

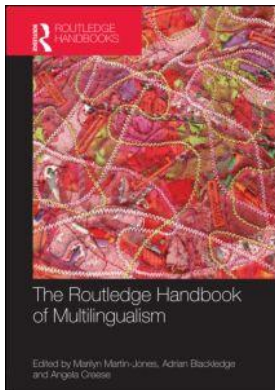
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### **Codeswitching**

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# Codeswitching

Angel Y. M. Lin and David C. S. Li

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## Introduction

Codeswitching (CS) is one of the best-known and most widely researched language-contact phenomena. Languages do not come into contact; people do. When speakers of one language are exposed to another language over a sustained period of time, they will become bilingual, albeit to differing extents. CS refers to ‘the alternating use of two languages in the same stretch of discourse by a bilingual speaker’ (Bullock and Toribio 2009: xii). CS is analogous to style shifting, which takes place within one and the same language. For example, in Hong Kong, newscasters may be using formal Cantonese when reporting ‘on air’, but they may use colloquial Cantonese with each other during the commercial break. When similar shifts occur across language boundaries, this will result in CS. CS may occur in writing as well as in speech, but by far the bulk of CS research to date is based on the analysis of naturally occurring bilingual speech data. For convenience of exposition, the term ‘bilingual’ is used synonymously here with ‘multilingual’, making reference to ‘two or more languages’.

Although naturalistic CS has been researched using datasets from various language pairs, including typologically unrelated languages (Chan 2009), there continues to be a widespread, popular belief in multilingual societies that CS is linguistically anomalous, or simply ‘bad’, as it reflects the speaker-writers’ inability to express themselves properly in one ‘pure’ language or another. One interesting consequence is that where CS is common, pejorative labels tend to be ascribed, e.g. *Spanglish*, *Tex-Mex* (Spanish–English), *Chinglish* (Chinese–English), *Japlish* (Japanese–English), *Franglais* (French–English) and *Bahasa Rojak* (Malay–English), reflecting the bilingual community’s disapproval of CS as a form of ‘random’, and ‘disorderly’ mixing of languages.

## Terms in the research literature

Different terms have been used to refer to similar phenomena in bilingual speech. The term ‘codeswitching’ is by far the most commonly used. Some scholars reserve the term CS for ‘inter-sentential CS’, i.e. switches at clause boundaries, and use the term codemixing (CM) to designate switches that take place within a clause, i.e. ‘intra-sentential CS’. Muysken (2000), for

example, uses ‘codemixing’ in his book-length account of ‘bilingual speech’, on the grounds that the book deals primarily with intra- rather than inter-sentential CS. Other scholars prefer to use CS as a generic term to cover both inter- and intra-sentential CS, but they normally make it clear which type of switch is more prevalent in the dataset(s) being analysed (e.g. Clyne 2003; Myers-Scotton 2002). In addition, the term ‘code-alternation’ is often used by those scholars who want to maintain a systematic distinction between inter- and intra-sentential CS (e.g. Auer 1995). For our purpose in this chapter, we will follow the general trend of using CS as the umbrella term for switching between clauses as well as switching within a clause.

In the next section of the chapter, we give a brief overview of the development of sociolinguistic approaches to CS, taking account of research in different domains of social life: in local lifeworlds and in institutional worlds. We will then turn to one specific domain in which there has been a particularly robust tradition of research on CS and that is classroom-based research.

### Researching the social meanings of CS

The investigation of the social meanings of CS in bilingual interactions represented an important part of research in ‘interactional sociolinguistics’ (e.g. Gumperz 1982, 1984, 1986). Early research on CS motivations identified an important distinction between ‘metaphorical CS’ and ‘situational CS’ (Blom and Gumperz 1972). Sometimes a switch redefines a situation, as when Flemish–French bilingual employees in a Belgian bank greet and chat with one another before office hours in Flemish, their shared vernacular, but conduct formal banking business in French. This CS pattern is so common in diglossic communities that a switch triggered by a change in situation is almost predictable, hence ‘situational CS’. Where there is no perceptible change in situation, bilingual speakers may sometimes switch to another language due to a change in topic or because special social meanings are being evoked. Holmes (1992: 48) cites an example in Papua New Guinea where a bilingual codeswitches between Tok Pisin and Buang to demonstrate his double identity: being a businessman (Tok Pisin) and a member of the Buang community. Such instances of CS are known as ‘metaphorical CS’.

In terms of theory-building, there are two main interactional approaches to the investigation of social aspects of CS: the markedness model (Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1993b, 1998) and conversation analysis (CA) (Auer 1995; Li 1994, 2002). On the basis of extensive data gathered in East Africa, Myers-Scotton (1998) argues that in any bilingual speech community, code choice is rational based on three inter-related postulates: (1) bilingual speakers are rational actors who are eager to ‘optimize’ their own interactional outcomes; (2) a speaker’s linguistic repertoire constitutes an ‘opportunity set’ from which code choices are made through ‘interaction-specific cognitive calculations’; and (3) communication is goal-directed and guided cognitively and rationally by a cost–benefit analysis of different ‘readings of markedness’ indexed by discrete ‘rights and obligations sets’, which explains why to a bilingual speaker, ‘making marked choices has different consequences from making unmarked choices’ (Myers-Scotton 1998: 16–22; see also Li and Tse 2002: 148). As a key construct, ‘markedness’ is based on the opposition between unmarked versus marked code choices, and functions as a heuristic for explaining a bilingual’s social and psychological motivations for code choice in context-specific interactions with others.

Myers-Scotton’s approach may be characterized as analysing CS motivations using socio-psychological factors external to specific contexts in which CS take place. Advocates of the conversation analysis (CA) approach (e.g. Auer 1995, 1998; Gafaranga 2007), however, insist that all attributions of CS motivations should be dynamic, constructivist, and grounded in

fine-grained turn-by-turn analysis, taking into account all pertinent contextualization cues such as prosodic features and the duration of pauses, which contribute significantly to meaning-making in bilingual interactions. According to this view, the main research question is as follows: ‘What does the codeswitcher want to do or accomplish with CS?’ This question cannot be adequately addressed without examining all relevant contextualization cues in bilingual interactions, which helps explain CA analysts’ insistence that rigorous protocols must be met when recording and transcribing naturally occurring CS data.

Regardless of how language-contact phenomena, such as CS, are analysed by researchers, they constitute part of the linguistic resources available to the bilingual, whose main concern in bilingual interaction is typically the moment-by-moment meaning-making when conversing with someone with a similar linguistic background or repertoire. As the research literature on CS is vast, we will focus here on one domain of research, namely research on classroom CS (including second language classrooms, foreign language classrooms and bilingual programmes). As we will show, the research trends and paradigms in this research tradition echo wider developments in the field of CS. Classroom CS is complex and often controversial, especially in those contexts where there is a tension between using the mother tongue as the medium of instruction (MOI) to facilitate students’ understanding, and using the target language (TL) as MOI to give students more exposure to the TL.

## Classroom CS

Although classroom CS studies have been conducted in diverse contexts, the often-quoted early studies were chiefly conducted in North American settings. They were based in classrooms in two main kinds of contexts: second language contexts (e.g. ESL classrooms) and bilingual education classrooms. The research methods largely included quantitative and functional coding analysis (see below for details of these methods). Research interest has mainly been directed at two aspects of bilingual education: the relative quantities of first language (L1) and second language (L2) use in different activity settings, and the functional distribution of L1 and L2. Below is a review of the research methods used in some early studies.

### *Early studies on relative amounts of L1/L2 use across activity types and settings*

This type of research was largely conducted with children in bilingual education programmes in the USA (e.g. Wong-Fillmore 1980). The main emphasis of such work is to investigate whether linguistic minority children’s L1 (e.g. Spanish, Chinese) and the wider, societal language (English) were given equal emphasis by calculating the degree to which they were each used in the classroom (in terms of the number of utterances in each code or the time spent on it). Data for such studies was typically collected through class visits and observations with subsequent analysis of field notes and audio/videotapes. It was found that a greater amount of L1 tended to be used in less formal, more intimate participant structures.

In another study (Frohlich *et al.* 1985), this time in Canada, on the communicative orientation of L2 classrooms in four different programmes (e.g. core French, French immersion, extended French with subject matter courses, ESL classrooms), teacher talk in all four programmes was found to reflect very high L2 use (96 per cent). However, the researchers noted that students generally used the target language only while the teacher exercised control over classroom activities. During seatwork most interaction occurred in the students’ L1.

These early studies relied on the notion of activity type or setting (e.g. individual seatwork, group work, whole-class instruction) as an important factor affecting the relative amounts of

L1/L2 use in both studies above. In contrast, other work used functional coding systems in their analysis to develop categories of functions for which L1 is used.

### ***Early studies on functional distribution of L1/L2 use***

Many of the functional studies were also conducted in bilingual content classrooms in the USA and only a few on second and foreign language classrooms. In these studies classroom utterances were usually coded by the observer with a functional system (e.g. Flanders 1970) yielding frequency counts of distribution of L1 and L2 over different functional categories (i.e. communicative and/or pragmatic functions identified by the researcher). For instance, in a study based on observations of five kindergartens in Spanish bilingual programmes 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 of bilingual education: the Concurrent Translation (CT) and Alternative Days (AD). She found that the AD model generated an equal distribution of Spanish and English by teachers and children overall, with more Spanish used for 'encouraging' (referred to as 'warming' by Legarreta) and 'directing' functions and English as the primary choice for disciplining children. However, in the CT model, instead of using the L1 (Spanish) of the majority of the pupils to express solidarity (warming, accepting, amplifying), the teachers and aides predominantly used English for these functions.

In another study, Milk (1981) coded teacher talk in a twelfth-grade bilingual civics lesson according to eight basic pedagogical functions (e.g. informative, directive, humour-expressive) based on Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). English (L2) was found to dominate the teacher's directives (92 per cent) and meta-statements (63 per cent), whereas there was a greater balance between L1 and L2 in other functions (e.g. elicitation, expressive, reply, informative). In addition, Milk described the skilful manner in which the bilingual teacher employed extensive switching between Spanish and English to create humour, both as a means of social control (via the creation of a sense of solidarity) and as a way to arouse students' interest.

Guthrie (1984) used similar research methods in a study of an ESL lesson attended by 11 first-grade Cantonese–American students (ranging from limited English proficiency 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 six hours of lessons were gathered and were accompanied by coding by two bilingual observers. The functions of the bilingual teacher's L1 use reported by Guthrie can be summarized as: (1) to act as a 'we-code' for solidarity; (2) to clarify or check for understanding; (3) to contrast variable meanings in L1 and L2; and (4) to anticipate likely sources of confusion for students.

So, although the functional coding approach dominated early work in some studies (e.g. Milk 1981; Guthrie 1984), there was also some preliminary use of ethnographic interviews and interactional sociolinguistic methods, a trend that continued in later works.

### ***The interpretive and critical turns in classroom CS research***

Many early studies seemed to have worked with the assumption that functional categories were stable, valid categories of classroom speech and that analysts could reliably assign utterances to each category. Yet the functional coding approach in early studies actually involved a lot of sociolinguistic interpretive work on the part of the coder. This interpretive work was, however, not made explicit but taken for granted in the form of final frequency counts of L1 and L2 distributed across different functional categories.

Later studies (e.g. Adendorff 1993; Cincotta-Segi 2009; Creese 2005; Heller 1999, 2001; Lin 1990, 1996, 1999; Li and Martin 2009; Martin 1996, 1999, 2003; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996, 2003; Polio and Duff 1994) have, to varying degrees, dispensed with a priori lists of functional categories and drawn on research approaches from interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication (e.g. Goffman 1974; Gumperz 1982, 1986); conversation analysis (Sacks [1965]1992); interpretive research paradigms; critical social theory (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977); and critical research paradigms to study classroom CS.

As interactional sociolinguistics (IS) and ethnography of communication (EC) provide the most useful analytic tools for researching and understanding CS in different settings in society, their concepts and methods have been drawn from classroom studies on CS. The concepts that have been most frequently and fruitfully used are CS as a contextualization cue (Gumperz 1984) to signal a shift in the frame or footing (Goffman 1974) of the current interaction (e.g. see Adendorff 1993). Frame or footing is the definition of what is happening and it is constantly being negotiated, proposed (signalled) and re-defined by the speakers engaged in interaction. The different frames or footings that are being evoked (or signalled and proposed by a speaker) involve the simultaneous negotiation of different role-relationships and the associated sets of rights/obligations. Lin's studies (1990, 1996), for instance, drew on these interactional sociolinguistic concepts to analyse CS in Hong Kong classrooms. Below is an example from Lin's (1996) reanalysis of Johnson's (1985) data in Hong Kong secondary schools, using IS analytic concepts. The data presentation format is as in Johnson's: tape-recorder counter numbers precede utterances; bold italics indicate originally Cantonese utterances, and only teacher's utterances have been transcribed.

#### Example (1)

A junior secondary math teacher in Hong Kong begins his lesson in English and then breaks off and switches to Cantonese to deal with late-comers; once they are settled, he switches back to English to continue with the lesson work:

008 Close all your text books and class work books.  
 012 ***There are some classmates not back yet. Be quick!***  
 Now, any problem about the class work?

(Johnson 1985: 47)

Johnson (ibid.) analyses the Cantonese utterance as an example of an informal aside done in Cantonese. Although agreeing partially with this analysis, we note, however, that if it is to mark out a mere topical digression, the teacher could well have done this by other means than codeswitches, e.g. intonational changes, hand-claps or pauses to bracket the aside (see example in Lin 1990: 32–6). The use of these contextualization cues (Gumperz 1984) does not involve a violation of the institutional 'use-English-only' constraint, which teachers in Anglo-Chinese secondary schools in Hong Kong were well aware of. It can, therefore, be argued that what is being signalled here is not only a topical aside, but also a radical break in the English pedagogic frame and an urgent change in the teacher's concerns. This break in the English pedagogic frame to highlight a different, urgent set of concerns cannot have been achieved without the teacher's switch from English (L2) to Cantonese (L1).

The key to understanding the implicit meanings signalled by codeswitches, therefore, lies in a recognition of the sociolinguistic fact that whenever Hong Kong Cantonese have something urgent and earnest to relay to one another, they do so in their shared native language; whenever Hong Kong Cantonese speak to one another in English despite their having a common

native language, it is usually because of institutionally given reasons, for instance, to teach and learn the English language in an English immersion classroom. When teachers want to establish a less distanced and non-institutionally defined relationship with their students, they will also find it necessary to switch to their shared native language, Cantonese.

In studies along this line, IS and EC analytical concepts and methods are drawn from in order to analyse instances of classroom CS. The findings look remarkably similar across different sociocultural contexts. CS is seen as an additional resource in the bilingual teacher's communicative repertoire, enabling her/him to signal and negotiate different frames and footings, role-relationships, cultural values, identities and so on in the classroom (e.g. Li and Martin 2009). These studies have the effect of uncovering the good sense or the local rationality (or functions) of classroom CS. To summarize by drawing on the functional framework of language from Halliday (1994), CS can be seen as a communicative resource readily drawn on by classroom participants (usually the teacher but sometimes also students) to achieve three kinds of purposes as follows:

*Ideational functions:* Providing limited-L2-proficiency students with access to the L2-mediated curriculum by switching to the students' L1 (or stronger language) to translate or annotate (e.g. key L2 terms), explain, elaborate or exemplify L2 academic content (e.g. drawing on students' familiar lifeworld experiences as examples to explain a science concept in the L2 textbook/curriculum). This is very important in mediating the meaning of academic texts, which are written in a poorly understood language – the L2 of the students.

*Textual functions:* Highlighting (signalling) topic shifts, marking out transitions between different activity types or different focuses (e.g. focusing on technical definitions of terms vs exemplifications of the terms in students' everyday life).

*Interpersonal functions:* Signalling and negotiating shifts in frames and footings, role-relationships and identities, change in social distance/closeness (e.g. negotiating for in-group solidarity), and appealing to shared cultural values or institutional norms.

Apart from the above studies, which draw on interpretive research paradigms, there is also a major trend of studies led by Monica Heller and Marilyn Martin-Jones (e.g. in their edited 2001 book *Voices of Authority: Education and Linguistic Difference*), which draws on both interpretive and critical research paradigms, and they relate micro interactional functions of classroom CS to larger societal issues, such as the reproduction or sometimes contestation of linguistic ideologies in the larger society (e.g. which/whose language counts as standard and valued language; which/whose language counts as inferior or not-valued language).

Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) provide some examples on how micro ethnographic studies of classroom CS are not actually 'micro' in their implications if we see the classroom as a discursive site for reproduction or contestation of linguistic ideologies and hierarchies. The discursive construction/negotiation of what counts as front stage and back stage (e.g. Arthur 1996, drawing on Goffman 1974) and the legitimation of what goes on in the front stage (largely controlled and set up by the teacher) as legitimate, standard, valued language vs what gets marginalized, reproduced as inferior, non/substandard language in the back stage. Usually the societal dominant L2 occupies the former position and students' L1 occupies the latter position. For instance, in Ndayipfukamiye's (2001) study of Kirundi–French CS in Burundi classrooms, the bilingual teacher is seen to be using Kirundi (students' familiar language) to annotate, explain and exemplify French (L2) terms and academic content. Although the linguistic brokering function of CS is affirmed (i.e. the value of providing students with access

to the educationally dominant language, French), the linguistic hierarchy as institutionalized in the French immersion education policy in Burundi is largely reproduced in these CS practices.

However, not all studies are about reproduction of linguistic ideologies and practices. For instance, Canagarajah (2001) shows how ESL teachers and students in Jaffna (the northern peninsula of Sri Lanka that has been the political centre of the Tamils) negotiated hybrid identities through CS between Tamil and English, defying both the Tamil-only ideology in the public domains and institutions, and the English-only ideology from the ESL/TESOL pedagogical prescriptions from the West. Canagarajah argued that both teachers and students, by switching comfortably between these two languages were also constructing their bilingual identities, refusing to be pigeonholed by essentializing political ideologies (of Tamil nationalism) or English-only pedagogical ideologies.

Lin (1999) also showed that by skilfully intertwining the use of L1 (Cantonese) for a story focus with the use of L2 (English) for a language focus, a bilingual teacher in a Hong Kong English-language classroom successfully got her students interested in learning English and gaining confidence in reading English storybooks, and thus transforming the habitus of these working-class students for whom English had been an alien language irrelevant to their daily life. Drawing on the discourse-analytical methods of conversation analysis applied to educational settings (Heap 1985), Lin (1999) offered a fine-grained analysis of how L1–L2 CS was built into two kinds of Initiation–Response–Feedback (IRF) discourse formats to enable the teacher (Teacher D) to engage students in both enjoying the story and in learning English through this process ('L1/L2' denotes 'L1 or L2'):

Teacher D uses two different IRF formats in the following cycle in the reading lesson:

(1) Story-Focus-IRF:

Teacher-Initiation [L1]

Student-Response [L1]

Teacher-Feedback [L1]

(2) Language-Focus-IRF:

Teacher-Initiation [L1/L2]

Student-Response [L1/L2]

Teacher-Feedback [L2], or use (2) again until Student-Response is in L2

(3) Start (2) again to focus on another linguistic aspect of the L2 response elicited in (2); or return to (1) to focus on the story again.

*(Lin 1999)*

This kind of discourse practice allows the teacher to interlock a story focus with a language focus in the reading lesson. There can be enjoyment of the story, via the use of the story-focus IRF, intertwined with a language-learning focus, via the use of the language-focus IRF. We have noted above that the teacher never starts an initiation in L2. She always starts in L1. This stands in sharp contrast with the discourse practices of Teacher C (another teacher in the study) who always starts with L2 texts or questions in her initiations. It appears that by always starting in L1, Teacher D always starts from where the student is – from what the student can fully understand and is familiar with. On the other hand, by using the language-focus IRF format immediately after the story-focus IRF format, she can also push the students to move from what they are familiar with (e.g. L1 expressions) to what they need to become more familiar with (e.g. L2 counterparts of the L1 expressions) (see Lin 1999).



### ***The current 'state of the art' in researching classroom CS***

In the early studies, researching CS in the classroom, unlike researching other kinds of related classroom phenomena (e.g. classroom discourse, classroom interactions), was often associated, consciously or unconsciously, with corrective motives. In the interactional studies, researchers have investigated classroom CS practices either to seek out their 'good sense' and local rationality or to document their pitfalls or pedagogical inefficacy. These studies have been common in contexts where there has been an official pedagogical principle of prescribing the use of only one language in the classroom (Lin and Martin 2005; Haroon 2005). These two (implicit) aims have often shaped the research questions and research approaches used in classroom CS studies.

Because of these (implicit) 'legitimizing' concerns of researchers, the studies in the interactional literature tend to stop short of pointing to ways forward for analysing how CS practices can be better understood to achieve better pedagogical and social critical purposes. They tend to be descriptive rather than interventionist; i.e. they describe existing practices (neither approving of nor condemning them) rather than engaging with practitioners to identify innovative CS practices that provide access to L2, while at the same time critiquing linguistic ideologies and hierarchies in the larger society and institutions. Because of the lack of critical, interventionist research questions, the majority of studies in the classroom CS literature tend to offer few new insights into how existing classroom CS can be further changed to achieve more: e.g. more of the transformation (as hinted at by Lin 1999 and Canagarajah 2001), and avoid the reproduction consequences (e.g. reproducing societal ideologies about linguistic hierarchies, marginalizing the students' familiar languages while privileging the dominant societal languages). The findings of the existing research literature thus seem to be variations on similar themes (as summarized above) without providing new research questions and research approaches. In our concluding section, we therefore sketch out what we see as possible future lines of enquiry in studies of classroom CS.

### ***Future directions for research on classroom CS***

To our knowledge, there have been no published studies of a longitudinal, interventionist type. Moreover, most studies have been conducted by a sociolinguist or a discourse analyst, usually an outsider coming into the classroom studying the interactional practices of classroom participants. As we have shown above, many studies draw mainly on the interpretive research paradigms (IS, EC and CA research approaches). This makes it difficult for us to know what would happen if classroom participants (e.g. teachers, students) themselves become researchers of their own classroom practices, and what would happen if they embarked on systematic studies of their own, getting a deeper understanding of their own practices through their own research and then, perhaps, modifying their own practices with systematic action plans and studying the consequences. This type of interventionist approach would be broadly akin to the kind of action-research carried out by teacher-researchers. Below, we outline what kind of studies might be designed in the future with a view to gleaning new insights into classroom CS.

First, such studies would involve longitudinal research. Instead of one-shot classroom video/audio-taping studies, we need to have studies that follow the same classroom for a longer period of time; e.g. a whole course or a whole semester.

Second, following our comments above, the studies would need to take on an interventionist research agenda: we would need to integrate sociolinguistic interpretive and conversation analytic approaches with action-research approaches so that teachers become conscious of trying out

specific bilingual classroom strategies with respect to achieving specific sets of goals. We also need to build into the research design ways of ascertaining the degree to which these goals are achieved. This is similar to the design of teacher action-research. Close collaboration between teacher and researcher is also needed, or the teacher can also be the researcher. Likewise, depending on the readiness of the students, they can also be encouraged to become researchers in the study of their own bilingual classroom practices.

Third, teachers and researchers need to identify specific goals and design-specific bilingual classroom strategies to achieve those goals: this would require the teacher and researcher to understand the specific situated needs and goals of the educational context in which they find themselves. These educational goals need to be set up with reference to the needs and choices of participants in those contexts. It is not possible to identify a universal set of goals for bilingual or multilingual classroom communication.

Fourth, future studies also need to draw on research methods such as genre analysis of domain-specific academic discourses and literacies: for instance, we need to know what the specific genre features, discourse structures and registers of a biology course are in order to design bilingual strategies to provide students with access to biology discourses through familiar everyday discourses. There will be frequent interweaving between academic discourses (mostly mediated in a less familiar language to the students such as the L2 or the 'standard' dialect) and students' familiar discourses (e.g. everyday life examples and experiences mediated in students' familiar languages such as their L1 or a community dialect; e.g. as described in McGlynn and Martin 2009). The key research question would be: how does the teacher provide access to the formal, academic (often L2) discourses through the informal, everyday, familiar (often L1) discourses of the students?

Fifth, in order to carry out systematic studies of the effectiveness of different bilingual classroom strategies, there needs to be carefully planned integration of different research paradigms (including interventionist action-research, interpretive, critical) and research approaches (including those from sociolinguistics, academic genre analysis, pedagogical analysis, analysis of students' spoken and written samples of academic work, plus assessment of students' mastery of genre-specific features and skills in performing academic tasks, using the appropriate registers).

And, finally, the approaches need to be holistic and contextualized. We need to situate the classroom in its larger socio-economic and political contexts and examine the pedagogic goals of the classroom to see if they are really serving the interests of the students. We then need to explore possible ways to redefine these goals, including bilingual classroom strategies and other communicative strategies. The research also needs to compare and contrast traditional (e.g. teacher whole-class instruction) and progressive pedagogies (student-inquiry groups) and consider which CS patterns can be intertwined with which pedagogical patterns and participant structures. All these require an approach that allows for a healthy cycle: try-and-see and then document; re-try another pattern and see what happens and re-design future action plans that will progressively better achieve the new goals through both bilingual and other pedagogical practices.

The recommendations above might sound like an 'unholy' eclectic approach to the research methodological purist. However, to have breakthroughs in our current state of affairs in researching classroom CS, we need to be both pragmatic and flexible in our research paradigms and approaches and we need to ensure that our studies have an impact. As CS in the classroom is still seen as a negative practice in many mainstream educational contexts, we need concrete designs of bilingual classroom strategies and research studies that can systematically develop these designs, show their effectiveness (with respect to the situated goals of the

classroom) and demonstrate the good, rational sense and the communicative potential of bilingual/multilingual classroom communication.

### Concluding comment

People engage in language practices that fulfil their communicative needs and very often they draw on multiple resources in their communicative repertoires, both in the classroom and beyond. Future research might embark on a theoretical re-visioning of the usefulness of conceptualizing CS as switching between codes with solid boundaries, or as language practice that is inherently realized in diverse ways, both drawing on and renewing diverse linguistic resources that are not bounded by solid linguistic code boundaries (Pennycook 2010).

### Related topics

Discourses about linguistic diversity; multilingualism in education in post-colonial contexts; multilingual pedagogies; heteroglossia; disinventing multilingualism.

### Further reading

Creese, A. (2005) *Teacher Collaboration and Talk in Multilingual Classrooms*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

(Provides a good account of teacher collaboration and talk in multilingual classrooms.)

Heller, M. and Martin-Jones, M. (eds) (2001) *Voices of Authority: Education and Linguistic Difference*, Westport, CT and London: Ablex.

(Remains a classic volume of studies that sets out the major approaches and problematics in this area.)

Li, W. and Martin, P. (eds) (2009) 'Conflicts and tensions in classroom codeswitching', *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (special issue) 12(2).

(A collection of recent studies on classroom codeswitching.)

Luk, J. C. M. and Lin, A. M. Y. (2006) *Classroom Interactions as Cross-Cultural Encounters: Native Speakers in EFL lessons*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

(Provides some good analysis of classroom verbal play by students who engage in codeswitching creatively as a resource to have fun.)

Martin-Jones, M. (2000) 'Bilingual classroom interaction: a review of recent research', *Language Teaching* 33(1): 1–9.

(Provides good reviews of classroom codeswitching research from 1970s to the late 1990s.)

—(2007) 'Bilingualism, education and the regulation of access to language resources', in M. Heller (ed.) *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

(Provides good reviews of classroom CS research, and discourses about bilingual education, from the 1970s to the first decade of the twenty-first century.)

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