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ABSTRACT

A study investigated language alternation (LA) between the native language (L1) and second language (L2) in the lessons of four teachers of English as a Second Language in Hong Kong secondary schools. Qualitative analysis of classroom discourse revealed that LA is often used as an effective marker of boundaries in discourse and changes in frame. The act of code-switching and direction of switch were both found meaningful, rendering possible the effective communication and negotiation of meaning otherwise difficult to express explicitly. In addition, teachers may use L1 when teaching vocabulary and grammar, and in highly ordered patterns of LA reflecting the teacher's response to conflicting demands: ensuring limited English speakers' comprehension of the teaching points and fulfilling L2 teaching requirements. Findings suggest that the principle of using only L2 in the second language classroom should not be translated into rigid classroom practice that is not sensitive to the needs and constraints of individual classroom situations, but rather that the value of LA in discourse structuring, frame marking, teacher-student negotiation, and vocabulary teaching should be recognized. Contains 85 references. (MSE)

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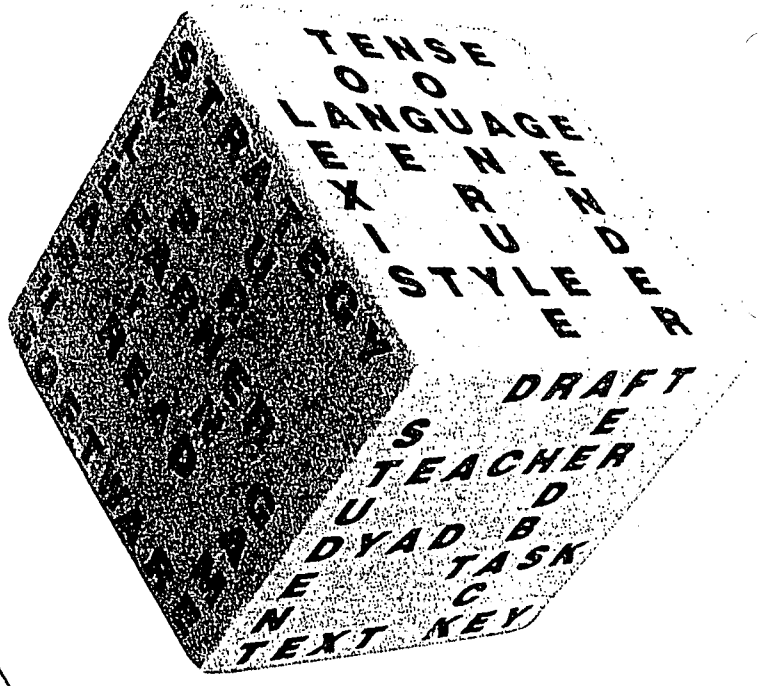

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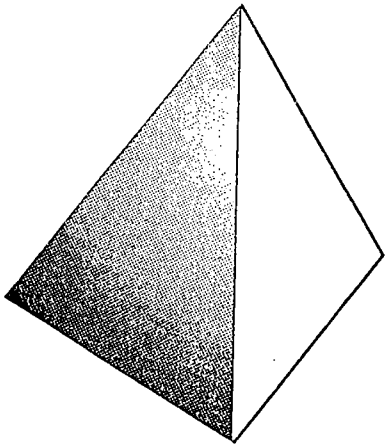

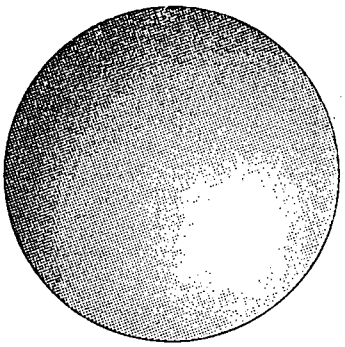

TEACHING IN TWO TONGUES: LANGUAGE ALTERNATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS

Angel M Y LIN

November 1990

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TEACHING IN TWO TONGUES:
LANGUAGE ALTERNATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS

Angel M.Y. Lin

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ABSTRACT

The answer to the question why teachers switch to the students' mother tongue (L1) in a foreign language (L2) lesson has often been couched in a range of functional terms (e.g. to maintain classroom discipline, to talk to individual students,... etc.). While confirming that L1 is used for these functions in many cases, the present study has further explored the mechanism through which they are achieved, based on an analysis of actual language alternation (LA) instances in 24 junior Form English language lessons of 4 teachers (A-D) from different secondary schools in Hong Kong.

One finding is that LA is often used as an effective marker of boundaries in discourse and changes in frame. The very act of switching between the two linguistic codes, as well as the direction of each switch are in themselves meaningful. They render possible the effective communication of, and negotiation for, meanings (social and/or discourse-related ones) that are otherwise often difficult to express explicitly. As such, it is an important addition to the teacher's repertoire of communicative resources in the classroom.

Another finding is that teachers may use L1 when teaching vocabulary and grammar, and they do so in highly ordered patterns of LA. For instance, when teaching grammar Teacher D tends to introduce an example first in L2. Grammatical points about the example are also first made in L2. Then they are usually reiterated with more details in L1. After that, very often there is an L2 summary reiteration of the grammatical points, hence the L2-L1-L2 sequence.

This pattern seems to reflect the teacher's response to some conflicting demands on her: to ensure thorough understanding of the teaching points for students with limited English ability while trying to fulfill the requirement of teaching in L2.

In vocabulary teaching, a typical format is:

a. Teacher asks for the meaning of L2 lexis,

b. Students propose L1 equivalents or explanations,

c. Teacher evaluates students' proposals (in L1 or L2), and gives follow-up elaboration and/or exemplification (in L2).

What the students already know about the L2 lexical item is activated and the new concept is related to their prior knowledge. Sometimes when the vocabulary explanation is a digression that is to be kept short, usually the teachers do step (b) themselves and skip steps (a) and (c).

The findings indicate that the monolingual principle of using only L2 should not be translated into rigid classroom practice that is not sensitive to the needs and constraints of individual classroom situations. The value of LA in discourse structuring, frame marking, teacher-student negotiation, and vocabulary teaching should be recognized. And a teacher should not be made to feel guilty about using L1 in situations where the use of L2 alone does not suffice.

As for the methodology, the study has adopted a qualitative approach rather than a functional coding method. LA instances are analysed in their discourse context. It is found that the concepts of Conversation Analysis can be usefully applied in the study of classroom language alternation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank the teachers who offered their help in the process of data collection. Without their assistance the study would not have been possible at all. Special thanks also go to my colleagues and friends, who gave me a lot of support when I was working on the project. And I must thank Dr. Kang-Kwong Luke; his devotion to the quest for reality first inspired my interest in research.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The alternating use of the target language (TL or L2) and the students' native language (L1) in the teaching of a second or foreign language seems to be a practice that present-day language teaching and learning theories will readily speak against. When A.P.R. Howatt (1984:289) writes that the monolingual principle of teaching the target language through the target language is the unique contribution of the 20th century to classroom language teaching, he has in fact summarized the views many scholars in this field hold. Indeed there is a considerable literature making the case for this principle: Wilkins, 1974; Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982; Swain, 1982; Krashen, 1982; Gower & Walters, 1983; etc. The major arguments are that students need to have maximum meaningful input of the target language as well as maximum opportunities to communicate in the target language. Both maximum 'input' (Krashen, 1982) and 'output' (Swain, 1985) are believed to be the most important criteria for any language acquisition to occur.

There is no question that the monolingual principle represents current mainstream thinking in the field of second/foreign language teaching. Although there also exists a small body of literature in favour of some use of the native language of the students (with different writers holding different views on the extent to which and the situation in which the mother tongue should be used; e.g.: Guthrie, 1984; Atkinson, 1987; Method, quoted in a South China Morning Post article, 'The man....', 1988 March 7), this line of thought is hardly influential at all.

While existing theories are generally wary of the use of L1 in second or foreign language teaching, the reality in the classroom may present a quite different story, as we shall see in the following section.

1.1 The Extent to Which Cantonese[1] is Used in English Language Lessons in Hong Kong Secondary Schools

It is reported in a diary study (Ho, 1985) that a teacher-researcher found herself abandoning her original conviction of the monolingual principle after teaching two Form 1 remedial English classes[2] for 4 months. 'Her attitude towards the use of Chinese[3] changed from one of dislike and resistance to liking and accepting it' (Ho & Van Naerssen, 1986:31).

In the survey study conducted by the same authors among Form 1 remedial English teachers in twenty-eight Hong Kong secondary schools in regard to the amount of English and Chinese used in the English classes, 4.5% of the teachers reported using English only, and 47.8% reported using more English than Chinese. However, a large number (47.7%) also reported using half English and half Chinese or mainly Chinese and some English (Ho & Van Naerssen, 1986:30).

In a study on additional teachers for split-class[4] teaching of English (Ho, J.C. 1985:45) only 19.4% of the 45 teachers surveyed reported that the medium of instruction they normally used in an ordinary class was all English, while 58.1% reported using English supplemented with Chinese occasionally, 19.4% reported using half English and half Chinese, and 3.2% opted for the choice of 'mainly in Chinese'. As for the medium of instruction they normally used in a split class, only 17.6% of the teachers reported using all English while 70.6% reported using English supplemented with Chinese occasionally, 11.8% reported using half English and half Chinese, and none of the teachers reported using mainly Chinese.

Despite the limitation that self-reports are generally not very reliable (Gumperz 1970:6-7, quoted in Legarreta, 1977:9), findings in these two studies nevertheless provide some indication of the extent to which the native language is used in the English language

lesson in Hong Kong secondary schools. And in the researcher's personal communication with many English language teachers in secondary schools, most of them said that they did alternate between Cantonese and English for some of the time in their lessons[5]. Although a large-scale survey would be needed before we can be fully certain about the situation in most schools, there is however the overwhelming impression that language alternation in the English language lesson is rather widespread in Hong Kong secondary schools, and it would be unrealistic to assume that it only occurs in isolated instances.

It is therefore important to recognize the existence of such a phenomenon, and to look into the nature of it. But before we do so, it is helpful to first acquaint ourselves with the language situation in Hong Kong.

1.2 The Sociolinguistic Background of English Language Teaching and Learning in Hong Kong

There are two prominent aspects of the local language situation which are particularly interesting in this context and will be described below. They are: societal bilingualism and linguistic attitudes.

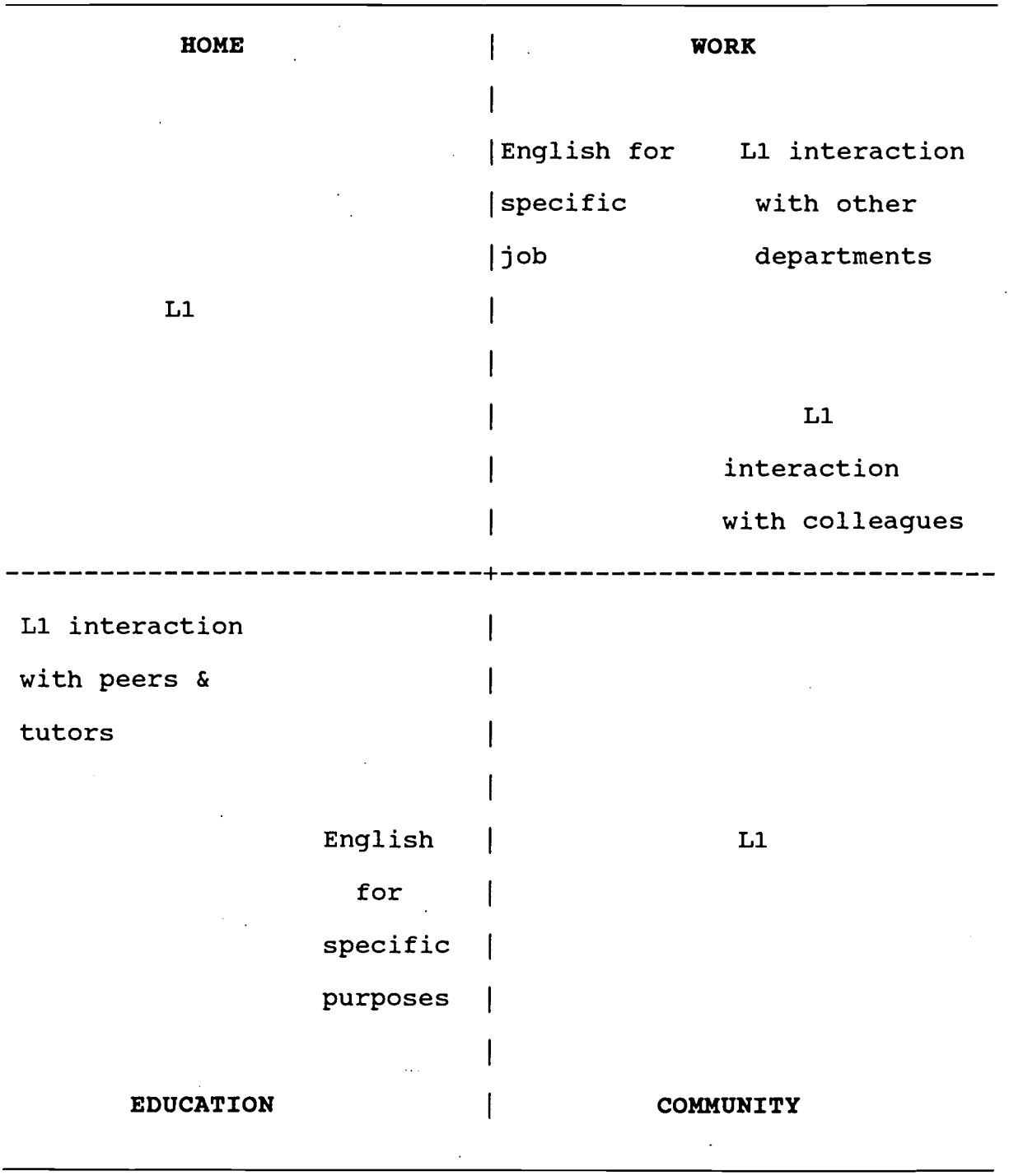
1.2.1 Societal Bilingualism: social distance between the English and Cantonese speech communities and functional separation of English and Cantonese

Luke & Richards (1982:55) use the term 'societal bilingualism' to describe the Hong Kong language situation, in which two largely monolingual communities co-exist. These two speech communities are basically socially disjunctive since the majority of the English speech community and the majority of the Cantonese speech community never interact with one another, and when they do interact they do so only in certain domains

of language use (Luke, 1981:1). For the average Chinese, this approximates to the EFL (English as a foreign language) context depicted by M.J. Fitzgerald (1985:44):

Fig. 1: Who Speaks What to Whom in a Twenty-Four Hour Period

(adapted from Fitzgerald, 1985:44)



It can be seen in the above figure that the everyday language for an average Hong Kong Chinese is his or her L1 (i.e. Cantonese). He or she may use English for those formal situations of work or study, but most of the time Cantonese is used for social interaction with family members, friends, colleagues, and other members of the Cantonese community.

Thus, on the one hand, there is a considerable social distance between the English and Cantonese speech communities; on the other hand, there is a strict functional separation between English and Cantonese. English is chiefly used for the 'high functions' in society, e.g.: government, law courts, the professions, commerce, education, etc., while Cantonese is chiefly used for 'low functions' in society, e.g.: home, media (Luke, 1981:1). We recognize that due to political reasons (see footnote 1), there has been a growing emphasis on Chinese in recent years and Chinese is beginning to take up some important functions in the society (e.g. the government's recent policy of bilingual legislation). However, there is still a long way to go before Chinese succeeds in making its way into the high domains. In other words, for the majority of Cantonese here, English is used mainly in *official, formal* situations (e.g. work, government) while Cantonese is used mainly in *informal, intimate* situations (e.g. home, peer interaction). It may be useful to characterize English as a language of power and prestige, and Cantonese as a language of intimacy and solidarity.

1.2.2 The Linguistic Attitudes of Hong Kong Students

In view of the social distance and the functional separation between the English and Cantonese speech communities, one may ask the question: How do Cantonese students here feel about the English language as well as the use of it?

In a study by Kwok & Chan (1972:74), it was found that many university students felt a knowledge of English essential to the securing of a lucrative position here. On the

other hand, it was observed that there was 'a tendency to disdain the use of English except under compulsion'.

The same phenomenon was noted by Fu (1975), who conducted a questionnaire survey among 561 secondary school students. A large percentage (61%) of them said that they would feel uneasy if a Chinese teacher spoke English to them in the school hallway. Fu (1975:174) reported the following trends of opinion among the students surveyed:

> Predictably, students see (1) English as an important and necessary subject, but (2) they do not feel easy about using it in speech. (3) They take pride in their own Chinese civilization, but (4) have generally negative attitudes toward western civilization and towards English speaking people.

These findings lend support to the suggestion that the average student in Hong Kong has more 'instrumental' than 'integrative' motivation (Lambert, 1967) to learn English. It also seems that the ethnic and cultural identity of students works to make them feel uneasy using English for normal social interaction.

Having gained a general picture of the local situation from a sociolinguistic point of view, let us focus our attention on the local secondary school setting in the next section.

1.3 The Local Secondary School Setting

1.3.1 Expansion of Secondary Education & 'Declining Standard' of English

Since the late 1970's, Hong Kong has witnessed a rapid expansion of secondary education, marked by the introduction of 3-year compulsory secondary education for all children of the appropriate age group in 1978. Under the relatively more elitist education system in the past, students entering secondary schools were screened by a

public examination, which tested primary school leavers in the subjects of Chinese language, English language and Arithmetic. Since 1978 all primary school leavers have been offered places in secondary schools. The implication of this change is that today there are more students coming from the lower end of the academic and linguistic ability spectra continuing their studies in secondary schools.

The curriculum and examination syllabus however have not been modified correspondingly to accommodate this change in the extent of variation in student abilities. Nor have the expectations of the society. The result, as can be expected, is numerous complaints from the society about students' 'declining standards', especially in the English language (see 'South China Morning Post' articles: 1988 March 7, 22; 1989 April 15). One can imagine the pressure that both teachers and students face in this new situation.

1.3.2 'Medium-of-Instruction' Problems in 'Anglo-Chinese' Secondary Schools

The majority of secondary schools in Hong Kong are 'Anglo-Chinese'. In an Anglo-Chinese school, the medium of instruction is supposed to be English. Most parents are eager to have their children enter Anglo-Chinese schools, as there is a widespread (perhaps mistaken) belief that they promise better English language attainment than 'Chinese Middle Schools', which adopt Chinese[6] as the medium of instruction.

As a result of the introduction of compulsory secondary education, students of a very broad range of academic and English language abilities are admitted into Anglo-Chinese schools. Those at the lower end of the ability scale are however unlikely to be able to cope with learning in a second language. It is no surprise that Johnson (1983) found in reality most teachers have adopted code-mixing and code-switching in their oral medium (in subject lessons such as Geography and Integrated Science), although textbooks and written work are still in English.

1.3.3 The English Language Lesson in Secondary Schools: pressure and constraints

If many 'Anglo-Chinese' secondary schools are experiencing some kind of 'medium-of-instruction' problems[7], then one can expect no fewer problems with the English language lesson in these schools, as again there has been little modification in the English language curriculum and examination syllabus to accommodate the broader range of student abilities.

In fact the situation that faces the English language teacher is tremendously trying and complex. On the one hand, there is the *new* batch of low-English-proficiency students to take care of; on the other hand there are the *unchanged* demands of the English examination syllabus to fulfil. In addition, they may feel the need to live up to the expectations of teacher-trainers, who may have advised them to use as much English as possible in their teaching (as that is the currently favoured methodology of second/foreign language teaching). Students' parents and the society may hold similar expectations of teachers too. In fact some schools do stipulate a policy of using all English in English language lessons. And on top of all these considerations, there is an exceptionally heavy workload[8] and tight timetable.

1.4 The Present Study: Aims & Scope

Although there has been much talk in the media over the problems of English language standards and the quality of English language teaching[9], there has been surprisingly little systematic research on the English language classroom in Hong Kong secondary schools, and many claims and opinions have largely been based on anecdotes and hearsay. So far there has only been a diary study done on the use of Cantonese in Remedial English language classrooms (Ho, 1985). Indeed, as Chaudron (1988:126)

puts it in his recent review of research on second language classrooms, '... more investigation is needed of the causes of TL or L1 use...'.

It is in this context that the present study has been conceived. Its aim is twofold. First, it aims at getting a clearer picture of the English language classroom in Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. Its goal is to see what actually goes on in the classroom, and how and why teachers alternate between English (the TL) and Cantonese (the L1) when they do.

The second aim of the study is methodological. Classroom language research has largely been carried out with functional coding systems (e.g. Milk, 1981), producing quantitative descriptions of the classroom situation. The present study, on the other hand, aims at developing a qualitative approach to the study of the classroom, drawing on the concepts and techniques of Conversation Analysis. It is believed that a qualitative approach to the analysis of language alternation in the classroom can yield valuable findings that a quantitative approach may not give.

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 L2 Classroom Research: Origins and Development

That line of research with the classroom as its central focus has its origins in general educational and teacher-training studies in the 1950s, when people wanted to find out what constituted effective teaching. It was in the 1960s that the L2 classroom in particular became a focus of research interest. At that time, people were enthusiastically engaged in comparing the effectiveness of different language teaching methods (e.g. cognitive-code, audiolingual) with the goal of obtaining a set of global methodological prescriptions for language teaching (e.g. Scherer & Wertheimer, 1964; Smith, 1970; Otto, 1969).

However, no conclusive results were obtained. Fanselow (1977) regarded the failure as a result of using large, inappropriate units for analysis such as 'school', 'skill', 'method', since practitioners of different methods may actually do similar things in the classroom (e.g. requiring students to answer in complete sentences). The early studies started by assuming (without any evidence) that 'approach', 'method' or 'technique' were the important variables in language learning. Their subsequent failure pointed to the suggestion that many basic factors affecting language learning still remain unknown to us.

The identification of important variables has then become the general goal of subsequent classroom-centred research. And the nature of this line of research has become essentially descriptive and exploratory. As Allwright (1988:194) puts it in his recent review:

> Observational research in the language classroom had its unifying force simply the wish to understand classroom language learning and teaching, and the belief that such an understanding could best be sought by looking in detail at what happened in classroom language lessons.... There was no 'theory' within the research paradigm itself, to motivate predictions that observations can test.

This field of research is then defined by its choice of where to look for its data (Allwright, 1983:200). As to what to look for in its data, though no consensus has been reached, there are two main kinds of interest. Researchers with a linguistic perspective have chosen to look at the linguistic features of the language input provided by the teacher's talk to students (e.g. Gaies, 1977) while researchers with a sociological outlook tend to look at the patterns of social interaction in the classroom (e.g. Mehan, 1979). These two viewpoints are not mutually exclusive and in fact many studies have been conducted with varying proportions of both kinds of interest. The issues that these

studies dealt with include: features of teachers' language (e.g. grammatical or discourse modifications; the choice of language), patterns of classroom interaction (e.g. distribution of turns), teachers' reactions to students' errors. (For detailed reviews of these studies, see: Gaies, 1983; Allwright, 1988; and Chaudron, 1988).

2.2 Research on Language Choice in the Classroom

An important issue in this area of research is the choice of language in an L2 classroom. Most of these studies have been carried out in content classrooms[10] in North American bilingual programs[11] and only a few in language classrooms[12]. Research interest has mainly been directed at two aspects: the relative quantities of L1 and L2[13] use, and the functional distribution of the two codes in the classroom. Below is a review of the major studies.

2.2.1 Studies on Relative Amounts of L1 / L2 use

These studies have largely been conducted in the North American setting with preschool children in bilingual programs. Their main concern is to see whether both the minority children's native language (e.g. Spanish, Cantonese) and the societal language (English) are given proper emphasis by calculating the relative quantities of their use in the classroom (in terms of the number of utterances in each code or the time spent on it). The method used is usually class visit and class observation with field notes and audiotapes/videotapes of the lessons analysed later. All of them found that on the whole the societal language (English L2) was used much more often than the L1 of the students, and different degrees of L1 was used in the lesson depending on a number of factors.

In a study of Cantonese children in American kindergartens, Wong-Fillmore (1980) found a range of L1 use depending on the degree of individualization in teacher-student

interaction. In a Cantonese-English bilingual program, the teacher spoke the least L1 (8% of all her utterances) and the most L2 (92%) during whole-class instruction. She spoke more L1 (28%) during interaction with individuals in seat work. The child chosen for observation, on the other hand, spoke much more L1 (79%) in seatwork than he did (4% L1) during teacher directed whole class instruction. It was also noted that during teacher or teacher-aide directed group work on ESL[14], teacher talk involved 12% L1 and student talk 11%. As for similar group work on phonics, teacher talk involved 23% L1 but student talk involved more than twice as much L1 (56%).

In a study (Frohlich et al., 1985) on the communicative orientation of L2 classrooms in 4 different programs in Canada[15], teacher talk in all 4 programs was found to reflect very high target language use (96%). However, the researchers noted that students generally used the target language only while the teacher exercised control over classroom activities. During seat work, most interaction occurred in the native language (ibid.:42-43). This finding was in accord with Wong-Fillmore's (1980) mentioned above.

While the pattern of teacher-student interaction (e.g., whole-class, group work or individual work) may influence the relative amounts of L1/L2 use, language preference of school children as well as program emphases are also important factors. In a longitudinal ethnographic study (Chesterfield et al., 1983) conducted on five Spanish-English bilingual preschool classes in two distinct locations, more L1 use was found among the teaching staff of one location (48% to 67% L1) than the other (22% to 47% L1). Chesterfield et al. suggest that the greater use of L1 in the former location may have been due to the greater preference for L1 use by the children and also the program's encouragement of translation in various instructional activities.

The effect of program emphases may however be offset by individual variation among teachers, as was noted by Strong (1986:53) in his comparison of teacher language use in

grade 3 and 5 bilingual (either Spanish or Cantonese L1) classrooms and English monolingual submersion classrooms. He found that despite program expectations of more L1 use in 'bilingual' programs, the bilingual teachers used L1 an average of only 6% of the time.

All these studies have been concerned with the quantities of L1 / L2 spoken in the classroom. It is however not very informative just knowing the amounts of L1 / L2 used. We do not know, for example, whether there are differences in the kinds of use that L1 and L2 are put to respectively. Some studies, on the other hand, have aimed at studying the functional distribution patterns of L1 / L2 use in the classroom.

2.2.2 Studies on Functional Distribution of L1 / L2 Use

Many of these studies have been conducted on American bilingual content classrooms and only a few on second and foreign language classrooms. In most of these studies, classroom language was coded with some sort of interaction analysis systems (e.g. Flanders, 1970) resulting in frequency counts of different functional categories. Interestingly, they all found some difference in the kinds of functions that L1 and L2 are put to respectively.

In a study of language choices in Spanish bilingual classrooms based on observations in 5 kindergartens, and using an adaptation of Flanders' Multiple Coding System, Legarreta (1977) reported on the functional distribution of Spanish (L1) and English (L2) in two different models: the Concurrent Translation[16], and Alternate Days[17]. She found that the Alternate Days model generated an equal distribution of Spanish and English by teachers and children overall, with more Spanish used for warming and directing, and English was the primary choice for correcting children.

However, in the Concurrent Translation model, the teachers/aides instead of using the vernacular Spanish of the majority of the pupils to express solidarity (warming, accepting, amplifying), chose to use predominantly English for these functions. Directives for classroom instruction and disciplinary speech was also given mainly in English. She also noted that the major reason teachers/aides switched from Spanish to English was to correct pupil misbehaviour. It seems then that whatever the program model, L2 was the preferred choice for disciplinary functions.

The possible existence of marked functional imbalance of L1 and L2 in the language of instruction in bilingual classrooms has aroused much concern among researchers. In an analysis of the functional allocation of Spanish L1 and English L2 in a twelve-grade bilingual civics lesson, Milk (1981) coded the teacher talk according to 8 basic pedagogical functions (e.g. 'informative', 'directive', 'humour-expressive') based on Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). English was found to dominate in the teacher's directives (92%) and metastatements (63%) while there was a greater balance between the two languages in other functions (elicitation, expressives, replies, informatives).

Milk (1981:23-24) also noted that during observation of the class he was deeply impressed by the skillful manner in which the teacher employed humour, both as a means of social control (via the creation of a sense of solidarity) and as a way to motivate interest and to encourage interaction. This was accomplished at least in part through talking in a certain style which involved extensive switching between Spanish and English.

Somewhat similar findings were reported by Guthrie, (1984) who conducted a rare study on language choice in English language lessons attended by 11 first-grade Cantonese-American students of a range of English proficiencies (from limited-English-speaking to fluent). Two types of lessons were analysed, reading in English with a Cantonese-English bilingual teacher and oral language with an English monolingual

teacher. Field notes and audio-recording of 6 hours of lessons were obtained by two bilingual observers. The data were transcribed and each utterance within the lessons (both teacher's and individual student's) was coded for different Conversation-acts (e.g. Request for Action, Protest, etc.).

It was found that interactions of the English monolingual teacher with the low-English-proficiency pupils in the oral language lessons were characterized by a higher proportion of Conversation-acts like 'Attention Getters', 'Requests for Action', and 'Protests', indicating a certain lack of control and a frequent loss of pupil attention (Guthrie, 1984:44, 47).

On the other hand, while the bilingual teacher used Cantonese very rarely (less than 7% on average) in English reading lessons, when she did it was for a distinct reason. (She told the researchers that she tried to avoid using Cantonese during these lessons and was surprised to find she had used L1 as much as she had). Guthrie (1984:47) summarized his findings on the bilingual teacher's L1 use in instruction as follows:

> ...the data show she carefully selected those occasions on which she did (use Chinese[18]), and she employed Chinese for a variety of purposes, including translation, as a *we-code* for solidarity, and for procedures. Most frequently, however, she used the students' language to clarify or to check for understanding. Her use of the language revealed a sensitivity to the variable meanings in Chinese and English that made it possible for her to pick out likely sources of confusion...She simply recognized the points at which students might have difficulty; perhaps because she herself had learned English as a second language.

This is in accord with Wong-Fillmore's (1980; see previous section) observation that the small amount of Cantonese (L1) used in the lessons was chiefly for explaining concepts

and instructions that might have been difficult for the children to comprehend had they been given in English alone (1980:318).

The findings of these studies seem to converge and suggest that generally L1 is used for explanation, for arousing students' interest, and for socializing. Its use also seems to be especially effective with low-L2-proficiency students.

So far all the studies reported have been conducted in the North American setting, which is quite different from the Hong Kong situation. What about studies on language choice in Hong Kong classrooms? There have only been two to date; one is on content classrooms (e.g. Geography, History) while the other is on English language classrooms. They will be discussed in more detail below.

2.2.3 Research on Hong Kong Classrooms

A study by Johnson (1983, 1985)[19] looked at the bilingual switching strategies of teachers in content lessons in Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. 15 teachers teaching lower secondary school classes (Forms I-III)[20] in 5 different schools (ranging from high to low academic standards) were studied. Recordings of 3 lessons of each teacher were analysed.

Johnson (1985) found that the teachers alternated between a number of codes in the classroom: English (E), Cantonese (C), Cantonese-English (C-E)[21], and English-Cantonese (E-C)[22]. He noted that overall the 2 most impressive results of the analysis of code-switching were, first, the sheer overall quantity of switching: an average of 1 switch in every 18 seconds of talking-time; second, the degree of variability across teachers: from no switches to 389 (1983:274). On this, he (1985:72) made some insightful comments:

> ....any future policy decisions should take account of this diversity and permit teachers a considerable degree of flexibility in establishing the mode of instruction best suited to their circumstances.... Assumptions about uniformity in mode of instruction would be unwarranted not only from school to school, but from one lesson to another, even when the school, teacher, class and subject remain constant.

Johnson (1985:72) also made an interesting point about the mixed code 'C-E' (Cantonese-English). His data showed that this mixed medium has become established as a consistent element within the mode of instruction in Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. However he noted that 'C-E' of the classroom was very different from the 'Chinglish' abhorred by English and Chinese purists alike. It was essentially an insertion switch[23] in which the switched element was a key term. Typically the element retained its English pronunciation and its status as an English key term, often supplemented by its Cantonese equivalent.

Despite the high level of diversity across schools and teachers, Johnson found a remarkably high degree of consistency in the bilingual teaching strategies adopted: i.e. in the factors underlying code choice and motivating code-switching and he (1985:44) characterized the use of English and Cantonese in terms of the following continua:

English	**Cantonese**
Text-dependent	Text-independent
Formal	Informal
Didactic	Explanatory
Memory-based	Understanding-based

For example, a decision to turn to material in course books (which are all in English) involves the use of English. As for the formal-informal continuum, since the English

that teachers command has been learned and practised in classrooms for formal academic purposes and they have little or no control over other registers, any situation in which the formal, academic and impersonal register seems inappropriate may lead to a switch into Cantonese.

English is also the usual language of instruction while Cantonese is the language of explanation and illustration. A typical teaching sequence involves an English statement of what has to be learned followed by Cantonese explanation and illustration with a final English summary and restatement of key points. The English must be remembered (for examination purposes) and once the content has been understood, by means of Cantonese explanation, pupils spend a lot of time memorizing the contents of course books or handouts (Johnson, 1985:44).

Johnson's study has no doubt provided us with much valuable information on content classrooms in Hong Kong secondary schools. When comparing bilingual switching strategies with the 'separation approach'[24], he concludes that the former are more effective, being capable of greater sensitivity to differences amongst learners and groups of learners. However, the situation in the second or foreign language classroom is somewhat different. Is code-switching there an effective teaching strategy too? A diary study (Ho, 1985; Ho & Van Naerssen, 1986) conducted in secondary school Form 1 remedial English classrooms has aimed at exploring that question.

Ho kept a diary of her teaching experience with two Form I remedial English groups over a 4-month period on a total of 108 lessons for each group. With Group A, she used only English; with Group B, she used some Cantonese.

Ho reported that she had used Cantonese for the following functions in Group B:

-Explaining vocabulary.

-Giving instructions.

-Explaining language rules

-Talking to individual students

-Reprimanding students

She also reported that she managed to perform most of the same functions successfully in Group A without using Cantonese with the help of visual aids, gestures, demonstrations, examples, and rephrased explanations. Although she felt the need to use Cantonese when she explained abstract vocabulary or the names of objects and places that the students had no general knowledge about, she did not actually speak any Cantonese on these occasions. She, however, noted that a complete avoidance of the mother tongue was impossible. She could not stop students from making associations in the mother tongue or from explaining language items to one another in the native language.

Despite her commitment to using only English in Group A, she felt she needed to break the rule about absolutely no Cantonese in order to be sensitive to the needs of two especially weak students. For example, when they approached her after the lesson was over and before the bell rang to ask for further explanations of instructions, she responded in Cantonese.

Based on her diary study, Ho further delineated 2 types of reasons for L1 use:

1. Student-initiated reasons:

-Students did not understand the teacher

-Students responded positively to the use of L1

-Students lacked discipline

-Individual students needed the help of L1

-There was not enough time left in the teaching period

2. Teacher-initiated reasons:

-The teacher enjoyed using L1

-The teacher was overworried

-The teacher considered the use of L1 to be expedient

Interestingly, Ho noted that after the 4-month experiment, her attitude towards the use of L1 has changed from one of dislike and resistance to liking and accepting it. She valued its use and on certain occasions deliberately chose to use it at the end of the term in Group B. She also began to feel an inclination to use L1 in Group A near the end of the term (though she resisted that inclination). Ho pointed out that her change in attitude had involved various identifiable stages of guilt, frustration, and confusion.

Ho's diary study revealed vividly a teacher's feelings and perception of her own using of Cantonese in remedial English language lessons. However, some important questions remain unanswered. For example, why can the use of L1 fulfil those purposes reported by her; what is the mechanism through which L1 fulfills those functions? Is there any relationship between these apparently disparate functions? Also important is the question whether there are any alternative means to achieve them; and if there are, why has L1 been preferred by the teacher? It is necessary to explore all these questions before we can assess the role played by L1 in the second / foreign language classroom.

These questions however cannot be answered with the introspective method of diary studies alone. An analysis of actual classroom data is needed. It is no exaggeration to say that the kind of methodology we use to a large extent dictates the kind of findings we have. It is therefore important to examine the kind of methodology usually employed in classroom language choice research, and we are going to do this in the following section.

2.3 Methodology of Classroom Language Choice Research: Limitations of functional coding approaches

Most studies on L1/L2 use in the classroom have adopted some kind of observational or analytic scheme to code classroom utterances with different functional labels (pedagogical ones, e.g.: 'directing', 'correcting'...etc.; and social interactional ones, e.g.: 'praising', 'accepting feeling'...etc.). These coding systems have been derived from various sources such as the Flanders system of interaction analysis (1965, 1970) (e.g. Wragg, 1970; Legarreta, 1977), Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) system of discourse structure analysis (e.g. Milk, 1981), or Dore's (1977) system of Conversation-acts (e.g. Guthrie, 1984).

Frequency counts of the functional types of L1 and L2 utterances were then produced and compared. The functional allocation of L1 and L2 was described in terms of these quantitative comparisons (e.g. X % of L1 utterances were used for Function 1; Y % of L2 utterances were used for Function 2; or, X % of Function 1 utterances are in L1; Y % of Function 2 utterances are in L2... etc.).

There are however problems of validity and reliability inherent in the use of any functional coding scheme. No single scheme can maintain that it has included the complete and mutually exclusive set of categories within any dimension; and questions about the validity of such schemes will be raised when researchers who investigate the same basic dimensions do not agree on the categories of analysis (as pointed out by Chaudron, 1988:21-22). On the other hand, the attempt to assign verbal behaviour to functional categories is a somewhat dubious undertaking. Even if different researchers have agreed upon the same categories, they may vary in their coding due to different subjective interpretations (hence the reliability problem).

Besides, these schemes do not seem to be particularly apt for the analysis of language-alternation behaviour. For example, in Johnson's study (1985:42-43, see Section 2.2.3 above), the original design involved assigning teaching functions to switch utterances with the assumption that the analysis of these switch functions would provide some understanding of the teaching strategies underlying or motivating the switches. However, Johnson later found that teaching functions could only be assigned by taking account of what goes before and what follows the switch utterance; yet these key elements of context were lost in a statistical analysis[25]. He therefore switched to a 'more fully contextualised approach' by fully transcribing 5 lessons to develop hypotheses regarding the teaching strategies in which switch utterances were key elements.

Johnson called his latter approach a 'rather more impressionistic' one (1985:43), perhaps indicating his reservations about the rigour and objectivity of this approach. If statistical analysis risks the danger of failing to capture the complexity of language alternation, and 'impressionistic' analysis has the limitation of being too subjective, we may find ourselves caught in a methodological dilemma. It is at this point that we find the concepts and techniques of Conversation Analysis especially relevant. This will be further explored in Section 3.

3 METHOD AND PROCEDURES

3.1 The Conversation Analytic Approach

As a distinctive research stream of the broader field of ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysis has developed out of the theoretical traditions of anthropology and sociology. Its main concern is with *'how people, in their dealings with each other, document for each other what is taking place'* (Wootton, 1989:243). It shares with ethnomethodology the 'emic' principle of analysis (Pike, 1964; Watson-Gegeo, 1988).

That is, it is the interactants' own interpretation of the speech data that the researcher is seeking to uncover, through finding evidence intrinsic to the data themselves (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974:729).

The Conversation Analytic perspective can be summarized in terms of four fundamental assumptions (Heritage, 1989:22):

(i) interaction is structurally organized;

(ii) contributions to interaction are both context-shaped and context-renewing;

(iii) these 2 properties inhere in the *details* of interaction so that no order of detail in conversational interaction can be dismissed *a priori* as disorderly, accidental or interactionally irrelevant;

(iv) the study of social interaction in its details is best approached through the analysis of naturally occurring data.

These assumptions are elaborated in the following paragraphs.

The initial and most important assumption is that *social interaction is structurally organized*. For example, a great deal of discourse in the classroom will be seen as orderly (e.g. in terms of its sequential organization and topical coherence). That is, each utterance, by either teacher or pupil, displays some sort of relevance to the preceding utterance; and the teacher normally has a theme or topic in mind for the lesson while pupils too may have some relevant expectations of what will be talked about or done (Atkinson, 1981:102-3).

The relevant expectations of interactants, however, do not dictate what they actually say or do in a predetermined, mechanical fashion. This is what the second assumption suggests by pointing out that any contribution to interaction is both *context*[26]*-shaped and context-renewing.* That is to say: participants of interaction constantly draw on contextual information to make sense of the ongoing activity, and to decide upon how they should react. On the other hand their own contribution will in turn form the

immediate context for some next action in a sequence (Heritage, 1989:22). It is this constantly changing, dynamic nature of interaction (as a result of ongoing negotiation and cooperation between interactants) that renders problematic any analysis which is based on some preconceived notions about what will happen (e.g. fixed-category observational checklists or coding systems) and which does not take full account of the constantly changing context of interaction.

The third assumption is that any analysis must not dismiss *a priori* any fine details of interaction as insignificant or random. This implies detailed and in-depth analysis of speech data, and that depends on the availability of carefully recorded or transcribed data, which makes repeated access to it possible. Furthermore, since the Conversation Analyst treats every detail as potentially significant, infrequently occurring features will not be viewed as less important than frequently occurring ones. Conversation Analytic work then, unlike most work based on interaction analysis systems (e.g. Flanders, 1970), does not focus on frequency counts of particular interaction features.

Finally, Conversation Analysts attach great importance to the study of *naturally occurring data*. This emphasis arises from the belief that language 'is a vehicle for the living of real lives with real interests in a real world' (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977:381). As the main concern is with how people organized their talk in real life contexts, data obtained in role-plays and experimental situations will not be considered appropriate for analysis.

Most early Conversation Analytic work has been conducted on ordinary conversations. However, a recent development is to apply Conversation Analytic concepts and techniques to the study of interaction in institutional settings such as legal (e.g. Pomerantz & Atkinson, 1984) and medical (e.g. Heath, 1986) ones. Classroom researchers have also begun to draw on (to varying degrees) Conversation Analytic

concepts and procedures in their study of classroom interaction (e.g.: Mehan, 1979; McHoul, 1978; Allwright, 1980; Atkinson, 1981; McDermott & Tylbor, 1986).

This research perspective has definite advantages over more traditional approaches (which mainly depend on the use of functional coding schemes and frequency counts of the coded utterances): It does not dismiss infrequently occurring features as less significant than more frequent ones; it gives a prominent role to the context of speech data (i.e. what goes before and after particular utterances) in the process of analysis; it aims at uncovering the social, cultural and institutional constraints within which classroom interactants are operating.

The Conversation Analytic perspective is also especially useful with the analysis of language alternation. Auer (1984:3), for example, points out that a classificational approach to language alternation cannot inform us as to *how* participants agree on one interpretation of language alternation or the other *in loco*. Drawing on recent concepts and methods in Conversation Analysis, Auer (1984:31-68) proposes an analytic framework for the study of language alternation by establishing prototypes of language alternation (discourse-related and participant-related language alternation)[27]. This is an important step towards more interactionally meaningful accounts of bilingual language alternating behaviour. In the present study this approach has been employed in an attempt to give a dynamic account of language alternation in English language classrooms.

3.2 Selection of Sample

As the aim of the present study is a detailed analysis of naturally occurring language data in English language lessons, the amount of data that can be handled is necessarily small in comparison with quantitative studies. The sample consists of audiotapes of English language lessons recorded in one teaching cycle[28] of 4 teachers in 4 different

secondary schools[29]. Although the sample of teachers and schools is relatively small, the schools are in fact quite representative of 2 kinds of schools in Hong Kong: (i) the prestigious and academically very good ones, and (ii) the ones of average academic standard and prestige.

The teachers have all received recognized teacher-training (either in a College of Education or through postgraduate education training in a university) and have teaching experience ranging from two and a half to four and a half years. They are young and enthusiastic teachers in their mid or late 20s. As the expansion of secondary education has brought about an increasing number of young teachers in secondary schools, the teachers chosen in this study can be said to be quite representative of the new trend of teachers in terms of their age, professional training, and range of experience if not in other respects. No male teacher has been included in this study, as most English language teachers in Hong Kong secondary schools are female[30].

The classes chosen for study range from Form I to Form III. The reason for an interest in junior classes is that it is junior secondary education that was first made compulsory by the government. The language problems of secondary school students are also most serious with junior students (see Section 1.3). Junior classes are therefore chosen for this study.

3.3 Characteristics of Teachers, Schools and Classes

Four teachers, TA, TB, TC, TD, each in a different Anglo-Chinese secondary school, participated in the study. Details about their qualifications and teaching experience at the time of recording are as follows:

TA: a university graduate with a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (P.C.E.), she has taught for three and a half years;

TB: a university graduate with P.C.E., she has taught for three and a half years;
TC: a College-of-Education graduate, she has taught for two and a half years;
TD: a university graduate with P.C.E., she has taught for four and a half years.

All 4 teachers are female Cantonese-English bilinguals. They have entered the teaching profession ever since their graduation and have not changed schools for the whole span of their teaching career.

The 4 Anglo-Chinese secondary schools (SA, SB, SC, SD) in which TA, TB, TC, and TD taught respectively range from a very good and prestigious one to one of average standard. Below are the details:

SA: a high-standard[31] prestigious catholic girls' school aided by the government, with a history of over 50 years;
SB: a high-standard prestigious government boys' school, with a history of over 50 years;
SC: a government-subsidized co-educational school of average academic standard[32], with a history of 10 years;
SD: a government-subsidized co-educational school of average academic standard, with a history of 10 years;

Although the schools differ in their academic standards and prestige, they all are well-established and well-equipped. The qualifications of teachers are also up to the standard specified by the government.

In this study, classes from junior levels (Forms I - III) were selected. Below are details of the level and type of classes selected from each teacher:

TA: Form 3 General English class (36 students);
TB: Form 2 English Reading class (40 students),

TC: Form 1 General English class (45 students),
Form 2 Remedial English class (22 students);
TD: Form 3 General English class (38 students).

3.4 Data Collection Procedures

A pocket-size cassette-tape-recorder was placed on the teacher's table during the lesson. The teacher switched it on at the beginning of the lesson and did not pay any attention to it until the end of the lesson. To prevent the teacher becoming too self-conscious about her teaching activity, she was requested to conduct the lesson as usual and was told that the recording was mainly for an analysis of student responses in the classroom. (She was told the real aim afterwards). She was requested to do this for all her English lessons with that particular class in one teaching cycle.

The method of classroom observation had also been considered but was finally not adopted because of the consideration that the presence of an outsider may significantly distort the normal life in a classroom. Teachers also tend to be more nervous and self-conscious when there is an observer in the classroom.

3.5 Data Transcription[33] and Analysis

The audiotapes were transcribed, with English utterances transcribed orthographically, and Cantonese in the Yale system. A rough English translation of the Cantonese utterances was also provided.

The audiotapes of English language lessons provided the researcher with access to the verbal output of the teacher and to a certain extent that of the students. The transcripts have rendered possible a detailed analysis of the lessons. Careful analysis was carried out with special reference to the teachers' alternation between English and Cantonese.

The sequence of turns and the discourse context were also given particular attention in the account, which will be presented in the following sections.

4 LANGUAGE ALTERNATION IN DISCOURSE AND FRAME MARKING

While it is the aim of many previous studies to find out the relative quantities of L1 and L2 that are used for different functions in the classroom (see Section 2), the present analysis focuses upon the discourse context of the 'switch' (or 'alternation point') between L1 and L2[34], as well as the sequential patterns of L1 / L2 occurrence. Some interesting questions to explore are: When and how (and possibly, why) does a teacher alternate between English and Cantonese in an English language lesson? Are there any recurring patterns?

A detailed analysis of all the language alternation (LA) instances of the teachers reveals that their LA is not random but is communicatively meaningful. Reference is made to the notion of discourse-related LA (Auer, 1984), which is understood here as a means of communicating additional information about the organization of discourse. The concept of 'frame' from Goffman (1974; 1981) is also drawn upon in the analysis. These will be delineated in the rest of the section.

An important finding is that the teachers may use LA as an additional communicative and contextualization[35] strategy (Auer, 1984:17-18) for a number of discourse-related purposes. For example, a teacher may (but not necessarily) code switch to draw attention to and highlight what she says. Usually this is done to signal discourse boundaries, for example, to mark off asides or side-sequences against on-going sequences (Auer, 1984:39-42) or to contextualize a different 'frame' (or 'footing', see Goffman, 1974; 1981). To illustrate this let us look at the following example taken from a composition lesson of Teacher D. The teacher is explaining how to write a book review:

(1)[36] D2/F3/ 080:

T: Okay, for example you have read.. this book. 'Lost City', alright, or 'Dracula', or 'Further Adventures of.. Sherlock Holmes', alright? Okay? And then.. you should tell us, for example, you should tell us the name-- the book I have read. {a loud sound of furniture being moved} {4 seconds} Làah yáuh-móuh yahm-hòh tùhng-hohk nē sèhng-yaht=

<now if there is any student who all the time>

=gai-juhk joi kīng-gái nē, jauh diuh heui kéih hái=

<keeps on talking, I'll ask him/her to stand>

=hauh-mihn laak.

<at the back.>

Some Ss: Oh... oh.

<Okay... okay.>

{3 seconds}

T: The book I have read for example is 'Sherlock Holmes'. Or is 'Dracula'. (088)

In this example, the teacher stops teaching, remains silent for a while (4 seconds), and then switches to L1, warning the students not to talk with each other again or else they will be asked to stand at the back of the classroom. The students give her some responses. And then after a while (3 seconds) she switches back to L2, resuming her explanation of how to write a book review.

The L1 switch may be a strategy (in addition to the initial 4-second interval) to attract the students' attention to the warning simply by virtue of its being *different*.

On the other hand, the switches from L2 to L1 and then from L1 back to L2 coincide with the boundaries of the warning (which is in turn 'bracketed' by intervals). These switches (together with the intervals) signal the warning as an aside, a digression from the ongoing pedagogic topic of how to write a book review.

At the same time, with both the pedagogic topic and the official language of the English language lesson suspended, it is very likely that the pedagogic frame is suspended, too. In other words, the definition of the situation as a 'lesson' (in the specific sense of 'going about the business of teaching and learning English') is temporarily suspended. Whereas the later switch back to L2 seems to signal the resumption of the pedagogic definition of the situation.

A similar example can be found in a lesson of Teacher C. She has been teaching the meaning of 'kind' and asking her students to name different kinds of watersports and plants. (The students are supposed to find examples of them at home.) In the middle of this, she digresses (and switches to L1) to check whether they have done their homework:

(2) C1/F2R/ 060:

T: Now number two. Trees are a kind of plant. Name at least three other kinds of plant, Connie[37].

S: (b-i)

T: b-i-

S: (b-i-l-)

T: b-i-l-

S: (o-l-)

T: o-l-

S: (i-n)

T: i-n. Now you write it also on the blackboard.

(4 seconds)

T: Yáuh-móuh jouh-dou aa néih-deih?

<Have you done it?>

Some Ss: (Yáuh aa, yáuh aa.)

(<Yes, yes.>)

T: Now tell me some of the plants. Grass, a kind of plant... flowers, a kind of plant. (068)

When she returns to the original pedagogic topic ('kinds of plant') she also switches back to L2. The L2-L1 and L1-L2 code-switches signal respectively the suspension and resumption of the pedagogic topic.

However, it must be pointed out that code switching is not the only communicative strategy available to the bilingual teacher. She may also use the sound markers (stress, pitch, length) usually employed by monolinguals to give emphasis or to mark off side-sequences. In the following example, we see that the teacher does not code switch but uses a different tone when she digresses briefly to regulate the students' behaviour. It is taken from another lesson of Teacher D. She is asking her students questions about a character in a passage:

(3) D5/F3/ 091:

(Students are talking and laughing noisily)

T: Shh! (Loud sound of 2 knocks at a table) Respect, do you understand? Jȳun-ging. Would you respect him?

<Respect.>

(Some students are still talking)

T: WOULD YOU PAY ATTENTION!! (in a loud and angry voice)

(students become quiet)

ERIC

T: Would you respect him if he is your manager? (back to normal voice) (093)

In this example, the teacher has employed prosodic means (in this case amplitude among other things) to mark off the utterance 'WOULD YOU PAY ATTENTION!!' from its structurally similar counterparts: 'Would you respect him?', 'Would you respect him if he is your manager?'. 'Would you pay attention!!' is given emphasis and signalled as a side remark through the use of suprasegmental features, unlike Examples (1) & (2), where a code change instead of sound markers is employed.

While the discourse topic has been shifted for a while, the pedagogic frame has not been interrupted. The continuous use of L2 by the teacher [who may in fact use L1 when the topic is shifted to a non-pedagogic one, as in Examples (1) & (2)] signals her attempt to avoid breaking the continuity of the situation as one of 'L2 teaching and learning'. Unlike the previous examples, it seems that the teacher here tolerates only a 'split-second' topic digression and hurries to get on with her original question ('Would you respect him...?'). By sustaining cohesion on the level of code, the continuity of the pedagogic frame is maintained despite the topic shift (c.f. 'double cohesion' in Auer, 1984:42-6). This is important when the teacher wants to minimize the disruptive effect of disciplinary digressions on the teaching. We have further reasons to believe that this may indeed be the case in Example (3) as the teacher has earlier already interrupted her teaching a little bit to get (but in vain) her students to stop talking ('Shh!' and 2 forceful knocks at a table).

A similar example is found in a lesson of Teacher C. One student is to ask a question and nominate a second student to answer it, and then the second student is to ask another question to a third student. When the students become very noisy, she digresses briefly to order them not to make so much noise. She signals and highlights this side remark with paralinguistic cues as well as intonation accentuation:

(4) C3/F2R/ 163:

S1: (I have no money.)

T: Yes 'I have no money', okay ask the question.

S2: No money?! {in a joking tone}

{Some students start to chat noisily}

S1: (? ?)

T: Yes?

S1: (Can I open the window?)

T: 'Can I open the window?'

S1: Ehh... Matthew.

T: Matthew. {3 seconds} {students still chatting noisily} Matthew!

SM: Heui mahn māt? Góng dō chi āa.

<What did he ask? Please repeat.>

S1: Open the window. {comes the sound of whistle, probably made by a student}

T: Can I

S1: Can I open the window?

SM: No!

T: You can't.

T: {clapping her hands loudly twice} Now! Don't make so many noise! So much noise!

SM: Yes.

T: You

SM: You can. (167)

By clapping her hands and accentuating her intonation, she draws the students' attention to her command and asserts her authority as the classroom order arbiter.

However, she is in the middle of expanding the student's answer. It is very likely that maintaining cohesion on the level of code, she also minimizes the disruptive effect of the digression.

In an example of Teacher B, on the other hand, neither code-switch nor intonation accentuation is found to accompany a side utterance. The teacher is explaining the usage of the verb 'await' when she digresses to ask a student to stop talking:

(5) B1/F2/ 277:
{T writing on board while speaking}
T: 'I wait for you everyday... for your lesson.' It's exactly the same as: 'I... await you'. Should you put 'for' here?
Ss: No!
T: No, you should not put anything here, alright? So, 'I await you (? ?)', alright? That means (on the ??). {3 seconds} Chehng-Chi-Fāi, no talking. {4 seconds} =
<a student's name>
=Ready? Okay now let's go on. (287)

In this example, the teacher signals the side utterance by first stopping for a while (3 seconds) and then singling out an addressee (calling out his name) for her subsequent utterance ('no talking'). The short silence and the change in the 'participation framework' (Goffman, 1981:137) help to contextualize the digression; though there is neither code-switch nor intonation accentuation accompanying it, there is still the highlighting effect (See also Example [8] below.) Before the teacher returns to the original topic, she also stops for a while (4 seconds). The short silence and the presequences ('Ready? Okay now let's go on.') mark the subsequent resumption of the pedagogic topic.

Though there have been changes to the topic (its shift and resumption being marked by various devices such as silence, change in the participation framework, or presequences), the continuity maintained on the level of code (L2 all through) parallels the continuity of the pedagogic frame. The teacher's role as an English teacher has been upheld throughout.

Examples (3) to (5) show that in addition to language alternation, there are other communicative means available to the teacher for signalling and highlighting discourse boundaries. What will happen if both language alternation and suprasegmental features are used? The effect may be much more pronounced. To illustrate this, let us look at the following example taken from a lesson of Teacher D. She is asking her students questions about the personality of a character in a passage:

(6) D5/F3/ 059:

1. T: Now can you tell me something not so good about him, quite-- maybe, it's quite bad about him; maybe, that's why the girls do not respect him. Ehh.. Go-Waih-Mìhng, can you tell me one thing?
2. G: He always shouts at people.
3. T: He SHOUTS at people, (T starts writing on board) alright?
4. T: Not only one time or two times, he OFTEN shouts AT people.
5. T: WAI!! Jouh māt néih-deih aa, `mh tēn-sȳu aa!!=
   <Hey!! Why aren't you listening to the lesson!!>
   ='shouts at people'. ('shouts...' is spoken in a distinctively softer voice than the L1 utterance, which is said in an angry, threatening tone)

ERIC

6. Ss: Eu!! Haak séi ngóh laa! (? ?)

<Eu!! Scared me to death! (? ?) >

7. T: 'shouts at people'.

8. T: Okay? 'He often shouts at people.' (069)

In this example it is interesting to see that the students at first mistake the teacher's L1 utterance at turn 5 as a real scolding. This is reflected in their expression at turn 6 that they have been scared by what the teacher says. This is evidence that the L1 switch together with the intonation accentuation have first been interpreted by them as a signal of a change both in the discourse topic and the frame. The L1 utterance is taken as an aside, a diversion from the pedagogic topic that they have been discussing (i.e. the personality of the character in the passage). It is also taken as an out-of-frame utterance, a break from the present 'teaching and learning English' pedagogic frame. Thus it leads to the students' interpretation that the teacher has temporarily suspended teaching and is now devoting her attention to disciplinary issues.

When the teacher repeats the lexical expression, 'shouts at people' with normal voice (in contrast with the loud and angry voice of the preceding L1 utterance), the students realize that she is in fact illustrating an English phrase by 'acting out' shouting at people in L1, and that she has not really departed from the pedagogic topic and the pedagogic frame: she is still teaching the passage! They then revise their interpretation, recognizing that the L1 switch and the intonation change are intended by the teacher only to mark off a demonstration, hence their expression of relief and complaint (the teacher should not scare and shock them with such an example). However, the fact that the L1 switch with an accompanying angry tone is readily misinterpreted by the students suggests the strong signalling effect that L1 switches coupled with intonational accentuation can have for side utterances and frame-shift (from pedagogic to non-pedagogic).

In Example (6) the teacher employs an L1 switch and an intonation accentuation only to highlight her demonstration, not really intending to digress from the pedagogic topic or break the pedagogic frame. Whereas in the following example taken from another lesson of the same teacher, an L1 switch accompanied with an intonation accentuation contextualizes not only a topic-shift and a frame-break but also an implicit change in the participation framework. The teacher is just beginning to talk about a story with the title 'Silver Plate', which is also the name of a horse in that story. She first asks the students to practise pronouncing the words of the title:

(7) D11/F3/+ 405:

1. T: 'Silver Plate'.
2. Some Ss: 'Silver Plate'.
3. T: Whole class, 'Silver Plate'.
4. Ss: 'Silver Plate.'
5. S1: Māt-yéh lèih gaa?
   <What is it?>
6. Some Ss: (? ?)
7. [T: Okay, now you would look-- MĀT-YÉH LÈIH GAA =
   <WHAT IS IT>
   =néih fāan heui móuh tái-gwo! Yìh-gāa mahn māt-yéh lèih gé?=
   <you haven't read it at home! Now you ask what it is?>
   =Bīn-go mahn gaa? Móuh chàah jih-dín aa?
   <Who asked this? Haven't consulted a dictionary?>
8. S2: Ngóh waah ngóh móuh daai sȳū aa mī-sìh.
   <I said I had forgotten to bring my book, Miss.>
9. T: Ngóh mhaih waah néih aa!
   <I am not talking about you!>

{19-second interval; some students are still chatting in L1}

416:

10. T:Múih chi fong-gaa jī-chìhn nē néih-deih dōu sām-sáan.=
<Whenever it's near vacation you are in holiday mood.>
=Yāt nìhn nē fong sèhng géi chi gaa gúm néih-deih chi chi=
<Every year there are several vacations, and for 2 weeks>
=sām-sáan léuhng-go láih-baai dāk-fāān géi-dōu yaht-jí aa?=
<before each vacation you are in holiday mood, then how much time is left?>
(...the teacher continues to say that they can learn very little if they do not change their attitude. And that if they do not make an effort in their studies they are wasting the money of the tax-payers because the school is run on government subsidies. The society is contributing to their development, but if they do not study hard then there won't be any people to run the society in the future. After their lessons, they may play whole-heartedly, but when it is time for work, they must be serious. She then urges the students to try their very best in whatever they do, e.g. in a singing contest. They can develop their confidence and have success only if they prepare well for it.)... Néih yùh-gwó nē=
<You may just>
=seùihn-seui waah séung dou sìh bíu-yín góh yāt-hāk=
<want the glory that you feel the moment you give>
=gwōng-mòhng yāt-háah néih gān-bún mhó-nàhng ge, cheùih-fēi=
<your performance, but that will not be possible at all,>
=néih sih-chìhn jéuin-beih chūng-jūk.
<unless you have prepared well for it.>
440:
11. T: 'Silver Plate', alright, now start reading. (441)

In this example, the digression from the original topic (the story 'Silver Plate') is triggered by a student (S1)'s question at turn 5. (It can bee seen here that code-switching may be 'across turns', and that a switch may sometimes be triggered by other participants of interaction.) The teacher code switches and shifts to an angry tone at turn 7 to specifically respond to the student, S1, (implicitly, without calling out the name of the student) for not having prepared for the lesson. Both the L1 switch and the intonation change contribute to the highlighting and signalling of the side-sequence. They also signal a break of the pedagogic frame and a change in the participation framework: She temporarily 'puts aside' the pedagogic task of teaching English and solely focuses on criticizing a single student.

Then after 19 seconds, the teacher, instead of returning to the pedagogic topic, continues (in L1) to comment on the students' generally poor learning attitude. The interval seems to serve as a signal of something different to come, and in this case, it is the subsequent change in the participation framework. Instead of singling out an addressee as in turns 7 and 9, the teacher addresses to the whole class again. When she eventually returns to the original topic at turn 11, she switches back to L2, signalling the resumption of the pedagogic frame and topic after the long digression.

While Examples (6) & (7) show the coupled communicative effect of LA and suprasegmental features, the following example taken from a lesson of Teacher C shows the tripled effect of LA, intonation accentuation, and an explicit change in the participation framework [e.g., directly singling out an addressee from a group and turning the rest of the group into 'intended overhearers' (Goffman, 1981:131-137) by calling out one single person's name]. The teacher has been asking a student to give her some examples of plants:

(8) C1/F2R/ 066:

T: Now tell me some of the plants. Grass, a kind of plant... flowers, a kind of plant.

S: (? ?)

{ Some student noises }

T: ANNIE! Néih chóh fāan gwo làih yī bīn! Tùhng=

<ANNIE! Come back to the seat here! Sitting>

=Lìhng-Ji-Chīu chóh sèhng-yaht kīng-gái hái douh! Chóh gwo=

<with Lihng-Ji-Chiu you'll never stop talking! Take the>

=heui Rose gaak-lèih.

seat next to Rose.>

T: Lily, tulip, okay now they are all flowers okay? Yes, they are plants. (073)

In this example, Teacher C singles out a student for her disciplinary comment. Together with the L1 switch and the angry tone, the effect is great. There is no room for negotiation and the reprimand is explicitly directed to the addressee.

Examples (1), (2), (7) and (8) may give one the impression that when the teacher suspends her pedagogic topic to shift to a disciplinary one (e.g. Students who carry on talking will face punishment), she also suspends the pedagogic frame for the whole duration of the side utterances. However, the picture is a little more complex than that. In the following example, we see the superimposing of part of a side-sequence with the 'early' resumption of the pedagogic frame. It is taken from the beginning of another lesson of Teacher D:

(9) D11/F3/ 014:

1. T: Good morning class.

2. Ss: Good morning Miss Cheung!

3. T: Alright, take out your I.E.

4. T: Turn to page

5. [Ss: Waa! (? ?)!

<exclamation particle! (? ?)! >

(some students exclaiming and speaking noisily in L1)

6. T: Yáuh māt-yéh gáau yìh-gāa mhóu gáau, lohk-tòhng=

<Any other business don't bother about it now, wait>

=sīn-ji gáau, fong-dāi!

<until after the lesson, put it down!>

7. Ss: Āi-yaah! (? ?)

<exclamation particles! (? ?) >

(Students are still talking noisily in L1)

8. T: Stop talking anything nonsense! Sit down!

9. T: Alright, take out your I.E. textbook. (024)

Since turn 3 ('Alright, take out your I.E.') the teacher has announced the start of the 'lesson' (with discourse marker 'Alright'), and has been trying to take her students into the 'learning mode'. In turn 4, however, the teacher has not finished her sentence ('Turn to page') when students suddenly exclaim and chat about something noisily. She cannot carry on with her topic of I.E. ('Integrated English', a textbook), and has to digress to regulate student behaviour in turn 6. The switch to L1 there seems to serve the function of contextualizing the utterance as an aside (as opposed to what she has been saying and should be going on to say about their pedagogic topic in the I.E. textbook), showing that it is not part of the ongoing normal pedagogic discourse and is considered only as a digression.

But why does the teacher switch back to L2 (turn 8: 'Stop talking anything nonsense! Sit down!') when there is no topic change? Why doesn't she continue to speak in L1?

In fact there do exist instances where the teacher does not switch to L1 to discipline students, as in Examples (3)-(5). The fact that the teacher sometimes employs an L1 switch and sometimes employs just suprasegmental features suggests that there are potential advantages and disadvantages to both of the communicative strategies, and the teacher is always shifting from one strategy to another, maximizing positive and minimizing negative effect, according to her perception of the situation.

One potential disadvantage of the use of intonational accentuation [e.g. 'WOULD YOU PAY ATTENTION!!' in Example (3); or: 'WAI!! Jouh mā̄t néih-deih aa, m̀h tēn-sy̰u aa!!' in Example (6)] is that the resulting tone usually appears to be angry, tough or authoritative. It also implies confronting the students with absolute authority: there is little room for reasoning or negotiating. The utterance may take the form of a question, but spoken in that tone it is interpreted as a reprimand and command. Giving an answer to that 'question' is likely to be interpreted by the teacher as aggressive 'answering back'. The appropriate response expected is immediate obedience of the implicit order, which is conveyed by the tone and the context of the utterance (and usually with other paralinguistic cues such as facial expression). The angry and authoritative tone therefore pre-empts any negotiation or explanation on the part of the students (unless they want to challenge the teacher's authority or dare to risk offending her). This communicative strategy appears to be quite effective. However, it must be used with discretion or else the atmosphere of the classroom will become too 'militant' and hostile.

It seems that if the bilingual teacher has been teaching in L2 and wants to digress to regulate student behaviour, she can have a choice among a number of options:

1. *Switching to L1, and maintains a relatively non-hostile, non-authoritative intonation, as in Examples (1) & (2);*
2. *Using intonational accentuation, i.e. an angry, commanding, authoritative tone, as in Examples (3) & (4);*

3. Explicitly changing the participation framework, as in Example (5);

4. A combination of L1 switch & prosodic accentuation, as in Example (7).

5. A combination of L1 switch, prosodic accentuation & change in the participation framework, as in Example (8);

6. A combination of L1 switch & change in the participation framework.

7. A combination of prosodic accentuation & change in the participation framework.

Option 1 maintains a relatively non-hostile atmosphere and is effective to the extent that it highlights the digression, drawing the students' attention to it. It also suggests a break of the pedagogic frame, conveying to the students the message that the teacher is really concerned (though not particularly angry) about the issue (e.g. their lack of attention), and has to 'put aside' teaching to specially deal with it.

Option 2 involves the imposition of absolute authority. However, the teacher is saved from appearing to be a 'dictator' by the fact that the L2 is the language that signals her social capacity as 'the Teacher in an English language lesson'. This role is endowed with official authority. In other words, she is appearing to be just an impersonal, objective 'deliverer' of punishment or an official regulation-enforcer. A policeman will not normally be perceived as harbouring personal hatred or malice against a law-breaker: he is just carrying out his official duty. Besides, cohesion maintained on the level of code minimizes the disruptive effect of the digression (See Examples [3] & [4] above).

Option 3 generally involves 'putting on the spot' a particular student (or a particular group of students), while turning the rest of the class into 'intended overhearers'. The 'face' of the one(s) being singled out is at risk. This can be quite strong a disciplinary move when it is further combined with the use of code-switch / intonation accentuation or both (i.e. options 5, 6 & 7).

Options 4 and 5 (i.e. L1 switch, intonation accentuation, with or without change in participation framework) however, do not have the advantages of the other options that involve intonation accentuation and no L1 switch. Putting aside the pedagogic topic and stripping herself of the official language, her pedagogic role and the pedagogic frame are suspended. She is now confronting the student(s) with real anger and disapproval. In other words, she is no longer armed with the 'buffer' status of an impersonal enforcer of the law, but expressing her personal feelings and opinions of the student(s), stressing a role-relationship similar to that between a child and his/her parent (or 'caretaker'). She is showing that she is emotionally involved. The effect of her disciplinary utterances does not depend on the authority conferred by her official role as the teacher, but on her personal relationship with the students.

A good parent always acts in the best interest of the child. The effect of this option also depends on the predictability of responses from the students accepting an assertion that the teacher is intimately concerned about them and will only act (and want them to act) in their (own) best interests (Heath, 1978:11). We actually see evidence that Teacher D has been emphasizing this. In the following example, a student has just asked her (in L1) if he can simply copy information from a book to do a book report. She comments on the student's attitude and ends her comments by saying that she is not calling on him to suffer but to learn:

(10) D2/F3/ 145.5:

T: Ngóh waah jē-haih wán jī-líu aa, `mhaih giu néih chāāu=
  <I ask you to find information there, not to copy>
=māt dím gáai gwaa gwaa gwaa, gwaa-jyuh yiu chāāu? JĪ-lĪu=
<why do you always always always want to copy? You can>
=hái go-douh aa, duhng háah nóuh-gān hóu-`mhóu? Yeuhng=
 <get information there, would you use your brain? And you>

=yeuhng dōu waah jiu chāāu jauh dāk gaa làah, hōi-hōi-=

<are always so happy, thinking that copying is all that>

=sām-sām!

<you need to do!>

S: (? ?)

T: Gúm néih duhk sahp nìhn yīng-mán dōū haih lám-jyuh jiu=

<You have studied ten years of English and you are still>

=chāāu mē? (sound of furniture being moved). Understand?=

<thinking of copying?>

=Alright? Mhóu go sām-taai sèhng-yaht aa yáuh dāk chāāu=

<Do not always have the attitude that there is>

=jauh dāk laak gúm jē-haih mh-sái jok. Yìh-gaa mhaih giu=

<something to copy and I don't need to write. Now I'm not>

=néih heui sauh fú aa hohk yéh aa understand? Any=

<asking you to suffer but to learn>

=question? Alright, first of all the first paragraph. (150.5)

Her comments reflect her effort in getting across the message that she is not there to give them unnecessary suffering and hardship but to help them to learn, which is good for them in the long run. All through she has been stressing her role as a caregiver who is intimately concerned about their interests.

However, there is also the case of the 'bad' parent, who in all his/her interaction with the child fails to establish a mutual understanding that he/she is always acting in the child's best interest. Then a bare confrontation with the child by absolute authority (e.g. angry commands) will give the child an impression of a 'dictator', and militarize the atmosphere. This can be paralleled to the classroom situation, too. A teacher using options 4 & 5 (L1 switch and angry tone) will not overly antagonize his/her students only if she has established the kind of relationship with the students such that she will

be readily perceived as a caregiver who wants nothing but good for them (as in the case of Teacher D).

Let us look back at Example (9). There is no intonational accentuation accompanying the L1 switch utterance (T: 'Yáuh māt-yéh gáau yìh-gāā mhóu gáau, lohk-tòhng sīn-ji gáau,') until the last part 'fong-dāi!', which is an order (meaning 'put down!'). The students are still noisy. The teacher then switches back to the official L2 at turn 8 and gives two more orders with an authoritative tone ('Stop...! Sit down!').

It is hypothesized here that she first switches to L1 to contextualize the utterance as a side remark and a metastatement about what should be done in the lesson (option 1). But when she says 'fong-dai!'(meaning 'Put down!') with intonation accentuation, she is more than just making a metastatement about the lesson; she is also giving an authoritative command. The students do not quiet down, and the teacher has at least 2 options open to her: She can continue to authoritatively command the students to behave themselves in L1, risking the possibility of a 'bare confrontation' and a hostile atmosphere; or she can switch to L2 to give the commands, signifying and emphasizing her offi*cial role* as the arbiter of order and the single figure of control in the classroom (See the discussion under option 2 above). She chooses the latter option. Turn 8 ('T: Stop talking anything nonsense! Sit down!') comes after the failure of turn 6 (T: Yáuh māt-yéh gáau yìh-gāā mhóu gáau, lohk-tòhng sīn-ji gáau, fong-dāi!) to quiet down the students. And it is successful. The success is very likely to be due to the authoritative official role that L2 is associated with.

On the other hand, the success may be also due to the L2 switch signifying the resumption of the pedagogic frame, which has been suspended at turn 6 when the teacher switches to L1. The switch back to English (the official language of the lesson) also represents the teacher's attempt at negotiating for the immediate resumption of the pedagogic frame.

An example comparable to Example (9) is one taken from the beginning of a lesson of Teacher C. In this case the teacher switches to L1 to praise the students:

(11) C2/F1/ 387:

T: Now, chapter one first. Now turn to page ninety-eight.

{ 14 seconds }

T: Aah, jaan háah néih-deih sīn, gwó-yìhn géi chūng-mìhng=

<By the way, you really deserve praise, you are so bright>

=aa háa, sensibility géi gōu, pàaih-déui pàaih dāk gum faai=

<and so sensible, having lined up so quickly >

=gum hóu.

<so well.>

S1: Gán haih lāā.

<Of course.>

Some Ss: (? ?)

T: Gwó-yihn haih A bāān aa háa.

<You really are an A class.>

Ss: Uh...

T: Okay now, (? ?) the page ninety-eight. (395)

In this example, the L1 switch highlights the side-sequence and contextualizes the topic-shift and the frame-break. Similar to Example (9), it is the beginning of a lesson and the teacher is just going to start teaching when she digresses to a non-pedagogic topic (praising the students). But in this case, the teacher is not under the pressure of the students. She initiates the digression, and chooses to highlight and contextualize it with an L1 switch (instead of other possible cues such as suprasegmental features). By switching to L1 to praise the students, she seems to be stressing more a personal and intimate role-relationship than a pedagogic and official one.

Most of the above examples show how code switching can be put to 'disciplinary' uses. However, there are instances where code switching is used for other discourse-related purposes not specifically related to disciplinary ones. In the following example from Teacher C, an L1 switch is used to contextualize the teacher's shift from giving directions to commenting on what she is about to do. It has been already 35 seconds since the bell rang for the end of the lesson. But the teacher is still giving instructions about the next lesson. The students are noisy and probably not paying attention to the teacher:

(12) C1/F2R/ 381.5:

T: Okay now next lesson I would like to have dictation and also bring Trend Two with you. Now moreover.. Juhng yáuh=

<I haven't>

=yéh góng màaih heui sīn aa...(384)

<finished yet...>

The L1 switch both highlights and contextualizes the metastatement about what the teacher is going to do. It is an out-of-frame side utterance, indicating that what she is doing is not the business of 'L2 teaching and learning', that it is 'non-lesson' (i.e. non-pedagogic) and deserves attention even after the official limits of the lesson (marked by the ringing of the bell).

In another example taken from a lesson of Teacher C, an L1 switch is used for contextualizing both a side utterance and a change in the participation framework. The teacher switches to L1 to ask someone to hold up a tape-recorder to a student who is answering a question:

(13) C3/F2R/ 039:

T: Good, 'I have to go and see Miss Lee'. Ask the question.

S1: (? ?) {L2}

T: Yes, would you show me how to (get an answer), Linda.

{Sound of tape-recorder being moved}

T: Néih ló-jyuh bōng ngóh fuh-jaat daih.

<You hold this and help me to pass it.>

{Sound of tape-recorder being moved}

T: I am afraid...

S2: Haih gúm fóng-mahn.. haih gúm fóng-mahn gaa. (044)

<It's like this.. interviewing is like this.>

S3: (? ?)

In this extract, the code switch contextualizes the change in the participation framework: the teacher is asking another student (S2) to do something for her (holding and passing the tape-recorder like a reporter holding up a microphone to an interviewee). And this non-pedagogic side utterance is also marked off against the ongoing pedagogic discourse by the L1 switch.

Sometimes a teacher switches to L1 to banter with the students. Below is an example from Teacher D:

(14) D11/F3/ 369:

{Students have been practising pronunciation and intonation by speaking out a conversation; they have been repeating after the teacher sentence by sentence}

.....{369}

T: And then,

Ss: And then,

T: he'll

Ss: he'll

T: he'll be back-- he'll be in the meeting

Ss: he'll be in the meeting

{T continues to practise "he'll be" with the students again and again.}

T: he'll be

Ss: he'll be

T: he'll be in the meeting

Ss: he'll be in the meeting

T: all day.

Ss: all day.

T: Can you come back the following week?

Ss: Can you come back the following week?

{376.5}

T: Alright, understand?... When you add 'l-l' that means...=

[S: 'l'

= (that's) the 'l' sound, alright, he'll

A few Ss: he'll

T: he'll

A few Ss: he'll

T: alright, well

A few Ss: well

T: Say it again... well

Ss: well

T: he'll

Ss: he'll

T: Okay, any question?

{laughter of some Ss}

{382}

T: Hóu tung-faai mē néih hó-yíh hóu chíh góng chōu-háu gúm=

<Why are you so excited about being able to say something>

=ge yām? Haih-maih hóu tung-faai aa? ĀĀ, gum hōi-sām jouh=

<that sounds like a slang word? Is it so exciting? Why>

= māt-yéh wo?

<on earth are you so happy?>

S: (Néih haih go jahn sí aa!)

< (You were at that time!) >

T: NÉIH:: haih go jahn sí!

<YOU:: were at that time!>

{Ss laughter}

{385}

T: Okay, any question? So, I would like you to read it once, girls, secretary, boys, customers, one, two, three. {Ss started reading} {387}

In this example, after a long practice of the shortened form, "he'll", which happens to sound like a Cantonese sex-related slang word, some students just burst out into laughter. The teacher realizes why the students are laughing and she responds by switching to Cantonese {382} to comment on their laughter. And when a student answers back (in a joking tone), she mocks him, causing an outburst of laughter from the class.

By switching to Cantonese, the teacher signals a break from the teaching frame: now she is bantering about their silly laughter as someone who speaks their language and

knows their somewhat indecent "secret" (i.e. what they find funny). After that she returns to English {385} and resumes the teaching frame.

After studying all the above examples, it seems clear that language alternation is in fact readily used to highlight and signal discourse boundaries and frame shifts. While there are other communicative resources available (e.g. prosodic means), language alternation nonetheless considerably increases the communicative possibilities and flexibility for the teachers.

5 LANGUAGE ALTERNATION IN NEGOTIATION

In Section 4 we see how language alternation is employed by teachers to signal information about discourse organization and frame shift. In this Section, we shall examine the role of language alternation in the negotiation between teacher and students.

5.1 Language Alternation in Pursuit of Response

One kind of negotiation that is initiated by the teacher is the pursuit of response. Instances of this are most characteristic of Teacher C^{38}, and are strikingly similar in their patterns. Usually, the teacher has been asking students a question in English several times without getting a response. Then she switches to Cantonese, asking the same question again. The following are some examples:

(1) C1/F2R/ 043:

(The teacher has been teaching the difference between the words 'form' and 'kind')

1. T: O.K. now answer the following whether the use of words kind and form is necessary. Use a dictionary to help you. Now number one.

2. T: I would like to have (??)

3. T: How many kinds of water sports can you name? How many kinds? What does 'kind' here mean?.. For those who have looked up the dictionary what does 'kind' here mean?.. 'kind' yī-go yi-sī haih māt-yéh aa? Néih-deih maih=

<what is the meaning of 'kind' here? Haven't some of>

=yáuh yàhn chàah-jó jih-dín gé? ... O.K. ah... Andy.

<you checked the dictionary?>

4. Andy: (? ?)

5. T: What does 'kind' here mean?

6. Andy: (??)

7. T: In English.

8. Andy: (??)

9. T: O.K. now, you answer the question then. How many kinds of watersports can you name? Name... some

10. [A: (??)

(056).

In this excerpt, although the student's answer is not intelligible, it can be seen that after the teacher has asked her question in English, which is however not followed by any student taking up the next turn, she initiates a switch to Cantonese ('kind' yī go yi-sī haih māt-yéh aa?....), repeating the latter part of the question (what does 'kind' here

mean?), and within the same turn switches back to English to assign the next turn to a student (Andy).

It seems that the turn-taking process is not proceeding as the teacher has expected when she has finished asking her questions (in English): no student takes up the next turn; she is then forced to take up the turn herself, this time repeating the last question in the students' native language.

She may be doing this for a number of purposes. For instance, it may be that she wants to repeat the question but she has already repeated it once in English. It would be rather monotonous to repeat the same words again. She can paraphrase it, however, such a simple question (what does 'kind' here mean) does not lend itself readily to paraphrasing. Finally, she seems to have resorted to the option of saying the same thing in a different language (i.e. for rhetoric reasons).

Another hypothesis is that this switch is 'participant-related'[39] (Auer, 1984). Given the fact that the students' comprehension is much better in Cantonese than in English, she may have switched to Cantonese to make sure that they can understand her question, and be able to take up the next turn of responding to her question.

However, apart from repeating the question, she also asserts in Cantonese that some of them have consulted the dictionary, implying that they should be able to answer the question. Switching to Cantonese, she also seems to be switching from the role of a questioner to the role of a commentator, expressing her puzzlement to their lack of response.

The fact that she switches back to English, and later asks the question in English again (turn 5) implies that she is expecting the next turn to be in English and has no intention of continuing to use Cantonese as the new language of interaction. Her later command,

'In English' confirms this. The Cantonese switch therefore seems to serve the function of marking off and highlighting her comment on the students' performance, which exerts pressure on her students to respond.

Sometimes, the teacher perceives that the lack of response is due to a lack of comprehension of her question. In the following example, Teacher C's L2 question is not followed by an answer, but by a question from a student indicating that he does not understand what she is asking:

(2) C1/F2R/ 116:
{The teacher has been teaching the usage of the words 'form' and 'kind'}:

1. T: Jogging is a form of... keep fit exercise. Now, here can you use a kind of keep fit exercise, jogging?.. Can you use kind for the word form? .. Can you?
2. S1: Can you mē(-éh)?
<what>
3. T: Dāk-m̀h-dāk aa yuhng kind m̀h-yuhng form yī-douh ?
<can 'kind' instead of 'form' be used here?>
4. T: Yes, we can. Jogging is a kind of keep fit exercise.
(119.5)

In this example, the teacher first asks, 'Now, here can you use a kind of keep fit exercise, jogging?..', and it is not followed by any response. Then she rephrases it: 'Can you use "kind" for the word "form"?', which is however not followed by any response. After a short pause, she partially repeats it ('Can you?'). But this shortened rephrasing does not help her students to grasp her question, as reflected by a student's request for elaboration of her question (S1:'Can you me?', meaning 'Can you what?'). The teacher

then switches to L1 to ask the question again. It seems that at that point (after turn 2) she has no doubts about the nature of the problem (i.e. the question still having not been grasped by the student despite her previous efforts in rephrasing), and she switches to L1 to tackle it directly.

The switch is immediately triggered by a student's demonstration of his problem with understanding; it also represents the teacher's effort to get a response for her question, (although we cannot tell from the present data whether the L1 switch has solved the problem, i.e. whether she eventually gets a non-verbal response, or she supplies the answer to the question herself).

While L1 repetition of the question may help where L2 paraphrasing fails, it is not always entirely effective. In the following example, a guiding question is also given:

(3) C4/F2R/ 296:
(The teacher has been asking her students questions about a story.)

1. T: Then what excuse did Mrs Man give? What excuse did Mrs Man give?.. Anyone? What excuse? Winnie, what excuse did Mrs Man give? (2 seconds) Yáuh māt-yéh jihk-háu aa heui=
<what excuse did she have for>
=gum loih sīn heui hōi mùhn? What excuse?
<taking so long to open the door?>
2. Winnie: (? ?)
3. T: What excuse?... What did he what did she tell Mr Bumble she forget* to do?...
4. Winnie: (? ?) (followed by Ss laughter)

5. T: No. Now, she said that the gate was... Ann, the gate was...

6. Ann: (??)

7. T: Why did she lock the gate?

8. Ann: Because she (??) the children.

9. T: She... wants to...

10. Ann: eh... she...

11. T: Now she locked the gate because she did not want the children to run out okay? So that (??) any time. (316)

In this example, after the teacher has asked the question again in L1, the student's answer is still not satisfactory and she needs to make it easier by asking a guiding question (turn 3). The student's answer is still not satisfactory, and the teacher nominates another student (Ann).

It seems then that an L1 repetition of the question is only effective to the extent that it ensures understanding of the question. It is just the first step towards successfully answering the question. There are times when students need other kinds of help; e.g. breaking down the question into more specific components (i.e. guiding questions). When this fails, the teacher usually seeks her answer from another student if she wants to get out of the 'deadlock'.

In the following example of Teacher D we see that in the pursuit of an answer to her question, she first gives some prompting and guiding questions, and finally, like Teacher C above, she resorts to nominating another student to answer the question:

(4) D5/F3/ 101:

{The teacher is asking questions about a character in a passage}

1. T: Can you tell me the third thing about him that is not so good as the manager.. er... Jēung-Jí-Hùhng... the third thing.. about him as a manager. ... Can you find it from line.. thirty to line thirty-five, the third thing about him? ... What do the girls complain?

{11 seconds}

2. T: We have already talked about it! {rather annoyed tone} Tell me the third thing. ... But the girls complain that what? ... Mh? Jēung-Jí-Hùhng, come on find it out from your text. ... Haa? ... Liuh-Suhk-Yìhng.

<what>

3. Liuh: They ask him the question they rarely (? ?).

4. T: 'Rarely' that means seldom. Do you understand 'seldom'? {T starts writing on board} 'Rarely', that means seldom, very very.. few times, alright? {... T continues to explain the word with an example ...}, alright? Sit down Jēung-Jí-Hùhng, pay attention. ... Okay? (126)

In this example, the teacher does not repeat her question in L1. Instead, she prompts the student by telling him which lines in the text to look at to find the answer. She also rephrases her question to make it easier to answer ('What do the girls complain?') When the student still does not come up with an answer, she is a little annoyed ('We have already talked about it!'). Finally she nominates another student to answer the question. But the first student is still standing up until at the last part of turn 4 when the teacher returns to him, asking him to sit down and to pay attention.

The teacher's last remark implies that the reason (as perceived by the teacher) why the first student does not come up with an answer is that he has not been paying attention and thus unable to find the answer. We can infer that to the teacher the question lies well within the range of knowledge of the student ('We have already talked about it!') if he cares to find it out from the text, and that may explain why she does not further explain the question or translate the question into L1 even when the student does not come up with an answer.

However, there are times when Teacher D sees the need to explain parts of the question in L1 in order to get an answer, as shown in the following example:

(5) D5/F3/ 082:
{The teacher has been asking questions about a passage}

T: Secondly.. so do you think that he is good as a manager? Do you think that he should be the manager? ...
Mahk-Gai-Mihng, do you think that she should work as a manager?
Mahk: No.
T: No, so would you respect him if he is your manager? ... Do you know 'respect'?
{ Ss noises and laughter }
T: 'Respect', do you know do you know...
{ the sound of door closing; Ss noises; the teacher digresses (in L1) to deal with this disruption caused apparently by a student coming into the classroom in the middle of the lesson... }

T: Yes, {Ss laughter} shh! {Sound of T hitting a desk twice} 'respect', do you understand? ... Jyūn-ging. Would=

<Respect>

=you respect him? ... WOULD YOU PAY ATTENTION! Would you respect him if he is your manager?

S1: No. {a soft voice}

T: No, because he isn't up-to-date in his knowledge. So, we would not respect a manager who is not up-to-date. Alright? Okay? (097)

In this example, the teacher seeks to ensure that the students understand the word 'respect' by briefly switching to L1 to give a translation ('jyūn-ging'). This is immediately followed by the original L2 question again. It seems that she sees the understanding of that vocabulary item a prerequisite to answering her question, but she does not want to digress for too long, as she has already been interrupted by the disturbance caused by a student coming in. The L1 translation is a short expression and thus serves her purpose here.

The above examples of Teacher C and D show that both of the teachers *may* switch to L1 to clarify their questions when they perceive the need to do so (i.e. when they see that the lack of a response is (partially) due to a lack of understanding of (parts of) the question. The following example from Teacher A is however quite different:

(6) A1/F3/ 360:

{The teacher has been checking answers to an exercise with students; each student is to give her the indirect form of the original direct speech form}

T: Alright, the last one, number eight, the last one.. you try.. the last one... Lily, could you try?

Lily: (? ?)

T: Do you keep 'said to'?

Lily: (? ?)

T: You have changed the question if you say whether his cousin had seen him.. the day before, then the question should be.. did er... was.. did my cousin see you.. yesterday. That mean the question is CHANGED.. already. You have not keep the same meaning. Do you understand? The question is: 'Was that your cousin... I saw you with.. yesterday?' Not aah.. 'Did.. my cousin er.. see you yesterday?' Right, it's different. So 'Paul asked John whether...

{no response or voice too soft}

T: whether what... ... whether that.. or it...

{no response or voice too soft}

T: Aah.. think about that.. for a minute.. aah... can someone try? ... Helen, can you try? (385)

S: Paul asked John whether (? ?)

T: Right, good, so Paul asked John whether.. that was ... aah sorry, that had been - it had been his cousin... he had seen.. him.. with... he had seen him with.. the day before. (Well) so whether that.. had been his cousin... he had.. seen.. him with... the day before. Alright? So it's complicated but you have - you cannot change... the original aah.. question.

The student's supply of a wrong answer has triggered the teacher's diagnosis of where the student is wrong (she has supplied the indirect form of a similar but different

question). However, even after this diagnosis (in L2), the student still fails to supply the right answer. The teacher then asks her to think about it for a minute and nominates another student to answer it. And by using a model from another student, the teacher attempts to demonstrate to Lily why she has not been correct (it is not clear form the data whether this is successful; the teacher has not returned to the student to check whether she has understood it or not. It is possible that the teacher has got confirmation from non-verbal cues, but we cannot be sure here).

After studying the above examples, we see that L1 repetition or clarification of the original L2 question is one of the many means employed by the teachers to pursue a response from their student(s) (e.g. asking guiding questions, prompting, nominating another student, etc.). However, when the teacher perceives that the lack of response is (partially) due to a lack of understanding of (parts of) the question, and that when she has already repeated or rephrased it in L2, or when she does not want to digress for too long to explain it, a brief L1 repetition is very likely to be used.

On the other hand, there are times when Cantonese reiterations (and often the accompanying prosodic changes as well) convey not only the semantic information of the question earlier asked in English, but also the teacher's sense of frustration and urgency. It seems that the teacher is pursuing a response from the students also by negotiating for a shift of frame; the message signalled to the students seems to be: this is not just a language game, which you are reluctant to participate in; I am also asking you for real!

5.2 Language Alternation in Defence

Students are however not always in a passive role. Sometimes, they initiate negotiation (in L1) with the teacher about the amount of classwork or homework assigned to them. And the teacher usually switches to L1 to negotiate with them. Below is an example

from Teacher D. She has been teaching the future tense and asking the students what they are going to do in the coming Chinese New Year holidays. Then she asks the students to write 5 sentences (as classwork) about 5 things that they are planning to do in the holidays. Some students protest in L1, saying that they will not have so many things to do in the holidays:

(7) D9/F3/ 329:

1. T: Alright, the whole class, would you take out a piece of paper. Would you take out-- aah... no need to, just write it down at some blank, alright? Write down five sentences.

2. S1: Waa! Dím jouh dóu gum dō yéh aa?!
<Exclamation particle! How can I do so many things?!>

3. [Some Ss: Waa! (? ?)
<Exclamation particle! (? ?) >

4. T: Néih mhaih āak ngóh haih maah, sān nìhn jouh mh dóu=
<You must be kidding, during the New Year you can't>
=mh yeuhng yéh? Néih jān-hūng gàah?
<do five things? You are "vacuum"?>

5. S2: Fan-gaau gaa jaa ngóh-deih. {laughing}
<We'll just be sleeping.>

6. [S3: Jān-hūng jauh jouh mh dóu mh=
<If we were "vacuum" we would>
=yeuhng yéh gaa lāā. {laughing}
<not be able to do five things.>

7. T: Mh-léih néih jouh māt-yéh aa.
<It doesn't matter what you do.>

{ Ss voices (in L1) }

8. T: Quickly, five sentences, quickly. (328)

In this extract we see Teacher D switching to L1 to respond to the students' protest. It is important noting that her L1 remark arouses some laughter and joking answers from the students (turns 5 & 6). It seems that by using the colloquial, trendy L1 expression (turn 4: '....néih jān-hūng gàah?', literally meaning 'you are *vacuum*?'), the teacher has successfully livened up the classroom atmosphere. This is in a way 'redeeming' in effect as the students must do what they are told to do; the teacher, instead of negotiating *seriously* with them as an adult, may as well make life happier for them by negotiating in a light-hearted way as their peer (i.e. in the negotiating style of the students themselves). Switching to colloquial 'youth-talk'[40] helps to achieve this (turns 4 & 7). Notice also that the teacher switches back to L2 to reassert her directive, as she needs to see to it that the students do not joke for too long and return to their work quickly.

Sometimes the teacher is really upset by the students' protest. Another example from Teacher D with the same Form 3 class shows how she reacts when confronted with a rude protest from a student about the dictation arrangement:

(8) D6/F3/ 298:

T: Now go home and study it for dictation. Understand? Dictate all these out... all these in your Day F dictation. Understand?

S1: Dictation yī-douh àah?
<this part?>

T: Yes, including this part. Ngóh yíh-hauh ǹh joi tēn gum=
<I don't want to hear such>

[S2: Yáuh móuh gáau cho aa?!
<What?! You must have made a mistake?!>

=móuh láih-maauh ge jih ge, giu chān néih māt-yéh-yéh=
<impolite words any more, whenever I ask you to do>

=yáuh móuh gáau cho.

<something you say "What? You must have made a mistake?!">

S1: Dím-gáai yiu mahk yī-douh aa?

<Why have we got to dictate this part?>

T: Hóu làahn mē yī-dī gúm ge yéh dím yéung gáau cho aa=

<This kind of thing isn't difficult at all how come>

=néih mh yiu lihm gaa mē?! ... Néih aa jauh jān haih=

<you think that it's a mistake?! ... It's you yourself>

=gáau cho jó laak. (305)

<who are really mistaken.>

The teacher's switch to L1 puts her on the same level with the student so that she can react specifically to the rude L1 remark of the student ('Yáuh móuh gáau cho aa!', meaning something like 'What?! You must have made a mistake?!'). Her last remark 'Néih aa jauh jān haih gáau cho jó laa!' (meaning 'It's you yourself who are really mistaken!') is an 'eye-for-eye' type of reprimand to the student. In terms of the effect here the role of LA is important.

In the following extract, Teacher C also switches to L1 to negotiate on the same level with a student, when cornered by his strong comments on her knowledge and performance. She has been teaching the difference between direct and indirect speech and has quite insensitively (or intentionally?) hurt the face of a student, whom she quotes in an example:

(9) C3/F2R/ 235:

1. T: Now for this part it is something concerned about the direct, indirect speech. Do you know what is direct speech and what is indirect speech? .. Mē-yéh (giu) direct speech=

<What is (called) direct>

=aa? ... Samuel!

<speech?>

2. S1: M̀h-jī aa.

<I don't know.>

3. T: Now, if I say... ahh... Davy is a naughty boy, okay, then, when I write it down, I may say, I may write it in this way: {T starts writing on board} The teacher... said, comma, open the quotation mark okay, Davy... is..

4. [S2: Haih gwái=

<Of course>

=gúm chyun aa! {very loud, sounds angry}

<it is not how it should be spelled!>

{one or two Ss laugh softly}

5. T: d-a-v-y!

6. S2: d-a, m̀h gwaai jī néih duhk cho lāā! d-a-v-i-s aa!

<d-a, no wonder you mispronounced it! It's d-a-v-i-s!>

7. T: Davis {laughing}, okay! Davis is naughty-- is bad! Davis is bad. Okay, then, now it is in the DIRECT SPEECH, direct speech. {T writing on board}

8. S2: Duhk gum dō nìhn sy̅u dōū m̀h-sīk chyun.

<With so many years of study and still cannot spell.>

9. T: Davy can-- spell.. d-a-v-y.

10. S2: d-a-v-i-s, NÉIH duhk cho jī maa!

<YOU mispronounced it!>

11. T: Néih sèhng yaht dōu mh-gāau bóu! Gwái jī néih=

<You seldom hand in your exercises! Who knows your>

12. [S2: Ngóh jī aak!

<That I know!>

=i-s jihng y lō?!

<name is i-s or y?!>

13. S2: Mē aa?

<What?>

14. T: Néih sheuhng go hohk-kèih dōu meih gāau gwo bou=

<You haven't handed in any exercises for the last term>

= {outburst of Ss laughter}, ngóh dōu meih laauh gwo néih!

<I haven't scolded you yet!>

15. S2: Jok-mán yáuh aa! Jok-mán yáuh aa! (251)

<I have handed in my composition! I have handed in my composition!>

{Unfortunately recording was discontinued here}

Here we see that the teacher has been concentrating on the task of teaching the direct and indirect speech and has neglected the feelings of the student whose face she has hurt in an example, 'Davy is a naughty boy'. The student reacts by finding fault with the teacher's spelling of his name. He interrupts the teacher, shouting, 'Haih gwái gum chyun aa!' (meaning 'Of course this is not how it should be spelt!'). One or two students laugh softly. In turn 7 the teacher also laughs (in an attempt to alleviate the embarrassment?), and tries to resume teaching (and all through she has been speaking L2).

However, the teacher sticks with the example and makes it even worse: 'Davy is naughty-- is bad!' (in revenge for the challenge of the student?). Nor has she realised the real name of the student. But the student does not stop there. His subsequent

remark (turn 8) seems to aim at further undermining the credibility and authority of the teacher (S2: 'Duhk gum dō nìhn syū dōu m̀h-sīk chyun.', meaning 'With so many years of study and don't even know how to spell.'). The teacher digresses to respond to this personal challenge by reasserting the spelling (turn 9, still in L2). The student answers back, giving the spelling of his name, and pointing out that it is the teacher who has mispronounced his name.

It is at this point that the teacher switches to L1 and 'fights back' effectively by at once exposing the mistake of the student and putting the responsibility for mis-spelling his name squarely on him: he has not handed in any exercises for the last term! At this point the teacher seems to have won back her face and has gained an upper hand over the student (reflected in the outburst of laughter from the class at hearing that he has seldom handed in his exercises).

What is interesting in this exchange is the differential levels of interaction that are being *negotiated* by the teacher and the student respectively. The teacher has been negotiating for a teaching frame. In her example, 'Davy is a naughty boy', the criticism is there only when you break the teaching frame. The student must have interpreted it from an out-of-frame perspective (reflected in the fact that he appears to be angry). However, there is no *formal* mechanism through which he can show his discontent (you cannot refute a criticism which does not *formally* exist!). It is essential that the teacher maintains the teaching frame so that she can pre-empt any answering back. Her continued use of L2 in face of the student's challenge (turns 4 & 6) seems to be part of this effort.

The student initially fights back on the same level: he finds fault with the teacher's spelling, an issue that lies well within the teaching frame (he does not, for example, dispute the assertion that he is a naughty boy). The teacher suffers a setback but takes revenge by making the example even more unfavourable ('Davy is bad') for him. The

student eventually *breaks* the teaching frame by making negative comments on both the knowledge and performance of the teacher (turns 8 & 10). At this point, the teacher's credibility is at risk. She can no longer stay in the teaching frame; she reacts by switching to L1 and putting the responsibility for mis-spelling back to the student (turns 11 & 14).

The L1 switch seems then to be motivated by the need to negotiate *on the same level* with the student. It is triggered by the student's negotiation for a frame shift. The L1 switch is thus at once a signal for that shift and a strategic response in the onging negotiation.

Another example is from Teacher B. She has been passing some light-hearted comments (in L2) on something unrelated to the present English lesson: many students have forgot to bring their Chinese books for the immediately preceding Chinese History lesson:

(10) B1/F2/ 39:
T: Haa haa, just now you've got five... only, what happened?
S1: Hóu dō yàhn mh gei dāk daai aa.
    <Many people have forgotten to bring it.>
T: A lot of you did not bring your Chinese book, right?
Chinese History, haa haa.
S2: Mīsìh (? ?)?
    <Miss (? ?)? >
T: Pardon?
S2: Mīsìh néih sái-mh-sái (? ?)?
    <Miss, do you need to (? ?)? >
(sound of a student laughing)

T: Néih nē jauh yuht lèih yuht dō yéh góng gaa laak...=

<You are getting more and more talkative...>

=Alright, now let us start (our lesson). Page thirty-two, page thirty-two. (044)

The teacher is doing some 'casual talk' before she really gets onto teaching. But when a student seems to have crossed the fine line of acceptable joking[41] she switches to L1 to pass a comment (in normal tone) on the student's general behaviour as a response to his question. She then returns to L2 to start the lesson.

It seems that the student has been negotiating for the continuation of the non-serious casual talk while the teacher wants to cut it short. By switching to L1 to pass such a comment she seems to have temporarily given in to the student *on the level of language choice* but stood firm on her demands for acceptable classroom behaviour. In this way she can successfully negotiate for good behaviour without appearing too unapproachable and authoritative.

On the whole, these examples show that language alternation can be a strategy in various kinds of negotiation between teachers and students. Teachers do not always initiate a negotiation; sometimes they are under pressure to defend or 'fight back', and they switch to the code of the students in order to be effective in the negotiation.

6 LANGUAGE ALTERNATION IN TEACHING

Sections 4 and 5 concentrate on the analysis of language alternation as a strategy in discourse / frame marking and teacher-student negotiation. In this section instances of language alternation within the teaching frame[42] will be examined. All the teachers (except Teacher A, who has been speaking English throughout her lessons) have shown

instances of language alternation during their teaching, and many of these instances are found in the teaching of grammar and vocabulary .

6.1 Language Alternation in Grammar Teaching.

Teacher D[43] shows many instances of language alternation in her teaching of grammar. Usually she starts off teaching some grammatical point in English, then switches to Cantonese to repeat or elaborate it, and finally switches back to English to reiterate the key elements. Below is an example from Teacher D; she has been teaching the future tense:

(1) D9/F3/ 028:
T: Now, pay attention. (T starts writing on board)
T: What-- listen carefully to my question. What will you do, or, what kind of job will you find? Alright? What will you be that means. Okay? What will you do when you leave school, after Form 5, or after Form 3? Okay? Now, listen to the question again: What will you do... when you leave school after Form 5 or Form 3? Alright? (037-085: T continues to ask students what they want to be in the future and write down the students' sentences on the blackboard)

T: Alright, would you look at these sentences, now, okay, now, what will you do, something in the future, alright? So, you will use.. (T starts writing on board) 'will' plus 'infinitive'. Okay? (Now) look carefully at the second part. ... 'when you leave school', have you left school now?
S1: No.

T: Listen to me carefully, whole class, pay attention. Have you left school now?

Some Ss: No, no.

T: Have you?

Some Ss: No, no.

T: No. So is it in the future, also? BUT, I-- I have not used 'will'. I have not used 'shall'. I just use what kind of tense? ..... Simple... present.. tense. (T writing on board)

T: So, first of all, there are two ways, there are two ways to show something in the future. First way, the first method, is, for example, 'I will be a teacher'. Okay, for example. 'I will be' is 'will' or 'shall' plus 'infinitive'. To do something, very simple, without any stress, móuh māt =

<there's

=dahk-bihk néih yiu kèuhng-diuh ge, understand? Jauh gám=

<nothing that you want to emphasize,> <It simply

=yi-sī jauh gám góng jēung-lòih gaak jēk, alright? Alright?

<means, it simply refers to the future,>

=Purely simple, purely in the future, okay? Next, look at this sentence, you can use-- by using (T starts writing on board) simple present tense. (Also means in the future), but after, shh! when you use it after 'when', 'when you leave school', alright? Now, for example, another example. Aah.. what will you do when you have your holiday in summer? ... Now listen, what will you do, first of all 'will' or 'shall' plus 'infinitive', alright, 'when you have', simple present tense, alright, when you have... your.. holidays in summer, understand? Or when you have summer holidays, okay? So, say

again, what-- (T starts writing) Can you see, here this part, just use future, simple future, alright, simple future, 'will' or 'shall' plus 'infinitive', alright? And this part, use what kind of tense? Simple present tense, because you want to show the time. Mē-éh sìh-gaan néih jēung-lòih jouh dī=

<During what time you will do what in the>

=māt-yéh. Understand? 'when you leave school', okay? Now, future.>

=another example. (123-142: T continues to ask students questions of the structure, 'What will you do when...?')

T: How about you, Wòhng-Hon-Sān? ..... What will you bring=

<a student's name>

=when you come to school, COME to school, not will come to school, alright, when you come to school on Monday?

W: I... will...

[T: 'I shall' or...

W: 'I will' mh-dāk gàah?

<'I will' isn't okay?>

T: 'I will' that means 'you MUST'. 'I will' tùhng 'I=

<The difference between>

=shall' ge fān-bihk haih gúm ge: 'I will' nē jīk haih=

<'I will' and 'I shall' is this: what does 'I will'>

=waah māt-yéh yi-sī aa? Néih yāt-dihng wui jouh ge,=

<mean? It means that you will certainly do something,>

=alright? 'I shall' nē jauh hóu póu-tūng gaa jēk.=

<Whereas 'I shall' hasn't got special emphasis.>

W: I shall.....

T: I shall bring

[W: I shall BING:: my (bag). (Ss laughter)

W: I shall bing my (bag).

T: I shall bring, not BING! {Ss laughter}

T: I shall bring my (bag), okay? So, you see, {T starts writing} have you come to school yet? ... It's in the.. future, but, do you use will or shall? ... No, alright, because, 'dōng néih māt-yéh' ge sìh-hauh, no need to use=

<while you say 'when you ba ba ba...',>

=future, although it is in the future. Sēui-yìhn yī go=

<Although this>

=duhng-jok haih hái jēung-lòih ge, daahn-haih néih haih=

<action will take place in the future, but when you>

=séung waah 'dōng néih māt-yéh ge sìh-hauh néih jēung-wui=

<want to say 'when you ba ba ba..., you will then>

=jouh dī māt-yéh' nē, 'dōng néih māt-yéh sìh-hauh' go geui=

<do this and that, the clause 'when you ba ba ba...'>

=nē jauh mh̀-sái yuhng 'will' tùhng 'shall'. Understand?=

<does not have 'will' and 'shall'.>

=Jihng-haih yuhng māt-yéh aa? Simple present tense=

<Only what is required? Only simple present tense>

=jauh dāk gaak laak. Yī go haih jaahp-gwaan lèih ge.=

<is needed. This is what is habitually followed.>

Alright? Any question? So, another way, by using simple present tense. (161)

In this rather long extract, the teacher is trying to teach one main grammatical point: the simple present tense is used in the time adverbial clause ('when...') while the main clause is in the future tense ('I will...') although both of them have the future meaning. She first elicits sentences of this structure from a number of students. Then she draws the students' attention to the main clause alone (i.e. 'I will/shall...'), pointing out that it

consists of 'will/shall + infinitive', and that this is the 'simple' future form ('To do something, very simple, without any stress'[44]). The point that it is 'simple' and 'without stress' is immediately repeated in L1:

'móuh māt dahk-bihk néih yiu kèuhng-diuh ge, understand?=
<there's nothing that you want to emphasize,>
=Jauh gám yi-sī jauh gám góng jēung-lòih gaak jēk,=
<It simply means, it simply refers to the future,>
=alright? Alright?'

The teacher then reiterates it in two short L2 phrases ('Purely simple, purely in the future').

This *L2-L1-L2* pattern is found again when the teacher points out that the simple present tense is used in the time adverbial clause:

'And this part, use what kind of tense? Simple present tense, because you want to show the time. Mē-éh sìh-gaan=
<During what time>
=néih jēung-lòih jouh dī māt-yéh. Understand? 'when you=
<you will do what in the future.>
=leave school', okay?'.

Again, the L1 utterance is a reiteration of what has just been said in L2.

Later, in response to a student's question about 'will', the teacher explains:

'I will' that means 'you MUST'. 'I will' tùhng 'I shall'=
<The difference between>
=ge fān-bihk haih gúm ge: 'I will' nē jīk haih=
<'I will' and 'I shall' is this: what does 'I will'>
=waah māt-yéh yi-sī aa? Néih yāt-dihng wui jouh ge,=
<mean? It means that you will certainly do something,>

=alright? 'I shall' nē jauh hóu póu-tūng gaa jēk.
<Whereas 'I shall' hasn't got special emphasis.>

Here, the sequence is *L2-L1*. The L1 explanation is more detailed than the initial L2 one, and it begins with a metastatement ('I will' tùhng 'I shall' ge fān-bihk haih gúm ge:).

After the student (Wòhng) has supplied an answer, the teacher repeats the main point (that 'will' or 'shall' is not used in the time adverbial clause although it is in the future) in L2. Then she goes on to give a detailed reiteration of the point in L1. After that she returns to L2 and concludes with a short L2 summary ('So, another way, by using simple present tense.') The code sequence is thus: $L2^{45}$ - $L1^{46}$ - *L2*.

In all the 4 instances of LA in this extract, the code sequence is invariably L2 - L1 (-L2). The grammatical point is always presented and explained in L2 first. And after the L1 reiteration (and sometimes elaboration, e.g. more details), the teacher usually gives a short summary utterance in L2 again.

Second, it is worth noting that the teacher does not repeat everything in L1. In the 4 instances where LA is found, the points reiterated or elaborated in L1 are:

a. 'To do something, very simple, without any stress'
b. 'because you want to show the time.'
c. 'I will' that means 'you MUST'
d. 'It's in the.. future, but, do you use will or shall? ...
No, alright, because, dōng néih māt-yéh ge sìh-hauh,=
<when you are ba ba ba...,>
=no need to use future, although it is in the future.'

In fact, a, b & d are the main teaching points that are illustrated and explained with examples throughout the extract. It is common in monolingual speech to repeat something important; and the bilingual teacher here chooses to reiterate it in L1, which is usually followed by a further reiteration in L2 (thus the L2-L1-L2 pattern).

Point c. is a response to a student's query (in L1) about the usage of 'will'. The teacher first answers him in L2 ('I will' that means 'you MUST') and then switches to L1 first to give a metastatement about what she is going to say ('I will' tùhng 'I shall' ge fān-bihk haih gúm ge:') and then a repetition and elaboration of the initial L2 answer. Why has the teacher not replied in L1 from the very start? Why has she followed the L2-L1 pattern? Before we come back to these questions, let us look at another extract. It is taken from the beginning of a lesson of Teacher D. She is going to teach the usage of the construction type, '...should /shouldn't have + past participle':

(2) D1/F3/ 024:

Turn 1/ T: Alright, now, you have learnt from.. most of them.. of this unit but the last one.. aah.. it is much more difficult, now, for example... now listen, suppose, now yesterday, now yesterday aah..
for example, aahm... Làhm-Jí-Yān, alright, for example=
<a student's name>
=you. Yesterday for example you did not.. handed in your.. dictation book for example, alright? Yesterday Làhm-Jí-Yān.. did not.. handed in.. her.. dictation book.. but I ask you.. should she hand in? Yes or no?.. Should.. she hand in?

Turn 2/ Ss: No! {more or less in chorus}

Turn 3/ T: No? Yesterday I asked her to hand in.. understand? She needed to hand in yesterday. Understand? She needed to hand in yesterday but.. did she? ... Did she?

Turn 4 / S1: No. (the soft voice of a single student)

Turn 5 / T:

i. L2: No. Alright?

ii. L1: Gáa-jē heui móuh āa maa? ..
<It's false; she hasn't, right?>

In the first few turns of the extract the first instance of LA (turn 5-ii) is worth noting. It is shortly preceded by the students' wrong answer (turn 2) to her question ('Should she hand in?')(turn 1). This is an indication to her that they do not quite follow her. Then in turn 3 she gives the reason why the student needed to hand in the book ('Yesterday I asked her to hand in..'). And then she asks a related but different question, 'did she (hand in)?' This time only one student answers her (turn 4). Soon after this she switches to L1 to reiterate the answer (that the student has not handed in the book) (turn 5-ii).

It seems that the L1 switch is triggered by the responses of the students, which indicate to the teacher that they are not quite following her. The teacher's awareness of possible non-comprehension on the part of her students is also reflected in a noticeable increase after turn 2 in the number of comprehension checks (realized in the linguistic forms of 'understand?' and 'alright?' spoken with a rising question tone).

The ensuing reiteration and elaboration are coded alternatively in L2 and L1. Let us look more closely at the structure of turns 5 to 7:

Turn 5 / T:

i. L2: No. Alright?

ii. L1: Gáa-jē heui móuh āā maa? ..

<It's false; she hasn't, right?>

iii. L2: Did she? .. No. Alright? So, I would say..

iv. L1: Làhm-Jí-Yān, néih haih-mhaih yīng-gōi yíh-gīng=

<Làhm-Jí-Yān, isn't it true that you should have>

=gāāu-jó laa? Bāt-gwo néih móuh gāāu-dou wo,=

<handed in? But you haven't handed in,>

=haih-mhaih gúm ge yi-sī aa? Alright[47]? Néih=

<isn't that what it means? You>

=yīng-gōi nē jauh gāāu-jó gaa laak, gāāu-JÓ:: gaa=

<should have handed in, HAVE handED>

=laak, jē haih-mhaih néih yīng-gōi yíh-gīng gāāu-jó=

<in, doesn't that mean you should have already>

=gaa?

<handed in?>

v. L2-L1-L2-L1-L2: Alright? That means YOU SHOU::LD,

neih ying-goi[48], YOU SHOU::LD.. HAVE HANDED.. IN.=

<you should>

=Alright? Néih YĪNG-GŌI yíh-gīng gāāu-jó. YOU=

<You SHOULD have handed in.>

=SHOULD.. HAVE HANDED IN.. the dictation book. (Sound of T writing on board)

(vi. L1: 045-051: T then digresses for a while to ask Ss to pay attention or else they will not be able to do the exercise...)

vii. L2: ... You should have handed in.. a dictation book, for example...

viii. L1: Làah hái yī geui lèih góng nē, lī go sìh-sīk=
<Okay for this sentence, this tense pattern>
=tàuh-sīn ngóh béi néih, heui yáuh móuh gāāu-dou aa?
<I gave you just now, has she handed in?>

ix. L2: Did she?

Turn 6:

Some Ss: No, no.

Turn 7/ T:

i. L2: She didn't. Alright?

ii. L1: Heui kèih-saht nē jauh móuh jouh ge, ngóh jūng-yi=
<She in fact has not done it; I'd like to>
=waah néih yīng-gōi dím aa? Yáuh jouh-dou; só-yíh=
<say you should what? Have done it; therefore>
=néih gin-dóu yī yāt geui geui-jí nē, néih yīng-gōi=
<when you see this sentence, you should>
=yáuh gāāu-dou, you should have handed in=
<have handed in,>
=néih yīng-gōi yáuh gāāu-dou nē, jīk-haih yi-sī waah=
<you should have handed in, that means>
=māt-yéh aa? Néih móuh gāāu-dou. Understand?=
<what? You haven't handed in.>
=Ngóh yāt yahp lèih,
<As soon as I came in,>

iii. L2: for example, 'you should have.. had your dictation but you haven't'. Alright? 'You should have done your.. classwork'.. but you didn't'. (higher pitch for the

words in italic) Understand? So.. (T starts writing on board) usually.. it.. refers.. something.. in the past.

iv. L1: Hái gwo-heui, yáuh dī yéh.. néih.. yīng-gōi jouh=
<In the past, something.. that you.. should do>
=daahn-haih néih nē.. jauh móuh jouh wo yìh-gāa nē=
< but you.. didn't and now>
=jauh waah néih YĪNG-GŌI dím aa? Yíh-gīng jouh-jó.=
<you say you SHOULD what? Already have done it.>
=Understand? Alright?

v. L2: (T starts writing on board) But.. you.. didn't. Alright? Okay? (067) Another example... for example yesterday, yesterday again, alright? When I crossed the road, I saw.. an old.. woman. She aahm.. crossed the road when.. aahm.. mh.. the light is still.. red for her, (understand), for the pedestrian. Okay? But should you cross the road, when the.. pedestrian light is still red? Should you cross the road? No. So I would say SHE::.. SHOU::LD.. NO::T..

vi. L1: ìmh yīng-gōi āa maa?
<should not, right?>

vii. L2: alright, SHE SHOU::LD NO::T.. HAVE CROSSED THAT ROAD at that time, understand? Alright? (30 seconds: T probably drawing on board) Alright? ..... Okay?

The teacher first repeats the student's answer (turn 4) in L2 (turn 5-i). Then she reiterates the meaning of the answer in L1 (5-ii). Then she asks in L2 the same previous question again and answers it herself (5-iii). Here we find the teacher's

repetitious treatment (in an L2-L1-L2 pattern) of the point (that Làhm-Jí-Yān has not actually handed in the dictation book).

The last part of 5-iii, 'So, I would say,', precedes the repetitious explanation and elaboration (in L1) of the point that Làhm-Jí-Yān should have handed in the dictation book but she did not (5-iv). This is followed by the presentation of the sample sentence ('That means YOU SHOULD,'...) (5-v). Evidence in the later turns of the extract shows that the teacher often precedes a sample sentence with the framing phrase, 'So I (would) say,' (see turn 7-v: 'So I would say SHE::.. SHOU::LD NO::T..', and turn 12-i: 'So I say '*she should not have crossed that road at that time.*' below). The L1 translation and elaboration looks like an 'insertion' between 'So, I would say,' and the sample sentence. It seems that when the teacher is just about to present the sample sentence, she holds it back until after an explanation and elaboration of the situation to which the sample sentence refers (This she has in fact tried to do in L2 from turn 1 to turn 5-iii). The L1 switch serves at least 2 purposes here: it marks off the explanation against the sample sentence, and it aims at making sure that every student understands the meaning of the sample sentence before it is presented (this is the first time it is presented in the whole extract).

The structure so far is thus:

(1) L2 explanation of the situation (turns 1 to 5-i),

(2) L1 reiteration of one aspect of the situation (5-ii),

(3) L2 reconfirmation of 5-ii (5-iii),

(4) L2 framing for the presentation of the sample sentence (5-iii, 'So, I would say..'),

(5) L1 explanation and elaboration of the whole situation again (5-iv),

(6) L2 (-L1-L2-L1-L2) presentation of the sample sentence (5-v).

We see here that (5) is in fact a reiteration of 1 to 3 and it comes just in the middle of the first presentation of the sample sentence. Earlier we have noted that (2) is probably

triggered by the students' wrong answer in turn 2 and the scarcity of response in turn 4. An interesting question arises at this point. That is, why doesn't the teacher go on in L1 from (2)? Why does she reconfirm (2) in L2 again (i.e.[3])? It seems that the teacher does not want to *just* get across the message. If she does, it would be strange that she repeats the message in L2. It seems that the L1 reiterations, both (2) and (5), are each an insertion between the otherwise ongoing L2 discourse, and that they are not meant to replace, but rather to go in-between the L2 discourse, hence the apparently redundant sequence: L2-L1-L2, found in both this example and Example (1) discussed earlier in this section.

Second, it is interesting to see how the teacher presents the sample sentence. It is presented in 3 steps (5-v):

1. 'That means YOU SHOU::LD' + {L1 translation},
2. 'YOU SHOU::LD.. HAVE HANDED.. IN' + {L1 translation},
3. 'YOU SHOULD.. HAVE HANDED IN.. the dictation book'.

In the first two steps, an L1 translation immediately follows the L2 part, and finally in step 3 the whole L2 sentence is presented. The sequence of the above is thus:

1. (L2) Sample/ part 1 - (L1) Meaning/ part 1
2. (L2) Sample/ part 2 - (L1) Meaning/ part 2
3. (L2) Sample/ whole sentence

This resembles the pattern found in the teaching of vocabulary of Teachers B, C and D (see Section 6.2). The L1 translations are there to convey the meaning of the sample sentence.

The teacher then digresses for a while to urge her students to pay attention (in L1). When she returns to the original topic, she presents the L2 sample sentence again (5-vii). This is immediately followed (no pause in between) by an L1 'metalinguistic

question' (5-viii), and then a shortened form of the question in L2 ('Did she?' 5-ix). This is similar to the pattern found in 5-ii and 5-iii above.

Some students answer her, 'No, no.' (turn 6). She repeats and confirms the students' answer in L2 (turn 7-i). It is interesting to note here that throughout her teaching all the answers she elicits from her students are in L2. The fact that she repeats her L1 question with an L2 short form may also be motivated by her desire to elicit an L2 (and not an L1) answer from the students.

She seems to find the L2 confirmation of the answer inadequate. She follows it up with a detailed explanation (in L1) of the implied meaning of the sample sentence (7-ii). Then she moves on to present another situation. She starts off in L1 ('Ngóh yāt yahp lèih,' 7-ii: last part). But shortly she switches to L2 to give a structuring utterance ('for example,') and the actual sample sentence (*'you should.. have had your dictation but you haven't.'*... 7-iii). She then gives a metastatement (still in L2) about its usage ('So.. usually.. it.. refers.. something.. in the past.'), (writing down something as she speaks). And immediately she switches to L1 to give a much more detailed elaboration of the usage (7-iv). After that she switches back to L2 to reiterate part of the sample sentence presented earlier ('But.. you.. didn't'; writing on board as she speaks) (7-v).

First, it is interesting to note that as soon as the teacher has briefly presented the situation of another example: 'Ngóh yāt yahp lèih,' (meaning 'As soon as I came in,'), she switches to L2 to formally present the sample sentence ('for example, ...'). Like 'I (would) say,', 'for example' is a framing device for the ensuing sample sentence. The code switch in the middle of the presentation suggests that the teacher probably makes it a rule to frame sample sentences in L2. It reflects the teacher's tendency to present an example first in L2 (as it is the case in turn 1: 'now yesterday aah.. for example,', and in turn 7-v-067: 'Another example...'). Her swift switch to L2 after a short L1 phrase

concerning the situation of the example reflects this. It seems to be a false start that she hurries to correct (in terms of code choice).

Second, what is interesting is that the initial L2 explanation of the usage is so brief and incomplete ('So.. usually.. it.. refers.. something.. in the past.' 7-iii). (She is writing down something on the board as she speaks it). Then comes the much more detailed L1 explanation (7-iv). The question is: Why doesn't she explain straight away in L1, or in L1 first then in L2. The L2 explanation is so brief and incomplete that the teacher cannot have relied on it to explain the usage fully to the students. But why does the teacher precede her L1 explanation with such an incomplete L2 explanation? (And she seems to have written it down on the board, too). *We are led to hypothesize that the L2 explanation may in fact have a similar status as the sample sentence* (that it is written down on the board suggests this) (see also evidence in turn 12-i to iii, v to viii below). If this is the case, it is not expected to be understood alone, but to be understood in the light of the ensuing L1 repetition and elaboration. We can then understand this sequence: L2 sample sentence - L2 'sample explanation' - L1 explanation - L2 sample sentence.

Then the teacher continues in L2 to give another example, switching only briefly to L1 to translate part of the sample sentence ('SHE::.. SHOU::LD.. NO..T..') in 7-vi.

She then illustrates the situation of the sample sentence on the blackboard (inferred from the students' responses [turns 8, 9 & 11] and the teacher's later reference to it [turn 12-i]):

Turn 8: S1: Mē lèih gaa?
<What is it?>
Turn 9: [S2: Mē lèih gaa?
<What is it?>

{Ss laugh}

{T laughs}

Turn 10/ T:

L2: {T writes on board as she speaks:} She should.. not.. have.. she should not.. have what? Crossed.. the.. road. Okay? At that.. time, or at that moment. Alright? Okay?

Turn 11. S: (??) hùhng dān jāā maa (??).

< (??) just red light (??).>

Turn 12/ T:

i. L2: Alright? Understand? Now look at this old woman. She's-- alright, this old woman-- alright she is crossing.. the road. She was crossing.. the road yesterday when the.. light is still red. Alright? So I say 'she should not have crossed that road at that time. It was very dangerous'. Understand? Alright? It will ENDANGER her life. Alright? Okay? {097} So, ... so you know... {T starts writing on board} some time in the past..... okay? Have crossed, understand? Alright? So we use this kind of tense.. have.. should.. plus.. have plus past participle.. to MEAN.. something.. you should.. have done.. but you didn't. Something you should NOT have done.. but you did. Understand? Alright? Okay? Understand? Or you may use ought to, alright? {T starts writing on board} Ought to... have... or ought not to have, alright? ... Ought to.. have... or ought not to have... alright? Or ought not to have. ...

Okay? Ought not to. Okay? Any question? Or oughtn't to. Alright let's look at page sixty-three. exercise D. Can you find exercise D? Now, let's look at it. Sometimes.. we have done something which was not necessary. Not necessary. Do you understand?

ii. L1: Mh sēui-yiu jouh ge, jouh-jó, bāt-gwo, dím aa?=
<No need to do it, have done it, however, then what?>
=Mh sēui-yiu jouh ge,
<No need to do it,>

iii. L2: but you do not know it at that time. For example the car has stopped.. at the pedestrian.. crossing. ... The driver needn't.. have stopped. Needn't..

iv. L1: ngóh-deih chìhn-mihn gāa go māt-yéh jih dōu dāk ge.=
<we can have many other words in the front.>
=Understand? Néih yuhng ngóh-deih hohk-gwo haih maih=
<You can use the word 'need', haven't>
='need' yī go jih gaa?
<we learnt that word?>

v. L2: Alright? Needn't have stopped.

vi. L1: Heui mh sēui-yiu tìhng ge.
<She didn't need to stop.>

vii. L2: Because the pedestrian.. didn't.. want to cross.

viii. L1: Gān-bún go hàhng-yàhn dōu mhaih séung gwo=
<In fact the pedestrian didn't want to cross>
=máah-louh gé, hai tùhng deui-mihn dáa jīu-fū=
<the road, she was just greeting someone across>
='Āa-aah! Wei!' Gúm yéung deui-jyuh go pàhng-yáuh=
<'AA-aah! Wei!' In this manner she was greeting>

=dáa jīu-fū heui yū-sih jauh hàahng-jáu-jó laak.=

<her friend and then she walked away.>

=Understand? Alright? Any question? Needn't,

hó-yih hó-yih yuhng-màaih "needn't" hóu dō go jih=

<you can you can use "needn't" and many other >

=dōu dāk gaak.

<words.>

ix. L2: Alright? Need. ... Or, need not, need not, that means needn't, (T writes on board as she speaks the above) alright? Need.. needn't have.. that, alright? ... Any question? Now, ... (T writing on board)

x. L1: làah ngóh gaau-gwo néih gaa laa, don't need to..=

<Now I have taught you this before,>

=doesn't not-- does not need to... hái yihn-joih-sīk=

<in the present tense>

=ngóh-deih hó-yíh yuhng māt-yéh gaa? Need.. not,=

<what can we use?>

=alright? Só-yíh nē, dím-gáai bún syū yiu yuhng=

<So, why does the book use>

="needn't" aa? Need... not... have, understand? =

<"needn't" ?>

=Só-yíh nē yī-douh nē bin-jó heui gáan-sé bin-jó=

<So here it has become its shortened form has become>

=māt-yéh aa?

<what?>

Turn 13. Ss: needn't, needn't.

Turn 14/ T:

i. L1: Needn't... (T writing) Alright daahn-haih=

<however when>

=yihn-joih-sīk ge sìh-houh pei-yùh.. I don't need to=

<it's in the present tense for example>

=have.. done. Understand? Chèuih-fēi néih yuhng=

<Unless you use the>

=gáan-sé néih yíh-gīng hó-yíh waah "needn't have". =

<shortened form you then can say>

=Understand? Yī go haih gwaan-yuhng ge yīng-mán lèih=

<This is what is naturally said in >

=ge. Néih seuihn-`mh-seuihn gaa jē, ngóh tēn-lohk-heui=

<English. Does it sound natural to you, to me it is>

=`mh seuihn gaak, yùh-gwú waah.. "needn't to have"..=

<unnatural, if you say..>

=`mhaih hóu seuihn gaak, gwaan-jó jāa maa. Needn't=

<not very natural, as a matter of habit.>

=have. Daahn-haih yùh-gwó ngóh yuhng "don't need" nē,=

<However if I use "don't need",>

=ngóh yauh `mh-wui "don't need have done" go wo,=

<I won't say "don't need have done", >

=ngóh wui yuhng māt-yéh aa? "Don't need to have done".=

<I shall use what? >

=Understand, you don't need to have done. Alright?

Understand? Gúm nī-dī nē, yiu gei-jyuh laa. =

<So all these, you need to remember.>

=Nī yāt-géi-go nē haih jing-sèuhng ge, néih pìhng-sìh=

<These few expressions are natural, are what you>

=gwaan-yuhng-jó go màhn.. go màhn-faat go gik-kau. =

<generally do in natural idiomatic grammar.>

=Nī-yāt-go nē jauh haih gwaan-yuhng ge. Needn't have=

<This is idiomatic usage.>

=done. Understand? Alright? Gúm màhóu lōu-lyuhn aà,=

<So don't mix them up,>

=màhóu waah bún sȳū cho-jó aa, yāt-gāan waah "needn't=

<don't say that the book is wrong, and say it should be>

=to" āà maa. Understand? Alright? (151)

<"needn't to".>

In turn 12-i, the teacher continues in L2 to describe the situation of the example ('she should not have crossed the road at that time) for a while. Then she points out the usage of this kind of structure in a much more detailed way than 7-iii.

12-i-097:

'So, ... so you know... (T starts writing on board) some time in the past..... okay? Have crossed, understand? Alright? So we use this kind of tense.. have.. should.. plus.. have plus past participle.. to MEAN.. something.. you should.. have done.. but you didn't. Something you should NOT have done.. but you did. Understand? Alright? Okay? Understand?

She goes on (still in L2) to introduce the possibility of using 'ought to', 'ought not to' or 'oughtn't to' in the place of 'should'. Afterwards, she gives a structuring directive ('Alright let's look at page sixty-three...'). But then she goes back to describe the situation in which the sample sentence type is used ('Sometimes.. we have done something which was not necessary...') and she seems to be uncertain whether her students understand her point, as reflected in the comprehension check, 'Do you

understand?'. Immediately after this is a switch to L1, repeating twice the idea of 'not necessary' (12-ii).

It is very likely that this L1 switch is an attempt by the teacher to make sure that the preceding L2 explanation (concerning the concept of 'not necessary') can be understood by the students. However, her swift return to L2 ('but you do not know it at that time' 12-iii) reflects her wish to continue with the explanation in L2. And she moves on to use another example (12-iii) to illustrate the concept of 'not necessary'.

However, soon in the middle of her elaboration of the example ('The driver needn't.. have stopped'), she singles out the word 'needn't' (12-iii); and digresses in L1 (12-iv) to give a metastatement about the possibility of using other words in the place of the modal, e.g. 'needn't', and reminding them that 'need' is a word that they have learnt before.

The L1 switch here is likely to be discourse-motivated. It marks off the ensuing digression (on the possibility of using 'need' or other words) against the ongoing description of the kind of situation described by the sample sentence (12-iii: 'The driver needn't have stopped'). On the other hand, it is interesting to note again the pattern of 'L2-L1-L2-L1' (see turn 5-v above) in the teacher's elaboration of the meaning of 'needn't have stopped' from 12-v to viii.

In 12-ix, the teacher switches back to L2 to explain (writing on board as she speaks) 'needn't' as derived from 'need not'. The L2 switch coincides with the explanation of the key elements of the sample sentence.

In 12-x, the teacher further digresses (from the above explanation of 'need not' and 'needn't') to a different but related topic: the usage of 'does not need to have...' and 'needn't have...'. She switches to L1 to give a metastatement about what she is going to

explain: 'Now, ... laàh ngóh gaau-gwo néih gaa laa,' (meaning 'Now, I have taught you this before'). This marks off the following topic (turn 12-x to turn 14) as something different from the above. It is interesting to note that this further digression (turn 12-x to turn 14) is totally in L1 (not counting the transfer of sample items like 'needn't have'), just like the earlier digression on the possibility of using 'needn't' or other words in the place of the modal (see 12-iv and the last part of 12-ix).

After studying the above 2 extracts of grammar teaching of Teacher D, we see that LA does not occur randomly. There are in fact some recurring patterns:

1. The teacher tends to present a teaching point first in L2. This is usually (though not always) followed by an L1 repetition or elaboration. Very often there is an L2 summary reiteration after the L1 repetition or elaboration, hence the L2-L1-L2 sequence.
2. The teacher tends to introduce an example first in L2. Metastatements or grammatical points about the example are also first made in L2. Then the grammatical point is usually reiterated or 'fleshed out' with more details in L1. Then very often the L2 grammatical point is presented again.
3. The sample sentence or the key phrase / words are always presented in L2, although they may be immediately followed by L1 translations or elaborations.
4. The digressions (additional, related grammatical points, which are however not the central teaching points 'of the day') are usually presented and explained in L1, often with transfers of L2 sample phrases or words (e.g. turn 12-x to turn 14 in Example [2]).

On the whole, we see ordered patterns of LA in the teaching of grammar of Teacher D. These patterns reflect her attempt, on the one hand, to fulfill the requirement of teaching L2 grammar in L2; that explains why she always presents the examples and teaching points in L2 first and last. On the other hand, they reflect the teacher's

attempt to ensure thorough understanding of the teaching points by reiterating them in L1, between the L2 initial and final presentations (the L2-L1-L2 sequence).

6.2 Language Alternation in Vocabulary Teaching

It is noted from the data that Teachers B, C & D consistently use procedures that involve language alternation for the teaching of English vocabulary. The following excerpt of Teacher C with a F.2 class illustrates the role that LA plays in the introduction and teaching of L2 vocabulary for describing pictures in the text:

(1) C1/F2R/ 134.5:

134.5:

T: Okay, number two. What is this?

S: Áa-lìhng.

<Dumbbells.>

T: Áa-lìhng haih māt-yéh aa? ...(T starts writing on board)=

<What are dumbbells?>

=Weight-lifting, w-e-i-g-h-t, weight-lifting l-i-f-t-i-n-g= weight-lifting. Davy go back to your seat. weight-lifting, okay?

140:

T: And then... tiu-síng sīk gaa laa gwaa?... giu māt-yéh aa?

<skipping, certainly you know?... what is it called?>

S: Tiu-síng, tiu-síng...

<Skipping, skipping...>

T: Giu māt-yéh aa?

<What is it called?>

Ss: (??)

T: Begin with 's'...

S: s.. s...

T: Skipping, s-k-i-p-p-i-n-g, skipping, s-k-i-p-p-i-n-g skipping. (Sound of writing on blackboard)

145:

T: And then you know jogging or you have running. Hóu laa,= <Alright,>

=néuih-jái nē, gān-jyh jouh gó go māt-yéh aa? = <what about the girls, what are they doing next?>

= Touching her...

S: (??)

T: Mh-haih boot. Touching her... toes, t-o-e-s, touching= <not>

=her toes. (148)

In this excerpt the teacher seems to be operating with the following procedures when she introduces vocabulary to be taught:

(a) Teacher points at the picture, asking in L2, 'What is this?' or a similar question.
(b) Student(s) respond(s) in L1, i.e. giving an L1 expression (X) for the lexical item.
(c) Teacher asks in L1: What is X called? (and expecting Ss to give an L2 expression for X)
(d) When students fail to give that L2 expression, teacher supplies it herself.
N.B. Teacher may skip procedure (b) and combine (a) with (c), i.e. referring to the picture and asking in L1, 'what is X called'.

It is seen here that when the teacher does (a) (i.e. asking in L2, 'What is this?'), her question formally requires an answer in L2. When her students supply an L1 translation as an answer, she switches to L1 to ask, 'X haih/giu mat-yeh aa?' (meaning

'What is X/ X called?'). This is a prompt to the student to cast the answer in English. However, the L1 equivalent supplied does not appear to be totally unacceptable. It is interesting to note that sometimes the teacher herself supplies an L1 translation and asks in L1, 'What is X/ X called?', before presenting the L2 expression as an answer to her own question. The fact that there is always the provision (either by the students or teacher) of an L1 translation leads us to the hypothesis that the provision of an L2 item and its L1 translation may be an important procedure in the teaching of L2 vocabulary.

On the other hand, the L1 translation in this instance seems to also serve the purpose of introducing and highlighting something whose L2 'label' is to be learnt (in addition to the means of pointing at the picture). Below is a similar example from Teacher B with a Form 2 class. The teacher has been explaining words in a story:

(2) B1/F2/ 135:
T: How about this one? (T starts writing (or drawing?) on board) What is this?
Ss: safe... safe... safe.
T: v-e or f-e?
Ss: f-e!
T: That's good. (T starts writing (or drawing?)) s-a-f-e, so something like.. this, you've got a lock here, alright? And then you've got a number here, and then I try to hear the 'dart' sound, alright, okay, 'click', ahh, I've got it, I can open it, I steal all (the money). So that's the safe. Alright? Safe, gaap-maahn aa, (? ?). What do we call=
<safe>
=this?
Some soft voices of students: Safe... safe.

T: (Dī) houh-máah-só aa háa, géi-go houh-máah kāu-màaih=

< (The) combination lock, you can open it only when you>

=yāt-chàih sīn-ji dāk ge, ngóh-deih giu yī-go jouh=

<have several numbers together, what do you call>

=māt-yéh aa?

<this?>

S1: Code. (the soft voice of a student)

T: Code is just the secret number, alright? But, how about the lock itself? (T starts writing on board) It is called... Làhm-Ji-Mìhng=

[Ss: Làhm-Ji-Pìhng!

=Làhm-Ji-Pìhng,... no talking. Combination rock-- lock. Read.

Some Ss: Combination lock. (151)

After teaching the word 'safe', the teacher wants to teach the expression for the special kind of lock for the safe. However the picture she draws on the board is not good enough for her students to see what she refers to; and a few students answer her with the word 'safe'. This is an indication that they do not grasp what she is talking about. She then switches to L1 to point out and describe the thing she is referring to. And then she repeats the question in L1 'ngóh-deih giu yī-go jouh māt-yéh aa?' (meaning 'what do we call this?'). It seems that she is making use of L1 to introduce and highlight the lexical item, 'combination lock' (when the hand-drawn picture is not clear enough). The L2 label for that is then to be presented.

More frequent is the case of the teacher coming across an L2 lexical item (e.g. in a text), which she wants to explain briefly. She may then give an L1 explanation. The following example is from Teacher B. She has been talking about a story with the students (based on a story book):

(3) B1/F2/ 392:

T: .... Or you try to weigh (?), weigh, ching háah=

< weigh >

=heui aa háa, weigh (?), see which one is the special=

< it, >

=one. (393)

Another example from Teacher B shows that the teacher may sometimes give an L2 paraphrase (or synonym) and an L1 translation of the L2 word in a sequence. She has been talking about a story:

(4) B2/F2/ 029:

T: .... Now page 41, 'Andy told Angela and Terence about the mission he was on.' Now, mission, the preposition used with it would be 'on'. It's on a mission, on a mission. You remember what's meant by mission? It's a job assigned to you. Yahm-mouh laak, okay? So mission. (033).

<That's mission,>

The pattern shown in this example is thus: L2 vocabulary - L2 paraphrasing - L1 translation.

In both of the above examples, we note the presentation of an L2 lexical item (and sometimes its L2 explanation) and its L1 explanation in a consecutive sequence: L2 lexis (- L2 explanation)[49] - L1 explanation. It seems that this is done when the teacher wants to spend little time on the explanation of an L2 item and hurry back to the original topic; no student contribution is sought.

However, the teacher does not always do the explanation all by herself; quite often student contribution is sought, which she then evaluates and elaborates. In the following example from Teacher C with a F.1 class, an L1 equivalent of an L2 lexical item in the text is elicited from a student and then confirmed and further elaborated by the teacher in L2:

(5) C5/F1/ 074:

T: Now, the weather, there are general situation now let's look at the weather chart altogether. The southwest monsoon continues to prevail over the south China coastal area. What is the meaning of monsoon?... Jāu Ji-Lèuhng.

<a student's name>

S1: Gwai-hauh

<Seasonal>

Ss: Gwai-hauh... Gwai-hau...

<Seasonal... Seasonal...>

T: Yes, yes. Now, Hong Kong experiences the monsoon wind. Do you understand that? Hong Kong experiences the monsoon wind. In.. summer the wind blows from sea.. to land and in winter from land.. to sea, okay? (079)

In this example, the teacher nominates a student to give her the meaning of the word 'monsoon'. The student gives her an L1 equivalent. The teacher confirms it ('Yes, yes.') and continues to elaborate it in L2 ('Now, Hong Kong experiences the monsoon wind...'). Although the teacher herself does not produce any L1 utterance at this point, it seems that she relies on the student's provision of an L1 equivalent to check that the student understands the word (i.e. as a means of comprehension check). That explains why she does not reject an L1 equivalent as an answer though she has asked the question in L2 ('What is the meaning of monsoon?'). At the same time she seems to be

in the habit of following it up with some L2 elaboration of the meaning of the lexical item. The pattern is thus:

1. Asking for the meaning of L2 lexis in L2 (Teacher)
2. Proposing L1 equivalent (Students(s))
3. Evaluation and elaboration in L2 (Teacher)

The following examples from Teacher C with a F.1 class provide further evidence. On the one hand the teacher seems to rely on the L1 translations provided by the students to *check* whether they understand the L1 lexical item in question or not. On the other hand, the explanation of vocabulary becomes a *collaborative task* of the teacher and the students, with the students providing an L1 translation and the teacher following it up with L2 paraphrasing or circumlocution:

(6) C5/F1/ 081:
T: What is the meaning of tropical storm?... Tropical storm=
<What is a >
=haih dím gaa?
<tropical storm like?>
Ss: Yiht-daai... yiht-daai...
<Tropical... tropical... >
T: Storm, what is the meaning of storm?
Ss: Fūng... fūng... fūng...
<Wind... wind... wind... >
T: Yes, typhoon, okay? (083.5)

(7) C5/F1/ 086:

T: Now moderate south to south easterly wind, fine apart from some isolated shower. What is the meaning of shower?

Ss: Jaau-yúh... jaauh yúh...

<Shower... shower... >

T: Yes, rain. The maximum temperature will be about thirty-one degrees Celsius. Maximum temperature, what's the meaning of maximum?

Ss: Jeui gōu... jeui gōu...

<The highest... the highest... >

T: Yes, the highest, okay? The highest temperature. (089.5)

Why does the teacher follow this pattern of L2(T) - L1(Ss) - L2(T)? It seems that the teacher is deliberately eliciting (and at the same time gauging) the students' existing knowledge about the L2 lexical item in question, and then relating this knowledge to the L2 expression. An example from Teacher B with a Form 3 class gives support to this hypothesis. The teacher has been going through a story book with her students:

(8) B2/F2/ 403:

T: 'He's not the boss'. Do you know the boss?

Ss: Bō-sí... bō-sí.

<Boss... boss.>

T: Yeh, pìhng-sìh gwóng-dūng-wáa góng ge bō-sí haih-maih=

<this is what we refer to as "bo-si" in Cantonese,>

=aa? Alright? (What's) a boss? The one who employs you=

<right?>

=and who has the right to make you do, make you perform your duties, alright? Or assign you your duty. That's boss. (409)

In this example we note that before her L2 paraphrasing and circumlocution of the lexical item, 'boss', the teacher first confirms the students' contribution and remarks (switching to L1) that it is the same as what is generally referred to by the Cantonese expression, 'bo-si'.

In an example from Teacher D with a Form 3 class, the teacher actually relates the L2 expression being taught to some corresponding L1 expressions put forward by some students. The teacher has been teaching the vocabulary of a passage, which is about a person at the bank:

(9) D11/F3/ 168 :

T: And then 'embarrassed', whole class, 'embarrassed'. Remember the spelling.... 'Embarrassed', if you want to take money, you can't, how do you feel ... someone says you don't have enough money?

S1: Hóu yú aa.
<Terribly awkward.>
[S2: Happy!
S3: Hóu yú aa.
<Terribly awkward.>
S4: Gaam-gaai aa.
<Embarrassed.>
T: Gaam-gaai laak, "yú" aa, hohk néih waah jāai. Alright?=
<Embarrassed, "awkward", like what you say.>
=Hóu gaam-gaai, embarrassed. Tùhng-màaih heui gāp sēui=
<Very embarrassed,> <Besides, he badly needs>

=chín āā maa. Understand? Any question?

<money.>

Here, we notice that in response to the sample situation provided by the teacher, some students put forward some corresponding Cantonese expressions. The teacher then switches to L1 to relate these L1 expressions to the L2 expression, 'embarrassed'.

Sometimes the teacher receives little or no response from the students when trying to check whether they understand a certain L2 lexical item. Then the teacher may switch to L1 to give an explanation, as in the following example of Teacher D; she is explaining the meaning of the word, 'rarely':

(10) D5/F3/ 115:

1. T: 'Rarely' that means seldom. Do you understand seldom? {T starts writing on board} Rarely, that means seldom, very very.. few times, alright? 'Rarely get the answer' that means can they get the answer?

2. S1: No. {the soft voice of a single student}

3. T: No. 'Rarely' that means.. seldom. Hóu síu hóu síu=

<Very very few>

=síu-dou síu-dou hóu hēi-síu, rarely, alright? =

<few to the point of rare>

={T starts writing on board} They rarely get the sort of answer, the sort the sort that means the.. type, the sort of answer they need. That means.. for example if I ask you: How to.. er.. do this? ... You can't get the answer, alright? You.. he don't know, sorry he doesn't know, alright? (125)

The teacher first explains the word 'rarely' in L2 by paraphrasing it. However when she proceeds to check whether the students really understand the word, there is little response (only one student is heard to answer her question; turn 2). She paraphrases it again and then switches to L1 to give a brief translation ('Hóu síu hóu síu síu-dou síu-dou hóu hēi-síu, rarely, alright?'). Then she switches back to English to give an example. It seems that when L2 paraphrasing is not effective the teacher brings in an L1 translation to do the explanation. But she readily returns to L2 to further exemplify the meaning of the word.

In this case, the pattern: L2(T) - *L1(Ss)* - L2(T) noted above changes to: L2(T) - L2-L1-L2(T), with the teacher supplying the L1 translation herself (see also Examples 1 & 2). In other words, with few or no students collaborating with her, she has to do the explanation all by herself.

A slightly different example is from Teacher C with a Form 2 class; she has been teaching the usage of the word 'form' when she comes across the word 'monarchy', which she is not certain whether her students understand or not:

(11) C1/F2R/ 090:
T:A monarchy do you know what is a monarchy?... Gwān-jyú go=
<Those mon->
=dī aa dai-wòhng aa monarchy and you also have.. democracy=
<archs and emperors>
=okay? (091)

Here the teacher seems to want to spend little time on explaining the word 'monarchy', and finishes off the explanation by switching briefly to L1 when there is indication that the students do not know the word.

To explain L2 vocabulary the teacher sometimes relies on L1 translations (whether elicited from the students and then evaluated by the teacher, or provided by the teacher herself); sometimes she may do the explanation in L2 (perhaps when there seems to be no satisfactory L1 equivalent available). In the following example, Teacher C has been talking about a weather chart in the text:

(12) C5/F1/ 105:

T: And the visibility, what is the meaning of visibility? (4 seconds) Visible, that means you can see, okay? Visible, that means you can see. VISIBILITY that means.. within a certain area you can see the things. ... Do you understand? Yeh, in spring, you have aah.. you have mist and you have fog... okay in spring you have mist and fog, and the visibility is very low... because of the mist and fog in front of you. Do you know what is what is mist, m-i-s-t? Or fog, f-o-g. London is very famous for fog

[S: Mouh

<Fog>

T: Yes... and the visibility will be very low in that case. Now, if the-- if.. the weather is very clear okay no mist and no fog, then the visibility will be very high okay? You can see.. a lot, you can see the things in the.. in a big area, then the visibility is high. (115)

Here we see the teacher first asks the students the meaning of 'visibility'. Then unlike the other examples where the students propose an L1 equivalent, there is no answer from the students (the 4-second interval). The teacher begins to explain in L2. Her explanation in turn triggers the need to check whether the students understand two

other words: 'mist' and 'fog'. A student gives her an L1 equivalent. The teacher confirms it (T: 'Yes') and immediately continues with her explanation of 'visibility' (in L2).

Below is another example of explaining L2 vocabulary entirely by L2 paraphrasing and exemplification. It is taken from Teacher C with the same F.1 class. The teacher has been teaching the usage of the apostrophe 's' when she comes across the word 'fulfil' in a sentence of the exercise:

(13) C2/F1/ 149:

T: Now, 'That fulfils his father's wish'. Now where do you put the 's'? What is the meaning of fulfil? What-- what does fulfil mean?

S1: M̀h-jī nē.

<No idea.>

T: Fulfil, fulfil means satisfy. Do you understand the meaning of satisfy? Fulfil now, if.. ahh your mother wants you to be a nurse, if you try to fulfil her wish, then.. you go to a a... medical school or nursing school okay, and study nursing and be a nurse. Then you fulfil his wish her wish. Now, ahh... do you know what your mother wants you to do?

Ss: (? ?) {Ss laughter}

T: (? ?) no. Now if your mother wants you to be a doctor okay, then you go to the medical faculty of Hong Kong University and.. be a doctor. Fulfil, now you do what your mother wants you to do.

S2: J̄ēuin-chùhng.

<Obey.>

S3: Jēuin-chùhng.

<Obey.>

T: No, no.

S4: Sìhng-gai!

<Inherit!>

T: No.

{Ss noises & laughter}

S5: Haa haa haa haa! Sìhng-gai woh. {in a mocking tone}

<Inherit.>

T: Now you keep quiet and try to understand the word. You do what.. the other person wants you to do you fulfil that person's wish, fulfil. Now, if I want you to be a lawyer... okay? And you want to fulfil my wish, then you go to the law faculty and study law and be a lawyer. Ahh... if I want you to get one hundred marks and you want to fulfil my wish and you study hard and try to get one hundred marks okay? Do you understand? Fulfil, ...{Some student voices}... no. You do.. you do what the other person wants you to do, fulfil. Fulfil,...{some student voices}... you do what the other person wants you to do. Now you try to look up the dictionary if you do not understand the meaning. (168)

In this example there are 2 interesting things to note. *First*, the students keep putting forward candidate L1 translations of the L2 word, 'fulfill' for their teacher to confirm. This supports what we have noted above: that L1 translations of the L2 lexical item in question are used to check (by the teacher) or to show (by the student/s) whether the L2 item has been understood; and that the vocabulary teaching task is accomplished in collaboration with the students. *Second*, the teacher does not switch to L1 to explain the word (as in Example (1) with the F.2 Remedial class) despite her futile attempts at

explaining it in L2. Instead she puts an end to the explanation by asking the students to go home and look up the word in a dictionary. This suggests that the teacher recognizes the incompleteness of her explanation. Only that this time her solution is not switching to L1 but asking the students to consult a dictionary later.

The following example of Teacher D (with a Form 3 class) exhibits a similar situation, but this time the teacher gives an L1 translation (perhaps because there exists a commonly used L1 corresponding expression) to complete the explanation of the word 'commercial' after a student has shown that he does not understand her paraphrasing of the word in L2 ('business').

The teacher has been teaching the future tense; she has just asked another student what she wants to become in the future. The student tells her that she wants to become a secretary. Then the teacher remarks that she should enter a commercial school:

(14) D9/F3/ 071:
S1: I want to be a secretary.
T: You want to be a secretary, then, maybe, you should.. enter a coMMERcial school, alright. Later.
[Ss: Waa!
<Exclamation Particle!>
{T starts writing on board}
T: Commercial school. Okay?
S1: Mē lèih gaa?
<What is it?>
S2: Mē lèih gaa?
<What is it?>
T: She wants to be a secretary. Yes, so, she should enter a commercial school.

S3: Mē lèih gaa?

<What is it?>

T: commercial, business, you know, alright?

S3(?): Mē lèih gaa?

<What is it?>

T: Shēung-yihp {T starts writing on board} understand?=

<Commercial>

(078)

The teacher first explains the word 'commercial' with an L2 synonym, 'business'. However, a student (S3) still does not understand and asks, 'Mē lèih gaa?' (meaning 'What is it?'). She then gives an L1 equivalent and immediately switches back to L2 to continue with the original topic. It seems that the 'aside' nature of the explanation of the word 'commercial' (which is triggered by the teacher's remark and a student's query) motivates the use of a brief L1 translation following the failure of an L2 synonym to explain the word.

Sometimes the teacher may just do with an L2 explanation (e.g. paraphrasing), especially when there is no indication of non-comprehension, as in the following example of Teacher D with the same Form 3 class. She has been asking the students questions about a passage:

(15) D5/F3/ 031:

T: Now, how many girls does he supervise?

S1: Ten.

S2: Ten girls.

T: Ten girls. {T starts writing on board} The verb supervise. That means.. he controls or he controls.. ten girls, in

authority over ten girls. Supervise, the verb, supervisor, the man, the noun. Alright? Okay? (037)

Another example is from Teacher B:

(16) B2/F2/ 052:

T: '.... Isn't it the key to your cell?' Do you remember what's meant by cell?

S1: Yes.

T: What is it? Second column...

S2: (? ?)

T: Yes, something like a dungeon, alright, but then, a place, usually a small room, to keep prisoners to their cells. In the dungeon, probably there are a number of cells. Okay? (056)

In this example, Teacher B is building up on the students' knowledge of 'dungeon' to explain the word 'cell'. Whereas in the other examples noted above (8 & 9), the students' L1 knowledge is tapped on when the teacher explains L2 vocabulary.

Sometimes an 'L1(T) - L2(Ss)' pattern is employed as a format of exercise and test, as in the following example from Teacher D. The teacher has been explaining the usage of phrasal verbs in combination with 'up'. Then she asks the students to study the phrasal verbs for a minute. After that they are to give her an L2 expression for an L1 phrase presented by her:

(As the episode is very long, only an extract is given below)

(17) D6/F3/ 411:

T: Alright, close your book. You are very clever. Get ready, fáan-héi sāam-léhng

<turn up the collar>

Ss: turn up

T: bóng-saht

<tie up>

Ss: tie up

.... (382)

Another example is from Teacher B; she has been explaining the meanings of different expressions with the word 'lose':

(18) B2/F2/ 159:

1. T: Alright, now, so, 'I lost my key', and,

màih-sāt louh laak, I lost my...

<as for 'lost my way'>

2. S1: road!

3. Ss: way!

4. T: way, that's good. And then when I lost my way, that means I am... lost. I am lost. I am lost. Get it? So here, he was lost.. in thought. Jīk-haih hái heui sī-séung=

<That means in his thought>

=néuih màih-sāt-jó louh laak, (jīk-haih waah) haih-maih=

<he has lost his way, (that means) has he>

=jān-haih màih-sāt louh aa nī-yāt-douh? Nī-go jih-mín=

<really lost his way in this context? This is its literal>

=yi-sī lo wo, háa? Yeh, he was.. totally.. indulged in..=

<meaning, right?>

=in his thought but he enjoyed himself greatly, in his thought, he was lost. (168)

In this example, the teacher tests the students' knowledge of the different usages of the word 'lose' by providing an L1 phrase, and leaving a blank in the corresponding L2 phrase for the students to fill in (turns 1 - 3).

It is also noted that the teacher later (turn 4) switches to L1 to make meta-statements about the metaphoric meaning of the expression, 'lost in thought'. Here the L1 switch seems to mark the shift in the type of discourse (i.e. using an L1 switch to mark off meta-statements). And then she switches back to L2 to paraphrase and explain the expression.

The above examples show that LA can be involved in many different ways in vocabulary teaching. However, two main patterns are noted here. First, it is involved in the collaborative task of vocabulary explanation, in which the students put forward candidate L1 translations of the lexical item for the teacher to evaluate and build upon. The teacher usually follows this up with more L2 paraphrasing or exemplification of the lexical item in question. Second, it is involved in the testing and/or exercise format whereby an L1 phrase is given by the teacher, with the students expected to supply the corresponding L2 phrase, and vice versa.

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

After an analysis of various language alternation instances in previous Sections, the findings of the study are summarized below. Their implications for language choice in English language teaching in the local setting are discussed. The methodological implications for classroom language research are also suggested. Then the Section concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the present study and some suggestions for future research.

7.1 The Findings

7.1.1 Language Alternation in Discourse Structuring, Frame Marking and Teacher-Student Negotiation

The answer to the question why teachers switch to Cantonese in an English language lesson has often been couched in a range of functional terms. For instance, Ho (1985) reported that she used Cantonese to maintain classroom discipline, to encourage response from students, to talk to individual students, to help weak students, to save time, etc. (see Section 2.2.3).

While confirming that Cantonese is used for these functions in many cases, the present study has further explored the mechanism through which they are achieved. One important finding is that language alternation is often used as an effective marker of boundaries in discourse and changes in frame (or footing). For example, it can be employed to contextualize (usually simultaneously) the following:

a) a change in the discourse topic (e.g. a teacher may switch from English to Cantonese to signal a shift from teaching to disciplining, and then switch from Cantonese back to English, signalling a return from disciplining to teaching),

b) a shift in the role-relationship between the teacher and students (e.g. a teacher may switch from English to Cantonese to signal a greater emphasis on the role-relationship of 'friends', and switch from Cantonese back to English to negotiate for a greater emphasis on the role-relationship of 'teacher and students'),

c) a modification of the participation framework (e.g. a teacher addressing the whole class may switch from English to Cantonese to address an individual student), etc..

The very act of switching between the two linguistic codes, as well as the direction of each language switch (i.e. from English to Cantonese or vice versa) are in themselves meaningful. They render possible the effective communication of, and negotiation for, meanings (e.g. social and/or discourse-related ones) that are otherwise often difficult to express explicitly (see Sections 4 and 5). As such, it is an important addition to the teacher's repertoire of communicative resources in the classroom.

For instance, language alternation may have strategic value in various kinds of negotiation between teachers and students. There are times when teachers switch to L1 to press their students to respond (see Example [1], Section 5). By asking an L2 question (that has not been responded to) in L1 again, a change in the frame is signalled, emphasizing that the teacher is now not merely asking the question for the sake of teaching English, but is really keen on obtaining an answer. The L1 switch conveys more effectively to the students that the teacher's demand for an answer to the question is serious.

There are also times when teachers code-switch under the pressure of their students. For instance, when students negotiate for less homework or challenge the teacher's credibility in L1, the teacher may respond by switching to the same code, breaking the teaching frame and negotiating at the same level with the students in order to regain the control of the situation (see Examples [7] to [10], Section 5).

In short, by alternating between L1 and L2, the teacher can effectively negotiate for different role-relationships and the different "rights-and-obligations sets" associated with them (Scotton, 1983:117). It enables the teacher to shift effectively between the

roles of an official classroom arbitrator, an intimate care-taker, an English-speaking teacher, a bilingual helper or adviser, a playful friend, etc.. By emphasizing at different moments different role-relationships that are appropriate for the situation, the teacher can effectively monitor the classroom atmosphere, elicit the required kinds of response from the students, administer classroom discipline, and at the same time maintain a personal relationship with the students that is conducive to teaching and learning in the classroom.

7.1.2. Language Alternation in the Formats for Grammar and Vocabulary Teaching

However, there are times when language alternation is not particularly related to frame marking or teacher-student negotiation. And the use of L1 has also been explained in many studies in terms of its functions in checking for students' understanding, and clarifying and explaining difficult concepts such as vocabulary, language rules, and complex instructions, etc. (e.g. Guthrie, 1984; Wong-Fillmore, 1980; Ho, 1986; see Section 2). In the present study, it is found that the teachers do employ Cantonese in many cases of grammar and vocabulary teaching, and they are found to do so in highly ordered patterns of alternation between English and Cantonese.

For instance, in grammar teaching Teacher D:

a. tends to introduce an example first in L2. Any meta-statement or grammatical point about the example is also first made in L2. Then the grammatical point is usually reiterated or 'fleshed out' with more details in L1. After the L1 explanation or elaboration, very often there is an L2 summary reiteration of the grammatical point and the L2 example, hence the L2-L1-L2 sequence (see Examples [1] & [2], Section 6.1);

b. the sample sentence or the key phrase / words are always presented in L2, although they may be immediately followed by L1 translations or elaborations;

c. the digressions (additional, related grammatical points, which are however not the central teaching points 'of the day') are usually presented and explained mainly in L1, often with transfers of L2 sample phrases or words (see turn 12-x to turn 14 of Example [2], Section 6.1).

It is interesting to note that both English and Cantonese are used, instead of only Cantonese. The sample phrases or sentences of course need to be presented in English, but it is intriguing that the grammatical explanation is always first done in English, then repeated and elaborated in Cantonese and finally reiterated in English. If the teacher just wants the students to understand the grammatical points, a Cantonese explanation alone will suffice and there is no need to have an English explanation preceding and following it.

It is unlikely that these patterns have evolved only by accident. Rather they seem to reflect the teacher's response to some conflicting demands on her. On the one hand, they reflect her attempt to fulfill the requirement of teaching L2 grammar in L2; that explains why she always presents the examples and teaching points in L2 first and last. On the other hand, they reflect her attempt to ensure thorough understanding of the teaching points by reiterating and elaborating them in L1 between the L2 initial and final presentations (the L2-L1-L2 sequence).

In vocabulary teaching, a typical format found in Teachers B, C and D can be represented by the following sequence (see Section 6.2):

a. Teacher asks for the meaning of English lexis (in English)
b. Students propose Cantonese equivalents or explanations (in Cantonese)
c. Teacher evaluates students' proposals (in English or in Cantonese), and gives follow-up elaboration and/or exemplification (in English)

In this process, the teachers can gauge and check their students' understanding of a particular lexical item. But more importantly the students' contribution to the task of vocabulary explanation is also enlisted. What they already know about the L2 lexical item (e.g. the meanings associated with a similar L1 expression) is activated and the teachers can relate the new concept to their students' prior knowledge. Usually this is followed by L2 paraphrasing or exemplifying to ensure understanding of its usage. It also reflects the teachers' response to the requirement of teaching vocabulary in English. However, sometimes when the vocabulary explanation is a digression that is to be kept short (e.g. while talking about a passage), usually the teachers do step (b) themselves and skip steps (a) and (c).

Another format, which is similar but more test- or exercise-oriented, is one in which an L1 phrase is given by the teacher with the students expected to supply the corresponding L2 phrase, and vice versa.

7.1.3. Comparisons Across Teachers, Classes and Lessons

Although the sample size is too small for any comparison of language alternation across teachers, classes or lessons to be conclusive, some interesting observations and tentative statements can nevertheless be made.

One important observation is the amount of variability exhibited among the teachers. For example, Teacher A does not code switch at all in her lessons. She speaks in English all the time. In a rare incident when a student approaches her individually to ask about (in Cantonese) some homework arrangement, she replies in English and the student switches to English in turn. Teacher B switches to Cantonese occasionally to explain vocabulary, to talk to an individual student, or to socialize with them. But most of the time, she speaks in English. Compared with Teacher B, Teachers C and D alternate between English and Cantonese relatively more frequently, and in a variety of

situations that range from reprimanding, praising, advising, negotiating, or bantering to teaching vocabulary / grammar, giving instructions, talking to individual students, or pursuing a response from students.

This variation in the frequency of language alternation across the teachers correlates with the variation in the general background and standard of the schools in which the teachers teach. Teacher A teaches in a prestigious Catholic girls' school with strict school rules. Its students have a reputation for good conduct and submissiveness. Teacher B teaches in a prestigious government boys' school, which is famous for its students' good results in public examinations. Teachers C and D teach in government-subsidized co-educational schools of average academic standard. It seems that the general background and standard of the school and hence the general conduct, and academic and English ability of students can be factors affecting the occurrence of teachers' language alternation.

Not only are there differences across the teachers, but there is also considerable variability across the lessons and classes of the same teacher. For example, Teacher C code switches much more frequently with a remedial Form 2 class than with a regular Form 1 class. And both Teachers C and D vary across lessons in their frequency of language alternation even with the same class of students, ranging from frequent language alternation in lessons that involve for instance, plenty of grammar and vocabulary explanation or personal advice, to almost all English in other lessons that involve little of these. This seems to suggest that the kind of classroom task or activity is also a factor affecting the frequency of language alternation of teachers.

7.2 Implications for Language Choice in the English Language Classroom in Hong Kong Secondary Schools

While mainstream teaching methodology prescribes the monolingual principle in classroom language choice, it is found in this study that in order to be sensitive to the demands of different situations, teachers demonstrate a great deal of variability in their language choice across schools, classes and lessons. However, despite the variability in their actual practice, all teachers accept that they should ideally use English alone.

The implication of this seems to be that many of our teachers are placed in a dilemma. They are faced with the demand of maximizing the use of English as well as the need to ensure that their students understand what they say and cooperate in the learning tasks. When the students are largely cooperative and their English ability is adequate for learning through it, the teacher can maximize the use of English and at the same time be quite sure that the students understand what he/she says and cooperate with him/her (as in the case of Teachers A and B in this study).

As for those teachers in schools of average standard with students who are generally not very cooperative and have limited English ability (such as Teachers C and D in our study), the duel demands on them are difficult to fulfil simultaneously. And the teachers' alternation between English and Cantonese seems to be a reflection of how they respond to these demands in realistic classroom situations.

There may be the suggestion that when using Cantonese to explain difficult concepts and vocabulary teachers are probably "taking the short cut" to solving a problem, instead of making an effort in circumlocution and paraphrasing that second language acquisition studies have reported to be the major factor for language acquisition to take place.

An interesting observation made in this study, however, is that the teachers neither rely invariably, nor rely solely on Cantonese. There are instances of the teachers using English circumlocution and paraphrasing alone or using Cantonese together with English paraphrasing and circumlocution (e.g. Examples 10, 13, 15, Section 6.2). It seems that the teachers have available to them a range of communicative resources (e.g. English, Cantonese, intonation, demonstration, drawing on the board, gestures, etc.) and they are constantly involved in a process of decision-making, choosing any combination of communicative means that they judge to be the most effective and appropriate for the current situation and task.

Then, there seems to be little point in making a teacher feel guilty (see Ho's diary study, 1985) by prescribing any rules of language choice that do not take into consideration the realistic classroom situations. Instead of seeking to provide straightforward answers to the questions of whether, or how much Cantonese should be used in the English language classroom, we should perhaps encourage teachers to examine their own attitudes, values and practice (c.f. Richards, 1989) regarding their language choice in their classroom, and develop their own system of interaction with their students that they consider to be optimal and appropriate. They should be encouraged, for instance, to reflect on questions like:

a. Do I feel guilty when I use Cantonese, and if I do, why?

b. Do I switch to Cantonese because I do not know how to express it in English, and if that is the case, have I sought opportunities to develop my competence in this respect?

c. If that is not the case, what are the reasons why I use Cantonese?

d. What kind of relationship have I developed, and do I want to maintain with my students? When I switch to Cantonese, do I feel closer to my students? Do they appear to be closer to me? When I speak English, do I feel more distanced from them? Have I tried to joke with them or socialize with them in English? What is their response when I do that?

e. What are my students' attitudes towards speaking English to me and to one another? Is there any way to arouse their interest and enlist their cooperation in playing this game of role-playing foreigners? Is there any chance to explain to them that when I insist on speaking English, I am not denying the cultural and ethnic identity of them or myself, but just because I want to help them to practise communicating in English? Can I in any way reach some kind of understanding concerning this with my students?

f. When sometimes they do not cooperate, what are the reasons? Are they tired, or do they lack the necessary expressions to say what they want to say? If that is the case, how can I help them? Or if they are simply being naughty and rebellious, how can I effectively discipline them without doing too much harm to our relationship? Do I invariably use English to scold them so that English has become associated with negative feelings? Am I flexible in my language choice?

g. When I am explaining difficult concepts (e.g. grammatical points, complex instructions, etc.) and notice that my students do not quite follow me (e.g. from their looks), what do I do? Do I invariably switch to Cantonese immediately? Or do I sometimes first try to modify my language to make it easier for them to understand (e.g. circumlocution, paraphrasing, exemplification), or try to use other paralinguistic means (e.g. drawing, gesturing) ?

h. Are there times when I really feel that in order to help them understand, I had better switch to Cantonese to explain? Usually how do I come to that decision? After explaining in Cantonese, do I often reiterate the explanation in English? If I do that, is that because I feel my students will be able to learn those expressions used in the explanation so that they will understand them when similar expressions are used in the future? How can I more effectively help them to learn these expressions?

i. Or, do I repeat the explanation in English because that will make me feel less guilty about having used Cantonese? Do I follow this pattern so regularly that my

students automatically do not pay attention to the English explanations? How can I be more flexible and hence less "predictable"?

j. When I am teaching vocabulary, do my students want to know the corresponding Cantonese expression(s)? Do they explain to one another in Cantonese? Do they put forward candidate Cantonese expressions for me to confirm? When they do, how do I respond? Do I evaluate their proposals? Do I explain to them the subtle differences between the meanings of the Cantonese expression and the English one? Do I provide them with synonyms and exemplification in English?

k. Coming across a difficult word when concentrating on a certain task (e.g. when discussing a story), do I often digress to a long-winded explanation? Or, do I quickly explain it by quoting a synonym or a corresponding Cantonese expression?

It seems that there is not any simple rule that teacher educators can, or should provide to teachers regarding language choice. While it has been generally accepted (e.g. in second language acquisition studies) that maximum use of a language facilitates its acquisition, this principle should not be translated into rigid classroom practice that is not sensitive to the particular needs and constraints of individual classroom situations. The value of language alternation in discourse structuring, frame marking and teacher-student negotiation should be recognized. The use of Cantonese in teaching English vocabulary can also be fruitfully exploited. And a teacher should not be made to feel compelled to use English or to feel guilty about using Cantonese in situations where the use of English alone does not suffice (e.g. when explaining difficult concepts or complex instructions). In this way he/she will no longer inflexibly reiterate in English what has just been explained in Cantonese, and his/her energy can be saved for some other use.

7.3 Methodological Implications for Research on Classroom Language Alternation

Classroom language data are generally "messy" or disorderly in appearance. The occurrence of language alternation further complicates the picture. It is a major methodological problem how to analyse and make sense of the data. Many previous studies (see Section 2) have adopted a functional coding approach, assigning switch utterances, and/or utterances in each code to certain functional categories and calculating their relative frequencies.

A major problem of this approach lies in the function assigning process. Although usually there are several coders to reduce the probability of idiosyncratic coding, the process of deciding what function(s) a certain utterance was intended by the speaker to fulfil is entirely implicit. The fact that coding depends on the coder's subjective interpretation of the data, which does not easily lend itself to objective verification, casts doubts on the validity of the findings, and renders it difficult for them to be compared across studies.

The analysis of the present study can be said to be an explication of that implicit function assigning process. While a researcher may have some valuable intuition about the data, that is not taken for granted. The switch utterances are analysed in their discourse context, which serves as an important source of evidence for the kind of interpretations that the interaction participants themselves made of the utterances. Although the analyst can never be perfectly sure that what he/she uncovers is really the interpretations of the interactants themselves, he/she can at least make a case for it by drawing on the evidence found in the discourse context. The fact that other researchers can have access to his/her interpretation process renders possible verification and further refinement of the analysis.

On the other hand, the aim of this approach is not just to document the kinds of functions that language alternation is used for, but also ultimately to uncover the kinds of constraints within which the teacher operates and the kinds of response he/she makes to them. This can provide us with valuable understanding of the classroom interaction process, which may otherwise be difficult to obtain.

The application of these concepts and techniques of Conversation Analysis in classroom research has proved to be particularly useful in capturing the dynamic yet systematic process of classroom language alternation. And perhaps what is most valuable about it is that our knowledge about language alternation in the classroom can be accumulated and the findings can be compared across studies.

7.4 Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

There are several limitations to this study. First of all, although the study focuses on the spoken data of the teachers, access to the students' spoken data as well as other paralinguistic contextual information can facilitate analysis. Due to technical problems, the present study obtained only audiotapes of the lessons, and succeeded in recording the students' voices only to varying degrees, with some recordings clearer than others.

In future research, it will be ideal to have audio-visual equipment that is powerful enough to record both teachers' and students' voices. However, care must be taken not to make the classroom atmosphere overly unnatural so that the teacher and students will not feel that they are being watched and monitored.

Second, in this study the different quantity of data from each teacher renders the findings about their differences inconclusive. Besides, the data were collected in a short period of time; variation over time was not studied.

It seems that in future research, there should ideally be a bigger sample of data collected at regular intervals of the school term, and the sample size for each teacher should be the same. A longitudinal case study design can be adopted. Useful information of the school, the class and the teacher may be gained through regular visits, interviews, etc.. The teacher in the study may also be encouraged to keep a diary of his/her teaching. This information, coupled with a detailed analysis of the recorded data of his/her lessons will help us gain valuable understanding of language use in realistic classroom situations.[50]

Notes

1. Cantonese is a Chinese dialect widely spoken in Hong Kong. Linguistically it is rather different from Modern Standard Chinese, which is the national language of China.
2. A remedial English class consists of half (about 20) the number of students in a normal class. It is intended for students who are weak in English and need more help from the teacher.
3. 'Chinese' in the Hong Kong context is often taken to mean Modern Standard Chinese in its written form, and in its spoken form, Cantonese.
4. A class with half the number of the students of an ordinary class.
5. Here is what a teacher said to me: 'I was taught in the Education School to use as much English as possible; however, I sometimes find it impossible not to use some Cantonese.'
6. That means Modern Standard Chinese for the written medium and Cantonese for the oral medium.
7. There may have been some relief to this problem since the government started to encourage Anglo-Chinese schools to adopt Chinese as the medium of instruction in 1988.

8. 'The fact that one local English teacher normally has to take three language classes (i.e. about 120 students) in a school year, (not to mention other subjects such as history, which she may have to teach, and non-teaching duties) is a heavy workload ...' (cited from a letter to the editor, South China Morning Post, 1989 February 20).

9. This is reflected in a letter to the editor in the South China Morning Post, 1986 Nov.19.

10. In a 'content classroom', the main pedagogical objective is the teaching of subject matter (e.g., Math., Geography) .

11. Bilingual programs in the United States refer to school programs specially for non-English-speaking or limited-English-speaking minority children. Both English and the children's native language (e.g. Spanish) are used as the teaching medium.

12. In a 'language classroom', the main pedagogical objective is the teaching of language (e.g. teaching a second or a foreign language)

13. 'L2' is used here as a general label for any non-native language of a person; though it usually refers to a second language.

14. 'ESL' here refers to the teaching of English as a second language to minority children in the United States.

15. Thirteen grade 7 classrooms in core French, extended French with subject matter courses, French immersion, and ESL were studied.

16. 'Concurrent Translation' is a bilingual model in which minority children are taught in their L1 and L2 simultaneously; i.e., the teacher presents material alternatively in each language (Legarreta, 1977:11).

17. In the 'Alternate Days' model, one day English was used until recess, then Spanish until dismissal. The next day Spanish was used until recess, then English until dismissal, and so on (ibid).

18. 'Chinese' here actually refers to 'Cantonese'.

19. Reported first in 1983 and later more fully documented in 1985.

20. Equivalent to grades 7-9 in the American system.

21. 'C-E'is a mixed medium, with English elements within an essentially Cantonese syntactic framework.

22. 'E-C' is a mixed medium, with Cantonese elements within an essentially English syntactic framework.

23. An 'insertion switch' involves changing the code for a single utterance and returning immediately to the original code, e.g.: C - E - C.

24. The 'separation approach' recommends the use of only one language in the classroom.

25. 'For example the teacher may switch to English from Cantonese in anticipation of a move to the printed course book, and as a signal to the class that such a move is intended, while the switch utterance itself is incidental or irrelevant' (Johnson, 1985:43).

26. The term 'context' here refers 'both to the immediately local configuration of preceding activity in which an utterance occurs, and also to the 'larger' environment of activity within which that configuration analyzably occurs' (Heritage, 1989:22).

27. His concepts will be introduced in Section 4.

28. A 'teaching cycle' consists of 6 days. The school lesson-timetable is set for a cycle. There are different types of English language lessons in a cycle, e.g., reading lesson, composition lesson, etc. Generally there are, depending on the school, 8 to 11 English language lessons (each 40 minutes) in a cycle of 48 lessons.

29. Altogether the teachers returned audiotapes of 28 lessons (TA:5, TB:2, TC:10; TD:11). However, due to technical snags, part of the recording contains so much noise that it is not usable. Nevertheless, there are still 24 usable lessons (TA:4, TB:2, TC:7; TD:11).

30. Although no statistics are available in this respect, this is a general observation that most people here will agree with.

31. The school admits students mainly in bands 1 and 2. (Primary-school leavers are classified into five bands according to their school examination results as well as their performance in a scholastic test for secondary school placement.)

32. It admits students mainly from bands 3 and 4.

33. Please also refer to Notes on Transcription in Appendix.

34. It is useful to distinguish between 'the use of L1' and 'alternation between L1 and L2'. The latter focuses on the very act of switching and refers to both switching from L1 to L2 and vice versa.

35. Referring to Gumperz' (1984) notion of contextualization, Auer (1984:17) writes: 'Gumperz' basic idea is that conversationalists need to provide their hearers not only with well-formed propositions in order to communicate what they want to say, they also have to provide a context in which these propositions can be embedded and in which they become interpretable. "Contextualization" refers to participants' joint efforts to establish and make relevant such contexts.'

36. Please refer to Notes on Transcription in Appendix.

37. All personal names in the data have been changed to protect the anonymity of the subjects.

38. These instances are not found in the data of Teachers A and B. However, as the present sample of data of the 4 teachers are relatively small and are uneven in quantity, any comparison made between the teachers can only be tentative and suggestive rather than conclusive.

39. i.e. related to the language competence and language preference of the participants of interaction.

40. This is in L1, given the sociolinguistic context of Hong Kong.

41. Though the student's utterance is only partially intelligible, it seems to be an embarrassing question directed towards the teacher, as there is the laughter of a student on hearing it.

42. 'Teaching' is understood here in the specific sense of 'the teaching of English through teaching a text, vocabulary, pronunciation, grammatical points, writing skills, etc.', as opposed to wholly implicit teaching through talking with students in English about other topics.

43. As for the other teachers in the sample, there are very few instances of grammar teaching in the data of Teachers A and C, and they are all in English. The data of Teacher B do not happen to show any instances of grammar teaching.

44. We may of course disagree with the teacher's grammatical explanation here, but that is not an issue central to our present analysis.

45. The L1 switch within this L2 sentence is an intra-sentential transfer (Auer, 1984) ('...because dong neih mat-yeh ge sih-hauh, no need to use future, although it is in the future'). It may be treated as part of the L2 utterance.

46. The L2 items 'will, shall, understand, simple present tense' are transfers, and may be treated as part of the ongoing L1 utterances.

47. 'Alright' here is analysed as a transfer and treated as part of the ongoing L1 utterances.

48. It is controversial whether this should be treated as a transfer as well. However, even if it is a transfer, it is different from the 'alright' above, as it is a repetition and translation of the immediately preceding item. In the present analysis, it is treated as a code switch for it shares similar functions with other code switches found in the data.

49. This step, as our examples show, is optional.

50. This report is a revised version of the author's M.Phil. thesis (see Lin, 1990).

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Appendix: Notes On Transcription

1. English is transcribed orthographically while Cantonese is transcribed in the Yale system. An English translation of the Cantonese is provided in pointed brackets: < >.
2. The teacher, class, and counter number references are given as follows: e.g. `C1/F2R/ 066:` Teacher C, tape 1, Form 2 Remedial Class, tape recorder counter number '066'.
3. 'T' represents 'Teacher'; 'S': Student; 'Ss': Students; 'S1, S2...Sn': Student 1 to Student 1, 2...n.
4. Pauses: A short pause is indicated by `..` and a long one by `...`
5. Simultaneous utterances: The point at which another utterance joins an ongoing one is indicated by: `[`
6. Contiguous utterances: Equal signs: (= for the first speaker; == for the second, or interrupting, speaker) are used to connect different parts of a speaker's utterance when those parts constitute a continuous flow of speech that has been carried over to another line, by transcript design, to accommodate an intervening interruption.
7. Contextual information: Significant contextual information is given in curly brackets: e.g. `{ Student laughter }`
8. Accentuation: Accentuated syllables are marked by capitalization. Lengthening of sounds is marked by colons: e.g. `SHOU::LD`
9. Transcriptionist doubt: Unintelligible items or items in doubt are indicated by question marks and parentheses: e.g. `S: ( ?? fó aa!)`

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