupil at the door)
- Teacher Etteks työ oo huomien?
[Are you not [at school] tomorrow?]
- Pupil 2 Ei, meil on urheilutestit.
[No, we have the sports tests.]
- Teacher Sanakoe.
[A vocabulary test.]
- Pupil 2 Sanakoe?
[A vocabulary test?]
- Pupil 3 Sanakoe?
[A vocabulary test?] (pupil at the door)
- Teacher Oota. Öö. Sul on kymppi. Mustat sanat
[Wait. Um. You have ten. The black words.]
- Pupil 2 Mustat?
[Black?]
- Teacher Kympistä. Nää how I met ja sen lisäksi tulee viel tota. Nää käyää huomien myä käyää nää huomien.
[In exercise ten. These how I met and in addition also. These ones tomorrow, we will go through these tomorrow.]
- Pupil 2 Tuleeks noi sit kans?
[So will those be [homework] as well?]
- Teacher Tulee. Ne kaks muuta pitää joo kans.
[Yes. The two others have to [be done] too.]
- Pupil 2 Noi kakskii?
[Those two as well?]

- Teacher Nää tulee torstaiks. Ne käykää viel varmistaa täältä tai kysyys joltaa jos ette muista.
[*These are for Thursday. You should check those from me or ask someone if you don't remember.*]
- Pupils 1&2 Joo, ku meil on ne testit.
[*Yeah, since we've got the tests.*]
- Teacher Työ ette oo keskiviikkon?
[*You are not [here] on Wednesday?*]
- Pupils 1&2 (Shaking their heads.)
- Teacher Muistatteks työ?
[*Do you remember?*]
- Pupil 2 Joo, eiköhän.
[*Yeah, I think so.*]
- Teacher Tai sit tuutte viel tota välkäl varmistaa. Moikka.
[*Or then you can come and make sure during recess. Bye.*]

In the example three pupils from the teacher's other class are at the door to ask for homework for the following few days because they will be absent. The teacher tells them that there is a vocabulary test and the pupils ask which words in particular they should be learning. The teacher clarifies the words that are included in the vocabulary test as well as informs about the homework for the lesson after that. Then, the teacher tells them to either come and ask again from her or check from their classmates to be sure about the homework. In addition, she asks again whether they will remember it and the pupils reply that they will. In the extract the pupils at the door interrupt the teaching completely. It is reasonable to believe that the teacher uses Finnish in order to handle the situation as fast as possible. After all, the lesson is interrupted and the teacher did not even have time to give any exercises for the pupils in the classroom that could have been done while she is talking with the other pupils. Presumably the teacher conducts the whole conversation in Finnish because of this. Also, the conversation is not part of the ongoing English lesson, and thus, there is no need or requirement for English usage.

In the following example (example 13) a classroom conversation between the teacher and the pupils is interrupted by a ringing mobile phone. It is the teacher's mobile phone that rings.

Example 13)

Teacher Sori. Hei mie soitan sulle välkäl takasin. Joo. Okei. Noni. No moi.

Sorry about that.

[(The teacher's cell phone is ringing) Sorry. (On the phone) Hey, I'll call you back on the break. Yeah, ok. Ok. Ok bye. (After the call) Sorry about that.]

The teacher apologizes for the incident in Finnish before taking the call. She talks very briefly on the phone and hangs up as quickly as possible. After the phone call, the teacher apologizes again, however, this time she does it in English. It is the only occasion in the observation data that the teacher resorts to the L2 in a similar situation. There is no definite explanation for her behavior, but we can speculate that she might apologize also in English because it is an English lesson and she hopes that it tones down the incident.

As the examples discussed above demonstrate, the teacher prefers to use Finnish in situations that interrupt the ongoing activity or her teaching. It can be assumed that by choosing the Finnish language she saves time and ensures that the communication is smooth between the teacher and the pupils in the situation, as seen in example 12. In addition, she uses Finnish to show compassion for a pupil, as in example 10. It is also very likely that the teacher does not want to linger on these topics and situations that interrupt the lesson since they take time away from the actual teaching and learning.

6.1.5 Assigning homework

Many studies regard assigning homework as a part of managing the classroom, not as a separate function (e.g. Cook 2001, Turnbull and Arnett 2002). However, for the purposes of this analysis, I found it best to treat assigning homework as a separate function, since it took place in every lesson and the teacher's choice

of language was consistent throughout the lesson observations. There are studies that consider giving homework as a functional occurrence in teacher talk. For instance, Littlewood and Yu (2009) found that setting and explaining homework was mentioned as one function for English teachers' use of the L1 in their study about teachers' use of the L2 or the L1 in "'foreign language' context".

Examples 14 to 17 are very similar in content: they all concern the same lesson segment which is assigning homework. The examples are from all the observed lessons in chronological order, starting from example 14 from the first observed lesson. Giving homework has a fairly permanent place in the lesson frame; during all the observed lessons it took place at the end of the lesson. In addition, it was conducted in Finnish every time. Furthermore, while giving homework orally to the class, the teacher always wrote it on the smart board as well. By doing this she ensured that the message was delivered; if the pupils did not listen to the teacher, at least they saw the message in written form. Moreover, when compared with written language spoken language can be disorganized or hesitant and comprise of incomplete or disconnected sentences, whereas written language is usually more coherent and the message is often delivered without difficulty (Goh and Doyle 2014: 107). Thus, it can be assumed that it is a conscious decision to give homework both in oral and written form in order to make sure that an important message is not missed or ignored by the pupils. However, it has to be noted that this function was carried out in Finnish only in the spoken form as the homework was written on the smart board in English.

Example 14)

- | | |
|---------|---|
| Teacher | Tota, mustat sanathan teil on jo kotiläksyn ollu. Ne pitäis osata.
[Um, you've already had the black words as homework. You should know them.] |
| Pupils | Joo.
[Yeah.] |
| Teacher | Sen lisäksi tulee nää kaheksan ruokaa siit tehtäväst neljä. Nekin tuttuja jo ennestää. |

[In addition to that you will have the eight dishes [food vocabulary] in the exercise four. Also those are already familiar.]

Example 15)

Teacher Mustat sanat tulee kotiläksyksi. Ei oteta noita lauseita, mut teette ne kaks omaa. Eli mustat sanat ja kaks omaa lausetta.
[You will get the black words as homework. We don't take those sentences, but write two own. So the black words and two own sentences.]

Example 16)

Teacher Läksyy ei tuu. Kokeeseen lukeminen on teijän läksy.
[You won't get any homework. Studying for the exam is your homework.]

Example 17)

Pupil 1 Tuleeks jotaa läksyy?

[Do we get some homework?]

Teacher Tulee, aina enkust tulee läksyy.

[Yes, you have always homework from English.]

Pupil 2 Eihän tuu.

[No we don't.]

Teacher Tulee.

[Yes you do.]

Pupil 3 Aina? Ei meil oo aina.

[Always? We don't have always.]

Pupil 1 Tuleeks jotaa muuta ku kokeeseen lukeminen?

[Are we gonna have something else apart from studying for the exam?]

Teacher Ei.

[No.]

Pupil 1 Koska mun pitää viiä Aleksille läksyt.

[Because I have to tell Aleks the homework.]

Teacher Okei. Joo, kokeeseen lukeminen on se läksy.

[Ok. Yeah, studying for the exam is the homework.]

Interestingly, the teacher mentioned that she usually tries to assign homework first in English, and then confirm it in Finnish to be sure that everybody has understood it (Quotation 3). However, the examples above show discrepancy

between her intention and actual behavior during the observed lessons. No English, apart from the written form, was used during this particular lesson segment. The most probable reason for choosing to use Finnish is the timing; the lesson is ending and the pupils start to be restless. The teacher did admit that if she is in a hurry or knows that the time is running up she uses Finnish (Quotation 4). Alternatively, the pupils' exhaustion could also be the reason for choosing the L1, or the teacher could simply have a bad day (Quotation 5). However, it is unlikely that the pupils were exhausted or the teacher was having a bad day during each lesson observation. Thus, it can be concluded that the decision to use Finnish is determined by the situation.

Quotation 3)

Niinku kotiläksytkin suunnilleen ensiks sanon englanniks mut sitte varmistan viel että se nyt jokaiselle menee jakeluun. Suomeks.

[Like homework I pretty much always give first in English but then check that it sinks in to everybody. In Finnish.]

Quotation 4)

Ja jos on kiire. Ni suomeks. Et jos tietää et aika alkaa loppumaa.

[And if we are in a hurry. Then in Finnish. I mean if you know that the time is running up.]

Quotation 5)

Et jos puhuu vaa suomee. Et huomaa, ite huomaan et varsinkii jos on huono päivä tai väsyneit [oppilaita] ni sit helposti sortuu menemää kyl vähä helpomman kautta.

[If you just speak Finnish. You notice, I notice that especially if I'm having a bad day or [the pupils are] tired that then I easily take the easy way.]

6.1.6 Praise and encouragement

Many studies regard praise and encouragement as a relatively stable function for the L1 usage (e.g. Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie 2002, Rezvani 2011). There is, however, variation on how researchers see praise and encouragement with relation to the main categories of classroom code-switching. Praise and encouragement can be placed both under the category of CS for curriculum access, where it is used to encourage and elicit pupil participation, and CS for

classroom management discourse, where it simply serves as a praise (Seedhouse and Üstünel 2005: 307-309). Qian et al. (2009: 726-727), on the other hand, categorize praise and encouragement under social functions of CS. According to Qian et al. (2009: 726) by using the learners' L1 the teacher can ensure that the praise reaches the learner and simultaneously helps to strengthen classroom rapport and student-teacher relationship. Further, when encouraging pupils, the use of the L1 may "sound less intimidating" and a gentle approach is useful especially with weaker pupils (Qian et al. 2009: 726-727). The definition by Qian et al. (2009) is similar to the category description in the present study; that is, *Praise and encouragement* encompass both positive feedback and pupil encouragement.

First, I will describe and analyze the most common way to give positive feedback to an individual pupil, which is praising in Finnish (example 18). This is followed by exemplifying the rare exceptions to the rule where the praise is given in English (example 19). Then, I will move on to the most typical types of encouragement (examples 20-22) before presenting the only clear exception to the rule, which is praising the whole class in English at the end of an activity (example 23).

The following two examples demonstrate the teacher's functional use of Finnish when giving positive feedback to an individual pupil. Example 18 illustrates the most common type of situation where positive feedback is given, and it is done in Finnish. The extract is taken from a discussion about vocabulary that will be needed in the following exercise. At the beginning of example 18 the teacher is showing a picture of an exercise in the English book that the pupils will be doing next on the smart board when pupil 1 asks about the picture. The teacher reads the explanation under the picture in English and asks what it is in Finnish. The teacher appoints Jukka to answer her question, who then gives the correct answer in Finnish. The teacher repeats the answer and praises the pupil by saying "*Hyvä*".

Example 18)

- Pupil 1 Mikä toi tuol vasemmal on?
 [What's that there on the left?]
- Teacher A sandwich? Mikä se on? Jukka?
 [A sandwich? What's that? Jukka?]
- Pupil 2 Voileipä.
 [A sandwich.]
- Teacher Voileipä. Hyvä.
 [A sandwich. Good.]

There were only few exceptions to the rule and example 19 illustrates a situation like this. The extract is a part of checking homework with the whole class. The teacher asks Jukka to answer question four to which he gives the correct answer. Then, the teacher praises him by saying "Good" and repeats the correct answer and the question.

Example 19)

- Teacher Nelonen. Where are you from? Jukka.
 [Number four. Where are you from? Jukka.]
- Pupil 1 I'm from Sweden.
- Teacher Good. I'm from Sweden. Mistä olet kotoisin? Olen kotoisin Ruotsista.
 [Good. I'm from Sweden. Where are you from? I'm from Sweden.]

As mentioned above, it is unusual that positive feedback is given in the L2. No possible reasons for this came up in the interview data, and thus, I can only speculate why the teacher chooses to use English here. One reason could be that the questions in the exercise are in English and the pupils are expected to answer in English, and thus, the teacher feels that it is natural to praise in English as well. However, the choice of language is still a little odd since the other questions and answers in the same exercise are also in English but the teacher's positive feedback to them is given in Finnish. Hence, maybe the explanation for this occasion of choosing to use English is a subconscious one, meaning that the teacher reacts to the pupil's answer naturally without giving

any thought to the choice of language. After all, she does mention that she does not plan her language choices beforehand (Quotation 6).

Quotation 6)

Et en mie kyl etukäteen sitä mieti et tän selitän englanniks ja tän suomeks.

[*No, I don't really plan it beforehand that this one I will explain in English and this one in Finnish.*]

The following three examples show how the teacher uses Finnish to encourage either an individual pupil, as in example 20, or the whole class, as in examples 21 and 22, by saying encouraging words in the learners' L1.

Example 20 is from the same classroom conversation as example 1 (see chapter 6.1.1) where the pupils practice expressing their opinion and either agree or disagree with their classmates. In it the teacher asks whether Jukka would like to share his comment with the rest of the class. She starts by asking in English, pauses and only then switches to Finnish. At the end of the example it is illustrated how the teacher encourages the pupil to say his sentence aloud by saying "*Sano vaa*". Unfortunately, despite the encouragement the pupil refuses to say his opinion to the whole class.

Example 20)

Teacher Would Jukka like to tell his comment. Haluutko kertoa mitä sanoit?

[Would Jukka like to tell his comment. *Would you like to tell what you said?*]

Pupil 1 En.

[*No.*] (Sneers and giggles)

Teacher Se oli niin hienosti sanottu. Sano vaa.

[*It was so nicely said. Go ahead and say it.*]

Pupil 1 En.

[*No.*] (Smiles bashfully.)

Example 21 shows the teacher's comment which is taken from a task completion activity during the lesson when the pupils are doing independent work. The teacher gives the whole class positive feedback by commending their work.

Example 21)

Teacher Eli hyvinhän ne lauseet sielt tulee. Hienost ootte muistanu. Sekä sen päätteen että olla verbin.

[Well, you are doing well with the sentences. Great that you've remembered. Both the ending and the be verb.]

The following example (example 22) is a continuation for the task completion in example 21. Now the pupils have finished their sentences and the teacher wants to check and discuss them together with the whole class. She starts this activity by encouraging the pupils to come and write on the smart board by stating that they all have written good sentences.

Example 22)

Teacher Jokaisel oli hyvii lauseit, reippaasti vaa kirjottaa.

[Everyone had good sentences, just be brave and come and write [on the smart board]]

Example 23 differs from the other examples in this category, since it demonstrates a particular situation of praising which in most cases is conducted in English. That is, giving positive feedback to the whole class at the end of a classroom activity.

Example 23)

Teacher Excellent. Well done.

The chosen language for the actual activity seems to have no effect on the final praise at the end of the activity. During the observed lessons, regardless of the language used before this particular moment in the lesson frame, the teacher's choice of language was almost always the L2. This suggests that the teacher uses English to indicate that an activity boundary is at hands and it is time to finish the ongoing activity. The teacher explained that she tries to use English in such contexts that recur often and in such a way that it is easy for the pupils to understand it (Quotation 7). Thus, it can be assumed that she regards the end of an activity such a situation, and the language used as understandable.

Quotation 7)

Se [englanti] on semmonen niinku, minust mikä niitten on periaattees helppo ymmärtää koska ne [tilanteet] toistuu niin paljon, kuitenkin aika samat aina.

[It [English] is sort of like, I think that they can in principle easily understand because those [situations] are repeated so often, anyway the words are always almost the same.]

In conclusion, praise is in most cases conducted in Finnish with one major exception and encouragement is always conducted in Finnish during the observed lessons. Praising an individual pupil after a correct answer is most often done in Finnish with the use of the word “*hyvä*” but there are also few exceptions to this when the teacher uses the L2 instead of the L1, as exemplified in example 19. Encouragement, on the other hand, is always given in Finnish. The only clear exception to the choice of language is praise directed at the whole class at the end of an exercise or a task; this is usually done in English. There seems to be a consensus regarding the language choice in praise and encouragement among researchers as majority of studies report that this function is usually conducted in the L1 (e.g. Littlewood and Yu 2009, Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie 2002). For instance, Rezvani (2011: 22) points out that “CS [to the L1] is often used by the teachers to encourage students and boost their confidence”.

6.1.7 Instructions

In many studies instructions are included in classroom management or organizing tasks (e.g. Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie 2002, Turnbull and Arnett 2002). In the present study instructions are seen as giving and explaining instructions for activities during the lessons, and thus as separate from classroom management. A distinction is also made between instructions and transition: instructions refer to the act of giving more detailed and thorough instructions for the activity in question which in other words means task description, while transition indicates a transition to a new activity and often includes a marker that indicates the beginning of a new activity or topic. Transition is discussed in more detail in chapter 6.2.2.

During the observed lessons instructions were most often conducted either entirely in Finnish (example 24) or mostly in Finnish (example 25). However, there was some discrepancy in the teacher's language choice within this function, which is further discussed in chapter 6.4 about the changes in the teacher's language use.

Example 24 demonstrates the most common way of explaining the instructions for an activity, that is, in Finnish. The activity that is beginning is a listening comprehension exercise. The teacher shows the right page on the smart board while she explains the instructions for the class.

Example 24)

- Teacher Mitä lapset ostavat kioskilta? Kuuntele ja merkitse rasti. Viimeiselle riville pitää merkitä paljon ostokset maksavat yhteensä.
[What do the children buy at the kiosk? Listen and mark. On the last line you have to mark how much the purchases cost together.]
- Pupil 1 Kuuntele.
[Listen.]
- Teacher Eli sieltä tota. Jokainen vuorollaan käy noista lapsista ton keskustelun.
[So there um. Each of the children will carry out the dialogue on their turn.]
- Pupil 2 Missä?
[Where?]
- Teacher Tulee täältä levyiltä. Merkkaatte, öö, ruksit. Oho, sitä ei näy. Ruksit ja sitä lopuksi sen kokonais summan mitä se myyjä ilmoittaa ni sinne kirjaan.
[It will be played on the CD. You mark, um, tick. Whoops, you can't see it. Tick and then at the end [write down] in the book the total price the salesperson says.]

Pupil 1 answers her neighbor, who is giving an inquisitive glance at her, to listen either to the tape or the instructions the teacher is giving; it is not clear which of these intentions is the right one. After pupil 1's comment, the teacher gives further instructions which are interrupted by pupil 2's request for more information. The teacher continues the explanation and at the same time gives an answer to pupil 2's question. The chosen language throughout the example is Finnish. The first two sentences said by the teacher are direct quotes from the

instructions in the book. As the instructions are in Finnish it seems natural for the teacher to continue the briefing in Finnish. In addition, it could be too difficult for the learners to understand if the teacher explained the rest of the exercise in English.

Another very common method of action when explaining tasks that emerged from the data is to give a short piece of instruction in English but then switch to Finnish in order to give more thorough instructions and translate into the L1 what is just said in the L2. Example 25 exemplifies such a situation.

Example 25)

Teacher Choose four. Jobs. Eli valitsette neljä työtä.

[Choose four. Jobs. *So you choose four jobs.*]

Pupil 1 Mikä sivu?

[*What page?*]

Pupil 2 Sama.

[*The same.*]

Teacher Sama sivu. Siitä valitset. Pelataan bingoa. Omaa ei saa sanoo. Eli semmonen minkä oot valinnu ni sitä ei saa sanoo.

[*The same page. Just pick from there. Let's play bingo. You can't say your own one. So the ones that you have picked you can't mention.*]

At the beginning of the example the teacher explains what the class will be doing next. Pupil 1 is not aware of the right page and asks for it, and he is answered by pupil 2. The teacher confirms the answer and continues to give the instructions for the activity. She begins the task description in English, and then, immediately repeats the same thing in Finnish. From there on she uses only Finnish either to further explain the instructions or answer the pupil's questions. Thus, it can be assumed that the teacher considers the language needed for explaining the whole exercise too complex to be conducted in English and for this reason decides to switch to Finnish.

Many researchers regard the use of the L1 justifiable when giving instructions. For instance, Cook (2001: 418) sees the L1 useful in situations when “it is too time-consuming for the students to process and understand the TL”. He lists organizing tasks as one such situation, and thus, the findings in the present study are supported by his observations.

6.1.8 The use of Finnish in a nutshell

To sum up, Finnish was used extensively during all the observed lessons. Even in the lesson with the largest amount of English, the teacher’s language contained 69.5 per cent Finnish. Finnish was used to execute various different functions and in diverse ways. I will now summarize the main roles Finnish played in the teacher’s talk.

The most common function of Finnish was translation. The teacher used Finnish either to clarify a meaning, difference in meaning or to check understanding. Finnish was also the only language used in grammar teaching. Both covering and discussing grammatical points and engaging the pupils in grammar teaching were conducted entirely in Finnish. Furthermore, the teacher resorted to Finnish when talking about general matters either with an individual pupil or the whole group. When the ongoing activity or teaching was interrupted the teacher preferred to use the L1 regardless of the reason for the interruption. Also, homework was always assigned in the learners’ L1. There were two functions where the teacher did occasionally use English instead of Finnish but the use of Finnish was still significantly more common. These functions were *Praise and encouragement* and *Instructions*. Encouragement was always carried out in Finnish, whereas pupils were praised in English if they were addressed as a whole group and in Finnish if the subject was an individual pupil. Finally, there was some discrepancy in the teacher’s language choice within task description. The instructions were mostly given in Finnish but sometimes they also contained words or phrases in English.

6.2 The functions of English

In this chapter I will classify and describe the teacher's functional uses of English in teacher-talk during the observed lessons. The instances where the teacher's choice of language was English were more limited than the ones where she chose to use Finnish. Nevertheless, three clear functions for English usage emerged from the data and these functions are *Vocabulary: repetition and direct quotes*, *Transitions* and *Indicating the end of an exercise*. However, the category of transitions was only for the most parts in English, since the teacher's language choice was not always systematic. The functions are presented and analyzed in order of frequency, starting from the most common function which was *Vocabulary: repetition and direct quotes*. A more detailed explanation of each function is given at the beginning of each paragraph. The chapter is concluded by summing up the main characteristics of English in the teacher's language use.

6.2.1 Vocabulary: repetition and direct quotes

English has a significant role in teacher-talk that is related to teaching materials (Nikula 2005: 35). Nikula (2005: 35) points out that when discussing text book chapters, during exercise completion and listening comprehension tasks EFL teachers tend to use the learners' L2. In this subcategory the focus is on the way the teacher introduces vocabulary and offers L2 input for the learners. In distinction to translation discussed in chapter 6.1.1 the function of *Vocabulary: repetition and direct quotes* encompasses only the instances where the teacher either reads word lists aloud or repeats direct quotes from the teaching materials.

According to the observation data, the most common method of orally introducing new vocabulary for the pupils was by asking them to read a word list, phrases or a dialogue and simultaneously listen and repeat it after the teacher or a tape (example 26). In this chapter, the focus is only on the repetition after the teacher, since the present study concentrates on the teacher's language use. Apart from that, the teacher quoted directly the teaching materials by

repeating a word or a phrase that occurred in the materials and was significant in some way (example 27).

Example 26 exemplifies a situation where repetition is used as a teaching method. In the extract the pupils are practicing vocabulary and a particular conversation structure by listening and repeating a dialogue after the teacher.

Example 26)

- Teacher Ennen ku pääsette keskustelemaan. Niin tota toistatte sen keskustelun mun perässä. Can I have some chips please?
[Before you get to do the dialogues. Um, repeat the dialogue after me. Can I have some chips please?]
- Pupils Can I have some chips please?
- Teacher Anything else?
- Pupils Anything else?
- Teacher A milkshake please.
- Pupils A milkshake please.
- Teacher Some chips and a milkshake.
- Pupils Some chips and a milkshake.
- Teacher There you go.
- Pupils There you go.
- Teacher Three Euros please.
- Pupils Three Euros please.
- Teacher Here.
- Pupils Here.
- Teacher Thanks.
- Pupils Thanks.

The reason the pupils have to familiarize themselves with the words and the structure of the dialogue is that in the following exercise the pupils have to be able to have a similar conversation with a partner and modify it a little.

The language use in the example is very mechanical. However, it is a very effective way to introduce and go over the needed vocabulary in English as the learners receive both oral and written input.

In example 27 the teacher is showing on the smart board a page in the exercise book with images of people with different occupations. The teacher clarifies that if someone gets a card with the image she is pointing at they have to remember that it is the “*bus driver*”. Pupil 1 repeats the word after the teacher who continues to explain that there is another person in the cards they are using in the exercise who is very similar in appearance. Then, the teacher points out that this person is, however, the “*pilot*”. Pupils 2 and 3 echo the teacher’s comment. At this point the teacher explains how these two people can be distinguished from one another and still stresses that the person she is pointing at represents the “*bus driver*”.

Example 27)

Teacher Nyt tota ni jos tulee tän näkönen ni tää on nyt se bus driver.

[*Now, um, if you get this kind of [card] it is now the bus driver.*]

Pupil 1 Bus driver.

Teacher Eli jos saat sen. Eli ku siel on se pilot, ni tää on hyvin samannäkönen.

[*So if you get it. Since there is the pilot, and they look very much alike.*]

Pupil 2 Ihan samannäkönen.

[*[They] Look alike.*]

Pupil 3 Se on ihan samannäkönen.

[*[They] Really look alike.*]

Teacher Ainut et tol toisel on kaks taskuu tos paidas ja toisel yks. Niin on, melkee samannäkönen. Tää on nyt toi bus driver. Huomaatte bus driver sitte.

[*The only difference is that one has two pockets on his shirt and the other has one. Yes they are. Almost look alike. This is the bus driver. You notice bus driver then.*]

Although the teacher’s speech is mostly in Finnish, she does not translate the words “*bus driver*” and “*pilot*” into Finnish. Instead, she uses these words in English inside the sentences that are otherwise in Finnish. Her decision to use the English words suggests that she wants to focus on the vocabulary teaching. After all, the main objective in the exercise that follows this conversation is to learn vocabulary of different occupations and professions. In addition, both of the words used in English are also written in English in the exercise books,

which is also projected on the smart board, and in the cards the pupils use in the exercise.

The examples above illustrate that introducing vocabulary through word lists and directly quoting the teaching materials are central means to offer oral L2 input for the pupils. It is also an essential part of foreign language teaching and learning. These two strategies are used most often just before moving on to an exercise or an activity that requires the covered vocabulary. Furthermore, when discussing the teacher's language choices she explained that especially when practicing vocabulary she uses automatically English (Quotation 8).

Quotation 8)

Tai niinku just sanaston harjoittelu ja kaikki nää ni sit se on aina automaattisest englanti.

[Or just like practising vocabulary and all these [things] then it is always automatically English.]

6.2.2 Transitions

Transition from one activity to another could be seen as part of organizing tasks (Cook 2001, Turnbull and Arnett 2002) or it could also belong to managing the class as part of giving instructions (Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie 2002). In a broader view transition is part of classroom management and Seedhouse and Üstünel (2005: 308-309) mention that code-switching can be used "to signal a change of footing". However, in the present study transition as a function has a restricted definition which was already briefly discussed in chapter 6.1.7 on instructions. Here, transition indicates a transition to a new activity, and often includes a discourse marker that indicates the beginning of a new activity or topic.

The observation data showed that directives in the form of imperative (example 28) or in the let's-form (example 29) were used to indicate the transition to a new activity. These transitions were mostly conducted in English. More challenging language, lack of a proper term or word in English, answering to an individual pupil and the lack of time were factors that affected the teacher's

language choice and in these cases she used Finnish instead of English. These exceptions are further discussed in chapter 6.4 about the changes in the teacher's use of the L1 and the L2.

By far the most common phrases used to indicate transition to a new exercise are illustrated and discussed in the following two examples. Example 28 starts with a discourse marker "Ok" complemented with the word "then" which also implies transition. After getting the pupils' attention the teacher tells them that it is time to move on to another task by ordering the pupils to take out their books and giving the page and exercise number.

Example 28)

Teacher Ok, then. Take out your busy books. Page 103, exercise 13.

Example 29 differs from the previous example in the sense that it lacks the discourse marker at the beginning of the comment. In addition, the direct order is replaced with the let's-form which is used here as a directive. The function is, however, the same in both of the examples (Kääntä 2004: 74). The page number and the exercise number are given in a similar way in English.

Example 29)

Teacher Let's do exercise 10 on page 102.

The examples above demonstrate that the goal is reached with or without the discourse marker at the beginning. That is, the important part of the message is the actual directive. In the observation data the discourse markers were used to draw the pupils' attention and the focus was on what was said after the discourse marker, if it was used. As seen in example 28, the information given about the following task confirms that a transition actually takes place. Example 29 contains only the informative component and still the message is delivered.

The teacher explained that numbers are in a central role in the first years of learning English and for this reason she tries to repeat the exercise and page numbers in English as often as possible (Quotation 9). She further described that at the beginning she uses English only for the very basic functions such as telling the pupils which exercise is done next (Quotation 10). Furthermore, her aim is to explain the instructions first in English and only if necessary she switches to Finnish (Quotation 11). In conclusion, the teacher used very often the phrases above or adapted combinations of them when indicating the move to a new exercise.

Quotation 9)

Ja onhan siin sit se et, et niinku esimerkiks kolmosel ja nelosel numerot ja tälläset on isos osas. Niinku niit jaksaa toistaa niit tehtävä numeroit ja sivunumeroit. Ni jää vähän ne ehkä helpommin niille mieleen ja tota.

[And there is anyway the thing that like for example in third and fourth grade numbers and so on are in a huge role. Like those you bear to repeat those exercise numbers and page numbers. So maybe they stick a little easier to their mind and so on.]

Quotation 10)

Eli periaattees kolmosel varmaa varsinkii alkuu ni ihan ne perus vaa. Semmost et ottakaa kirjat. Se ja se sivu.

[So in principle in third grade probably especially at the beginning just the basic things. Like take out your books. That and that page.]

Quotation 11)

Kyl mie niinku yleens ensteks sanon ens. Niinku varsinki vitosel ensin aina kaikki niinku periaattees kaikki englanniks et mitä tehää et nyt tää ja tää tehtävä. Ja sitte niinku, jos se on joku hankalampi ni sitte mie selitän suomeks mitä se on.

[Yeah I usually like first say, first. Like especially in fifth grade always everything first like in principle everything in English like what we do and now this and this exercise. And then like if it is something more difficult then I explain in Finnish what it is.]

In conclusion, simple transitions to a new activity were most often conducted in English. These transitions tend to start with such discourse markers as “Ok” or “Now”. However, the use of discourse markers as indicators of change is not

consistent throughout the data. Furthermore, the discourse markers are used to draw attention and are always followed by a comment about the following activity, which is the actual transition to a new task. Bateman (2008: 26) mentions that basic instructions are often given in the L2 and the information about the following task that is embedded in the transitional functions in the present study could be understood as such pieces of information. Further, Seedhouse and Üstünel (2005: 308-309) found that “CS from Turkish [the L1] to English [the L2] occurred when teachers shifted the frames or topics of the lesson”, which supports the findings in the present study.

6.2.3 Indicating the end of an activity

In the subcategory of *Indicating the end of an activity* I have included passages of teacher-talk that indicate the end of a topic. In other words, this function comprehends the functional speech acts that indicate the teacher’s intention to finish an exercise. Nikula (2005: 34) found that by using the discourse marker “OK” as a signal teachers indicate that an activity ends. Also Kim and Elder (2005) state that markers such as “well” and “OK” are often used at topic boundary either to start or finish an activity. In this chapter the focus is on the latter function. In the same way as in chapter 6.2.2 about transitions, the main focus is not on the discourse markers; instead the actual function is indicated by the sentence or phrase that follows it. That is, a discourse marker can be present but the real focus is on the sentence followed by it. Although the definition is quite narrow, it was reasonable to treat this category as a separate function for the purposes of the present study, since the speech acts of finishing an exercise were coherently used by the teacher.

The most common method of indicating the end of an exercise in the observation data was checking whether the pupils are ready to move on without any discourse markers (example 30) or by gaining attention with a discourse marker and then checking whether anyone has any comments about the discussed topic (example 31). Occasionally the teacher emphasized the function of finishing an exercise with two discourse particles (example 32).

Praise aimed at the whole class was also one method of indicating the end of an exercise (see example 23 in chapter 6.1.6). However, a few instances where the teacher chose Finnish instead of English were found in the data. These instances are further discussed in chapter 6.4 about the changes in the teacher's language choice.

The following two examples represent the most common phrases used by the teacher to indicate the end of an exercise. Both of the phrases feature a question which serves the function of checking whether there are any questions or volunteers before moving on to a next activity.

In example 30 the teacher simply checks whether the pupils have any questions about the exercise. The pupils do not comment in any way, which the teacher takes as an assumption that they have no further questions, and thus, they can move on to another activity.

Example 30)

Teacher Any questions?
 (silence)

Example 31 represents a very similar situation; the teacher asks the pupils whether there are still pupils who would like to tell their sentences to the rest of the class.

Example 31)

Teacher Ok? Anyone else? (The pupils are talking among themselves) If not. Let's do exercise 10 on page 102.

When compared to example 30 the difference is that here the teacher uses a discourse marker "Ok" to indicate that she is about to say something of importance and uses it to gain the pupils' attention. The assumption is drawn from the fact that the teacher says the discourse marker in a louder voice and in rising intonation. The pupils do not quiet down entirely but enough for the

teacher to continue by asking whether there is still someone who would like to tell their opinion before moving on to the next exercise. The pupils do not answer the teacher, instead they talk among themselves. The teacher assumes that they are ready to move on and states that if there are no more volunteers they will continue to another exercise. The end of the example is already part of informing about the next activity (see chapter 6.2.2 on transitions).

Another very common way to express that an exercise is about to end is demonstrated in example 32. The teacher starts again with the discourse marker “*Ok*” which is followed by the word “*then*” which also indicates that a change of some sort is going to take place.

Example 32)

Teacher OK, then. It seems that some of you have already done. So back to your seats!

In the example above after the initial discourse markers the teacher continues by stating that some of the students have already finished the exercise and she seems to think that despite that some of the pupils have not finished yet they have spent enough time on the exercise. The assumption is confirmed by her order to the pupils to return to their seats. Together these three sentences work effectively, and the teacher manages to deliver the message for the pupils and get them organized back to their normal seats.

The third common method of conveying the end of an exercise is to give positive feedback in the form of an adjective or an adverb. Such a situation has already been discussed in example 23 (see chapter 6.1.6). Example 23 shows that using English when generally praising the class to indicate that an exercise is ending is another possible way to complete an activity.

In the light of the observed lessons it can be concluded that the primary language for indicating the end of an activity is English. It is a particular event in the lesson frame that is familiar enough for the pupils. That is, the pupils are

able to understand the instructions in English within these situations. The teacher explained that in recurring situations which contain easily understandable language she tries to use the English language (see Quotation 7 in chapter 6.1.6). Bateman (2008) has made similar observations about teachers' language choice; in routine-like situations teachers are more sensitive to use the L2.

6.2.4 The use of English in a nutshell

In summary, the role of English in the teacher's language use was more restricted than the role of Finnish. Furthermore, the teacher's functional uses of English were not always systematic. However, English was used for three definite functions in teacher-talk, which are summarized in the following paragraph.

The most essential role of the English usage was in language that was closely related to teaching materials. English was used as the central means to orally introduce new vocabulary and offer L2 input through the repetition of words, word lists and conversations. In addition, direct quotes from the teaching materials were used to execute the function. English was also largely used to indicate the transition to a new activity. This was done through directives, with or without the initial discourse marker. Only in situations where the language was too difficult or complex, when the teacher indicated the transition to an individual pupil or when the time was limited the teacher resorted to Finnish instead of English. Similarly, English was the chosen language when the teacher's intention was to indicate the end of an activity. This was done either with the help of interrogative phrases, with or without the initial discourse marker, that were used to make sure that the pupils were ready to finish or through praise addressed to the whole group.

6.3 The overlapping functions

Coding and categorizing the data into functional units was far from simple. In addition to the functional use of Finnish and English discussed above, few categories in which a mixed code was used by the teacher emerged from the data. The categories are similar to the ones discussed in the chapters above in the sense that they have clear and explicit function in teacher-talk. These categories are *Reviewing and discussing exercises* and *Giving orders and general instructions*. The functions are presented in order of frequency. At the beginning of each chapter the function is described in more detail.

6.3.1 Reviewing and discussing exercises

In chapter 6.1.3 I defined and analyzed the teacher's language choice in conversations that were not related to lesson activities or explicit teaching. In this chapter, I will, however, focus on the teacher's speech acts during task accomplishment and checking exercises. According to Ferguson (2003, as quoted in Seedhouse and Üstünel 2005: 307-308) in many studies code switching is used by teachers in situations where the aim is to scaffold subject matters and provide linguistic help for pupils, especially for those with limited language skills in the L2. Thus, reviewing and discussing exercises is treated as a separate function in the present study.

During the observed lessons both English and Finnish were used when reviewing and discussing exercises with the whole group. Very often the two languages were used together as a mixture within a particular instance. The following examples demonstrate the three most common types of exercise discussions: that is, discussions which feature code-switching (examples 33 and 35) and discussions that are conducted entirely in Finnish (example 34).

Example 33 takes place after a pair discussion activity. The teacher begins the discussion about the exercise in English but switches to Finnish in the middle of her turn.

Example 33)

Teacher Ok, it seems that some of you have already done. So back to your seats. Do we have any volunteers to come in front of the class?

Pupil 1 Miks?
[*Why?*]

Teacher Do their conversation. Uskaltautuuko ketkää tulemaa luokan eteen. Esittämään.
[Do their conversation. *Is anybody brave enough to come in front of the classroom? To perform.*]

Pupil 2 Mitä?
[*What?*]

Teacher Sen keskustelun. Ei tarvii olla välttämättä koko parist molemmat.
[*The conversation. The whole pair doesn't necessarily need to come.*]

The teacher begins by asking for volunteers to present their conversations for the whole class. Pupil 1 asks the reason for this in Finnish to which the teacher first answers in English. Then the teacher, however, translates what she has just said into Finnish. Pupil 2 makes a clarifying question in Finnish. And this time the teacher continues the conversation in Finnish by giving further instructions. In the extract the teacher tries to carry out the conversation in English which is indicated by her first answer to a Finnish request; she sticks to English in spite of the fact that the question was in Finnish. However, she soon notices that the pupils are not entirely following her and switches to Finnish and translates what she has just said. The assumption is confirmed by her interview answers where she explains that sometimes when she is talking in English she may realize in the middle of the sentence or situation that the pupils are not really following her and then she is forced to switch to Finnish (Quotation 12). This extract appears to be such a situation. Pupil 2's question and the teacher's answer and clarification in Finnish further support the conclusion.

Quotation 12)

Ja just se että ku muistaa opiskeluajoilt ku aina niinku [painotettiin] ei saa hyppiä kielestä toiseen ni sit ite saattaa joskus et alat selittää ja sit tajuut et no ne ei nyt ehkä mun ajatukses pysy mukan ni kesken yhtäkkii vaihtaaki kieltä.

[And just the thing you remember from the studentship when it was always [emphasized] not to switch from one language to another but then you yourself might sometimes start to explain and then you realize that well maybe they aren't quite following my thoughts and then in the middle you suddenly switch the language.]

Example 34, on the other hand, displays another kind of approach to checking an exercise. The whole process is conducted in Finnish from the beginning to the end. In the extract the pupils have just finished listening to an exercise and have filled in the answers in their books when the teacher starts the discussion about the exercise.

Example 34)

- Teacher Saitteko?
 [Did you get [the answers]?]
- Pupils Joo.
 [Yeah.]
- Teacher Hyvä. Eli mitä Jill tilasi? Matti.
 [Good. So what did Jill order? Matti.]
- Pupil 1 Voileivän. Totanoinaa nii. Sipsii ja coca colan.
 [A sandwich. Um. Crisps and a coke.]
- Teacher Ja paljo makso? Siiri?
 [And how much was it? Siiri?]
- Pupil 2 Neljä euroo.
 [Four Euros.]
- Teacher Joo. Tasan neljä euroo.
 [Yeah. Exactly four Euros.]

In the example above the teacher checks in Finnish whether the pupils managed to get all the answers, and then continues to go through the correct answers entirely in Finnish. It is somewhat surprising that the teacher decides to conduct the whole activity in Finnish since the language does not seem to be too demanding. Also Nikula (2005: 35) states that during listening comprehension activities EFL teachers have a tendency to use the foreign language. The most probable reason for the teacher's decision to use Finnish is the fact that the questions in the exercise were in Finnish, and thus, the pupils were allowed to

answer in Finnish. For this reason, it is more logical to use the same language when discussing the exercise. In addition, the teacher manages to avoid unnecessary code-switching when choosing to use only one language. After all, her comment during the interview gave the impression that she does not want to code switch if it impedes fulfilling the ongoing task (see Quotation 12 above).

Example 35 gives a clear picture of the teacher's code switching within an exercise discussion. Before this extract the pupils have been talking in pairs about their opinions. Here, the teacher opens the class discussion in English by asking for volunteers to tell the class their opinions.

Example 35)

- Teacher Who would like to tell something to all of us. Let's see if we agree or not. Sanna.
- Pupil 1 I think that Finnish is easy.
- Teacher Sanna thinks that Finnish is easy. Do you agree? Who agrees eli kuka on samaa mieltä? Who doesn't agree? Or who disagrees eli kuka on eri mieltä? Ok. Anyone else? Janne.
- [Sanna thinks that Finnish is easy. Do you agree? Who agrees *or who agrees?* Who doesn't agree? Or who disagrees *or who disagrees?* Ok. Anyone else? Janne.]
- Pupil 2 I think maths is. Oota. Boring.
- [I think maths is. *Wait.* Boring.]
- Teacher Boring. Ok. Who thinks that maths is boring? Who doesn't think so? Ok. And then. Next one. Veli.
- Pupil 3 I think that English is boring.
- Pupil 4 Mitä?
- [*What?*]
- Teacher I hope that no one agrees with Veli. But does someone think that English is boring? Who doesn't think that English is boring? Oh, Excellent. And then. Would Jukka like to tell his comment. Haluutko kertoa mitä sanoit?
- [I hope that no one agrees with Veli. But does someone think that English is boring? Who doesn't think that English is boring? Oh, Excellent. And then. Would Jukka like to tell his comment. *Would you like to tell [us] what you said?*]
- Pupil 5 En.
- [*No.*] (Sneers and giggles)
- Teacher Se oli niin hienosti sanottu. Sano vaa.
- [*It was so nicely said. Go ahead and say it.*]

- Pupil 5 En.
[No.] (Smiles bashfully.)
- Pupil 6 Sano vaa.
[Go ahead and say it.]
- Teacher Haluuks Alma sanoo?
[Do you want to say Alma?]
- Pupil 7 I think dogs are cute.
- Teacher Ok. Ok. Who thinks dogs are cute? Who doesn't think dogs are cute. Ok. Anyone else?
- Pupil 4 Kalle, sulhan on koira. Sie et tykkää koirist?
[Kalle, you've got a dog. You don't like dogs?]
- Pupil 2 Nii.
[Yeah.]
- Pupil 8 Mikset sie tykkää?
[Why don't you like?]
- Teacher Eiku se sano söpö. Cute on niinku söpö.
[No, she said cute. Cute means like cute.]
- Pupil 9 Nii.
[Yeah.]
- Pupil 10 Et sie tykkää vai niist?
[Don't you like them or what?]
- Teacher Okay. Anyone else? (the pupils are already talking among themselves) If not. Let's do exercise 10 on page 102.

The teacher repeats pupil 1's answer in English and continues to try to engage the pupils into the discussion in English. She, however, decides to translate the questions into Finnish to ensure that the pupils understand them. The pupils raise their hands according to their own opinions. Then the teacher goes on in English to encourage others to tell their opinions as well. The conversation continues in the same manner and the teacher comments pupil 3's opinion in English, and again asks for the other pupils' stand on the matter. The teacher is still conducting the conversation in English when she asks pupil 5 to tell his comment. He stays quiet and the teacher switches to Finnish and repeats the question. Pupil 5 is not willing to say his opinion aloud and the teacher tries to convince him in Finnish to do it. Despite the encouragement pupil 5 decides to

keeps his opinion to himself and the teacher moves on to the next pupil. This time she asks her the question in Finnish but when the pupil answers in English the teacher switches back to English. She continues the discussion in English until some of the pupils start talking about pupil 7's sentence: they seem to have misunderstood it. At this point, the teacher is forced to clarify the meaning in Finnish. However, she switches immediately back to English and concludes the conversation.

In the extract above the several switches back to English indicate that the teacher is quite determined to use English during this conversation. She did mention that she regards it important to offer the pupils input in the L2 in order to encourage their language learning and revise vocabulary (Quotation 13). Furthermore, she explained that when working on oral conversation activities she tries to ensure that English is employed and she herself uses it as well (Quotation 14). The conversation is mainly carried out in English, but some functions that are executed in Finnish are embedded in it. That is, Finnish is used for translating the key questions and misunderstood words. In addition to that, the teacher switches to Finnish only when she ensures that pupil 5 understands her question. Further, Finnish is used to persuade the same pupil and when moving on to the next pupil. I believe that continuing in Finnish with pupil 5 can be explained through the teacher-pupil relationship; the teacher prefers Finnish at this point because she wants to encourage pupil 5 to answer. However, it can be assumed that when the teacher moves on to pupil 7 the use of Finnish is incidental and influenced by the use of Finnish in the preceding sentences. I rest the assumption on the fact that this is the single only time during the conversation the teacher uses Finnish for this particular function.

Quotation 13)

Kylhän sielt sit tulee myös sitä sanastoo et että mie luulen että osaks ehkä senki takii minust on kiva käyttää englantii et oppilaat kuulis mimmost se voi olla kun sie osaat sitä käyttää.

[It is also the vocabulary that comes along and I think that partly maybe I think that it is fun to use English to let the pupils hear how it can sound when you know how to use it.]

Quotation 14)

Tehää sellasii suullisii harjotuksii. Tai jos myö tehää suullisii harjotuksii, missä pitää puhuu englantii ni siin sit kans pitää puhuu englantii. Eikä silloin ei mennä sielt mist aita on matalin. Et sitä pyrkii niinku vahtimaa. Kuitenki.

[*Doing that kind of oral exercises. Or if we do oral exercises, in which you have to speak English then you also have to speak English. And then we do not take the easiest way out. I mean that you try to watch. Anyway.*]

The examples above illustrate the abundance of code-switching when discussing exercises with the whole class. It is very common that English is used as the main language and Finnish has a supporting role to ensure understanding of both the subject matter and the message, as seen in example 33, and this function has been discussed in more detail in chapter 6.1.1 on translations. In addition, Finnish is used when emphasizing the objectives or when the materials for the exercise that is being discussed are in Finnish as demonstrated in example 34. Additionally, Finnish has a role in building personal contacts and a warmer learning atmosphere in the classroom, in other words, it is used in rapport building (e.g. Cook 2001, Duff and Polio 1994). The attempt to encourage and engage the pupil in example 35 demonstrates such use of Finnish.

6.3.2 Giving orders and general instructions

I have already described and discussed in the chapters above such functions as *General discussions, Assigning homework, Praise and encouragement, Instructions, Transitions* and *Indicating the end of an activity* which all could have been part of the broader category of classroom management (e.g. Cook 2001). However, for the purposes of the present study I found it reasonable to divide the category into smaller units. Hence, in this chapter the subcategory of classroom management *Giving orders and general instructions* excludes the categories mentioned above and includes only such speech acts as giving orders, which can be familiar, repetitive and disciplinary, maintaining order and general instructions.

The observation data showed that familiar (example 36) and repetitive (example 37) orders are conducted in English. Disciplinary orders, on the other hand, are always given in Finnish (examples 38 and 39). Furthermore, organizational talk contained only Finnish and it was used when dealing with safety (example 40) and when maintaining order (example 41). Finally, when informing about (example 43), and explaining (example 44) important matters the teacher resorted to Finnish.

The most automated orders were given in English during the observed lessons. Example 36 illustrates such an order given at the beginning of the lesson; first, the teacher has greeted the class and they have replied, then she tells them to sit down.

Example 36)

Teacher Sit down, please!

The whole routine is conducted in English and takes place at the beginning of each of the observed lessons. Thus, it can be assumed that this particular situation is very familiar, and the teacher is content to use only English. The language in the situation is repeated at the beginning of each lesson which further suggests that it is easy enough for the pupils to understand. After all, the teacher did explain that she uses English that is easy to understand in such situations that recur often (see Quotation 7 in chapter 6.1.6). Other researchers (e.g. Bateman 2008) have made similar observations and conclude that in routine-like speech or familiar situations the use of the L2 is common.

A similar situation is exemplified in example 37 which is a command to return to one's own place and finish the activity at hand.

Example 37)

Teacher Ok, then. Back to your seats!

In the example the situation and language used is familiar for the pupils, and thus, the teacher is able to use English. By this order the teacher indicates the end of an activity but at the same time organizes the pupils back to their seats, and in that sense manages the classroom.

In comparison to the examples above, the disciplinary orders are always conducted in Finnish. In example 38 the lesson has just started, which is indicated by the teacher's presence in the classroom, but a couple of girls are still lingering on by the door. In response, the teacher commands the girls in Finnish. It seems to be effective since the girls return to their seats immediately.

Example 38)

Teacher Noni, Nyt hei tytöt reippaasti!
 [*Ok, girls quickly now!*]

The following extract demonstrates another situation where the teacher disciplines the pupils. Example 39 is from the start of the lesson when the teacher walks in and sees right away that pupil 1 is doing something that is against the class rules, and for this reason, tells him to pull down the hood by his name.

Example 39)

Teacher Otas Mikko huppu pois pääst.
 [*Mikko, pull down the hood.*]

Pupil 1 Ei mul oo huppuu pääs.
 [*I haven't pulled up the hood.*]

Pupil 2 Ei mullakaa oo huppuu pääs.
 [*Neither have I pulled up the hood.*]

Teacher Noni, nyt!
 [*Well, now!*]

In the example above pupil 1 does not obey immediately and pupil 2 interferes the conversation and neglects the order as well. The teacher fixes her gaze on

pupil 1 and toughens her voice as she repeats the order, this time with only two words. After this pupil 1 obeys the order and pupil 2 quiets down as well.

The teacher mentioned that she prefers using Finnish in disciplinary talk because in her opinion it has a stricter tone when compared to English (see Quotation 2 in chapter 6.1.2). She also added that if she used English instead of Finnish, the pupils would probably focus more on the fact that she said something in English than listen and obey the order (Quotation 15). In other words, the teacher feels that it is more probable that the message is delivered when she uses Finnish. Her views were affirmed by the observed lessons, where the only language used for discipline was Finnish. The two examples above show that Finnish is effective for disciplinary purposes. However, it cannot be proved that Finnish is more efficient than English as disciplinary language because there is no instances of the use of English for the particular function in the observed lessons. Nevertheless, research has broadly proven that teachers tend to use the L1 indisputably when dealing with discipline in the classroom (e.g. Turnbull and Arnett 2002, Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie 2002, Cook 2001).

Quotation 15)

Jotenki tuntuu että et sit se tavallaa se et jos mie sanoisin englanniks niin se vähän se huomio menee just siihen et ai mitä se nyt oikeen sanoo ku siihen viestiin mikä se oli.

[I somehow feel that it kind of goes I mean if I said in English the attention would rather be on the reasoning that what is she trying to say than on the actual message that is the point.]

The following two examples exemplify the teacher's language use in organizational talk during the lesson observations. Example 40 demonstrates a situation in the classroom which is potentially dangerous and the teacher reacts quickly by reminding the pupils to be careful.

Example 40)

(A pupil tumbles to the floor during a drama exercise.)

Teacher Hei, hei. Varovasti.
 [Hey, hey. Be careful.]

In the example the reason for choosing Finnish can be the pupils' safety, meaning that the teacher wants to make sure that everyone hears and understands her comment about their safety. Alternatively, the reason for selecting Finnish could also be the fact that she reacts right away and does not even notice which language she is using, and since Finnish is her mother tongue she uses it automatically. Furthermore, her interview answers reveal that she regards her own oral skills in English quite impaired and she admits that she is not always quick at repartee and can face situations where she freezes and switches to Finnish (Quotation 16). It is possible that in example 40 the teacher resorts to Finnish because she does not come up with a proper exclamation in English. For instance, Macaro (2001) reported that teachers' personal beliefs and perceptions of their skills in the target language affect their language choice in the classroom. In other words, the more insecure the teacher is about his or her language competence the more sensitive he or she is to use the L1.

Quotation 16)

Sanotaa näin et hyvin kärsinyt. Siis yllättävän paljon täs niinku kärsii kuitenkin se oma. Et se semmonen se sanavalmius häviää kyl yllättävän nopeest.

[Let's say that it has suffered a lot. I mean it is surprising that how much the own [language] suffers here. Like the sort of repartee disappears surprisingly quickly.]

Example 41 illustrates another kind of classroom organization situation that tends to cause hustle in the classroom, which is leaving for lunch.

Example 41)

Teacher Ja täl kerral Sannan jonon vuoro. Eli lähetään syömään.
 [And this time it's the turn of Sanna's line. So let's go and eat.]

Pupil 1 Voiks mennä?
 [Can we go?]

- Teacher Nyt voi mennä.
 [*Now you can go.*]
- Pupil 2 Kenen vuoro se on?
 [*Who's turn it is?*]
- Teacher Sannan jono on ainut mikä ei oo lähten ensimmäisen.
 [*Sanna's line is the only one that hasn't been the first.*]
- Pupil 3 Ei oo, ne oli vast viimeeks.
 [*No, they just were the last time.*]
- Teacher Mul on ylös merkattu. Ihan siks ettei pääs huijaa.
 [*I've written down. Just so that no one can cheat.*]
- Pupil 4 Vesa, sie yrität aina väittää.
 [*Vesa, you always try to claim.*]
- Teacher Niin yrittää. Se oli viime kerral sama juttu.
 [*Yes, he does. It was the same last time.*]
- Pupil 3 Onks se nyt meidän jono?
 [*Is it now our turn?*]
- Teacher Ei, ku Marjan jono. Teidän jono on viimeinen.
 [*No, it's Marja's line's [turn]. Your line is the last one.*]
- Pupil 4 Nii.
 [*Yeah.*]

The teacher starts by stating that this time it is the turn of Sanna's line to go first and continues by announcing that it is time to go and have lunch. Pupil 1 from the appointed line asks whether they can go and the teacher gives them the permission. Before the first line has even made it, pupil 2 from another line interrupts and asks whose turn it is to go. The teacher explains that this is the only line that has not been the first to go. Pupil 3, however, disagrees but the teacher confirms her view by saying that she has noted down the order just in case of situations like this. At this point pupil 4 points out that pupil 3 is trying to lie and the teacher acknowledges this. When the first line has finally managed to leave, pupil 3 tries again by asking if it is their turn now. The teacher gives a negative answer and adds that their line is the last one to go. Pupil 4 concludes by sighing and reinforcing the teacher's comment.

In example 41 there are several possible reasons for choosing the Finnish language. It could simply be due to time restrictions, since the lesson is ending and the class should move smoothly to the dining hall. A more likely reason for the teacher to resort to Finnish is her aim to avoid extra hustle and maintaining order in the classroom. The fact that she has written down the turns to go first suggests that the situation is familiar to her and it tends to cause hustle among the pupils. In addition, in a different lesson, in a similar situation the teacher stated frustratedly that she is tired of hearing the same complaints every time (example 42). Furthermore, it is clearly illustrated in the observation data that at the end of each lesson which take place just before lunch there is a quarrel over the order of leaving for lunch. Thus, the assumption is that the teacher has decided to maintain order in the classroom and control the pupils by reverting to Finnish.

Example 42)

Aina sama virsi. Aina sama juttu. Miksei joku vois, mun pitää käydä merkkää ylös.

[The same old song again. It's always the same thing. Why someone just couldn't, I have to start noting down.]

The last two examples demonstrate classroom management in the form of giving general instructions. The instructions can concern the lesson content and objectives or behavior.

Example 43 takes place at the beginning of the lesson. The teacher tells the class briefly about the lesson content and explains why they return to the teaching materials this week. The example is simply an informative announcement before moving on to the actual teaching part of the lesson.

Example 43)

Teacher Eli tosissaan, vähä vähän muutettiin tota ohjelmaa koska Hanna tulee, ku oltiin viime viikol siel atk-luokas ja nyt meidän pitää taas palata sinne kirjan pariin.

[So yeah, we made little small changes to the program because Hanna was coming, like last week we were at the computer class and now we have to return to the book again.]

Pupils Näääh.
[No.]

Example 44 is an extract from the last lesson before the exam and the teacher is giving advice for the pupils in advance to make sure that they have enough time to finish the exam. The teacher starts by reminding the pupils to come quickly in from the recess the next time they have a lesson. Pupils 1 and 2 request the reason for this and the teacher points out that they have the lesson before lunch.

Example 44)

Teacher Eli sitte ens maanantain tuutte reippaasti välkält sisää.
[*So on Monday you have to come quickly in from the recess.*]

Pupil 1 Niinkö?
[*Really?*]

Pupil 2 Miks?
[*Why?*]

Teacher Ku on se, meil on viel se ruokailutuntikii.
[*Because it is, we have the lesson before the lunch.*]

According to the observation data the lessons before lunch tend to cause more hustle at the end, and thus, are shorter than other lessons. The teacher tends to use Finnish when the language is more demanding and she wants to deliver the message immediately. In addition, she said that the time saving is quite enormous when she uses Finnish from the beginning (see Quotation 1 in chapter 6.1.1). However, probably the main reason for choosing the Finnish language is to ensure that all the pupils understand the notice.

The examples discussed above demonstrate that not all orders are conducted in the learners' L1. The teacher is able to use English in classroom management situations that are recurrent. In other words, familiar situations and familiar language allow the teacher to choose the L2. Furthermore, these instances tend to contain basic and simple vocabulary, which makes her content to use the English language (see Quotation 7 in chapter 6.1.6). These findings are in line

with Bateman's (2008) observations that the nature of the language and situation affect teachers' language choice. However, classroom management that contains more demanding language is conducted in Finnish. These instances concern discipline, maintaining order and informing about important matters and events. After all, to make sure that everyone understands what is said is most important in classroom management. In the light of the observed lessons, the teacher seems to make her decision about the language while bearing in mind the significance of understanding. For instance, studies conducted by Littlewood and Yu (2009) and Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) further support the findings.

6.3.3 The use of a mixed code in a nutshell

Apart from the clear functions Finnish and English had in the teacher's talk during the observed lessons, situations where a mixed code was used and a function which contained the use of both languages emerged from the data.

Code-switching was most explicit and visible when reviewing and discussing exercises. The discussions varied between starting in English, switching to Finnish and either switching back to English or continuing in Finnish. In these situations English was the main language but the teacher resorted to Finnish to ensure understanding. However, some exercise discussions were conducted entirely in Finnish. The language of the teaching materials, rapport building, and emphasizing the objectives were factors that occasioned the use of Finnish.

In classroom organization both English and Finnish were used by the teacher. English was the teacher's choice of language if the situation was familiar to the pupils, in other words if it recurred often, and if the required language was not too challenging. On the other hand, when the topic concerned discipline, maintaining order or notifications and general information the teacher resorted to Finnish.

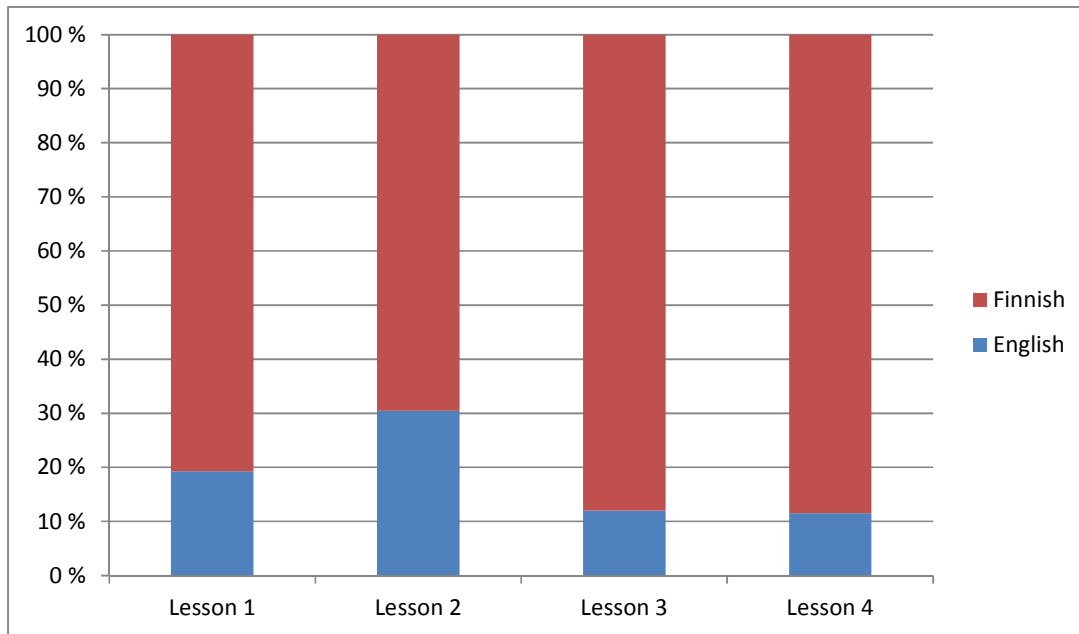
6.4 Distribution of L1 and L2 and changes in the language choice

In this chapter the amount of Finnish and English in the teacher's talk is presented and her language choices are re-examined; the focus is now on the changes in the teacher's language choice between the observed lessons.

First, I will introduce the distribution of the two languages used by the teacher in the observed lessons. Secondly, I will point out and describe the differences in the lesson contents of the observed lessons. Thirdly, I will briefly present the characteristics of the teacher's talk and discuss the dates and occasion of the lesson observations. Then, I will move on to the comparison and contrast of the teacher's language use between the lessons. It is approached through the functions described and analyzed in the chapters above, emphasizing and re-examining the instances that deviate from the norm of each function. The functions are discussed in the same order as in the chapters above. Finally, I will conclude by summarizing the main changes and differences in the teacher's language use and choice between the lessons.

Table 2 displays the amount of Finnish and English in the teacher's speech during each of the observed lessons. The percentages in it were calculated from the total amount of words said by the teacher, and they clearly show that there was a great difference in the distribution of the two languages between the observed lessons. Namely, in each lesson the amount of Finnish was larger than the amount of English. Surprisingly, the amount of English did not increase toward the end of the semester; instead the first two lessons observed at the beginning of the semester had a greater proportion of English usage than the lessons which were observed at the end of the semester. Minimum amount of English in teacher-talk during a lesson was just over 10 %, 11.5 % in the last lesson and 12 % in the third lesson, and maximum amount nearly one third of a lesson in the second lesson.

Table 2. The amount of Finnish and English in the teacher's talk



First of all, when looking into the differences between the lessons it is important to acknowledge the differences in lesson contents between the observed lessons. In general, a rough division can be made between the first two and the last two observed lessons regarding the teacher's language use. That is, the first two lessons had both a greater proportion of English when compared to the latter two lessons (see Table 2 above). However, it was evident on the basis of the observations that the teacher's language use differed the most in the last lesson when compared with all the other lessons. One major difference was that the three first lessons were more vocabulary-oriented than the last lesson. This is confirmed when looking into the activity types and noticing that the fourth lesson was the only one which did not have vocabulary repetition exercises. It has been pointed out above (see chapter 6.2.1) that such exercises were a common method of introducing vocabulary during the observed lessons. Furthermore, the first three lessons had a broader repertoire of different activity types (see Table 1 in chapter 5.2.2). For instance, each of these lessons contained oral communication and group work. On the contrary, during the fourth lesson only written and individual activities were used in the teaching. In addition, both of the lesson objectives focused on grammar. This leads to the other

similarity between the last two lessons; they both contained explicit grammar teaching, whereas no such teaching was conducted during the first two lessons. It is important to point out that according to many researchers the activity type and the lesson content are among the most influential factors affecting teachers' language choice (e.g. Duff and Polio 1990, Bateman 2008, Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie 2002).

In all the observed lessons, most of the teacher's talk was conducted either during instructional speech or when checking the exercises. The first two lessons included more exercise discussion; in the first lesson three clear occurrences could be counted and in the second lesson five clear occurrences were found, which also reflect the total amount of English in each lesson. That is, the proportion of English was largest in the second lesson and second largest in the first lesson. In comparison, the third lesson had two such occurrences and the last lesson only one instance of explicit exercise discussion, which further supports the conclusion that the amount of exercise discussion is related to the amount of English in the teacher's talk. On the other hand, the fourth lesson contained the largest amount of instructional speech and the third lesson the second largest amount. The instructional speech took place mostly during grammar teaching, and thus, it was in Finnish. For this reason, it can be concluded that the amount of instructional speech decreased the amount of English in the teacher's talk and again reflects the total amount of English during the observed lessons.

It is also noteworthy to take the dates and the occasion of the lesson observations into account when comparing and contrasting the teacher's language choices between the lessons. The third and the fourth lesson were the last two lessons before the end of the year exam and the lesson observations suggest that the upcoming exam influenced the teacher's language use in the sense that the activities were more grammar-oriented. After all, the teacher expressed explicitly at the beginning of both of the lessons that the exam is in the near future and there are still some points to go through before it (examples

45 and 46). Also, Duff and Polio (1994) mention that exams can affect the choice of language, since when teachers resort to the L1 they save time tremendously. Furthermore, it is evident that when restricted by time the teacher resorts to Finnish (see Quotation 4 in chapter 6.1.5). The teacher clearly wanted to make sure that they had time to go through all the topics planned for the lessons, and for this reason, chose to use Finnish as the main language.

Example 45)

Viel on muutama asia käymättä ennen koetta. Eli koehan on tasan viikon päästä, maanantaina.

[*There are still a few things to go through before the exam. So the exam is exactly in a week, on Monday.*]

Example 46)

Mutta, mutta meil on tärkeitä tekemistä. Koe tulossa. Seuraavalla enkun tunnilla. Katotaa. katotaan niit, vähä niit kielioppiasioit mitä siihen kokeeseen tulee.

[*But, but we have important stuff to do. The exam is coming. The next English lesson. Let's look. Let's take a look, a little the grammar points that will come to the exam.*]

Next, I will take notice of the functions that were not systematic in their choice of language. These functions are *Instructions*, *Transitions*, *Indicating the end of an activity* and *Reviewing and discussing exercises*. The teacher's language use and choices within these categories are now examined and compared between the observed lessons.

The language in the category of instructions was mainly Finnish, and thus, the exceptions within this function had a positive impact on the amount of English in the teacher's talk. Examples 47-49 illustrate discrepancy in the teacher's language choice. All the examples below represent similar situations where the level of the language is on the same degree of difficulty but the teacher's choice of language differs in each example. When asked about the teacher's English use she mentioned that she gives easy and simple instructions, or such instructions that are well explained in the materials, in English. The three examples below demonstrate such situations. The teacher, however, continued that although she conducts this function in English, there are often one or more

pupils who have not understood or have not been patient enough to focus on the English explanation. Thus, she is often obliged to repeat the instructions in Finnish after the English ones (Quotation 17).

Quotation 17)

Mut jos se on vaan ihan kuuntele ja toista. Tai täytä. Täytä niinku et jos siin on selvät ohjeet ni sit englanniks. Ja sit siel on aina se joku et ai mitä pitikä tehdä. Niinku sit kuitenkin tulee aina varmistettuu [suomeksi].

[But if it is just only listen and repeat. Or fill in. Fill in, I mean that if there are clear instructions then [I use] English. And then there is always that one person who is like huh what were we supposed to do. So then anyway I always have to make sure [that they understand in Finnish].]

In example 47 the teacher explains the instructions for a listening comprehension exercise entirely in Finnish.

Example 47)

Teacher Kuuntele kysymykset ja alleviivaa sopivat vastaukset. Alleviivaatte tai ympyröitte. Kolme vaihtoehtoa aina eli ne menee näin riveittäin ne vaihtoehot.

[Listen to the questions and underline the correct answers. Underline or circle. There are always three alternatives and they are in lines like this, the alternatives.]

Example 48 includes the teacher's comment at the beginning of an activity where the pupils have to listen and repeat a word list after the teacher who reads it aloud from the teaching materials. The teacher starts in English by giving short instructions but switches quickly to Finnish and gives little more detailed instructions, and finally, rephrases the English explanation in Finnish.

Example 48)

Teacher Listen and repeat. Sul on kymmenen ammattia. Ja tota, toistatte ne mun perässä.

[Listen and repeat. You have ten occupations. And then, repeat them after me.]

The activity in example 49 is identical to the previous example; the teacher asks the pupils to listen and repeat a word list after her. However, the chosen language is different.

Example 49)

Teacher So turn to page hundred and six. And exercise two.

Pupil 1 Tuleeks meille sanakoe?

[*Are we gonna have a vocabulary test?*]

Teacher Repeat the words after me.

Pupil 2 Tuleeks meille sanis?

[*Are we gonna have a vocabulary test?*]

Pupil 3 Tuleeks meille sanis huomiselle?

[*Are we gonna have a vocabulary test tomorrow?*] (overlapping with the teacher's comment)

Teacher Ei tuu sanist. Are you ready?

[*There's no vocabulary test. Are you ready?*]

The teacher begins by giving the exercise and page numbers but is interrupted by pupil 1's question about a forthcoming vocabulary test. The teacher ignores the question and continues giving instructions in English. At this point, pupils 2 and 3 ask the same question about the vocabulary test and the teacher is forced to answer them. She does it in Finnish but switches immediately back to English and checks that the pupils have understood the instructions. Although there is a Finnish comment in the extract, it is not part of the instructions, and thus, it is not discussed further in this context. The function of explaining the following task is conducted entirely in English.

The interview with the teacher revealed that her methods of action are not always stable and even if she makes a decision to use the L2, or it is her intention, she may be forced to switch to Finnish due to lack of comprehension. Quotation 17 explains the code switch in example 48; the teacher must feel that some students are not following the instructions and decides to repeat and clarify them in Finnish. Nevertheless, the interview answers do not explain her dissimilar language choices in examples 47 and 49. One worthy explanation for the decision to use only Finnish in example 47 could be the timing within the lesson frame; example 47 takes place almost at the end of the lesson. Because of this the teacher may prefer to use the L1 to ensure that there is enough time to complete the activity and finish the lesson properly (see Quotation 4 in chapter

6.1.5). Example 49, on the other hand, may reflect a situation where the teacher is confident that the message is delivered despite the fact that she has only given the instructions in English. The assumption is supported by the lesson observations which show that all the pupils seem to be on the right page and aware of the activity. In addition, the same instructions are also in the exercise books, that is, the pupils have received the information orally from the teacher and in written form in their books. However, it has to be taken into account that example 49 is the only occasion of such choice of language for instruction during the observed lessons. Thus, it is obvious that situations like this are rare and no definite explanation for the language choice can be made.

It can be observed from these examples that both the instruction which is entirely in English (example 49) and the one that begins in English but is completed in Finnish (example 48) take place in the first half of the lessons, the first in the second lesson and the latter in the third lesson. The instruction that is given entirely in Finnish, on the other hand, occurs at the end of the second lesson (example 47). Even though, these exceptions do not expound the differences in the teacher's language use between the lessons, they show differences within the lesson frame. The examples reveal that it is more probable that the teacher chooses English during the first half of the lesson for this particular function.

As already mentioned in chapter 6.2.2, transitions were usually conducted in English. However, there were a few situations concerning transition where the teacher chose Finnish instead of English. These situations were caused by the lack of English translation, if the teacher was talking to an individual pupil or she was restricted by time.

One reason found for the deviant language choice within the category of transitions was the lack of a proper English translation. An activity where the pupils had to find a partner according to the cards they had received took place twice in the observation data, during the first and the third lesson. Both times

the transition to this particular activity was conducted in Finnish. As the language choice was similar both times, this exception does not directly relate to the comparison of the teacher's language choices. It only suggests that either the teacher has not come up with a proper English term for the activity, and for this reason, decides to indicate the transition to this particular activity in Finnish. Or alternatively, the teacher is familiar with the situation caused by the activity, that is, causing extra movement and hustle in the classroom, and this is why she prefers the Finnish language. This particular activity may demand some classroom management or clarifying the instructions, and it may be that the teacher is simply anticipating and hoping to avoid it by using the learners' L1. There is, however, one noteworthy aspect within this exception; when the activity is repeated in the first lesson the teacher indicates this in English by saying "Let's take again", whereas in the third lesson she does it in Finnish with the phrase "Otetaan vielä toinen kerta". This indicates that when not pressured by time, as in lesson 1, the teacher is more sensitive to use the learner's L2. Limited time is often mentioned as a factor that decreases the amount of the L2 in teachers' talk (e.g. Turnbull 2001).

Another exception to the rule of using English was when the teacher indicated the transition to a new exercise for an individual pupil. That is, when a pupil asked the teacher privately for further tasks the teacher answered always in Finnish (Quotation 18).

Quotation 18)

Tai jos oppilaat niinku ite kysyy tehtävis apuu tai seuraavaa, ni sit minust on kans helpompi [käyttää suomea].

[Or if the pupils like ask themselves help in the exercises or the next one, then I think it's also easier [to use Finnish].]

The third case of exception for the choice of language within transitions was guided by time restrictions. As mentioned above, limitations in time affected the teacher's choice of language (see Quotation 4 in chapter 6.1.5). This is also one main factor that impacted the changes in the teacher's language use and

choices between the lessons. During the first lesson all transitions, apart from the finding a partner -game discussed above, were conducted in English. Similarly, all transitions during the second lesson, apart from talking to an individual pupil as discussed above, were carried out in English. Further, in the first half of the third lesson the teacher indicated the transitions in English. However, a change in the teacher's choice of language for the particular function occurred in the middle of the lesson. That is, all the transitions during the other half of the third lesson were conducted in Finnish. The influence of time on the teacher's language choice became even more evident in the last lesson; all the transitions were carried out in Finnish. The difference in the language use is very clear, and since the language used for the particular function is the same in the first two lessons and the first half of the third lesson it can be concluded that the decision to use Finnish was, at least partially, caused by the limited time. Many researchers have come to similar conclusions that when in a hurry teachers tend to switch to the L1 (e.g. Turnbull 2001, Duff and Polio 1994).

Another factor contributing to the choice of language can be the fact that the latter part of the third lesson and basically the whole fourth lesson dealt with grammar. However, not all transitions that were carried out in Finnish during these lessons were related to grammar items. Furthermore, to support the conclusion that limited time was the main factor for the change in the language I want to point out that when letting the pupils know that they could start working the teacher used such phrases as *"Now you may begin"* and *"Then you may begin"* in the first three lessons. However, in the last lesson she indicated the same move in Finnish by saying *"Sit alkaa"*.

Indicating the end of an activity was most often conducted in English. Although the teacher used English in most of the situations, there were a few instances of the use of Finnish in conveying the end of an exercise.

In example 50 the teacher starts in her usual way by checking in English whether there are any questions on the exercise. However, the pupils do not react to her comment and continue their discussion about a topic that has come up in the exercise. The teacher switches to Finnish and repeats the same question. This time the pupils quiet down and even though they do not ask anything, the teacher assumes that they are ready to move on.

Example 50)

Teacher Any questions on exercise ten? (the pupils are talking among themselves)

Teacher Onko kysyttävää?

[*Any questions?*]

The decision to switch to Finnish may result from the pupils' dismissal of the teacher's question. In that case, the Finnish question displays both the end of an exercise and a disciplinary action to get the pupils' attention. She did, after all, mention that in disciplinary talk she regards Finnish as a more effective language as it has a stricter tone (Quotation 19). On the other hand, she may resort to Finnish due to the lack of time as the extract is from the latter part of the lesson. She may simply want to move on faster, and thus, decides to repeat her question in Finnish. The teacher has clearly stated that if she is in a hurry she tends to use Finnish (see Quotation 4 in chapter 6.1.5).

Quotation 19)

No mut sit esimerkiks jossai tollaisi kurinpidollisii ni mun mielest se suomen kieli on paljo tiukemman kuulonen. Ku englanti.

[*But then for example in that kind of disciplinary [situations] I think that the Finnish language sounds a lot stricter. Than English.*]

The following example contains exceptions to two of the common ways to indicate the end of an activity: checking for further questions and general praise. Usually both of the actions are conducted in English, however, in example 51 the teacher first checks whether the pupils have any questions and then concludes by positive feedback "*Hyvä juttu*" in Finnish.

Example 51)

- Teacher Ja viimisenä there are two posters on the wall. Alma.
 [*And the last [one] there are two posters on the wall. Alma.*]
- Pupil 1 Kaks julistetta seinäl.
 [*Two posters on the wall.*]
- Teacher Hyvä. Kaks julistetta seinällä. Onko kysyttävää?
 [*Good. Two posters on the wall. Any questions?*]
- Pupils Ei.
 [*No.*]
- Teacher Hyvä juttu.
 [*Good.*]

Here, the reason for choosing the Finnish language is not discipline because the pupils are listening to the teacher who repeats the correct answer, and there is no hustle and bustle in the classroom. Neither is the reason the lack of time as in example 50 since this particular extract is taken from the beginning of the lesson. However, in general, hurry may have influenced the teacher's language choice; example 51 takes place in the last observed lesson, which was the last lesson before the end of the year exam, and the teacher mentions at the beginning of the lesson that there are still important things to cover before the exam. Furthermore, the amount of English was the smallest in this lesson and many such functions that were conducted in English during the previous lessons were done in Finnish in the last lesson. Thus, it is plausible that the upcoming exam affected the teacher's choice of language.

In the category of indicating the end of an activity the teacher used mainly interrogative phrases, with or without the initial discourse marker. The function was carried out in English during the first three lessons with one exception discussed in example 50 where the decision to switch to Finnish was caused by disciplinary problems. However, the language choice differed a great deal in the last lesson, which is demonstrated in example 51. All similar turns said by the teacher during that lesson were conducted in Finnish. The assumed reason for choosing the learners' L1 is the fact that the exam was in the following

lesson and the teacher wanted to ensure that everything important was covered during the lesson. The assumption is supported by Duff and Polio (1994) and Littlewood and Yu (2009) as they both note that upcoming exams usually make teachers to resort more to the L1.

In the category of reviewing and discussing exercises, which is also the last one where both English and Finnish were used, mixed code was used during the first three lessons. Obviously, these lessons included also exercise discussions which were conducted entirely in Finnish when the questions and the exercise were in the L1, as exemplified in example 34 (see chapter 6.3.1) which takes place during the first observed lesson. The fourth lesson was again different from the previous ones regarding the teacher's language choice; only Finnish was used for this function, apart from directly quoting the teaching materials. However, it has to be taken into consideration that grammar exercises were discussed in Finnish and they only took place during the third and the fourth lesson, thus increasing the amount of Finnish when compared to the first two lessons.

In conclusion, the main reasons affecting the changes in the teacher's language choice between the observed lessons were the activity types, the timing of the lesson observations and limited time in general. Exercise discussions tend to increase the amount of English in the teaching as the L2 is explicitly used in such speech. Instructional speech, on the contrary, tends to decrease the amount of English, since it is often related to grammar teaching which is always conducted in Finnish. Also, vocabulary-oriented exercises contain more English when compared to grammar teaching and learning. The observation data demonstrated clearly that the timing of the latter two lesson observations had an impact on the teacher's language use as the upcoming exam made her use more Finnish than usual. Finally, time restrictions in general made the use of Finnish even more frequent.

7 DISCUSSION

The present study has attempted to describe and analyze thoroughly an EFL teacher's language choice and the functions Finnish and English have in her talk in a primary school English classroom. In addition, the changes in the teacher's language use regarding the two languages over a period of four months were examined. Lesson observations, which were video recorded with two video cameras, and a semi-structured interview was used to gather the data.

In this chapter I will summarize the main findings of the present study and critically compare and contrast them with previous research discussed in chapter 4 about the theoretical framework (chapter 7.1). In addition, I will evaluate the reliability and validity of the study (chapter 7.2), and finally, I will suggest possible topics for further research and discuss the implications of the present study (chapter 7.3).

7.1 Discussion on the main results

The results show that Finnish had a significantly larger role in the teacher's talk, which is illustrated by the percentages counted for each language from her speech during the lessons. Even in the lesson when the teacher used Finnish the least, she nevertheless used it 69.5 per cent of the time. However, there were clear differences in the distribution of the two languages, especially between the first two lessons observed in January and the last two lessons observed in May. The amount of English in the teacher's talk in the first lesson was 19.3 per cent, in the second lesson 30.5 per cent, in the third lesson 12 per cent and in the last lesson 11.5 per cent. It was somewhat surprising that the amount of English decreased toward the end of the year, even though one might assume that when the learners' skills in the L2 develop the teacher could increase the amount of the target language in her teaching.

However, closer inspection of the data revealed that the relatively small amount of English in the last two lessons was explained by the activity types and the time pressure caused by the upcoming exam. The last two lessons contained grammar teaching, which was covered in Finnish, whereas no such teaching took place during the first two lessons. Furthermore, the last two lessons contained less vocabulary-related activities, which entailed more use of the L2. Finally, the end of the year exam was on the following lesson after the last two lesson observations and the teacher expressed that there were important points to cover before the exam, and thus she was pressured by time in the sense that she wanted to make sure that they managed to cover everything before the exam.

All in all, the amount of English was relatively small even in the second lesson, which contained most of it, when compared with previous research. Duff and Polio (1990) reported that teachers of beginner language classes in a university used the target language with varying grades, ranging from 10 per cent to 100 per cent of teachers' talk. They continued that the average was, however, 67.9 per cent; in other words, the amount of the L1 was 32.1 per cent on average, which is less than a half the amount when compared with the results in the present study. Another study conducted with teachers in beginner classes in a university was conducted by Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) who further reported similar findings. In their study the amount of the L1 in the teachers' talk varied from 0 per cent to 18.5 per cent, which again is significantly smaller than the percentages in the present study. One reason might be that these studies reported on teachers in universities where the learners are of an older age, and thus cognitively more developed (Meisel 2013: 211).

Reini (2008) studied teachers in secondary and upper-secondary school EFL lessons and reported that the amount of Finnish varied from 60 per cent in the secondary level to 51 per cent in the upper-secondary level. However, in Reini's study the learners were not beginners so when comparing the figures between the three studies mentioned here, it seems that the older the learners are, the

more L2 teachers can use. That would, however, be a hurried and a very simplified conclusion. Nagy and Robertson (2009) conducted a study in primary foreign language classrooms, which is closest to the present study, and they found that the teachers were able to use the L2 a great deal as the amount of target language in the teachers' talk ranged from 52.5 per cent to 90.6 per cent. That is, the L1 was used substantially less than in the present study. The comparison of percentages between these studies shows that it is not easy to generalize the amount of the use of the L1 and L2 in teaching. The present study did not even aim at generalizing as it was a case study focusing on one particular teacher and her behavior. However, the results of the present study indicate that more research in this field is needed to understand the great variance in the amount of the L1 and the L2 in teachers' talk.

The functions for the L1 and the L2 are supported by findings in previous research. As most of the research has focused on teachers teaching in secondary, upper-secondary and tertiary education, the findings of the present study indicate that in spite of the learners' differences in age the L1 and the L2 have fairly stable functions. That is, Finnish was used for translation, grammar teaching, general discussion, interruptions, assigning homework, praise and encouragement and instructions. English, on the other hand, was used for vocabulary teaching through repetition and directly quoting the materials and at activity boundaries for both transitions to new activities and indicating an end of an activity. Finnish and English were used together when discussing and reviewing exercises and when giving orders and general instructions.

Translations were mostly instant translations from the L2 to the L1. In addition, they were used to clarify meaning or difference in meaning and as comprehension checks. Previous research has shown that translations are one of the most common functions for code-switching, and majority of the switches are from the target language to the first language (Duff and Polio 1990). For instance, Turnbull (2001) agrees that translating difficult terms can be efficient in language teaching, but he emphasizes that the L1 should not be overused.

Also, Nagy and Robertson (2009) explain that in their study in primary EFL lessons teachers switched to the L1 in translations.

Grammar teaching is another segment that is usually conducted in the L1 in language classrooms and most researchers agree on it (e.g. Cook 2001). In the present study both direct grammar instructions and discussions where the pupils were engaged in constructing the meaning were covered in Finnish. Similarly, in the study conducted by Rezvani (2011: 22) all the participating teachers used the L1 when teaching grammar and explaining grammar concepts. Also, Bateman (2008: 22-23) reported similar findings as the teachers in her study stated that the subject matter affected their choice of language, and in grammar teaching they preferred the L1 at least partially.

General discussion about matters that were not directly linked to the teaching and talking to an individual pupil about things that were unrelated to the ongoing lesson was conducted in Finnish. Turnbull (2001 as quoted in Turnbull and Arnett 2002) found that teachers regarded the use of the L1 useful in informal interaction, and general discussion in the present study indeed represents such interaction.

Whenever the lessons were interrupted in the present study, the teacher dealt with the situation in Finnish. Factors that disturbed the teaching varied from pupils to technical devices. Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002) also mention that when dealing with classroom equipment teachers tend to switch from the L2 to the L1 for communicational purposes. In the present study it can be interpreted that when using the L1 in these kinds of situations the teacher wanted to move on as fast as possible and by using the L1 she at least limited the amount of communicational problems in the classroom.

In the present study homework was always assigned in Finnish, which is a little odd since the teacher claimed that she tries to do it in English. It depends how this function is viewed whether it is in line with findings in previous research. If

it is regarded as giving instructions as part of managing the class as seen by Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie (2002), then the results are similar; according to them the L1 is used for such purposes. However, Bateman (2008: 14) states that “making use of repeated patterns and routines” enable the L2 use. Furthermore, Nagy and Robertson (2009) found that the level of the language affected teachers’ language choice. As the teacher gives homework in every lesson and thus the language needed for it is familiar for the pupils, the situation can also be seen similar to the one described by Bateman, which indicates that the teacher could resort to the L2 instead of conducting the function in the L1.

The results about the language choice in praise and encouragement confirm most findings in previous research, which has shown that this function tends to be conducted in the L1 (e.g. Qian et al. 2009). In the present study, praise is given in Finnish to individual pupils, but when praising the whole class at the end of an activity it is done in English. Encouragement, on the other hand, is always conducted in the L1. In other words, praise aimed at the whole group stands out as it is done in the L2. If it is not regarded primarily as praise, but rather as a signal of change between activities, the use of the L2 is supported by Seedhouse and Üstünel (2005) who point out that at activity boundaries teachers may switch to the L2 in order to indicate a shift in topic or activity. However, if the reason for the praise is merely to compliment the pupils, then it is different to many findings in previous research, as this function tends to be covered in the L1 not in the L2.

Instructions were mostly conducted in Finnish but occasionally the teacher used English as well. Many studies have shown that instructions are often given in the learners’ L1 (Turnbull and Arnett 2002) but it has also been claimed that by adapting the language on a suitable level for the learners the use of the L2 is possible (Duff and Polio 1994). However, in the present study if English was used it was usually followed by a Finnish translation, or the instructions were very simple and easily understood in the context.

In vocabulary teaching the L2 was used extensively when using repetitions and direct quotes. This is easily explained by the close relation to the teaching materials. Nikula (2005), for instance, points out that the use of the L2 is very common when dealing with teaching materials and especially listening comprehension. Other studies have further shown that the activity type influences teachers' language choice and vocabulary teaching is conducted in the L2 more often than for instance grammar teaching (Bateman 2008: 16).

In the present study transitions were conducted in English during the first two lessons and in the first half of the third lesson. However, after that all transitions were conducted in Finnish. The change in the teacher's language choice was very evident and it was explained by lack of time and focus on grammar teaching. As already mentioned above, when signaling a shift in the lesson frame teachers tend to code-switch to the L2 (Seedhouse and Üstünel 2005). The findings of the present study show that this seems to work only if the teaching is not influenced by such factors as time restrictions or abundance of subject matters to cover.

Interestingly, another segment which belongs to activity boundaries is when indicating the end of an activity and this particular function was covered in English throughout the data. It has to be assumed that the end of an activity involves even more routine-like language than transitions to new activities and it usually interrupts the teaching. Also, when gaining the learners' attention during their work requires more from the teacher as she has to catch everyone's attention. The transition to a new activity, on the contrary, is followed by this function, and thus, there is not that great a need to gain the attention as the teacher normally has it already. For this reason, she might also use Finnish for accomplishing the transitions, while indicating the end of an activity demands for more systematic language use.

In the present study, both Finnish and English were used when reviewing and discussing exercises. This function involved most extensively code-switching,

and thus, showed that classroom interaction can be truly bilingual even in primary school. Ferguson (2003 as quoted in Seedhouse and Üstünel 2005) explains that code-switching is, for instance, used as a means to scaffold the subject matter. Indeed, the nature of code-switching within this function showed that the teacher tried to use the L2 as much as possible but resorted to the L1 when there were problems in comprehension or when the pupils needed encouraging. Thus, the results in the present study confirm findings in previous research.

The category of giving orders and general instructions also contained the use of Finnish and English, however, it was not that much code-switching, rather a division in labor. English was used when giving familiar and repetitive orders: that is, in language use that was familiar and recurring, and thus, easy for the pupils to understand even in the foreign language (Bateman 2008: 12). Apart from these instances the teacher preferred to use the L1, which she used in disciplinary orders, when organizing the classroom and when talking about important matters, like for instance exams. Disciplining, on the contrary, is one of the aspects in teachers' language use that most often is done in the L1. Cook (2001) and Turnbull and Arnett (2002) among others have concluded that the L1 is regarded as more powerful and efficient when maintaining control and disciplining students in the classroom. Also, many studies understand classroom management as a larger category and highlight that the L1 is more common language for the function than the L2 (e.g. Littlewood and Yu 2009).

7.2 Limitations of the present study

The present study was a case study, and thus, the aim was to describe and analyze a particular teacher's behavior patterns in the use of the L1 and the L2 in primary school EFL teaching. Instead of making generalizations the study attempted to provide a deeper understanding of the person's behavior. The subject of the study was the teacher's language choice when teaching young, beginner learners and it was chosen because research in this educational level, especially in Finland, is scarce. Furthermore, I wanted to study a primary EFL

teacher in particular because in my opinion foreign language teaching in primary schools is very important as the learners are very receptive and the teacher has a substantial role in their learning. Also, when I was in primary school, I was in an English immersion program and I feel that an abundant use of the L2 is very important right from the start.

However, the implementation of the study had some limitations. The dates and occasions for the lesson observations were not ideal as discussed in the chapters above. The lessons differed from one another in the types of activities they contained and in the lesson objectives. These variables could have been taken into account, if I for instance had observed and video recorded more lessons, and then, chosen lessons with similar content and structure from the beginning of the semester and the end of the semester. Furthermore, the upcoming exam affected the language choice, and thus the reliability of the results. Unfortunately, I did not know about the exam when we agreed on the dates for the lesson observations. However, the shortcoming was actually profitable, since due to it the significance of the activity types and time pressure on the choice of language became very evident.

The chosen methodology was suitable for the present study but obviously it could have been improved to some extent. Deciding to use multiple means of gathering data ensured that the subject was approached from diverse perspectives. The use of two video cameras and the researcher's field notes ensured that the lessons were observed thoroughly. However, it is possible that the presence of the researcher and the recording devices in the classroom affected the situation as Edwards and Westgate (1994: 77) point out that the phenomenon called "observer's paradox" takes place in all naturalistic observation.

In addition to observation, a semi-structured interview was conducted with the teacher in order to get an understanding of her language use and find answers for her language choices. The teacher did not know prior to the lesson

observations the exact topic of the study; she was only told that it focused on her language use in general. The interview was conducted after the first two lessons, since this made it possible to start the data analysis instead of waiting another four months. The decision could have influenced the teacher's language choice in the latter two lesson observations but the amount of English did not increase over the semester, and thus, it is probable that the teacher's language use was not affected even though she knew what I was studying.

With the help of the semi-structured interview I was able to analyze the data more thoroughly. The decision to combine the two different kinds of data, which complemented one another, increased the validity of the study and enabled a deeper insight, and thus, more multidimensional results. The use of simulated recall-interview, like in Macaro's (2001) study, could have been even more efficient, as it would have further increased the understanding of the teacher's language choices, since I could have returned to some incidents and requested for explanation. However, the study was conducted in a different town, and thus, the execution of simulated recall-interview would have been very difficult.

7.3 Suggestions for further research and implications

In addition to the limitations discussed in the previous chapter, the size of the data was relatively small due to the scale of the study. However, it shows interesting trends in the teachers' language choice in primary EFL teaching that could be studied further on a bigger scale. For instance, the duration of the study could be longer, meaning that the teacher's language use could be observed, for example, regularly during the first two or three years of English teaching. Further, as the data would be larger it would be possible to choose lessons that are similar in content and make the comparisons more precise, systematic and reliable. Alternatively, a longitudinal comparative study of several primary school EFL teachers could reveal more generalized results about teachers' language choice and code-switching.

In spite of the limitations discussed above, the present study provides interesting insights into an EFL teacher's language choices in primary education. The present study is useful for professionals in the educational field and for researchers interested in bilingual or multilingual classroom interaction. In the light of the results of the present study primary school EFL teachers can compare and contrast their own language choices in the classroom. Teachers can inspect their language use and consider the functions the two languages have in their talk. Further, teachers can rethink these functions and try whether more of them could be conducted in the L2, for instance through adapted input or with the help of body language and gestures.

Also, the results of the present study can be used by planners of education, text books and teaching materials when designing appropriate tasks for EFL teaching and learning in primary school. As the goal of EFL teaching in Finland is to educate speakers who can communicate in the foreign language, activity types that involve teachers' use of the L2 and enable learners to practice the target language should be given priority. The results of the present study can be used as suggestive examples of the different functions where the L1 and the L2 are used in primary school EFL teaching. Furthermore, as similar studies are very scarce, I hope that the present study succeeds in arousing interest among other researchers and hopefully encourage them to explore this aspect of classroom communication on a larger scale.

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APPENDIX 1 THE INTERVIEW OUTLINE

Hanna Järvinen

Gradu

Materiaalin keruu: Teemahaastattelu

Haastattelukysymykset

1. Kuinka kauan olet opettanut englantia? Millaisissa kouluissa? Tavallisessa koulussa? Millaisissa konteksteissa (luokka-aste)?
2. Kuinka arvioisit englanninkielen suullista taitoasi?
3. Kuinka paljon käytät tunnilla arviolta englantia? Eroja eri luokka-asteilla? Eroja eri tehtävätyypeissä?
4. Minkälaisissa tilanteissa käytät englantia? Miksi?
5. Minkälaisissa tilanteissa käytät suomea? Miksi?
6. Mitä hyötyä englannin käytöstä on? Mitä haittaa englannin käytöstä on?
7. Mitä hyötyä suomen käytöstä on? Mitä haittaa suomen käytöstä on?
8. Onko koulussanne annettu tarkat ohjeet milloin kumpaakin kieltä tulisi käyttää? Millaiset?
9. Onko englannin ja suomen kielen käyttösi muuttunut opettajaurasi aikana? Miten?
10. Suunnitteletko kielivalintojasi etukäteen? Miten? Kuinka paljon?
11. Onko koodinvaihto aina tietoista? Vai tapahtuuko se tiedostamatta? Minkälaisissa tilanteissa?
12. Minkälaisen koulutuksen olet saanut? Englannin aineenopettaja?
13. Oletko oppinut/ opiskellut englannin kieltä tutkintosi ulkopuolella?

APPENDIX 2 THE CONSENT FORM

Hei!

Olen Jyväskylän yliopiston englannin kielen pääaineopiskelija ja kirjoitan maisterin tutkielmaani englanninopettajan koodinvaihdosta alakoululaisten opetuksessa. Tutkielmani keskittyy opettajan työskentelyyn ja rooliin, erityisesti siihen kuinka ja missä tilanteissa opettaja käyttää suomen ja englannin kieltä. Tutkielmani ei siis koske oppilaita enkä raportoi heidän taidoistaan seminaarityössäni. Toiveenani olisi päästä seuraamaan ja kuvaamaan opetusta tutkielmaani varten. Kaikki materiaali tulisi vain omaan käyttööni, eikä sitä julkaistaisi kenellekään muulle. Aineiston keruu tapahtuisi maanantaina 28.1 ja tiistaina 29.1. sekä toukokuussa 2013.

Pyydän teiltä lupaa kuvata oppituntia, jolla lapsenne on läsnä.

Oppilaan nimi

Kyllä, annan luvan osallistua tunnille, jota kuvataan.

Ei, en anna lupaa osallistua tunnille, jota kuvataan.

Huoltajan allekirjoitus

Nimen selvennys

Ystävällisin terveisin,

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