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A study of teachers' code-switching in six Swedish EFL classrooms

En studie av lärarens kodväxling i sex svenska B-språksklassrum

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Abstract

The purpose of this degree paper is to investigate when and why teachers code-switch between L1 and L2 in the L2 classroom, and what the teachers' thoughts about code-switching are. To get the information that we need to reach our purpose we have done classroom observations and interviewed teachers. The study was performed at a compulsory school and an upper secondary school, where we managed to get the co-operation from three teachers at each school.

The main conclusions are that all teachers at the compulsory school code-switched when they translated difficult words and phrases when they were too hard for the students to understand. Two of the teachers at the compulsory school used code-switching when they wanted to get the students' attention or create order in the classroom. Two of the teachers at the upper secondary school code-switched when expressing feelings for example irritation. All three teachers at the upper secondary school believe that code-switching is a helpful instrument when teaching English and is considered to be inevitable.

Keywords: Code-switching, Swedish, English, teaching, L2

Dividing the work

When writing this Degree Paper we have most of the time worked together with the material and the text. However, there are some parts that we have written individually. Agneta wrote the section on "Ethical considerations and helpful strategies" and Ana was responsible for writing the sections "Observation" and "Interview".

Preface

After 4.5 years of studies at the teacher education at Malmoe University it is time for us to leave the safe place which school provided for us. We would like to give a big thanks to all the teachers and lecturers who have given us valuable knowledge that will help us in our professional life. We would also like to thank our families and friends who have given us support and guidance which has contributed to that we now feel confident enough to face new adventures and challenges that will be waiting for us at work.

Thanks to Eva Klingvall, who has given us inspiring ideas and constructive criticism during the time that we have been working on this degree paper. Lastly, we would like to thank the teachers that let us observe them when teaching and for answering all of our questions. Without you this degree paper would not have been possible.

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1. Introduction

We have always been interested in code-switching and the interplay between languages. Being bilingual we have our whole lives used code-switching with our family and friends who have the same mother tongue as we do. This interest intensified when we, as teacher students at our partner schools, realized that not only English is spoken in the EFL (English as a Foreign Language) classroom. We got even more curious about this subject when we caught ourselves code-switching, when teaching, in the EFL classroom.

In the goals to achieve in the syllabus, that can be found at skolverket.se, regarding which knowledge the students should have in year nine at the compulsory school it was clearly written that the students should understand instructions and stories, contribute to make the communication within the classroom work and be able to tell about something they have seen, heard or experienced. At upper secondary school the syllabus mentions that the students should be able to, without preparation, take part in a conversation about familiar subjects and exchange information, personal opinions and experiences. Despite these goals surveys, for example *Engelska i åtta europeiska länder*, have shown that both students and teachers feel that Swedish was used more than half of the lessons when English was being taught. Some teachers and students feel that English was being used more than 75 % of the time (Skolverket, 2004, p. 69). Another survey, *NU O3*, showed that more than half of the students felt that English was being spoken half of the lesson or less when English was being taught (Skolverket, 2005, p. 46) With the new syllabus for English teachers will be required to speak English most of the time thereby little room will be left for code-switching in the classroom (Skolverket, 2010). All the, above mentioned factors, have led us to want to get a better understanding of when and why many teachers choose to use the Swedish language when interacting with their students during English lessons; how L1 might function as a communicative tool in the L2 classroom. With this in mind, the purpose of this degree paper is to investigate when and why teachers code-switch between L1 and L2 in the L2 classroom, and what the teachers' thoughts about code-switching are.

1.2 Purpose and research questions

As we have already mentioned this degree paper investigated the linguistic term of code-switching in the L2 classroom. Code-switching is a term that refers to a person that masters two or more languages and therefore is able to switch between the languages in speech. The purpose of this study was to investigate why and when teachers code-switch between L1 and L2 in the L2 classroom, i.e. between Swedish and English during an English lesson. In this degree paper the teachers' thoughts about code-switching was also researched.

Last but not least we would like to state that our aim was not to point to any negative aspects of using L1 in the L2 classroom but to present an explorative study where the focus was on communicative aspects of teaching.

We reached our purpose by formulating the following research questions:

- When do teachers code-switch in an L2 classroom?
- Why do teachers code-switch in an L2 classroom?
- What are the teachers' thoughts about code switching?

There was at least one pitfall that we could have come across when doing this study. The experience that we had from practice (when, to start with, observing our supervisors and later teaching ourselves) showed us that teachers do code-switch. There was a risk that this study could have shown that the teachers we observed did not code-switch at all in the classroom. If that had turned out to be the outcome we would have treated the fact that the teachers who participated did not code-switch as a result of this explorative study.

1.3 Definition of code-switching

The linguistic study of code-switching was originally related to grammatical systems.

The identification of various constraints, though sometimes conversational, has inspired a great deal of work in syntax, morphology, and phonology. A structural focus has been similarly constructive for production models or as evidence for grammatical theory. (Nielp, 2006, p. 2)

It was later argued that “if linguists regard code switching simply as a product of grammatical system, and not as a practice of individual speakers, they may produce esoteric analyses that have little importance outside the study of linguists per se” (Nielp, 2006, p. 2) and that is what Sapir called “a tradition that threatens to become scholastic when not vitalized by interests which lie beyond the formal interest in language itself” (quoted in Nielp, 2006, p. 2). During the last century linguists have proposed to bring their own studies closer to other fields of social inquiry. In 1929 Sapir urged linguists to move beyond formal analyses and to “become aware of what their science may mean for the interpretation of human conduct in general” (Nielp, 2006, p. 2) His suggestion was that anthropology, sociology, psychology, philosophy and social science would be enriched by using methodologies and findings of linguistic research. In the 1960s some linguists again argued for a more socially engaged linguistics. They had realized that the socially integrated linguistics, that Sapir had argued for was disappearing. Ethno-linguistics and sociolinguistics was, though, at the same time growing and they offered a place for socially engaged linguistics (Nielp, 2006, p. 3). We would like to argue that code-switching in the L2 classroom is something that is socially integrated. Therefore we also believe that linguists can produce socially integrated research.

There are many different definitions of code-switching. For example Nielp (2006) argues that

Studies of language acquisition, second language acquisition, and language learning use the term code-switching to describe either bilingual speakers’ or language learners’ cognitive linguistic abilities, or to describe classroom or learner practices involving the use of more than one language” (Nielp, 2006, p. 1)

Among these many definitions regarding code-switching, we found one that we feel suited our research topic and it was suggested by Myers-Scotton; “the alternation between two varieties in the same constituent by speakers who have sufficient proficiency in the two varieties to produce monolingual well-formed utterances in either variety.” (Myers-Scotton, 2001, p. 23). Myers-Scotton spoke of varieties where we spoke of language. This was a very broad definition and could, in a classroom setting, have been viewed as both a conscious or/and unconscious choice.

2. Methods

To gather the information that we needed to reach our purpose and answer our research questions we decided to use two methods: observation and interviews. We began our research by starting with the observations which provided us with the knowledge of when the teachers code-switched in the classroom. The observations were followed by interviews that gave us an understanding of why the teachers code-switch in the classroom and what their thoughts about code-switching were. In this chapter descriptions of the schools and the participants of this study will first be presented.

2.1 Description of the schools and the participants

The explorative study took place at two multicultural schools in the southern of Sweden. In the compulsory school about 90 percent of the students had a mother tongue other than Swedish and the upper secondary school about 85 percent of the student body did not have Swedish as their first language. Both of the schools were located in areas where criminality was very usual and the socioeconomic status was very low. Many students who were attending both the compulsory school and the upper secondary school had parents that were divorced.

The classroom setting in the observed classrooms at both schools was the same. The students were sitting in pairs at desks that were directed towards the teacher who was standing by the table in the front. On the walls maps and posters could be found and in some classrooms there were even pictures of the students from different fieldtrips.

In the beginning of our study we found that the topic of code-switching was a quite sensitive one, and in order to gather as much information and receive as honest answers as possible we felt that we needed to do our research at schools where we already are well-known faces (see section 2.4 below). To avoid convenience sampling we asked all the English teachers at the compulsory school from grade seven to nine and all the teachers at the upper secondary

school if they were interested in participating in the study. Three teachers at the compulsory school, all female, and three teachers at the upper secondary school, all male, agreed to let us observe them when teaching English and ask them questions about code-switching in the classroom. The fact that the teachers were female at the compulsory school and male at the upper secondary school was by chance. We chose not to focus on comparing and linking gender to our findings. Two of the teachers at the compulsory school were observed when teaching eight graders and one when teaching ninth graders. One of the teachers at the upper secondary school taught English C to students attending their senior year while the other two taught English A to students attending their freshman year.

The fact that the teachers knew that we aimed to investigate when they code-switched in the classroom could have affected the outcome of the study in different ways. The teachers could have consciously or unconsciously switched languages more or less during the observations and beforehand thought about what they were going to say in the interviews. Another way how the study could have been affected was that the teachers could have changed their behaviour and/or teaching styles because there was an observer in the classroom. Being aware of that these things could be the outcome of our study, we chose to do the research at schools where we already were familiar faces with the belief that teachers would not teach, code-switch or answer differently.

All of the teachers at the compulsory school had English as their major subject and Swedish as their mother tongue. Teacher A had German as her minor subject and had worked as a teacher for eight years. Teacher B's minor subject was social science and the teacher's work experience was two years. Finally, teacher C had French as a minor subject and had worked as a teacher for 31 years.

At the upper secondary school, Teacher D had English as his main subject. His minor subject was Swedish and he had been teaching for 10 years. Teacher E had just begun working as a teacher at the upper secondary school; his major subject was also English while his minor subject was Italian. Lastly, teacher F who had the longest experience, having worked as a teacher for approximately 30 years, taught English (major subject) and Swedish. All of the teachers had Swedish as their mother tongue.

The amount of years that the participants of this study had worked as teachers varies a lot both at the compulsory and the upper secondary school. This means that not all teachers were provided with the same teacher education and training and as an effect of that they do not have the same ways of approaching language. It is impossible to say how this could have affected our research since, in our opinion, education, view on the English language and work experience does not define a teacher. Other factors such as the teachers' personalities and their view of their role as a teacher could also affect the way they teach.

All teachers were informed that their participation in this study was going to be anonymous. Due to ethical considerations we chose to call the participating teachers at the compulsory school by the names: teacher A, B, and C, and teachers at the upper secondary school, teacher D, E and F.

The teachers had different styles of teaching but all of them had one common goal which was to teach the students communicative skills in the English language and to try to get them to speak as much English as possible during the lessons. All of the teachers, at both schools, said that they focused on function rather than on form.

2.2 Observation

We started with doing the observations so that we could see if or when the teachers code-switched in the classroom. Heigham and Crocker (2009) argue that "observation is the conscious noticing and detailed examination of participants' behavior in a naturalistic setting." (Heigham & Crocker, 2009, p. 166). They suggest that when an observation was done within the field of linguistics the natural setting could be a classroom, the teachers' office, a bilingual family home or any other place where language is being studied (Heigham & Crocker, 2009, p. 166). For our degree paper the observation took place in a classroom. Heigham and Crocker (2009, p. 167) also explain that the observer could have an active or a passive role when observing and that there are four different kinds of observers: complete participant, participant as observer, observer as participant, and complete observer (Heigham & Crocker, 2009, p. 167). When we did our observations we did them as complete observers

which meant that we did not participate in the classroom situations, instead we sat in the back of the classroom and watched what happened in the classrooms.

Johanson and Svender (2001, p. 31) argue that when making an observation in a classroom, the best way to do it is to keep a record because it gives descriptions of what actually happened and preserves the connection between different occurrences. Since we did not know when or if the teachers code-switched we designed an observation schedule which allowed us to take notes every time the teacher spoke Swedish; what was said and in which context it was spoken (see appendix 1).

2.3 Interview

To learn about why teachers used code-switching and what they thought about it, we decided to follow up our observations with interviews.

In an interview conversation, the researcher listens to what people themselves tell about their lived world, hears them express their views and opinions in their own words /.../. (Kvale, 1996, p. 1)

According to Heigham and Croker (2009, p. 184) there are three different types of interviews: the structured interview, the open interview, and the semi-structured interview. We used the semi-structured interview. In a semi-structured interview the interviewer has a clear picture of the topic that needs to be covered, but he is also prepared to allow the interview to develop in unexpected directions where these open up important new areas (Heigham & Crocker, 2009, p. 185-186). We wrote some leading questions (see appendix 2) about the topic that we wanted to investigate, but since our aim was to gather as much information as possible we used the questions that we had prepared as a guideline and left the topic open for discussion. The types of questions that we used as leading questions were what Kvale (2009, p. 133) calls, introducing questions. When there was a need we asked follow up questions to the introducing questions so that we could gather as much information as possible from the teachers. When we wrote the leading questions our aim was to get the teachers to answer as thoroughly as possible about their thoughts and experiences of code-switching in the classroom. With the first question we aimed to understand what the teachers' thoughts about code-switching were in general. Questions two and three explained the teachers' experiences

of code-switching in the classroom, and questions four and five gave us understanding about what the teachers' thought were positive and negative aspects of code-switching in the classroom.

Our first thought when interviewing the teachers, was to record the interviews, which nowadays is considered to be the most common way to document an interview (Kvale, 2009, p. 160). As mentioned earlier many teachers felt that the topic of code-switching was a sensitive one and some of them did not want to have the interview recorded. We felt that it was important to respect their decisions and agreed on taking notes during the interviews instead, and directly after the interview we wrote down everything that we could remember. There were consequences of not being able to record the interviews, though, and one of them was that we were not able to write down everything that they said and therefore valuable information might have been lost. Another consequence was that we, afterwards, were not able to hear intonation in the teachers' voices and pauses in their speech. The most important consequence of not being able to record an interview, though, was that we were not able to quote as much as we would have liked to do in the results. Despite the restrictions that we had when doing the interviews we were able to write down some quotes which the teachers approved to us using in this degree paper.

2.4 Ethical considerations and helpful strategies

When using observation and interview as research methods it was important to highlight ethical considerations and considerations of which material was trustworthy to use when conducting a qualitative study. According to Heigham and Crocker (2009), it was important to ask ourselves following questions concerning ethical practice and considerations of trustworthiness: "What is competence practice?" and "What is ethical practice?" (Heigham & Crocker, 2009, p. 264). It was therefore very important to stay critical of the chosen objects that we studied through the method of observation and interview. First of all we considered the trustworthiness of the produced material that we collected through observing the teachers in the classroom and their use of code-switching in the L2 classroom.

Questions that may have appeared crucial to acknowledge before, during and after we begun our research was whether the objects could be helpful and contribute to our process of collecting data. We would like to explain our reasons for conducting most of our study at schools where we are familiar faces. Since code-switching was a sensitive topic among the teachers, we thought that it would be easier to get access to such information if we were seen as a natural part of the school environment since both of us were well known at the schools where we did our research. Heigham and Crocker argue that when someone is being present, with the participants, for a long period of time in the setting it helps to ensure that you get more than a “snapshot view” of the phenomenon (Heigham & Crocker, 2009, p. 269). We were able to connect the “prolonged engagement” to the time we spent at the schools in question. We have become familiar faces among the students and school personnel, which helped us to get “invited” to the inner circle of informal discussions of topics that outsiders usually do not have access to.

Another thing that we came to understand was that the phenomenon regarding group dynamics was not only useful when studying students but also functioned well when trying to understand how teachers interacted with each other in a school context. This was important because as researchers we interfered as outsiders in the group dynamics that were present among teachers at both schools. Psychology might therefore be seen as a present theme that was closely connected with issues regarding ethical concerns. Zoltan Dörnei and Tim Murphy, the authors of *Group Dynamics in the Language Classroom* (2004) argue that there are specific features that are apparent when trying to determine what a group really is:

- Group members see themselves as a distinct unit and demonstrate a level of commitment to it
- Group members share some purpose or goal of being together
- The group has developed some kind of salient “internal structure”, which includes:
 - the regulation of entry and departure into/from the group; rules and standards of behaviour of members; relatively stable interpersonal relationships patterns and an established status hierarchy; some division of group roles
- Finally, as a direct consequence of the above points, the group is held accountable for its members’ actions (Dörnei & Murphy, p. 13)

We believe that we in fact were a part of a group and that we could recognize the internal structure that Dörnei and Murphy showed. Therefore it might be good to have an understanding of the possibility of negative effects on the group dynamics among teachers, when we entered as researchers. The danger of conducting a study based on a sensitive linguistic area such as code-switching in the classroom was that if not handled with care, we could have been suspended from the group's interpersonal relationships and therefore not have been able to gather the data needed for this degree paper.

This led us to view our position as researchers and future teachers to have an *emic* and an *etic* perspective in our study (Heigham & Crocker, 2009, p. 97). The *emic* perspective stands for the "insider or participant perspective" while the *etic* is regarded as the "outsider or researchers' perspective" (Heigham & Crocker, 2009, p. 97). There were also pitfalls that one could come across when having access to the inner circle of a group. Heigham and Crocker argue that by being in the inner circle of a group one develops a better understanding of the people that are being studied, but that it becomes harder to maintain an objective distance and an *etic* position. (Heigham & Crocker, 2009, p. 98) Another factor that a researcher might struggle with is to try to not be judgemental. This is also something that Heigham and Sakui mention: "Finally researchers should be especially alert throughout the research process to remain non-judgemental and not imposing their own cultural norms on the people being studied." (Heigham & Crocker, 2009, p. 100.) It was therefore important to acknowledge that certain ethical considerations should be implemented through the whole working process.

3. Previous research

3.1 Teachers' use of code-switching in the classroom

In the article *The functions of code switching in ELT classrooms*, Sert (2005) argues that the teachers' use of code-switching is not always a conscious choice, and the teachers are therefore not always aware of the functions and outcomes of the code-switching process. He lists the functions as *topic switch*, *affective functions*, and *repetitive functions*. (Sert, 2005, p. 2)

In *topic switch* cases the teacher alters his or her language according to the topic that is being discussed. Sert points out that this is mostly used when teaching grammar, that the teacher shifts from his language to the mother tongue. He argues that when the teacher shifts to the mother tongue the students' attention is directed at the new knowledge that is being taught. This way the teacher builds a bridge from the known (native language) to the unknown (new foreign language). (Sert, 2005, p. 2) Sert states that topic switch also carries *affective functions* that serve the purpose of expressing emotions. In this respect, code-switching is used by the teacher to build solidarity and intimate relationships with the students. Sert points out that in this sense code-switching contributes to creating a supporting language environment in the classroom (Sert, 2005, p. 3).

The third functionality of teacher's code-switching in the classroom is its *repetitive function*. In this case the teacher uses code-switching in order to transfer necessary knowledge to the students for clarity; the teacher points out the most important things of the instructions, given in the foreign language, in the student's mother tongue. Sert also points out that code-switching for clarification can have negative outcomes such as undesired student behaviors; students who are sure that the instructions will follow in the native language will not listen to the instruction in the foreign language. (Sert, 2005, p. 3)

Sert's conclusion is that it may be suggested that code-switching in the classroom is not always a blockage or deficiency in learning a language, but could be considered as a useful

strategy in the classroom interaction. But Sert also points out that it should be kept in mind that long term, when the students experience interaction with the native speaker of the target language, code-switching may be a barrier which prevents mutual intelligibility (Sert, 2005, p. 5).

Christoffer Jakobsson and Henrik Rydén (2010) wrote a degree paper on code-switching in four Swedish EFL classrooms. The purpose of their dissertation was to investigate when and why code-switching occurs and the attitudes towards code-switching among teachers and students in four EFL-classrooms at two medium-sized secondary schools (Jakobsson & Rydén, 2010, p. 8). In order to get the information that they needed Jakobsson and Rydén used observations, questionnaires and interviews. A conclusion from the study was that the observed teachers switched codes 12 times during the eight observed lessons. Five of those times were when explaining tasks again to students who did not understand and the interviews also showed that teachers were reluctant to use Swedish during the lessons and only did so in cases when a student needed more instructions or did not fully understand a task (Jakobsson & Rydén, 2010, p. 30). Other conclusions from the study were that the teachers stated that their main reason for switching codes were when teaching/explaining grammar and that code-switching was unacceptable during lessons although they also admitted to its necessity. (Jakobsson & Rydén, 2010, p. 34)

3.2 Code-switching in a society

Carol Myers-Scotton (1993) comments that, until fairly recently, while it was known that bilingual speakers made choices between different languages - they used one language on certain occasions and another language on others - code-switching was not recognized as an object of serious study, and may even have been ignored by observers (Mesthrie, Swann Deumert & Leap, 2000, p. 164). In 1972 John Gumpertz and Jan-Petter Blom published their study regarding the use of Ranamål and Bokmål in a bilingual community in Norway. In their study the two language varieties spoken in the village of Hemnesberget, were used depending on the social context. The researchers came to understand that

Ranamål symbolized local cultural identity: it was associated with home, family and friends, and more generally with locally based activities and relationships. Bokmål, on the other hand, was

associated with formal education and with 'official transactions, religion and the mass media' (Mesthrie et al, 2000, p. 165)

If we compare their study to ours it might be possible to identify our social setting to have been the L2 classroom and the language closest to be connected to local identity was Swedish. In addition, the use of the English language among teachers in classroom settings could have the same formal function as the use of Bokmål in the village of Hemnesberget. The use of code-switching for a communicative purpose showed us how different factors affect our use of one language over another. One of these factors was when code-switching occurs when one language was used to convey emphasis in for example an argument. This is a well-known phenomenon among bilingual speakers. Living in a multicultural society it is not uncommon to hear emotional conversations where the participants suddenly switch from one language to another in a seconds notice. This is also something we can relate to since we are both bilingual and use code-switching, consciously and unconsciously, when speaking to our family and friends.

Another factor that might affect the choice of language use is if we would like to converge or diverge from the social setting that we find ourselves in. Howard Giles is interested in how people change their way of speaking depending on to whom they are speaking to and in which occasions the change of speech occurs. Mesthrie et al referred to Giles's research in the quote below

Giles argued that speakers would tend to converge (adopt similar styles of speaking) when they wish to reduce the social distance between one another, and diverge (speak differently) when they wished to emphasize their distinctiveness or increase their social distance. (Mesthrie et al, 2000, p. 151)

This is also something that could be connected to code-switching between L1 and L2 although Giles focused on speech accommodation while code-switching referred to the use of two different languages. The L2 which is English is used as a formal language in the classroom and the use of it in certain social interaction between teachers and students appears to either increase the social distance and/or decrease the social gap between formal and informal language. For example in a classroom setting the teacher might switch to Swedish during an English lesson either intentionally or unintentionally to put emphasis in the given instructions. This is done if he or she detects that the instruction given in English were not received with enough emphasis as expected. Another example might be if the student would respond to the instruction from the teacher, in Swedish in order to mark out that there is a

social distance between the teachers' aims and the students. Furthermore there is also a need to bring up something that Susan Gal and other researchers, calls marked and unmarked language choice (Mesthure et al, 2000, p. 167). According to Gal et al, the choice between marked and unmarked speech had to do with what kind of context it was used in. Furthermore the status of the relationship between the speakers also affected the code-switching between languages

Other code-switching researchers, including Susan Gal, have distinguished between unmarked language choices, in which the language used in one that would be expected in that context, and marked choices, in which the language used would not normally be expected. Marked choices may function as attempts to redefine aspects of the context, or the relationship between speakers. (Mesthure et. al, 2000, p. 167)

An example of a marked switch could be when students respond to how instruction given in English by talking in Swedish. In the use of unmarked speech, the focus lies on the meaningfulness of what kind of message you as a speaker want to convey. "In this case, no meaning needed be attached to any particularly switch: It is the use of both languages that is meaningful, drawing on the associations of both languages and indexing dual identities." (Mesthure et. al, 2000, p. 168). One might suggest based on the quote above that the unmarked speech in comparison to the marked speech, has as a goal to convey the right message between two speakers while the later expresses some kind of power struggle.

3.3 The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis

We have come to an understanding, based on previous research, that language is a powerful tool of communication that consists of fine-tuned nuances that affect speakers. One linguist that has set his mark in the linguistic area of code-switching is Edvard Sapir. He was not only a linguist but also an anthropologist who was a spawn to the well-known Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. "The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is a thought provoking one that, in its strong form, suggests among other things that real translation between widely different languages is not possible" (Mesthrie et al, p. 7). Sapir argued in his book *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech* (1921) that

Languages like cultures are rarely sufficient unto themselves. The necessity of intercourse brings speakers into one language into direct or indirect contact with those of neighboring or culturally dominant languages. The intercourse may be friendly or hostile. It may move on the humdrum

plane of business and trade relations or it may consist of a borrowing or interchange of spiritual goods art- science, religion. Sapir (1921, p. 1)

The previous research that was used in this degree paper were to begin with Sert's list of functions and outcomes of the code-switching process; topic switch, affective functions and repetitive functions. Sert was also being discussed in the matter of whether code-switching was a conscious or unconscious choice. Moving on, we also made use of the conclusions from Jakobsson and Rydén's degree paper which indicated that teachers of English, when teaching, spoke Swedish only when the students needed more instructions or did not fully understand a task. Another conclusion of theirs that was discussed in the analysis was that the teachers' main reason for switching language was when teaching grammar. From Mesthrie et al's (2000) research we identified the students' local identity, teachers switching language when they express emotions and how teachers use code-switching to converge and diverge from the students in the classroom. Lastly, we discussed our research by applying it to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

4. Results

Since our aim was not to look for similarities or differences between the compulsory school and the upper secondary school we decided to present the results by school. The results was also be divided into *when* teachers code-switched in the classroom, teachers' *thoughts and experiences* of code-switching in the classroom and what the teachers thought were *positive and negative aspects* of code-switching in the classroom.

When investigating when the teachers use code-switching we used the observation method. When presenting the teachers' thoughts and experiences of code-switching in the classroom we used questions one, two and three from the interviews, and when presenting what the teachers thoughts were about the positive and negative aspects of code-switching we used questions four and five from the interviews (see appendix 2).

4.1 Compulsory school

When the teachers code-switch in the classroom

The observations show that all three teachers at the compulsory school used code-switching when translating hard words or phrases, and whole paragraphs from English to Swedish. Teacher A translated the word "snickare" (carpenter) from Swedish to English, but only after she had tried to explain the word in English to the student several times. Teacher B used the word "praktik" (practice) when code-switching in the classroom; this was also the only time B code-switched during the whole lesson. However, teacher C code-switched by translating to Swedish several times during the lesson and all those times were when the students asked her to translate what she had just said in English, which was almost every time she spoke English.

Teacher A and C code-switched to Swedish to get the students' attention. None of the students were in time for teacher A's lesson so A walked out of the classroom and called on the students in English. When the students did not react, A called on them in Swedish and the students started moving towards the classroom. When the students entered the classroom A

tried to calm them down in English, but only after switching to Swedish with the word “sääääääää” (alriiiiiight) did the students listen to her. There was still one student talking though, and when calling the student’s name in a Swedish accent the student’s attention was focused on the teacher.

Teacher C used the Swedish phrase “OK, nu får ni dämpa er, lektionen har börjat” (OK, you’ll have to calm down now, the lesson has started) to get the students’ attention when they had entered the classroom and did not settle down. Later she spoke in Swedish again to get the class in order before going to the library.

Only the Swedish word, with no English translation, was used by one of the teachers; teacher A. When discussing the grades she spoke the word “åtgärdsprogram” (action plan programme).

Teacher C code-switched when she spoke Swedish with students who had lesser knowledge of English than their average classmates. C told the observer that she spoke Swedish with the students who had a lesser knowledge of English because it was easier that way. At the end of the lesson when the students were searching for information in the library for their task C only spoke English with students who addressed her in English, to all other students she spoke Swedish.

Teachers’ thoughts and experiences of code-switching in the classroom

All of the teachers at the compulsory school argued that they code-switched in the L2 classroom, this was done more or less consciously. In teacher A’s opinion, it was impossible to be aware of if and how much one code-switched in the classroom when teaching English. Teacher A wanted to believe that she did not code-switch at all but was pretty sure that was not the case. She mentioned one time when she was aware of that she was code-switching in the classroom, and that was when explaining the same thing several times and the student still did not understand the message. Then she usually translated to Swedish but she continued by saying that it only happened in “emergency” situations, and that those situations were rare.

The only time that I am aware of that I am code-switching in the classroom is when I try to explain the same thing to a student several times and in an easier English language, and the student still does not get it, then I say it in Swedish. But this only happens in emergency situations and it is very rare. (Teacher A, our translation)

Once again she mentioned that she probably code-switched more than when explaining tasks and similar things, only that she was not aware of it.

Teacher B and C expressed a higher amount of awareness regarding when and how they code-switched in the classroom in comparison to teacher A. Teacher B and C experienced code-switching as a way of helping the students in their learning of the L2. Teacher B believed that code-switching was something that was very common at the school. Since it was a very multicultural school, the teacher heard that students' code-switched between many different languages both in- and outside of the classroom. She believed that it was impossible for an English teacher in Sweden to never code-switch. Teacher C also said that she did not really know why she did it but that she was aware of that code-switching was common in her classroom both in student-teacher and student-student interactions. Teacher B stated that she code-switched to Swedish when there was no translation for the word in English or when she believed that a word would be too hard for the students to understand, and it was complicated to explain it in English. Teacher B saw code-switching as a necessity in the second language classroom unlike teacher A who believed that code-switching could be a barrier that prevents learning the L2. Teacher C also mentioned that no teacher was perfect and that she believed that there was no second language teacher who did not code-switch in the classroom.

Teachers' thoughts about positive and negative aspects of code-switching

Regarding teachers' positive and negative views on code-switching in the classroom, teacher B said that there should be as little as possible because she does not want the students to get used to hearing Swedish on English lessons. Teacher A said that code-switching in the classroom could be a great benefit but if it was used too much it could easily become a barrier in the students learning of English. Teacher A and B acknowledged the fact that there were certain negative aspects that came along with code-switching between L1 and L2. Teacher C believed that code-switching in the classroom could be beneficial to help students with lesser knowledge understand what was being said in English. She believed that if one said things in English and afterwards translated it to Swedish the students learn English words, and learn to understand the English language. In teacher A's opinion translations to Swedish, if the students do not understand, was an advantage with code-switching, but this was only an advantage if it is done for the moment. Teacher A believed that in the long run one wins by speaking as much English as possible, because if you make a habit of translating things to English the students will stop listening when a teacher speaks English because they know that

a Swedish translation will follow. Teacher C, on the other hand, only saw advantages with code-switching. As she mentioned earlier she believed that when you first talk to the students in English and later translate it to Swedish they learn a lot from listening to English and afterwards hearing what it means in Swedish. She believed that this method was useful for students with lesser knowledge of English but can be disturbing for students who speak and understand English well. Lastly Teacher B believed that when there were words that were similar in English and Swedish then it was an advantage to use code-switching so you can show the students how they can easily remember the word and that there were some similar words in the two different languages such as “cost” and “kosta”. From teacher B’s point of view code-switching could be an advantage for students who did not know Swedish so well, because if you code-switch with certain words when talking to them they could learn the Swedish word as well if they already know it in English.

4.2 Upper secondary school

When the teachers code-switch in the classroom

Two of the teachers, teacher D and teacher F, code-switched when translating hard words or phrases to Swedish. Teacher D introduced his plans for the lessons in Swedish thereafter he repeated the instructions given in English. When the students did not understand his instructions in English, he once again repeated the instructions in Swedish. Teacher F spoke Swedish when he talked about and explained the syllabus for English.

Teacher E used Swedish in the classroom when he communicated with the students that were less verbally active on the lesson. After teacher E had gone through what was supposed to be done during the lesson he carefully approached the less verbally active students and asked “Hur går det?” (How is it going?) and continued by talking about the novels that the students were working on, in Swedish. It is worth mentioning that when teacher E spoke Swedish it was not only a code-switching moment taking place but there was also a change in E’s voice.

To express irritation and anger and to discipline his students teacher D used code-switching. The students kept throwing out questions in Swedish loud for everyone in the classroom to hear and teacher D responded by constantly switching between English and Swedish. There

was one specific student that was disturbing the whole class, though, and teacher D started disciplining the student in English but when that did not make a difference the student was told off in Swedish and this time what teacher D had said was taken much more seriously. This was based on the fact that the student stopped disturbing the class and the change in the student's facial expression when the student was told off in Swedish. Even teacher D's voice changed when he started talking in Swedish.

Teachers' thoughts and experiences of code-switching in the classroom

Teacher D brought up that the use of code-switching between Swedish and English in the classroom was done consciously most of the time, but mentioned that there also were occasions when the teacher switched to Swedish unconsciously. Such an occasion, according to him, could be when he gets upset or irritated at a student that in different ways disturbs his teaching. Teacher D argued that it then "feels like the most natural thing to do" (Teacher D, our translation); switching to Swedish in the L2 classroom when it is your mother tongue. According to teacher D, discussion between teachers about the use of code-switching in the classroom had been rather poor. He said that code-switching in the L2 classroom was inevitable when working at a multicultural school. Teacher D argued that even though many students did not have Swedish as their L1, it was still a helpful instrument to convey meaning at occasions when the students expressed uncertainty when given instructions.

Teacher E said that he thought code-switching was a way of helping the students in their learning process. He believed that switching to Swedish when teaching English was not an uncommon phenomenon at the school because it was a multicultural school. The students that attend his lessons all came from different countries which motivated him to use Swedish, which was the common language, when addressing certain subjects that needed more explanations. Teacher F differed slightly from the other two teachers at the upper secondary school when he uttered that he did not like to use Swedish when teaching English, but argued that it sometimes was necessary when his students did not understand his instructions no matter how many times he repeated them. He said that he had mixed feelings about code-switching because even though he did not like to code-switch during English lessons he had to do it, otherwise the students "go haywire".

When answering the question whether the teachers actually code-switched in the classroom, all three teachers at the upper secondary school argued that they used code-switching in the

L2 classroom. Teacher D directly said that he used code-switching when teaching. He believed that there was not one of his colleagues who never switch between Swedish and English in the L2 classroom. He also mentioned that teachers need to be comfortable with sharing experiences that involve code-switching in order to neutralize the sensitivity that surrounds the topic. He believed that code-switching was still a sensitive topic but that it might have to do with the individual teacher's experience of teaching in general. Teacher D explained that he thought that admitting the use of code-switching in the classroom had to do with having several years of experience, age and therefore even with maturity. Teacher E and F shared common feelings towards code-switching when expressing that they had mixed feelings towards their use of code-switching in the classroom. Teacher E said that he switched between Swedish and English in the classroom but tried to avoid doing it too much. He expressed that he had mixed feelings when he reflected over his use of the two languages in the classroom, but that

admitting that you use Swedish in different teaching situations might lead to a new awareness of how you as a teacher use the target language in many situations that you experience with your students on a daily basis. (Teacher E, our translation)

Teacher F code-switched in the classroom but tried to use as much English as possible. He believed that the most appropriate thing would be to only use English because that was the target language. He said that many teachers had this as a goal but in the end you could not avoid code-switching when teaching English. He also wished that he would not have to use as much Swedish as he did.

The teachers at the upper secondary school shared several of their personal experiences. Teacher D used code-switching in order to give more emphasis on the words in certain situations such as when he felt the need to discipline his students in the classroom. He believed that unless you are a native speaker of English it is hard to express your feelings in the L2. He mentioned that this was something that he did both consciously and unconsciously when interacting with the students. Another situation when he used code-switching was when he taught grammar. He argued that grammar was a difficult part of teaching a language and that he therefore chose to explain all the different rules and exercises that he handed out to his students in Swedish. The reason behind his choice was to make sure that all students understood what they are supposed to do. Teacher E used code-switching in situations when he concentrated on getting the students to understand the message that he tried to convey. He

continued by saying that when he was tired he easily switched to Swedish and that was also something that he did when he wants to “prata allvar” (“having a serious talk”) with a student. He also mentioned that he used code-switching when he could not find the correct word in English. Teacher F shared a story of when he was newly employed at the school. He said that he introduced himself as being a native speaker and used only English with his students. That led to the students believing that he actually was a native speaker, not understanding a word of Swedish. For a couple of weeks the students used English in the interaction with the teacher because that was the only way to communicate with him. Teacher F’s plan worked until one day when a little bit of code-switching got in the way of his plans. The teacher’s patience had run out and he yelled at the student to sit down and be quiet in Swedish. The students were startled and seemed truly confused before they triumphing called out that they had in fact revealed the teacher’s scam.

Teachers’ thoughts about positive and negative aspects of code-switching

There were both advantages and disadvantages with the use of code-switching in the L2 classroom, according to the teachers at the upper secondary school. Teacher D believed that an advantage was when he needed to put emphasis on a certain feeling he switches to Swedish because his message seemed to have a greater impact than when he used English. He also acknowledged that his voice changed in a way that the students immediately seemed to pick up as a sign of warning to not “cross the line”. Another advantage was when teaching grammar. A disadvantage, according to teacher D, was that the use of code-switching prevented the students’ vocabulary from growing when the use of Swedish becomes more of a norm in the classroom than English. Teacher D mentioned that not only did the students accommodate quickly to use Swedish more in the classroom than they should; they also seemed to get lazy when it comes to using the English language for interactional purpose. He believed that the negative aspects also interfere with the teacher’s ability to raise his own knowledge of the English language so that the quality of all that he had learned decreases over time.

According to teacher E an advantage was that the students at the school needed to hear the teacher explain certain grammatical features and other instructions in order to fully understand what they were supposed to do. With regard to the many nationalities that can be found in a classroom at the upper secondary school Swedish was used as a common ground where both students and teachers could meet and understand each other. Teacher E believed

that solely using English in class was a hopeful but naive thought since many students had a weak of the English language. Teacher E does not see any disadvantages with code-switching in the classroom since he felt that the use of code-switching was a necessary instrument when teaching English to his students. Teacher F believed that the advantages were few but necessary because they functioned as an inevitable help for the students. He argued that without the use of Swedish the students did not fully understand the teacher's instructions which could lead them to act out in a negative way. Teacher F believed that uncontrollable students were often the result of them not understanding instructions and therefore led them to disturb in the classroom. Lastly, teacher F said that there were many disadvantages with using code-switching in the classroom. He argued that it may prevent the students from expanding their vocabulary and learning how to communicate more fluently in English. He also believed that the use of code-switching could take away the trustworthiness of being a professional teacher in English since the students expected the teacher to use English at all times even though they complained about not understanding.

5. Analysis

The purpose of this degree paper was to investigate how and when teachers code-switch between L1 and L2 in the L2 classroom, and what the teachers' thoughts about code-switching were. We will present the analysis of our results by dividing it up into the three research questions that we have focused on and each school for itself.

We would like to clarify that, with this degree paper, we are not referring to teachers and education in general. The results of this study can, in fact, only be applied to the two researched schools and there will be no comparison made between the two schools. We would also like to point out some factors that could have affected the outcome of this study. Both of the schools were multicultural schools where most students had another mother tongue than Swedish. Further, the participating teachers were of mixed ages, the amount of years that they had worked as teachers varied and they knew that we were investigating code-switching in the classroom before we did the observations and interviews. The classes that we observed the teachers in were of mixed sizes. Finally, because of requests from some teachers we did not record the interviews, we took notes instead.

5.1 Compulsory school

When teachers use code-switching

All teachers at the compulsory school code-switched when they translated hard words, phrases and whole paragraphs from English into Swedish. They also tended to use only the Swedish word when they believed that it would be too hard for the students to understand. Teacher A said the word "snickare" after she had tried to explain the word in English several times to the student. B used the word "praktik" for the same reason as teacher A. Teacher C translated from Swedish to English many times for example when the students did not understand the task. This was also an interesting thought that we could find in the conclusions by Jakobsson & Rydén's (2000) study where they had written that teachers most often used Swedish when the students needed more instructions. It could also be related to Sert's paper

(2005, p. 3) where he writes that code-switching when translation is needed in L1 might be done to create a supporting language environment.

Two of the teachers, A and C, used code-switching to get the students' attention after they had lost focus on the task. Furthermore, teacher A and C also switched to Swedish when they wanted to give information to all students in class. Teacher A spoke in Swedish when she wanted the students to come into the classroom, and when she wanted to create order in the classroom. C told the students to settle down in Swedish. This can be connected to the study made by Gumpertz & Bloom (Mesthrie et al, 2000) where, in comparison to their study we would like to argue that the language closest to local identity, in the classroom, is Swedish. It is, therefore, possible that teachers A and C use Swedish to appeal to the students' local identity when they want to get their attention.

Teacher C spoke Swedish when she wanted to communicate with students that had lesser knowledge of the English language. The fact that she spoke Swedish to some students was observed, and during the observation she told the observer that she spoke Swedish with students that had lesser knowledge of the English language. We believe that she did this because she wanted to converge to the social setting that she found herself in with the students (Mesthrie et al, 2000). Another reason could be that she, even in this case, wanted to appeal to the students' local identity.

Another time when teacher C used code-switching in the classroom, in general, was when the students asked her to translate what she had earlier said in English to Swedish. We believe that C's intention was to create a supportive language environment in the classroom, which Sert (2005, p. 3) places in the affective function, but that it can also have an undesired outcome in the way that if the students know that the same information will follow in Swedish they will not listen to it in English (Sert, 2005, p. 3).

Why teachers use code-switching

The results from the interviews that were done with the observed teachers showed that all teachers at the compulsory school code-switched; translated from English to Swedish, when the students did not understand. Teacher A mentioned that she translated to Swedish when the students did not understand, but that it only happened in "emergency situations". Teacher B knew that she code-switched when there was no translation for the Swedish word in English

or when she believed that the English word would be too hard for the students to understand. Teacher C translated to Swedish when she noticed that the students did not understand what she had said in English. It is possible to argue that the teachers were trying to create a supportive language environment in the classroom by translating to Swedish when they noticed that the students had not understood what they had said in English (Sert, 2005, p. 3). Another reason could be that they wanted to repeat the most important knowledge in Swedish for clarification for the students (Sert, 2005, p. 3).

Teacher B was aware of that she said things in Swedish when she believed that it would be too hard for the students to understand in English. If the teacher, beforehand, knows that the students will probably not understand what he or she wants to say in English than they might do what Sert (2005, p. 2) calls a topic switch and start explaining in Swedish. Sert points out that when the teachers switch to the L1 then a bridge is built from the known (native language) to the unknown (foreign language).

Teacher C said that she used Swedish when she was communicating with some students. When teacher C used the L1 to communicate with some students it could have been done to converge the social distance that exists between the student and the teacher (Mesthrie et al, 2000).

Teachers' thoughts about code-switching

Code-switching was seen as a beneficial tool in a communicative setting in the classroom, according to teacher A and C. Teacher C argued that when she used code-switching in the classroom she did it to help students coming from multicultural backgrounds, with understanding what message she wanted to convey. She said that the benefit came from firstly giving the message in English and then directly translating it into Swedish, by doing so she argued that it helped the students in their learning process. This led us to what Mesthrie et al wrote in *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, when it comes to the use of unmarked speech. "In this case, no meaning needed to be attached to any particularly switch: It is the use of both languages that is meaningful, drawing on the associations of both languages and indexing dual identities" (Mesthrie et al, 2000). Based on the quote we came to understand the meaningfulness regarding teacher C's thoughts of why she used both Swedish and English in the L2 classroom. Her use of code-switching was an intentional reaction to her students' requests.

Teacher A, as mentioned above, also reacted positively when discussing her thoughts of using code-switching in the classroom, but made sure to mention that there needed to be a balance regarding the use of English and Swedish in the L2 classroom. Based on the interviews, we have come to understand that teacher B preferred not to use Swedish at all in the classroom unless she felt that it was absolutely necessary. She also mentioned that she was aware of the fact that if she did use Swedish when interacting with the students, she could affect the students negatively. That is something that is mentioned by Sert (2005, p. 3) when he argues that code-switching for clarification might have a negative outcome such as undesirable student behaviour. An example of this kind of behaviour could be when the students expect the instructions given to be in the native language instead of the target language. This might therefore lead to the students not wanting to listen to instructions given in L2.

Furthermore, teacher B believed that if she switched to Swedish during an English lesson, she was afraid that it would lead to the students getting used to hearing Swedish being spoken instead of English; the target language. One might therefore argue that she actually used the languages to either converge or diverge in the communication with her students. Her thoughts that she expressed regarding when and why she used code-switching in the L2 classroom, made us come to an understanding that we actually use different languages for different purposes. Teacher B seemed to use English, which was the target language, as a tool to diverge from the students expectations to get translations in Swedish. Furthermore the use of Swedish in the classroom could be recognized as a tool used to converge to the students' needs. To clarify these concepts we refer back to Mesthrie et al and Howard Gile's study on speech accommodation:

Giles argued that speakers would tend to converge (adopt similar styles of speaking) when they wished to reduce the social distance between one another, and diverge (speak differently) when they wished to emphasise their distinctiveness or increase the social distance. (Mesthrie et al 2000, p. 151)

Teacher A's response regarding her thoughts about code-switching brought us to the question concerning conscious and unconscious choice of using code-switching in the classroom. Teacher B said, in comparison to the other teachers at the compulsory school, that she was not aware of times when she used code-switching in the classroom, except at one occasion when she had to switch to Swedish after explaining something for a student several times, and the

student still did not understand what was expected from him/her. In Serts paper (2005, p. 2) we discovered that his thoughts of intentional and/or unintentional code-switching are very similar to teacher A and B personal opinion. Sert, teacher A and B believe that code-switching could be a useful strategy to help learners but that in the long term when the students experience interaction with the native speaker of the target language, code-switching may be a barrier which could prevent mutual intelligibility.

5.2 Upper secondary school

When teachers use code-switching

Two of the teachers, D and F, code-switched when they translated hard words, phrases or paragraphs from English to Swedish. D translated the instructions for a task to Swedish after he had repeated them twice in English. F used Swedish when he was talking about the syllabus for English. As mentioned earlier, the teachers may use Swedish to create a supportive language environment in the classroom (Sert, 2005, p. 3). D might also have used Swedish to transfer necessary knowledge to the students for clarity (Sert, 2005, p. 3). When F was talking about the syllabus for English he might have been altering the language to the topic. In this case, when F shifted to Swedish, the students' attention was directed at the new knowledge; the syllabus (Sert, 2005, p. 2).

Teacher E communicated with the students that were less verbally active on the lesson in Swedish. Being a new teacher he could have done this to converge, to reduce the social distance, to the students (Mesthrie et al, p. 2000). We believe that this also might have been an unconsciously motivated switch (Sert, 2005, p. 2).

Teacher D used code-switching to express his irritation and anger and to discipline the students. This was something that we would like to call an 'emotional switch' which could be read about in Gumperz & Blooms study which points out that in a multicultural society (in our case the classroom) it is not uncommon to hear emotional conversations where the participants suddenly switch from one language to another (Mesthrie et al, 2000). This way D also appealed to the students' local identity (Mesthrie et al, 2000). When expressing feelings in Swedish in the L2 classroom parallels can be drawn to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which

argues that real translation between different languages is not possible (Sapir, 1921). One might argue that expressing emotions in the native language is easier to do than in the L2. This is also a thought that might be applied if the target teacher's native language is English when for example teaching Swedish, and the teacher switches to English when expressing emotion, just like teacher D above.

Why teachers use code-switching

Two of the teachers, D and F, used code-switching when they expressed their feelings and disciplined the students. Teacher D thought that it was easier to find the right words to express his feelings in Swedish. He believed that it was very difficult to convey the same meaning in the L2 as in L1. Teacher F introduced himself as a native speaker of English and the students believed him until one day when his patience had run out and he yelled at the students to sit down and be quiet in Swedish. According to Sert's article (2005, p. 3) this situation could be a topic switch that carries affective functions and serves for expressing emotions. In teacher F's case it was also clear that code-switching could also be an unconscious choice (Sert, 2005, p. 2). Teacher F's intention was to make the students believe that he did not understand much Swedish so that the students would speak English in the L2 classroom. Obviously, he never meant to use Swedish in the classroom but when his patience had run out he made, what we earlier called, an "emotional switch". Sapir (1921) had the same view on language as teacher D; that it is difficult to find the right words when you want to express a specific meaning in the L2. In fact, according to Sapir it is impossible to make a real translation between different languages.

Teacher D mentioned that he used Swedish when he was teaching grammar to the students. He argued that grammar was a difficult part of teaching a language and that he therefore chose to do it in Swedish. The reason for his choice was to make sure that all students understood. That teachers used code-switching when teaching grammar was a conclusion in Jakobsson & Rydén's (2010) study. Using the L1 when teaching specific parts of the L2 could be a topic switch (Sert, 2005, p. 2). Sert argues that topic switches are mostly used when teaching grammar. Sert also mentions that using the L1 in the L2 classroom can create a supportive language environment.

Teacher E said that he used code-switching in situations when he wanted to concentrate on getting the students to understand the message that he was trying to convey. According to

Sert's paper (2005, p. 2) what was happening could be a topic switch because when the teacher speaks the L1 the students' attention is directed at the new knowledge that is being taught.

Teacher E also used Swedish when he wanted to have serious talks with the students. This might be done to converge the social distance that existed between him and the students (Mesthrie et al, p. 2000).

Teachers' thoughts about code-switching

According to teacher D code-switching was inevitable when working at a multicultural school. He believed that we must understand the fact that the majority of the students at the upper secondary school came from different countries where their L1 was not Swedish. He continued by sharing his thoughts about code-switching by mentioning how the use of Swedish in the L2 classroom might function as a tool to over bridge linguistic obstacles. Teacher D summed up his thoughts of code-switching by stating "It feels like the most natural thing to do" (Teacher D, our translation). He experienced the need to use Swedish in situations when he felt that he had to discipline his students. Furthermore, based on his explanation, we came to understand that it was easier for him to express feelings or a certain state of mind in his native language than in the target language. That was also something that we understood when reading his quote above. This led us to bring up the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which suggests that real translation between different languages is not possible. (Mesthrie et al , p. 7). Therefore we would like to argue that what teacher D expressed regarding his use of Swedish during an English lesson might be connected to him feeling that L1 is somehow in harmony with what he wanted to express.

Teacher E shared teacher D's view regarding code-switching in the classroom, referring to code-switching being a helpful tool when communicating with students with a multicultural background. This led us once again think about how closely language and culture are connected. According to Sapir, "languages like cultures are rarely sufficient unto themselves." (Sapir, 1921, p. 1). Another interesting factor that appeared from analysing the answers regarding the selected teachers' responses on their thoughts on code-switching was that they seemed to be more or less aware of the fact that code-switching was something that they used when teaching English to their students. With regard to this the question of whether the

teachers use code-switching consciously or unconsciously we found that teacher D argued that he switched to Swedish when he felt irritated and addressed his students in order to discipline them; this was an act that he was conscious of doing in his interaction with his students.

6. Conclusions

6.1 Compulsory school

All teachers at the compulsory school code-switched when they translated difficult words, phrases and whole paragraphs from English into Swedish or used only the Swedish word when they believed that it would be too hard for the students to understand.

Teacher A and C switched to Swedish in the L2 classroom when they wanted to get the students' attention or when they became aware of that the students had lost their focus and wanted to bring order to the classroom.

Teacher C used Swedish to a greater extent than teacher A and B; her use of code-switching was an intentional reaction to her students' requests. Teacher A and B believed that code-switching was beneficial in the L2 classroom as long as there was a balance. They also stated that exaggerated use of code-switching might prevent the students from getting used to listening to instructions given in English which was the target language.

6.2 Upper secondary school

All of the teachers at the upper secondary school believed that code-switching in the classroom was a helpful instrument when teaching English. Code-switching was therefore considered as an inevitable and conscious choice when the students did not understand the message that the teacher wanted to convey during class.

Teachers D and E code-switched between Swedish and English at occasions when their feelings were exposed, for example when they were irritated. This experience was shared among the teachers, both during the observations and interviews that followed.

Another factor that contributed to the teachers' code-switching was when they needed to explain a difficult word or when they worked with grammar. Teacher D, E and F showed an awareness regarding how switching between Swedish and English might affect the students' attention and emphasis when using one language over another. In this way teachers converged and diverged to adjust the social distance to the students in the classroom. Based on the observations teachers tended to converge, when using Swedish for example when addressing less verbal students. Diverging in the classroom was seen when a teacher showed that he preferred the formal language (L2) over the informal (L1).

In the new syllabus for English there is a lot of emphasis on the spoken aspect of the English language. Students in year nine should, for example, be able to communicate about, for the students, known subjects and talk about opinions, experiences, feelings, and future plans. (Skolverket, 2010, p. 3) Further, students should be able to make a conversation, have a discussion, and be able to use arguments. They should also develop strategies to understand and make themselves understood when the language is not enough, by for example rephrasing, asking questions and explaining. (Skolverket, 2010, p. 4) With these goals in mind, and others that can be found in the new syllabus, there will not be much time left for code-switching, instead English should be used in the classroom most of the time. Thereby, suggestions for future study within the field of teachers' code-switching in the L2 classroom could be to investigate if the new syllabus has contributed to teachers speaking English most of the time in the classroom. Another suggestion for future study could be to do research about teachers who do not have the Swedish language as their L1.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Observation Schedule

Swedish spoken by the teacher (what did he/she say)	Context in which Swedish was spoken

Appendix 2 – Interview Questions

- 1) What do you think about code-switching in the classroom? (Vad tycker du om kodväxling i klassrummet?)
- 2) Do you code-switch in the classroom? (Kodväxklar du i klassrummet?)
- 3) If that is the case, when do you code-switch and why? (Om så är fallet, när kodväxlar du och varför?)
- 4) Do you think that there are any advantages with code-switching in the classroom? (Tycker du att det finns fördelar med att kodväxla i klassrummet?)
- 5) Do you think that there are any disadvantages with code-switching in the classroom? (Tycker du att det finns några nackdelar med kodväxling i klassrummet?)

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