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THE FUNCTIONS OF CODESWITCHING IN EFL CLASSROOM

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The functions of codeswitching in EFL classroom discourse

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Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, mitä erilaisia funktioita koodinvaihdolla on opetettaessa englantia vieraana kielenä Suomessa. Aineisto koostuu videoiduista oppitunneista, jotka on kerätty yläasteelta ja lukiosta. Kummaltakin kouluasteelta on yksi kaksoistunti, joten aineiston laajuus on neljä oppituntia. Tutkielman pääasiallinen tavoite on analysoida koodinvaihdon funktioita englannin kielen oppitunneilla, seuraavia alakysymyksiä käytetään apuna selvitettäessä vastausta pääkysymykseen: 1) Kuka käyttää koodinvaihtoa luokkahuoneessa? 2) Missä opetustilanteissa koodinvaihtoa esiintyy? 3) Millaisia eri koodinvaihdon tyyppejä luokkahuoneessa käytetään? 4) Mitä koodinvaihdolla saavutetaan? Tutkimus on laadullinen.

Aineistoa analysoidaan diskurssianalyysia apuna käyttäen. Aineisto käsitellään yhtenä kokonaisuutena, analyysin tarkoitus on tutkia eri funktioita luokkahuoneessa, ei vertailla kahta eri luokka-astetta. Ensimmäisenä tarkastellaan millaista vuorovaikutus luokkahuoneissa on, missä tilanteissa englantia ja suomea käytetään. Koodinvaihtoa esiintyessä sitä analysoidaan pohtimalla mitä koodinvaihdon tyyppiä se edustaa. Tämän jälkeen analysoidaan tarkemmin mitä erilaisia funktioita koodinvaihdolla on. Tarkempi analyysi tapahtuu ensinnäkin kuvailemalla mitä tilanteessa tapahtuu, kuka aloittaa koodinvaihdon sekä miten siihen reagoidaan. Lisäksi pohditaan seuraavia seikkoja: puheenvuorojen sekventeliaalisuutta, mitä puhujat sanovat ja kuinka he sen sanovat sekä sitä, mitä koodinvaihdolla saavutetaan.

Tulokset osoittavat, että koodinvaihtoa esiintyy englannin oppitunneilla Suomessa. Sekä opettajat että oppilaat käyttävät koodinvaihtoa. Heidän välillään on kuitenkin eroja, sillä oppilaat vaihtavat koodia yleensä englannista suomeen kun taas opettajilla koodinvaihtoa esiintyy sekä suomesta englantiin että englannista suomeen. Oppilaiden koodinvaihdon syinä ovat kielitaidon riittämättömyys, halu auttaa heikompaa oppilasta, tarve saada opettajan huomio, sekä pyrkimys erottaa kirjan tehtävä, joka tehdään englanniksi, kysymyksestä opettajalle, joka on suomeksi. Opettajilla koodinvaihdon syinä ovat tarve auttaa oppilaita ymmärtämään mitä seuraavaksi tehdään tai mitä opettaja heille sanoo, sekä tavoittaa oppilaiden huomio. Koodinvaihto toimii myös tehokeinona. Tulokset osoittavat, että englantia käytetään materiaaliin sidotussa vuorovaikutuksessa, suomea taas oppilaalta oppilaalle tapahtuvassa vuorovaikutuksessa, kurinpidollisessa puheessa sekä kun oppilas kysyy jotain opettajalta. Lopuksi voidaan todeta, että tulokset osoittavat selvästi, ettei koodinvaihtoa pidetä huonona asiana luokkahuoneessa, vaan kummankin kielen käytölle on yleensä perusteltu selitys.

Koodinvaihdon tutkimista Suomessa vieraan kielen opetuksessa olisi syytä jatkaa. Olisi tärkeää selvittää, miksi koodinvaihtoa esiintyy luokkahuoneessa, ja olisi tärkeää kuulla opettajien mielipiteitä koodinvaihdosta. Koodinvaihdon funktioita voitaisiin myös tutkia makro-funktioiden kautta, eli miten yhteiskunta vaikuttaa kielivalintoihin luokkahuoneessa. Lisäksi olisi kiinnostavaa tutkia koodinvaihdon ohella lainasanojen esiintymistä luokkahuoneessa.

Asiasanat: classroom discourse, codeswitching, EFL classrooms, inter-sentential codeswitching, intra-sentential codeswitching, tag-switching, discourse analysis

Contents

1 Introduction

English is taught in Finnish schools mostly as a foreign language although there are already some schools offering teaching in English in subject studies as well (e.g. international classrooms or IB schools). The majority of Finnish elementary school pupils choose English as their first foreign language at the age of nine. By the time they finish their secondary school they have been studying English for seven years. As most of the pupils go to upper secondary school, another three years are added to this, which leads to ten years of English learning. Usually English is only one school subject among others which means that the pupils receive approximately the same amount of teaching in English as they do in other subjects. There are English courses which are obligatory to everyone; in addition, most schools offer optional language courses. As Finnish is usually the mother tongue of both the teacher and the pupils, it is very likely that there will be situations during the lessons that Finnish will be used instead of English; therefore, this is the starting point of the present thesis.

When discussing language classrooms, two terms are used to describe them: ESL and EFL classrooms. ESL is an acronym for English as a second language and EFL is an acronym for English as a foreign language (Chaudron 1988: 5). ESL classrooms mean that the second language (L2) serves as both the medium of instruction as well as the content of instruction, which means that the learner is expected to understand as well as communicate in L2. In EFL classrooms, in contrast, the learner learns the language in an environment where there is little natural use of the language; furthermore, the foreign language is treated equally to the other school subjects with its homework and tests. The latter situation applies to Finland where English is taught as a foreign language.

In EFL classrooms in Finland the teacher's aim is to teach the pupils English while the pupils' aim is to learn English by listening, reading and doing written and oral activities. The language of teaching is usually English. However, there are instances where the language changes from English to Finnish or vice

versa. This phenomenon is called codeswitching. What I am interested in the current study is the occurrences of codeswitching in EFL classrooms; more specifically, I want to find out what functions codeswitching has in EFL classrooms, that is, how the teacher and the pupils use it.

The interest in this topic comes first of all from the fact that I will be an EFL teacher in the future, thus it is important for me to pay attention to and understand this phenomenon in the classrooms. I want to find out what is happening in the classrooms, whether the teachers and pupils are only using English, and if not, when is Finnish used. Furthermore, it will be interesting to find out whether through language choices the teachers are considering the use of Finnish in the classrooms as bad behaviour or interference. I hope that by paying attention to codeswitching teachers can recognise it and justify their uses of English and Finnish in the classroom. Secondly, I have done teacher training where this issue came up in almost every lesson I taught, some instructors recommending the use of Finnish when teaching grammar, and others saying that one should use Finnish to clarify things the pupils do not understand etc. In other words, there does not seem to be consistency in the usage of codeswitching or guidelines for using it in EFL classrooms in Finland. Thus, codeswitching as a phenomenon in classrooms started to interest me. Hopefully the present study will help raise awareness on the issue of codeswitching in the foreign language classrooms.

In order to find out about functions of codeswitching, I will look at issues such as who in the classrooms employs codeswitching; when codeswitching is used during the lesson, as part of which activity; what types of codeswitching occur in the classrooms; and finally, what is accomplished by using codeswitching. I am interested in classroom interaction as a whole which means that both the teacher's and the pupils' codeswitching are studied. The data of the present study consist of video-recorded lessons; there are two classes of pupils, one is from secondary school and the other is from upper secondary school. The data will be analysed by using the methods of discourse analysis.

There is earlier research on codeswitching in classrooms. However, most of those studies have been done in a bilingual setting, the focus being on English as a second language. In those cases, English is possibly one of the languages used in everyday encounters; furthermore, English is often used as a language of instruction in other school subjects as well. However, there is also some research on codeswitching in foreign language classrooms, but little in Finland. Notable exceptions to this are a thesis which studied the teachers' assumptions about the use of the mother tongue and the target language in a foreign language classroom and the motives for the choice of language (Myyryläinen and Pietikäinen 1988) and another thesis which looked at when and why teachers of monolingual learners switched from one language to the other; and what affected the teacher's choice of language (Sundelin 2001). However, these studies, especially Sundelin's, focus on teachers' views and assumptions rather than interaction in classrooms. In this sense, the present study will introduce new information about codeswitching in EFL classrooms in Finland. This study will fill the gap by shedding new light on the issue of codeswitching, its occurrences in the foreign language classroom and on the things that are accomplished by employing codeswitching, i.e. the functions of codeswitching.

The theory part of the present thesis consists of some major definitions of the term codeswitching which is used differently by different researchers. Furthermore, other terms, such as codemixing and borrowing, are sometimes used alongside it in different ways. Therefore, it is important to define how the present study sees the term codeswitching and how it will use it. Secondly, different types of codeswitching are introduced. Thirdly, the functions of codeswitching are looked at in more detail, in other words, what kinds of functional categories have been found on the one hand, in naturally occurring discourse, and on the other, in classroom discourse. Fourthly, how codeswitching has been studied in language classrooms will be dealt with as well as the views on employing codeswitching when teaching. Fifthly, as the context of the study is EFL classrooms, central characteristics of classroom discourse will be reviewed. The findings of the analysis are reported in three different chapters: firstly I will discuss general findings about the classrooms

and the uses of Finnish and English in them to help the reader get acquainted with the data; secondly, the types of codeswitching in EFL classrooms are analysed to facilitate the later analysis; thirdly, the functions of codeswitching in EFL classrooms are analysed. Lastly the strings are tied together in discussion and possible topics for future studies are put forward.

2 Codeswitching: the terminological jungle

This chapter will examine the terminology behind codeswitching. It will begin by defining the term codeswitching. After that, codeswitching will be compared to codemixing and borrowing, and discussed whether they should be treated as one term or separate terms. Furthermore, the chapter will view other concepts related to codeswitching, namely base language and embedded language, marked and unmarked codeswitching, situational and metaphorical codeswitching.

2.1 Different definitions of codeswitching

Codeswitching has been defined in a number of ways by different researchers over time, depending on the point of view of their study. Sometimes the terminology overlaps and sometimes the terminology is used differently by different researchers (Milroy and Myusken 1995: 12). From the 1970s onwards codeswitching has evolved as one field of research with many publications and organizations (Kovács 2001: 62). However, although the growing amount of research has clarified many aspects of switching, it has also created a terminological jungle as every researcher tends to define the terms somewhat differently (Kovács 2001: 62). There has been an attempt to unify this terminological jungle in the 1990s by the 'Network on Code-switching and Language Contact' (funded by the European Science Foundation). However, this turned out to be an impossible task to do. (Milroy and Muysken 1995: 12.) One example of the difficulties of defining seems to be the fact that the term

'codeswitching' itself is spelled differently by different researchers. The following spellings are used: code switching, code-switching and codeswitching. This study will adopt the spelling 'codeswitching'.

Codeswitching can be defined as "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation" (Grosjean 1982: 145). Myers-Scotton (1988: 157) describes codeswitching as the use of two or more languages in the same conversation without a noticeable phonological assimilation from one variety to the other. In general, one can say that a prerequisite for codeswitching is a juxtaposition of elements from two codes (Winford 2003: 103). Apart from two or more alternating languages, the term codeswitching has also been used about different styles within the same language, for example formal and informal speech between monolinguals, but in the field of bilingualism and multilingualism it is used to refer to the alternate uses of two languages (Romaine 1995: 170). This study acknowledges that codeswitching can be used by monolinguals when changing styles, but here it narrows down the scope of codeswitching as alternation between two languages, English and Finnish.

Codeswitching has been studied quite a lot. According to Bailey (2000: 165-166), codeswitching research has focused on the following issues: 1) syntax, 2) discourse/conversation management functions and/or 3) more global social/metaphorical functions. Syntactic approaches to codeswitching focus on the linguistic factors constraining codeswitching, what kind of codeswitching is allowable. In contrast, social approaches, such as discourse management functions and social/metaphorical functions, have highlighted the multiple social and discursive functions of codeswitching (Bailey 2000: 166). These three different approaches to codeswitching research also demonstrate the two ways which are employed when studying codeswitching. These are a linguistic and a social approach (Winford 2003). Linguistic approach deals with a sentence, the attempt being to identify the linguistic principles and constraints that govern the production of codeswitched utterances (Winford 2003: 126). The social approach focuses on the motives and social meanings of codeswitching. In that approach codeswitching is seen as a communicative

event, codeswitching as happening between speakers. (Winford 2003: 125.) This study will adopt the social approach, as interaction in the language classroom can be seen as a communicative event; furthermore, the study will look at functions of codeswitching which can be seen as being part of the social approach.

2.2 Codeswitching versus codemixing

As was hinted above, the terminology of codeswitching is anything but simple. There are many terms that are used, on the one hand, alongside codeswitching, or on the other, distinguishing them in one way or another from codeswitching. Two of the terms that are used are *codeswitching* and *codemixing*. In some cases they are used as complementary terms, in the sense that *codeswitching* is reserved for language alternation between sentences and *codemixing* for the language alternation of two languages within a sentence (Winford 2003: 105). Sometimes the term *code-change* is also used when referring to switching between sentences (cf. Lauttamus 1990). However, both *codeswitching* and *codemixing* may also be used as cover terms, that is, they are used for any type of alternation (Pandit [1990] as cited by Kovács 2001: 62). Auer (1995, 1998), in turn, uses the term *code-alternation* to refer to codeswitching.

Switches can be either intra-sentential (switches within the same sentence, from single morpheme level to higher levels) or inter-sentential (switches from one language to the other between sentences); furthermore, intra- and inter-sentential codeswitching often involve stretches of more than one word (Myers-Scotton 1988: 157). The term extra-sentential codeswitching is sometimes used to refer to switches that do not belong tightly to a sentence, for example tag questions (Milroy and Muysken 1995: 8). Poplack (1980) employs the term tag-switching instead of extra-sentential switching to refer to switches such as tag questions or sentence fillers. Some researchers do not consider intra-sentential codeswitching as proper *codeswitching* since they feel that intra-sentential switching is *codemixing* (Winford 2003: 105). This study will use the term codeswitching to refer to codeswitching and codemixing, while

the terms intra-sentential codeswitching, inter-sentential codeswitching and tag switching are used to determine the types of codeswitching. The types of codeswitching will be further discussed in chapter 3.

2.3 Codeswitching versus borrowing

When adding the term *borrowing* to the terminological jungle described above, the issue becomes even more complicated. The question seems to be whether it is necessary to make a difference between *codeswitching* and *borrowing*; furthermore, if the distinction is made between the two, what will the criteria be (Kovács 2001: 63). *Borrowing* refers to lexicon only, and usually one word items are borrowed from another language into bilingual speech (Kovács 2001: 63). According to Gumperz (1982: 66), *borrowing* means introducing single word items or idiomatic phrases from one language to another; furthermore, these words are integrated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. In contrast, *codeswitching* is a juxtaposition of two varieties which operate under two distinct grammatical systems (Gumperz 1982: 66).

Winford (2003: 107) argues that researchers have tried to distinguish borrowing from single-morpheme switching by using the following criteria: a) the degree of use by monolingual speakers meaning that established loans are commonly used by monolingual speakers whereas code switches tend to be "transitory phenomena"; and b) the degree of morphophonemic integration. However, according to Winford (2003: 107), these criteria are not without problems, since first of all the distinction between a switch and a borrowing is not clear to bilinguals. Secondly, morphophonemic transition is also problematic as both borrowings and word switches may be phonologically and morphologically adapted to the recipient language (Myers-Scotton 1993: 177-191).

According to Botztepe (2003: 5-6), there are two contradictory approaches to distinguishing between *codeswitching* and *borrowing*, the ones of Poplack and Myers-Scotton. On the one hand, Poplack (1980) argues that single other-

language items (borrowings) are different from longer stretches of switches. On the other hand, Myers-Scotton (1993) argues that the distinction between the two is not critical to analyses of bilingual speech. Poplack (1980: 584-585) proposes three types of criteria to determine the status of non-native items in bilingual discourse: phonological, morphological and syntactic integration. If the non-native items are to be treated as codeswitching, they have to have only one type of integration (e.g. morphological integration). A borrowed item is regarded as a phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated item (Poplack 1980: 584). Later Poplack discarded phonological integration due to its variable nature and since then this intermediary category has been identified as *nonce borrowings*. Nonce borrowings are morphologically and syntactically integrated and they may or may not show phonological integration. (Botzrepe 2003: 6). However, this study does not follow Poplack's ideas but follows Myers-Scotton (1993) who does not see codeswitching and borrowing as two distinct processes nor does she find such a distinction to be critical. The present study aims at analysing codeswitching in foreign language classrooms, and although it acknowledges this distinction between codeswitching and borrowing, the focus will be on codeswitching and the interaction in the classroom. The term codeswitching will only be used; the types intra-sentential, inter-sentential and tag-switching will be used to further illustrate the data.

2.4 Other concepts related to codeswitching

When studying codeswitching that occurs between two languages, some researchers (for example Myers-Scotton 1993) have said that there is a *matrix language* which sets the structural rules and to which items from the other language, the *embedded language*, are borrowed. The *matrix language* is also known as the *base language*. However, some researchers deny that there is a *base language*. Muysken (1995: 182) argues that even if there is a *base language* it is difficult to define what it is, since the definition depends on whether one chooses a discourse-, a statistics-, a psycholinguistic- or a grammatical – oriented point of view. The discourse-oriented view would say

that the base language is the language of the interaction. The statistical-oriented view would refer to base language as the one in which most of the words are spoken and the psycholinguists see the proficiency of the speaker as determining the base language. The grammarians look for the beginnings of the utterances which determine the base language, because they may 'guide' the utterance (e.g. governing verbs). In classroom discourse it is difficult to say which language should be termed as *base language* and which as *embedded language* (Simon 2001: 320). This is because the language of discourse may change from one task to another, for example when studying grammar the base language could be Finnish, but when doing oral discussions the base language could be English.

In addition to the distinctions described above, Myers-Scotton (1988, 1989) distinguishes between *unmarked* and *marked* codeswitching. These terms are linked with the multiple social relationships the speakers have in relation to one another. According to Myers-Scotton (1989: 334), in a speech event a certain code choice will indicate "an expected rights and obligations set between participants", that is, it follows the community norms. This code is the *unmarked* code. A *marked* code, on the other hand, leads to a move from the expected relationship of the participants to readjusting their social distance (Myers-Scotton 1989: 334-335). In other words, a *marked* code is unexpected. In the foreign language classroom an *unmarked* code can be the conventional one, i.e. the expected one, whereas a *marked* code is an unexpected one. For instance, in an English language classroom in Finland, the *unmarked* code when doing communicative tasks could be English, but when teaching grammar the *unmarked* code could be Finnish.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) introduce the terms *situational* and *metaphorical* codeswitching, which can also be applied to some extent to a language classroom. *Situational* switching is used to refer to a language shift where there is a change in "participants' definition of each others' rights and obligations" (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 424). This means that there is a direct link between the situation and the language. Taking an example from a monolingual situation, if a person uses an informal code when a formal one is required, (s)he

violates commonly accepted norms. *Metaphorical* switching, in turn, means that the unexpected variety does not relate to social situations, but rather it relates to particular kinds of topics or subject matters. The unexpected variety, then, is a metaphor for "the social meanings the variety has come to symbolize" (Heller, 1988: 5). An example of metaphorical codeswitching in classroom discourse is that one language is associated with the role as a teacher (foreign language) and one with 'non-teacher-guise' (Simon 2001: 320). In a language classroom, the term *situational* codeswitching can be applied to different kinds of tasks in which a specific use of code could be theoretically predictable, for example in teaching grammar the predictable language is the mother tongue (Simon 2001: 320).

The above concepts (base language and embedded language, unmarked and marked codeswitching, situational and metaphorical codeswitching) are used in codeswitching research. The present study acknowledges these different concepts related to codeswitching. However, as was pointed out above, not all of them can be used extensively in classroom research. The present study will only make use of the distinction between base language and embedded language in the analysis. These two terms have relevance in the foreign language classroom because at times they can help explain the situations where codeswitching occurs; therefore, they will be employed when necessary.

3 Types of codeswitching

Some researchers identify Blom and Gumperz's categories of situational and metaphorical codeswitching as the types of codeswitching (Botztepe 2003: 11). Others consider their distinctions as the types of codeswitching (Merritt et al. 1992) although these types could also be considered as functions of codeswitching (see chapter 4.3). From these two references one can see that the writers do not always make a clear-cut distinction between types and functions of codeswitching. As this study explores both the functions and types of

codeswitching, the use of these terms must be thought of carefully. Therefore, this study will base its categorization of codeswitching types on Poplack's (1980) work. She identifies the following types: intra-sentential switching, inter-sentential switching and tag-switching, which is also called extra-sentential switching by Milroy and Muysken (1995).

According to Poplack (1980), the first type of codeswitching is inter-sentential switching. It takes place between sentences, i.e. the switch occurs at a clause or sentence boundary where each clause or sentence is in a different language (Romaine 1995: 122). Furthermore, inter-sentential switching may take place between turns. This type of switching requires the least integration as codeswitching happens between sentences. An example of inter-sentential switching is from Poplack (1980): *Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y terminó en espanol*. (Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish and finish it in Spanish.)

The second type of codeswitching is tag-switching, which requires only little integration of the two languages. Poplack (1980) uses the term tag-switching. In contrast, Milroy and Muysken (1995) employ the term extra-sentential switching or emblematic switching to refer to tag-switching. Poplack (1980) also uses the term extra-sentential switching, however, when using this term she refers to both tag-switching and inter-sentential switching. This is her way of separating them from intra-sentential switching. This study will follow Poplack and employ the term tag-switching instead of extra-sentential switching when talking about switches that are neither inter- nor intra-sentential switches. Tag-switching involves inserting a tag in one language to an utterance which is otherwise in another language (Romaine 1995: 122). According to Poplack (1980: 589), the insertion of a tag to an utterance has virtually no ramifications for the rest of the sentence. This is because tags have no syntactic constraints, they can be moved freely, and they can be inserted almost anywhere in a discourse without violating any grammatical rules (Poplack, 1980: 589). To take some English examples of tags: *you know, you mean* are tags, for instance, *se sininen talo, you know* (that blue house, you know).

The third type of codeswitching is intra-sentential codeswitching which requires a lot of integration and is usually associated with the most fluent bilinguals (Poplack 1980). Intra-sentential switching occurs within a sentence. As this is so, it also involves the greatest syntactic risk as words or phrases from another language are inserted into the first language within one sentence or utterance. As two languages are mixed within a sentence, there are also two different grammars in play which means that the speaker has to know both grammars in order to produce a grammatically correct utterance. Poplack (1980: 589) refers to this type of codeswitching as a more intimate type than inter-sentential switching since both the codeswitched segment and those around it must adapt to the underlying syntactic rules of the two languages. This is to say that the speaker needs to know the two grammars to avoid ungrammatical utterances. An example of intra-sentential switching between English and Spanish is from Poplack (1980: 589): *Why make Carol SENTARSE ATRAS PA'QUE everybody has to move PA'QUE SE SALGA?* (Why make Carol sit in the back so everybody has to move for her to get out?). Apart from mixing within clause or sentence boundary, intra-sentential switching can include mixing within word boundaries (Romaine 1995: 123). For example, an English word may get a Finnish inflection as in *simplekin* where *–kin* is a Finnish inflection meaning 'also'.

Figure 1 shows the different types of codeswitching and the degree of language mixing in a sentence. One can see that in the first, inter-sentential switching, there is no codeswitching within a sentence but the two different languages are in different sentences or clauses (the two circles represent the two sentences or clauses). The second situation, tag-switching, has little switching within a sentence or a clause, but this codeswitching is usually a tag. The circles in the figure demonstrate this as the two interlocked circles comprise one sentence or clause where in the middle there is little codeswitching. In the third case, intra-sentential switching, the amount of codeswitching is the greatest.
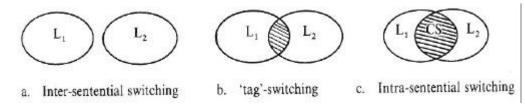
Figure 1. The types of codeswitching and the degree of codeswitching in them (Poplack 180: 615)

Poplack (1980: 605) found in her study of the bilingual Puerto Rican community in New York City that the least bilingual proficiency was required in tag-switching since tags can be produced in L2 with only minimal knowledge of the grammar of L2. Next on the scale when moving up was inter-sentential switching the production of which requires more knowledge of L2. Intra-sentential switching requires a high level of bilingual proficiency as the speaker needs to know enough of the grammar of both languages to produce grammatically correct utterances. In her data Poplack (1980) found that there was an equal use of intra-sentential and extra-sentential switching. Romaine (1995: 123) furthermore points out that all these three types of codeswitching may be found within one discourse.

4 Functions of codeswitching

In this chapter, functions of codeswitching will be considered. There are different categories of functions. As background information, the work of Gumperz (1982) on codeswitching and its functions will be introduced. Secondly, Auer's (1995) functions of discourse-related and participant-related codeswitching will be introduced and their relevance to classroom research will be discussed. Gumperz and Auer base their research on naturally occurring everyday talk and institutional discourse. Merritt et al.'s (1992) and Canagarajah's (1995) studies are looked at in more detail in this chapter as they study the functions and types of codeswitching in ESL classrooms and language classrooms.

4.1 Conversational functions of codeswitching

Gumperz (1982) talks about conversational codeswitching which he defines as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz 1982: 59). This means that two languages are codeswitched within one utterance or between utterances. Gumperz's view on codeswitching differs from the views introduced above (chapter 2) as he focuses on the language use; codeswitching is seen as something happening in a conversation. As part of conversational codeswitching Gumperz (1982: 75-84) suggests a number of conversational functions of codeswitching. They are as follows: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification and personalization versus objectivization.

First of all, Gumperz (1982: 75-76) shows that codeswitching has relevance in terms of direct and reported speech; this is the function of quotations. Often the speech of another person, which is being quoted in a conversation, will be in a different language. Quotation is used when, for example, person A wants to report something person B has said; person A is talking in English but inserts the reported words of person B in German. However, Gumperz (1982: 82) notes that when a person is being quoted the quotation is not always in the language the person normally uses. Secondly, codeswitching can be used in addressee specification which means that by employing codeswitching a person can direct his/her message to one of possible addressees (Gumperz 1982: 77). Addressee specification can be used with monolinguals (accommodate to monolingual speakers by switching to the language they know) and with bilinguals (the addressee is invited to participate in the conversation) (Romaine 1995: 163). However, addressee specification can also be used to exclude someone by codeswitching to a language no one else in the group understands apart from the speaker and his/her addressee.

Thirdly, interjection occurs when codeswitching is used to mark an interjection or serve as sentence fillers (1982: 77-78). This function is similar to tag-switching (Romaine 1995: 162). Fourthly, reiteration occurs when a message is

repeated in another language. This repetition may serve as a clarification of what has just been said but often it also carries additional meanings in that it amplifies or emphasizes the message. Fifthly, message qualification means qualifying something that has been previously said. Gumperz (1982: 79) gives an example of this which involves Spanish and English codeswitching. The speaker says: *We've got all…all these kids here right now. Los que estan ya criados aquí, no los que estan recien venidos de México* [those that have been born here, not the ones that have just arrived from Mexico]. *They all understood English*. In this example the children are first introduced in English and the clarified in Spanish before being further elaborated in English.

And finally, there is the category of switches which have the function of marking personalization versus objectivization. This functional category is more difficult to specify using descriptive terms. According to Gumperz (1982: 80), this contrast of personalization vs. objectivization relates to things such as: the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known fact. These things are in turn encoded in code choices. For instance, Gumperz (1982: 81) has an extract where person A is talking about quitting smoking to person B; person A is codeswitching between Spanish and English. Gumperz argues that the code contrast symbolises varying degrees of speaker involvement in the message as Spanish statements are personalized while English ones reflect more distance. In other words, person A talks about her problem (how to quit smoking) in English but acts out her problem (how the cigarettes run out in the night) in Spanish.

Gumperz's (1982) categories of conversational functions of codeswitching are not unproblematic (Botztepe 2003: 19). In at least three of these functions it is not clear what the speaker accomplishes in conversation when using codeswitching. The problem with quotations is that one does not know what is achieved by it other than the fact that speakers tend to report utterances in the language they were originally spoken (Botztepe 2003: 19). Botztepe (2003: 19) goes on saying that there are similar problems with interjections and message

qualification. For example, the question of what specific discourse function is fulfilled when inserting, for instance, English sentence filler to an otherwise Spanish utterance remains unanswered. As far as classroom discourse is concerned, Gumperz's categories are somewhat difficult to apply to classroom discourse. This is because Gumperz's aim is to find conversational functions; in classrooms there are different rules in discourse than outside the classroom. For instance, in classroom discourse the teacher usually selects the next speaker; there is rarely self-selection. However, Gumperz's functions serve as valuable background information to the present research on functions of codeswitching on language classrooms.

4.2 Discourse-related and participant-related codeswitching

Auer is the pioneer in analysing codeswitching as an interactional phenomenon (Bailey 2000: 168). Furthermore, Auer (1995, 1998) has based his analysis of codeswitching on conversation analysis. A strong argument in Auer's research is the fact that he has a sequential approach to codeswitching, according to him "any theory of conversational code-alternation is bound to fail if it does not take into account that the meaning of code-alternation depends in essential ways on its 'sequential environment'" (Auer 1995: 116, inverted commas in the original). In other words, the meaning of codeswitching has to be interpreted in relation to the preceding and following utterances. Auer (1995: 120-121) even rejects the listings of conversational functions of codeswitching such as the ones by Gumperz above since the categories can be ill-defined, they do not bring the researchers any closer to a theory of codeswitching (i.e. why codeswitching may have a conversational function) and the listings imply that codeswitching has the same conversational status in both directions (i.e. from language A to language B and vice versa). In contrast, he offers a theory of the sequentiality of codeswitching as an answer to analysing codeswitching.

As part of his sequential approach Auer proposes two functions of codeswitching: discourse-related codeswitching and participant-related

codeswitching. Discourse-related codeswitching means "the use of code-switching to organise the conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance" (Auer 1998: 4). For example, speaker A inquires the time in Spanish but when he does not get an answer, just silence, he switches to English by asking the same question which results in speaker B responding in English. In discourse-related codeswitching the new language usually evokes a new 'frame' or 'footing' for the interaction, which means that the new language is accepted and shared by all the speakers (Auer 1998: 8). Participant-related codeswitching, on the other hand, takes into account the hearer's linguistic preferences or competences (Martin-Jones 1995: 99). Auer (1998: 8) explains that participant-related codeswitching results in "more or less persistent phases of divergent language choices". For example, Auer proposes the following pattern: A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 // A2 A1 A2 A1 [1]. Here there is negotiation on which language to choose as the language of communication, finally the second speaker accepts language A as the language of conversation. To conclude, discourse-oriented codeswitching is speaker-oriented whereas participant-related codeswitching is hearer-oriented (Martin-Jones 1995: 99).

According to Martin-Jones (1995: 99) the distinction between discourse-related and participant-related codeswitching is relevant in the study of bilingual classroom interaction. Discourse-related codeswitching serves as a resource for completing varied communicative acts, e.g. changing footing, marking topic changes, moving in and out of different discourse frames, doing a side sequence (Martin-Jones 1995: 99). Similar kinds of discourse-related functions were found in studies done in bilingual classrooms (Zentella [1981], Lin [1988, 1990] as quoted by Martin-Jones 1995). These were communicative functions such as quoting, specifying a specific addressee, making an aside, moving in and out of teaching/learning frame. Participant-related codeswitching is useful in the study of classroom interaction since in classrooms the participants have differing language abilities and communicative repertoires (Martin-Jones 1995: 99-100). In some contexts participant-related switching is particularly salient, for example in communities where the foreign language is the medium of

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[1] Letters A and B stand for languages and numbers 1 and 2 for speakers, // highlights the place where the change happens.

teaching and learning but outside school the pupils have very little exposure to it. This presents an enormous challenge for the teacher and the pupils. (Martin-Jones 1995: 100.) In the present study the terms discourse-related and participant-related codeswitching will be employed in the analysis when there is a need to further explain a part of the analysis. These two terms may be beneficial to the investigation of the findings.

4.3 Functions of codeswitching in classrooms

Functions of codeswitching have also been studied in classrooms. Most of this research has been conducted in a bilingual setting, i.e. the pupils encounter L2 in most if not all of their classes. For example, Merritt et al. (1992) have studied primary schools in Kenya and their aim was to make observations on how teachers used several languages during teaching and how they used codeswitching in the classrooms. Although the study was conducted in a bilingual setting, their results can be applied to foreign language classrooms as well since the findings described codeswitching in classrooms. Another researcher, Canagarajah (1995), studied the functions of codeswitching in an ESL classroom in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. When Canagarajah's study is compared to Merritt et al.'s, there seem to be similarities. Canagarajah describes various functions when Merritt et al. talk about different types of codeswitching. However, there seem to be similarities in these two studies. A comparison of these two studies shows that the types of codeswitching by one can be treated as functional categories by the other.

Merritt et al. (1992) studied three Kenyan primary schools where English, Swahili and the mother tongue were used, and their aim was to make observations on how the teachers used the languages and codeswitching in the classrooms. Their method of collecting data was through ethnographic observation of classroom interaction. They found out that there were four different types of codeswitching: 1) codeswitching is used in the reformulation across codes, saying the same thing using a different language, 2) codeswitching is used in the content of the activity, bringing new information

to the discourse by using another code; 3) codeswitching is used in translation or word substitution within one sentence; 4) codeswitching is used with interactional particles (Merritt et al. 1992: 114-117).

As general patterns of usage the researchers found among other things that English is more formal as opposed to Swahili and the mother tongue which is the least formal language. Secondly, the data suggested that codeswitching often functions as an attention getting or attention focusing device. (Merritt et al. 1992: 117.) In their study the data consisted of different classroom lessons meaning that also content lessons were analysed. This is contrary to the present study where the data consists of classrooms where English is taught as a subject among other subjects. But as can be seen from the results of the study of Merritt et al., these kinds of codeswitching could occur in an EFL classroom as well, for example to explain a word in another language or to translate a sentence.

Canagarajah (1995) studied the functions of codeswitching in ESL classrooms in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. Although the study also investigates a bilingual setting, it differs from Merritt et al.'s study in that in Jaffna, English is taught as a separate subject rather than used as the language of teaching in all subjects. In this sense that study is close to the present study in that English is not studied otherwise than in a separate course. However, at the level of society, English is more prominent in Sri Lanka than in Finland, as English used to be the sole language of instruction in Sri Lanka due to colonialism. Canagarajah (1995) studied secondary school teachers by observing them in the classrooms and discussing the teachers' views on codeswitching after each lesson.

Canagarajah (1995: 179-192) found micro- and macro-functions of codeswitching in the classrooms. Micro-functions were further divided into two categories: classroom management and content transmission. Under classroom management functions, the consideration of how codeswitching facilitates the teachers and students to regulate classroom interactions systematically and efficiently was under scrutiny (Canagarajah 1995: 179). Content transmission means the fact that codeswitching can help in the

effective communication of the lesson content and language skills which have been specified in the curriculum (Canagarajah 1995: 179). Classroom management functions were: opening the class, negotiating directions, requesting help, managing discipline, teacher encouragement, teacher compliments, teacher's commands, teacher admonitions, mitigation, pleading and unofficial interactions. Content transmission functional categories were: review, definition, explanation, negotiating cultural relevance, parallel translation and unofficial student collaboration.

Macro-functions dealt with socio-educational implications, which included training the pupils for the social and communicative life outside school, since bilingualism persists through codeswitching in Jaffna. The use of English in the classroom is framed as strictly formal and official, which means that Tamil is used for extra-pedagogical purposes, for example, for discussing personal matters. This formal use of English is a result from the socio-political situations in Jaffna, the teachers and pupils find it difficult to use English for extra-pedagogical purposes since that would violate the dominant attitudes outside the school. (Canaragajah 1995: 179-191.) In other words, micro – functions dealt with issues in the classroom whereas macro – functions had connection to issues outside the classroom (e.g. bilingualism and language attitudes) (Canagarajah 1995).

Canagarajah's study furthermore shows how English and the mother tongue, Tamil, were used in different situations. There were some general patterns in the classrooms: English was used in interactions dealing with the lesson content while Tamil was used for personal or unofficial interactions (1995: 190). In other words, English is only reserved for interactions that are demanded by the textbook and lesson. This finding is in line with Merritt et al.'s (1992) findings in that the mother tongue is the less formal language while English is used in a more formal way. Moreover, Canagarajah (1995: 190) found out in his study that English was the code which symbolised impersonality, detachment and alienness whereas Tamil symbolised informality, personal and homely features.

As Canagarajah's study is situated in somewhat similar circumstances as the present study (English is taught as a separate subject), that study can be beneficial to the present one. Canagarajah divides the micro-functions in a very detailed way. These specific functional categories will hopefully be of help when conducting the present study, as some of them can be applied to the situation in the Finnish classrooms.

As was mentioned in the beginning, Merritt et al. (1992) use the term types when Canagarajah (1995) uses the term functions when categorising codeswitching. However, when these studies are compared, similarities between the types and functions are found. Merritt et al. (1992: 114-117) describe the types as follows: reformulation, bringing new information to the content of activity, translation or word substitution and finally codeswitching in interactional particles (e.g. discourse markers). First of all, the type 'reformulation' finds its counterpart in Canagarajah's function of explanation, and more precisely the strategy of repetition. Both reformulation and explanation are used to say the same thing using a different language. Secondly, bringing new information to the content of activity is Merritt et al.'s type of codeswitching which is similar to Canagarajah's function of explanation. Canagarajah (1995: 186) defines explanation as having many strategies: repetition, reformulation, clarification and exemplification just to name a few. This is to say that explanation can also bring new information to the activity at hand, thus the similarity with Merritt et al.'s type.

Thirdly, Merritt's term 'translation or word substitution' is equivalent to Canagarajah's function of definition. The goal of both of these categories is to ensure that the pupils know what is being talked about by translating a word or a couple of words from L2 into their mother tongue. The difference is that Merritt et al. talk about translation occurring within a sentence whereas Canagarajah only states that mother tongue is used in the form of single lexical items or borrowings to define new vocabulary. Fourthly, Merritt et al. state that the fourth type of codeswitching consists of interactional particles such as discourse markers, classroom management routines and terms of address (1992: 116). Canagarajah (1995: 184) talks about mitigation as one of the

functions. It consists of backchannelling cues, discourse markers and tags. These two categories have similarities in that they both introduce discourse markers as a part of the category. However, Merritt et al. do not provide an example of this category, thus the complete comparison is impossible. Furthermore, Merritt et al. (1992: 117) state that linguistic markers indicating topic shift are used fluently which means that they may have a slightly different meaning to interactional particles. As a result, Merritt et al.'s fourth type is not a direct match to Canagarajah's but this comparison has shown that the categories that the researchers in these two studies discuss with different terminology have certain similarities.

5 Codeswitching in language classrooms

The previous chapter touched on the issue of codeswitching in language classroom as it introduced studies conducted in bilingual classrooms dealing with functions of codeswitching in language classrooms. The aim of the present chapter is to take a more in depth look into codeswitching in classrooms, especially in language classrooms.

5.1 Research on codeswitching in language classrooms

As suggested above, there have been a number of studies on codeswitching. However, research in the classroom has not been that wide, although there has been that kind of research since the 1970's (Martin-Jones 1995). Some researchers do not even consider codeswitching in second language classrooms as proper codeswitching (Winford 2003: 108) but dismiss it as "incompetence codeswitching". However, at the same time Winford (2003: 109) acknowledges that advanced learners use codeswitching similarly to competent bilinguals.

Studying codeswitching in classrooms differs from the study on codeswitching in conversations elsewhere since school is an institutional setting and the teacher's aim is to teach the pupils and the pupils' aim is to learn a second/foreign language, for example, English. This has an effect on the communication and its patterns since the teacher is in charge as opposed to casual conversation where the participants are equal. (Lörscher 1986.) Furthermore, there is asymmetry in the language skills between the teacher and the pupils as the teacher knows the language being taught but the pupils have a limited knowledge in it (Simon 2001: 316). Classroom codeswitching has mostly been studied in second language context, as Martin-Jones (1995) for instance reports. Furthermore, the studies of Merritt et al. (1992) and Canagarajah (1995), which are reported on chapter 4.3, have also been conducted in second language context. However, there has been some research done in foreign language context also, for example Macaro (2001), and Söderberg Arnfast and Jørgensen (2003) have studied codeswitching in a foreign language context. These studies will be reviewed later in this section.

As mentioned earlier, most of previous research on codeswitching in language classrooms has been conducted in a bilingual setting, where English is used as a second language. Martin-Jones (1995) has looked at the history of codeswitching research in the bilingual classroom. The earliest studies, conducted in the 1970s, were quantitative in nature. They were conducted in the United States where there was an educational debate about bilingual education and the study results could bring some information about the linguistic outcomes in the classroom. In particular, the studies looked at the amount of English and Spanish used in classrooms (Martin-Jones 1995: 92). The second phase of codeswitching studies in the classroom focused on the teachers and their language use revealing what the nature of discourse functions associated with the choice of code was. Milk (1981] as cited by Martin-Jones 1995) found that English, the language that was being learned, was used for control and for instructional functions whereas Spanish was reserved for social functions in the classroom. However, the focus of such research was on the individual rather than taking into account the sequential

flow of classroom interaction or the negotiations of meaning between the teacher and the pupils.

The third phase saw the rise of ethnographic research, which used conversation analysis as a method of analysis. Ethnographic approach looks at detailed situational analysis of both teaching and learning events. This approach takes into account the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the participants which are seen to affect the patterns of interaction (Martin-Jones 1995: 95-97). In the 1990's, the scope of studying codeswitching in the classroom has moved to micro-ethnographic studies (Simon 2001: 313-314). In micro-ethnographic observation the researcher looks into classroom interaction and chooses specific events for closer analysis (Martin-Jones 1995). However, the studies that Martin-Jones (1995) describes use observation as the basis for the analysis which is contrary to the present study which employs video-recordings as the means of conducting the analysis.

There has also been some research on codeswitching in foreign language classrooms. Macaro (2001: 531) states that there has been considerable debate about monolingual foreign language classrooms recently. Some researchers feel that only the target language (L2) should be used as medium of instruction while others argue that the use of mother tongue (L1) is an important tool in foreign language learning (Macaro 2001: 531-532). Macaro (2001: 544) goes on stating that no study has yet demonstrated that the exclusion of L1 improves L2 learning. Macaro studied codeswitching in student teachers teaching while Söderberg Arnfast and Jørgensen (2003) focused on learners of foreign language. Söderberg Arnfast and Jørgensen (2003: 23) argue that codeswitching as a term in literature has been used differently depending on who switches codes. Second language learners are said to use codeswitching to make up for deficiencies in their command of L2 while bilinguals are treated as skilful and competent users of codeswitching. However, they feel that codeswitching is also a skill when the learners use it and that they develop their codeswitching competence similarly to bilingual speakers. (Söderberg Arnfast and Jørgensen 2003: 23-24.) These studies clearly show that codeswitching in

the language classroom is a research subject worth studying. Next, they will both be looked at in more detail.

Macaro studied 6 student teachers who taught in comprehensive schools in the south of England. The student teachers taught French (L2) while English was the mother tongue of the pupils. Macaro videotaped the lessons and interviewed the student teachers using the videos as the basis for the interviews. He wanted to find out how much the student teachers used the mother tongue (L1) and thus his analysis was a quantitative one on that part. Furthermore, he asked the student teachers reasons for using L1, and what influenced their decision of using L1. He found that very little L1 was used, on average 5 % of L1 was used in the lessons. When he interviewed two of the student teachers he found that their views of codeswitching were somewhat different. One of them said that she felt guilty about using L1 and could not justify it; furthermore, she used it in order to get understood and for reprimanding the pupils. The other one saw no conflict in using L1 in the classroom, she felt that no individual learner should be left in confusion because of not understanding. (Macaro 2001: 539-544.) This study partly shows that codeswitching is not perceived as good practice, as one of the informants feels guilty when she uses L1. As the informants were student teachers, their training may partly be the reason for these opinions. The student teachers partly used the National Curriculum or the training programme as the basis for their decisions since they had not got a lot of experience in teaching a foreign language.

Söderberg Arnfast and Jørgensen (2003) studied students when trying to understand codeswitching. As their informants, they chose two groups of people who were studying Danish for the first year: American English exchange students who were studying in a Danish high school and Polish first year students learning Danish in Poland. The data consisted of interviews, which were recorded and transcribed, the informants were not observed otherwise. The interviews were done several times during one year of studies to see whether there was a change in the students' use of codeswitching during that period of time. The researchers' aim was to find out whether learners

developed their codeswitching practises while learning an L2, and whether they used codeswitching as a learning strategy. Their results show that codeswitching strategies develop in the course of learning an L2 and that codeswitching is used as learning strategies. They found out that as the American English learners advanced in their studies of Danish, their use of codeswitching became more confident in the interviews, they did not hesitate, at the beginning codeswitching was used to keep the conversation flowing but as they advanced in their studies codeswitching was used for self-styling etc. At the end of their first year the Americans had a fluent conversational style in Danish talk with English words in it. The Polish learners showed similar results to the American ones. As pointed out above, the researchers used interviews as their data which may have affected the results. In an interview setting the interviewee is more conscious of his/her language choices and thus may show more hesitation when switching codes. Therefore, the results of that study may not be applicable to the present study where the focus is on the interaction in the classroom.

Söderberg Arnfast and Jørgensen's study does however bring new and refreshing information to the field of codeswitching research. They state that the discrepancy between the acquisition view of codeswitching (codeswitching of learners is L1-based communication strategy) and the bilingualism view of codeswitching (codeswitching is a part of communicative competence) should be eliminated since first of all no bilinguals gain codeswitching training. Secondly, while bilinguals are said to use codeswitching for quite advanced purposes there is no reason to expect monolinguals or other learners to use codeswitching only for when they are incompetent in the foreign language. Thirdly, as codeswitching is something that learners do almost automatically, they could benefit from being taught how and when to use codeswitching more consciously. (Söderberg Arnfast and Jørgensen 2003: 49.) All in all, these results suggest that codeswitching is a skill mastered by students.

In Finland codeswitching has not been studied very widely in the classrooms. Myyryläinen and Pietikäinen (1988) studied teachers' assumptions about the use of the mother tongue and the target language in foreign language

classrooms and the teachers' reasons for the choice of language. They used a questionnaire and recorded and transcribed lessons as data. However, their focus was not on codeswitching that occurs in the classroom, they wanted to find out how much foreign language there are in the foreign language classroom; moreover, what the teachers think of this situation. Their results show that foreign language is used quite a lot in foreign language classrooms; Finnish is reserved for grammar teaching and matters not relating to the lesson. However, Finnish could be used other times as well, for instance, when ensuring comprehension or when maintaining discipline. Sundelin (2001) studied codeswitching and especially the reasons for the teachers of monolingual learners switching from one language to the other. Furthermore, she wanted to know what issues affect the teacher's choice of language (the students, the content and the context, and/or attitudes and beliefs of the individual teacher). Her data consisted of questionnaires to teachers. Her results show that in a foreign language classroom a lot of Finnish is still used even in situations where the foreign language could be used. When resorting to the mother tongue, the teacher takes away the opportunity for the students to communicate naturally in the foreign language. However, both these studies differ from the present study in that they did not take into account the interaction in the classroom, i.e. they did not analyse pieces of classroom discourse as such. In this sense the present study will bring new information to the issue of functions of codeswitching in Finnish foreign language classrooms.

5.2 Views on codeswitching in language classrooms

According to Simon (2001: 312), a typical feature of bilingual or multilingual language classroom interaction is that codeswitching has been thought of as a forbidden practise, or if not forbidden then to be avoided at all costs. She continues to state that teachers who have employed codeswitching have felt guilty of doing so as that has not been considered as good practise. Simon (2001: 314-315) proposes that foreign language classrooms are a specific codeswitching context since, firstly, foreign language classrooms can be considered as a multilingual community to the effect that the participants share

knowledge about the pedagogical contract which governs code choice in different pedagogical situations. Secondly, the learners have limited knowledge of the foreign language whereas the teacher knows it well; this may increase the occurrences of codeswitching. Thirdly, teacher and the pupils have socially and institutionally predetermined roles: teacher-status is associated with the use of foreign language and learner-status is associated with the implicit obligation to use the foreign language. (Simon 2001: 316-317.)

In contrast to views on codeswitching as something problematic in classrooms, Cook (2001) argues that teacher's ability to use both the mother tongue and the target language creates an authentic learning environment. Cook continues in arguing that codeswitching is a natural phenomenon in a setting where the speakers share two languages, so the teachers should not discourage it in the classroom. He proposes positive ways of using the mother tongue in the classroom. First of all, teachers can use it positively in conveying meaning of words or sentences, explaining grammar and organizing the classroom. Secondly, students can use the mother tongue as part of the learning activity (translation) and in classroom activities (e.g. explain the task to classmates in the mother tongue). Polio and Duff's (1994) study on foreign language university teachers found similar uses of the mother tongue. Polio and Duff (1994) studied university teachers who taught a foreign language to students whose mother tongue was English. The teachers were all native speakers of the target language. They found the following uses of the students' mother tongue by the teacher: for classroom administrative vocabulary (e.g. quiz, review section), for grammar instruction, for classroom management, to show empathy or solidarity, for practicing their own English, to offer a translation and when there is lack of comprehension. (Polio and Duff 1994: 316-320.) Castellotti and Moore (as cited by Turnbull and Arnett 2002: 207) say that codeswitching can be an effective teaching strategy; however, they encourage the teachers to make a conscious decision about when to speak the mother tongue in the classroom because codeswitching can only be beneficiary to the pupils if it is used deliberately.

6 Classroom interaction

The aim of foreign language teaching is to build up the pupils' communicative competence in foreign language (Lörscher 1986: 18). This is reached mainly through pupils' interaction in the foreign language. But as the pupils know the target language only partially it is the teacher's job to control the discourse by commenting on, correcting and evaluating the pupils (Lörscher 1986: 19). As the focus of the present study is to analyse codeswitching in foreign language classrooms, it is also important to get an idea of classroom discourse. This chapter will look at the main features of classroom discourse, what the sequences are that the lessons comprise of and what relevance these features have to the present study.

One of the most famous and most commented patterns of classroom discourse is the IRF sequence first introduced by Sinclair and Coulthard in 1975. The letters IRF stand for Initiation, Response and Feedback. In the classroom the teacher is the initiator, a pupil gives a response which is followed by feedback by the teacher (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 21). Cazden (2001:30) uses the IRF sequence where the last part of the sequence can be either evaluation or feedback.

In classrooms the teacher almost always initiates sequences (Cazden 2001). According to Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 40-41, 46), *initiation* is realised by an opening move. This opening move can be a question for the pupils, an imperative for the pupils to do something or a statement. In other words, initiation is not always a question which requires the pupils to answer. As part of the initiation the teacher chooses one pupil to answer (if an answer is asked for). *Response* is given by a pupil and the initiation affects the type of response. Depending on the type of initiation, the pupils either acknowledge that they are listening (the teacher's initiation being a statement), react to the teacher's imperative by doing something or reply to the teacher's question (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 47-48). *Feedback* is realised by a follow-up to the pupil's

reply. Feedback can be one or more of these three: accepting (can also include rejecting), evaluating or commenting. Feedback is an essential part of the sequence since usually the teacher does not ask the question because (s)he does not know the answer, instead, the teacher asks questions because (s)he wants to know whether the pupils know the answer (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 36-37). These types of questions are termed inauthentic questions or 'display' questions (Cazden 2001: 46). When a pupils answers, (s)he needs to know that the answer was correct, therefore, feedback is required (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 51).

Using linguistic terminology, the IRF is an unmarked pattern, i.e. the teacher does "what the system is set to do "naturally" unless someone makes a deliberate change" (Cazden 2001: 31, quotation marks in the original). Cazden (2001: 31) terms the lessons which consist of these IRF sequences as traditional lessons. At the other end of the scale she has non-traditional lessons. In non-traditional lessons the IRF pattern is inapplicable since although the teacher asks questions the pupils' responses and teacher's subsequent turns differ from that structure. In traditional lessons the teacher talks about two thirds of the time whereas in non-traditional lessons the reverse is true sometimes: the teacher's turns are short and pupils' answers are expanded. An example of a non-traditional lesson is that the teacher may accept alternative answers and ask for comparisons accompanied by reasons for them (Cazden 2001: 49). This way the pupils learn to explain and give reasons for their answers; furthermore, they learn to listen and refer to what other pupils have said (Cazden 2001: 50). All in all, Cazden (2001: 56) makes a point about not keeping the traditional and non-traditional lessons apart (an either/or situation), but balancing between them (a both/and situation). It is good that the teacher has a repertoire of different lesson structures and teaching styles from which to choose the appropriate one for each lesson (Cazden 2001: 56).

Lörscher (1986) has studied discourse structures and teacher-pupil communication in the foreign language classrooms, most of these classrooms being traditional ones. He makes a distinction between openings, the organization of turn-taking and closings. First, in foreign language classrooms

the openings most often occur at the beginning of the lesson and they are usually initiated by a greeting adjacency pair (e.g. - *Good morning class, - Good morning Mrs Smith*). This summons-answer sequence is usually followed by a boundary signal (e.g. *Right, Okay*) which marks the beginning of the official classroom discourse. At the same time, it serves as a signal to get the pupils' attention. The openings are usually simple in the foreign language classroom since the teacher determines the topic of the discourse and the pupils have to accept that. (Lörscher 1986: 13-14.)

Secondly, the organization of turn-taking means that usually only one participant talks at the same time and longer pauses between turns should be avoided (Sacks et al. 1974 as cited by Lörscher 1986: 14). The place where a speaker role is passed to a hearer is called a transition relevance place. In such places the conversation will continue either when the current speaker selects the next speaker or the next speaker self-selects. In foreign language classrooms the teacher allocates turns, at least in teacher-led discourse. The teacher gives a turn to a pupil and at the end of the pupil's turn the right to speak goes back to the teacher who may comment on the pupil's utterance (cf. IRF) (Lörscher 1986: 15). Moreover, the teacher has the right to stop or interrupt a pupils' turn if (s)he thinks it necessary. Finally, closings occur at the end of a conversation when one participant signals that (s)he has nothing more to say and the other participants accept this and they end the conversation. In foreign language classrooms the closings can be one of the following: summary of the content of the lesson, implicit announcement of the end of the conversation (e.g. *who can do the last one?*), or explicit announcement of the end of the lesson by the teacher (Lörscher 1986: 17). As with openings, the closings are not negotiated with the teacher and the pupils but the teacher determines such closing and the pupils have to accept that (Lörscher 1986: 17-18).

The studies by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and by Lörscher (1986) have furthermore showed how the rules that normally apply to spoken discourse are not applicable in the classroom. In the classroom the teacher has the right to speak whenever (s)he wants to, the pupils contribute to the interaction when

the teacher allows them to. Cazden (2001: 82) has noticed this as well when she states that in traditional classrooms there is an asymmetry in the speaking rights of the teacher and the pupils. To put this bluntly, the teacher can speak at any time to anyone, they can interrupt any speaker or fill a silence, and they can talk to any pupil in the classroom in any tone of voice (Cazden 2001: 82). However, not all classrooms are traditional ones in this sense since not all teachers use their right to do speak whenever they want to. Cazden (2001: 82-91) uses the term speaking rights to refer to the way the pupils get a right to speak during teacher-led activities. These rights include, among other things, getting a turn, getting the floor, and listening responsibilities. It is good to keep in mind that even though the teacher has a lot of power in the classroom, the pupils have rights as well.

As far as the present study is concerned, the patterns of traditional classroom interaction are of relevance since codeswitching is analysed in the context of classroom discourse. This means that before analysing the data it is important to know what usually happens in the classroom in terms of interaction. The IRF sequence is relevant even today, as is visible in Cazden's (2001) work. When occurrences of codeswitching are analysed in the present study, the IRF sequence may help in the explanation and understanding the phenomenon. Furthermore, the fact that the teacher has more power in the classroom may affect codeswitching and how the participants react to codeswitching. All in all, when a study takes place in a certain context, it is important to familiarise oneself with the regularities that are in action in that context. In the case of the present study this means getting to know classroom discourse.

7 The present study

7.1 Research questions

The main purpose of this study is to find out what different functions codeswitching has in EFL classrooms. I am interested in the kinds of functions Canagarajah (1995) described in his study as micro-functions of codeswitching in the classroom. These functions could be pedagogical, social or discourse functions. The head research question is what functions of codeswitching there are in EFL classrooms. The following analytical sub-questions will be used to help find out the answer to this main question.

1. Who employs codeswitching in the classroom?
2. When is codeswitching employed, as part of which activity?
3. What types of codeswitching can be found in the classrooms?
4. What is accomplished by employing codeswitching?

The focus of this study will be on the interaction in the classroom; therefore all the participants in the classrooms will be looked at. I will not exclude some participants but analyse the situations as a whole. For instance, if the teacher has been speaking English but a pupil says something in Finnish to her, it is of interest how the teacher will react to this codeswitching, whether she will continue speaking in English or switch to Finnish.

There are two ways of studying codeswitching: a linguistic and a social approach (Winford 2003). The linguistic approach uses sentence as the unit which is being looked at, and the attempt is to identify the linguistic principles and constraints that govern codeswitching (Winford 2003: 126). The social approach, on the other hand, focuses on the motives and social meanings of codeswitching. The present study thus will adopt the latter way of studying codeswitching, since I am interested in the interaction that takes place in the classroom and what functions codeswitching serve in the classroom.

Furthermore, as the data consist of lessons, the pedagogical functions will be analysed at as well, since they are a part of the lessons.

7.2 The data

The data consist of English language lessons which have been video-recorded and transcribed. The transcription conventions can be seen in the appendix. There are two sets of data in this study, one is from the seventh grade in secondary school in Jyväskylä and the other is from upper secondary school in Jyväskylä the pupils being first year students there.[2] From both of these I have chosen two 45-minute lessons, which are held right after one another. This means that the lessons are held in the same day; in the case of the seventh grade the pupils have a short break between lessons and in upper secondary school they do not have a break in between lessons. In other words the data consists of four 45-minute lessons. The reason for choosing the data from two different school levels is to get a more varied look on English lessons and in that way also hopefully on codeswitching. As the data comes from two different classrooms, it may help understand lessons as to whether codeswitching is different in different levels of studying.

The seventh grade pupils are 13 year-olds and they have begun their English studies in the fifth grade, i.e. this is their third year of studying English. This is the pupils' second foreign language; they have started another one in the third grade. There are seven pupils in the group, three boys and four girls, all of them Finnish. The teacher is female and in her thirties. The lessons have been recorded in November 1996 in Jyväskylä. The upper secondary school group consists of first year pupils who are approximately 16 years old and they have studied English since their third year at school and are now studying it for the eighth year. There are eleven pupils in the group, five girls and six boys. Two of the pupils, a girl and a boy, probably have non-Finnish backgrounds, they may be immigrants or their parents are immigrants. There is no definite knowledge of their backgrounds, the data however suggests that it may be

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[2] Upper secondary school corresponds to sixth form (UK) and high school (US).

other than Finnish (they have foreign names, the teacher asks comprehension questions sometimes and one of them tells stories which indicates that he was living somewhere else before coming to Finland). The teacher is female and in her fifties. These lessons have been recorded in January 2003 in Jyväskylä. Furthermore, it is relevant to mention that neither the teachers nor the pupils in these data are native speakers of English; most of them share Finnish as the native language. However, the two pupils in upper secondary school may share a native language other than Finnish.

Table 1: Description of the data

Grade	Grade of starting	Year of studying	Number of pupils	Teacher
7th	5th	3rd	7	female
1st year pupils in high school	3rd	8th	11	female

There are many themes in the lessons. In secondary school the class is learning the past tense and the present perfect forms; furthermore, they have a verb test in which they have to write all the three forms of the irregular verbs the teacher asks them. They also study textbook chapters which deal with animals and people working with animals. As different modes of teaching and learning they have varied kinds of activities and exercises: different games, pair work, doing written exercises and checking them. In upper secondary school the themes of the lessons deal with personal skills and working life, and the pupils are taught grammar, more specifically adjectives. They have discussions, pair work, listening comprehensions, and exercises to check. In both secondary school and upper secondary school the majority of the lessons are teacher-led. There is only little pair work.

7.3 The method of analysis

The study is a qualitative one in that it does not aim at giving a numerical account of utterances using codeswitching. Quantitative analysis is not used extensively, there will only be some general remarks of the frequency of

codeswitching, whether it is common or not. The reason for not employing quantitative analysis more widely is that it is difficult to count how many occurrences of codeswitching there are in the data since it is sometimes difficult to draw a line between the occurrences of codeswitching. This is because in one situation in the classroom there may be several cases of codeswitching (for example, the teacher's turns are in English but the pupils' turns are in Finnish) but the situation is treated as one case of codeswitching (for example, a case of explaining an activity to the pupils).

The study will identify instances of codeswitching and analyse them, what functions they serve. In the analysis both the teacher's and pupils' use of codeswitching will be looked at. The method of the analysis is discourse analysis. First of all, discourse analysts are interested in discourse, whether spoken or written. In classroom research discourse analysis means the analysis of spoken language as used by the teacher and the pupils (Allwright and Bailey, 1991). Secondly, discourse analysts collect data by audio-recording or video-recording it and they transcribe the data. Thirdly, as part of discourse analysis I can introduce the issues of power or roles in my analysis when necessary.

The first task when the starting the analysis will be to look at the data and see what goes on in the classrooms in terms of interaction and when Finnish and English are used. This will lead to identifying instances of codeswitching which will be first of all analysed using Poplack's (1980) categories of the types of codeswitching. After that the instances of codeswitching will be analysed further to find out which functions they serve. The data will be treated as one, not two separate pieces of data, to ensure a more varied look at the different functions of codeswitching there are in foreign language classrooms. Furthermore, other studies, for example Canagarajah's (1995) study, will be used as a help when needed, if there is for example an instance of codeswitching that I have difficulties finding a functional category for. After an instance is identified as belonging to a specific functional category it will be analysed further. The closer analysis will begin by explaining what goes on in the situation, how codeswitching occurs, and who initiates codeswitching.

After that the occurrences of codeswitching will be interpreted and explained. Things that will be considered include turn-taking sequences, what the participants say and how they say it; and explain what participant(s) accomplish when employing codeswitching. The interaction will be looked at as a whole, which means that when codeswitching occurs, the part before and after the switched utterance are important, since they could shed light on how codeswitching functions in that situation.

As mentioned before, the data consist of four 45-minute lessons. The lessons were recorded as a whole; however, not everything that happened in classes is captured by the transcripts. When the lessons were recorded there was more than one video camera in the classrooms. When there is only one or a couple of persons talking at the same time the video cameras capture well what they are saying. If there are many persons speaking at the same time, for example when doing pair work, different voices are mixed together and as a result one cannot hear what everyone is saying. Due to this, I have to exclude most of the pair work and group work from my analysis and concentrate on parts of the lessons that are mostly teacher led, in secondary school there is a part of a lesson which is not teacher-led but is included in the data as the different voices can be heard. I know that this may have an effect on the findings but when it is impossible to hear what goes on in pair or group work, as one can only hear fragments, I have decided to exclude those parts of the lessons from my analysis. Therefore, I will concentrate on the parts of the lessons that can be heard clearly and those parts are mostly teacher-led.

8 General findings

In this chapter I will shed some light on the more general findings from the data to help the reader get acquainted with the data. I will discuss the overall impressions of the interaction in the classrooms and the different languages

used in them. Furthermore, issues of the base language and activity types are considered to help the reader understand better what goes on in the classrooms.

Firstly, one striking aspect of the data is the amount of Finnish used, especially in secondary school. In secondary school lessons Finnish is used a lot, more by the pupils than by the teacher. Among other things, the pupils have private conversations during the classes in Finnish. It is understandable that they use Finnish in such cases since they are not talking about lesson-related issues, thus they choose the mother tongue to interact which is a more familiar language to them. The pupils also use Finnish for commenting on, for instance, activities they do in the classroom and when asking for help from the teacher or from the other pupils. The great amount of Finnish used can be explained by the fact that this is only the pupils' third year of studying English, thus their vocabulary is not very wide yet. Furthermore, the pupils' proficiency of understanding and speaking English vary; some are more competent in English than others. Yet another explanation is that the different uses of these two languages reveal that English is used in instances required by the lesson or the textbook, Finnish is used in most other cases. Example 1 demonstrates how this takes place in the classroom. The pupils are doing an exercise where they have to form sentences using the past tense. They use Finnish to discuss the exercise on lines 1 and 4, and English for their answers which is visible on line 3.

Example 1:[3]

```
?     1 LF2    mikä on toi call miten se kirjotetaan
               what's that call how do you spell that
      2 T      cee. [   cee aa äl äl              ]
               cee. [ cee ei el el                ]
      3 LM1        [       did you see something   ]
?     4 LM2        [viitonen on when did you come ]
                   [five is when did you come]
      5 T      [cee aa äl äl]
               [cee ei el el]
```
(lesson two, secondary school)

The teacher maintains her English most of the time when she has begun a topic in English despite the fact that the pupils may react and often do react in

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[3] A different font is used for translations i.e. when translating the Finnish words in the examples into English.

Finnish. Grammar is taught in Finnish in both secondary and upper secondary school which can be explained by the possibility that the pupils may not know the grammatical terms in English. Moreover, this reveals how the teachers see the two languages differently, English used as a means of communication in other activities, but Finnish is the only alternative in grammar-related activities.

With respect to codeswitching in upper secondary school, the boundary between English and Finnish is clearer. This means that both the teacher and the pupils mostly maintain the language that is being used at a time, for example when having a question-answer discussion, if the teacher has started the discussion by asking the questions in English the pupils follow her by using English as well. However, the pupils are quite quiet; they mostly talk when asked a question. The pupils follow the lesson carefully and do not tend to have many private discussions. This primary focus on learning can be partly explained by the matriculation exam that they will face in two years time; they have oriented towards that and that guides their behaviour. Another explanation may be that as the pupils have been in school for many years they have found a particular way of behaving in classrooms. These explanations leave out a contextual feature which is that this is the first year of secondary school for most of the pupils and they may not know each other that well, thus they follow the lesson and talk only when the teacher asks them a question.

Another general feature of the classrooms is that the base language can usually be detected. As suggested in chapter 2.4, the base language is the language from which structural rules come from and to which items from the second language are borrowed (Myers-Scotton 1993). In foreign language classrooms the base language is not fixed, but rather it varies according to the classroom episode, for example, when teaching grammar the base language of both the teachers in the data is Finnish. In upper secondary school the base language of the teacher in most other times is English. Furthermore, both teachers make clear distinctions between different classroom episodes by for instance codeswitching. For example, when the teacher teaches grammar the base language is Finnish but when she moves on to do a listening comprehension on

different professions the base language switches to English. Chapter 10.5 elaborates on this.

In secondary school the teacher's base language can mostly be detected. However, her language choices are also affected by contextual matters. This means that she may for example react to a pupil's question in Finnish although she was earlier speaking English. Example 2 shows another kind of instance where the teacher is otherwise speaking Finnish but inserts a word in English to her utterance. In example 2 she is asking the pupils how to form sentences using the present perfect tense and she has just asked LM4 on line 1 to translate a sentence. The base language is Finnish, but on line 4 one word, *'brainstorm'* is inserted in English.

Example 2:

```
    1 T      eetu, miten sanot. hän (.) on (.) unohtanut.
             eetu, how do you say. he (.) has (.) forgotten.
    2        (1)
    3 LM4    mitä mää äske pistin. he has:
             what did I put just now. he has:
?   4 T      [eetulle      ]eetulla  (.) [ on nyt brainstorm (.) käynnissä]
             [to eetu    ] eetu has (.) [a brainstorm (.) going on now]
(lesson one, seventh grade)
```

However, although this study recognises base language and its meaning, it is not a term that will be extensively used. The term is useful when describing the general language behaviour in the classroom, which language is used more at a time (the base language), and which is used less (the embedded language) and in that sense the terms may be used on some occasions during the analysis. Here, however, the main focus will be on codeswitching itself.

A third overall feature that is obvious in the data is that the lessons are all mostly led by the teacher. In secondary school the pupils have two exercises that they do in pairs but other than that the teacher leads the lesson. In upper secondary school the pupils have one pair work exercise to do. The fact that the teacher is leading the lesson shows in that the teacher allocates turns. In both the classrooms the teacher asks the questions to which she wants answers. The pattern seems to be that the teacher asks a question to which a pupil gives an

answer to and usually the teacher reacts to the answer by, for example, complimenting or correcting the pupil; thus using the IRF pattern. However, in secondary school there tend to be more than one pupil speaking at the same time. There seem to be other activities besides learning, i.e. talking with a friend about other issues. When the pupils talk about other issues, they usually use Finnish, although the teacher may speak English at the same time. In upper secondary school it seems at times that the teacher has difficulties getting the pupils to answer, she has to call the pupil by name to answer before they speak, the pupils rarely self-select.

9 Types of codeswitching in EFL classrooms

As was explained in chapter 3, there are three different types of codeswitching: intra-sentential codeswitching, inter-sentential codeswitching and tag-switching (Poplack 1980). In the following, the present data will be analysed according to these three types. This analysis will serve as a starting point to the later analysis of the functions of codeswitching.

9.1 Inter-sentential codeswitching

As suggested above, inter-sentential codeswitching occurs between sentences or clauses, or between turns. In the data this type of codeswitching is used in both secondary and upper secondary school when, for example, translating or explaining something (grammar, exercise etc.). Both the teachers and the pupils use inter-sentential codeswitching; furthermore, this type of codeswitching is used quite a lot in both secondary and upper secondary schools.

Example 3 shows how inter-sentential codeswitching is used within one turn, but between sentences, or clauses. The secondary school group is studying the past tense; the class has examples of the past, the present and the future tenses

in their books. In example 3 the teacher is asking whether someone can translate to Finnish the sentence with the past tense in it. She uses Finnish when asking the question, English for reading the sentence from the book and then Finnish for rephrasing her question.

Example 3:

    1 T   no kuka osais suomentaa ton (.) imperfektilauseen mikä
            well who could translate that (.) sentence with the past tense what
    2 T   siellä on. (.) one hundred years ago people drove a horse
            is there (.) one hundred years ago people drove a horse
    3 T   and a cart. (1) [tosta   ] noin. mitä toi tarkottaa suomeks.
            and a cart. (1) [right] there. what does that mean in Finnish.
(lesson one, secondary school)

One can see on lines 2 and 3 that the places where a new sentence begins are marked with pauses. First there is a short pause when the teacher switches from Finnish to English on line 2; and then a one-second pause when she switches from English to Finnish on line 3. The pauses are good indicators of the beginning of a new sentence or clause, since in spoken discourse the boundary between two sentences or clauses is not always clear. The speaker usually has little pauses in the turn, which in everyday conversation could indicate to the other participants that they could self-select to be the next speaker. In a classroom, however, the teacher usually allocates turns; the pupils know this which means that they do not necessarily start speaking whenever there is a pause. Moreover, in example 3 the pupils wait for the teacher to tell them which sentence she wants them to translate.

Inter-sentential codeswitching can also occur between turns. In such a case the previous turn is in language A and the following in language B. Example 4 shows how inter-sentential codeswitching is employed between turns. This example is from the upper secondary school and here the class is having a discussion about news readers in Finland. On line 3, LM6 remembers that one newsreader, '*Arvi Lind*', was also in an instructional video he saw when he was in driving school. He decides to tell that story to the others; however, he chooses to use Finnish despite the fact that the discussion has otherwise been in English. Here LM6 uses inter-sentential codeswitching since it occurs between

turns; the teacher speaks English in her turn on line 1 but LM6 switches to Finnish in his turn on lines 3 and 4 and again on line 6 when he speaks for the second time.

Example 4:

	1 T	aha which one is the best (1) who's the best (.) arvi lind um
	2 LM	(xxx)
?	3 LM6	se oli hei se oli myöskin yhessä um kuorma-
		he was hey he was also in one lorry
?	4 LM6	autonopetusvideossa tuolla autokoulussa ko olin
		instructional video in driving school when I was
	5 T	umm
?	6 LM6	se oli siinäkin (xx)
		he was there as well (xx)
	7 T	okay so that's so here is there any difference between news um
	8 T	american news readers and finnish news readers

(upper secondary school)

The pupil's codeswitching does not cause the teacher to switch codes in example 4. The teacher continues to speak English even though LM6 has just spoken Finnish. Therefore, there is inter-sentential codeswitching from English to Finnish (lines 1 and 3 to 4) within the pupil's turn, and from Finnish to English (lines 6 and 7 to 8) as the teacher does not follow the pupil's switch.

Although spoken discourse differs from written discourse in that in spoken discourse the unit 'sentence' in not always useful, in the present data the instances where inter-sentential codeswitching took place were quite easy to detect. As was pointed out above, pauses serve as good indicators of sentence or clause boundaries in spoken discourse. Turns are another good indicator since when there is a change in speaker one can say that inter-sentential codeswitching takes place. This is because even though one turn may not always consist of a whole sentence, the speaker change indicates a boundary, one speaker stops talking while another one begins.

9.2 Tag-switching

Tag-switching means inserting a tag in one language to an utterance that is otherwise in another language. In classrooms this means that while speaking English the teacher or a pupil can insert a Finnish tag to the utterance, or vice versa. Furthermore, a tag can be moved freely in a sentence, they do not have syntactic constraints. Tag-switching occurs in secondary school, but there are only a few instances of it there. It is mostly employed by the pupils.

Example 5 demonstrates the kind of tag-switching that is found in the data. In example 5 the secondary school class is just starting the verb test; the teacher is writing the verbs she is asking the class on the blackboard. As she is writing she also says the verb out loud which is visible on line 1, *'antaa'* (give). The pupils are commenting on the verbs and on line 4 LM1 indicates in his turn that he knows the verb *'antaa'* in English as he says that *'tää on hyvä* (this is good). At the same time he employs tag-switching by inserting the word *'yes'* in his otherwise Finnish turn. I would consider this a case of tag-switching since it is a word that could be placed in some other place in the sentence as well. Furthermore, as it does not have syntactic constraint; hence, it could be termed as a tag.

Example 5:

```
        1 T      okay number one, antaa↑
                 okay number one, give?
        2 LM1    antaa
                 give
        3 LM2    yes
?       4 LM1    [(.) yes tää on hyvä        ]
                 [(.) yes this is good       ]
        5 LM3    [ mari:, kynää voitko lainata]
                 [mari:, a pen can you borrow]
(lesson one, secondary school)
```

Interestingly, the word '*yes'* that is used by LM1 on line 4 could be also termed as a borrowed item as well. In chapter 2.3 a distinction is made between codeswitching and borrowing. As Kovács (2001: 63) says, borrowing refers to only the lexicon and usually single word items are borrowed. In example 5 the

word '*yes*' is a lexical word, and only one word so in that sense it could be in the process of becoming a borrowed item. Furthermore, it could have a Finnish pronunciation 'jes' meaning that it is more integrated to the Finnish language. Especially among the young people words from other languages, for example English, are being used when they speak Finnish, thus they are using borrowed items or making some words become borrowed items by using them.

Tag-switching is quite rare in the data. Usually when there is switching within a sentence, it is intra-sentential switching which means that the insertion requires knowledge of both the languages. Tag-switching, on the other hand, only occurs in cases like in example 5. Furthermore, I think that the boundary between tag-switching and intra-sentential switching is not clear because Poplack (1980: 589) explains that tag-switching is usually heavily loaded in ethnic content and she includes the following example into this type of codeswitching: *vendía arroz* (He sold rice) *'n shit*. However, I see that tag-switching is merely tags such as *you know* or *yes* and usually consisting of one or two words. Intra-sentential codeswitching, on the other hand, can constitute of one or more words but it when intra-sentential codeswitching occurs the sentence remains grammatically correct and the other language items can be in the middle of the sentence. All in all, I analyse the data according to what I feel is tag-switching and intra-sentential codeswitching, since I have to keep in mind that the nature of the data (classroom discourse) and that the participants are not fluent speakers of both the languages as is the case with Poplack's research. When following this framework, I found little tag-switching in the data.

9.3 Intra-sentential codeswitching

Intra-sentential codeswitching occurs within a sentence. According to Poplack (1980), it requires a lot of integration and therefore it is only used by the most fluent bilinguals. However, I would argue that while Poplack's view may be true of naturally occurring discourse, in classroom discourse there is intra-sentential codeswitching although the participants are not all fluent bilinguals.

In the data this type of codeswitching occurs, for instance, when doing or checking exercises and teaching grammar and it is very common in those situations. Usually in those situations the base language is Finnish but the exercise or grammar examples are in English. I would treat those instances as intra-sentential codeswitching since the switching takes place within a sentence. The following examples will shed light on this matter.

Example 6 shows how in order to employ intra-sentential codeswitching one has to know the grammar of the two languages used in the utterance. In the example the secondary school class is preparing to start playing a dice game. The teacher gives instructions in English to the pupils and gives them dices. On line 6 LM4 employs intra-sentential codeswitching as he switches to Finnish for one word when he asks for a dice. His question is in English, and it follows the English grammar. When he inserts a Finnish word in the question, he does so by following the English grammar. This can be seen in the use of the indefinite article *'a'* in front of the word *'noppa'* (dice). LM4 seems to know that in English one usually needs an article in front of a noun, and in this case, as he mentions the word for the first time, the indefinite article is required. Furthermore, he knows to use 'a' instead of 'an'. All these explanations lead to the conclusion that this is a case of intra-sentential codeswitching. The reason for LM4 employing codeswitching in this situation could be that he either does not know the English counterpart or that he uses codeswitching to create humour. If he tries to create humour, the others do not respond to it, since there is no laughter and the class goes on preparing for the dice game.

Example 6:

```
      1 T        (.) an:d uh (2) so there is no start and no finish I guess,
      2 T        [(.)    but ] it doesn´t matter you can start where-ever
      3 LM       [((laughs))  ]
      4 T        you want to. just (.) try to form some sentences. (.) in the
      5 T        past tense↑ here´s for [you:              ] here´s for you:
?     6 LM4                             [can I get a noppa]
                                         [ can I get a dice]
(lesson two, secondary school)
```

As was pointed out above, intra-sentential codeswitching occurs repeatedly when teaching grammar. Grammar is taught in Finnish in both classrooms, but the examples are in English since the aim is to learn English grammar. Example 7 is a good illustration of how intra-sentential codeswitching is made use of when teaching grammar. The upper secondary school teacher is teaching the pupils adjectives, and she begins by introducing examples of different kinds of adjectives: short and long ones, how they are inflected when comparing. In example 7 she takes the word '*narrow'* as her example word to show the pupils how it can be inflected both by using the suffixes and by using the words more and most. As she is teaching English grammar, the example word is always uttered in English, but the explanations are in Finnish. I think this is a clear case of intra-sentential codeswitching because the codeswitching occurs within a sentence, '*sä voit sanoa narrower the narrowest'* (you can say narrower the narrowest) on lines 2 and 3. Poplack (1980) argues that the speaker needs to know both the grammars in order to use intra-sentential codeswitching. However, in an EFL classroom I would argue that even though the teacher in example 7 speaks according to the rules of Finnish grammar she still employs intra-sentential codeswitching since she uses the English words in correct places in the sentence. In the data intra-sentential codeswitching is very typical when teaching grammar.

Example 7:

1 T	no esimerkiksi onko teille narrow tuttu (1) narrow tätä listaa	
	well for example is narrow familiar to you (1) narrow this list	
2 T	emmä rupee näistä kirjottaa näitä kaikkia narrow sä voit sanoa	
	I won't write all of these narrow you can say	
3 T	narrower the narrowest tai kumpaa käytätte more narrow the	
	narrower the narrowest or which one you use more narrow the	
4 T	most narrow	
5 LM3	toista °käytän toista°	
	the other °I use the other°	

(upper secondary school)

Apart from occurring within a sentence, intra-sentential codeswitching can occur within one word, in other words, mixing within word boundaries. This means that for example there is an English word which has a Finnish inflection. I call these kinds of forms hybrid forms since in such words there is a mix of

two languages. These hybrid forms occur in the data a couple of times. The upper secondary school teacher uses them a couple of times when teaching grammar, which is visible in example 8; in secondary school there is one instance of it when a pupil used this kind of hybrid form, which is shown in example 9.

Example 8 is from upper secondary school where the teacher is teaching grammar, more specifically adjectives, to the class. She is asking on line 1 the class to translate '*melko rento*' (quite easy going) but before that she asks them how they would translate the word *'rento'* (easy going). LM1 and LM3 say their suggestions and on line 5 the teacher reacts to LM3's suggestion *'casual'*. However, her choice of words is interesting since she says *'casualkin'* (also casual), which is a hybrid form. The first part of the word is in English (casual) but she then adds a Finnish suffix to the word (-kin) which means 'also' in English. She used these hybrid forms a couple of times when teaching grammar. It is possible that she did not realise she was using a hybrid form, or she felt that it was acceptable to use such a form.

Example 8:

	1 T	mites sanotte että melko rento mitä melko sanoja tulee mieleen
		how would you say quite easy going what 'quite' words do you know
	2 T	melko rento (.) mikä on rento
		quite easy going (.) what is easy going
	3 LM1	cool
	4 LM3	casual
?	5 T	casualkin voi olla (1) pukeutumisessa easy going eikö mites
		also casual it can be (1) in dressing easy going don't you think so
	6 T	sanotte
		how would you say
	7 LM3	se on old fashioned
		it's old-fashioned
	8 LM4	quite quite easy
	9 T	umm quite voi olla yks
		umm quite could be one

(upper secondary school)

In the previous example the teacher employs a hybrid form. In contrast, in example 9 it is a pupil who uses such a form. This example is from secondary school and the class is doing an exercise where they have to identify clauses that have a past tense from clauses that do not have them. These clauses are in

Finnish in the books and they then have to write the clauses with the past tense in English in their notebooks. On line 1 LM2 is starting to write the clauses in his notebook and wants to know what the abbreviation of the word *'exercise'* is. His question is in Finnish but as he wants to know the abbreviation of the word *'exercise'* he says that word in English. However, he utters his question using the Finnish grammar, which causes him to inflect the word *'exercise'* according to the rules of Finnish grammar. This leads to a hybrid form where the word *'exercise'* obtains a case ending *'-sta'* which English counterpart could be the preposition 'from'. I think LM2 is aware that he is using a mixed form in this situation; he feels that this is the only way for him to ask the question since he needs to know the abbreviation of an English word, not a Finnish word.

Example 9:

```
?      1 LM2  mikä on l- (.) [exercsisesta] lyhenne.
                   what is the a- (.) [he abbreviation] of exercise.
       2 LM4                  [ fifty fifty   ]
       3 LM   [(xx)]
       4 T         [voit] panna vaikka ee äks jos=
                   [you can] put for example ee ex if=
(lesson two, secondary school)
```

The above examples have demonstrated that intra-sentential codeswitching is employed in a foreign language classroom quite often, especially when teaching grammar. Furthermore, when intra-sentential codeswitching occurs, the speaker needs to have knowledge of both the Finnish and the English grammar in order to produce grammatically correct sentences or utterances. The above examples show how this is implemented. Besides intra-sentential codeswitching in a traditional sense, it is interesting to discover that there are also hybrid forms used in the data which would indicate that the speakers use the two languages side by side and even mix them quite boldly. In an EFL classroom this sort of hybrid forms could even be expected from the pupils since they are learning the language. The fact that a teacher uses them is somewhat unexpected but I think the situation where they occur could explain the use of them. When grammar is being taught in an EFL classroom the two languages occur side by side and therefore such hybrid forms can be employed.

All in all, the findings show that intra-sentential codeswitching occurs in an EFL classroom despite the fact that the participants are not usually fluent bilinguals.

10 Functions of codeswitching in EFL classrooms

The focus of this chapter will be to report different functional categories that are found in the data. The intention is not to treat the data as two separate entities, but rather to focus on the data as a whole. This is because in that way I hope to get a more varied insight to the different functions codeswitching have in the EFL classrooms. In other words, as I am interested in functions of codeswitching I will deal with them. However, there are bound to be some comparison as a result of having data from two different classrooms.

10.1 Explanation

Explanation occurs when (usually) the teacher wants or sees a need to repeat what has been previously said in another language in order to help the pupils understand him/her. In an EFL classroom this explaining generally happens in L1, the mother tongue of the pupils (Finnish in the present data), since the pupils are less competent in the foreign language and may need an explanation to help them understand the lesson better. According to Canagarajah (1995: 186), there are different strategies for explaining the issues being taught; he mentions repetition, reformulation, clarification and exemplification as such strategies. In the present data, explanation is a common function of codeswitching; it occurs in both secondary school and upper secondary school. However, explanation is used more often in secondary school. Explanation occurs at different places during the lessons: when checking an exercise, when doing an exercise and when working through a chapter in the book.

Example 10 shows how codeswitching is employed when the teacher has asked the pupils to underline some phrases and sentences in the chapter. She tells the pupils what to do in English, but as is visible on the videotape, nothing really happens until she switches to Finnish and repeats her request. That is when the pupils take out their pencils and start underlining. In other words, it seems that the teacher has to clarify her message by codeswitching to Finnish and thus making the pupils do what she wants them to do. LM1 seems to be the only one to have understood what they are supposed to do since he translates into English the sentence that the teacher has asked the pupils in Finnish; this is visible on line 6.

Example 10:

```
?       1 T      [very good.    ] so let´s try to underline these things.
        2 L      [((laughs))    ]
        3 T      or these sentences. I have (.) one mistake here.
        4 T      pikkusiskoni eivät (.) halunneet ha lun neet. so how do you
                 my little sisters didn't want didn't w a n t. so how do you
        5 T      say siellä tapahtui jotakin kummallista.
                 say something strange happened there.
        6 LM1    something strange happened there=
        7 T      =yeah.  so [please] underline in
        8 LM4               [hmh    ]
?       9 T      your textbook. alleviivataan nää muutamat kohdat.
                 your textbook. let's underline these few points.
       10 LM2    voinko mää  alleviivata kuulakärkikynällä=
                 can I underline with a ballpoint pen=
       11 T      =something strange happened there. that´s right↑
       12 LM2    voinko.
                 can I.
       13 T      yeah, you can do it. [ (xxx)        ]
       14 LM1                         ° [(xxx Finnish)]°
       15 T      and then number two, Queenie synnytti viisi pentua.
                 and then number two, Queenie gave birth to five pups.
```
(lesson one, secondary school)

As mentioned before, explanation is also employed in upper secondary school. In secondary school it is understandable that the teacher uses codeswitching from English to Finnish to clarify her point since the pupils have learned English for such a short period of time. But in upper secondary school group it is interesting to notice that the teacher uses clarification as well even though the pupils have learned English for over seven years. The following example will demonstrate this.

Example 11:

```
        1 T     so I think we'll better we'd better continue with the (4) and so
        2 T     you could do at home exercise three (.) five and six which are
        3 T     (2) si-um three is on page sixty two and then sixty three five and
        4 T     six (.) and now we'll do exercise seven what's my occupation
        5 T     it's a mini listening (2) a:nd I think we'll listen only once (3)
?       6 T     ready? (1.5) ok (.) exercise seven page sixty four sivulla
        7 T     kuuskytneljä
?               page sixty four
        8 LF    joo
                yeah
        9 T     umm what's my occupation do you know what you are
        10 T    supposed to do guess the occ- occupation of the (1.5) person
        11 T    talking on the tape
```
(upper secondary school)

Here the teacher has been teaching the pupils grammar, and now they have just moved on to do an exercise which is a listening comprehension. It is noteworthy that the teacher explains everything else in English but at the end of her utterance on lines 6 and 7 decides to switch to Finnish to repeat the page number. The pupils are studying English for the eighth year which means that they should understand the teacher's instructions in English. However, there are two immigrant pupils (a girl and a boy) in the classroom which may have an effect on the teacher's choice of language. Both of them do speak Finnish and understand as well as speak English. When the teacher uses Finnish to clarify her message on lines 6 and 7, she looks at the direction of the immigrant girl; moreover, a girl answers her utterance on line 8 which could indicate that the teacher's explanation was directed to the immigrant girl. However, another explanation is that the teacher wants to clarify her message to a less competent pupil, a girl sitting next to the immigrant girl. All in all, the teacher feels a need to clarify in Finnish what she has previously said in English because of a less competent pupil.

Explanation can also be used when the teacher is helping a less competent pupil to answer a question the teacher has asked him/her in English. In example 12 LF1 has difficulties understanding the teacher's question, this is visible on lines 3 and 7 where she says *'mitä'* (what) and *'tä'* (what). The first time LF1 says *'mitä'* (what) on line 3 could be interpreted as her not hearing the

question. However, despite the teacher repeating her question in English and the other pupils helping her as well, she does not seem to understand what she needs to say. Her puzzlement on line 7 indicates this. On line 10 and 12 the teacher uses Finnish translation to explain LF1 what she is asking her. The teacher has realised that repeating the question in English does not help so she needs to translate it into Finnish. Furthermore, on line 14 the teacher encourages LF1 in Finnish to come up with any answer. On line 17 the pupil finally gives her answer which suggests that the translation has helped her understand what she is supposed to do.

Example 12:

	1 T	are back at home. I saw you uh (.) in the **ci**nema.
	2 T	yesterday. [(.)] [I saw you in the **ci**nema]
	3 LF1	[mitä]
		[what]
	4 LM4	[se näki sut video video (xx)]
		[she saw you at video video (xx)]
	5 LF2	[((laughter))] [elokuvissa]
		[((laughter))] [at the cinema]
	6 T	[cinema] [what film did] you see
	7 LF1	tä
		what
	8 T	what [film did you see. (.)] at the cinema.
	9 LF2	[se näki sut elokuvissa että mitä sää-]
		[she saw you at the cinema so what did you]
?	10 T	(1) minkä elokuvan näit eilen.
		(1) what film did you see last night.
	11 LL	(1) [((laughter))]
?	12 T	[at the c-], in the movie theatre, [elokuvissa.]
		[at the c-], in the movie theatre, [at the cinema]
	13 LM2	[cable guy]
	14 T	keksi joku.
		think of something.
	15 LF	ei mitään ensi-iltaa (x)=
		no opening night (x)=
	16 LM3	mut hei toi oli siinä [mielessä tyhmä] kysymys et-=
		but hey that was [a silly question] because=
	17 LF1	[Independence Day]
	18 T	=Independence Day I thought (.) so, [I thought so]

(lesson two, secondary school)

Apart from the above examples, explanation can be used to bring some new information to the issue at hand. In the previous examples codeswitching has been employed to repeat or clarify in Finnish what has been previously said in English, but when explaining something in English the teacher can also

reformulate her words or exp and her utterance by bringing some new information by using Finnish. Example 13 will illustrate this point.

Example 13:

	1 T	=uh complete the sentences please, so
?	2 T	täydennetään lauseet, ei tartte kirjottaa koitetaan (.)
		complete the sentences, you don't have to write let's try (.)
?	3 T	painaa vähän mieleen miten nää täydennettäs, one
		to memorise how would you complete these, one
	4 T	morning, an old lady. and what happened then. I drove
	5 T	[to see] [**what**]

(lesson two, secondary school)

Here the class is beginning to look at a new chapter, they have looked at the new words and now the teacher is giving them instructions in English on what they are supposed to do when they listen to the chapter. On line 2 the teacher translates her previous words to Finnish but she goes on explaining the instructions in more detail in Finnish. This is a clear indicator that she is not only clarifying her words but she is also giving new information. In other words, she is expanding her message in Finnish in order to make sure that all the pupils know what they are supposed to do.

As was mentioned above, this category of codeswitching occurs many times in the data; furthermore, the switches are always from English to Finnish. Explanation is a useful strategy in the classroom as it saves time, since the teacher does not have to reformulate her message using other English words, instead (s)he can use Finnish to clarify what (s)he has said previously. Furthermore, by explaining certain issues in Finnish during the lesson the teacher makes sure that the less competent pupils are able to follow the lesson. However, if codeswitching is used a lot when explaining points or instructions, the pupils may learn to expect that after the teacher has said something in English (s)he will repeat it in Finnish. Thus they will not pay a lot of attention to the English instructions as they know they will hear the same thing in their mother tongue. This of course is not beneficial to the development of the pupils' foreign language skills. It needs to be said, however, that in the present data this is not the case. I feel that especially in secondary school the teacher employs codeswitching in cases where she feels it is needed, as examples 10

and 12 clearly demonstrate. In upper secondary school codeswitching is not employed in explanation so often; this would be expected, since the pupils are more competent in their foreign language skills and they understand English better.

10.2 Requesting help

When pupils are faced with a problem or question during the lesson, they usually resort to codeswitching to find an answer to their problems. One common function of codeswitching in the present data is, in fact, requesting help. This function is employed by the pupils; they use it when they want to ask for help. The pupils request help in the data when they do not know where they are supposed to be in the book (for example wanting to know about line numbers in a chapter), or when they do not know how to pronounce a word or when they need a word translation or when they want to ask something from another pupil. This function of codeswitching is quite usual in both secondary and upper secondary school groups.

Example 14 shows a case where the upper secondary class is discussing in English different professions and qualities needed for different workers. LM6 is describing in English the kinds of qualities he thinks a surgeon should have, but he faces a difficulty on line 7 as he does not remember the word 'faint' in English. Thus he asks for it in Finnish and after he hears the correct word he continues his answer in English. As he is switching to Finnish he perhaps wants time keep apart the exercise itself and his question and not confuse these two. At the same time he is signalling to the teacher that he needs help, and he may feel that if he were to ask the word in English, the teacher might not respond immediately. This is explained by the fact that usually when doing an exercise the teacher waits for certain kinds of answers, in this case words to describe a good surgeon, and she may not realise at first that LM6 is asking for help. This may be the reason why LM6 wants to keep his question and the answer itself separate by using Finnish instead of English when requesting help. Furthermore, it may be that when LM6 speaks English he directs his

utterance to the whole class, but when he switches to Finnish his words are meant for the teacher only. On the other hand, LM6's question may also signal frustration since he does not seem to find the right words to answer the teacher's question. On line 6, when he switches to Finnish, he begins by the word '*no*' (well) which may be a signal of frustration. Even before codeswitching to Finnish, he has difficulties finding shape to his utterance which would support this view of frustration.

Example 14:

	1 T	aha so what qualities does a (1) surgeon need to be (1) good
	2 LM3	did you say
	3 T	to be good
	4 LM3	yes steady hand
	5 T	steady hand that would be very nice (1) any any other
	6 T	qualities ari
?	7 LM6	the one I don't know is there to I thought no mikä on pyörtyä
		the one I don't know is there to I thought well what is faint
	8 T	faint
	9 LM6	yeah I shouldn't °faint°

(upper secondary school)

In secondary school employing codeswitching from English to Finnish when requesting help is usual, the pupils resort to Finnish quite often. One case of quite frequent codeswitching is when the pupils are underlining phrases and sentences in the chapter they have just listened to. They ask the line numbers many times and always in Finnish, which is visible in example 15. In this short example one can see three instances of asking the line number in Finnish (lines 2, 9 and 12). Moreover, every time it is a different pupil who asks for the line number (LF1, LM2 and LM1). The pupils may feel frustrated that they do not know where they are supposed to be in the chapter and this frustration leads to codeswitching. However, another explanation to the pupils' codeswitching is that they treat language in the materials (i.e. the book) differently from language used in the classroom. The pupils know that the goal in the activity is to find and underline phrases and sentences in the chapter. When the teacher asks a certain sentence in Finnish, they know that they are supposed to answer it in English, which they do. But the process of underlining is different; the pupils may feel that they are not required to use English when asking the line numbers, since that is not the aim in the activity.

Example 15:

```
        1 LM4    Queenie gave birth [to five pups]
?       2 LF1                        [missä se on]
                                     [where is it]
        3 LM4    [siinä] (.) Billin tota siinä [ala - ]
                 [there] (.) in Bill well down there
?       4 T      [tässä]                    [over] here.
                 [here]
        5 T      gave birth to (.) five pups. (1) pikkusiskoni
                 gave birth to (.) five pups. (1) my little sisters
        6 T      eivät halunneet jättää Queeniä.
                 didn't want to leave Queenie.
        7 LM4    my little sisters didn't want to leave Queenie=
        8 T      =good. my little sisters [didn't want] to leave
?       9 LM2                             [missä se on]
                                          [where is it]
        10 T     Queenie
        11 LM2   niin tuolla.
                 oh yeah there.
?       12 LM1   missä se on
                 where is it
        13 T     it's line (.) nine.
        14 LM1   jaa tuossa.
                 oh there.
```

(lesson one, secondary school)

What is interesting about example 15 is that the pupils' Finnish questions have resulted in the teacher switching her language to Finnish as well on line 4. However, her switch is only one word and she quickly goes back to speaking English, translating her Finnish utterance into English as well. When switching back to English by translating *'tässä'* (over here) she perhaps wants to make it clear that English is the base language in this situation, she uses English and wishes that the pupils would do so as well.

As can be seen in the above examples, this function of codeswitching is employed by the pupils. Moreover, the codeswitching takes place from English to Finnish. When pupils ask for help, they may feel the need to keep apart the exercise they are doing and the actual request for help. However, they may also use Finnish when requesting help, since first of all that is their mother tongue and thus more familiar to them; and secondly, since they may feel that they are required to use English in exercises as they are learning it but that asking for help is not part of the exercise, thus they can use Finnish.

10.3 Pupils helping each other

The previous function dealt with pupil-teacher communication, where a pupil requests help from the teacher who provides an answer to the asked question. In secondary school there are also a few instances where pupils help each other when doing an activity which involves the whole class. Usually this kind of codeswitching occurs when the teacher asks a pupil something in English that (s)he cannot understand and the other pupils help by translating the teacher's question into Finnish. Cook (2001) sees this as a positive way of using the mother tongue in the classroom (ch. 5.2). By translating the teacher's words the pupils ensure that the weaker pupil knows what is happening. It does not always have to be the teacher who translates the question. Moreover, by letting the pupils help each other the secondary school teacher creates a more natural communication situation. She can be consulted when a problem occurs, but she encourages the pupils to solve the problem among them, the one who knows what the teacher is saying can help the weaker pupil(s) by explaining the teacher's words in Finnish.

Example 16 demonstrates well how the pupils join their forces to help a weaker pupil. The class is doing an activity where the teacher asks one of them a question in English and the answer requires the pupil to use the past tense. On line 1 the teacher asks LF2 who she met yesterday, and she maintains her English by repeating her question several times (lines 3, 7 and 9). The first time the teacher asks the question LF2 does not seem to hear the question, which can be seen in her reaction on line 2. Other pupils help LF2 to understand the question as they explain it in Finnish on lines 5, 6 and 8. They also help her to answer it by giving her the correct verb form in English on line 14. Furthermore, on line 10 LF3 even suggests a possible answer. The teacher steps in to help LF2 on line 12 as she notices that despite the efforts by the other pupils to help LF2 she has difficulties with coming up with an answer. The teacher aids LF2 in her answer by beginning the answer in Finnish and then starting to translate it to English. The teacher's use of Finnish could be

explained by the fact that she is providing a model of the correct way of starting a sentence which could help LF2 in formulating her answer. However, despite all the help from the fellow pupils and the teacher, LF2 has difficulties producing an answer, which is visible on line 13. In the end she does not answer but the teacher gives her an option for the answer (*I met nobody*) on line 29 and LF2 seems to take it as she does not reply to the teacher and in that way gives away her turn.

Example 16:

```
        1 T      who did you meet, yesterday.
        2 LF2    mitä?=
                 what?=
        3 T      =who [did you meet] [who did you meet] (.) yesterday
        4 LL          [((laughter))  ]
?       5 LM3                             [kenet sää tapasit  ]
                                         [who did you meet]
?       6 LM2    [kenet sää tapasit   ]
                 [who did you meet ]
        7 T      [who did you meet]
?       8 LF3    kenet sää tapasit eilen.
                 who did you meet yesterday.
        9 T      who did you meet.
        10 LF3   °no kyllä kai sää nyt teiän äidin näit°
                 °well I suppose you saw your mother°
        11 LL    [(( laughter))    ]
        12 T     [   minä tapasin,] I=
                 [ I met, ] I=
        13 LF2   =I: [(.) miten (xx)]
                 =I: [(.) how (xx)]
?       14 LM4      [met (.) met ]
        :
        :
        20 T     [=it's a **hot** ball, ] you have to [ (.) ] answer quickly
        21 L                                          [u.h ]
        22 LF2   [ kenetköhän mää ]
        23 LM3   [put it            ] on the table.=
        24 LF2   =eiku [emmää tiiä] uh
        25 L           [((laughs)) ]
        26       (2)
        27 LF3   ei ketään=
        28 LF1   =ei se kyllä mikään kuuma oo [se pallo          ]
        29 T                                  [I met nobody. mm.]
```
(lesson two, secondary school)

Although in example 16 the help from other pupils does not lead to an answer from LF2, one can see how the other pupils are eager to help her. She receives

help from four different pupils (LM2, LM3, LM4 and LF3) all wanting to make her understand what the teacher is asking her in English. In my opinion, the teacher should not always step in to help the pupils but let the pupils solve the problem among themselves. In an EFL classroom the goal is to learn English, but this goal is not reached if the pupils do not know what is being said in the classroom. By letting the pupils help one another the teacher ensures that they all know what is required of them; furthermore, little by little the weaker pupils hopefully start to understand the language spoken in the classroom better. All in all, this function of codeswitching allows also pupil-pupil interaction in the classroom, not only teacher-pupil interaction.

10.4 Self-corrections

Apart from being used to help out others, pupils also use codeswitching in self-corrections. This function of codeswitching is quite common in secondary school, in upper secondary school there is just one instance of self-correction in the data. The pupils employ self-correction in their utterance by beginning it in English but inserting one word or a couple of words in Finnish in the middle of the utterance. When self-correction occurs, a pupil is usually producing an answer to the teacher's question and when (s)he realises that a mistake has occurred in the answer (s)he corrects it by inserting a Finnish word and then continuing the answer, but now with a more correct answer.

The use of self-correction may indicate that a pupil wants to keep separate the exercise and the need to correct something in the answer. The pupils know that if the teacher asks them a question in English they are required to answer it in English. However, if they find that they have said something wrong in their answer, they resort to Finnish to make it obvious to the hearers that now they want to change something in their answer. On the other hand, self-correction may occur when a pupil does not initially remember a word in English and says it first in Finnish and then after remembering it says it in English, continuing the answer in English. The following examples will demonstrate these points.

Example 17:

```
        1 T      how did Rusty chase the coyote away. (.) Rusty is
        2 T      the cat.
?       3 LM3     [he] slashed the: eiku she [(1)] [slashed          ]
                 [he] slashed the: no she [(1)] [slashed   ]
        4 LM      [uh]                      [he]
        5 LM                                [he]
        6 LM                                    [((laughs)) voihan se olla he]
                                                [((laughs)) it could be a he]
        7 LM3     the (.) over the nose.
        8 T       [very good.] with his claws. [(.) yes.]
```
(lesson one, secondary school)

Here the teacher is asking the pupils questions about the chapter which they
have just listened to. On line 3 LM3 realises that he is using the wrong pronoun
in his answer, thus he says *'eiku'* (no) which indicates that a repair is coming
and continues his answer which is now correct. He wants to correct his answer,
and employs Finnish to separate his answer and the correction. At the same
time he is also making a distinction between two voices so to speak, the voice
of the lesson (English) and his own voice. He knows that he is required to use
English in the lesson, but at the same time he may feel that '*eiku*' is not part of
the formal answer but it is his own voice. For a period of one word he steps out
of the lesson and his answer and '*eiku*' represents his own voice. To conclude,
I feel that as this is a formal discussion, the teacher is there to teach the pupils
English and the pupils are there to learn it and to use it. This has an effect on
the language choices; the pupils know that they are required to use English in
this discussion. When LM3 realises he has made a mistake in his answer, he
may feel that '*eiku*' is not part of the answer, only the final product '*she
slashed.. the over the nose*' (lines 3 and 7) is his answer.

Example 18 is from upper secondary school, and as was said earlier, this is the
only case of self-correction in upper secondary school. As well as in secondary
school, the pupil starts his answer in English but then switches to Finnish for a
short period on line 16 after which he continues his answer in English. The
situation, however, differs from the kind that is visible in secondary school.
Here the class has completed a listening comprehension exercise where they
have matched a story they heard on the tape to a name of a profession the have
on their books. They are now checking the correct answers and one profession

that they have had to match is the priest's. Apart from only checking the correct answers the teacher is also having a discussion with the pupils about the professions. LM6 has a story to tell about the situation in his old country and he goes on telling it in English most of the time. However, on line 16 he switches to Finnish.

Example 18:

	1 T	a is correct would you imagine yourself as a priest
	2 LM	uhuh
	3 LM3	no way man
	4 T	even if you like talking and and (1) and and so on
	5 LM6	but in russia when when I was little I want because some um
	6 LM6	(xx) often pr- priests came our school and (xx) you know they
	7 LM6	all very rich so I want to be a priest
	8 T	[umm]
	9 LM6	[because] they get it's like um in middle ages out there now they
	10 LM6	just get money very much
	11 T	did you have religion at school
	12 LM6	yes I think we did
	13 T	okay I I thought it wasn't allowed
	14 LM6	in russia
	15 T	yeah
?	16 LM6	well it was ei se enää neuvo- it wasn't soviet union anymore
		well it was it wasn't sovie- it wasn't soviet union anymore
	17 T	aha okay (.) [(xx)]

(upper secondary school)

His codeswitching could be explained by him not remembering the word in English at first since he quite quickly returns to speaking English translating the Finnish words he said into English as well. However, LM6 is probably learning English for the eighth year so he should have the required skills to produce this utterance entirely in English. At the same time, I cannot be sure of the number of years he has learned English since he seems to be an immigrant and I do not know how long he has been in Finland. His earlier utterances on lines 5 to 7 and 9 to 10 would support this view of not studying English for over seven years, since he is hesitant and some of his sentence structures are not correct. One wonders whether LM6 is unsure about his use of English as he is resorting to Finnish here. On the other hand, he switches back to English suggesting that he does know English well enough to produce his utterance in English.

Self-corrections are employed by the pupils when they know that they have said something wrong and wish to correct it. They know that they are required to speak English, for instance, when answering the teacher's questions but if a mistake occurs in their utterance they correct it in Finnish. In secondary school this function of codeswitching is quite usual, and the pupils generally use the word '*eiku*' (no) to repair their answer. However, they usually quickly return to speaking English, Finnish is used only for a short period of time. As the pupils are learning English they are still unsure when speaking English, and resorting to Finnish is a good option when they have troubles finding the correct form.

10.5 Moving from one activity to another

The previous three functions of codeswitching (requesting help, pupils helping each other and self-corrections) have been employed by the pupils. However, as the function of explanation showed, teachers also use codeswitching. The function of moving from one activity to another is employed by the teachers and both teachers in the data use codeswitching to mark a shift in the lesson; furthermore, they employ this function quite often. This marking of activity shift in the lesson happens when the teachers move from one topic to another: from discussing an exercise to teaching grammar and vice versa, from learning grammar to looking at a chapter and from giving instructions to doing a listening comprehension. However, even if codeswitching is used quite a lot when moving from one activity to another, not all topic shifts are necessarily marked with codeswitching.

When the teacher moves from one classroom episode to another, employing codeswitching may be a device to get the pupils' attention. They know that, for example, if the language of teaching has previously been Finnish, when it is changed to English they have to pay more attention to the teaching. This is because English is a foreign language to them, thus they need to use more effort to understand the teacher. One instance of this is example 19.

Example 19:

```
     1 T        =yes. [okay] elikkä teid- joud- käytätte aina
                =yes. [okay] so you- have- you always use
     2 LM4          [yes]
     3 T        tätä viimestä muotoo siinä perfektissä
                this last form in the present perfect
     4 T        [ja sit se       ] have (xx Finnish)=
                [and then the  ] have (xx Finnish)=
     5 LM       [(xxx Finnish)]
     6 LL       = [(xxx) ihan liian (xxx)              ]
                =[(xxx) much too (xxx)                 ]
?    7 T        [okay, do you remember the sto:ry?]
     8 T        [we read last time, a dog's best friend.]
     9 LF2      [(xxx Finnish) ((laughs))              ]
    10 T        [because it's already a week ago I thought] we might
    11 LL       [   (xxx)                                ]
    12 T        listen to it once again. [ (.)              ] so please take
    13 LM2                           [missä me ollaan]
                                      [where are we   ]
    14 T        these (.) books again? and this is page forty-six.=
    15 LM2   =Phoenix coyote from Califo:rnia
```
(lesson one, secondary school)

Here the class has been studying the present perfect verb forms, they have had a verb test and they have checked the answers to that and at the same time formed sentences using the present perfect forms. Teacher initiates a new topic on line 7 when she starts talking about the chapter they looked at last time. At the same time codeswitching occurs, which is triggered by the change in topic. Another marker signalling the change in topic is the choice of words by the teacher. She uses a discourse marker '*okay*' which signals that now the class will do something else.

On line 13 one can see that LM2 is following the lesson as he is asking about the page number. His choice of language is, however, Finnish. This can be explained by the fact that as he has only studied English for such a short time, he more easily uses Finnish. On the other hand, this may be a common practise in the classroom, to use Finnish when asking for a page number. On line 15 one can see that now LM2 does speak English. He is not repeating the title of the chapter, so he is not reading it from the book. However, LM2's use of Finnish and English may be an indicator of how he treats the two languages differently. English is reserved for the interaction demanded by the textbook and lesson while Finnish is used in less formal and personal interaction.

Canagarajah (1995: 190) drew similar conclusions in his study when he reported that English (L2) was used only for interaction demanded by the textbook and the lesson while the mother tongue was used for all other interactions. One can observe that in example 19 the teacher's switch to English has been noticed; the pupils more or less know what they are supposed to do next. This means that the teacher's codeswitching has made them pay more attention to the lesson and not talk about, for instance, personal issues. In other words, the teacher's codeswitching signals the beginning of a new pedagogical activity.

Sometimes the switch to another topic, and at the same time codeswitching, can occur within the same turn. In example 19 the teacher begins a new turn at the same time as she switches to English. In example 20 the teacher switches from English to Finnish during the same turn when she begins to teach grammar.

Example 20:

	1 T	[I remember this] okay I can't ask you I don't want you to
	2 T	answer okay and because we have to do some grammar I
?	3 T	suggest we do it now and continue with other stuff later okay?
?	4 T	(1) eli alotetaan vähän kielioppia tosta että pakko ottaa (.)
		(1) so let's take some grammar because we have to do some (.)
	5 T	kuitenkin tähän rakoseen vähän jossain vaiheessa ni (.)
		anyway at some point so let's do it now (.)
	6 T	adjektiivit on päivän sana ja sivu satayheksäntoista (1.5) voitte
		adjectives is the topic and page one hundred and nineteen (1.5) you
	7 T	tehä muistiinpanoja tai olla tekemättä ihan minkälaiset teillä on
		can make notes or note make them depending on your
	8 T	nämä (1) tiedot ja taidot tästä aiheesta
		(1) knowledge and skills on this topic

(upper secondary school)

The class has been discussing their skills and personal qualities, now they will move on to learn grammar. When the teacher moves to teaching grammar, she repeats some of her previous words on line 4 (which have been uttered in English) in Finnish and continues in Finnish on lines 4 and 5. This interpretation of the teacher switching to a new topic is also supported by her word choice; she uses a discourse marker 'eli' (so) which marks a repetition. By codeswitching the teacher makes a clear boundary between what has

happened before and what will happen next. Apart from using codeswitching, the teacher employs other means to signal the change in topic on lines 3 and 4. Firstly, the discourse marker *'okay'* with a rising intonation may be used to mark an end of a topic; secondly, there is a one-second pause when the change happens; and thirdly, the word *'eli'* signalling repetition and a shift to another topic as well.

Examples 19 and 20 are also good illustrations of discourse-related codeswitching. According to Auer (1998: 4), discourse-related codeswitching is speaker-oriented which means that if a speaker switches to another language, this new language evokes a new frame which is shared by all participants. When the teacher moves from one activity to another, and at the same time employs codeswitching, the new language is usually also used by the pupils. In example 19 the secondary school teacher moves to talking about the chapter the class looked at the previous time. At the same time she switches to English. Although the pupils do not immediately follow the teacher's codeswitching, as LM2 asks where they are in the book in Finnish on line 13, the switch is visible on line 15 where the same pupil (LM2) speaks English. In example 20 only the teacher's turn is visible; however, her codeswitching to Finnish results in the pupils' codeswitching to Finnish as well.

The previous two examples have demonstrated how the teachers use codeswitching when moving from one activity to another. It is a general truth that when something new happens, it grasps one's attention. The teachers may thus use codeswitching as an attention getting device. Especially example 19 shows nicely that when the language is switched from Finnish to English the pupils have to make more of an effort to follow the lesson since they are not native speakers but are learning English. In example 20 codeswitching occurs when the teacher moves on to teach grammar, since grammar is usually taught in Finnish because of the fact that pupils are not familiar with the English terminology. Furthermore, the two examples above have shown that codeswitching in classrooms occurs both from English to Finnish and from Finnish to English.

10.6 Codeswitching in clearing misunderstandings

There are a couple of instances in the data where a misunderstanding occurs during a lesson and in order to clear it codeswitching is employed. This function of codeswitching is visible both in secondary and upper secondary schools. However, there are only one or two instances of it in both of the groups. When there is a need to clear a misunderstanding it is usually the case that the teacher has misunderstood something and the pupil corrects her by using the embedded language. It seems to be that Finnish (the embedded language) is used for the clearing of the misunderstanding while English is the base language i.e. the language of teaching in these situations.

One case of a clarification of a misunderstanding in the data is when the teacher remembers one pupil's name incorrectly. In example 21, which is from the upper secondary school, the teacher is asking the pupils in English what skills they have, and she asks a male pupil (LM2) about his skills but she addresses him with a wrong name. After a three-second pause LM1 realises that the teacher has said the wrong name and corrects her in Finnish, after which the discussion continues. The teacher maintains her English even after the correction; she apologises and goes on with the discussion. What is interesting in this example is the fact that this correction could have been said in English, as the pupil is probably able to form this sentence. However, LM1 may want to differentiate himself from the task at hand, i.e. not become a part of the discussion between the teacher and LM2, since he has spoken good English earlier when the teacher asked him about his skills. To conclude, LM1 may wish to stay outside of the conversation between the teacher and LM2, thus he employs Finnish when correcting the teacher.

Example 21:

```
        1 T       (.) harri how about your skills
        2         (3)
?       3 LM1     se on antti
                  he's antti
        4 T       antti (.) sorry=
        5 LM2     =um (.) I don't know um
(upper secondary school)
```

The other example of the teacher misunderstanding a pupil's turn comes from secondary school. In example 22 the teacher has misunderstood LM4's previous English utterance which leads to codeswitching to Finnish on line 13. The class has been finding and underlining sentences in the chapter. On line 11 LM4 is asking in English what they will do next, but the teacher understands it as a question about what could have happened next in the story. When the pupil realises that he and the teacher are not talking about the same thing, he switches to Finnish to make his point clear. He may think that as the teacher did not understand him when he spoke English, he has to say the same thing in Finnish and maybe then she will understand him. Furthermore, he may not have the vocabulary to rephrase his question in English, thus he translates it into Finnish. Another explanation for the teacher's misunderstanding could be that LM4's use of English to talk about the organisation of the classroom activities is highly untypical for a pupil. It is usually the teacher who does this. Now, because of this untypical pupil behaviour, the teacher does not recognise the question at first thus creating a misunderstanding between her and LM4.

Example 22:

```
      1 T      and the last [one, vai  ] puolustiko se vain itseään.
               and the last [one, or  ] was it just defending itself.
      2 L                   [((coughs))]
      3 LM3    or was it just defending (1) himself
      4 LM1    [defending himself            ]
      5 T      [yes                          ]
      6 LM4    [mää menin kyllä (xxx Finnish) ]
               [well I went to (xxx Finnish) ]
      7 T      twenty:-four and twenty-five.
      8 LM4    mm
      9        (4)
     10 LF1    [  bird           ]
     11 LM4    [what about then]
     12 T      uh what about then, what happened then, any idea
?    13 LM4    eeikä ku mitä nyt tehään.
               no: I mean what do we do now.
?    14 T      mitä nyt tehään. [now] I think
               what we do now. [now] I think
     15 LM4                    [nii  ]
     16 T      we're going to have a look at your
     17 T      homework. (1) you were supposed to do
     18 T      three exercises.
```
(lesson one, secondary school)

What is interesting in this example is that LM4's codeswitching to Finnish leads to the teacher codeswitching to Finnish as well on line 14. It may also be that the teacher's codeswitching can signal solidarity, she realises that she has misunderstood LM4's utterance and maybe she is making up for that. The teacher seems to be the kind of teacher who encourages her pupils to use English. Here LM4 has done just that, he has asked in English what they will do next, but the teacher has not understood his question. This has led to LM4 using Finnish and now the teacher may feel that if she replies in Finnish she will correct the situation a little. However, her use of Finnish is short since at the end of her turn on line 14 she returns to speaking English.

Clearing a misunderstanding may be difficult even if one does it in their mother tongue, let alone if they would have to do it in a foreign language. If the teacher has, for instance, misunderstood a pupil's English question it may be difficult for the pupil to rephrase the question in English so that the teacher would understand it. Instead, the pupil switches to Finnish to make his/her point clear. In other words, in the data clearing a misunderstanding takes place from English to Finnish. All in all, codeswitching is a usable tool when clearing a misunderstanding. This is because when the pupil switches to Finnish a change happens in the choice of the language which will attract the teacher's attention that she should pay more attention to the situation at hand.

10.7 Not knowing the English counterpart

There are a couple of instances in the data when a pupil or a teacher inserts a Finnish word into an otherwise English utterance. Sometimes this codeswitching is triggered by the fact that the English counterpart is unknown at that moment. If the pupil has inserted a Finnish word, the teacher usually reacts to that by trying to find the correct translation but not always. In my data, this function only occurs a couple of times in secondary school and once in upper secondary school. In other words, it seems clear that codeswitching is not employed extensively in the data to fill out gaps in the vocabulary.

Example 23 is a case where the teacher reacts to the Finnish word spoken by a pupil. She does so because she does not know the English counterpart herself; thus she tries to find a translation to the word. The class is doing an exercise where the teacher asks the pupils questions and they have to answer them using the past tense. On line 5 LM3 is answering the teacher's question but does not know what *'nakit'* (frankfurters) is in English so he uses the Finnish word instead. On lines 11 and 13 the teacher is wondering about the word, and as she is not sure of the translation she uses the Finnish word as well. She does find a word on line 13 she thinks will match the Finnish word: *little sausages.* What is fascinating in this example is that LM3 tries to find an English counterpart to the word and in the process he turns the situation into a linguistic joke. He does not only insert the Finnish word to his utterance thinking that the teacher will translate the word or that everyone understands what he means. Instead, he tries to find the English word he needs to use. This behaviour would indicate that he is quite a competent pupil.

Example 23:

```
         1 T       [u:h what did you eat,] yesterday.
         2 LF2     [(xxx Finnish)          ]
         3 LM3     I at- I, I ate, (.) yesterday.=
         4 T       =mm=
?        5 LM3     =uh I ate u:h [ (.)   ] nakkia. nuggets
                   = uh I ate u:h [ (.)   ] frankfurters. nuggets
         6 LM4                   [(xxx)]
         7 LL      ((laughter))
         8 LM3     nakes, na- na- n- nuggets
         9 LL      [((laughter))]
         10 T      [ nuggets. ] I don't know if they
?        11 T      are [nakit, but] nuggets,
                   are [frankfurters, but] nuggets
         12 LM3      [ jaa     ]
                      [ okay    ]
         13 T      little sausages anyhow [, ] u:h
         14 LM4                           [yea]
(lesson two, secondary school)
```


In the cases where the English counterpart is unknown the use of Finnish is understandable to ensure that everyone understands what one means. Furthermore, as Finnish is shared by all the participants in example 23, it is

natural to resort to it when one has trouble knowing the English word. However, as this is a teaching situation, the teacher's goal should be to find the English counterpart and in that way teach the pupils a new word. In my opinion the teacher has managed to do that in this situation.

Sometimes the teacher does not react to Finnish words being used in the middle of an English utterance. Example 24 demonstrates this. The upper secondary class is discussing their personal qualities in English, they listen to the tape about different types of persons and then the teacher inquires whether there are those types of persons in the classroom. Now she wants to know whether there are any c type persons. When she asks LM6 he first replies in English on line 5 but then on line 7 he inserts the word '*lukio*' (upper secondary school) in Finnish in his turn. The teacher, however, does not react to that, and does not give him or the class the correct translation of that word. This is interesting since the pupils are in upper secondary school, thus they should know the correct term for the school they are in. However, as this is a discussion, the teacher may feel that it is not relevant to correct every word. The emphasis is on the communication, not the correct way of saying things. If the teacher corrected the pupils' English all the time, they might not want to speak so much English in the classroom.

Example 24:

```
        1 T      uhuh (2) c persons (2) what are? you then everybody is d person
        2 T      then okay no c persons (1.5) nobody is interesting in in repairing
        3 T      cars fixing cars or (2) nobody interested in machinery (.) not
        4 T      even you ari
        5 LM6    no: I don't think I am
        6 T      you have [ (xx)   ]
?       7 LM6             [I think] I'm in the right place in lukio
                         [I think] I'm in the right place in upper secondary school
        8 T      °okay°
(upper secondary school)
```

Apart from demonstrating the ways in which codeswitching is used when the English counterpart is unknown, these two examples show how the level of studying (seventh grade versus 1st grade in upper secondary school) affects the language choices. The situations are quite similar in both examples, the class is doing an activity where the teacher is asking questions and the pupils are

answering, even though in upper secondary school group the situation feels more of a discussion than in the secondary school. The difference is that in secondary school the teacher is perhaps more aware of the language, when a pupil does not know the English word the teacher feels she has to help, find a translation. As the pupils are studying English for their third year only, the teacher sees it as her responsibility to make them learn new words in every situation. In the example from upper secondary school, in contrast, the teacher's goal is to make the pupils discuss; thus she may feel that correcting them would hold them back, they would not want to talk in English. As all the participants, the teacher and the pupils, probably share the mother tongue of Finnish in both the classrooms, it is natural to make use of it when a problem occurs. If a pupil inserts a Finnish word, it is up to the teacher to decide whether to translate it into English. It seems that teachers make that decision by evaluating the pupils, their level of knowledge in English, and the situation.

10.8 Checking for understanding

Part of the foreign language learning process is to learn new words and expressions. The material is there to help this process; the pupils have chapters to read and exercises to do which teaches them new vocabulary. In the teaching situation, when the class is, for example, doing an activity in English, the teacher should make sure that all pupils know all the words in that activity. If there are new words or expressions, the teacher can ask the pupils what they mean in Finnish. In other words, the teacher does not have to translate everything, by asking the pupils she lets them participate more actively to the lesson. Codeswitching occurs when the word or expression is translated into Finnish, or when the teacher asks about the new vocabulary in Finnish. In the data this function is visible both in secondary and upper secondary school; however, it is rarer in upper secondary school than in secondary school.

When a class is going through a new chapter, there are usually new words and expressions in English that the teacher wants the pupils to understand. As she is checking for the pupils' understanding, codeswitching occurs since the new

expressions and words are translated to Finnish. This is demonstrated in example 25.

Example 25:

	1 T	welcome to animal [jobs↑] in [this program]
	2 LM2	[kato] [(xx Finnish)]

```
        1 T      welcome to animal [jobs↑] in [this program]
        2 LM2                     [kato  ]    [(xx Finnish)]
                                  [look  ]    [(xx Finnish) ]
        3 LM                                  [    mm   ]
        4 T      we talk to [people] who work with animals,
        5 LM                 [ mm   ]
        6 T      and here is Susan Robertson↑(.) who is talking about
  ?     7 T      her job. (1) what does it mean, Susan Robertson works
        8 T      for the <RSPCA> the Royal Society for the Prevention
  ?     9 T      of Cruelty to Animals, minkälainen yhdistys on tämmönen.
                 of Cruelty to Animals, what kind of an association is this.
       10 LM2    u:h eläintensuojelu joku
                 u:h animal protection something
       11 T      joo=
                 yes=
       12 LM2    =kuninkaallinen eläintensuojeluyhdistys.
                 =the royal society for the prevention of cruelty to animals.
  ?    13 T      joo, jossa tota vastute- vastustetaan tämmöstä (.)
                 yes, where they um are opposed to this kind of (.)
  ?    14 T      [cruelty (.)  ]  raakuutta eläimiä kohtaan, and then
                 [cruelty (.)  ] cruelty towards animals, and then
```

(lesson two, secondary school)

Here the class is starting to look at a new chapter and, before listening to the chapter, the teacher familiarises the pupils with the vocabulary in English. On lines 1 and 4 the teacher is reading straight from the book about the chapter, what it is about; on lines 6 and 7 she is telling the pupils in her own words about the chapter. On line 7 she asks what it means that someone works for '*RSPCA*'. This question is in English, but here the teacher is not asking what the letters stand for. However, on line 9 she switches to Finnish to ask what kind of an association it is. The pupils are probably hearing about '*RSPCA*' for the first time, and the teacher wants to make sure they understand what it means. By switching to Finnish she lets the pupils know that now she is not reading from the book but is asking them a question. LM2 answers the question in Finnish on lines 10 and 12, which is natural since the question is in Finnish as well. This kind of behaviour from the teacher is natural since she wants to involve the pupils in the interaction and not tell them everything herself. Interestingly, the teacher switches to Finnish as well on lines 13 and 14 after

LM2 has answered in Finnish. Her Finnish may be explained by LM2's Finnish, she continues using the same language as LM2 used. She may not realise at first that she has switched to Finnish but on line 14 she returns to speaking English. However, another explanation to her use of Finnish could be that she wants to make sure all the pupils understand which kind of association RSPCA is. If she used English some of the pupils might not understand her.

Example 25 could also be interpreted as being participant-related codeswitching which means that the hearer's linguistic preferences or competences are taken into account (Martin-Jones 1995: 99). Auer (1998) proposes this kind of codeswitching which he also terms as hearer-oriented codeswitching. In example 25 the teacher may switch to Finnish on line 9 because she feels that if she asked the question in English the pupils would not understand her. Therefore, she thinks of the pupils' linguistic competence when choosing a code in which to ask the question, that is why she switches to Finnish to ensure that everyone understands what the letters stand for.

As was mentioned earlier, in upper secondary school codeswitching is rarely used for checking the understanding. This is quite understandable since the pupils have studied English longer than the pupils in secondary school; thus their vocabulary is wider. However, there is an instance in the upper secondary school where the teacher feels she needs to ask a couple of words to make sure everyone understands them. This case is represented in example 26. The class is doing a listening comprehension exercise where they have to match the description they hear on the tape to the occupation. They have a list of occupations in their books. The class has already listened to a couple of descriptions when the teacher stops the tape and asks two of the occupations, what they mean in Finnish. The first is '*accountant*' and as one can see from the example, none of the pupils seem to know it, as nobody offers an answer and the teacher tells them the word in Finnish on line 2. The other word is '*priest*' which is a familiar word to the pupils as they translate it into Finnish on lines 3 and 4. This example shows that the teacher has guessed it right that not all the words are familiar to the pupils.

Example 26:

```
?      1 T      by the way what's an accountant understand? accountant (.)
?      2 T      tilintarkastaja kirjanpitäjä (2) priest?
               accountant bookkeeper (2 priest?
       3 LM     pap[pi]
               pri[est]
       4 LM1        [pappi]
                    [priest]
       5 T      yes I can think you know all the other
```
(upper secondary school)

Example 26 differs from example 25 in that in example 26 the class has already begun to do the exercise and the teacher has not asked them if there are words in the list of occupations that they do not know. In example 25 the teacher asks the pupils before they start to listen to the chapter about the translations for the difficult terms. In my opinion, the latter case is more common in teaching, the teachers usually make sure before the class starts doing an exercise that everyone knows what the English words mean.

The case portrayed in example 26 is quite close to the function of explanation. However, the difference here is that the teacher asks a question from the pupils; her intention is not to explain the word *'accountant'* to them. As she gets no reply from the pupils she is forced to tell them the word in Finnish. In contrast, when explanation occurs, the teacher provides the explanation herself without asking the pupils.

The previous two examples have demonstrated how codeswitching is used to check that all the pupils know the vocabulary they need to know to do an exercise or understand a chapter. However, there is also a third kind of codeswitching in classrooms where in my opinion the function of checking for understanding takes place. This happens when the class has listened to a chapter and after it the teacher wants them to underline phrases and sentences in the chapter. The teacher tells the pupils in Finnish the part that she wants them to underline and the pupils find it, say it in English and underline it. Example 27 demonstrates this point.

Example 27:

```
        1 T      and then we´ve got (.) number four,
?       2 T      [milloin tulitte takaisin  ]
                 [when did you get back]
        3 LM3    [when did you get        ] [back home  ]
        4 LM2                              [ back home  ]
        5 LM4    [when did you   get back home]
        6 T      [   when did you get back home]. mm-m↑
```
(lesson one, secondary school)

Here the class has listened to the chapter and the teacher has a number of clauses she wants the pupils to underline in the chapter. She has probably listed the clauses on a transparency and numbered them, since she refers to them first by a number as is visible on line 1. Codeswitching occurs on line 2, when the teacher utters the clause in Finnish she wants the pupils to underline. The pupils find it in the text and say it in English to the rest of the class. This can be seen on lines 3, 4 and 5 where three different pupils (LM2, LM3 and LM4) have found the clause and they say it in English. By making the pupils underline phrases and sentences in the chapter they have looked at, the teacher first of all wants to highlight key phrases and sentences in the text; but secondly, she makes sure the pupils understand the text. When they have to find phrases or sentences in the text the pupils also have to know what they are looking for, they have to understand the words in the text; therefore, this activity tells the teacher whether the pupils have understood the text or not.

The function of checking for understanding can happen at various places during the lesson. It can take place when the class is starting to do or is doing an exercise, when they are starting to listen to a chapter or after they have listened to the chapter. The common denominator in all these instances is that the teacher initiates the checking; however, (s)he is not necessarily the one who uses codeswitching. Furthermore, the codeswitching takes place from English to Finnish since in the classrooms English is used when doing exercises or when looking at a chapter, Finnish is employed to make sure everyone knows the English words and terms. Therefore, this function of codeswitching can be even obligatory in the lessons, as the aim is to learn English. In other words,

the function of checking for understanding serves a pedagogical purpose, to teach the pupils new vocabulary.

10.9 Unofficial interactions

According to Canagarajah (1995: 185), interactions that are not demanded by the lesson are called unofficial interactions. In his study he discovered that it was the mother tongue that was used in these instances. He describes the unofficial interactions as cases of pupil to pupil interaction, for example in group activities where procedural matters are discussed. However, sometimes the teacher employs this function as well, for instance, to discuss extra-pedagogical matters such as happenings in the town. All in all, this function of codeswitching occurs when either the pupils or the teacher are talking about issues not related strictly to the lesson. Unofficial interactions are also visible in the present data; there are a couple of instances of it in both secondary and upper secondary school.

Example 28 portrays a less common case of unofficial interactions. Here the class is studying grammar, more specifically adjectives, and the language used in this studying is Finnish. The teacher asks LM3 a question on line 1 which he seems to have difficulties answering, but eventually he manages to finish the answer on line 8. The unofficial interaction starts on line 9 as the teacher asks LM3 a question which is not relevant for the task at hand. At the same time she switches to English. The teacher starts a discussion with LM3 about whether he has a dog, a discussion which is not demanded by the lesson.

Example 28:

	1 T	umm meidän koiramme ovat yhtä (1) karvaisia (2) kalle
		umm our dogs are equally (1) hairy (2) kalle
	2 LM3	häh (.) our dogs (.) are (.) mikä oli se
		what (.) our dogs (.) are (.) what was it
	3 T	yhtä karvaisia
		equally hairy
	4 LM3	as
	5 T	ei voi sanoa as
		you can't say as
	6 LM3	täh
		what
	7 LM6	tuli moka
		you messed up
	8 LM3	ni equally furry
		yes equally furry
?	9 T	umm do you have a dog
	10 LM3	no
	11 T	umm
	12 LM3	but I do have a very hairy little sister
	13 T	aha (.) does it run in the family
	14 LM3	yes
	15 T	no niin sitte tämmönen sana kun melko otetaan tähän tää nyt
		okay then there is this word casual let's take this now

(upper secondary school)

What is interesting here is that contrary to Canagarajah's findings the codeswitching occurs from Finnish to English. One explanation to this is that here the teacher switches codes first. This may be because the teacher knows she is able to communicate fluently in English. Another explanation could be that the teacher wishes to lighten up the atmosphere. The class has been studying the grammar for some time already and the teacher may see that the pupils need a change. The pupils expect the teacher to go on talking about grammar; instead she starts a little conversation with LM3 in English. This may cause the other pupils to listen more carefully as well. In that sense, codeswitching works yet again to get the pupils' attention in one way or the other. In this case the attention is caught by codeswitching to English in the middle of teaching grammar and conversing with one of the pupils. However, it is noteworthy that LM3 is joking on line 12 but the teacher does not acknowledge it as a joke as she does not laugh. One can see from the example that the unofficial interaction does not take long, on line 15 the teacher returns to talk about adjectives and at the same time switches to Finnish.

Unofficial interaction may also take place between pupils while the teacher is teaching. Example 29 demonstrates how, at the same time as the teacher is teaching, the pupils are engaged in a private discussion. The discussion between the pupils is conducted in Finnish, which is the same kind of situation Canagarajah (1995) found in his data. The teacher is asking the pupils in English whether they have been to a circus. In the example she is discussing this with two girls on the opposite side of the room to where the boys are who are having a talk of their own. In the transcript this discussion with the girls is not visible since they mainly respond nonverbally and when they speak it is so softly that the microphone does not pick their voices. I cannot be sure what the topic of the conversation is that the boys are having, but it is not about circus.

Example 29:

```
        1 T        [have you been to a circus↑]
        2 T        yes [ you have. (.) where↑      ]
?       3 LM2         [(xx) sitä haastateltiin ku] (.) se oli jossain ollu
                      [(xx) he was interviewed when ] (.) he had been somewhere
?       4 LM2       jollain muulla keikalla, [jonkun toisen bändin keikalla]
                    in some other gig, [ in some other band´s gig]
        5 LL                                [(xxx Finnish)              ]
        6 LM        joo
                    yeah
        7 LM2       (xx Finnish)
        8 T         here in Jyväskylä. did you enjoy it↑ (1) would
        9 T         you [like to go again↑              ]
?       10 LM2          [se on kyllä rankka jätkä äijä][ hyppää selälleen]
                        [he is quite a heavy bloke] [jump at his back]
        11 LM                                        [ ai jaa          ]
                                                     [oh yeah          ]
        12 T        [yes why not.]
        13 LM1      [mistä (xx)]
                    [from where (xx)]
        14 LM2      ei mistään
                    nowhere
        15 T        I think [I´ve never] been [ to a circus              ]
?       16 LM1              [ eikö      ]
                            [no         ]
?       17 LM2                            [hyppää voltin ja (xx Finnish)]
                                          [does a summersault and (xx Finnish)]
        18 LF3      mää olin pienenä joskus (xx)
                    I was sometimes when I was little (xx)
```
(lesson two, secondary school)

An explanation to the boys' behaviour could be that as the teacher has been having the discussion about the circus for a little while already, they may have lost interest in the discussion. Furthermore, the discussion about circus may have brought some story to their minds that they have to tell to the other one right away. The boys get this opportunity to engage in unofficial talk because the teacher is talking to the girls. It is not common that pupils have their private conversations during lessons, and mostly those discussions are in Finnish, at least in the present data.

Unofficial interactions can occur at any point during the lesson; it is usually pupil to pupil interaction, as in example 29, not meant for the teacher. However, sometimes this kind of codeswitching may occur in teacher to pupil interaction, as example 28 shows. In example 28 it is the teacher who starts the unofficial interaction and codeswitching, but that is unusual in the data. If there is unofficial interaction between the teacher and the pupils, it is usually the pupil who starts this kind of interaction by, for instance, telling a story (s)he just remembered.

10.10 Pupils' comments

The previous category of functions dealt with unofficial communication occurring at the same time as the lesson was going on. The unofficial interaction that took place had little to do with the present lesson content. The function of pupils' comments differs from the function of unofficial interactions in that the comments made by pupils are linked with the situation at hand. In the present data the pupils mainly comment on the exercises or activities, or events relating to the exercise. This function is found both in secondary and upper secondary school, but it is used less in upper secondary school than in secondary school where the pupils use it more.

Example 30 is from secondary school, and the class is doing an activity where the teacher throws them a ball asking them a question that they have to answer by using the past tense. The teacher uses English to ask the questions and in the

example she is thinking about a question on line 5 and asking a question from one of the boys on line 7. At the same time LF1 and LF2 are commenting on the situation in Finnish. They have not been asked a question yet and they think they will not catch the ball when the teacher throws it to them. This discussion can be seen on lines 3 and 4. Although their comments are not necessarily meant for the whole class to hear, one can argue that they are different from unofficial interactions where the discussion is about out-of-content issues. LF1 and LF2 use codeswitching to comment on the situation, Finnish is a natural choice since the mother tongue is their stronger language; they are able to express themselves better in Finnish.

Besides commenting on the situation of not catching the ball, LF1 seems to think on line 4 that she is not sure what they are supposed to do. She first agrees with LF2 about not catching the ball, and then she goes on saying that she does not understand anything about anything. However, the last part of her utterance can be interpreted as a general comment; she is not necessarily saying that she does not understand the instructions of the activity. Her general comment on line 4 may be triggered by LF2's previous utterance on line 3, LF1 wants to agree with LF2 on not catching the ball and by adding '*mää en älyä mistään mitään*' (I don't understand anything about anything) she emphasises her answer. In other words, LF1 adopts LF2's opinion and she does not want to look like she knows what they are supposed to do and does not want to let LF2 know that she will probably catch the ball when it is thrown at her. Therefore, LF1 shows solidarity towards LF2.

Example 30:

	1 T	little sausages anyhow [,] u:h
	2 LM3	[yea]
?	3 LF2	mää en saa kii tota kumminkaan ((laughs))
		I won't catch that anyway ((laughs))
?	4 LF1	[en määkään mää en älyä mistään mitään]
		[neither will I I don't understand anything about anything]
	5 T	[u:mm >mnjam mnjam mnjam mnjam<]
	6 LF2	[((laughs))]
	7 T	what did you: watch on TV. (0) last night.
	8 LM3	[Bold and the Beautiful]
	9 LM4	[u:h] u:h mää uh vai=
		[u:h] u:h you mean me or=
	10 T	=what did you watch.[mm.]

(lesson two, secondary school)

The previous example shows how codeswitching from English to Finnish can operate as building up a connection between two pupils when they are commenting on an activity. Sometimes, however, employing codeswitching from English to Finnish, when commenting on an exercise, can be a result of frustration. A pupil may not have understood the instructions and as the class is doing the exercise (s)he comments on that since (s)he cannot do the exercise. Example 31 demonstrates this point.

Example 31:

	1 T	where does the main stress occur
	2 LM3	quit
	3 T	sorry?
	4 LM3	quit in the b's [answer]
?	5 LM6	[siinä] pitää niinku beet alleviivata
		[you] have to like underline the bs
?	6 T	niin siis ne no he's just yeah quit his job okay and then (1.5) the
		yes so them so he's just yeah quit his job okay and then (1.5) the
	7	next
	:	
	:	
	22 T	school school was correct (.) and the next one
	23	(2)
	24 LM3	i:s
	25 T	is yes a:nd (.) ari
	26 LM6	one
	27 T	**I** sold **mine** I can hear two words
?	28 LM6	oli vähän ärsyttävä ku ei ymmärrä
		it was a bit irritating when I don't understand
	29 T	okay a:nd (1) you want to listen to the song
	30 LM	no

(upper secondary school)

Here the class has done a listening comprehension exercise where two men had a little discussion. While listening, the pupils have had to mark the stresses in the person b's turns. However, the teacher does not verbally say that the stresses have to be marked in person b's turns; this part of the instructions is only written in the books. LM6 comments on the exercise as he has not understood the instructions and is frustrated because he could complete it. On line 5 one can see that LM6 does not realise until after the listening comprehension is over what he was supposed to do while listening. He says his comment on line 5 in Finnish maybe to let the teacher know that she has not clarified what they were supposed to do. Moreover, by using Finnish LM6 can have more emphasis in his utterance. As the base language in this exercise is English, the Finnish jumps out in the context; therefore, LM6 may feel that the teacher pays more attention to his utterance. On line 6 the teacher does reply to LM6's utterance, and interestingly she starts her turn in Finnish. She may have realised that her instructions have been insufficient, and she shows understanding to LM6's problem by using Finnish. She, however, quickly returns back to English and to the exercise. Her use of Finnish can therefore be also interpreted in that she steps out of the exercise checking for a while to reply to LM6, and when she continues speaking English she lets the class know that they are back checking the exercise.

The class continues to check the exercise, but LM6 has not finished commenting on it. When they have finished checking the correct answers, LM6 feels he still has to say something about the exercise. Maybe he feels that his previous comment on line 5 was not answered properly and therefore he wishes to receive a better answer from the teacher. On line 28 he comments on the fact that it was irritating when he does not understand the exercise. However, one gets the feeling that he is not blaming himself for not understanding. He is frustrated and he needs to show it to everyone else by switching to Finnish. Furthermore, by commenting on the exercise in this manner he provides an explanation to why he did not offer to answer once. Another interpretation to LM6's behaviour is that his utterance on line 28 may just be his thoughts

spoken out loud. The teacher's reaction would support this view since she does not reply to LM6's comment but merely goes on with the lesson.

The pupils use Finnish to comment on the exercises or events relating to the exercises in the data. This behaviour is quite natural since Finnish is probably both their and the teacher's mother tongue or at least it is the language they are more competent in. Therefore, the pupils are sure that their comments are understood, and if the comments are directed to the teacher the pupils may wish that the teacher notices them better as the comments are uttered in Finnish. When the pupils are commenting on the exercise to one another, their use of Finnish is justified by the fact that as the comments are not part of the exercise itself, they are not demanded to use English.

10.11 Pupil initiation

Above I have discussed some examples where the pupil has initiated codeswitching. However, these switches were motivated by, for instance, a wish to request help or to clear a misunderstanding. In this section, I will discuss another case of codeswitching where a pupil's codeswitching from Finnish to English is followed by the teacher's switch to English as well. Therefore, I have decided to call the one instance that is found in the data where this happens, the function of pupil initiation.

This kind of behaviour is rare in the data; there is only one instance in secondary school when this happens. This instance is shown in example 32. This extract is from the beginning of the lesson, the teacher has taught the pupils how to form a clause using the present perfect verb forms because they will need that information in the verb test they will have in a couple of minutes. This discussion takes place in Finnish as can be seen on lines 1 to 10. LM3, however, causes codeswitching to occur when he arrives late. When he enters the classroom he apologises in English for being late, a manner they have probably been taught earlier. He of course does not know what language the teacher has spoken before he came. Here the teacher, however, starts a

conversation with LM3 in English. This means that LM3's codeswitching has led to the teacher codeswitching as well.

Example 32:

```
      1 T    [no nyt] mää kysyn, montas verbiä mää viimeks kysyin.
             [well now] I ask, how many verbs did I ask last time.
      2 LM1  [ (xx)  ]
      3 LM2  älä kysy ko viis.
             ask only five.
      4 T    viis joo viis mä kysyn nytkin.
             five yes I will ask five now as well.
      5 LM4  hmh
      6      (7)
      7 T    ai niin tapio.
             oh but tapio
      8      (4)
      9 T    [no niin            ]
             [ well              ]
      10 LM4 [mari (xx Finnish)][kaheksan ensimmäistä]
             [mari (xx Finnish)] [the first eight]
 ?    11 LM3                     [ sorry I'm late         ]
 ?    12 T   late again.
      13 LM3 yea.
 ?    14 T   [why is that.            ]
      15 LM2 [mitäs sää kädelles oot] tehny
             [what have you done to] your hand
 ?    16 LM3 now I [ha-   (.) now I have books.]
      17 L          [eiks se ollu kymmenen (x)]
                    [wasn't it ten (x)]
 ?    18 T   [YOU HAVE] BOOKS TODAY=
      19 L   [mm          ]
 ?    20 LM3 =yeah
 ?    21 T   [okay (.) very] good [indeed.]
```
(lesson one, secondary school)

As has been pointed out above, the pupils have studied English for little over two years, which means that their skills are still progressing. The teacher appears encouraging in that she encourages the pupils to speak English. Example 32 is a good example of a situation where the teacher encourages LM3 to speak English as she starts a conversation with him. LM3 also keeps up the conversation in English although he could answer in Finnish to the teacher. Maybe he wants to show her that he can speak English, or that he wants to speak English. His eagerness to speak English is also shown in that he does not reply to LM2 who asks on line 15 about LM3's hand in Finnish; LM2 only converses with the teacher. This example is interesting since the change is

so clear, the codeswitching to English is caused by the pupil and the teacher continues the codeswitching. Furthermore, most of the time in the data the codeswitching occurred from English to Finnish, which means that also in that sense this instance is exceptional.

10.12 Teacher admonitions

The name for this category comes from Canagarajah's (1995) article dealing with functions of codeswitching. Canagarajah (1995: 183) explains this function as one that is used when the teacher is disappointed with the pupils, and (s)he uses the mother tongue to express this anger or frustration. This function of codeswitching can be seen in the data of the present study as well. However, there is only one instance of teacher admonition in the data, and that instance occurs in secondary school.

Example 33 takes place when the class is starting to check their homework. The pupils have had three exercises to do at home and the teacher goes around in the classroom checking the pupils' books whether they have done these exercises. The teacher uses English when talking about the exercises, she answers to the pupils mostly in English when they tell her how many exercises they have done. This is visible on lines 3 and 4. However, as she goes around the classroom and hears what the pupils have to say about the way they have done the homework, it is becoming clear that some of them have not done their homework and this leads to the teacher employing codeswitching from English to Finnish.

Example 33:

```
     1 LM2    mä oon tehny kaks.
                I've done two.
     2 LM1    määkin oon tehny kaks.
                I've done two as well.
     3 T      you did one and two.
     4 T      °you've got [o:ne and two°  ]
     5 LM4             [mä en oo käyny] ees tällä sivulla.
                       [I haven't even been] to this page.
?    6 T      tota noin. (.) moneltas te pääsette koulusta
                well. (.) what time do you get off school
```

	7 T	mä annan teille vanhanaikaista laiskanläksyä
		I'll do the old-fashioned way and make you do your homework again
?	8 T	hilkkari vie [ku ei: (.)] läksyjä voida
		damn you [for not (.)] doing your homework
	9 LF2	[°kolmelta°]
		[°at three°]
	10 T	tehä kotona. (.) hmh.
		at home (.) hmh.
	11 LM3	ko:lmelta
		a:t three
	12 T	kolmelta (.) oikein hyvä. (.) tuutte kolmelta tänne?, jotka
		at three (.) very good (.) you will come here at three?, those of you
	13 T	[ei oo tehny (1)] ja tehdään sit ne loput tehtävät.
		[who have not done (1)] and then we'll do the rest of the exercises.

(lesson one, secondary school)

The teacher is somewhat angry at the pupils for not doing their homework. One indicator of this is the emotionally strong expression that she uses no line 8: '*hilkkari vie*' (damn you). On line 6 she switches to Finnish to deal with the issue of pupils not completing their homework. As Finnish is the mother tongue of all the participants in the classroom, the teacher may feel that her words will have more power if she utters them in Finnish. Furthermore, the teacher's codeswitching to Finnish may serve as an indicator for the pupils that they have done something wrong.

The mother tongue has sometimes more power in the foreign language classroom, as example 33 demonstrates. When codeswitching is employed in a case like the one in the above example, it gives more emphasis to the teacher's words. The pupils know that as they are learning English, a lot of English is used in the classroom. They even know that in some cases Finnish is used instead of English. But sometimes they are taken by surprise; they may assume that as the teacher has been speaking English she will continue to do so in a certain situation; instead, the teacher switches to Finnish. This strategy by the teacher will make the pupils more alert, they respond better to their mother tongue. Furthermore, they know that they cannot make an excuse by appealing to not understanding the teacher. To conclude, codeswitching used when reprimanding pupils is an effective strategy.

10.13 Grammar translation

As was pointed out above, in both classrooms one theme in the lessons is grammar. Furthermore, grammar is taught in Finnish in both classes. However, as the target is to teach English grammar, there is bound to be a lot of codeswitching, which is conscious. There are two functions of codeswitching when teaching grammar: grammar translation and grammar explanation. I will separate these functions from the function of explanation and treat them as individual functions. The reasons for this are, firstly, that the language is treated differently in explanations and when teaching grammar. When explanation occurs the language is a means for communication. When teaching grammar, though, the language is treated as an object. In other words, codeswitching in explanation takes place because someone does not understand the teacher's English words; in contrast, when the teacher is teaching grammar in Finnish, codeswitching occurs because of a necessity as the examples are in English. Secondly, in grammar translation and grammar explanation both the teacher and the pupils employ codeswitching, whereas in explanation only the teacher employs codeswitching.

I think that grammar translation and grammar explanation should be treated as occurrences of codeswitching since the language changes quite a lot during the teaching of grammar. These switches are conscious as the aim is to teach English grammar in Finnish. It may be argued that there is no codeswitching when grammar is being taught; however, I would remind that Grosjean (1982: 145) defined codeswitching as 'the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation". Grammar explanation and grammar translation fit into this definition as the languages, English and Finnish, are being used in the same utterance or teaching situation. Therefore, I will discuss these functions in separate sections starting with the grammar translation and moving on to discuss grammar explanation in the following section.

Grammar translation means that while teaching and learning grammar there are instances when a clause is uttered both in Finnish and English for the purpose of studying grammar. Grammar translation may occur either when the teacher

asks in Finnish a pupil to translate for instance a sentence into English, or when the teacher gives an example herself and says it both in Finnish and in English. The tendency seems to be that in upper secondary school the codeswitching happens between turns, i.e. the teacher says something in Finnish which a pupil then translates in English. In secondary school both instances of grammar translation (teacher-pupil and teacher giving an example) take place.

Example 34 shows how grammar translation is mostly used in upper secondary school. The teacher asks the pupils how a sentence is translated into English. In example 34 the teacher asks LF4 on line 3 how she would say in English *'minulla on vain vähän rahaa'* (I have only little money). LF4 answers this question correctly on line 4. One explanation to the teacher asking the pupils to translate in these kinds of situations quite a lot instead of providing the translation herself is that this is their eighth year of studying English; thus they know the adjectives quite well. They are revising the adjectives, the teacher picks up the cases that are maybe more difficult or that she knows the pupils will have problems remembering.

Example 34:

	1 T	bad sanasta (.) ill (.) jos on sairas niin sairaampi ja niin edelleen
	2 T	(3) um sit siellä on mainittu mites sanot että mulla on vähän
?	3 T	rahaa (3) minulla on vain vähän rahaa (4) no ihan normaalisti (1)
	4 T	tiina
?	5 LF4	I have only little money

(upper secondary school)

Example 35 comes from secondary school where the class is preparing for a verb test. As part of the verb test they have to write one clause using the present perfect tense. The teacher is trying to make the pupils remember how to form a clause using the present perfect tense. She is doing that by first of all taking one verb and inflecting it in all its three forms on lines 4 and 5. Then she takes one example sentence which she first says in English on line 10 and repeats it in Finnish on line 11. The fact that she is trying to teach them the correct way of forming a sentence using the present perfect tense is visible in the way she purposefully says the clause slowly on line 10. This is the pupils' third year of learning English which would explain this situation in that the

teacher does not ask the pupils for the answer but provides the example herself. Furthermore, as they have a verb test in just a moment where they have to write a sentence with the present perfect tense, a wrong translation by one of the pupils may cause someone to write that in the test instead of the correct sentence. Another explanation is that the teacher is merely trying to save time and in order to do that she says the example herself.

Example 35:

	1 T	esimerkiks kun teillä viimeks mä en tiiä kysyttiinks teillä
		for example when last time I don't know if you were asked
	2 T	tulla verbiä. (1) [niin] te oisitte ensin voinu laittaa (.)
		the verb come (1) [yes] you could have first put (.)
	3 LM	[joo]
		[yes]
	4 T	taivut- tai teidän pitäis taivuttaa se siihen, come (.) came
		infle- or you should inflect it there, come (.) came
	5 T	come. [(1) okay↑] (.)
	6 LM2	[mm yes se oli oikein mulla]
		[mm yes I had that one right]
	7 T	montakos pistettä siitä ois tullu. [ja sitten teidän pitäis]
		how many points would that have made. [and then you should]
	8 L	[(xxx Finnish)]
	9 T	tehä siitä perfektilause↑ (.) elikkä se joku semmonen (1)
		make it into clause with a present perfect tense? (.) so something like
?	10 T	esimerkiks. (.) <has he: a:l ready> (.) come. (.)
		(1) for example (.) <has he: a:l ready> (.) come. (.)
?	11 T	onko hän jo tullut. (.) te tarviitte siihen
		has he already come (.) you will
	12 T	[sen apuverbin↑](.)[mm-m↑], ja sitten te tarviitte tän
		[the auxiliary verb?] (.) [mm-m?], and then you'll need this
	13 LF1	[ai jaa, noin]
		[oh, like that]
	14 LF2	[ai jaa:]
		[o:h]
	15 T	kolmannen muodon.
		third form.

(lesson one, secondary school)

10.14 Grammar explanation

Grammar explanation differs from grammar translation in that during teaching grammar in Finnish the teacher uses English words which she does not translate. The base language is Finnish, English is used because the teacher is teaching English grammar; thus the examples are in English. Example 36 will demonstrate this.

Example 36:

	1 T	aijaa no se on kuitenkin se tavuhomma on siinä joka ratkasee tän
	2 T	asian nimenomaan on ykstavuset (.) ja tietyt kakstavuset ja sitte
	3 T	tulee on muitam‑ muutamia muitakin on joita tällä samalla
?	4 T	systeemillä tehdään esimerkiksi um clever sanaanhan sä voit
?	5 T	laittaa kaks mahollisuutta clever (1.5) eli miten (3) clever kaksi
	6 T	ihan päätteellä tai sitte=
	7 LF4	=cleverer tai more
?	8 T	cleverer (2) kumpaa käytät tiina
	9 LF4	um more ja most sanoilla
	10 T	sä käytät sitä joo elikkä sä: [voit sanoa]
	11 LF4	[vähän menee] kieli solmuun cleverer
?	12 T	more clever (.) the most clever (4) mulle on tutumpi tuo clever
	13 T	cleverer

(upper secondary school)

Here one can clearly see that the teacher employs Finnish to teach the grammar. She is teaching the pupils how adjectives are inflected in comparative and superlative, when to use the suffixes and when to use the words more and the most. She uses as her example the word *'clever'* which is not translated at any point. The teacher probably assumes that the pupils know this word by now, she does not have to translate every word. Furthermore, as the pupils are older, they should know that they can ask if they do not understand something.

Codeswitching is almost mandatory when teaching grammar in an EFL classroom. As the pupils and the teacher share a mother tongue, it is easier to use that as the mode of instruction. The pupils have learned grammar in Finnish lessons, which means that they know the Finnish terminology. In EFL classroom the purpose is to learn English grammar which explains the English examples and translation used when teaching the grammar.

10.15 Lapses

I think that some of the instances of codeswitching in the present data cannot be categorised into functions, instead, they could be simply treated as lapses. Lapses are instances where the teacher is speaking Finnish but says a word or a couple words in English. These English words are spoken almost accidentally, since they are not required. It is understandable that lapses occur in the teachers' speech since they are used to speaking English as they teach English and when they are speaking Finnish during a lesson they may slip an English word sometimes. Both the teachers in the present data have a few lapses during the lessons. The following examples will demonstrate what exactly are meant by lapses. The first, example 37 is from upper secondary school.

Example 37:

	1 T	the latter jälkimmäinen the latter eli ihan (.) ihan (2) mitäs mitäs
		the latter the latter the latter so just (.) just (2) what what
?	2 T	tarkottaa että late mister (1) late mister hutchinson for instance
		does this mean late mister (1) late mister hutchinson for instance
	3 T	mitäs se tarkottaa
		what does that mean
	4 LF4	se on edesmennyt
		it means late
	5 T	edesmennyt vainaja niin edelleen tämmösiä eri merkityksiähän
		late deceased and so forth these have these different meanings
	6 T	näillä on (1) ah (2) mikä ero on last year the last year
		(1) ah (2) what's the difference between last year and the last year

(upper secondary school)

In example 37 the upper secondary school teacher is teaching grammar in Finnish but on line 2 uses English when she says *'for instance'*. The other uses of English are justified in this situation since she is teaching English grammar and is giving English examples to clarify her points. Her use of *'for instance'*, however, can be categorised as a lapse, since that is not part of the example she gives just before saying *'for instance'*. Her lapse can be explained by the fact that she is used to speaking English and now she has just said an example in English which could have caused her to continue her utterance in English for a little while. Her lapse is only a short one since on line 3 she continues to speak

Finnish. She may not have even realised that she said esimerkiksi (*for instance*) in English.

Other times the teacher's lapse occurs in an otherwise Finnish utterance, English is not used which would cause the lapse to occur. This kind of behaviour can be seen in example 38. Here the class is doing a verb test and LF3 is giving her paper back to the teacher. At the same time she says that she is not sure about her answers which leads to the teacher telling her whether they are correct or not. The teacher explains LF3 on lines 1, 2 and 4 how to form a sentence using the present perfect tense, since they have to write one sentence using that tense. The whole of this discussion is in Finnish. However, on line 6 the teacher switches to English to say '*next time*'. This short English phrase is followed by Finnish on lines 7 and 8; the teacher continues her explanation to LF3. What is different in this example compared to the instance in example 37 is that the English words are preceded and followed by short pauses. This would indicate that the lapse is not purely accidental but that the teacher partly knows she is using English. If the use of English is conscious, she may have a reason for doing so. The phrase is emphasised as it is uttered in English, which may be the teacher's intention. She wants to emphasise that the pupil has a new chance in the next verb test. However, the teacher's words can also only be accidental, one does not know for sure by only looking at the transcript. I believe that they constitute a lapse.

Example 38:

1 T	=°eikö vaan. kato jos sää haluut tehä kysymyksen.°	
	°=right. look if you want to form a question.°	
2 T	°[perfektikysymyksen] niin sä et ta:rvi sitä vaan sää°	
	°[a question using the present perfect tense] you don't need that but°	
3 LF3	°[nii]°	
	°[yes]°	
4 T	°teet sen just näin. niinku se on tässä.[(.)] mut ei se haittaa°	
	°you do it like this. like it is in here. [(.)] but it doesn't matter°	
5 LF3	° [mm]°	
6 T	°emmä voi enää ●antaa takasin● (.) next time. (.) ja sit (.)°	
	°I can't give it ●back to you anymore● (.) next time (.) and then (.)°	
7 T	°tässä on kanssa sä oot ottanu sen imperfektimuodon elikkä°	
	°here again you have taken the past tense so°	
8 T	°tuon kakkosmuodon.°	
	°that second form°	

? appears beside line 6.

(lesson one, secondary school)

Lapses can be quite natural in an EFL classroom since a lot of English is used and the teacher can have a lapse when (s)he is speaking Finnish. The teacher may even forget for a short time that (s)he is speaking Finnish and a lapse occurs. Other lapses can be only semi-accidental, as in example 38. All in all, lapses are something that can occur when one is teaching a foreign language and uses both the foreign language and the mother tongue during the lesson.

11 Discussion

The findings of the present study show that both the teacher and the pupils employ codeswitching in EFL classrooms. However, there are differences in their uses of codeswitching. The pupils mostly employ it from English to Finnish, in contrast to the teachers, who employ it from Finnish to English as well as from English to Finnish. The pupils' behaviour is understandable as they are not so confident users of English yet; when a problem arises they often resort to Finnish rather than trying to, for example, rephrase their English utterance (e.g. when clearing a misunderstanding). There is, however, one instance in the data when a pupil switches from Finnish to English. The

circumstances are unusual (the pupil enters the classroom without having knowledge of the language being used there), yet he makes a real attempt to speak English with the teacher. This indicates that there are pupils who are willing and have the courage to communicate in English as much as possible in the classroom despite, for example, the lack of vocabulary.

When pupils employ codeswitching it is not, however, always because they lack the vocabulary in English to say what they want to say. They may also employ codeswitching when, for instance, they want to catch the teacher's attention. This happens, for example, when a pupil wants to comment on an exercise the class is doing. By switching to Finnish the pupil can indicate to the teacher that (s)he has something to say and that the teacher should listen. When English is the mode of instruction, Finnish jumps out in the context, which suggests that there is perhaps some other reason besides answering the teacher's question, for using Finnish. In addition, pupils in secondary school want to help the less competent pupils by codeswitching to Finnish to translate what the teacher has asked a less competent pupil. These instances reveal that the pupils are not switching to Finnish only when they do not know the English words, they also switch to Finnish to catch the teacher's attention or to help others. This suggests that the pupils know that it is acceptable to use Finnish in English classrooms. Furthermore, sometimes employing codeswitching indicates that they have good knowledge of English since they can translate the teacher's English utterance to a less competent pupil.

As mentioned above, teachers employ codeswitching both from English to Finnish and from Finnish to English. When the teacher switches from English to Finnish her reasons may be to make sure everyone understands what she is saying to them (i.e. explaining) or to check that everyone understands the words in a chapter or in an activity. This is understandable since the teacher's duty is to teach the pupils and a part of this teaching is making sure everyone knows what they are supposed to do or understand the chapter they are about to listen to. Furthermore, as the pupils and the teacher usually share a mother tongue of Finnish, it clearly is accepted that both languages are employed when teaching a foreign language in Finland. The reason for the teacher's

codeswitching can also be the fact that switching to Finnish in an unexpected moment can have a powerful effect, for instance, when reprimanding the pupils. If the switch is unexpected to the pupils they know that the reason must be a serious one; thus they listen more carefully.

Catching the pupils' attention can also happen when the language is switched from Finnish to English, for example, when the teacher moves from one classroom activity to another. The pupils know that they have to pay more attention to the teacher's words as English is not their stronger language. In the function of moving from one activity to another codeswitching occurs both from Finnish to English and vice versa. When the switch is from English to Finnish, the reason is usually that the teacher begins to teach grammar. These two instances above show that there is a difference in the direction of the switch. A switch from Finnish to English is employed when beginning a classroom episode related to communication (e.g. a discussion), a chapter or a listening comprehension. When the direction of the switch is from English to Finnish, its purpose is usually to start teaching and learning grammar. All in all, employing codeswitching, when moving from one classroom episode to another, is an effective way to separate different classroom episodes. The teacher has chosen to use English for certain classroom activities (e.g. having a discussion or going through a chapter in the book) while Finnish is reserved for the other activities which include teaching grammar or preparing for a verb test. Therefore, when the language changes the pupils can also expect a shift to something else in the lesson.

As mentioned above, the teacher employs codeswitching from English to Finnish and from Finnish to English. It seems that these switches are usually a conscious choice since by employing codeswitching the teacher can for instance help pupils who do not understand something. However, sometimes there are occasions when a teacher's switch to Finnish is not planned but is accidental (a lapse) or triggered by the pupil's codeswitching to Finnish. The teacher has spoken English but a pupil's switching to Finnish causes the teacher to switch to Finnish as well. Usually this switch is a short one, one or two words only, as the teacher quickly goes back to speaking English. Such

behaviour of maintaining English in a specific situation would indicate that the teacher wants to speak the language she has chosen for the specific classroom episode. Furthermore, if she were to switch the languages all the time she could confuse the pupils as they would not know which language they are supposed to use. Therefore, the teacher's language choices should be conscious.

Codeswitching takes place in different parts of the lessons: when teaching grammar, working through a chapter, doing exercises and checking them, having a discussion or when playing games. The findings show that especially the pupils use English mostly in materials – dependent talk. The pupils use English when it is demanded by the activity or the textbook, but Finnish for unofficial interactions during the lessons, for commenting on the exercise etc. It was interesting to find out how the pupils sometimes make a distinction with the exercise (e.g. answering the teacher's question in English) and the other activity (e.g. requesting help or correcting oneself in Finnish) by employing codeswitching. The pupils know that they are required to use English when they are doing, for instance, a question-answer exercise. But when they want to, for example, ask the teacher something they switch to Finnish. This tendency was visible in both secondary school and upper secondary school. This behaviour by the pupils indicates that the two languages in the classroom have different roles and meaning. As the context is teaching English as one school subject to Finnish pupils, the pupils treat it accordingly. English is used when the activities demand it (e.g. the teacher asks questions she wants the pupils to answer), but Finnish is used when the pupils want to know something relating to the activity (e.g. what a word is in English or a line number in a chapter) or when communicating with another pupil. This indicates that the pupils do not see classroom environment as a real communication situation where they could use English at all times. They know that Finnish is an allowed language, so resorting to it when a problem arises is usually the first thing to do. This is not to say that they should not do so, it is understandable to use Finnish if one has, for example, limited vocabulary. However, especially in upper secondary school the teacher should encourage the pupils to use English most of the time, for example, ask them to repeat in English what they have said in Finnish.

Besides material-dependent talk, the teacher employs codeswitching from Finnish to English also when managing the classroom (moving from one activity to another), when slipping an English word to an otherwise Finnish utterance and sometimes when engaging in an unofficial interaction with a pupil. This would indicate that as the teacher is a more confident communicator, her range of using English is wider. Moreover, the teacher has to consider the pedagogical aspect of teaching the pupils to communicate in English which shows in the way the teacher trying to use as much English as possible.

The findings indicate that Finnish is used a lot in pupil-to-pupil talk (e.g. unofficial interactions or commenting on an exercise); in disciplinary talk, when the teacher reprimands the pupils; and in pupil initiation to teacher. Using Finnish when reprimanding the pupils is more effective, since Finnish is their mother tongue, so they cannot claim to not understanding the teacher. The use of Finnish in some instances, for example, pupil-to-pupil communication, indicates that it is a closer language to the pupils; they express more intimate thoughts in Finnish while English is almost solely reserved for the communication demanded by the textbook or materials. Furthermore, when pupils use Finnish instead of English they may want to indicate to the other pupils that they want to level with them, if they were to use English the others might feel that this pupil was showing off his/her English skills.

Grammar teaching is an interesting feature of classroom discourse as far as codeswitching is concerned. The present study has treated grammar as being codeswitching since there is language alternation in such situations. However, the present study recognises the fact that codeswitching which occurs when teaching grammar differs from other functions of codeswitching. Other times codeswitching may serve a social, discourse or pedagogical function, but when grammar is being taught these functions do not apply for the most part. The pedagogical aspect applies to a certain extent since the aim is to teach the pupils English grammar. Grammar teaching could be seen as serving an exemplary function since the examples are in English but the actual teaching

takes place in Finnish. At the same time, the present study recognises that there are arguments against treating grammar teaching as codeswitching since there is not a possibility to choose which language to use, the language for teaching grammar is usually Finnish, the codeswitching occurs since the examples are in English. An interesting question follows this discussion, the speculation of what grammar teaching is. The present study has treated it as being codeswitching; some other study may find it being something else.

When applying Poplack's (1980) types of codeswitching to EFL classrooms, the findings show that although the categories have originally been used to describe naturally occurring discourse, they can also be found in classrooms. Intra-sentential codeswitching is mostly employed when teaching grammar which demonstrates the nature of that situation (mode of studying is Finnish but the examples are in English). Interestingly, the upper secondary school teacher and one of the pupils in secondary school develop so called 'hybrid' forms mixing English and Finnish in the same word. This finding was much unexpected, especially when the teacher is concerned. The situation, however, has an impact on these occurrences since, for instance, in the teacher's case she was teaching grammar and it did not seem to bother anyone that she used a hybrid form. The teacher could have corrected herself in the situation, but then again her behaviour reveals how English is treated as an object when teaching grammar. This means that when it is an object a word can be modified, moved around and even be turned into a hybrid form mixing it with Finnish. Alternatively, it could be speculated whether hybrid forms are temporary borrowings since it could be argued that the English word is borrowed to Finnish by adding a Finnish case ending to it thus making it sound Finnish.

Inter-sentential codeswitching is found to occur in situations when grammar is being taught but also in many other functions (explanation, requesting help or unofficial interaction just to name a few). The findings furthermore show that inter-sentential codeswitching occurs both within a turn and between turns, the latter being the more common situation. Inter-sentential codeswitching is natural when, for instance, a pupil initiates codeswitching to Finnish in a situation where others speak English. The pupil's switch to Finnish in a

situation where English is used is usually a new turn. This means that others speak English and the pupil's switch, for example to request help, is in Finnish. Inter-sentential codeswitching can be a natural choice for a pupil since then (s)he does not have to know both English and Finnish grammar to be able to produce a grammatically correct utterance as (s)he would have to do if intra-sentential codeswitching was employed.

Tag-switching is a less common feature of classroom codeswitching as the findings suggest. This may be because classroom discourse is structured, which means that there is not much room for free speaking, the teacher usually allocates the turns. Furthermore, especially in teacher-led activities the discussion does not flow naturally, in contrast, the teacher controls it. Also, in teacher-led activities there is a purpose to the activity, for example, to learn to form sentences using the past tense. In situations like these the pupils focus on the production of a correct sentence and not have a discussion. I wonder whether there is more tag-switching in pair - or group work where the pupils speak English to one another, have a discussion. Unfortunately this could not be examined in the present study because of the setting; the video-cameras were not close to the pupils.

As the above discussion shows, there were some problems in the analysis of the present data as not everything that the pupils said could be heard, especially when they did pair work. Therefore, the setting had an impact on the findings. In the secondary school classroom there were microphones in the classroom and the cameras were quite close to the pupils, thus the cameras caught most of the words that were spoken. In the upper secondary school, on the contrary, there were two cameras that weren't situated so close to the pupils. Furthermore, the microphones were in the cameras which meant that they could not pick all the discussion that was going on between the pupils whereas in secondary school a lot of private discussions were caught on tape. Because of the differences in the setting, the findings are somewhat unequal, as the functions in secondary school could be reported more specifically than the functions in the upper secondary school. However, the aim was not to compare the two classrooms but to have a varied overview of codeswitching in

classrooms. Therefore, this inequality is not meaningful to the overall findings. When collecting data the researcher cannot affect the surroundings much, (s)he cannot interfere with the lesson by, for example, setting the cameras very close to the pupils in a large classroom.

The findings of the present study have similarities to other studies done on functions of codeswitching. Canagarajah (1995) found that English is only used for material – based communication, while the mother tongue is reserved for other activities. The findings of the present study support this idea. However, the present study also found that English is sometimes also used for other activities in Finnish EFL classrooms, for instance, in unofficial interactions or in pupil initiation, which is contrary to Canagarajah's findings. There was only one instance of both of these functions, still it is noteworthy to discover that English is used in such situations sometimes. This would suggest that the limitations for using English and the mother tongue in Finland are not as strict as they appear to be Jaffna where Canagarajah conducted his study. Merritt et al. (1992) found in their study of the types of codeswitching that codeswitching often functions as an attention getting device which is supported by the present study as well. Both these previous studies also found that English is the formal code while the mother tongue is the informal code. This applies to the present study as well to an extent, since using English has a clear pedagogical function whereas Finnish can also serve a social function (e.g. when pupils comment in Finnish on an exercise to form a bond between them). Interestingly, even though Canagarajah' and Merritt et al.'s studies have been conducted in an ESL context, there are similarities to EFL classrooms but also differences in the occurrences of codeswitching.

The findings of the current study suggest that codeswitching is not thought of as a forbidden practise or bad behaviour. The teachers allow the pupils to use codeswitching; they do not indicate verbally that they want the pupils to use English in certain situations. However, by their own language choices they demonstrate to the pupils that, for instance, English is the only language in some situations. This is shown by the way the teachers respond in English to a

pupil's Finnish question or the way they quickly go back to speaking English if they switch to Finnish due to a lapse or a pupil's codeswitching.

Furthermore, the findings suggest that it is more common to switch from English to Finnish than the other way around. This would indicate that English is the mode of instruction over half of the time during lessons, both the teachers and the pupils use English in activities, but Finnish is employed to help facilitate the communication or to make a distinction between the exercise at hand and the other activity (e.g. requesting help). To conclude, Finnish and English go side by side in EFL classrooms in Finland, both languages seem to have their own functions in the classroom although some functions overlap.

12 Conclusion

The purpose of the present study was to find out which different functions codeswitching has in EFL classrooms in Finland. This topic was chosen due to the researcher's future profession as an English teacher and the fact that there is little codeswitching research in classrooms in Finland. The data came from secondary school and upper secondary school; more specifically, there was one classroom from each level, two lessons from each class. Method of analysis was discourse analysis. The analysis was designed to be qualitative in nature; quantitative information was only used to report the overall frequency of the different functions of codeswitching.

The findings show that this topic is worth studying in EFL classrooms in Finland. Codeswitching is employed in classrooms for varied reasons, those functions being social, discourse and pedagogical. Both the teachers and the pupils employ codeswitching. However, the pupils employ it mostly from English to Finnish whereas the teachers employ it in both directions. The findings furthermore show that English is usually used in materials – dependent talk whereas Finnish is reserved for pupil-to-pupil interaction,

disciplinary talk or pupil initiation to teacher. The pupils' reasons for employing codeswitching range from not knowing the English vocabulary to helping other pupils. The teacher's uses of codeswitching are a result of getting the pupils' attention or making sure everyone understands her or the activity in the book.

I believe that this study has brought new information to the field of codeswitching research. As was pointed out above, codeswitching has not been studied widely in the foreign language classrooms; especially in Finland. Therefore, the present study offers new knowledge on how codeswitching is employed in the classrooms. However, due to a relatively small sample of data, the results cannot be generalised to apply to all foreign language classrooms. I only looked at two teachers and two groups of pupils; if the data had been different the results could have been different as well which means that other functions could have been found. However, even though I only analysed two classrooms, the findings show certain tendencies and patterns in the use of codeswitching that indicate that it is a meaningful and strategically used phenomenon.

I believe that this study helps other researchers and teachers to understand codeswitching as a phenomenon better. The study makes the teacher aware that codeswitching occurs in the classroom; furthermore, it shows that although there may be arguments against using the mother tongue, sometimes there is a good reason for using it. Therefore, teachers should not feel bad about employing codeswitching. The findings show that as most of the participants in the classroom share the mother tongue of Finnish, sometimes it is useful to speak Finnish instead of English. Furthermore, as the focus was on both the teacher and the pupils in the present study, it provides knowledge on how the pupils employ codeswitching. This knowledge may be useful for the teachers because they may insist that the pupils speak English all the time and when they do not, the teachers may reprimand them. However, this study has showed that the reason behind codeswitching to Finnish is not always that the pupil does not know how to say something in English, but for instance, the pupil may want to keep apart the English activity (s)he is doing and the Finnish question

(s)he is asking. Besides helping the teachers, this study also provides information for teachers-to-be. When they are training to become teachers, they are faced with the issue of codeswitching many times. This study will hopefully give them confidence to trust themselves in that there is not only one way to teach, and that both English and Finnish can be used during the lessons.

There is still a lot one can study in the field of codeswitching in language classrooms. The present study answered the how – question, how codeswitching is employed in foreign language classrooms. It would also be important to know first hand from the teachers why codeswitching is employed. This would mean that besides observation, the teachers should be interviewed, and the basis for those interviews could be video-recorded lessons of the teachers. Furthermore, the present study focused on the micro-functions of codeswitching; therefore, it would be fascinating to investigate which macro-functions of codeswitching there are in EFL classrooms, i.e. to take into account language practises in the surrounding society and how it is visible in the teaching of English in Finland. Yet another interesting area of research would be to study the phenomenon of borrowing in language classrooms, to make a detailed analysis on whether there is borrowing going on in classroom in addition to codeswitching. The present study indicated something of this sort in the form of hybrid forms; therefore, it would be fascinating to investigate it further. I think it is worthwhile to study codeswitching from different points of views in Finland since codeswitching is an everyday issue in most schools. However, it should not be randomly used since that will confuse the pupils, instead, the teachers should acknowledge their use of codeswitching and they should have a reason for employing it.

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Appendix

Transcription conventions

te[xt1] [te]xt2	overlapping utterances
text1= =text2	latching utterances
(.)	short pause
(4)	a pause, timed in seconds
(x)	unintelligible items, probably one word
(xx)	unintelligible items of phrase length
(xxx)	unintelligible items beyond phrase length
(text)	uncertain transcription
((text))	other actions besides speaking; transcriber's comments
bold font	prominence/stressed sounds
CAPITALS	loud speech
italics	mispronunciation
<u>text</u>	marked (Finnish) pronunciation
:	lengthened sound
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
,	continuing intonation
°text°	whispering utterance, soft speech
•text•	laughing utterance
cutoff w-	cutoff word
<text>	slow speech
>text<	fast speech