Behind Classroom Codeswitching:
Culture, Curriculum and Identity in
a Chinese University English
Department

by

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# Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures .................................................................................. 1  
Acknowledgments .............................................................................................. 3  
Declaration .......................................................................................................... 4  
Abstract ............................................................................................................ 5  
List of Abbreviations ......................................................................................... 6

Chapter 1 Introduction ....................................................................................... 7  
  1.1 Original Plan ............................................................................................... 9  
  1.2 Phase I ....................................................................................................... 10  
  1.3 Shift of Focus ............................................................................................ 10  
  1.4 Phase II .................................................................................................... 13  
  1.5 Research Questions .................................................................................. 14  
  1.6 Structure of Thesis ................................................................................... 15

Chapter 2 Literature Review ............................................................................ 16  
  2.1 ELT within the Chinese Higher Education System .................................. 17  
      2.1.1 General background to Chinese higher education system ............ 17  
      2.1.2 ELT in Chinese Universities ................................................................. 19  
          2.1.1.1 The history of English Language and Literature  
                      Department in Chinese universities and national  
                      curriculum ....................................................................................... 20  
          2.1.1.2 Current problems in the development of English  
                      Language and Literature Department and the  
                      prospects of discipline construction ............................................. 24  
  2.2 Content-Based Instruction (CBI) ............................................................. 36  
      2.2.1 Definition of CBI ................................................................................ 36  
      2.2.2 The Development of CBI .................................................................... 37  
      2.2.3 Implementation of CBI ....................................................................... 38  
      2.2.4 Difficulties in implementation of CBI ............................................... 40  
      2.2.5 Literature on CBI .............................................................................. 44  
      2.2.6 Research on CBI and codeswitching .............................................. 46  
      2.2.7 CBI in China ...................................................................................... 50  
  2.3 Teachers’ L1 Use in Second/Foreign Language Classrooms  
      (Codeswitching) .......................................................................................... 56  
      2.3.1 Definition of codeswitching ................................................................. 57  
      2.3.2 Background to research in codeswitching ........................................ 58  
      2.3.3 Types of environments when codeswitching occurs ...................... 60  
      2.3.4 Reasons for and purposes of teachers’ codeswitching .................... 67  
      2.3.5 Debate on codeswitching and teachers’ language use ................... 73  
      2.3.6 Research on codeswitching in EFL context in China ...................... 79
Chapter 3 Research Methodology ................................................................. 93
  3.1 Overview of the Chapter ........................................................................ 93
  3.2 Data Collection ...................................................................................... 95
    3.2.1 Case study ....................................................................................... 95
      3.2.1.1 What is a case study ................................................................. 95
      3.2.1.2 Nature of case study used ....................................................... 97
      3.2.1.3 Methods used for case study ................................................. 99
      3.2.1.4 Mixed methods research approach ..................................... 101
    3.2.2 Sampling procedure ....................................................................... 103
    3.2.3 Ethics ............................................................................................. 105
    3.2.4 Participants .................................................................................... 106
    3.2.5 Data collection methods ............................................................... 109
      3.2.5.1 Classroom observation ......................................................... 109
      3.2.5.2 Interview ................................................................................. 113
      3.2.5.3 Stimulated recall ..................................................................... 121
    3.2.6 Procedures for data collection ...................................................... 124
      3.2.6.1 Classroom observation (Phase I) .......................................... 124
      3.2.6.2 Interview (Phase I) ................................................................. 127
      3.2.6.3 Stimulated recall (Phase I) .................................................... 131
      3.2.6.4 Follow-up interview (Phase II) ............................................. 133
  3.3 Data Analysis ....................................................................................... 137
    3.3.1 Overview of data analysis ............................................................. 137
    3.3.2 Analysis approaches ..................................................................... 138
      3.3.2.1 Categorisation (Phase I) ....................................................... 139
      3.3.2.2 Time coding (Phase I) .......................................................... 154
      3.3.2.3 Analysis of interviews and stimulated recalls (Phase I) ... 157
      3.3.2.4 Analysis of follow-up interviews ....................................... 159

Chapter 4 Findings .................................................................................. 163
  4.1 Findings from Phase I (Codeswitching Behaviours) ............................. 163
    4.1.1 Under what circumstance is codeswitching employed ............... 163
      4.1.1.1 Teacher A ............................................................................. 163
      4.1.1.2 Teacher B ............................................................................. 169
      4.1.1.3 Teacher C ............................................................................. 172
    4.1.2 Is there any evidence of change or development in the use of
codeswitching throughout the semester ........................................ 177
    4.1.3 What are the motivations behind their codeswitching behaviours 179
      4.1.3.1 Teacher A ............................................................................. 179
      4.1.3.2 Teacher B ............................................................................. 183
      4.1.3.3 Teacher C ............................................................................. 186
    4.1.4 To what extent do the three participants
differ in their codeswitching behaviours ........................................ 188
      4.1.4.1 Teacher A and C in terms of circumstances/categories .... 188
      4.1.4.2 Teacher A and C in terms of change over time ................. 189
References ........................................................................................................................................394

Appendices ......................................................................................................................................431
  Appendix A Participant Information Sheet ......................................................................................431
  Appendix B Consent Form ..................................................................................................................432
  Appendix C Sample Pages of Field Notes ......................................................................................433
  Appendix D Numbers of Codeswitching Items in
  Teacher A, B and C’s Lessons ...........................................................................................................437
  Appendix E Time Coding Table .........................................................................................................440
  Appendix F Content Analysis Sheet for Interviews
  and Stimulated Recall in Phase I .......................................................................................................441
  Appendix G Preliminary Results from Each Step of Thematic
  Analysis of Follow-up Interviews .....................................................................................................451
  Appendix H Translated Individual Thematic Maps for Teacher A, B & C .........................................459
  Appendix I Integrated Thematic Map ...............................................................................................467
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 2.1 Practical factors to be considered when implementing CBI
Table 2.2 Summary of codeswitching categories in previous literature
Table 2.3 Factors accounting for language choice in naturalistic bilingual settings
Table 2.4 Factors affecting teachers’ codeswitching behaviours in class
Table 3.1 Schedule of classroom observations
Table 3.2 Schedule for interviews
Figure 3.3 First interview outline
Figure 3.4 Second interview outline
Figure 3.5 Stimulated recall outline
Figure 3.6 Follow-up interview outline
Table 3.7 Relationship between raw data sources and research questions
Table 3.8 Codeswitching categories in the current study relating to previous literature
Table 3.9 Interview analysis sheet
Table 3.10 Stimulated recall analysis sheet
Figure 4.1 Categories of codeswitching of Teacher A in Advanced English class
Figure 4.2 Categories of codeswitching of Teacher A in the American Literature class
Table 4.3 Time coding results for Teacher A
Figure 4.4 Categories of codeswitching of Teacher B in the Western Philosophy class
Figure 4.5 Categories of codeswitching of Teacher B in British and American Poetry class
Table 4.6 Time coding results for Teacher B
Figure 4.7 Categories of codeswitching of Teacher C in Advanced English class
Table 4.8 Time coding results for Teacher C
Table 4.9 A comparison between codeswitching categories obtained in
interviews and those in teachers’ talk among Teacher A, B and C

Figure 4.10 Total amount of time used on Chinese in Teacher A’s two classes
Figure 4.11 Total amount of time used on Chinese in Teacher B’s two classes
Figure 4.12 Total amount of time spent speaking Chinese in Teacher C’s class
Table 4.13 Summary of stated motivations for codeswitching across three teachers
Figure 4.14 Comparison of codeswitching categories between Teachers A and C
Figure 4.15 Comparison on total Chinese spoken time between Teachers A and C
Figure 4.16 Comparison of codeswitching categories between Teachers A and B
Figure 4.17 Comparison of total Chinese spoken time between Teachers A and B
Figure 4.18 Comparison of codeswitching categories of Teacher A in two subjects
Figure 4.19 Comparison of time used speaking Chinese in Teacher A’s two classes
Figure 4.20 Comparison of codeswitching categories of Teacher B in two subjects
Figure 4.21 Comparison of time used on Chinese in Teacher B’s two classes
Table 4.22 Summary of factors participants claim to have an impact
Table 5.1 Relationship between codeswitching categories in the current study and sources from previous literature
Table 5.2 Factors affecting codeswitching behaviours from previous literature
Table 5.3 Factors affecting codeswitching behaviours drawn from the current study
Table 5.4 Time coding results for language and content teaching
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DECLARATION

I declare that all the materials contained in this thesis are my own work, and have not been published before. Also, I confirm that this thesis has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

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Xiaozhou Zhou
ABSTRACT

This is an exploratory mixed methods case study which investigates a number of critical issues regarding the teaching and learning of an English Language and Literature Department (henceforth the ELLD) in a Chinese university, including curriculum development, content-based instruction, and teachers’ cultural, professional and disciplinary identities etc.

It originally aimed to examine three university teachers’ codeswitching behaviours. Classroom observation, interview and stimulated recall were employed to collect data for the Phase I of the study. However, analysis of codeswitching categories identified a predominance of extended expositions of Western and Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc., which prompted the follow-up interviews (Phase II) further exploring the relevant issues concerning the disciplinary construction of ELLD in China.

Findings from follow-up interviews suggested that teachers’ classroom practice was influenced by their cultural, professional and disciplinary identities. It also became clear that in the ELLD context, approaching literature, culture and philosophy from both the Chinese and Western perspectives reflected a cross-cultural view of the content-based teaching for the teachers. Moreover it highlighted the current lack of courses on liberal arts and excessive emphasis on English language skills in the national curriculum for the English majors.

This study reveals a fundamental problem of the development of the ELLD in Chinese universities. It is suggested that awareness should be raised of target language use in both skills-based and content-based courses in the EFL context in China. In addition, it recommends further research to explore ways in which the national curriculum might be reformed to reflect the humanities characteristics of ELLD and universities should be given more space and freedom to address their specific requirements within the national curriculum.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. Illustrations of Data Source Code

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T (Teacher)</th>
<th>A/B/C</th>
<th>Abbreviations of Lessons e.g. AE/ WP/ AL/ BAP</th>
<th>Week Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example: TAALW2 – Teacher A, American Literature, Week 2
TBWPW5 – Teacher B, Western Philosophy, Week 5
TCAEW1 – Teacher C, Advanced English, Week 1
TBBAPW4 – Teacher B, British and American Poetry, Week 4

| T (Teacher) | A/B/C | I (Interview) | 1/2/3\(^1\) | : | Line number |
|-------------|-------|--------------|-----------|:|--------------|
|             |       |              |           |   |             |

For example: TAI1: 105 – Teacher A, Interview 1, Line 105
TBI2: 200 – Teacher B, Interview 2, Line 200

2. Other Abbreviations

ELLD – English Language and Literature Department\(^2\)
ELL – English Language and Literature
CLT – Communicative Language Teaching
CBI – Content-Based Instruction
L1 – First language
L2 – Second language
TL – Target Language
ELT – English Language Teaching
EFL – English as a Foreign Language
ESL – English as a Second Language

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\(^1\) The first and second interviews on Communicative Language Teaching approach and codeswitching behaviours respectively were conducted during Phase I of the study. The results of the two follow-up interviews conducted with Teacher A and B during Phase II are integrated and known as the third interview.

\(^2\) The English Language and Literature Department is also referred as English Department on some occasions for the purpose of simplicity.
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

In this small-scale exploratory study involving three university teachers, an investigation of codeswitching serves to prompt an investigation of disciplinary construction in the context of an English department3 in a Chinese university. The research explores links between disciplinary construction, curriculum development, content-based instruction in the Chinese context, intercultural communication in English language education and the impact of teachers’ cultural, professional and disciplinary identities on their classroom practice.

English departments in China exist in different types of universities, including comprehensive universities which offer a wide range of subjects, teachers’ colleges, science and technology oriented universities, and universities focusing on foreign language teaching and learning. Its widespread presence is considered to reflect the prosperous development of English language education in China over the past decades.

Based on the findings from previous literature (Guo, 2007; Gao, 2005; Liu, 2003) and the fact that teachers and students in the English classes in Chinese universities share the same native language and culture, it can be expected that Chinese will inevitably be used in the classes observed. Furthermore in China, where English is learnt as a foreign language, the English teachers speak in class

3 The term “English department” is short for “English Language and Literature Department” (ELLD) and thus these two terms are used interchangeably.
is usually the only source of L2 input students can acquire. Consequently teachers’ language use in class is of particular importance, as it significantly affects students’ L2 learning processes and achievements. Hence research into codeswitching (in this case L1 use in L2 class) provides the opportunity to understand when and why teachers switch to their L2 and to what extent the use of L1 can have an impact on students’ L2 learning.

Two types of courses outlined in the national curriculum are observed in the present study: skills-based courses featuring integrated and individual English language skills, and content-based courses in which western literature, culture, philosophy and history etc. are taught through English as a medium of instruction. Consideration of codeswitching behaviours in content-based courses leads to a discussion of the position of this teaching approach in the Chinese context in the light of the Content-Based Instruction (henceforth CBI) implemented largely in North America and Content Language Integrated Learning (henceforth CLIL) in Europe. It is argued that since content-based teaching has been developed ad hoc in China, it positions itself separately from CBI and CLIL. While it may share a number of similar features with these two approaches, there are good reasons for considering content-based teaching in the Chinese context as an independently developed teaching approach rather than a derivation of CBI or CLIL.
1.1 Original Plan

This study initially targeted university teachers’ codeswitching behaviours in mainland China from a descriptive perspective. It is considered that though there has been abundant research on codeswitching worldwide, especially in America and among European countries, limited research evidence can be found in the Chinese context. Therefore it is hoped that this research is able to make appropriate contributions to research in this area. In addition, lessons which have been looked into when codeswitching is researched are usually skills-based language courses whereas this study features the combination of both skills-based and content-based courses (teaching content through English as a medium of instruction), which represents an original contribution in itself.

It set out to approach codeswitching in the context of Communicative Language Teaching (henceforth CLT). It was expected that with the implementation of CLT in China, spoken L2 CLT) was becoming more of a priority within the field of second language learning and teaching. Limited by practical constraints in the English language teaching environment in China, teachers’ talk still plays an important role in the students’ learning process. As mentioned previously, teachers’ talk in English class involves both Chinese and English. Thus research into codeswitching (L1 use in L2 classes) in the Chinese context can help us to understand the motivations for teachers’ language use.
1.2 Phase I

The research questions designed in response to the above situation thus concentrated only on certain relevant aspects of teachers’ codeswitching behaviours and comparisons between different teachers. Phase I of the study was carried out between September and December, 2009. Three data collection methods were employed: classroom observation (lesson recordings throughout a semester on a weekly basis), interview and stimulated recall. Teachers were interviewed twice: at the beginning and the end of the semester. Stimulated recalls were conducted in the middle of the semester. During these, extracts from lesson recordings were played to the teachers and they were invited to answer questions about their motivations for codeswitching at particular moments in class, in order to investigate their decision-making processes thoroughly.

1.3 Shift of Focus

However, preliminary protocol and interview analysis produced two unexpected results. Firstly, it emerged from the interviews in classroom observations that teachers’ L2 use in class is not influenced by the implementation of CLT in China, as the participants’ personal beliefs regarding teaching are not affected by the principles of CLT. Secondly, in marked contrast to categorisations of codeswitching behaviours in previous studies, the category “lecturing text-related literature/culture/philosophy etc.” accounts for a surprisingly large
proportion of the total teachers’ talk in L1. More importantly, within this
category a considerable amount of switches and time were spent on lecturing
students with knowledge of Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc.

In addition, the quantitative analysis of the observed classes, together with a
preliminary analysis of the interview data, showed that resorting to L1 was
employed more as a deliberate pedagogical strategy rather than as subconscious
behaviour or as a consequence of teachers’ or students’ L2 proficiency. This was
especially the case when L1 (Chinese) was used to provide students with
Chinese literature and culture content, neither of which were included as part of
the syllabus of either language or content courses.

This finding prompted a major shift in the focus of the study. Instead of being an
essentially descriptive project, it became more concerned with identifying and
examining the underlying reasons for the participants’ codeswitching behaviours,
which seemed designed to provide students’ with knowledge of
literature/culture/philosophy etc., especially of Chinese literature/culture/
philosophy. It was hypothesized that the Chinese elements, frequently observed
in both skills-based and content-based courses and not even part of the official
syllabus, reflected the absence of such elements in the curriculum. It could be
argued that since there were no courses on Chinese literature/culture/philosophy
available to the students, the teachers might take it upon themselves to
incorporate this type of knowledge into other courses. Hence it was considered necessary to identify teachers’ own perceptions of the current curriculum.

It was also legitimate to infer that any changes to the curriculum proposed in the light of the above would inevitably involve issues of teacher training, since making courses on Chinese literature/culture/philosophy etc available to students would require more qualified teachers with backgrounds in these subjects. Therefore teacher training was included as an additional topic for discussion in the follow-up interviews.

Furthermore, this particular codeswitching category (lecturing text-related literature/culture/philosophy etc.) was encountered mainly in three content-based courses (American Literature, Western Philosophy and British and American Poetry) taught by two teachers (A and B). In these courses, comments on Western culture, literature, history and philosophy are to be expected. However in introducing content from a Chinese perspective at the same time in an attempt to teach comparatively, teachers were reflecting a different orientation in their teaching, which could be explored in the follow-up interviews.

Lastly, classroom observations revealed that the participants were not traditional English language teachers. In fact, the majority of class time was devoted to
content teaching instead of language teaching. It was thus worthwhile to investigate the teachers’ views on their positions within the academic system. Given that these teachers are all Chinese, and thus they share the same social and cultural backgrounds as the students, this raised the possibility that the decision to lecture Chinese literature/culture/philosophy etc. was to a certain extent influenced by their cultural identity or sense of national identity.

Phase II of the study aimed to explore the four issues mentioned above: curriculum, teacher training, content-based teaching, position and identity.

1.4 Phase II

Considering the findings from the preliminary analysis of data from Phase I and the major shift of focus explained above, more in-depth interviews were required to further obtain participants’ perceptions of 1) their understanding of the current curriculum and the changes that should be made to it; 2) their views on the qualities required of the current teachers and how to develop these qualities; 3) their perceptions of the content-based instruction theory and its application within the Chinese context; 4) their consideration of their position within the system and the impact of their identities on classroom teaching practice.
To this end, another interview schedule was designed for Phase II of the study. The interviews were conducted with all the three participants in November, 2010. There were altogether five interviews – two each with Teacher A and B and one with Teacher C. The results presented in this thesis are derived from the data collected in both phases, with emphasis placed on Phase II.

1.5 Research Questions

The research questions listed below are a combination of questions addressed in both Phase I and II of data collection process. The first set of questions concerning codeswitching focuses on Phase I of the study whereas the second set focuses on Phase II.

1. What are the general codeswitching behaviours of these three teachers?
   1) In what circumstances is codeswitching employed?
   2) Is there any evidence of change or development in the use of codeswitching through the semester?
   3) What are the stated motivations behind their codeswitching behaviours?
   4) To what extent do the three participants differ in their codeswitching behaviours?
   5) What are the possible factors affecting their codeswitching behaviours?

2. 1) What are their perceptions of the current curriculum for undergraduates in the ELLD? What types of changes, if any, would they make to
improve the curriculum?

2) What are their views on the qualities required for the current teachers in their department? What are their suggestions concerning teacher training?

3) What are their perceptions of content-based teaching, its theory and significance as well as its application within the Chinese context?

4) How do they position themselves in the system in terms of their discipline? To what extent do their cultural and disciplinary identities affect their classroom teaching practice?

1.6 Structure of Thesis

The remainder of the thesis falls into five chapters. Chapter 2 provides a general review of the relevant literature. Chapter 3 introduces the research methodology, including the data collection methods and data analysis approaches employed in the current study. Chapter 4 is devoted to research findings and Chapter 5 discusses these findings. This is followed by the final chapter, the conclusion, in which significant findings and the contribution of the study to the research area are reiterated.
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is structured as follows. The first section provides background information concerning the Chinese higher education system and government guidelines on English Language Teaching (henceforth ELT) in China so that the setting of university classrooms in the Chinese EFL context can be better understood.

The second section concentrates on content-based instruction, since the majority of the lessons observed in this study were scheduled content-based classes using English as the medium of instruction. It explains the concept of content-based instruction, traces its development, implementation and reviews literature in this area. The section concludes by emphasising the relationship between codeswitching and content-based instruction.

The last section is devoted to the discussion of teachers’ L1 use in second/foreign language classrooms (codeswitching). Starting with a definition of codeswitching, it then summarises relevant research in this area. Descriptions of types of environments when codeswitching occurs are given, followed by listing the reasons for alternating languages and the intended outcomes of the practice. After examining the academic debate on this issue, the section ends with a review of codeswitching research in China.
2.1 ELT within the Chinese Higher Education System

This section consists of two parts. The first part provides a general background to the Chinese higher education system. The second part focuses on ELT in Chinese universities, with particular emphasis on the context of ELLD where English majors are educated.

2.1.1 General background to the Chinese higher education system

The establishment and development of the modern Chinese higher education system has been viewed mainly as a process of Westernization. Its history can be traced back to the early 1900s when the Japanese higher education system was the example that China was learning from. After 1919, the American model was seen as the system which could be most profitably studied and applied. The foundation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 prompted a massive revolution and renovation on the education system, evidenced by government taking over tertiary institutions subsidized by foreign countries, turning all private schools into public ones, and re-establishing higher education system according to the Soviet Union model (Yang, 2005).

Since the 1950s, due to the urgent needs of rapid social and economic development, the basic characteristic of the Chinese higher education system has been that of a highly centralized, government-controlled educational agenda, responding as accurately as possible to the perceived requirements of national
economic progress and hence focusing on engineering and scientific education while neglecting education in the humanities. Excessive emphasis on certain subjects based on industrial considerations resulted in various problems in the 1980s and provoked an inevitable educational reform (Yang, 2005).

The reform focused on the coalition of small institutions so as to form large-scale universities with comprehensive subjects, significantly expanding recruitment of undergraduates, and providing considerable support and encouragement particularly to highly prestigious universities etc. (Yang, 2005). However the reform did not change the nature of the extremely centralized system of Chinese higher education. In today’s universities, departments design their syllabi according to the curriculum proposed by the Ministry of Education and teachers receive clearly stated lesson contents and objectives for each course from their departments. Teachers are encouraged to be creative in class as long as the lesson objectives are achieved, but the extent to which teachers feel free to modify teaching content and incorporate materials of their own largely depends on different universities and teachers. Owing to a strict assessment system through which students evaluate and judge teachers’ performance at the end of each semester, it can be argued that the majority of the teachers possess very limited autonomy.
2.1.2 ELT in Chinese Universities

English is taught as a foreign language in China at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. English language education at university level can be separated into two types: teaching non-English majors and teaching English majors.

English is a compulsory course for all university students and every non-English major has to attend a course on a weekly basis for the first two years of their college studies. University/college English language teaching has been undergoing a process of reform since 2003 when “College English Curriculum (on trial)” was first established and pilot reform was implemented in selected universities (“Publishing College English”, 2004). It was not until in 2006 that the formal booklet of “College English Curriculum” was published and every university/college was informed by the Ministry of Education that reform was now mandatory, based on requirements set out in this booklet (“The Notice On”, 2006).

It is stated in the “College English Curriculum” that college English education aims to cultivate non-English majors’ ability to apply English in use comprehensively. Given the consideration that English higher education has been unevenly developed in different areas in China, three levels of curriculum are recommended. Among all three levels, the abilities of listening comprehension, oral expression, reading comprehension, writing, translation and
a certain command of vocabulary are proposed as the main teaching outcomes. More importantly, in contrast to the previous curriculum, it puts particular emphasis on the training of students’ listening and speaking abilities, which is also reflected in the new guidelines for two national English language tests for non-English majors (CET Band 4 and Band 6) (“The Ministry of Education”, 2007).

Since the current research sets its field site in an ELLD where the students are regarded as English majors, the main focus of this section concerning ELT in Chinese universities is on the introduction and description of the history and development of the English Department as well as its particular curriculum set by the Ministry of Education.

2.1.2.1 The history of ELLD in Chinese universities and national curriculum

English as a major has developed to a point where it is no longer a homogeneous course but rather as a comprehensive collection of different types of courses taken throughout the four years of college study. Before the founding of The People’s Republic of China in 1949, the education system of Western countries such as the UK and America was adopted by foreign language faculties in China. Within this system, students’ knowledge and ability to appreciate English and American literature were emphasized and graduates were expected to become experts in teaching and researching foreign literature. The courses available to
students were literature-based and there were no separate courses designed to improve language skills: listening, speaking, reading, writing and translation. At that time, the ELLD positioned itself principally as the English Literature Department which was very similar to the English Literature Departments in Western countries (Dai and Hu, 2009). However after 1949, the Ministry of Education modified the higher education system, encouraging universities to learn from those in the former Soviet Union, which resulted in the advocacy of Russian language education and hence the marginalization of English education in China (Zhang and Dai, 2010; Dai and Hu, 2009).

In a protocol addressing the curriculum for higher education published in 1950, it was stated that the task for foreign language departments was to train students to become fluent foreign language users with a mastery of translation between foreign languages and Chinese so that they would become translators, teachers and experts in foreign literature (Zhang and Dai, 2010). There was a distinct shift from the more literature-based teaching model as practised in the UK and America to the skills-oriented Soviet Union mode. It was argued that the Soviet Union model included too many compulsory courses which allowed little time for students to read extensively and work on their own (Zhang and Dai, 2010). The Soviet Union model highlighted the importance of skills training in foreign language education and particularly stressed the four basic skills. This model was still being employed in the mid 1980s. During that time the old English
Literature Department was changed into ELLD, as it is now. In this department, apart from skills-based courses, students also follow content courses such as literature, linguistics and overviews of English-speaking countries (He, 2003; Fu, 1986; Jin, 2010).

English language education in China was to a large extent suspended during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1977). Following the 1978 Reform known as “Opening-up”, ELT regained its importance within the field of education and over the past thirty years has been subject to constant restructuring and undergone numerous transformations (He et al, 2008). In 1979 a trial teaching plan for English departments in higher education was implemented. This trial plan reflected the variations in terms of course type and duration for English majors in three different types of universities: foreign language universities, English departments in comprehensive universities and teachers colleges. A guideline for English majors in universities specializing in science and technology was established soon afterwards (Zhang and Dai, 2010). It is clear from this that ELLDs in different types of universities with different levels of English majors had been given careful consideration. Based on the different levels and academic objectives, teaching plans and arrangements were tailored to the needs of specific university sectors. Nevertheless this consideration was not reflected in the national curriculum published later and is not in evidence in any official curriculum currently being implemented.
The first official national curriculum for English majors came into being in 1988. This only outlined the curriculum for English majors in the basic phase. The curriculum for the advanced phase was not established until 1990 (Dai and Zhang, 2007). These two curricula prioritized the English language levels students were expected to achieve at the end of the two phases, which led to the emergence of the national tests for English majors (TEM 4 and TEM 8).

The second and most recent “Curriculum for English Majors” (known as the “new guideline”) which came into existence in 2000 combines the two phases of learning and states that the purpose of educating English majors is to cultivate them as intellectuals with not only solid English language skills but also extensive cultural knowledge. In the meantime they are expected to be capable of applying English language proficiently in translation, administration and research in the areas of foreign affairs, education, economy and trade, culture, science, and the military, as required by the social and economic world of the 21st century. The aim is to produce interdisciplinary intellectuals (Teaching and Research Group of English High Education in China, 2000).

Although on the surface it appears that the new curriculum embodies the whole period of four-year-learning for English majors, it essentially divides study for English majors into two phases, as seen in the previous curriculum. Phase 1 regulates the first two years of study when students receive basic English
language skills in a systematic and rigid process. Teachers focus on improving students’ L2 performance in practical situations so as to help them prepare for their study in the third and fourth year. Phase 2 concentrates on further increasing students’ L2 proficiency and expanding their knowledge by introducing courses from relevant subjects in English (Teaching and Research Group of English High Education in China, 2000).

The current curriculum outlines three types of courses. First of all, English language skills courses including listening, speaking, writing, reading, translating and interpreting. Secondly, courses on English linguistics, culture and literature concerning English vocabulary, English grammar, English stylistics, English and American literature, Western culture etc. Lastly, courses from other areas relevant to English teaching and learning in China, such as diplomacy, law, economics, management, education, media etc. In general, all the courses of above three types are expected to be taught in English (Teaching and Research Group of English High Education in China, 2000).

2.1.2.2 Current problems in the development of ELLDs and the prospects of discipline construction

The publishing and implementation of the current curriculum triggered heated debate over the prospects of ELLDs including the development of curriculum among academics in this type of department.
The goal of cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals was questioned. It can be argued that the curriculum delayed delivering the message from central government to the universities, as the idea of cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals had been attempted by a number of leading foreign language universities for almost 15 years before the curriculum was published. The late 1980s and the decade of 1990s witnessed China’s rapid economic development and reform, which prompted the need for intellectuals with competence in English language and knowledge of other subjects. Therefore, new subjects such as Media Studies, International Economics and Trade, Business Administration, Law, and Marketing were added to the curriculum (Hu and Sun, 2006). The curriculum confirmed and documented this goal for the first time. It was pursued by teaching the subjects from relevant areas to English Language and Literature (henceforth ELL).

However, even though it is understood that the market is in need of interdisciplinary intellectuals, Liu (1996) worries that the efforts made to achieve this goal are likely to weaken the characteristics of ELL as a discipline in the humanities area. Wang (2001) also points out that the ELLD belongs to humanities. The core of this discipline is English language, literature and culture. A research project conducted by a university on the issue of the relationship between China joining the WTO and the development and discipline construction of ELL reveals that cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals is a
response to the needs of the job market but in fact is unbalancing the status of ELL as a discipline and is blurring the boundaries between English and non-English majors (“Joining WTO and Foreign Language Education” Team, 2001). Zhou and Fan (2010) consider that the idea of interdisciplinary intellectuals creates an illusion for students, who may believe they can become experts in such relevant areas by taking these courses. Meanwhile the courses in English language skills, literature and culture are neglected. In the end, it is unlikely that such courses will be able to accommodate both elements successfully.

On the other hand, the results of cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals for over 20 years suggest that in those universities where this objective was firstly trialled, the subjects such as Media Studies, Law, and Management etc. which initially existed within the ELLD have now developed into independent departments. The graduates from these departments are not regarded as interdisciplinary intellectuals but intellectuals with their own specialties or intellectuals with enhanced English skills. Additionally, universities which retain interdisciplinary subjects such as Law and English, Tourism and English within the ELLD are experiencing the hardship of lacking qualified teachers who can teach other subjects thoroughly in English. These ELLDs are proving incapable of competing with either traditional ELLDs or other relevant disciplines in terms of teaching and researching (Hu and Sun, 2006).
In fact, cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals was a reaction to the criticism that the ELLD was becoming no more than a language centre which focused only on improving students’ English language skills. This tendency and resultant criticism is to a certain extent caused by the departmental organisation of the Chinese universities. According to the departmental organisation of universities in England, generally speaking, modern languages departments belong to the Faculty of Arts and Humanities which exists alongside the Faculty of Social Sciences and Faculty of Natural Sciences etc. In addition, there are other organisations providing services to the entire university such as the Study Skills Centre and Language Centre. However in Chinese universities, there is no Language Centre which offers additional English language support for students in need. Consequently English departments have been mistaken by other departments as language centres in which students’ English language skills are improved. English majors have been mistakenly regarded as students equipped with English proficiency who can provide English as a service to other industries (Wang 2001). This utilitarian point of view was due to the fact that after the founding of the P.R.C. there was an urgent need for individuals with English skills to support the economic development of the country. The former Soviet Union had set the example of educating foreign language intellectuals. As a result the target of ELLDs at that time was determined by the need to export graduates skilled only in the use of English (Huang, 2010). ELL as a discipline was thus regarded as merely a “tool”. It was argued that the resulting
excessive emphasis on language skills training at the expense of discipline nurturing broadened the gap between English majors and graduates from other humanities areas in terms of the structure of knowledge, profundity of thinking and analytical abilities (Wang, 2001; Liu, 2000). In short, there is a view that specialising in English as a discipline has long been neglected and that English departments should not be downgraded to being mere providers of English language skills (Hu, 2002). ELL as a discipline should not only be studied and mastered as knowledge but also be researched, which is the basis for distinguishing between ELLDs in universities and independent language centres (Zheng, 2006). The accomplishment of studying in an ELLD is not limited to the enhancement of the ability to communicate in English but more of the expanding of ideation, the restructuring of social and moral value and reconfiguration of personality (Zhang, 2004).

Since both approaches (skill training and interdisciplinary intellectuals) proved to be unsuitable for the development of ELLD, the core issue that has emerged is the direction that should be taken next in order to improve the prospects of discipline construction for English departments. Hu and Sun (2006) suggest that ELLD should return to the humanities area and be devoted to cultivating liberal-arts-oriented English intellectuals⁴. This type of intellectual is equipped

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⁴ Hu and Sun (2006) do not disregard the goal of cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals completely. They believe that if time and situation permit, cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals should be put into action. However this burden should not fall on English departments. It can be achieved by selective courses among different faculties in the university or a double major degree.
with proficient English language skills, a wide scope of knowledge of humanities and other aspects, critical thinking ability, creativity, social responsibility and the ability to quickly fit into any type of profession. Universities with highly qualified teachers and high-entry-level students can also consider cultivating English elite students who are able to serve as advanced translators, intellectuals in diplomacy, foreign affairs, cross-cultural communications, as well as potential candidates for postgraduate programmes. The return of the humanities is theoretically and practically supported by the successful education on humanities in the liberal arts colleges in America and Canada (Hu and Sun, 2006).

Dai and Zhang (2007) agree with the above suggestion and argue that educating liberal-arts-oriented English intellectuals does not contradict the aim of cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals but actually surpasses it and demands a higher level of achievement. It stresses the combination of language skills, knowledge and ability, aiming to foster social elites. The need to acknowledge English as one of the humanities disciplines and the call to introduce liberal arts subjects to the current curriculum has been echoed by various scholars (Zheng, 2006; Wang, 2001; He, 2003; Zhang, 2003; Huang, 2010).

English majors have long been criticized for lacking critical thinking skills (Wen et al, 2010). Compared to students in other humanities divisions, English majors
have manifested an inability to analyse, synthesise, judge, reason and
differentiate (Huang, 2010). Research has shown that in contrast to students
from other humanities disciplines, four years of university education slows
down the improvement in critical thinking skills for English majors, which is
due to the fact that in the process of learning a second language, imitation,
memorisation and repetition have been required learning techniques.
Consequently it is unlikely for them to have many opportunities to develop
critical thinking skills (Wen et al, 2010). To this end, it is hoped by these
scholars that directing English departments towards humanities by including
liberal arts education in the current curriculum would prevent English majors
from being viewed as English language “tools” with a certain amount of
knowledge of some aspects of language but with limited independent thinking,
analytical and reasoning abilities.

The change of direction in discipline construction will inevitably lead to a
change in the curriculum. Hu and Sun (2006) suggest that the ELLD needs to
first establish the dominant status of English and American Literature,
Linguistics and Studies of English-Speaking-Countries (including cross-cultural
studies) and then in order to expand to the territory of humanities, a series of
quality courses on liberal arts taught in English should be added, such as
British/American History, Contemporary British/American/Australian/Canadian
Society and Culture, Western Civilisation History, Classics of Western
Civilisation, Western Philosophy, World History, An Overview of World Religions, Bible and Western Culture, The Theory and Method of Culture Research, and Comparison on Western and Chinese Culture. Zheng (2006) recommends that liberal arts curriculum be introduced from the first year of university learning and be studied together with the skill courses. Huang (2010) advocates a thorough reform of the current curriculum by extensively reducing the number of skill courses and increasing the number of content ones so that English learning is accomplished through studying content courses such as linguistics, literature, European and American culture, philosophy and sociology. Jin (2010) is a pioneering and empirical research study which attempts to reform the curriculum by involving training on humanities disciplines. Jin believes that English language skills are the basis for students in English departments. However the ultimate objective is to understand the literature, history, society, politics, culture and spirit through the language. Cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals emphasizes the practicality of English language as a tool but marginalizes the essence of this discipline which belongs to the humanities area (Zhang, 2008; Lan, 2009). Humanities education is not useless, as some people would think. Instead it teaches students how to read, to analyse, to think and to construct convincing arguments (Xue, 2006) and transferrable skills that will be of significant help to them as they enter society (Askew, 2007). In Xue (2006), it is noted how first of all, skills courses for advanced learners (students in their third- and fourth-year) were abolished. Secondly five different directions
(English language and literature, Studies on society and culture, International politics and economics, Translation studies and International journalism and mass communication) were established for advanced learners and 58 optional courses were added to the directions, which have been well received by the students.

The curriculum aside, teaching methods are also in need of change so as to accommodate the liberal arts curriculum. It is suggested that skill and content courses should not necessarily be treated separately. Knowledge of humanities should be considered in the process of material selection and classroom teaching for skill courses. In fact, skill training can be added to humanities content courses too (Hu and Sun, 2006). Wang (2001) emphasizes that the teacher’s task includes helping students understand the meaning of the texts but more importantly helping them understand, discuss and analyse the culture behind the texts. Students are expected to be capable of having a critical approach to culture on a superficial level as well as speculating about more deep-seated cultural questions. In Jin (2010) optional courses for advanced learners are divided into lectures and seminars. The seminar class size is limited to 26 people so that more opportunities are provided for students to discuss their thoughts and opinions in English. Huang (2010) encourages students to realise the importance of self-learning and to increase knowledge, skills and thinking abilities through the learning mode of “reading-discussing-writing”.

32
It can be predicted that a humanities-oriented or liberal arts curriculum requires more qualified teachers who are able to teach the newly supplemented courses. However it is generally accepted that most of the teachers in English departments do not possess an educational background in humanities. Hu and Sun (2006) recommend looking for potential candidates from students graduating from overseas universities with a doctoral degree in humanities who used to be English majors as undergraduates. He et al (2008) suggest sending teachers to study in English-speaking-countries on a regular basis and meanwhile organising research groups and seminars to guide and supervise teachers in teaching and researching. Zheng (2006) believes that other disciplines should be taught in English by teachers from ELLDs rather than inviting teachers from other relevant departments to teach in Chinese. Thus ELLDs could select teachers and send them to attend training courses in other departments. Alternatively, two teachers from different departments could cooperate in teaching one course. It can be argued that cultivating potential teachers from existing undergraduates seems more practical and effective than the other options, though it is expected to be a long-term-project since the undergraduates require at least four years to complete their master’s and doctoral degrees before they can become qualified university teachers. However the number of teachers eligible to study abroad is limited by the funding of the university and the government. Furthermore, teachers who are entitled to study in an English-speaking-country normally stay for no more than one year which
is insufficient time to gain the essential knowledge and abilities to teach a new subject after returning to China, especially when the teacher has no educational background in the subject. It is also doubtful as to what extent research groups can be helpful to teachers in developing specialties. Additional obstacles could be encountered trying to coordinate and deliver a course taught by two teachers from different departments.

There is one aspect in the development of ELLD that deserves serious attention: the absence of a cultural element. The cultural element refers to knowledge about Western culture as well as about Chinese culture. Ideally students are expected to master both in order to communicate cross-culturally. In reality, most of the learners passively receive knowledge about Western culture but are incapable of actively and effectively exporting Chinese culture (Xiao et al, 2010). This phenomenon is known as the “aphasia of Chinese culture”. It is caused by inadequate knowledge of Chinese culture per se and a failure to express Chinese cultural contents in English (Cong, 2000; Zhang and Zhu, 2002). The research findings of Xiao et al (2010) reveal that both students’ and their teachers’ knowledge of Chinese culture and their ability to express Chinese culture in English are unsatisfactory. Zhang (2006) also criticizes the English majors for not being able to “communicate effectively through lack of knowledge and cultural literacy that are prerequisite for an intelligent discussion of any subject in depth” (Zhang, 2006:249). Furthermore he points out that
many graduates from English departments are not sufficiently equipped to deliver intercultural communication because they do not gain enough knowledge of Chinese literature and culture, particularly the classical tradition, when they are in universities: without a good understanding of one’s own culture, the possibilities of comparison and exchange with other cultures cannot be explored. Zhang (2003) is convinced that when English majors have a certain amount of knowledge about the culture in English-speaking countries, they should seek to understand Chinese culture and civilisation as well, so that they are able to anticipate the agreement or conflicts when two cultures meet and to communicate effectively on a cross-cultural level. Based on the importance of cultural elements in the discipline construction of ELL as well as the rapid development of cross-cultural communication research worldwide, Sun and Jin (2010) consider that culture should be regarded as a direction within this discipline which enjoys the same importance as linguistics and literature. Courses available that could contribute to the development of this could be Chinese tradition in the contemporary world, Heritage of Western intellectual tradition, Introduction to cross-cultural communication, Comparison on Chinese and Western culture, Studies on language and culture etc.

In summary, this section has introduced the Chinese higher education system, described the situation of ELT in Chinese universities, identified the problems existing in the ELLD and addressed the solutions raised by previous literature.
The problems noted in this section have also been stressed by the participants in the current study. They will thus be further explored and discussed in the Findings and Discussion chapters. Since most of the lessons observed in this study are content-based courses which aim to teach subject knowledge using English as a medium of instruction, it is considered essential that a literature review of content-based instruction should be provided.

### 2.2 Content-Based Instruction (CBI)

This section investigates the various aspects of content-based instruction such as its definition, development, implementation, difficulties in implementation and the relevant literature. It also associates research on CBI with codeswitching, providing research evidence of codeswitching in content-based courses. It concludes with an overview of CBI in China, providing insights into the implementation of CBI in Chinese universities.

#### 2.2.1 Definition of CBI

It is generally accepted that language is most effectively learnt in context. In fact, “contextualizing” lesson presentations has become a broadly accepted tenet of good language teaching. In the area of second language teaching and learning, content-based instruction chiefly consists of presenting new L2 items in a meaningful context. Through studying authentic materials, content is mastered and incidental L2 acquisition is also achieved (Brinton et al, 2003).
Thus, the content-based language teaching approach can be defined as the “integration of particular content with language-teaching aims” (Brinton et al, 2003:2). It focuses on helping students acquire information via the second language. Meanwhile their academic language skills are developed. The main goal is the transfer and application of these acquired language skills to their other courses delivered in the second language (Brinton et al, 2003).

2.2.2 The Development of CBI

Content-based instruction has been used in language learning context since the early 1970s but it was not until the late 1980s that it started to gain popularity and become more widely accepted (Grabe and Stoller, 1997). Though content-based language instruction is a relatively recent movement, learning a second language through meaningful exposure has a long history of support. “Language study in school was long considered to be training in mental discipline, as well as a key to foreign literature and cultures for the educated classes” (Brinton et al, 2003:4). Such an attitude still persists in the English departments of many Chinese universities. As discussed in the previous section, ELL as a discipline has been perceived as being a mere centre for providing language services to support other fields. English departments should rightly be considered as valid providers of a humanities discipline. To this end, literature and culture, not just language, should be emphasised in order to equip the
students with content knowledge. This would enlighten and cultivate students in terms of critical thinking, analytical reasoning and speculative ability.

A different term is used to refer to CBI in the European bilingual and immersion education context – CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). CLIL is prioritized by the European Commission as an approach for learning content through an additional language. It shares some features with CBI but its distinctiveness in essence lies in an integrated approach in which both language and content serve as the objectives of the programme with no particular preference for either side (Coyle, 2007).

2.2.3 Implementation of CBI

Content-based instruction can be a very effective first and second language teaching method. Three examples of content-based instruction implemented in classroom settings are language across the curriculum, language for specific purposes and immersion education. In addition, other content-oriented teaching models have been adopted in second language education recently, such as theme-based language instruction, sheltered content instruction and adjunct language instruction (Snow and Brinton, 1997; Brinton et al, 2003). In theme-based language courses, particular selected topics form the backbone of the course curriculum. The topic is not restricted to a single activity in class. Instead it can be presented through reading, listening, speaking and writing so
that students are exposed to the topic-related vocabulary continuously. In sheltered courses, content is taught in the second language to a separate group of students by a content area specialist. This differs from the theme-based model in that it aims to help students master the content, while theme-based instruction targets the development of L2 competence within specific topic areas. As for the adjunct model, students are enrolled in two linked courses (language course and content course) coordinated in content delivered and assignments given. In this model, L2 competence and content mastery are equally assessed as objectives of the curriculum (Brinton et al, 2003).

Among the content-based instruction models listed above, no single example particularly and precisely conforms to the curriculum set out for the English majors in Chinese universities as explained in the previous chapter. However the adjunct model seems to share the most characteristics. One obvious difference between these two models lies in the fact that in adjunct model, students receive language and content courses at the same time whereas in the Chinese model, language courses are suggested for the first and second years of college and content courses are only introduced to students when they move to their third and fourth-year-study and have had a comprehensive mastery of L2 language skills. It can also be argued that the Chinese model functions as an ongoing project: it moves from the theme-based model where the language class is structured around topics or themes to the sheltered content model, where content
is the only focus of the curriculum. However, as pointed out in the introduction to the previous section, content-based instruction in China has developed ad hoc without basing itself on any particular model. To respond to the request of “teaching content-based courses through English as a medium of instruction” in the national teaching guideline, the practitioners justify it as being theoretically supported by the content-based instruction and conduct research studies to apply this theory to curriculum making and classroom teaching. Within these research studies, the content-based instruction employed differs from the theme-based model in that it does not involve building topics in the curriculum to target students’ L2 competence in particular. It also differs from the sheltered model in that it is not taught by a content specialist but a language teacher with limited knowledge and education background in that subject. Therefore content-based instruction in its Chinese version can be considered as a derivative of the Western CBI.

2.2.4 Difficulties in implementation of CBI

When designing and implementing a content-based course, logistical difficulties such as programme design, student population, staff development, and programme evaluation are inevitable. The table below summarises the respective practical factors that have to be considered in advance. (Brinton et al, 2003).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme Design</th>
<th>Student Population</th>
<th>Staff Development</th>
<th>Programme Evaluation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In which order programme changes are made</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Adequate trained instructors</td>
<td>Student achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predetermined curricular objectives</td>
<td>Proficiency level</td>
<td>Incentives offered to voluntarily teach</td>
<td>Student attitudes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Primary objectives (language or content)</td>
<td>Student needs and goals</td>
<td>Orientation to new model</td>
<td>Student language use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current scheduling configuration</td>
<td>Educational background</td>
<td>Balance of language and content teaching</td>
<td>Cost-benefit vs. alternative programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequate planning time</td>
<td>Prior experience/background in content area</td>
<td>Roles of the teacher (facilitator, content area expert, or language expert?)</td>
<td>Appropriateness and feasibility of original objectives</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Motivation level</td>
<td>Selecting teaching materials</td>
<td>Effectiveness of teaching staff</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Alternate staffing configurations</td>
<td>Quality of curriculum and materials</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Practical factors to be considered when implementing CBI

The process of implementing a content-based English course in The Social Science English Language Centre (SSLEC)\(^5\) in China involves several of the considerations illustrated above (Brinton et al, 2003). Critical issues such as

\(^5\) This was a joint 5-year-programme by Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS) and Applied Linguistics at UCLA. It aimed to provide English language instruction to scholars associated with the CASS to improve their English language proficiency.
content course selection and staff development are of great relevance to the content-based curriculum in the current research setting. Such issues have been addressed in the literature on implementing content-based instruction in the Chinese context in the previous section. Firstly, in the SSLEC programme, four courses within the area of social science are selected, together with other adjunct courses. However there is a wide range of academic fields within social science and students specializing in their individual fields are unlikely to spend time learning irrelevant subject matter. It is a difficult and complex task to address the needs and interests of every student in terms of topic selection. This problematic issue can also be encountered in the present research site (The Sun University). English majors at this university are required to attend content-based courses in their third and fourth years of study, according to national curriculum requirements. Content courses closely related to English language learning such as English and American literature/society/culture, and general English linguistics (set as the second type of curriculum in the previous section) may be of interest to the majority of the students. Other content subjects suggested by the national curriculum requirements such as diplomacy, laws, economy, management, education, media seem to be of little relevance to the studies of ELL but it is considered that knowledge of these subjects will facilitate students’ job seeking process in the current Chinese social and economic climate. However it can be argued that these courses may only attract small groups of students, which could result in low interest and low attendance.
Secondly, the SSLEC programme revealed that more intensive and better preparation before undertaking teaching assignments is essential and crucial (Brinton et al, 2003), since teachers who have never taken part in content-based course teaching often find it hard to define and achieve the integration of language and content. Lack of qualified teaching staff and a teacher training system is also a problem in Sun University, where English language teachers have little experience of content teaching and little knowledge of the content subject area. Specialists in a particular content subject are unlikely to be able to conduct the class in English. Literature cited in the previous section has also noted this critical issue of lacking qualified content teachers. Various suggestions on teacher training programmes have been made, such as cultivating potential undergraduates and supporting them as they study towards a doctoral degree in one content area, sending teachers to English-speaking countries for short-term visits, and attracting candidates with excellent English competence as well as background in content areas to teach in the English departments. In this SSLEC programme, it is suggested that teachers should receive formal training in content-based instruction including in-depth discussions of the general theoretical principles of content teaching and specific applications to the selected context. It can be argued that understanding the principles and implementation of content-based instruction only forms one part of successful content teaching whereas knowledge and teaching experience in particular subjects is more crucial.
2.2.5 Literature on CBI

Most of the research studies on content-based instruction in second language education tend to focus on topics such as syllabus design, selecting and integrating authentic materials, adapting different models, programme assessment etc. (Turner, 1997; Eskey, 1997; Gianelli, 1997; Iancu, 1997; Rosen and Sasser, 1997; Kasper, 1997). The changing role of language teachers in the process of implementing content-based instruction has not been addressed frequently in the literature, especially in the EFL context.

Freeman (1989) indicates that the constituents of knowledge, skills and attitude, combined with a superior component to awareness, act as the target competency with which content-based teachers are supposed to be equipped. Within “skills”, it is pointed out that one of the most important micro skills for ESL teachers is the ability to adapt their speech in order to make it comprehensible for non-native speakers (Freeman, 1989). However since it is assumed that ESL teachers do not share the same first language as the students, codeswitching will not be an issue with regard to modifying input. Thus it is not mentioned in Freeman’s theory. Yet it can still be argued that if teachers are non-native speakers, in the process of rendering comprehensible input, they would resort to L1 for quick and easy explanation rather than wasting time on transferring sophisticated English to simplified versions, provided that content, not language, is the objective of the course.
Murphey (1996) implemented content-based instruction in a Japanese university. In the study, lack of content teachers who could teach in the target language was a critical issue. Enthusiastic teachers who used to be merely English language teachers were given the freedom to choose the content area in which to some degree they had practical and academic expertise. Even though teachers may already be teaching content through the target language, making the content area comprehensible is still the hardest task for most of the teachers. This results in two clear patterns of behaviour: over-explaining isolated language points in order to make their language understood by students, or not adjusting their language use but only concentrating on delivering content. Nonetheless the author does not mention the solution to this problem. It can be argued that since both the mastery of content and language improvement are the objectives, over-emphasis on either part will undermine the essence of content-based instruction. Solving this problem can be achieved by using materials which are authentic and level-appropriate. The teacher is thus freer to focus on content and context.

Dupuy (2008) suggests using content-based instruction as a strategy to facilitate an easy transition for students from beginner to advanced foreign language classes. It is claimed that the reason content-based instruction for college EFL programmes failed to a large extent is due to the fact that immersion is only effective with young learners: immersion works when young learners have many
contact hours daily in the target language; and most importantly, students must be fluent in L2 before they study the content. Therefore “a content-based sequence can serve as a liaison between courses that are more language-focused in the first-year curriculum and more content-focused in the third and fourth years, and thus provide better articulation and retention in the undergraduate foreign language curriculum because students feel better equipped to tackle the material” (Dupuy, 2008:219). A practical application of this proposition can be observed in the content-based programme for English majors in China as outlined in the curriculum. Content-based courses such as English literature, culture, and linguistics are introduced to students in their third and fourth years of study, by which time they have mastered a comprehensive range of English language skills through intensive language training during the first two years.

2.2.6 Research on CBI and codeswitching

Several research studies bridge the gap between codeswitching and content-based teaching. Some concentrate on learners’ codeswitching behaviours, such as Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain (2005), whereas others pay attention to codeswitching of non-native teachers (Butzkamm, 1998; Faltis, 1996; Probyn, 2001).

Butzkamm (1998) investigates the function of teacher’s codeswitching behaviours in a bilingual history lesson where the mother tongue is German and
L2 is English. In this context, history is taught via the second language English. Analysis takes the form of studying the transcriptions of the class and the results suggest that the L1 can serve as “a learning aid to enhance communicative competence in the foreign language” (Butzkamm, 1998:87), provided that there are only brief episodes of switching. It also claims that codeswitching can be used as an effective short-cut in terms of communication as well as in language practice and that focusing on language for a short period of time without cutting off the flow of the lesson is the art of teaching and achieving the objectives of both language and content mastery.

Faltis (1996) concerns content teaching within bilingual education in a middle school in America. Two teachers, who used to employ merely concurrent translation from English (L2) to Spanish (L1) to enhance student comprehension, after receiving training, showed better understanding of the actual meaning of bilingual teaching and have been able to incorporate language distribution considerations into lesson plans.

Novotná and Hofmannová (2005) focus on teacher training for CLIL in the Czech Republic. The authors are determined to find optimal methods and strategies for teachers who teach mathematics in English to Czech students. With regard to teachers’ language use in CLIL class, the point is made that “CLIL teachers should therefore have a good command of the target language
and resort to the learners’ mother tongue with care. For learners, however, codeswitching is a natural communication strategy, and teachers should allow it, particularly in the first stages of CLIL” (Novotná and Hofmannová, 2005:2). It is argued that teachers should aim to help students scaffold themselves in the process of achieving mathematical competence and that in order to achieve incidental language learning, teachers will have to have a flexible approach to the language of instruction.

Probyn (2001) explores teachers’ perceptions and practice as they teach content-based courses through English as a medium of instruction in South Africa. This qualitative study involves five secondary school teachers who teach history, business economics, science, accounting and mathematics respectively. Videotaped lessons and interviews reflect the fact that codeswitching is being employed as an effective strategy in order to achieve a number of communicative and metalinguistic goals. Teachers switch to their first language “to further students’ understanding, to emphasise points, to prompt and probe, to support or scaffold students’ responses” (Probyn, 2001:263). They also resort to L1 to check comprehension, maintain contact with students, discipline them and for affective reasons too. Despite a wide range of objectives accomplished through codeswitching, guilt is expressed by teachers who feel they are not supposed to use L1 in these classes.
It is generally acknowledged that the essence of content-based instruction requires teaching subject knowledge to L2 learners in the second language. It can be achieved in settings where teachers do not share the same native language as the students. However in situations in the research studies cited above, when content teachers come from the same language and cultural background as the students, codeswitching in class seems inevitable. Also in an EFL context such as that in China where usually both teacher and students are non-native speakers of English living in a monolingual Chinese environment, it is to be expected that teaching content requires the teacher to be equipped with much higher English language proficiency than language teaching skills, so that students can learn the content through first understanding the language. It is very difficult indeed for a non-native teacher to conduct an English class entirely in the target language even in language skill courses, let alone in a content-based class. The teacher is more likely to resort to the first language (shared with students) in a content-based class when he or she encounters difficulty in expressing the content clearly in English. The majority of the lessons observed in the current study are content-based courses and to this end it is necessary to understand briefly the implementation of CBI in the Chinese context.

2.2.7 CBI in China

As mentioned in the previous section, the curriculum for English departments requires more content-based courses from a wide range of subjects be added to
the curriculum and these courses to be taught in English. It is thus considered that the curriculum encourages “teaching content-based courses through English as a medium of instruction” and this seemingly new teaching approach has been advocated by some who justify it as being theoretically supported by the Content-Based Instruction from the West (Larsen-Freeman, 2000; Richards & Rogers, 2001). Others who raise doubts over its efficacy are worried that teachers in English departments are currently not competent to teach content-based courses in subjects in which they themselves have no educational background. However, teachers who are qualified to teach those subjects from other relevant areas are unlikely to possess a sufficient command of English to conduct the class in L2 (Chang, 2007).

Previous research studies have set out to put the theory of CBI into practice by teaching content-based courses in English to undergraduates in ELLD (Chang, 2007; Chang et al, 2008; Chang and Zhao, 2010). The content courses newly included in the curriculum include those closely related to the discipline of ELL such as History and Culture of Britain/America/Australia, European Civilisation, Chinese Culture, Cross-cultural Communications, and Bible Studies and also subjects distantly related to the discipline such as economics, media, law etc. The findings provide evidence for the claim that teaching content-based courses in English is plausible and effective. It does not weaken the acquisition of students’ English language skills. Furthermore it helps expand the scope of their
knowledge. The current research aims to explore how content-based instruction can be improved in the Chinese context in light of the curriculum making through beginning with examining teachers’ codeswitching behaviours in content-based courses.

Chang (2007) conducted a qualitative study concerning the impact of teaching content-based courses through English as a medium of instruction in the English department of a university in China. In this study, the content-based courses were from disciplines such as diplomacy, law, management, journalism, education etc. Semi-structured interviews, group interviews and an email online survey were employed. The subjects were teachers, students and administrative staff from the English department. The findings show that this approach has both advantages and disadvantages. It helps raise students’ interest, expand their vocabulary, and improve their ability to think in English, in order to facilitate more effective job hunting. On the other hand, it may reduce students’ time for studying other courses and a superficial understanding of one course due to insufficient teaching time could result in students’ misunderstanding towards one area. Nonetheless, the biggest concern remains the lack of qualified teachers. In addition, limited time for content-based course teaching, large-sized classrooms, inadequate resources in libraries and methods for assessment are also problem areas.
Chang et al (2008) discuss the possibility of implementing content-based instruction with English majors in their first- and second-year (basic learners). The authors draw attention to the overwhelming number and duration of skills-based courses for basic learners and the complete segregation of skills-based and content-based courses. This leads to a lack of student interest and the failure to achieve mastery of English language skills and content knowledge simultaneously. Therefore it suggests adjusting the curriculum for English majors and introducing content-based courses to basic learners (instead of waiting till they reach the third year as the curriculum recommends). It argues that replacing some skill courses with content-based ones will not weaken the training in language skills, because content-based instruction combines the learning of language and content and creates favourable conditions for the acquisition of both. Chang et al (2008) trace the roots of CBI back to the late 20th century when content-based instruction was first introduced experimentally in English teaching in Chinese schools, and highlights the successful application of CBI in American and Canada. Having surveyed English teachers and majors in China, the study concludes that the majority of the participants consider that it is both necessary and feasible to teach content courses in English to English majors.

Chang and Zhao (2010) report the findings of a project researching the implementation of a curriculum for first- and second-year English majors which
integrates content and language. This curriculum combines content courses (such as British/American history and culture, Chinese culture and Cross-cultural communication) with existing language skill courses (such as English listening, speaking, writing and grammar). Questionnaires were distributed to 130 undergraduate students from the ELLD in a university in June, 2009. Questions were designed to elicit views about four issues: 1) the extent to which students felt these new courses were necessary or difficult and the extent to which they were interested in them and felt they had obtained knowledge from them; 2) suggestions about the newly-added courses; 3) courses that students believed should be abolished; 4) courses they believed should be supplemented. Students were also tested on listening, grammar, vocabulary, reading, writing and their knowledge of culture and literature. Analysis of the questionnaire and test indicated that the “contents and language integrated curriculum” not only significantly deepened students’ knowledge of humanities subjects but also raised their English language level. This led the authors to conclude that this curriculum was more effective than the existing model for students in the ELLD.

The research studies cited above indicate that the approach of “teaching content-based courses through English as a medium of instruction” has proved to be feasible and effective in terms of consolidating students’ English language skills and widening their knowledge. Although it is considered by a number of researchers that the western model of CBI is embedded in the approach of
“teaching content-based courses through English as a medium of instruction” in China, it remains questionable as to whether content-based teaching in the Chinese context should be treated as a derivation of either CBI or CLIL, or as a separate development of second language teaching approach, given its ad hoc developing nature. While CBI encourages teaching language through content and CLILC promotes the integration of language and content, the main teaching objective of the content-based courses in China is not stated clearly in the national curriculum. This issue will be further discussed in Chapter 5 where the content-based courses in the current study are discussed.

As discussed in the previous section, English departments in China have long been criticized for lacking the characteristics of other academic departments and for developing, as a result, into service language providers. It is thus suggested by a large number of researchers that to avoid being regarded as language centres, more content from relevant subjects, rather than language skills, should be taught. If, as the findings from the research studies cited above indicate, teaching content-based courses is conducive to the development of both language and content knowledge and skills, the efficacy and future of purely language skill courses should be considered. There is also a strong case for experimenting with CBI theory in these language skill courses to examine to what extent CBI can enhance students’ English proficiency when compared to traditional teaching methods.
In addition, it can be argued that teaching content-based courses to English majors in the Chinese EFL context, be they English and American literature/culture-related or economy/law/education/foreign affairs, inevitably involves reference to the Chinese contexts. As for teachers who are subject specialists but do not possess a sufficient command of English language, it is even more likely that Chinese language will be involved in classes. It is also highlighted in the curriculum that students are expected to increase their sensitivity with regard to cultural comparison, because the dynamic world market requires them to be equipped with a comprehensive range of knowledge encompassing both the Chinese and Western sides. Therefore recourse to the L1 is highly likely to occur in such content-based courses. Nonetheless in the curriculum, it is not described in detail how such content-based courses should be taught and how teachers’ language use in content-based courses should be regulated. To this end, this study sets out to investigate the circumstances under which teachers switch their language to L1 and the factors affecting their decisions to switch between two languages. The study aims to shed light on the nature of content-based teaching, especially with regard to the contents of the L1 language used and the reasons behind such switches. Also, it investigates the extent to which the idea of cross-cultural comparison is related to references to L1. It is hoped that through understanding the nature of content-based teaching and the issues surrounding it, ideas concerning detailed guidelines and instructions for content-based courses in the curriculum can be generated. In
order to do this, it is first necessary to review the literature on teachers’ L1 use
in class (codeswitching).

2.3 Teachers’ L1 Use in Second/Foreign Language Classrooms
   (Codeswitching)

   Compared with the L1 classroom, in L2 classroom contexts, as Tsui (1995:12)
   pointed out, “classroom language and interaction are even more important
   because language is at once the subject of study as well as the medium for
   learning”. With the implementation and development of CLT throughout the
   world, a wide range of issues such as using authentic materials, classroom
   interaction and activities, and focus on “meaning” rather than “form” have been
   addressed and discussed in the light of better suiting CLT to different contexts
   as well as enhancing learners’ communicative competence. CLT puts great
   emphasis on authentic input and teacher-student interactions in the target
   language, which in turn underlines the importance of teachers’ language use in
   classrooms. However, codeswitching appears to be an area which has been
   under-explored. Although it has been a subject of close attention in empirical
   studies in the field of Second Language Acquisition, a great number of
   arguments and problems still remain under investigation and research.

   This section consists of six parts. It begins with the definition of codeswitching,
   followed by the background to research in codeswitching. The third and fourth
parts look at the contextual circumstances in which codeswitching occurs, and the reasons for and purposes of teachers’ codeswitching. The debate on codeswitching is then summarised. This section ends with research on codeswitching in the EFL context in China.

2.3.1 Definition of codeswitching

Codeswitching can be concisely defined as “a phenomenon of switching from one language to another in the same discourse” (Nunan and Carter, 2001:275). More specific definitions focus on the alternate use of two or more linguistic varieties (languages, dialects or registers of the same languages) at the inter-sentential level, i.e. at the word, phrase or clause, or sentence level within the same speech event and across sentence boundaries (Valdes-Fallis, 1978; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Kamwangamalu, 1992; Moodley, 2007).

Codeswitching is often witnessed in either naturally occurring contexts (i.e. the discourse of bilingual individuals) or in second language classrooms. Trudgill (2000) noted that in natural settings, speakers switch to “manipulate or influence or define the situations as they wish, and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention” (Trudgill, 2000:105). In other words, self-expression and the intention to modify language are key functions of codeswitching in the naturally occurring context.
With respect to syntactic features, some scholars have divided codeswitching into two categories: code switching and code mixing (Kamwangamalu, 1992). Code switching occurs inter-sententially while code mixing concerns alternations produced within a sentence, also known as intra-sentential codeswitching (Grosjean, 1982; Torres, 1989; Brice, 2000). Intra-sentential code mixing is typically found in the discourse of fluent bilingual language users who are competent in using the grammatical rules of two languages and overlapping their syntactic characteristics within one utterance (Aguirre, 1988; Grosjean, 1982; Miller, 1984). Despite debate over whether or not code switching and code mixing are truly different language phenomena and should be treated distinguishably (D'Souza, 1992; Tay, 1989), in studies of classroom codeswitching, the two terms are regarded as being interchangeable.

2.3.2 Background to research in codeswitching

Codeswitching was previously perceived as a phenomenon in which incompetent second language users made performance errors (Duran, 1994). It was not until the early 1970s that codeswitching was recognised as “rule-governed purposeful linguistic behaviour that can fulfill both social and pedagogical functions” (Moodley, 2007:709). Codeswitching has been viewed as inappropriate language lexicon use or even as a manifestation of language attrition. However, it has also been regarded as evidence of advanced language use with sophisticated linguistic functioning (Brice, 2000). In the literature
concerning language learning in bilingual settings, classroom codeswitching research has become an inevitably developing force (Martin-Jones, 1990, 1993). Early studies in this area focused largely on the amount of time devoted to each language, especially in American bilingual education situations. However, with the development of CLT in the early 1980s, there was a shift towards focusing on how communicative acts are accomplished through spoken language in bilingual classrooms (Martin, 1996). While it is generally agreed that the overuse or irresponsible use of L1 in a second language classroom is very likely to undermine the goal of adopting a monolingual mode in the target language (Moodley, 2007), the problem of how to quantify “overuse” or “irresponsible use” is still unresolved due to the complexity of the language environment, teaching contexts and learning outcomes.

There exists some lack of clarity on the distinction between the terms “codeswitching” and “L1 use in L2 class” regarding classroom research in this area, since by definition “codeswitching” emphasizes the switches that take place from one language to the other whereas “L1 use in L2 class” places emphasis particularly on the use of the first language. However, in the presentation of research findings, these two terms are used interchangeably on most occasions, as research into either “codeswitching” or “L1 use in L2 class” focuses mainly on the motivations of the switches, i.e. the functions of the L1 use under specific circumstances. It seems that studies in the early years tended
to use the term “L1 use in L2 class” or just “teachers’ language use” in a more general manner (Guthie, 1984; Atkinson, 1987; Anton and DiCamilla, 1998), while “codeswitching” is more favoured in recent studies (Liu, 2004; Brice, 2000; Macaro, 2001b, 2005). In the current study, the term “codeswitching” is employed throughout to refer to the discourse phenomenon of switching between two or more languages (with no preconditions relating to frequency, so that even a single switch within an extended presentation, with no return to the original language, would qualify) as well as the functional use of L1 in L2 classrooms, especially in the phrase “codeswitching behaviours”.

2.3.3 Types of environments when codeswitching occurs

Classroom codeswitching can take two forms: “as part of a planned curriculum approach in instruction or as a result of more spontaneous language use” (Brice, 2000). In a dynamic scenario such as the L2 learning classroom, it is inevitable for the teacher to resort to L1 on many occasions. Empirical studies have contributed much to the compilation of different types of environments in which codeswitching is likely to occur.

Five communicative functions of codeswitching were identified in Guthrie (1984): for the purposes of translation, clarification and checking comprehension, for giving procedures and directions, and for acting as a
“we-code” ⁶. Later, Guthrie and Guthrie (1987) investigated two teachers’ language use with Chinese-English-speaking students in the States and discovered a similar list of codeswitching functions as in Guthrie (1984). One of the teachers, a Chinese-English bilingual, had five distinct purposes for codeswitching: for translation; as a “we-code”; for giving procedures and directions; for clarification especially when introducing new vocabulary; as a check for understanding.

A description of the principal techniques and activities in which L1 use was believed to be useful was offered in Atkinson (1987): eliciting language; checking comprehension; giving instructions; co-operation among learners; discussions of classroom methodology; presentation and reinforcement of language; checking for sense and testing. Merritt et al.’s (1992) observations of bilingual English classes at primary level in Kenya indicated that codeswitching instances could fulfil specific classroom functions, such as serving as linguistic markers to indicate topic shifts, providing translations and providing substitutes for word explanation.

A more detailed and comprehensive list of functions was found in Polio and Duff (1994) in which a qualitative analysis with six teachers from university foreign language classrooms who taught German, Japanese, Korean, Chinese,

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⁶ The “we-code” is a term borrowed from Gumperz (1982) for establishing and maintaining solidarity and group membership.
Hebrew and Slavic respectively was conducted. All the teachers were native speakers of the target languages. Therefore, this study aimed to investigate teachers’ language use and their codeswitching between English and their own native languages. Eight common uses of English rather than their TL were identified from the results:

1) *Classroom administrative vocabulary.* This happened where “teachers typically used the TL, but utterances contained isolated English words or phrases related to the culture of the university classroom” (Polio and Duff, 1994: 317).

2) *Grammar instruction.* All of the teachers to some extent chose to use English (students’ L1 but teachers’ L2) when they explained grammar to their students. Sometimes the whole sentence was in English and sometimes just a grammatical term.

3) *Classroom management.* Classroom observations and interviews showed that some teachers preferred to switch to English to give instructions related to classroom management.

4) *Empathy/solidarity.* Three of the six teachers used English for “interpersonal, rapport-building purposes” (Polio and Duff, 1994:518). They switched to English from time to time to show their concerns to the students or joke with them.

5) *Practising English.* This behaviour involved students’ talk. It happened when the teachers encountered an unfamiliar English word or they were
trying to provide English glosses for TL items. In such cases, students would voluntarily help the teachers with their non-native English.

6) *Unknown vocabulary/translation.* Two teachers tried to avoid certain L2 lexical items which they perceived to be too difficult for the students. In that case, they preferred to reply more on simpler TL vocabulary or on English instead. Sometimes when a teacher attempted to explain a TL word in TL but failed several times, it was likely that he or she would turn to English for help.

7) *Lack of comprehension.* This occurred when teachers got no response from the students after a question had been asked and there was no response, so the teachers tended to switch to English to ensure that the question was understood.

8) *Interactive effect involving students’ use of English.* Interactions with students could have an impact on teachers’ language use. Students’ responses or comments in English could sometimes result in the teacher speaking in English afterwards. However it was difficult to determine whether in these cases teachers used English due to the interactive effect with students or they preferred to use English in that particular moment in any case, regardless of which language students used.

Three functions of teacher codeswitching in class were identified in Mattson and Burenhult (1999): topic switch, affective functions and repetitive functions.
Topic switch cases refer to situations when teachers switch between languages to facilitate discussion of the topic. The affective functions refer to teachers’ expression of emotions. It is believed that on these occasions, codeswitching is employed to build an intimate relationship with students in order to create a more supportive language learning environment. Repetitive functions can also be referred to as codeswitching for clarification. Teachers use their first language to repeat knowledge transferred in L2 to ensure the understanding of the students. In this way, the importance of the contents in L2 is emphasized whilst efficient communication is accomplished. Nevertheless, it has been pointed out that use of the first language in this context should be approached with caution, since it is likely to cultivate a tendency for students to neglect the L2 as mentioned above and to rely on L1 repetition.

Antón and DiCamilla (1998) investigated discourse functions of L1 in L2 classroom interactions. Through studying the verbal interactions of 5 pairs of learners of Spanish in their collaborative work on Spanish writing, they concluded that L1 served three main functions: “construction of scaffolded help; establishment of intersubjectivity; and use of private speech” (Antón and DiCamilla, 1998:245).

Two major categories regarding the functions of teachers’ codeswitching in bilingual classrooms were identified by Brice (2000). They were “giving
instructions regarding classroom tasks and providing particular strategies for learning a second language” (Brice, 2000:22). It was also suggested that using the first language in second language classrooms would enhance solidarity, as the “we-code” claimed.

Macaro (2001b) was the first research study in the field of applied linguistics to quantify teachers’ codeswitching in second language classrooms. His case study investigated the language use and codeswitching of 6 student teachers teaching French in British secondary schools. The findings showed that very little L1 was used in class. Still, interviews with two teachers revealed that they resorted to L1 mainly due to the need for clear procedural instructions. They also employed L1 to keep control of the students, reprimand them, or both.

Some suggestions concerning the use of L1 have emerged independently of empirical evidence. For example, Cook (2001) suggested that L1 could be used to check meanings of words, explain grammar, organise tasks and give instructions, maintain discipline, administer tests and carry out classroom group activities.

In Liu et al (2004), teachers’ codeswitching patterns were classified into eight major functions: “greetings; directions or instructional comments; questions (checking comprehension, etc.); text, word, or grammar explanations; giving
text or story background information; managing students’ behaviour; compliments or confirmation; jokes or personal talk” (Liu et al, 2004:615). Of these eight functions, five were identified as the most salient according to their frequencies of use: “explaining difficult vocabulary and grammar, giving background information, overcoming communication difficulties by expressing in Korean what the teacher had difficulty saying in English, saving time, highlighting important information, and managing students’ behaviour” (Liu et al, 2004:615).

Whereas the literature above has been reviewed in a chronological order, the table below summarises the previous studies on the theme of category (circumstances under which codeswitching takes place). This table has been used as a reference for designing a new category system for the current study which incorporates some relevant categories from previous research and also new categories emerging from this study itself. Details of the current category system are provided in the Research Methodology chapter.
Table 2.2 Summary of codeswitching categories in previous literature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories Literature</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>T-S</th>
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<th>G</th>
<th>GM</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>S</th>
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<td>Atkinson (1987)</td>
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<td>Cook (2001)</td>
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</table>

T: Translation  
C: Clarification and checking comprehension  
P: Procedures and directions  
T-S: Teacher-Student rapport  
V: Vocabulary explanation  
G: Grammar instruction  
CM: Classroom management  
J: Jokes/private speech/personal talk  
S: Switch topic

2.3.4 Reasons for and purposes of teachers’ codeswitching

Apart from understanding teachers’ codeswitching patterns in either their linguistic or functional aspects through classroom observations, interviews with
teachers are conducive to helping obtain a different layer of evidence so as to research teachers’ beliefs concerning codeswitching in more depth.

The table below was adapted from a list of factors accounting for language choice in naturalistic bilingual settings (Grosjean, 1982:136). Grosjean explained that any one factor from the list might affect speaker’s choice of one language over another. Normally, however, it was the combination of several factors that accounted for the language choice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Situation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language proficiency</td>
<td>Location/setting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Language preference</td>
<td>Presence of monolinguals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic status</td>
<td>Degree of formality</td>
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<td>Age</td>
<td>Degree of intimacy</td>
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<td>Sex</td>
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<td>Occupation</td>
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<td>Education</td>
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<td>Ethnic background</td>
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<td>History of speakers’ linguistic interaction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kinship relation</td>
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<td>Intimacy</td>
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<td>Power relation</td>
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<td>Attitude toward languages</td>
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<td>Outside pressure</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content of discourse</th>
<th>Function of interaction</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>To raise status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of vocabulary</td>
<td>To create social distance</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To exclude someone</td>
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<td></td>
<td>To request or demand</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3 Factors accounting for language choice in naturalistic bilingual settings
This table shows that there is unlikely to be a single factor that accounts for the occurrence of codeswitching. It is also almost impossible for a researcher to provide a full picture of all the factors that could possibly be affecting codeswitching. After a brief discussion of reasons for teachers’ codeswitching in L2 classrooms in literature, another diagram will be developed, drawing on factors generated from the literature reviewed and based on the above diagram.

Factors from the above list might also affect teachers’ codeswitching in L2 classrooms. Researchers have provided explanations for the use of the first language in second language classrooms (Atkinson, 1987; Lin, 1988; Garrett et al, 1994). The reasons they identified were essentially similar: in order to save time, to help weak students, the limitations of teachers’ own language proficiency, and the influence of national policies (Martin, 1996; Liu et al, 2004; Macaro, 2001b). More discussion is elaborated below.

Teachers’ language proficiency, as a possible factor that could affect teachers’ codeswitching behaviour, was accepted by Dickson (1996) while discounted in Duff and Polio (1990). From the results generated from students’ questionnaires, Dickson (1996) found out that teachers’ proficiency in spoken language was rated as the first factor influencing their codeswitching behaviour. However, findings from Duff and Polio (1990) showed that “perceived (or real) proficiency in English does not seem to compel teachers to use more or less of
Nevertheless, Dickson (1996) used questionnaires as the basis for the conclusion whereas Duff and Polio (1990) used interviews with teachers, so there is no conclusive reason to rule out the possibility of teachers’ L2 proficiency as a factor influencing the amount of L2 use in class. Furthermore, in the case of Duff and Polio (1990), teachers’ teaching experience was also found to have no relationship with L1/L2 use.

The ability and age of learners were also identified as factors influencing teachers’ language use, as Macaro (1997, 2000, and 2005) suggested. Older learners and those with lower abilities were likely to prompt teachers to resort to L1 more often than would be the case with other learners. The researcher in the present study decided to employ interviews to identify to what extent these two factors affect teachers’ codeswitching.

A variety of L1 strategies were encountered and described by Harbord (1992) on the basis of teachers’ objectives in using L1. These can to some extent elaborate the reasons behind teachers’ codeswitching. The strategies were divided into three categories: “1) facilitating teacher-student communication; 2) facilitating teacher-student rapport; 3) facilitating learning” (Harbord, 1992:352). The third category was also reflected in Polio and Duff (1994) where one of the reasons teachers provided for codeswitching was that they felt students needed a certain amount of English (L1) to ensure that some important concepts were conveyed.
To raise self-perception was an interesting purpose mentioned only by Polio and Duff (1994). It was suggested that the use of mother tongue would enable the students to value their own language and culture much more, which would in turn have a beneficial effect on self-perception, attitudes, motivation and consequently, on achievement.

Language contrast as a reason for codeswitching has been viewed in several studies (Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie, 2002; Polio and Duff, 1994; Duff and Polio, 1990). In Polio and Duff (1994), teachers considered that sometimes it might not be possible to find a precise TL equivalent for a single word.

Affective needs of the learners were mentioned in Copland and Neokleous (2010) as the main reason for some teachers’ decision to translate. For these teachers, translation in L1 was a strategy for “maintaining interest and motivation” (Copland and Neokleous, 2010:4). The same purpose of L1 use was also noted in Carless (2007) in which L1 was used to maintain students’ attention, interest or involvement.

Saving time was also a common and understandable motivation for codeswitching in literature. Some teachers indicated that they switched to English (L1) simply to save time. It is true that in certain cases, “negotiation of meaning in the TL can result in unexpected and lengthy side sequences that
consume precious class time” (Polio and Duff, 1994: 321), especially in terms of teaching grammar, classroom management and creating solidarity.

The influence of national/departmental policy or guidelines on codeswitching behaviour was also the subject of some studies (Duff and Polio, 1990; Macaro, 2001b). In Macaro (2001b), one student teacher was found to allow guidelines from national government policies to override personal beliefs based on teaching practice, while another was very much influenced by personal beliefs.

In addition, lesson content, teaching materials and formal teacher training have been identified as variables which might play a role in determining the amount of L1/L1 use (Duff and Polio, 1990).

Factors affecting codeswitching were categorised as internal and external in Macaro (2001b) after teachers’ decision making processes were investigated. The table below regarding factors influencing teachers’ codeswitching behaviour was generated based on this categorisation as well as from the Grosjean (1982) table mentioned above.
Table 2.4 Factors affecting teachers’ codeswitching behaviours in class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal factors</th>
<th>External factors</th>
<th>Function of interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ language proficiency</td>
<td>Students’ language proficiency</td>
<td>To save time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ personal beliefs towards codeswitching</td>
<td>Students’ age</td>
<td>To help weak students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal teacher training</td>
<td>National/departmental policies</td>
<td>To facilitate communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>To build teacher-student rapport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language contrast/language type</td>
<td>To enhance learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lesson content and objectives</td>
<td>To enable students to value their own language and culture much more – to raise self-perception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pedagogical materials</td>
<td>To maintain students’ interest and motivation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.5 Debate on codeswitching and teachers’ language use

Maximal TL use was proposed largely on the basis of the fact that classroom is often the sole source which provides students with TL input. Therefore teachers are supposed to use the target language as much as possible. However language input can only be digested and converted to “intake” when it is comprehensible. In order to make it comprehensible, it is the teacher’s role to “facilitate the active use of the target language in the classroom” and “make available target-language data in terms of comprehensible input” (Higgs, 1982:8), which stands for the natural unconstrained use of the target language in class. This situation is especially widespread in China where students are exposed to an English language environment only in L2 classrooms. It is the teacher’s responsibility to provide as much comprehensible English input as possible for their students. However, due to the limitations of students’ listening
comprehension and teachers’ English proficiency levels, how much L2 is appropriate remains an awkward question for teachers.

When it comes to the question of classroom language use, two opposing opinions used to be held. One of them is known as the “natural approach” proposed by Krashen and Terrell (1983) which states that classroom language use should be “based on the use of the language in communicative situations without recourse to the use of the native language” (Krashen and Terrell, 1983: 9). The natural approach assumption is supported by a number of empirical studies which deal with target language use as its own construct. (Duff and Polio, 1990; Polio and Duff, 1994). On the other hand, some researchers argue that in fact the above claim creates “a classroom dynamic in which the use of L1 is at best discouraged, and at worst stigmatised” (Levine, 2003). Unlike those who view L1 use in L2 classrooms as misguided and unrealistic in terms of pedagogical principles, these scholars suggest a sanctioned role for L1 use in foreign language classrooms (Cook, 2001; Antón and DiCamilla, 1998; Atkinson, 1987; Castellotti, 2001).

It is now generally accepted that exclusivity of L2 use is unfavourable and should be replaced by optimal L1 use (Antón and DiCamilla 1998; Cook 2001), but there has been a failure to reach a consensus on how much L1 is optimal. Few researchers have addressed the problem of how much L1 should be used,
possibly due to the difficulty of establishing what is best for different language levels of L2 learners. Assumptions emerging from both sides of the debate are mostly based on intuitions or personal experience, with the exception of a few empirical studies. In Antón and DiCamilla (1998), the use of L1 is supported. They conclude that “L1 use provides, through collaborative dialogue, an opportunity for L2 acquisition to take place” (Antón and DiCamilla, 1998: 237). In Árva and Medgyes (2000) where a comparison is made between native and non-native English teachers in Hungary, L1 is acknowledged as conducive to learning under certain circumstances. For instance, native English teachers who do not speak students’ L1 cannot really interpret students’ mistakes, particularly in the case of beginner learners. Their inability to speak the local language may result in a low level of empathy with the students. In addition, Cook (2001) asserts that the position of excluding L1 prevents “language teaching from looking rationally at ways in which the L1 can be involved in the classroom” (Cook, 2001:410). He also acknowledges codeswitching as a normal activity and encourages teachers to use L1 when the concepts are important, when students seem distracted and when they feel the need to either praise or reprimand the students.

However, although it has been generally agreed that exclusive use of L2 is not necessarily the best strategy, this does not necessarily mean that L1 can be used whenever the teacher believes that it will accelerate students’ L2 acquisition.
Both Turnbull (2001b) and Harbord (1992) suggest that limitation of L1 use should be considered in case teachers rely too much on L1 and overuse it. In addition, Harbord (1992) advises that referring to L1 for teacher-student communication and rapport should be replaced by L2 strategies. Therefore the exact amount of optimal L1 use should be based not only on the context of classroom activity but also on the extent to which the L1 in use could be replaced by L2 without losing L1’s original functions and effects. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to identify the concept of “optimal” because it is such a complex idea involving many variables. Therefore the current research will not focus on targeting how much is optimal but instead focus on identifying the environments in which codeswitching occurs, which from the researcher’s point of view is more appropriate and feasible.

Atkinson (1987) offers three reasons for allowing limited L1 use in the classroom: it is a learner-preferred strategy; it is a humanistic approach; it is an efficient use of time. However even though Atkinson (1987) is generally in favour of the use of L1 in classrooms, he warns that unlimited use of L1 is likely to result in the following:

1. The teacher and/or the students begin to feel that they have not “really” understood any item of language until it has been translated.
2. The teacher and/or the students fail to observe the distinctions between equivalence of form, semantic equivalence, and pragmatic features, and
thus oversimplify to the point of using crude and inaccurate translation.

3. Students speak to the teacher in the mother tongue as a matter of course, even when they are quite capable of expressing what they mean in L2.

4. Students fail to realise that during many activities in the classroom it is essential that they use only English (Atkinson, 1987:426).

It is suggested by Aguirre (1988) that if teachers believe that students have equal proficiency in both languages, the practice of alternating between languages in the classroom could serve to enhance word knowledge and syntactic complexity. Nevertheless in most L2 classrooms, students have greater proficiency in their L1 than the L2. It is rare to find a situation where students have equal proficiency in both languages. Meanwhile Faltis (1989) proposes two guidelines for classroom codeswitching: 1) Only inter-sentential codeswitching could be allowed in classrooms. 2) All codeswitching acts should be initiated by teachers.

It is believed by Faltis that inter-sentential codeswitching provides students with sufficient input in each language and give each language equal prestige. With inter-sentential codeswitching, students are more likely to focus on learning the concepts rather than decoding the language. But these assertions are not firmly supported by empirical evidence from classroom practice. In Giauque and Ely (1990), codeswitching is considered as a transitional phase in terms of language instruction on the path to the ultimate goal of L2 exclusivity. Yet they agree that codeswitching does address the language tension in second language learning as
well as students’ needs to understand as much classroom input as possible. Therefore, codeswitching will motivate students to use L2 more often in real communicative settings. However, it could be argued that this conclusion is too general a claim to make due to the lack of supporting evidence. It is also empirically unfeasible to prove a direct relationship between codeswitching and students’ motivation, if any. Students’ being exposed to codeswitching in class and understanding as much L2 as much as possible does not necessarily guarantee that they will actually use L2 in real life settings. However students’ own use of target language does have a positive effect on learning, as through speaking in L2, they create a target language atmosphere which significantly affects their progress (Macaro, 2000).

Meiring and Norman (2002) consider that it is crucial for teachers to pursue appropriate strategies for principled target language use. They propose detailed guidelines for judicious use of the target language, including “systematic use of the TL for simple classroom instructions, commands and routines; measured use of L1 for clarification and comparison with L2 to develop language awareness; maximum use of teacher TL to improve learners’ pronunciation, develop problem-solving strategies and enable learners to deal with the unpredictable and optimal use of TL to convey to learners that the foreign language is a genuine vehicle of communication, rather than merely a tool for intellectual activity etc.” (Meiring and Norman, 2002:34).
As far as the current study is concerned, issues raised in this section regarding different opinions on L1 and L2 use in classroom are addressed during the interviews with the two participants. They are invited to comment on their attitudes towards this debate and their views on teachers’ language use in class.

2.3.6 Research on codeswitching in the EFL context in China

As mentioned above, there is little empirical research on codeswitching in the Chinese EFL context, especially in terms of research conducted in tertiary institutions. In this section, three representative papers are reviewed individually followed by a brief critique at the end. The reason for choosing Liu (2003) is that it is the first comprehensive study which attempts to analyse university teachers’ codeswitching behaviours. It cannot be considered as an empirical study because data are not collected from classroom observations; however, it covers the essential topics in codeswitching and serves as the first step to research codeswitching in the Chinese university context. Gao (2005), which focuses on the sociolinguistic aspect of university English teachers’ codeswitching behaviours, is reviewed in detail because the element of identity is further explored in my own research. Guo (2007) is the most recent and comprehensive empirical study on university teachers’ codeswitching behaviours in China. It covers almost all the essential respects in terms of codeswitching as well as both quantitative and qualitative data analysis. Reviewing this study should therefore provide insights of value to my research,
especially in terms of methodology. Although other papers have focused on
codeswitching in China, these are not directly relevant to the present study. For
example, Qian et al (2009) is a case study of teachers’ codeswitching behaviours
in EFL classrooms in China but its primary school context means that its
findings are unlikely to apply to university teaching. Van der Meij and Zhao
(2010) do investigate codeswitching in English courses in Chinese universities,
but they focus mainly on the issue of teachers’ codeswitching frequency and to a
large extent rely on responses to questionnaires rather than in-depth interviews
with the teachers. Lesson recording is also used but only to compare with
teachers’ beliefs on codeswitching frequency.

Liu (2003) is a descriptive study which investigates teachers’ codeswitching in
the Chinese EFL context. Data were collected from a series of VCDs in which
face-to-face tutorials were presented by tutors from a university in Beijing,
China. The MLF model (Matrix Language Framework model) was adopted for
identifying the linguistic features of Chinese teachers’ codeswitching. The two
main research questions were: 1) what are the linguistic and syntactic features of
teacher codeswitching in the Chinese EFL classroom? 2) What are the reasons
for EFL teachers’ codeswitching and what specific functions does
codeswitching serve in the EFL classroom?
The amount of codeswitching was calculated based on instances. The results showed that among all the instances of codeswitching, 19.6% were intra-sentential and the remaining 80.4% were inter-sentential. It was noted that inserting noun phrases in the subject or object position was predominant in the data through examinations of intra-sentential codeswitching, which was in accordance with the findings of other similar studies. In addition, investigating the directionality of codeswitching revealed that the majority (75.2%) of the alternate use of language occurred from English to Chinese. Furthermore, English-to-Chinese switches often took place at sentence level while Chinese-to-English occurred more within the sentence boundary.

Five reasons for codeswitching were identified: teachers’ linguistic competence and insecurity; ease of expression; for translation of new and unfamiliar words and expressions; repetitive functions; socializing functions.

It could be argued that “for ease of expression”, the real motivation for codeswitching in this circumstance was more likely to have been due to teachers’ own limited language proficiency or the desire to save time, as discussed in literature on codeswitching. Additionally, there was an overlap between the concepts of “for translation of new and unfamiliar words and expressions” and “repetitive functions”. As examples given for “repetitive functions” showed, teachers repeated what they uttered in the other language, either in English or
Chinese, which was in effect a translation of sentences. The only difference between these two reasons was translation of words/phrases or sentences. The boundaries separating these reasons can be very vague, since, as the author herself was aware, a major problem in analysing codeswitching is that many switches can be either multi-functional or open to different functional interpretations.

It was concluded that in most cases, teachers codeswitched for pedagogical purposes, as a strategy to accommodate the students’ foreign language proficiency level. However, considering the current situation of EFL teaching in China, in which teacher talk is probably the only L2 input that most students have, resorting to L1 is limiting their sole input resource. In addition, excessive intra-sentential codeswitching is very likely to make teachers’ language use seem broken, which would possibly reduce students’ confidence in teachers’ L2 proficiency. Therefore, a more cautious and conscious use of codeswitching is advocated. However, the paper does not elaborate on how to codeswitch more cautiously and consciously.

The limitation of this study, as the author herself stated, is the lack of classroom observations in real settings and face-to-face interviews with teachers. Meanwhile, interviews with teachers would have provided more insights into
their motivations for codeswitching so that analysis of data could have been more convincing. This incompleteness will be addressed in my study.

These limitations aside, this study served as the first step into researching codeswitching in the Chinese context so that more in-depth studies could follow. One point the author made in terms of descriptions of English teachers in China is worth considering because it needs to be treated with caution. She stated that foreign language teachers in China should not be viewed as bilinguals but rather as monolinguals with knowledge and skills of another language. Their task was to teach the foreign language to monolingual speakers. Therefore, when English became both the content and the means of instruction in the class, communication and comprehension were very likely to break down between teachers and students, both with limited foreign language proficiency. It was at that moment teachers tried to employ codeswitching to remedy any communication problems. To some extent I agree with the view of not regarding English teachers in China as bilinguals. Taking this approach enables deeper insight into their reasons for codeswitching (such as lack of L2 proficiency), as well as highlighting the importance of distinguishing their codeswitching from that of bilingual teachers in other studies when comparison is necessary. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that English teachers in China cannot always be neatly categorised. Teachers with different educational backgrounds and teaching experience can differ remarkably in terms of L2 proficiency. In my
study, the importance of teachers’ backgrounds and experience will be measured and compared in order to assess their influence on teachers’ codeswitching acts.

The author makes another interesting point at the end of the discussion section. She refers to codeswitching being used mainly as a transition language teaching technique, a stage on the journey towards eventual all-English instruction, which coincides with Giauque and Ely (1990)’s point of view, as discussed in Literature Review chapter. She believes that with the improvement of students’ L2 proficiency, communication in the EFL classroom should be conducted in the target language as much as possible. It is clearly desirable that L2 usage in EFL classrooms should be maximized provided that students can fully understand teachers’ talk. However, it is debatable whether or not codeswitching is a transition language teaching technique, and moreover, whether or not all L2 instruction is the ultimate goal of foreign language teaching practice. Apart from the debate about L1 exclusion, L2 excluding and neutral view discussed in the previous section, considering the current situation in English language teaching in China, it can be argued that codeswitching is probably going to serve an important and irreplaceable role in EFL classrooms for the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, it is suggested that teachers should not be pressurized to aim for all-English instruction: rather to choose an appropriate method of language use which benefits the students most.
While Liu (2003) placed great emphasis on classroom codeswitching from mainly linguistic perspectives, Gao (2005) adopted a sociolinguistic view and researched the codeswitching of Chinese English teachers in the tertiary level. The distinctive aspects of this study were that the researcher was focusing on codeswitching between multiple language varieties (English, Mandarin and Chinese dialects) as well as on the links between the choice of language and social factors. His research questions looked at not only the motives behind codeswitching, but more importantly, to what extent socio-cultural identity, power, speech community etc. can exert an influence on a variety of language, and the relationship between a speaker, speech and context.

The study involved 31 doctoral students (17 males and 14 females), aged 25 to 45, majoring in English who were also English teachers at tertiary level, coming from various parts of China. The instruments used were questionnaires, observations over 4 weeks, and interviews with some of the participants. The results indicated that classes were conducted almost entirely in English, and English was occasionally used in teachers’ office in situations involving foreign affairs. Mandarin was used mainly in the office and also in classrooms and in public settings. Chinese dialects were only used at home with family and close friends, rarely in the office and never in classrooms.

Mandarin in Gao (2005) refers to the standard and official spoken language of Chinese, as opposed to different dialects in China. However in my study, since there is no involvement of dialects and to avoid complexity and confusion, the word “Chinese” will be used to refer both spoken and written forms of the Chinese language.
The author seemed to be surprised to discover that 51.6% of the participants communicated with their families in Mandarin rather than in their own dialects. The reason behind this high figure could be that the couples were brought up in different areas or parents deliberately tried to set up Mandarin as the official language at home for the benefit of their child. The author therefore concluded that “it is the speaker and situation that determine the use of language and social factors also contribute to the choice of language variety” (Gao, 2005:6). In addition, the data indicated that the choice of dialect indicated an attempt for people to stay close. However, the absence of dialects in classrooms could also be due to the dialect’s perceived low social status. In a word, language variety is functionally and situationally constrained and the preference of language variety is affected by social functions as well as personal factors.

Compared to Liu (2003) and other studies on codeswitching in literature which were devoted mainly to linguistic and functional aspects of teachers’ codeswitching in foreign language classrooms, this study extended its horizon more broadly to include teachers’ social and family life. Though there are few descriptions of the use and motivation behind teachers’ language in class, the inclusion of dialects was innovative as well as firmly connected to the Chinese context. Nevertheless, researching codeswitching among three different languages is inevitably difficult in the sense that the selection process of participants would have to be very carefully considered; in addition, the
similarities and differences among the three languages must be taken into account. In this case, there are vast differences between English and Mandarin as well as between English and Chinese dialects, while Mandarin and some local dialects might not differ extensively. It could be argued that if these dialects are researched along with English and Mandarin in the same context with the same group of people, it would be necessary to ensure that the participants are from the same area speaking the same dialect. For instance, the sample could be selected from teachers in a local tertiary school. Therefore, the variables that caused dialects to be suppressed at home would be eliminated and it would provide more insights into codeswitching between Mandarin and dialects. As far as the current study is concerned, dialects are excluded and the languages under focused are solely Mandarin and English. Actually, strictly speaking, Mandarin is not the real L1 of the participants in the current study, since they come from different cities in China and both have their own dialects which to some extent differ moderately from Mandarin. However, in this study, Chinese is regarded as the L1 because it is the nationally agreed standard teaching language.

The issue of socio-cultural identity which appeared in Gao (2005) will be revisited and extended in the current study but with a different focus. There will be no dialect involved but it is presumed that teachers’ use of Chinese in class is to some extent affected by their cultural identity as Chinese and in the meantime,
the content embedded in their talk in Chinese is anticipated to reflect different teachers’ disciplinary identities which are determined by their research interests.

Guo (2007) aimed to investigate oral interactions between teachers and students in university classrooms in mainland China. The two main foci of this study were teachers’ codeswitching behaviours as well as students’ reactions to these behaviours. This research took the form of a case study involving two teachers who taught English to undergraduates and postgraduates who were non-English majors in two different universities in Beijing, China. Research instruments employed were: video-assisted classroom observation, communicative orientation of language teaching observation scheme (Spada and Fröhlich: 1995), stimulated recalls and semi-structured teacher interviews.

The results indicated that generally the amount of teachers’ codeswitching was relatively low but varied considerably by lesson. On average, based on time coding, 19.4% of teachers’ talk over the total class time was in L1. In terms of the type of codeswitching, inter-sentential codeswitching was the most frequent type, accounting for 73.3% based on codeswitching instances, which seems close to the result in Liu (2003) where it is 80.4%, although it would be premature to conclude on the basis of only two studies that this intra-inter split of about 1:4 is fairly standard. As for codeswitching by function, both discourse and the pedagogic context of codeswitching occurrence were complex and
heterogeneous in the codeswitching behaviours of the two teachers. However, codeswitching was mostly used for translation from L2 to L1. These two teachers also differed in the way they codeswitched for information-giving. The codeswitching of Teacher 1 was infrequent, long and pre-planned while frequent, short and unplanned for Teacher 2.

Regarding the second research question concerning students’ reactions to their teachers’ codeswitching behaviours, the results showed that students’ reactions varied by individual not by groups but the majority of the students regarded teachers’ codeswitching in a positive way.

From the findings, the author concluded that at the very least, codeswitching was not completely detrimental to the learning process. However, it was pointed out that teachers should be made aware of and feel supported by the guidelines on how and why to codeswitch. It is undoubtedly a reasonable as well as necessary suggestion but is difficult and time-consuming to implement, especially considering the situation in China. So far there are no guidelines concerning university English teachers’ language use in class and it may be that most of the time teachers tend to codeswitch based on their classroom teaching experience and knowledge. The reason behind this serious delay in policy-making is understandable. Given the consideration of the tremendously uneven development of English language teaching throughout China, it is almost
impossible to generalise in order to produce one set of guidelines suitable for teachers with various English proficiency levels including those in rural areas as well as in big cities such as Beijing and Shanghai. Nevertheless, as urgent and necessary as this need for change may be, it is plausible that each city or each university could establish its own guidelines or policies to regulate teachers’ language use and meanwhile provide them with support. Meanwhile universities and local education authorities could provide teaching training programmes in order to raise teachers’ awareness in realising the importance of target language use in L2 class.

A limitation of the study was identified by the author as follows: more background data about learners’ proficiency should be collected in order to have a better understanding of students’ reactions to teachers’ codeswitching behaviours. My study will contribute to this. Yet there are occasions when what teachers believe they do is different from what they actually do in class. This will be addressed in my study through interviews with teachers at different stages of the research. Teachers will be asked about their knowledge and beliefs concerning communicative language teaching and language use in classrooms. Classroom observations will also be employed to match their words with their actual behaviours.
Guo (2007) presented a fairly full picture of teachers’ codeswitching and students’ reactions in the context of Chinese universities. Compared to Liu (2003), this study employed a more convincing set of data collection methods, which included procedures for seeking students’ reactions. However, there were no interviews with teachers during Phase 2 of the study. If interviews had been conducted both in Phase 1 and 2 of the study, it would have given the researcher more ideas on the reasons why teachers codeswitched. It can be argued that stimulated recalls could be carried out not only with students but with teachers to help generate more information about their motivations and their decision-making processes.

To sum up, Liu (2003) covers the basic and essential aspects of researching codeswitching. The study focuses on analysing teachers’ codeswitching behaviours on the syntactic level. However the data were not collected directly from classroom observations so that the results lack reliability. Gao (2005) approaches codeswitching from the sociolinguistic perspective. Compared to Liu (2003), this study involves not only codeswitching in classrooms but also in naturalistic settings with English, Chinese and Chinese dialects. It associates the findings on language variety with social status and identity, but to a limited extent. Guo (2007) is a comprehensive study which explores teachers’ codeswitching behaviours as well as students’ reactions to codeswitching. It
could be improved by including interviews with teachers in both phases of study and preferably stimulated recalls too.

The current study will remedy the pitfalls of previous studies by collecting data through classroom observations, including interview and stimulated recall at different stages of the study, and more importantly, by expanding the discussion of the impact of identity on codeswitching behaviours. Meanwhile, it will also obtain a full picture of teachers’ codeswitching behaviours through quantitative perception.

In conclusion, this chapter has laid the literature foundation for the current research by having addressed the critical issues such as English language education in Chinese universities, content-based instruction and codeswitching. The next chapter is dedicated to research methodology.
CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This is a mixed methods research study which is divided into two phases. The first phase running for 11 weeks from September, 2009 to December, 2009 aims to investigate Chinese English teachers’ codeswitching behaviours. It takes the form of a case study involving three English teachers at university. Three research methods are utilized: classroom observation, interview and stimulated recall. The second phase concentrates on further exploring the major factors affecting participants’ codeswitching behaviours which have emerged from results of Phase I and a wide range of issues around these factors. During Phase II of the study, follow-up interviews are conducted with all the three participants from Phase I.

This research is designed to address the following questions which have been provided in the Introduction chapter but are reiterated here to help understand the choice of research methods described in this chapter.

1. What are the general codeswitching behaviours of these three teachers?
   1) In what circumstances is codeswitching employed?
   2) Is there any evidence of change or development in the use of codeswitching through the semester?
3) What are the stated motivations behind their codeswitching behaviours?

4) To what extent do the three participants differ in their codeswitching behaviours?

5) What are the possible factors affecting their codeswitching behaviours?

2. 1) What are their perceptions of the current curriculum for undergraduates in the ELLD? What types of changes, if any, would they make to improve the curriculum?

2) What are their views on the qualities required for the current teachers in their department? What are their suggestions concerning teacher training?

3) What are their perceptions of content-based teaching, its theory and significance as well as its application within the Chinese context?

4) How do they position themselves in the system in terms of their discipline? To what extent do their cultural and disciplinary identities affect their classroom teaching practice?

The research questions listed as above are a combination of questions addressed in both Phase I and II of data collection process. The first set of questions concerning codeswitching targets Phase I of the study whereas the second set focuses on Phase II.
This chapter contains two sections: data collection and data analysis. The first section concentrates on the methods and procedures for data collection while the second section introduces the approaches for analysing the data.

3.2 Data Collection

This section begins with a discussion of the case study approach. It then proceeds to the descriptions of the sampling procedures, followed by introductions of the ethics and data collection methods used in this research. This section ends with the depiction of participants and detailed procedures for data collection.

3.2.1 Case study

3.2.1.1. What is a case study?

In order to answer the research questions, a case study approach was adopted for the current study. The reason for this choice is that the researcher is interested in investigating both the uniqueness and commonality of the subjects. There are contradictory views concerning a definition of case study. Some view it as almost interchangeable with qualitative research but others think that case study can be quantitative too. While some claim it is a paradigm, others regard it as merely a method (Richards, 2003).
According to Stake, “case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (Stake, 1995:xi). Yin addresses the issue of scope and defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003a:13).

From the perspective of psychology, case study is “the description and analysis of a particular entity (object, person, group, event, state condition, process, or whatever). Such singular entities are usually occurrences with definable boundaries, although they exist and function within a context of surrounding circumstances. Such entities also exist over a short period of time relative to that context” (Bromley, 1986:8). Sociologists view case study as “a method of studying social phenomena through the analysis of an individual case” (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969; cited in Punch, 1998:153).

“Cases are primarily people, but researchers can also explore in depth a programme, an institution, an organization, or a community” (Dörnyei, 2007:151). As far as the present research is concerned, the cases are three teachers from the same department in a university. Not only are the situations of each case considered, but attention is also paid to the environment in which the cases are based (the university). The reason for choosing this specific university
over others is that it is a prestigious university in a city where ELT has been
developing and prospering for a much longer time compared with other places.
In addition, this university specialises in foreign language teaching, especially
with a reputation on English language teaching. It is therefore assumed that
teachers from this university will be qualified both theoretically and practically
in English language teaching. Although it seems that almost anything can be a
case, as long as it contains a single entity with clearly defined boundaries, not
everything can in fact be studied as a case. The case has to be specific, complex,
and functioning (Stake, 1995). Relating to the current study, the cases are three
in-practice English teachers with similar as well as different elements compared
to each other. They all teach courses regarding English language skills or
literature but they differ in age, research interests and experience of teaching etc.
It is hoped that these similarities and differences will provide insights into
relevant aspects of the cases.

3.2.1.2 Nature of case study used

Merriam (1988) differentiates types of case study in education from two
perspectives. On the one hand, since case study research in education has a
strong tradition of focusing on individuals and seeking to understand specific
issues and problems of practice, it usually draws upon other disciplines,
producing case studies that can be described as ethnographic, historical,
psychological, sociologica, etc. With reference to the current study, since the
cases are teaching ELL related courses, it is perhaps most accurately described as a linguistic/humanistic case study. Merriam also proposes characterising case studies in terms of whether they are descriptive, interpretive or evaluative. Although this case study “presents a detailed account of the phenomenon under study” and might therefore be described as descriptive, because primarily it seeks to “develop conceptual categories or to illustrate support, or challenge theoretical assumptions held prior to the data gathering” (Merriam, 1988:27-28) by not only describing teachers’ codeswitching behaviours but also developing a new category system for comparison with previous studies, it is best described as interpretive. Its attempt to generate new insights into the impact of teachers’ academic identities on codeswitching also represents an extension of current assumptions.

A case study does not necessarily have to be single-case study; it can also involve multi-case design. The advantages of multi-case include strong face validity due to their comparative nature (Dörnyei, 2007) and the practical benefits of reducing the impact if a participant withdraws his or her participation. A multi-case study can take the form of researching events at different locations (possibly within the same institution), to draw conclusions about the project as a whole.
The current study is a multi-case study in which three teachers participate. These three teachers to a large extent bear similarities in terms of education backgrounds and teaching experience, whereas a small number of differences exist among them in other respects. It is believed that a multi-case design can form a stronger platform for the research findings than relying on only one case (Yin, 2004), allowing space for comparison and mirroring so that more interpretations can be achieved, at the same time lessening the risk of over-subjective assertions. It is therefore hoped that through researching the three teachers’ codeswitching behaviours and making comparisons between them, it will be possible not only to identify common features and differences but also to develop a richer picture of the complexities of codeswitching behaviour than a single case would be likely to generate.

3.2.1.3 Methods used for case study

Generally speaking, qualitative methods are employed in case studies because they are a more appropriate means of providing sufficient information in order to generate rich interpretations. The six commonly used methods listed in Yin (2003a) are: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation and physical artifacts. It is believed that using multiple sources of data allow researchers to “corroborate and augment evidence from other sources” (Yin, 2003a:87). In applied linguistics, a number of instruments or techniques are often included in the data collection process (Duff, 2007;
Mackey and Gass, 2005). Many research studies focus on documents, archives or artifacts (e.g. in text studies or policy studies), or on interviews and observations (e.g. in second language acquisition or classroom studies) (Duff, 2007).

In addition, quantitative data from surveys or other instruments such as stimulated recall and verbal reports can be used to support findings from qualitative data (Merriam, 1988; Duff, 2007). Methodological triangulation combines different methods, which is a major strength of case study. The rationale for this methodological triangulation is that the weakness of one method is likely to be the strength of another. Through combining methods, researchers can achieve the best of each and overcome their deficiencies (Merriam, 1988). In the current study, three methods are used to complete the research: classroom observation, interview and stimulated recall. Detailed descriptions of how these methods are employed respectively can be found in Section 3.2.6. It is hoped that classroom observations will be able to capture the dynamic of the classes in the most direct way, while with interviews the researcher can gain the participants’ understanding and perceptions in depth, and stimulated recalls will be helpful in probing into participants’ thoughts at particular moments to achieve a clear picture of their decision making process.
Case study can be combined with mixed methods research approach to form an integrated research design. Mixed methods research, put in simple words, involves both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis methods. It involves converging and triangulating different quantitative and qualitative data sources (Campbell and Fiske, 1959; Jick, 1979; Creswell, 2003) and recent developments have focused on expanding reasons and procedures for this approach (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998; Creswell, 2002).

Among all the definitions of mixed methods research, that of Johnson et al (2007) serves as a comprehensive synthesis of all the other alternatives. They define mixed methods research as “the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g. use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration” (Johnson et al, 2007:123).

Mixed methods approach may not be involved at the beginning of the research design but included at a later stage (Bryman, 2006) for “improving an intervention design, developing a model to explain a process, validating quantitative results, developing an instrument, or providing a means to examine trends in a national study” (Creswell et al, 2006:6). The current study is an
example where a mixed methods approach was not considered until the data were analysed. Transcriptions from recorded lessons were initially used for the categorisation of codeswitching behaviours and subsequent quantitative analysis. However, as the unusual nature of codeswitching in this context became apparent, time coding for each lesson was included and this, together with findings from the interviews, provided insights which were used as the basis of further qualitative research in the form of follow-up interviews. This corresponds to what Creswell and Piano Clark (2007) describe as a connected or linked approach, in which one data set builds on another.

According to Creswell and Piano Clark (2007), there are four broad categories of mixed methods design: Triangulation, Embedded, Explanatory and Exploratory. Triangulation design is selected when two different methods are used, usually at the same time, “in an attempt to confirm, cross-validate, or corroborate findings within a single study” (Creswell, 2003:217). In an embedded design, the data generated from one type of method are in a secondary role, provide support for the other and are only meaningful when embedded with data from the other method. Explanatory design features a sequential data collection and analysis process in which the quantitative part precedes the qualitative part and the priority is normally given to the quantitative data. In contrast, exploratory design is characterized by an initial phase of qualitative data collection and analysis, followed by the quantitative procedures,
with priority given to the qualitative phase. The current research adopts the
explanatory design but with qualitative data prioritised. The outcomes from the
quantitative data in Phase I prompted the qualitative data collection in Phase II
which helped to better understand the codeswitching patterns and reasons for
codeswitching. However in this study, qualitative data, which represent the
majority of all the data collected in both phases, are of greater importance,
compared with quantitative data.

Weighting is also a criterion for deciding mixed methods research design. It
means the degree of importance each data set holds. The priority of quantitative
and qualitative methods can be equal, in which case “QUAN with QUAL” is
used to illustrate this strategy. Similarly, “QUAN with qual” indicates
quantitative element has greater emphasis in the study than qualitative one; vice
versa in the case of “QUAL with quan” (Morse, 1991). In addition, the symbol
“+” is used to suggest the two methods are employed concurrently whereas “→”
represents they are conducted sequentially. Also brackets indicate that one
element is enclosed or embedded within another. Therefore the current research
can be described as “quan → QUAL” which means quantitative results provoke
qualitative data collection but qualitative data are prioritised.

3.2.2 Sampling procedure
The research was conducted in a major city in China where the development of
ELT is well-established and flourishing, relative to other cities. Sun University (all names are pseudonyms) is a prestigious university famous for its teaching and the quality of its research in the area of foreign languages. Teachers in the ELLD of this university are thus well-qualified and can be expected to have a firm understanding of the principles of CLT and its implementation in China.

Contact with teachers in the ELLD began in December 2008. They were first given general information about the current research such as the purpose, the duration and proposed methodology. They were asked to reply to the mail if they were interested so that further details could be sent to them.

The size of the sample was limited to ten teachers. As it is a qualitative case study, a large number of participants is not necessary, nor is this likely to enable the researcher to investigate the crucial issues within the study in depth. Therefore only ten teachers were contacted in the first place in the hope that at least two of them would become the final participants. The parameters for deciding the samples were: they should be English teachers with teaching experience of at least five years. Novice teachers were not considered, since it was the researcher’s consideration that teachers with a few years of experience would have developed a stabilized teaching method of their own and their beliefs and insights would have been much shaped and refined. In addition, it was preferable that each participant taught at least two different subjects so that
comparisons would be possible within each case. This parameter considerably limited the size of the sample.

3.2.3 Ethics

After the initial contact, four teachers who expressed their interest were provided with a detailed participant information sheet (see Appendix A) including a brief introduction to the researcher, the research procedures, what participants would be expected to do and also the purposes the findings of this research would serve etc. They were also informed that due to the nature of the research itself, audio and video recording would be necessary but anonymity and confidentiality would be ensured. Later, three teachers replied, expressing their willingness to participate in this study. Consent forms (see Appendix B) were immediately sent. They were reassured that although signing the consent form indicated that they were volunteering to participate and that they still had the option to withdraw from the study at any time. The three teachers signed the consent forms and posted them back to the researcher.

The application for Ethical Approval was then submitted by the researcher. Approval was granted for this research by the Departmental Research Ethics Committee. There were a few issues that the researcher was particularly careful about. Firstly it was important that participants understood the purpose and process of this research clearly. Secondly, they were made fully aware what they
needed to contribute in the process. Thirdly, they all consented to participate in this research on their own will and all their information would be strictly kept confidential and anonymous.

3.2.4 Participants

The participants are three male teachers at Sun University (Teachers A, B and C), aged 42, 35 and 49 respectively. Teacher A obtained his doctoral degree in British and American Literature and is responsible for teaching “History of American Literature” and “Selective American Literature” to students in their third year as well as “Advanced English” to the final year students in the department. Teacher B, who is very passionate about philosophy and cultural studies, has a doctoral degree in Philosophy and Comparative Culture, and teaches “Western Philosophy” and “British and American Poetry” to second-year-students. Teacher C was awarded his doctoral degree in English Linguistics and has been specializing in English pragmatics and stylistics since then. He teaches “Advanced English” to students in their final year. It is understood that Teacher C only teaches one subject to undergraduates, which contradicts the sampling parameters. The reason for his inclusion is that he teaches the same subject to the students in the same grade as Teacher A, which provides excellent conditions for comparisons between them.
It should be noted that all the three participants are male teachers. Having identified the institution and the level of teaching to be researched, the researcher worked with the teachers involved and these happened to be male; no gender bias was intended. It is, of course, possible that some of the findings of this study might be features of its all-male-participant arrangement, but no salient implications have been observed in the current study.

In terms of specialty and research interests, these three participants differ considerably. Teacher A is very much interested in literature while Teacher B has a passion for philosophy and culture. However Teacher C is more linguistically oriented.

All of them have had experience of being visiting scholars in English-speaking-countries. Teacher A has visited several universities in America and while Teachers B and C have both researched in British and American universities for a period of time. Therefore their spoken English is assumed to be proficient compared with the average level in the department and in other universities in China in general.

The reason for choosing this university has been given in the sampling procedure section. The reason for choosing these three teachers as participants is due to the fact that they are all experienced English teachers with their own
interests and specialties in terms of teaching and researching. In addition, they are all mid-career, which implies that they are expected to be of a status where their understandings of their jobs, students and curricula have reached a stabilized and consolidated stage (Huberman, 1989). In the meantime, their confidence has also developed to a certain level in which they have faith in themselves and have a clear mind in how their professions are going to be developed (Huberman, 1989).

To sum up, these three teachers comprise a typical group of competent and qualified cases in terms of researching ELT at tertiary level in China. First of all, they all received their Bachelor, Master and PhD education in prestigious universities in China, which reflects the fact that their English language proficiency should be at a high level compared with other English teachers in Chinese universities as a whole. Secondly, they are working for a university which has a strong reputation for foreign language teaching, which to some extent proves their L2 proficiency and teaching ability. Thirdly they are not novice teachers with little or no experience. Instead they have all been teaching for more than ten years (two of them have been teaching for more than 15 years). As stated above, they have reached a stage where their beliefs and practice concerning teaching have been stabilized. Finally they have different research interests compared with each other, which allows ample space for comparison with regard to data analysis.
3.2.5 Data collection methods

This is a mixed methods multi-case study which lasted for approximately 11 weeks in Phase I and 3 weeks in Phase II. Three research methods are employed: classroom observations, interviews and stimulated recalls, among which interviews are used in both Phase I and Phase II.

3.2.5.1 Classroom observation

Classroom research was described by Long as “research on second language learning and teaching, all or part of whose data are derived from the observation or measurement of the classroom performance of teachers and students” (Long, 1980:3). Put simply by van Lier, it can be defined as research which “investigates what happens in second language classrooms” (van Lier, 1990:174). Classroom research can be categorised into naturalistic classroom research, experimental classroom research and action research.

Observations, belonging to the naturalistic category, aim to not intervene in the learning process while gaining detailed information based on the existing situation (Gass and Mackey, 2007). Observations can be briefly defined as “methods of generating data which involve the research immersing himself/herself in a research setting, interactions, relationships, actions events, and so on, within it” (Mason, 1996:60). Observations were chosen as an essential data collection method for this research is because they are “one of the
most commonly employed data collection procedures in classroom research, as they allow researchers to gather detailed data on the events, interactions, and patterns of language use within particular foreign and second language classroom contexts” (Gass and Mackey, 2007:165). In the current research, the researcher bases classroom observations on classroom recordings\(^8\) which provide a detailed portrait of the dynamic in the classroom, which other qualitative research methods such as interview or stimulated recall are unable to do. The audio recordings of the lessons, as a much less intrusive method, capture every word of the teacher’s language and can be played and listened to again and again. The videotaping gives an insight into the teacher’s body language and the non-verbal interactions between the teacher and the students which audio recordings fail to do. Audio and video recording complement each other and the data generated from these two methods are sufficient to answer the research questions concerning teachers’ codeswitching behaviours, changes of codeswitching over time and some of the factors that affect their codeswitching behaviours. The majority of the analysis of lecture talk will rely on audio recordings. Videotaping is used to complement the analysis process, if any non-verbal interactions appear to be critical and crucial in terms of answering some of the research questions. Nevertheless the main function of videotaping is acting as a stimulus for the stimulated recall.

\(^8\) As classroom observation in the current study mainly took the form of lesson recordings and these recorded lessons are the main source for data analysis. Therefore the words “classroom observation” and “classroom recording” are used interchangeably in this thesis. Classroom observation in this study is not used in its conventional sense.
In classroom observations, researchers can choose whether or not to be guided by a pre-determined observational protocol. The protocol usually involves the coding of behaviours after a certain time, e.g. 10 seconds\(^9\) (Duff, 2007); or pre-categorised diagrams adopted from previous studies which are used for the researcher to compare with the current situation (Duff, 2007; Spada and Lyster, 1997; van Lier, 1997). In terms of the present study, there are various categorizations with regard to event coding on teachers’ codeswitching patterns from previous studies that can be available to use but I decided not to use any pre-established observational protocols and instead opted to develop a category system on codeswitching activities through the data analysis process, which also involved drawing on previous systems as appropriate. Details of event coding and its rationale are provided in the third section of this chapter. The reason I decided to adopt this open observation approach is that an observational protocol can be distracting: observer might be distracted from the linguistic performance of the teacher as he or she is busily engaged in fitting each codeswitching utterance into predetermined categories. Furthermore, an open observation leaves more space for new thoughts and reflections being generated and since all lessons would be recorded there would be a full record available for subsequent analysis.

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\(^9\) The timing is determined according to the direction, language, or substance of interaction (Duff, 2007).
Classroom observations in the current study mainly took the form of lesson recordings which took place throughout the duration of the research on a weekly basis. Since the three participants were teaching different subjects, roughly speaking, a total of three or four sessions were observed each week (since not every subject was available for observation during the whole period), each session lasting for 60 to 90 minutes. Field notes\(^{10}\) were taken during each session to “help contextualize the observed behaviours and to note aspects of the observations that merit follow up” (Duff, 2007:140). All observed sessions were also audio recorded.

The advantage of using audio recording is that it helps preserve the linguistic characters of the teachers and its presence is much less intrusive compared with video recording. However its disadvantage is that it misses the non-verbal signals from the teachers. On the contrary, video recording completes audio recording in the way that it presents the whole scenario of the lesson and allows a vivid atmosphere of classroom interactions, though setting up a camera in class is very likely to seem intrusive and alter the teachers’ behaviours. Teachers may find it unnatural to deliver the class content as usual and may feel the need to change their language use consciously. In addition, both recording methods enable the researcher to review the lesson as many times as necessary so that transcriptions and analysis of teachers’ language use can be carried out precisely.

\(^{10}\) Samples of field notes are provided in Appendix C.
(Duff, 2007). Therefore, only one session taught by each participant (excluding Teacher C) was videotaped in order to minimize the intrusive presence of a camera in the classroom. This would allow any nonverbal aspects relevant to codeswitching to be identified so that relevant limitations in the analysis of audio recorded data could be identified and borne in mind when making claims based on this. In fact, previous research on codeswitching suggests that audio recording is sufficient in terms of obtaining and transcribing the teachers’ language use when codeswitching occurs. The primary use of video recordings will be as a basis for stimulated recalls by participants.

Classroom observations also involved the researcher’s presence as an observer. I was present in each session for the whole time of the research, witnessing the teacher’s language switches, keeping notes on each codeswitching item, being alert of any changes of their codeswitching behaviours over time and taking notes for relevant events and actions.

3.2.5.2 Interview

Interviews play an important role in sociolinguistic research and in areas such as applied linguistics and second language acquisition. They are also very commonly used in case studies. Interviews are “one of the most common methods for eliciting narratives in sociolinguistic research” (Gass and Mackey, 2007:136). They are usually conducted on a one-to-one basis in person and they
provide researchers with unscripted, conversational data. Although it is broadly believed that data elicited from interviews are natural and genuine thoughts from the interviewee, Milroy and Gordon (2003) argue that it might not be the case, since interviews are normally done by researchers who are basically strangers to the interviewees, it is doubted that elicited narratives will be the true and natural representation of their thoughts and speech patterns.

In the qualitative inquiry, interview is not merely a way of collecting facts but a means to go deeper, “to pursue understanding in all its complex, elusive and shifting forms; and to achieve this we need to establish a relationship with people that enables us to share in their perception of the world” (Richards, 2003:50). Qualitative interviewing is based on conversation (Kvale, 1996). Despite asking and answering questions, qualitative interviewing tends to be more constructionist rather than positivist in terms of epistemology (Warren, 2001), as interview participants are viewed as meaning makers instead of conduits retrieving information from an existing vessel of answers (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Most qualitative interviews aim to derive interpretation, rather than facts or laws (Warren, 2001).

There are various types of interviews depending on contexts and methods. There are survey interviewing, qualitative interviewing, in-depth interviewing and life story interviewing etc. Based on the control of the interview process that the
researcher holds, interviews can be categorised as structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews (Duff, 2007). A structured interview aims to ensure that each interviewee is presented with exactly the same questions in the same order. This enables the answers to be reliably aggregated so that valid comparisons can be made between sample subgroups or between different survey periods. While a structured interview has formalized, limited set questions, a semi-structured interview is flexible, allowing new questions to be brought up during the interview in response to what the interviewee says. The interviewer in a semi-structured interview generally has a framework of themes to be explored. In an unstructured interview, questions can be changed or adapted to meet the respondent's intelligence, understanding or beliefs. Unlike a structured interview, the unstructured interview does not offer a limited, pre-set range of answers from which a respondent is required to select, but instead advocate listening to how each individual person responds to the question.

As far as the current research is concerned, the semi-structured interview approach is chosen in light of the fact that the researcher has an interview guide prepared in advance which covers a group of topics to be explored. However she chooses not to be constrained by a particular format, but rather to benefit from the freedom of tailoring the questions to the interview situations.
Semi-structured interviews are conducted at two different stages: at the beginning and the end of the research with three participants (Teacher A, B and C) individually. The interviews were arranged in this way because on the one hand, it was evenly distributed (plus the stimulated recall) throughout the semester with enough time lapses between each two so that it did not bring the interviewee under too much pressure. On the other hand, it allowed the researcher to have sufficient time to transcribe the lessons and prepare for the questions to ask in the next interview. Follow-up interviews in Phase II were conducted with all the participants during the period of three weeks.

The design of the interviews and how the pilot interview went are presented in the next part.

Kvale (1996) identifies six steps for analyzing interviews, involving condensing and interpreting during the interviews by the interviewer, developing new ideas by the interviewee, re-interview, and action taken by interviewee based on insights gained. However the most salient act is Step 4 where interviews are transcribed and interpreted by the researcher. Materials are first structured, followed by clarification meaning eliminating superfluous materials and distinguishing between the essential and the non-essential. Then the material needs developing by bringing in the understanding of the interviewee as well as providing new perspectives from the interviewer.
With regard to the current study, it is expected that the data generated from interviews will be able to answer the research questions addressing teachers’ personal beliefs and views on English language teaching in general and codeswitching in particular so as to further explore to what extent their beliefs are affecting their practice in class. It is also hoped that insights from interviews will supply implications for teacher training and policy making in this respect.

Content analysis is used for analysing interviews in Phase I where the interviews are comparatively short in length and the answers provided by the interviewees are compact and straightforward whereas thematic analysis method is employed to guide through analysing follow-up interviews from Phase II based on the consideration that the second-round-interviews generate more in-depth and valuable insights and constitute a significantly crucial part for Findings and Discussion.

To complete a content analysis, interviews are firstly transcribed. Substantive statements are marked and highlighted when the researcher reads through the transcriptions. A list of categories is derived according to the highlighted statements and headings are given to each category. Categories and headings are further reviewed and amended if necessary. Statements are collated to each category in preparation for writing the report (Gillham, 2000).
Thematic analysis is a method for “identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006:79). To complete thematic analysis, six phases should be followed: familiarizing yourself with your data; generating initial codes; searching for themes; reviewing themes; defining and naming themes; producing the report. Guided by these six steps, the analysis of the interviews will begin with transcriptions, as “only a transcript allows the sort of focused attention on the minutiae of talk that promotes insights into technique and content” (Richards, 2003:81). It then proceeds to define codes across the entire data set and collate codes into potential themes according to relevant research questions. Themes are reviewed and refined, and a “thematic map” is generated. At last, valuable extracts are selected to be included in the analysis and meanwhile the researcher relates back to the analysis to the research questions and literature so as to form a final report.

There is evidence of increasing interest in the interactional construction of qualitative interview in social science research focusing on interview talk as a co-construction between the interviewer and interviewee and criticizing a general neglect of the role of the interviewer in presenting interviewing results (Holstein and Gubrium 1995; Atkinson and Silverman, 1997; Silverman, 2001; Potter and Hepburn, 2005; Watson, 2009; Mann, 2011). The reason for emphasizing the importance of the interviewer as a participant in the interviewing process is that the interview itself builds a context in which “each
sequence is linked to the next: an utterance, point of view, opinion, belief, anecdote, argument or complaint does not exist in isolation” (Mann, 2011:10).

There is concern that the loss of interviewer’s voice and his/her contributions may lead to decontextualisation of the interviewing construction (Baker, 2004).

The researcher in the current study understands and acknowledges the importance of the role of the interviewer and is aware of the need to avoid ‘mining’ the data for information at the expense of sensitivity to interactional aspects. This was part of the reason for conducting the interviews in Chinese and the analysis itself involved consideration of the interactional situation. However, the voice of the interviewer is to a large extent not included in the report of interviewing results for a number of reasons. Firstly, qualitative interviews in this project aimed to obtain extended statements from the interviewees and on most occasions questions asked by the interviewer were kept very short, allowing the respondents space to develop their positions at length. Secondly, the interactional construction of these interviews, in which interviewer turns largely took the form of comprehension checking, confirmations and further eliciting questions, was also such that no evidence of jointly constructed positions could be detected by the interviewer-analyst. Given that any such evidence would have been presented as part of the analysis, the exclusion of the interviewer’s voice in the Findings chapter does not lead to any distortion of the meanings in the interviews. Even in relatively shorter turns,
there was clear evidence in the directness and clarity of the responses that the interviewees were representing a position on which they had already reflected, as illustrated in the following extract:

\textit{E}^{11}: Do you think that teachers’ codeswitching behaviours influence students’ second language learning? If so, to what extent?

\textit{A}: I think they do. There is a possibility that sometimes teachers’ codeswitching to Chinese is not in order to help students to understand but due to the limitation of L2 use of the teachers. The teacher cannot express it in English so that he or she switches to Chinese. It is normal but should be treated with caution.

\textit{E}: What would you say is the rough balance between L1 and L2 use in class?

\textit{A}: I think it might be 70\% English and 30\% Chinese. I always think that it is inappropriate for an English teacher to speak too much Chinese in class. A little Chinese is allowed but most of the teacher’s talk should be in English. If the Chinese use exceeds 30\%, then the class is not qualified to be considered a second language class.

\footnote{“E” refers to the interviewer whereas A refers to Teacher A, the interviewee.}
E: Do you think it has anything to do with the subject you are teaching?

A: Yes, indeed. It all depends on the objective of the class. A skills-based class probably requires less L1 use than a content-based class. For example, when I am teaching Literary Theory to postgraduate students, I may have to use 50% Chinese, because the content is too difficult for the students. They cannot understand it at all by reading the handouts themselves. I tried to use all English but it was proved to be unsuccessful. It is the same with other teachers. [TAI2:53]

3.2.5.3 Stimulated recall

Introspective methods did not appear as a method in scientific inquiry until the late nineteenth century when psychology first emerged as a scientific discipline (Ericsson, 2002; Dörnyei, 2007). Because of the “significance of various mental operations in producing language” (Dörnyei, 2007: 147), introspective methods have been viewed as being of close relevance to the field of applied linguistics. They are generally used to obtain unobservable mental processes and help uncover the cognitive and psycholinguistic processes behind language performance in second language acquisition (Kormos, 1998).
There are typically two techniques involved when referring to introspective methods: think-aloud and retrospective interviews, the latter also known as stimulated recall. These two techniques differ mainly in the timing. Think-aloud is employed concurrently to the examined process while stimulated recall is applied after the task has been accomplished (Dörnyei, 2007). In the current research, stimulated recall is used at the mid-point of the data collection process.

“There has been a recent proliferation of studies using stimulated recalls” (Gass and Mackey, 2007:53). It is an introspective measure which enables second language researchers to explore participants’ thought processes or strategies. Through using a stimulus, stimulated recall is conducted to prompt participants to recall and report thoughts they had when they were performing a task or engaged in an event (Gass and Mackey, 2007). The stimulus can be a videotape or some written material in L2 on which participants can make comments. However there are potential limitations concerning stimulated recall, including issues of memory and retrieval, timing and instructions. Helpful recommendations are made by Gass and Mackey (2000: 54-55) such as “data should be collected as soon as possible after the event that is the focus of the recall” and “the stimulus should be as strong as possible to activate memory structures”.

122
The purpose of including stimulated recall in this research is to obtain a better understanding of teachers’ decision-making processes in terms of codeswitching. It is hoped that through conducting stimulated recall, more detailed information about the motivation behind codeswitching can be revealed. In addition, whereas interviews only reveal what the teachers believe they do and classroom observations enable us to see what they actually do, stimulated recalls serve as a bridge in the middle, offering the teachers the opportunity to retrieve memories and ponder the gap between their beliefs and acts: during this process insights into the reasons behind alternating language can be obtained by the researcher.

The reason for filming one lesson of two teachers (Teachers A and B) for stimulated recall is that Teacher C felt uncomfortable being filmed and he made this point to the researcher before he signed the consent form. The researcher understands and respects his decision, and considers that two stimulated recalls should provide enough introspective data, especially since they are conducted with the two teachers whose lessons are observed most.

The major advantage of using stimulated recall is that through using it, researchers can potentially gain access to the mental processes of their participants and usually there are no other means to obtain such information (Dörnyei, 2007). In addition, it can be combined with other research methods to enhance the richness of the data and also increase the reliability of the data obtained (Kormos, 1998). However, it has also been argued that much of
cognitive processing is inaccessible because it is unconscious. Furthermore, a
certain amount of information is inevitably lost due to the time lapse between
the task and the stimulated recall (Cohen, 1998; Dörnyei, 2007). The stimulated
recall in the present research is arranged one day later than the lesson in order to
keep the interval as short as possible. Although one day seems very long in
terms of stimulated recalls, it is arranged in this way because the participants
were able to only offer at most one hour free time after the lesson and it was not
feasible for the researcher to conduct the stimulated recalls in that one hour right
after the lesson, as it takes time to prepare for it. The researcher has to watch the
video again, decide the moments for discussion when codeswitching takes place
and mark the time down for those moments. She also has to prepare questions
for the stimulated recall. Sometimes this involves questions related to
comparison with participants’ codeswitching behaviours in other lessons as well
as interviews with them.

3.2.6 Procedures for data collection

3.2.6.1 Classroom observation (Phase I)

Pilot testing took place in Week 0 with one participant and the procedure went
well on that day. On the first day in Week 1 the researcher came to the class ten
minutes early to set up the audio recording facility to ensure that it was not
distracting or causing any interference to either the teacher or the students.
When the class began, the teacher allowed the researcher to introduce herself to
the students, briefly explaining her intentions with regard to being an observer. The researcher recorded the first lesson and listened to it again afterwards. The real observation did not start until it was ensured that the audio recording quality was sufficient for transcribing teachers’ language use. Therefore, from Week 1 to Week 11, in each session observed, the researcher came to the classroom ten minutes early, set up the recorder where the best recording quality could be obtained, and sat at the back of the classroom. In the end, a total of 31 lessons were recorded. The chart below shows the schedule of classroom observations.\(^{12}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Teacher A</th>
<th>Teacher B</th>
<th>Teacher C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Week</td>
<td>Advanced English</td>
<td>American Literature</td>
<td>Western Philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>√</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>√</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>√</td>
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<td>10</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 Schedule of classroom observations

\(^{12}\) The ticks indicate that the lessons were observed in that particular week. The blank grid boxes indicate that the lessons were not available for observation in that week.
The researcher was aware that such a large number of recorded lessons would be likely to result in an overabundance of data, which would be very difficult to handle in the process of analysis. Yet, it was hoped that the recording of so many lessons would ensure that sufficient data were obtained, and that this would help to generate more reliable findings on teachers’ codeswitching behaviours.

The videotaping took place in Week 5, when two sessions (one “Advanced English” from Teacher A and one “Western Philosophy” from Teacher B) were videotaped. During the classes in Week 4, the researcher reminded the teachers and students of the upcoming video recording and obtained their consent once again. It was also explained to the students that the video recording was only focusing on the teacher, as this research was investigating teachers’ language use, so they did not need to worry about themselves being filmed.

On the first day of the videotaping, the researcher arrived at the classroom early to set up the camera. After discussing the position of the camera with the teacher, the camera was put at the back of the classroom so that it would not block the students’ line of sight, nor disturb the teacher too much. The recorder was also set up as usual; the two sessions videotaped were therefore audio-recorded as well. The same procedures for videotaping were repeated the following day with another teacher’s class.
3.2.6.2 Interview (Phase I)

As was mentioned earlier, interviews were held with the three participants at the beginning and at the end of the research study. The table below illustrates the schedule for the interviews:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Interview 1</th>
<th>Interview 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher A</td>
<td>Week 1</td>
<td>Week 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher B</td>
<td>Week 2</td>
<td>Week 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher C</td>
<td>Week 2</td>
<td>Week 5(^{13})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 Schedule for interviews

Therefore, there were a total of six interviews, varying in length from 15 to 30 minutes. The researcher understands that this is arguably too short a time for an interview. The reason why the interviews did not last longer was because this was the maximum period of time that the participants could offer and the only options available, therefore, were a short interview or no interview at all. On the other hand, the development of suitably focused questions allowed sufficient time to cover all the essential topics and obtain respondents’ views on these (although time constraints to some extent limited extended probes, especially if this involved inviting more extended narratives). It is also worth noting that these interviews are part of a larger picture, including stimulated recall.

\(^{13}\) Since Teacher C’s lessons were only available for observation from week 2 to week 5, the second interview with him took place in week 5.
A pilot interview was undertaken one week before the research officially started. This lasted for 20 minutes and was conducted with another teacher (who was not able to participate in the later research) from the same department as the three participants. The questions prepared proved to be well-organised and well-expressed in terms of wording, and efficient in generating the answers required. It was learnt from the pilot interview that it was better to conduct the interviews in Chinese, which was the native language of the participants; it would be time-consuming, but a potential for misunderstanding would otherwise exist. Nevertheless, the researcher asked for the participants’ opinions on language choice and they all agreed on the use of Chinese.

The first round of interviews aimed to obtain participants’ views on CLT, English language teaching as a whole in China and a statement of their personal teaching beliefs and methods. Participants were therefore asked general questions, not directly related to codeswitching. The researcher did not touch on or imply the topic of codeswitching in any questions raised so as not to influence the participants’ codeswitching behaviours in class observations. To this end, the questions asked in the first-round of interviews may not have been sufficient to answer any of the research questions straightforwardly; nevertheless, it was anticipated that participants’ answers would offer insights in terms of identifying factors that affect their codeswitching behaviours.
The main question topics which provide the framework for the interview lie in
the following areas: participants’ understanding of CLT; their perceptions of
English language teaching in general in China; and their personal beliefs and
practice in respect of English language teaching. Further lines of development
are also sketched out under the topics mentioned above, and these are
summarized below:

![Image](image1.png)

**Figure 3.3 First interview outline**

The purpose of the second round of interviews was to understand participants’
perceptions of codeswitching. It was expected that their answers would be
sufficient to answer the research questions concerning stated motivations for
codeswitching and factors affecting codeswitching behaviours. The main topics
can be divided into two categories: participants’ beliefs on codeswitching in
terms of theoretical perspectives, and their own codeswitching practice in class.
Supporting questions were derived as follows:
Before the interviews, the researcher would email the participant one week in advance to make an appointment with him for the interview, and remind him again two days before the interview took place. The participant would be reminded in the email that the interview would be audio recorded. Interviews were conducted either in the same classroom where the lesson observation had taken place or in the participant’s office before or after their lessons. Prior to the beginning of the interview, the researcher would inform the interviewee of the major topics that were going to be addressed, let him choose the language in which he wanted to answer the questions, and remind him once again of the audio recording. The researcher would then switch on the recorder and begin the interview. The same procedure was followed for each of the interviews.
3.2.6.3 Stimulated recall (Phase I)

Stimulated recall was employed in the middle of the current research. Since only lessons from Teachers A and B were video-taped, stimulated recalls were only conducted with these two participants. As explained above, stimulated recalls took place one day after the lessons were videotaped due to scheduling considerations in respect of the teachers involved. The two lessons were videotaped on the Monday and Tuesday in week 5. Thus, the stimulated recalls were conducted on the Tuesday and Wednesday of the same week. The two participants were informed at the beginning of the research that there would be lesson videotaping followed by stimulated recalls scheduled sometime in the middle of the research. In week 4, the researcher reminded the teachers of the upcoming videotaping and stimulated recall. We discussed the matter together and decided on which lesson was to be filmed, as well as confirming the time slot for the stimulated recall.

On the day of the first stimulated recall session with Teacher A, the researcher met the participant in his office as arranged. Before the session formally began, the researcher introduced relevant information concerning the procedure of stimulated recall and reminded the participant again that this session would also be audio recorded. We also agreed on the use of Chinese throughout this question-and-answer session, which began directly after the participant had confirmed that he was fully aware of the process. The researcher then played the
pre-selected extracts from the video to the teacher, paused after each extract was played, and raised the questions. There were at least five extracts reviewed in each stimulated recall, and these five extracts were selected on the basis that they were the codeswitching items which best represented different categories of classroom activity, such as codeswitching when explaining vocabulary, when giving procedural instructions, when lecturing literature/culture, and so forth. Each extract lasted no longer than one minute. The participant was free to pause the extract at any time he wanted, in the event that he felt the need to explain his language use.

The purpose of the stimulated recalls was to probe into the teachers’ decision-making processes and thus understand more about their codeswitching behaviours at particular moments in order to answer the research questions on stated motivations for, and factors affecting, codeswitching. In addition, answers from the stimulated recalls could be compared with those from the interviews and outcomes of the classroom observations to further explore to what extent the participants differed in terms of their stated beliefs and actual practice. The most fundamental question was, therefore: why did you codeswitch at that moment? Having decided on the basic question, subsidiary questions were sketched out in order to help the participants to generate more ideas on the issue. Additionally, questions relevant to their previous interviews and classroom practice might be
brought up for comparison with current circumstances. Details are presented below:

![Stimulated recall outline](image)

**Figure 3.5 Stimulated recall outline**

The other stimulated recall, with Teacher B, was conducted according to the same procedures on the following day.

### 3.2.6.4 Follow-up interview (Phase II)

A pilot interview with a Chinese visiting scholar at the University of Birmingham was conducted in England two weeks prior to the formal follow-up interviews. The interviewee was an English teacher with nine years’ experience in teaching students who were non-English majors at a Chinese university. As the interviewee’s academic environment was quite different from that of the
participants in the current study, this pilot interview did not aim to generate insightful answers which would shed light on the questions planned for the follow-up interviews, but rather was intended to help improve the interviewer’s techniques in the process of interviewing. The pilot interview lasted for twenty-five minutes and questions were asked about three main topics: attitudes towards the national curriculum requirements, views on teaching materials, and the impact of social and disciplinary identity on teaching practice. The interview was audio recorded and transcribed afterwards. The transcriptions were studied and the segments in which the interviewer did not conduct the interviewing process as effectively as she might have were identified and modifications considered. Techniques such as how to expand on and explore answers and how to avoid asking leading questions were identified as relevant to the follow-up interviews.

The follow-up interviews took the form of in-depth semi-structured interviews and were conducted with all the three participants who were involved in Phase I of this research. The three participants were invited to the follow-up interview by email in September, 2010. They were notified of the main purpose, time and expected length of this interview and were provided with as much relevant information as they required. They were advised that the follow-up interview would resemble the first-round interview in the way in which it was conducted, except that it would be longer this time. They were also reminded of the
presence of the recorder and were assured as to the confidentiality of any information related to the data collected from this interview. The three participants promptly gave their consent to the researcher via email. They were contacted again in November, 2010 and appointments were made for the interviews.

Two interviews were conducted with both Teacher A and Teacher B, and one with Teacher C. The reason for this arrangement was that there was a limited amount of time that Teacher C could offer for interview, whereas Teachers A and B were willing to offer as much time as was needed. Therefore, the first interviews were carried out with A and B, each lasting for approximately one hour and fifteen minutes. In each case, the researcher listened to the interview recordings afterwards and outlined the questions which she had forgotten to address or which had emerged from the interview itself. Two separate, comparatively short interviews (around 15 to 20 minutes) were then conducted with A and B again to ensure that all the questions had been covered. Lastly, a short interview was conducted with Teacher C which lasted for about twenty-five minutes. Every interview was audio recorded and was conducted in the language that the participants chose – Chinese.

Due to the major shift in the direction of the research which occurred after the analysis of data collected during Phase I, the follow-up interview aimed to
disregard the topic of codeswitching and to obtain information on teachers’ understanding of a series of issues generated from the results of Phase I, including their views on the current national curriculum, their views on content-based teaching, their perceptions of teacher training as well as of their own identities within the system. The following chart provides a brief illustration of the range of topics addressed.

![Figure 3.6 Follow-up interview outline](image)

It should be noted that as these were follow-up interviews, it was expected that in-depth information and knowledge would be obtained in answer to the questions that had arisen from the analysis of the results of Phase I. The researcher understood that although the guiding questions listed above served as a rational plan for the interviews, it was almost inevitable that the path of the actual interviews would not follow this sequence (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002).
The researcher was therefore prepared to deviate from the anticipated research protocol, to go with the flow for a while to observe where the conversation was leading, and to be assertive in returning the interview to its original course (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002). The interviewees, for their part, were encouraged to talk as much as possible and the prepared questions were introduced into the conversation discreetly.

3.3 Data Analysis

3.3.1 Overview of data analysis

Analysis of the data from the current research study utilizes a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses of all the various data sources: lecture talk, interviews and stimulated recalls. Analysis of data from Phase I aims to: identify the themes within participants’ codeswitching behaviours and to categorise these in terms of functions; to investigate stated motivations for codeswitching and possible factors affecting it; and to make comparisons among the three cases. Analysis of data from Phase II concentrates on using thematic analysis to explore the potential themes in each interview talk, integrating the themes from each interview, and collating all the interview data under appropriate themes or sub-themes in preparation for the reporting of the results.

The table below illustrates which raw data source answers which research question.
1. What are the general codeswitching behaviours of these three teachers?

1) In what circumstances is codeswitching employed?  
Analysis of lecture talk and interviews

2) Is there any evidence of change or development in the use of codeswitching through the semester?  
Analysis of lecture talk

3) What are the stated motivations behind their codeswitching behaviours?  
Interviews and stimulated recalls

4) To what extent do the three participants differ in their codeswitching behaviours?  
Analysis of lecture talk

5) What are the possible factors affecting their codeswitching behaviours?  
Analysis of lecture talk, interviews and stimulated recalls

2. 1) What are their perceptions of the current curriculum for undergraduates in the ELLD? What types of changes, if any, would they make to improve the curriculum?  
Follow-up interviews

2) What are their views on the qualities required for the current teachers in their department? What are their suggestions concerning teacher training?  
Follow-up interviews

3) What are their perceptions of content-based teaching, its theory and significance as well as its application within the Chinese context?  
Follow-up interviews

4) How do they position themselves in the system in terms of their discipline? To what extent do their social and disciplinary identities affect their classroom teaching practice?  
Follow-up interviews

Table 3.7 Relationship between raw data sources and research questions

3.3.2 Analytical approaches

The process of analysis is divided into four stages: Firstly, a categorisation system was designed based on previous research results, as well as on classroom observations from the current study. All codeswitching items from each recorded lesson were then identified and categorised according to the
newly-designed system in order to obtain a systematic picture of the patterns of participants’ codeswitching behaviours, as well as to provide preliminary sources for comparison. The number of codeswitching items in each lesson was calculated, and diagrams summarising these numbers in a total of 31 lessons are provided in Appendix D. Secondly, time coding was conducted for all the recorded lessons in order to distinguish the amount of time for which L1 and L2 were spoken respectively, as well as the amount of time occupied by two specific codeswitching categories from previously-completed categorisations (lecturing text-related culture/literature, asides, and so forth). The procedure is described in detail in the section entitled “Time Coding”, and is followed by a table which summarizes the results of the analysis. Thirdly, interviews and stimulated recalls from Phase I were analysed to discover the participants’ motivations behind codeswitching, the factors affecting their codeswitching behaviours and their perceptions regarding codeswitching. Lastly, the follow-up interviews from Phase II were analysed in the hope that some light would be shed on curriculum development and teacher training for the ELLDs in Chinese universities.

3.3.2.1 Categorisation (Phase I)

After examining the teachers’ codeswitching patterns, ten major functions of their codeswitching behaviours were categorized. The categorisation process was developed based on considerations of two main aspects: the adoption of
categories from previous studies and the research questions of the thesis itself. Since the classroom observations in the current research were conducted with no pre-categorised template adopted from previous studies, the categorization system was designed inductively by studying the transcriptions of the lessons and observing the different functions of codeswitching which emerged. In addition, the new system sought to integrate the more useful categories from previous research, but discounted several which were deemed to be irrelevant to the current study. The researcher first studied an extensive range of transcriptions of lessons from the current study and generated applicable categories. She then made a list of all the categories which had appeared in previous research. By comparing both lists, similar categories were identified and wording was negotiated. A number of categories used in the current study were not found in previous studies, as they were only applicable in this case and in respect of these particular teaching contexts. Several categories often seen in other sources were removed from the category system for this study, the reasons for which were elaborated earlier in this section. These amendments were additionally made in light of the stated research questions, in which the participants’ general codeswitching behaviour, especially in respect of the circumstances under which codeswitching was employed, had to be examined and addressed. The table below summarises the ways in which the categorization approach adopted in the current study relates to the sources from
previous studies. The categories without a tick are newly-developed categories for the current research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Translating long, difficult and illustrative sentences</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explaining / paraphrasing / interpreting new vocabulary or difficult phrases</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving procedural instructions</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explaining grammar</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing background information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturing text-related culture / literature/philosophy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asides / anecdotes / personal opinions embedded in interpretation / lecturing on the text</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raising questions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta-textual comments concerned with interpretation, evaluation of the text, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasizing pronunciation</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8 Codeswitching categories in the current study relating to previous literature
The categorization described in detail below, including criteria and examples, was created based on teachers’ activities in class, with no strict limitations on which language a particular switch is directed from, i.e. codeswitching in this categorization can be either an English to Chinese switch or vice versa. The categorization also includes “other sources” in order to indicate how a particular category relates to previous literature. In addition, since codeswitching was categorised by type of teacher talk rather than taking account of every switch, a paragraph with a substantial amount of intra-sentential codeswitching was viewed as one switch, provided that all the content in this paragraph concerned the same topic and all the switches within it were conducted under one teacher’s activity. This was regarded as legitimate in the context of the extended talk involved, where interactions between teacher and student(s) were not an issue, and was done in this way in order to preserve the totality of the ideas in teachers’ talk.

1) Translating long, difficult and illustrative sentences
   
   - **Criterion:** Teacher codeswitches to offer translations for *long and difficult* sentences, or for sentences *of great importance in the text*, or an *illustrative* sentence he/she has just provided.

   - **Examples:**

     (1) *Part of the intricacy of co-ordination in using language lies in the different constraints operating in speech and writing.* 我们学一门语言
Then he said that originality should be based on conventions. 创新可以，但要守住传统。[TAAEW3]

American culture is not only a melting pot, but mosaics. 美国文化不仅仅是熔炉，还是马赛克。[TAAEW1]

Other sources: Guthrie (1984); Guthrie & Guthrie (1987); Merritt et al (1992); Polio and Duff (1994)

2) Explaining / paraphrasing / interpreting new vocabulary or difficult phrases

Criterion: Teacher codeswitches to interpret or paraphrase new vocabulary / phrases, or to provide Chinese equivalents of the new words or phrases.

Examples:

(1) a meticulous examination of the murder weapon 非常仔细的，非常细致的检查（very careful examination）[TAAEW1]

(2) Dress up in Chinese means 打扮，不是一般的穿衣服。（It does not mean putting on ordinary clothes.）If you dress something up, it means you make the thing more attractive and acceptable than it really is. In Chinese it means 添油加醋，刻意渲染。Dress somebody down means to criticize/blame someone severely. 严厉地批评某人。（Chinese translation of “dress somebody down”）

The words in italics are original texts in the textbook and those highlighted in brackets are translations of the Chinese. Translations are faithful to the content unless otherwise pointed out. The terms in square brackets are the data source codes.
(3) Ring in the new year and ring out the old year…in Chinese we have the same thing: 辞旧迎新 [TAAEW1]


3) **Giving procedural instructions**

Criterion: Teacher codeswitches to draw the students’ attention to procedural matters or to give them directions.

Examples:

(1) “好，我们接下来要讲 Unit 2.” [Ok. Now we are moving on to Unit 2.] [TAAEW1]

(2) 三四节课要做一点翻译的练习。(We will do some translation exercises in the following two periods.) [TAAEW2]


4) **Explaining grammar**

Criterion: Teacher codeswitches to explain grammar points in order to help students understand the text and the author’s intentions.

Examples:

(1) 英语里 (In English), in English, 我们使用一些 (we use some) verb
tense(s). ……英文里，一个作家可以用动词时态来表达，在中文里就很难。（In English, it is easy for an author to express the intentions of the hero/heroine through using verb tenses, which in Chinese is really difficult.) [TAAEW1]

(2) 在现代英语里，名词作形容词用的情况很多。（In modern English, a noun is often used as an adjective.) [TAAEW1]


5) Providing background information

✧ Criterion: Teacher codeswitches to introduce the author or to give more information directly related to the production and interpretation of the text.

✧ Examples:

(1) 几乎所有的选本里都会选择这篇文章。这是一篇革命性的文章。是一篇经典的文章。（Almost all the text books or essay collections would include this article. This is a revolutionary article, a classic article.) [TAAEW5]

(2) 他是一个（He is a） grammarian, 著名的语法学家（famous grammarian）。[TAAEW2]

6) Lecturing text-related culture/literature/philosophy

✧ Criteria:

(1) In the Advanced English class, the teacher’s talk goes outside of the text, using Chinese or mainly Chinese to provide students with more information on culture and literature, which might be derived from or stimulated by the text.

(2) In the Western Philosophy class, the teacher codeswitches to Chinese to provide philosophical information, such as introducing a particular philosopher, linking text contents to philosophical ideas.

(3) In the American Literature class, the teacher employs Chinese to make comparisons with other literature, particularly Chinese literature.

✧ Examples:

(1) 我不知道你们老师上文学课的时候有没有讲过 Gertrude Stein 的故事。
海明威有一本书叫 Movable Heat，《流动的声音》，写海明威在巴黎的生活情况。里面写到了 Gertrude Stein，他是海明威的老师。是一个极有才华的作家。(I do not know if your literature teacher has told you about Gertrude Stein. There is a book written by Hemingway called “Movable Feast”. The Chinese name is…It describes Hemingway’s life in Paris. Gertrude Stein was in it too. She was Hemingway’s teacher.
She was a very talented writer.) [TAAEW2]

(2) 中国人讲欲壑难填。叔本华在 19 世纪初期资本主义刚刚经历工业文明正要上升发展的时候，跟西方世界谈论欲壑难填，他说欲望发
展下去是无休无止的痛苦。他是一种悲观的人生态度。你们可以想象一下，这叫时代的错位。一个悲观的哲学家出生在一个乐观的工业文明早期的社会。所以他注定要做一个不合时宜的人。(There is a Chinese saying which means that one has too many desires to be fulfilled. In the first few decades of the 19th century, when capitalism started to take shape, Schopenhauer was saying that if desires were left developing endlessly, people would be in pain sooner or later. He held a very pessimistic attitude towards life. You could imagine that he was in the wrong era. A pessimistic philosopher was living in an optimistic industrial civilization. So he was destined to be a misfit.] [TBWPW2]

(3) 使我想起了鲁迅写祥林嫂。说她眼珠 - 间或一轮。这里它说她的眼球像嵌在隆起的肥肉中，活像一团生面当中的两个小煤球。揉好的面粉上按了两个小煤球。细节写得非常的精彩。(It reminds me of the Aunt Xianglin written by Lu Xun. He said her pupils barely moved. Here he says her eyes...Chinese translation...The descriptions of the details are excellent.) [TAALW1]

✧ Other sources: This category was not found in other sources and was identified by the researcher only in the context of this study. Possible factors affecting the switching are teaching content and participants’ disciplinary identities. As this type of talk has not been identified in other research on codeswitching and clearly relates to an academic context, it was identified as being of particular interest as a focus for qualitative analysis.
7) Asides/anecdotes/personal opinions embedded in interpretation/lecturing on the text

✧ **Criterion:** Teacher codeswitches to express his personal views on topics related to the text or to tell stories or jokes on issues raised in or inspired by the text.

✧ **Examples:**

(1) 我们要培养的人应该同时具有专业知识，也要有 general knowledge.

一般知识。我认为这里的 cultural knowledge 指的就是 common sense.

常识。有时候一个人即使 well-informed，书本知识好，是没有用的。

没有常识，在社会上很难生存。有知识没常识还不如没有常识没知识。

所以我一直认为 common sense 很重要。(The people we aim to cultivate should possess expert knowledge as well as general knowledge. I think cultural knowledge here means common sense. Sometimes, one is useless even if he is well-informed and equipped with lots of book knowledge. It is hard to survive in society without common sense. Having book knowledge but lacking common sense is even worse than having common sense but lacking book knowledge. Therefore, I always believe that common sense is very important.) [TAAEW5]

(2) Leap 这个词，我们这个年代的人都知道。大跃进 – great leap。经历过 cultural revolution 的人都知道。还有，“三思而后行”的英文说法，叫 Think before you leap。我现在很怀疑毛选的这些翻译外国人能不能看得懂。我到 UC Berkeley 去，看到校园周围都在买毛泽东语录，
(People of my generation must know the word “leap”, as in the Great Leap. Anyone who experienced the Cultural Revolution knows it. In addition, the quotation from Confucius…is translated in English as “Think before you leap”. I really doubt if foreigners could understand the translation of the Quotations of Chairman Mao. When I went to UC Berkeley, I saw people selling the Quotations of Chairman Mao, propaganda T shirts from China, etc. near the campus. These seemed quite popular there. I was wondering if they could really understand the meaning of them.) [TAAEW4]

✧ **Other sources**: Anton and DiCamilla (1998); Liu et al (2004)

8) **Raising questions**

✧ **Criterion**: Teacher codeswitches to ask questions to draw students’ attention to a particular issue, usually inviting them to reflect on it.

✧ **Examples**:

(1) 教育是在前进还是在倒退？教育的目的到底是什么？ (Is education going forward or backward? What is the purpose of education?) [TAAEW5]

(2) 是不是旅游的地方越多，我们获得的快乐就越多呢？ (Is it true that the more places we travel to, the more happiness we obtain?) [TBWPW2]

✧ **Other sources**: Liu et al (2004)
9) Meta-textual comments concerned with interpretation, evaluation of the text, etc.

- **Criterion:** Teacher codeswitches to explain the author’s intentions, make comments on the text, and to help students comprehend the content of the text.

- **Examples:**

  1. (Here the text indicates a very strong feminist orientation.) 她说她的手是 (She said her hands were) working man’s hands, 然后又说她 (then she said she) can kill a hog as mercilessly as a man. 有些人认为这是吹牛，有些人认为是夸张，但我认为这是女权主义. (Some people think it is bluff or exaggeration, but I think it is implied feminism.) [TAALW7]

  2. 哲学是什么？ 它的本质是关于生命的体验。这个 50 多岁的妇女，在濒临死亡的时候，表现出了一个哲学家的淡定. (What is philosophy? It is essentially the experience of life. This 50-year-old woman, when facing death, was as calm as a philosopher.) [TBWPW2]

- **Other sources:** This category was not identified in previous studies and was only created during the current study. It emerged as a new category because the lessons observed in this study, different from those seen in other studies, were not merely lessons concerning language skills. Understanding the meaning of the texts behind the language was also an important objective of the lesson.
10) Emphasizing pronunciation

- **Criterion**: Teacher codeswitches to draw students’ attention to the pronunciation of certain words.

- **Examples**:

  1) Byzantine. 这是西方文明史上很重要的一个词。不要读错。（This is a very important word in the history of Western civilization. Don’t pronounce it wrongly. The Chinese translation is…）[TAAEW1]

  2) Yacht. “Ch” is silent. “Ch” 不发音. (is silent) [TAAEW1]

- **Other sources**: This category was not seen in other previous studies but was identified as a separate category because it did not fit in any other category listed above.

Three categories of codeswitching functions which appear frequently in previous studies have been discounted from the current categorization system due to their lack of applicability. These three categories are listed as follows:

1) Managing discipline/classroom behaviours

2) Administering tasks/tests/activities

3) Checking comprehension/clarification

Since the classes observed in the current research study were predominantly teacher-fronted lecturing with little time assigned to classroom activities or tasks
and the students were fourth-year undergraduates who behaved well in class, there was no administration of tasks or discipline management involved. All the checking of comprehension was conducted in English, and so there was no codeswitching for this function.

After the categorisation system was determined, a categorisation template was prepared for the assigning of every codeswitching item to a category. In the process, the recording of each lesson was played and the researcher paused whenever a switch of language occurred, decided which category the item of codeswitching belonged to, transcribed the part of the teacher’s talk containing the codeswitching and translated the Chinese into English. Normally, a codeswitching item began with the teacher’s talk in Chinese and ended when it switched back to English. However, since the researcher was endeavouring to preserve the completeness of the teacher’s talk in terms of context, some English around the talk in Chinese was also noted and transcribed. For instance, if a codeswitching instance occurred during the functional circumstance of translating sentences or explaining vocabulary, the original English in the text was also included, such as:

*Happiness is an afterthought.* 按字面意思来翻就是：快乐是时过境迁的感受。
(Literally, it means happiness is something that can be felt after time passes.)

[TBW PW2]
Additionally, a paragraph containing large amounts of intra-sentential codeswitching was transcribed and applied as a whole and regarded as one codeswitching item, provided that all codeswitching in this paragraph fitted into the same category. For example:

Distant formality 就是非常正式的，慢慢到 intimate style 是最密切的，恋人之间，或很熟的朋友之间。(Distant formality is a very formal style. Intimate style is the most familiar one between lovers and good friends.) 比如(e.g.) “Lady Chatterley’s Lover”里，男主人公是个 well-educated gamekeeper，一战给他的生活带来了很大的变化，他遇到了 Constance，原来他们 unfamiliar 时用的是 formal English，后来慢慢熟了，就开始用 regional dialect. 文体学分析就是说是因为两个人关系慢慢密切了，所以文体也变了。(In “Lady Chatterley’s Lover”, the male character was a well-educated gamekeeper but World War I changed his life dramatically. Then he met Constance. When they were unfamiliar in the beginning, they used formal English. With them getting more familiar, they started to use regional dialect. According to stylistic analysis, it was because their relationship changed, so the style of their conversations changed.) [TAAEW3]

After assigning all the codeswitching items to categories, the numbers of items in each category were calculated. The diagrams in Appendix D show the numbers of codeswitching items in Teacher A, B and C’s lessons, respectively.
3.3.2.2 Time coding (Phase I)

Time coding was completed for all 31 recorded lessons. The time coding aimed to capture the total amount of Chinese/English spoken in class as well as the amount of time spent speaking Chinese in two codeswitching categories: 
*lecturing text-related culture/literature/philosophy* and *asides, anecdotes, personal opinions, etc.* which emerged as salient from the quantitative analysis of categorisations.

The reason for conducting the time coding despite the completion of a protocol analysis of codeswitching categories was mainly that the quantitative results of categorisation did not account for the length of time participants spent on this category in each lesson. Rather, they only reflected the number of codeswitching items in this category. Therefore, no clear concept of exactly how much time spent speaking Chinese and on particular categories in one class could be established without time coding.

The reasons for selecting the category *lecturing text-related culture, literature and philosophy* are as follows. Firstly, unlike other categories, this category has never been identified in previous literature. Secondly, the content in this category involves not only Western literature, culture and philosophy, which is considered to be part of the syllabus of these content-based courses (American Literature, Western Philosophy, British and American Poetry), but also similar
elements from the Chinese perspective which do not appear to be regulated by the curriculum. Thus, discussion is provoked on the content-based instruction in the Chinese context. Thirdly, this category is also frequently seen in skills-based courses such as Advanced English, where language skills, rather than knowledge of literature or culture, should be regarded as the focus. To this end, time coding was conducted with this category to provide preparation for follow-up interviews in which the reasons for involving such topics are further explored in relation to both the current curriculum and content-based teaching.

In addition, the category *asides, anecdotes, personal opinions, etc.*, which was not supposed to be part of the curriculum requirements, appeared to account for a substantial proportion of the total codeswitching items in classes with both Teacher A and Teacher B - especially Teacher B, which was why this category was additionally included in the time coding.

For each lesson, a stopwatch was used when the tape was played. The stopwatch was paused every time the lecturer switched to Chinese and restarted when the language in class was altered back to English. The researcher also noted down when any contents concerning the two categories occurred and ended so that the duration could be calculated afterwards.
As for the category *lecturing text-related culture, literature and philosophy*, there are two parameters for time coding: not only is the total time from when the teachers switch to Chinese language to lecture literature, culture and philosophy (both Western and Chinese) coded, the time of codeswitching to lecture specifically *Chinese* literature, culture and philosophy is also coded (separately), because it is suspected that behaviour in respect of lecturing Chinese topics could be affected by teachers’ cultural identity. Time coding for this sub-category therefore provides evidence for the follow-up interviews to explore in greater depth.

It is worth noting that as the recorded lessons were in fact lectures, there was barely any interaction taking place in the classroom. The total length of the recorded lesson time therefore equaled the total time of teachers’ talk. After the total time for each of the two languages spoken was recorded, the percentages of each language spoken (accounting for the entirety of lesson time) were calculated. The time lengths for the two categories were then calculated and compared with total class time and total time when Chinese was spoken. The same procedure was repeated with every recorded lesson. An Excel diagram was created to record all the required information in respect of each lesson. A complete table providing the essential results can be viewed in Appendix E, while the separate results for the individual participants are discussed respectively in the “Findings” chapter.
3.3.2.3 *Analysis of interviews and stimulated recalls (Phase I)*

Content analysis was employed with regard to the interview data from Phase I. In the first instance, all the audio-taped data were transcribed. Each transcript was then studied carefully and each substantive statement containing relevant and useful information was highlighted. Repetitions and digressions were ignored unless they had a bearing on the development of the talk or on interviewee positioning. The transcripts were read closely a second time, to ensure that all the important statements were highlighted and that all the highlighted statements were substantive. Afterwards, a set of categories was derived based on the highlighted statements and the main questions asked in the semi-structured interviews. The categories were exhaustive and exclusive, which means that the categories cover all the topics in the interviews and that there is no overlap between any of the categories. There was an extra “unclassified” category, in which all the statements which were considered to be of importance but which did not fit into any other category were placed.

The categories were derived by selecting one transcript and assigning a simple heading to each highlighted statement. These category headings were then assembled as a list. As this process was applied to the remaining transcripts, the list expanded and became more comprehensive. After this process had been applied to all the transcripts, the compiled list was reconsidered in case any headings could profitably be combined or further subdivided (a process
corresponding broadly to axial coding in grounded theory). Modifications to the wording were also made where this was considered appropriate. The list of category headings was subsequently entered on an analysis grid (see the table below) and each substantive statement was assigned to a category. Since it did not appear feasible for a table like this to hold all of the statements on one page, all the statements were put together on a separate sheet and numbered before they were assigned. Instead of the whole statement being assigned to one grid in the table, therefore, the number which represented the statement was noted down. The sheet containing the complete and original statements is provided in Appendix F.

| Understanding of CLT and attitude towards CLT | Teacher A | Teacher B | Teacher C |
| CLT’s impact on Ts | | | |
| CLT in China | | | |
| Circumstances of CS | | | |
| Factors affecting CS | | | |
| Reasons for CS | | | |
| Balance: L1/L2 | | | |
| Regulation / Policy on CS | | | |
| Unclassified statements | | | |

Table 3.9 Interview analysis sheet
The analysis of stimulated recalls was completed in the same way. The difference was that the results from each participant (Teachers A and B) were presented in an individual table as shown below. In this case, complete quotes from teachers’ talk were placed directly in the table.

|                       | Example 1 | Example 2 | Example 3 | Example 4 | Example 5
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------
| Circumstance of CS    |           |           |           |           |           
| Motivations for CS    |           |           |           |           |           
| Factors affecting CS  |           |           |           |           |           
| Extra info            |           |           |           |           |           

Table 3.10 Stimulated recall analysis sheet

3.3.2.4. Analysis of follow-up interviews

The follow-up interviews were analysed using the thematic analysis method developed by Braun and Clarke (2006). This process involved six steps (the preliminary results generated from each step, as well as the finalised thematic maps, are provided in Appendices G and H). The six steps are described below:

1. All audio-taped interviews were transcribed and printed out. The transcribed scripts were read repeatedly, during which time important words/sentences were highlighted, notes were made alongside the scripts and initial ideas were marked in preparation for coding.

2. Based on a list of ideas from the first step, initial codes were generated. The

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15 More than five examples would be selected if required.
codes identified the core features of the data and represented the most basic segment or element of the raw data.

(3) After all the data had been initially coded, a long list of the different codes in one data set was produced. Codes were categorised according to their meanings. It was then considered how different collated codes could be combined to form an overarching theme. After all the potential themes had been searched and identified, relevant coded data extracts were arranged within each theme. Thematic maps were employed at this stage to help establish the visual presentation of the hierarchy of themes.

(4) All the themes were reviewed and refined. Coded data extracts under each theme were read again to determine whether or not they formed a coherent pattern. Meanwhile, the validity of individual themes in relation to the whole data set was considered so that an idea would be gained of whether or not the candidate thematic map accurately reflected the meanings evident in the data. A satisfactory thematic map was completed at the end of this step.

(5) The names for each theme were finalised. The essence of what each theme was about was identified and the aspect of the data which each theme captured was determined. At this stage, themes were considered not only in their own right but, more importantly, in relation to other themes as well as the research questions. This was so as to ensure that there was no overlap between themes and that all the themes fitted into the overall account of the analysis results. In addition, concise names were given to each theme.
A report of the results was produced, which can be viewed in the Findings chapter.

As there were two interviews for two of the participants (Teachers A and B), the transcribed scripts for each interview were put together to form a single script for analysis. Thus, by the end of the fifth step above, three separate thematic maps for the three participants were obtained and finalised. These three maps were further coded in order to permit their subsequent integration. In this process, codes under the same theme were grouped together and those which did not share commonalities were placed aside. The integrated result can be seen in Appendix I.

It should be noted that all the interviews were conducted in Chinese, because even though the interviewees were expected to be proficient in spoken English, it was considered that the use of Chinese would forestall any problems in terms of clarity of communication. An additional reason for choosing Chinese as the interviewing language was that the interview questions were about English language teaching in Chinese universities; it was therefore natural to use Chinese rather than English. Also, certain concepts and ideas expressed by the interviewees only made sense in the Chinese context.
Since the interviews were conducted in Chinese, all the analysis was also completed in Chinese in order to make sure that no distortions were created in the process of coding. Translation work did not begin until the thematic maps for each participant were finalised, so as to maximize the transparency of the translation and minimize any possible distortion of meanings.
CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

This chapter reports the results from Phase I and Phase II of this research. The first section concerns the topic of codeswitching behaviours. The results generated from that topic are organised in terms of the first set of research questions addressed in the Research Methodology Chapter. The second section concentrates on the findings from the follow-up interviews which mainly contend with the issue of the curriculum for ELLD in Chinese universities as well as the possible resulting problems regarding teacher training.

4.1 Findings from Phase I (Codeswitching Behaviours)

In this section, the codeswitching behaviours of each participant are described in detail. The results are presented in terms of categorisation and time coding. For each of the five areas corresponding to the five sub-questions under the first set of the research questions, a description is developed for each participant. At the end of each sub-question, the similarities and differences between the teachers are briefly summarised.

4.1.1 In what circumstances is codeswitching employed?

4.1.1.1 Teacher A

Since Teacher A taught two subjects (American Literature and Advanced English) to two different classes of students, though they were all
final-year-students, results concerning his codeswitching behaviours are presented in terms of the two subjects he taught.

The pie chart above illustrates the distribution of circumstances under which codeswitching happened in the Advanced English class of Teacher A. It can be seen from the chart that the major circumstances in which codeswitching took place were: explaining vocabulary (29%), telling asides, anecdotes, personal opinions etc (24%), translating sentences (12%), meta-textual comments (12%) and lecturing literature, culture and philosophy (10%). Apart from these, circumstances such as giving procedural instructions, explaining grammar, providing background information, raising questions and emphasizing pronunciation fell within the range of 1% to 4% of the total.

Figure 4.1 Categories of codeswitching of Teacher A in Advanced English class
From Table 4.2, it can be seen that in the American Literature class, a large portion of codeswitching (38%) took place when the teacher was making meta-textual comments, followed by circumstances such as explaining vocabulary and telling asides, anecdotes, personal opinions etc (both occupy 17% of the total). Translating sentences accounted for 9% of the codeswitching items while 7% involved providing information on literature and culture. The rest of the circumstances (including giving procedural instructions, providing background information and raising questions), comprised a further 12%.

Figure 4.2 Categories of codeswitching of Teacher A in the American Literature class
In addition to this categorisation, Table 4.3 shows the results from time coding.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Total CHI %</th>
<th>Lit/Cul/Phi %CHI</th>
<th>Chinese L/C/P %CHI</th>
<th>L/C/P % total time</th>
<th>Asides etc %CHI</th>
<th>Asides etc % total time</th>
<th>Total % ENG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>AE 1</td>
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<td>50.2</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>74.9</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>AE 2</td>
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<td>35.3</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AE 3</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>38.5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>AE 5</td>
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<td>9.4</td>
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<td>60.5</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>48.3</td>
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<td>48.6</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>10.84</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>19.8</td>
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<td>0.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>13.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
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<td>15.8</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>27.2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ave</td>
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<td>5.3</td>
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<td>7.7</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>14.6</td>
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</table>

Table 4.3 Time coding results for Teacher A

**Legend for Tables 4.3, 4.6 and 4.8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T</th>
<th>Participants</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td>Subjects taught by participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total CHI %</td>
<td>Total time of all English spoken as a percentage of class time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lit/Cul/Phi %CHI</td>
<td>All literature/culture/ philosophy content spoken in Chinese as a percentage of total time Chinese was spoken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese L/C/P %CHI</td>
<td>Chinese literature/culture/philosophy content spoken in Chinese as a percentage of total time Chinese was spoken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L/C/P % total time</td>
<td>All literature/culture/philosophy content spoken in Chinese as a percentage of total class time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asides etc. % CHI</td>
<td>Asides, anecdotes, personal opinions spoken in Chinese as a percentage of total time Chinese was spoken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asides etc. % total time</td>
<td>Asides, anecdotes, personal opinions spoken in Chinese as a percentage of total class time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total % ENG</td>
<td>Total time of all English spoken as a percentage of class time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen that there was a substantial amount of time spent on speaking in Chinese in Teacher A’s two subjects, ranging from 8.4% to 65.2% but mostly falling between 30%-50%. More importantly, the length of time spent on lecturing literature/culture/ philosophy etc (Western and Chinese) was high 18.9% when compared with the total time spent speaking in Chinese, of which the time spent on Chinese literature/culture/ philosophy etc. accounted for almost half of that (8.9%).

The reason for selecting this particular category for time coding was explained in the previous section. The results generating from coding this category prompted and provided evidence for follow-up interviews.

The findings above were generated from the analysis of lecturer’s talk obtained through the analysis of classroom recordings. In the interview when Teacher A was asked about under what circumstances he was likely to codeswitching, he said:

When you talk about something highly theoretical or discuss profound theories, I think there should be some codeswitching behaviours on those occasions. Also, when the teacher is trying to give some input on Chinese culture or discuss the similarities and dissimilarities between Chinese culture and Western culture with the students, he or she probably needs Chinese to assist in expression and explanation.[TAI2:5]
He also related his codeswitching patterns to the subject he taught and tried to justify the fact that when teaching literature, his attempt to translate was to some extent *subconscious*:

> As a teacher who teaches literature, when I am reading a novel written by English native speakers, I usually find a sentence which particularly touches me. At that time, I unconsciously start to think how to say it in Chinese, even though I am not deliberately trying to translate it. [TAI2:15]

In addition, he admitted that when **paraphrasing vocabulary and teaching grammar**, he would consider resorting to Chinese, which is reflected in the quantitative categorisation. However the numerous instances of codeswitching for making meta-textual comments were not mentioned by Teacher A in interviews.
Table 4.4 displays categories of Teacher B’s codeswitching patterns in the Western Philosophy class. It is clear that the most dominant category was “telling asides, anecdotes, personal opinions etc” which occupied a considerable 41%. Other circumstances/categories such as “lecturing literature, culture and philosophy”, “meta-textual comments”, “explaining vocabulary” and “raising questions” fell within the range of 10% to 14%.
In his British and American Poetry class, asides still took up the largest part (24%) of the total but the proportion was not significantly higher than others as in the previous chart. “Meta-textual comments” and “lecturing literature, culture and philosophy” remained as major categories, whereas “translating sentences” (13%) and “providing background information” (10%) which hardly featured in the Western Philosophy class appeared to be moderately more salient in his British and American Poetry class.

Results from time coding illustrated in the table below demonstrated that in contrast to Teacher A, the time spent on speaking Chinese in relevant categories
was even more significant, especially the average time spent on lecturing on Chinese literature/culture/philosophy etc (12.2%) compared with total time spoken in Chinese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T s</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Total CHI %</th>
<th>Lit/Cul/Phi %CHI</th>
<th>Chinese Lit/Cul/Phil %total class time</th>
<th>Asides etc %CHI</th>
<th>Asides etc % total class time</th>
<th>Total ENG %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>WP 1</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WP 2</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WP 3</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WP 4</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WP 5</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WP 6</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WP 7</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WP 8</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WP 9</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ave</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-Ave</td>
<td>BAP 1</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAP 2</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAP 3</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAP 4</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ave</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>B-Ave</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6 Time coding results for Teacher B

During the interview, Teacher B had difficulty in identifying the circumstances in which he tended to codeswitch, because the subject of the course, the teaching content and the lesson objectives all had to be considered. In a similar point to one made by Teacher A, Teacher B also described his codeswitching behaviours as sometimes “subconscious” or a “habit”. Furthermore, on certain occasions, the decision on when to codeswitch was largely dependent on his mood.
In addition, he shared the same view on another issue with Teacher A which involves employing Chinese to **input Chinese literature/culture to make a comparison with Western counterparts**. He stated:

*For example, I often refer to ancient Chinese poems in my British and American Poetry class. If I translate them in English, they won’t make any sense. If we can make full use of the Chinese culture as a comparison to enlighten the students, to raise their interests, to help them understand English culture better, why not? More importantly we are facing Chinese students, not students from other countries. In that case, I think it is a very effective and useful teaching method to incorporate Chinese culture within English classes.* [TBI2:18]  

4.1.1.3 **Teacher C**

![Figure 4.7 Categories of codeswitching of Teacher C in Advanced English class from weeks 2-5](image)

Figure 4.7 Categories of codeswitching of Teacher C in Advanced English class
It can be seen from Table 4.7 that codeswitching when *explaining vocabulary* constituted a significant extensive 35% of the total amount in Teacher C’s Advanced English class from week 2 to week 5, followed by 27% of “meta-textual comments” and 21% of “asides etc”. Apart from a 12% on “translating sentences”, the remaining categories are not salient.

Unlike A and B, Teacher C spent much less time speaking Chinese, according to the results of the time coding. He provided no information on literature/culture/philosophy etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Total CHI %</th>
<th>Lit/Cul/Phil %CHI</th>
<th>Chinese Lit/Cul/Phil %CHI</th>
<th>Lit/Cul/Phil %total class time</th>
<th>Asides etc %CHI</th>
<th>Asides etc %total class time</th>
<th>Total ENG %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>81.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE 1</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>79.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE 2</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>80.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE 3</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave</td>
<td><strong>26.5</strong></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td><strong>22.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>73.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8 Time coding results for Teacher C

While analysis of Teacher C’s talk in class provides an overview of his codeswitching behaviours in practice, interviews further reflect his personal beliefs on codeswitching in general. When required to recall under what circumstances he felt like codeswitching, Teacher C commented that when he was teaching a content-based subject, compared with skills-based one, he was
more likely to switch to Chinese to explain new vocabulary and phrases to students, particularly for terminological reasons.

*When I teach postgraduate courses such as Semantics which involves a lot of technical terms, using Chinese to translate or paraphrase some words help students to understand better and help me to make myself clearer. If the teacher insists on using only English under these circumstances, I believe the students will feel confused too. From the perspective of efficiency and saving energy and time, plus the fact that students have to write some assignments in Chinese, codeswitching is natural. There should be no deliberate use of only English, since as for terminologies, I think students should know both the English and Chinese versions.* [TCI2:7]

In summary, based on analysis of lecturers’ talk, the circumstances under which codeswitching took place varied among the three teachers to a certain extent. However there were a few categories which appeared frequently in all three cases such as explaining vocabulary, asides etc. and meta-textual comments, whereas other categories (giving procedural instructions, explaining grammar, raising questions etc.) remained insignificant in all situations.
Moreover, both Teachers A and B resorted to Chinese when lecturing *text-related literature and culture* (philosophical knowledge in the Philosophy class by B) to students. This category was seen in both skills-based\textsuperscript{17} and content-based courses\textsuperscript{18}. Though this category did not account for a large proportion of the total number of codeswitching items, the time spent on this category from the time coding results was considerable. It was also mentioned by two participants in the interviews as being a purposeful codeswitching strategy that they were aware of using, especially when they were providing knowledge on *Chinese* literature and culture to compare with the Western counterparts.

The table below summarises the different opinions obtained from three participants during interviews on the question of under what circumstances codeswitching is likely to happen.

\textsuperscript{17} Skills-based course here refers to the Advanced English course from Teacher A.
\textsuperscript{18} Content-based course here refers to the American English course from Teacher A, Western Philosophy course and English and American Poetry course from Teacher B.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher A</th>
<th>Teacher B</th>
<th>Teacher C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Beliefs in interview</strong></td>
<td><strong>Actual use</strong></td>
<td><strong>Beliefs in interview</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highly theoretical/profound theories</td>
<td>Meta-textual comments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To lecture text-related literature, culture and philosophy</td>
<td>To lecture text-related literature, culture and philosophy</td>
<td>To lecture text-related literature, culture and philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subconscious/habitual behaviour</strong></td>
<td>Telling asides</td>
<td>Telling asides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To explain vocabulary</td>
<td>To explain vocabulary</td>
<td>To explain vocabulary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To teach grammar</td>
<td>To translate</td>
<td>To translate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.9 A comparison between codeswitching categories obtained in interviews and those in teachers’ talk among Teacher A, B and C

It can be noted from the comparison of two sources of data (analysis of lecturers’ talk and interviews) from the table above that the circumstances under which codeswitching takes place in class partially coincide with teachers’ claims made in interviews. Nevertheless neither Teachers A or B talked in the interviews about their usage of codeswitching for making meta-textual comments and

19 In this context, “highly theoretical/profound theories” refers to the content relating to literary or linguistic theories.
telling asides. Although Teacher A mentioned the importance for teachers of understanding authors’ intentions (part of meta-textual comments) when preparing for teaching a text to students, he did not explain why it was conducted largely in Chinese rather than English.

It is worth mentioning that the category **lecturing text-related literature, culture and philosophy** was identified as novel in this study and has never been referred to in previous research. The prominence and novelty of this category, particularly the fact that there is a considerable amount of *Chinese* literature/culture/philosophy knowledge involved in this category, prompted the shift of focus of the current study which progressed from investigating descriptive codeswitching behaviours to exploring a wide range of other issues behind codeswitching, particularly in relation to content-based teaching in China, curriculum making and teachers’ identities. The quantitative results gained on this category were used as the basis for raising some questions in follow-up interviews.

4.1.2 **Is there any evidence of change or development in the use of codeswitching through the semester?**

The three line charts below demonstrated the change in the use of codeswitching for the three participants through the semester. It was based on the total Chinese spoken time in each lesson from the time coding results.
Figure 4.10 Total amount of time used on Chinese in Teacher A’s two classes

Figure 4.11 Total amount of time used on Chinese in Teacher B’s two classes
Overall the trends showed an increase to a certain extent for three participants’ Chinese use over the time, although slight drops and rises could be seen at different stages for Teacher A and B.

4.1.3 What are the stated motivations behind their codeswitching behaviours?

4.1.3.1 Teacher A

According to Teacher A, it was unlikely that codeswitching was for the purpose of saving time. To him, the motivation to save time might happen with high school teachers but is rarely seen in universities. In his opinion, teachers generally codeswitch for two main reasons. One is to help weak students and the other is because sometimes teachers themselves could not express themselves in English. He also offered an explanation of why high school English teachers use a lot of Chinese:
In my point of view, the teachers in high school employ a lot of Chinese mainly because they face the pressure of College Entrance Examination. In the test, a lot of grammar points are involved which they cannot and do not have the time to explain in English. Also they do not feel the need to tell the students all the grammatical terminologies in English since they are not directly involved in the test. [TAI2:114]

This explanation from the perspective of high school English teachers to some extent showed Teacher A’s willingness to distinguish university English teachers’ codeswitching behaviours from those of high school teachers. English teachers in universities face no pressure of limited class time or national examination, so they do not codeswitch as much as high school teachers and even if they do, they codeswitch for different reasons (given in following paragraphs).

In the stimulated recall conducted with Teacher A, questions mostly took the form of “Why did you codeswitch here?” and his motivations for codeswitching at particular moments could be categorised into three types: to facilitate understanding, to help weak students, and to widen students’ knowledge scope.
For example, when encountering the word “nepotism”, he switched to Chinese and used the phrase “裙带关系” to explain it instead of paraphrasing it in English with long sentences which might include more new words for the students. He believed that “裙带关系” was the exact counterpart in Chinese for “nepotism” and codeswitching under this circumstance could facilitate understanding.

Additionally when distinguishing “general knowledge” from “book knowledge”, he provided a Chinese saying “有知识没常识” which summarised these two phrases in one sentence. He elaborated that codeswitching in this situation was primarily due to the consideration of rhyming of the two words “知识” and “常识” in Chinese pronunciation. According to Teacher A, the rhyming was expected to allow students to remember the words more easily, in which case understanding took place more quickly than resorting to English.

In his interview Teacher A stated that helping weak students was one of the main motivations of his codeswitching behaviours and he re-confirmed this in the stimulated recall as well. He pointed out that sometimes after giving explanations for new vocabulary in a sentence; he was still likely to translate the whole sentence into Chinese, as he was afraid that students with lower L2 proficiency would not understand it clearly.

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20 It is to describe a person with only book knowledge but none general knowledge. 知识 means book knowledge; 常识 refers to general knowledge.
It was noticed in classroom observations that Teacher A preferred to switch to Chinese to tell asides, the subject of which could be derived from the content in the text or completely irrelevant to the text. This behaviour was also noted in the video-taped lesson and addressed in the stimulated recall later. He justified it as a means of extending the students’ breadth of knowledge. For example, in one class where the topic was about the aims of education, he extended the discussion from education in general to educational psychology, English education in China etc. When asked why he did this in Chinese, he answered:

*My main purpose for adding this information is to widen students’ knowledge scope. From the perspective of highly contextualized text, every text is inter-texted. Understanding one text inevitably involves other texts. To what extent the text can be involved with other texts depends on the lecturer’s knowledge scope and his/her understanding.* [TASR:101]

In summary the motivations behind Teacher A’s codeswitching behaviours claimed in the interview are: to help weak students and due to teachers’ limited L2 proficiency. In the stimulated recall, he restated helping weak students as his main motivation and also added “to facilitate understanding” and “to widen students’ knowledge scope”.
4.1.3.2 Teacher B

Teacher B agreed with A that codeswitching for him was not to save time but was designed to **help weak students**. He also believed that codeswitching could be used to **enhance learning and facilitate communication**. However the most important motivation for him to switch to Chinese in class was to raise students’ awareness of their own language and culture:

*But as for me, the biggest motivation of my codeswitching is to **raise students’ self-perception on their own native language and culture.** This is also what I’ve always been doing – to provide students the input on Chinese language and culture, to enable them to compare with English language and culture and to remind them to value their own culture.* [TBI2:76]

This opinion is further explored in the follow-up interviews, in which he states that codeswitching, especially on Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc. is to help students realise and understand their cultural identity better. Detailed explanations can be found in the Findings of Phase II.

In the stimulated recall, he stated that the main reason for him to switch to Chinese was that he was afraid the contents delivered in class were too difficult for the students and he was worried they might not be able to comprehend if he
was using English all the time, although he felt the need to employ English to provide some “indigenous taste” to the students.

For instance, when discussing the term “ideology” with students, he switched to Chinese immediately after mentioning the word “ideology” in English. He explained that ideology was a very abstract concept and in this case it was unnecessary to use English when facing native speakers of Chinese. He believed that Chinese, under this circumstance, would be more suitable to help students better understand this term and the complex meaning behind it, because here, it was not about learning a new word only; instead it was about “transferring the thoughts”.

Additionally, when asked about the reason for often codeswitching from Chinese to English which is the other way round compared with other participants, (e.g. “尼采说我们要做创造的一生21。Life should be creative.” and “如果我们对人类来说仅仅是22inescapable necessity, are we still human beings? No, we are animals.”) Teacher B says:

Sometimes I speak in Chinese first and then repeat in English because after all we are in an English learning environment and we can never forget this. This is one of the reasons. The other reason is

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21 Translation: Nietzsche says we have to live a creative life.
22 Translation: If work to us only means...
that I do feel because I am talking about Western philosophy, I am willing to talk about it in English. When we are discussing the great thoughts of one country, we feel the desire to speak in the language of this country. However limited by students’ and my own language proficiency, sometimes I have to use Chinese to bring them into this topic first and then switch to English. [TBSR:40]

Nevertheless, when questioned about using Chinese when referring to Chinese philosophy or literature, he answers:

*I feel it is weird and pretentious to use English under this circumstance. If I still speak in English in this situation, I would feel it is disrespectful to Chinese classical culture. It will be a huge happiness and honour for me if I can express some classical thoughts in ancient Chinese. Even using modern Chinese will cause the loss of the meaning, let alone employing a foreign language.*  

[TBSR:47]

His view above typically reflects his strong sense of national identity and the pride he possesses for the culture of his country.
To summarise, Teacher B codeswitches to Chinese to help weak students, enhance learning, facilitate communication, help students achieve better comprehension, bring them into a certain topic and most importantly to raise their awareness of their own language and culture.

4.1.3.3 Teacher C

However, Teacher C’s views were diametrically opposed to those of Teacher A and B; for him saving time was a real motivation. He explained that:

“I think to save time is one of the motivations. As you can see, in the Advanced English course I am teaching now, there are not many sessions throughout a term, excluding the time for students to prepare their test and to guide them writing dissertations. Sometimes it feels that saving time is a very practical motivation.” [TC12:60]

He also saw enhancing learning as a motivation to codeswitch, especially when he was teaching content/knowledge based courses where a large amount of knowledge input was too difficult for students to understand in English.

In addition, like Teacher B, he felt the need to provide students with input on Chinese culture, or explanations on specific issues in Chinese so as to help them communicate well with L2 native speakers. He said:
Also when communicating with foreigners, you will find they are interested in Chinese culture. In that case you will need to be equipped with sufficient knowledge about your own culture in order to continue the conversation. Thus I sometimes provide students with both English and Chinese explanations of a specific topic/issue which I think will be helpful to them. [TC12:69]

Table 4.13 below summarises the key points made by the three teachers on the question of motivations for codeswitching.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From interviews</th>
<th>Teacher A</th>
<th>Teacher B</th>
<th>Teacher C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To help weak students</td>
<td>To help weak students</td>
<td>To save time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers cannot express in L2</td>
<td>To raise self-perception</td>
<td>To enhance learning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To enhance learning</td>
<td>To facilitate communication</td>
<td>To help students communicate with L2 native speakers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From stimulated recalls</th>
<th>Teacher A</th>
<th>Teacher B</th>
<th>Teacher C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To facilitate understanding</td>
<td>To facilitate understanding</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To help weak students</td>
<td>To bring them into a certain topic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To widen students’ knowledge scope</td>
<td>To raise students’ awareness on their own language and culture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.13 Summary of stated motivations for codeswitching across three teachers
4.1.4 To what extent do the three participants differ in their codeswitching behaviours?

To answer this question, four sets of comparisons were selected: Teacher A and C in the Advanced English class they both taught, Teacher A and B in the content-based courses, two different subjects taught by Teacher A and two different subjects taught by Teacher B. Within each set of comparisons, two criteria were applied: circumstances/categories and changes over time. To compare circumstances/categories, quantitative results from categorisation process were used; whereas time coding results were used for comparing changes over time.

4.1.4.1 Teacher A and C in terms of circumstances/categories

![Comparison of codeswitching categories between Teachers A and C during Week 2-5](image-url)

Figure 4.14 Comparison of codeswitching categories between Teachers A and C
In the column chart above, comparison was made only for the time from week 2 to week 5 when they were both teaching Advanced English to students in the same grade but different classes, as data for Teacher C in week 1 were not available. In general they both codeswitched more in categories such as “translating sentences”, “explaining vocabulary”, “asides etc.” and “meta-text comments” than they did in the rest of others. Noticeable differences can be found in some categories. For example, in “lecturing literature, culture and philosophy” where there were 11 codeswitching items for Teacher A, there were none for Teacher C. Additionally Teacher A tended to codeswitch extensively when he was telling asides, anecdotes or expressing personal opinions (40 for 4 weeks), whereas Teacher C only codeswitched 18 times in that category, fewer than half of the times of Teacher A.

4.1.4.2 Teacher A and C in terms of change over time

Figure 4.15 Comparison on total Chinese spoken time between Teachers A and C
It is clear from the above line chart that on the whole from week 2 to 5 when
time overlapped for both teachers, Teacher A codeswitched considerably more
than Teacher C did in Week 2 to Week 4 while with Teacher A’s line dropping
and Teacher C’s rising, they almost reached at the same level in Week 5.

4.1.4.3 Teacher A and Teacher B in terms of circumstances/categories

Comparison of categories of codeswitching behaviours between A and B during Week 1-9

Figure 4.16 Comparison of codeswitching categories between Teachers A and B

Comparison of Teachers A and B was made on their codeswitching behaviours
in A’s American Literature class and B’s two classes (Philosophy and Poetry),
as all these classes were content-based rather than language skills focused. Table
4.16 illustrates that major differences of codeswitching categories lay in
meta-textual comments and asides. Based on observation, when teaching a novel
or short story, Teacher A was more inclined to make comments directly related
to the text itself, for example, the author’s intentions in terms of wording, his own opinions on particular descriptions etc, whereas in Poetry class Teacher B preferred to emphasize the social, cultural, historical and philosophical background of a specific poem or poet and expanded his talk towards that direction. In other words, Teacher B’s argument focused on the macro level of the text while Teacher A tended to emphasize details on the micro level. Also Teacher B did not linger long on explaining the literal meaning of the text in his Philosophy class. Instead he elaborated on the philosophical meaning behind the text and started to lecture on philosophy, which was why Teacher A codeswitched more on meta-textual comments, while Teacher B codeswitched more on literature/culture/philosophy in his Philosophy class. It was also noted that Teacher B was closer to Teacher A in most of the categories except vocabulary in the Poetry class than he was to himself when teaching Philosophy, the reason for which could be that Poetry class and American Literature class were both literature-related-subjects and shared similar lesson objectives while Western Philosophy had a different focus and thus required different teaching methods.
4.1.4.4 Teacher A and B in terms of change over time

The changes of codeswitching time in the three content-based classes are presented in Table 4.17. Generally speaking, despite a drop in Week 5, Teacher B codeswitched noticeably more than Teacher A in his Philosophy class in terms of the total time when Chinese was spoken in class.
4.1.4.5 Two subjects taught by Teacher A in terms of circumstances/categories

Figure 4.18 Comparison of codeswitching categories of Teacher A in two subjects

4.1.4.6 Two subjects taught by Teacher A in terms of change over time

Figure 4.19 Comparison of time used speaking Chinese in Teacher A’s two classes
The comparison between two pie charts from the previous section illuminates the fact that the circumstances under which codeswitching took place by the same participant differed slightly with regard to subjects. Table 4.18 and 4.19 above provide a clearer picture of the comparison. It can be observed from Table 4.18 that in general, Teacher A codeswitched more in the Advanced English class than in the American Literature class in every category except in “meta-textual comment”. It could be argued that the reason for this difference might be that in the Advanced English class which placed particular emphasis on L2 skills, in order to help students comprehend the language, the teacher had to switch to Chinese more often to explain the meanings of sentences and vocabulary items; whereas in the American Literature class, which focused on literature appreciation and literary knowledge input, understanding the context behind the text, rather than the language itself, was the objective of the class, which explains why the teacher codeswitched less frequently to explain language points. Instead, Chinese was employed more to make meta-textual comments to explain the author’s intentions and express his own opinions on the literary work so as to help students better understand the meaning behind the text. The line chart in Table 4.19 further confirmed that with regard to the time spent on codeswitching, Teacher A did spend more time in speaking Chinese in Advanced English class than in American Literature class.
4.1.4.7 Two subjects taught by Teacher B in terms of circumstances/categories

Table 4.20 provides a comparison of salient codeswitching categories in two subjects taught by Teacher B. It is clear from the chart that Teacher B codeswitched more whilst lecturing literature/culture/philosophy and asides in his Western Philosophy class, whereas in the English and American Poetry class, codeswitching when translating sentences and meta-textual comments appeared to be more salient. The reason for the different distributions could be that the Western Philosophy class largely involved the input of philosophical theories and knowledge which were more difficult for the students to comprehend than poems. In addition, discussing philosophical issues tended to require a lengthy
introduction and relevant background knowledge, which was likely to prompt
the lecturer to extend the topic to other areas. This results in a considerable
amount of codeswitching in the form of asides. The British and American Poetry
class was mainly a content-based course as well but differed from Western
Philosophy class in the way that it focused more on helping students understand
every word in the poems first and furthermore the profound meanings behind
them, if any. Therefore the teacher had to alternate his language to translate
sentences and make meta-textual comments. However in Western Philosophy
class, the teacher would not linger too long on literal meaning of the text.
Instead he progressed directly to eliciting philosophical insights surrounding the
text. To sum up, with the exception of asides, the differences can be explained
by the necessary focus on text in the poetry classes as opposed to a greater
emphasis on cultural-related context in philosophy ones.
4.1.4.8 Two subjects taught by Teacher B in terms of change over time

![Figure 4.21 Comparison of time used on Chinese in Teacher B’s two classes](image)

Results from the above line chart have shown that in terms of the amount of time spent on codeswitching, there was no substantial difference between the two subjects he taught.

To conclude, in teaching the same skills-based course, Teacher A codeswitched to lecture students on knowledge of literature and culture whereas Teacher C did not. Among the three content-based courses taught by Teachers A and B, A codeswitched more on “meta-textual comments” while B codeswitched more when “telling asides”. With regard to time spent on codeswitching, Teacher A codeswitched more in a skills-based than in a content-based course whereas no substantial differences were found for Teacher B in his Philosophy and Poetry.
classes. In addition, generally speaking Teacher B codeswitched more than Teacher A.

4.1.5 Possible Factors Affecting Codeswitching Behaviours

This question is answered from two perspectives. Firstly the factors that participants claim to have an impact on their codeswitching behaviours are illustrated. Secondly two salient factors (lesson contents and objectives; teachers’ identity) are selected and elaborated with supported examples from classroom observations.

4.1.5.1 Factors that participants claim to have an impact on their codeswitching behaviours?

Table 4.22 below lists the reasons for possible factors affecting codeswitching behaviours from interviews with three teachers. The items in bold are the factors that each teacher particularly stressed. It can be seen that they shared the same opinions on lesson contents and objectives, teachers’ and students’ L2 proficiency being potential factors that had an impact on their choice of language use in class.

Both Teachers A and C considered that language contrast was an important factor in terms of codeswitching. However they explained it from different perspectives. Teacher A argued that due to the existence of vast language
contrast between English and Chinese, codeswitching was inevitable while Teacher C regarded that languages shared more similarities than differences, so therefore employing Chinese could facilitate understanding English.

In addition, Teacher A included “teachers’ ability to comprehend and appreciate teaching content” as a factor as well. This ability can be considered relevant to an extensive range of aspects such as educational backgrounds, qualifications, researching abilities, teacher training etc. Teacher training was also noted by Teacher B, when he expressed his concerns over the recent evidence concerning increasingly unqualified teachers. He believed that teachers’ personal beliefs and teacher training were two interrelated factors, since through teacher training, teachers’ personal beliefs could be shaped or altered. He also placed students’ reaction in class as a priority, explaining that he would change his language use instantly according to how much interest students were showing. He felt sometimes he had to switch to Chinese to raise their attention or as a stimulus to encourage them to concentrate.
<table>
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<th>Teacher A</th>
<th>Teacher B</th>
<th>Teacher C</th>
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<td><strong>Sameness</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Differences</strong></td>
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<td>Teacher training</td>
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Table 4.22 Summary of factors participants claim to have an impact

Teachers also expressed their views on the question in the stimulated recalls. Teacher A added two more factors: **students’ reaction in class** and **his own research interest**. The first factor resembled with what Teacher B mentioned in the interview. In this case Teacher A stated that he believed topics should be switched often in class to enhance the effects of learning. If he sensed that students were not reacting actively, he would employ Chinese to tell asides or switch to other topics related to the text to retrieve students’ attention. This motivation was not noted in previous literature. As for the second factor, he admitted that since he had been researching in English and American literature for years, it was to some extent a reflex that he inevitably linked anything with literature whenever possible. Results from Teacher B’s stimulated recall to a large extent confirmed to those in his interviews.
It is worth pointing out that this study initially set out to investigate codeswitching in the broader context of CLT. It was assumed the implementation of CLT in China might be reflected in an emphasis on the use of the target language in all classes, even at the highest level. However, it soon became clear from the observations and later confirmed in the interviews, that neither the participants’ personal beliefs regarding teaching nor their practice had been influenced by the principles of CLT. In fact, none of them held positive views towards employing CLT in their classes and all of them expressed their doubts about the feasibility of implementing CLT in the Chinese context generally. As a result, the focus shifted to content-based teaching in the follow-up interviews in Phase II in order to understand whether or not their rejection of CLT was connected to their beliefs about content-based instruction as outlined in the current curriculum.

4.1.5.2 The impact of two salient factors

Based on results from interviews and stimulated recalls as well as analysis of teachers’ talk in class, two salient factors are selected to explore in depth the extent to which teachers’ codeswitching behaviours can be influenced by certain elements. The reasons for choosing these particular factors (lesson contents and objectives; teachers’ identity) are explained as follows.
The reason for choosing lesson contents and objectives as a salient factor is that it has been mentioned and highlighted by all the participants as being an important factor. In addition, Phase I of this study features codeswitching in both skill- and content-based classes, in contrast with only skills-based courses in previous research. Lesson contents and objectives are thus considered crucial factors in investigating participants’ codeswitching behaviours.

Moreover, it is the exploratory quantitative analysis of teachers’ codeswitching categories, particularly the discovery of the category **lecturing text-related literature, culture and philosophy** that directly prompted the shift of the focus of this study. It is hypothesized that the active involvement of Chinese elements reflects the influence of teachers’ identity in their teaching practice. This hypothesis leads to Phase II of the current research. It is therefore suggested that examples of teachers’ talk on Chinese literature, culture, philosophy etc. should be examined as evidence to test the hypothesis. Hence teacher identity is selected as the second salient factor.

The impact of the first salient factor “lesson contents and objectives” is examined from two sources of data: analysis of lecture talk and interviews from Phase I. The results concerning analysis of lecture talk focus on Teacher A and B, as Teacher C did not teach more than one subject.
Quantitative categorisations earlier in this chapter compared two subjects taught by Teacher A. The comparison showed that Teacher A codeswitched considerably more to explain vocabulary but significantly less to make meta-textual comments in his Advanced English class. Overall there was little difference in the incidences of codeswitching between these two subjects. However, results from time coding showed that in general Teacher A spent more time speaking Chinese in his Advanced English class. In addition, the time spent on codeswitching to provide information on (Chinese and foreign) literature/culture/philosophy and tell asides etc was on average more greater in the Advanced English class than in the American Literature class.

The reason for the difference in category was briefly explained before. It was mainly caused by the different contents and objectives outlined for the two courses. The “Advanced English” course was a skills-based module which aimed to teach students comprehensive L2 skills including reading, writing, listening and speaking. Understanding the literal meaning of the text was prioritized, and consequently the teacher had to switch to Chinese often to give translations or paraphrase new words. Nonetheless in the “American Literature” course, which concentrated more on content teaching rather than language, students were expected to understand the literal meaning of the text on their own while the teacher helped them comprehend the context around the text, including historical background and authors’ intentions. In this case explaining language
points would be a waste of time. Instead the teacher devoted more time to making comments relevant to the text to facilitate students’ understanding.

In the interview, Teacher A noted the impact of lesson contents and objectives. He explained:

*It all depends on the objective of the class. A skills-based class probably requires less L1 use than a content-based class. For example, when I am teaching Literary Theory to postgraduate students, I may have to use 50% Chinese, because the content is too difficult for the students. They cannot understand it at all by reading the handouts themselves. I tried to use only English but it proved to be unsuccessful. It is the same for other teachers.* [TAI2:70]

On the other hand, quantitative categorisation analysis revealed that Teacher B codeswitched more to translate sentences and make meta-textual comments in “British and American Poetry” class while employing more Chinese to input philosophical/cultural knowledge and tell asides in “Western Philosophy” class, which was also due to the different lesson contents and objectives. Although the two subjects Teacher B taught were both content-based courses, they had different objectives and levels of difficulty for students. The poetry lesson set out to firstly help the students comprehend the poems and then appreciate the
beauty of them. The philosophy course aimed to encourage the students to explore the philosophical meanings behind the texts and to enlighten them with philosophical way of thinking. It is also the more difficult one between the two, according to Teacher B himself.

Results from time coding confirmed that Teacher B did spend more time on providing information on literature/culture/philosophy etc in Chinese in his Western Philosophy class than in the British and American Poetry class. Meanwhile the time spent on telling asides etc. in Chinese was also higher in the Western Philosophy class. Overall, Teacher B spent more time codeswitching in the Philosophy class than in the Poetry class on average.

In the interviews, Teacher B considered lesson contents and objectives as a very important factor that might affect his codeswitching behaviours. He also admitted that he codeswitched more in the Philosophy class due to the difficult contents and his concern that students might not be able to fully understand if it was taught in English exclusively. It was confirmed in the analysis of lecture talk that on average there were more codeswitching incidences in his Philosophy class than in Poetry.

In summary both teachers’ codeswitching behaviours differed in terms of categories depending on lesson content and objectives. Results from interviews
further confirmed that courses with different contents and objectives did exert a significant impact on teachers’ choice of language use.

The impact of the second salient factor “teachers’ identity” was discovered when analysing teachers’ talk in class with Teacher A and B. Evidence supporting the impact of this factor is presented through examples extracted from lecture talk which demonstrates the existence of identity in codeswitching behaviours.

The analysis of lecture talk revealed the influence of two types of identity which emerged during codeswitching. There was content embedded in teachers’ talk in Chinese that reflected elements of teachers' cultural and disciplinary identities. These two aspects are elaborated respectively as follows.

Cultural identity in the current context refers to teachers’ stance as being Chinese and deeply influenced by Chinese culture. Close investigation of codeswitching items identified through categorisation revealed that teachers’ positions changed from being merely a teacher to being more of a Chinese person than a teacher under certain circumstances such as telling asides and lecturing Chinese literature/culture/philosophy, especially when they were conducting cross-cultural comparisons between the Western societies and China. Since neither knowledge of Chinese literature, culture and philosophy nor
cross-cultural comparison is considered to be part of the requirements of the courses (as the courses are English language skills or Western Literature, Culture and Philosophy per se), this suggests that the impact of teachers’ cultural identity, particularly their national pride concerning Chinese literature, culture and history plays an important role in the content they deliver and their language choice in class. Examples provided below are extracted from all the subjects taught by Teacher A and B.

In the first example, Teacher A compares the history of Western literature to that of Chinese literature:

1) 所以英国文学要追溯到 10 世纪以后。你们接受外来文化的时候要有一个概念。我经常想，英国连莎士比亚有没有这个人都需要考证，这在中国我们会觉得是很可笑的事情。莎士比亚是在文艺复兴时期。但是 10 世纪对于中国文学已经很晚了。中国文学动辄就是公元前，对不对？所以你们接受外国文学要有一个概念。但是你们也不要有 cultural chauvinism，不要有大国沙文主义。我们谈到英国文学和文化总是觉得是很悠久的，但是中国这个时候已经是唐朝了，还有汉代呢，还有夏商周呢。我经常会有这种排斥的心理。在美国更是如是，才 200 年的历史，在中国算什么啊。所以这种大国沙文主义你们一定要注意。 (The history of English literature can be approximately dated back to the 10th Century. You have to have the sense of chronology when learning foreign literature and culture. English people have to conduct textual research to determine
whether or not there ever existed such a great writer called Shakespeare, which would sound like a joke in China! Shakespeare lived in the Renaissance but the 10th Century was already a late stage for Chinese literature. We often see Chinese literary works from BC, right? So you have to be able to distinguish the time sequence when learning foreign culture and literature. However we should not feel cultural chauvinism either. When we talk about English literature, we often feel it has a long history, but at that time, China was already in its Tang Dynasty, not to mention the Han Dynasty, and Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties. I myself feel this repulsion, especially when I went to America – a country that has only got a 200-year-history. Two hundred years means nothing in China. So for you, you have to be extremely cautious of this cultural chauvinism.) [TAAEW1]

In this example, Teacher A refers to a minority view towards Shakespeare that his works may have been written by someone else (hence, not 100% sure). He tracks back to literature in ancient China at the same time, points out the fact that Chinese literature had begun to flourish much earlier than Shakespeare’s time in England and such uncertainty at so late a point in British history would be inconceivable in the Chinese context. Then he moves on from literature to history by deriding America’s short history. Nonetheless, he does admit that this point of view of his sounds chauvinistic but meanwhile he warns the students of avoiding cultural chauvinism in cross-cultural comparisons. It can be seen that
Teacher A is very proud of Chinese literature and the history of China. He tends to position himself both as a teacher and as Chinese. His pride and self-esteem can be speculated to have come from his cultural identity of being a citizen of a country boasting of a long and thriving history of literature. In the next example, Teacher A shifts from the historical comparison between China and the West and turns his attention onto the English translation of Chinese works:

2) **Leap** 这个词，我的父亲这一辈的人学英语的话都知道。因为大跃进 – great leap. 经历过 cultural revolution 的人都知道。还有，“三思而后行” 的英文说法，叫 Think before you leap. 我现在很怀疑选的这些翻译外国人能不能看得懂。... 我到 UC Berkeley 去, ... 看到校园周围很多地方都在卖毛泽东语录，T 恤衫，一类的东西。他们叫 Chairman Mao’s Quotations. 然后 T 恤衫上写着: Who is afraid of Chairman Mao? 这些东西在那边很受欢迎。我就在想，即便在当时毛泽东语录的翻译是集中了当时最优秀的翻译家，他们能不能理解毛泽东语录的意思。*People of my father’s generation, if they studied English at that time, must know the word “leap”, as in the Great Leap. Anyone who experienced the Cultural Revolution would know it. In addition, a quotation from Confucius…is translated in English as “Think before you leap”. To be honest, I really doubt if foreigners could understand the translation of Quotations of Chairman Mao. …When I went to UC Berkeley … I saw people selling books named “Chairman Mao’s Quotations”, propaganda T shirts from China on which
was printed the slogan of “Who is afraid of Chairman Mao?” etc. near the campus. These seemed quite popular there. I was wondering if they could really understand the meaning of them, even though the translation work was done by the best translators in China back then.) [TAAEW4]

In this example, the participant does not stand as an English teacher who provides students with linguistic knowledge. Instead he perceives himself as a person with very strong sense of his cultural identity. It can be viewed that a clear line is drawn between Chinese and the Westerners, segregating them into two groups. He doubts if Westerners can really understand the meaning of Chairman Mao’s Quotations through translation, because according to him, understanding those quotations requires full knowledge of Chinese history and culture, with which the majority of the Western society are not equipped. Since he considers that the lack of understanding of Chinese literature and culture by the Westerners is due to the limited amount of export of such knowledge to the Western world, in the third example Teacher A suggests that there should be as much export of Chinese culture to the West as there is import of Western culture to China.

3) 其实孔子在《论语》里也有这样的教育思想。中国哲学是很伟大的。所以同学们只有在把英语学好的基础上将来才能从事汉译英的工作。现在国家成立了汉办，竭力把中国文化推向世界。不仅仅是建立 Confucian
School, 孔子学院，还要翻译古文经典，从《四书五经》开始。虽然现在就《论语》来讲已经有很多翻译的版本，但是仍然不够，那些都是很老的译本。翻译理论里说，一个译本要与时俱进。中国现在仍是单向输入很多，输出的很少。(In fact, such educational ideas were also reflected in the “Analects of Confucius”. It is the greatness of Chinese philosophy. So you have to learn English well if you want to be a translator in the future. China is now popularising its culture to the world, not only through building Confucian Schools abroad but also through translating classical ancient Chinese literature into English. It can start from “The Four Books and Five Classics”. Taking the “Analects of Confucius” as an example, although there are already many versions of the translation in the market, it is not enough. Those are really old translations. According to the theory of translation, a good version needs to be updated from time to time. In the present China, inputting Western culture still dominates while there is very little of outputting Chinese culture.) [TAAEW5]

In the example above, Teacher A speaks of the greatness of Chinese philosophy. He positions himself as both a teacher and as Chinese who appreciates the ancient Chinese classics and wishes them to be widely spread in the world. He encourages his students to learn English well in order to translate the ancient Chinese classics into English. He also criticizes the fact that the Chinese people

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23 The Four Books refer to: The Great Learning; The Doctrine of the Mean; The Analects of Confucius; Mencius. The Five Classics refer to: The Book of Songs; The Book of History; The Book of Changes; The Book of Rites; The Spring and Autumn Annals.
are importing a large amount of Western culture but not exporting enough Chinese culture. This criticism reflects his strong sense of cultural identity and his willingness to alter the current situation, because from his point of view, ancient Chinese philosophy and culture is a precious heritage to Chinese people as well as to the world. Similarly Teacher B, who majored in philosophy, is also very proud of Chinese philosophy, which is reflected in the following examples.

4) 我很认同我老师讲过的一句话：往往最慢的东西却是最快的。中国人说电光火石之间。中国人认为到达智慧那一瞬间的美妙是需要经过千年的等待来赢得。中国的禅宗最讲究这一点。禅宗说：挑水砍柴，皆有佛理。在挑水砍柴这些 monotony of everyday life, 琐碎的，单调的生活中，让你的心慢慢清澈起来，也许某一天，刹那之间，就开悟了。对智慧的领会，这是中国人，东方人，比较推崇的方法。在大学里，希望你们可以在学习多方面知识的同时，能有一些对智慧的领悟，这是任何知识性的教学无法取代的。（I really appreciate what my teacher once said: the slowest is usually the fastest. Chinese people say “at the moment of lightening”. Chinese people believe that to reach the instant of achieving wisdom, one has to wait for thousands of years. Chinese Zen particularly emphasizes this. Zen says: “Buddhism exists everywhere, even in the process of carrying the water and chopping the woods.” In the monotony of everyday life, your heart gets purified gradually. Maybe one day, all of a sudden, the truth dawns on you. This is the method to achieve and
understand wisdom adored by the Chinese and Asians in general. I hope that in your college life, you can have more understanding of wisdom which can never be taught by any other lessons aiming to deliver only knowledge.

This example is taken from the text where the teacher is giving asides in Chinese. He is lecturing the students about the importance of slowing down the pace of life as part of the way of attaining wisdom. The frequent use of the word “Chinese” shows the teacher’s keenness to highlight his cultural identity. Also, taking into the consideration of the roots of Buddhism, he has broadened his position and identity from Chinese to Asian. He employs the words from Chinese and Asian philosophy of which he is proud to encourage the students to learn from the treasure of their roots. The same type of influence of his cultural identity can also be seen in the next example, in which he draws upon the concept of determinism from the West and thinks about its implications for Chinese philosophy.

5) 中国人很懂这个道理（谋事在人，成事在天）。孟子说：天时地利人和。水泊梁山说：替天行道。中国传统文化都有一种宿命论，determinism，在里面。孔子说：不知命，无以为君子。（The Chinese understand this well – I do my best and let God do the rest. Mencius once said that good timing, geographical conditions and solidarity are the keys to success in the war. In
the “Outlaws in the Marsh”, it was said: enforce the justice in the name of God. Determinism is widely seen in the traditional Chinese culture. Confucius said that a man who did not know his destiny could not be called a real man.) [TBWPW1]

This example, which seems a collection of quotations from ancient Chinese literature, reflects Teacher B’s understanding of the representation of determinism in traditional Chinese philosophy. He provides these quotations to elaborate on the theme of determinism in order to contrast with different development of determinism in the Western philosophy. Again, the emphasis of the word “Chinese” in the first sentence reveals the positioning of the teacher which is opposed to the Western view. However, in the last example, instead of borrowing a Western concept and extending discussion to the Chinese context, Teacher B starts with the ideology of the Chinese people and then continues with descriptions of different ideologies in the West and India.

6) 中国人，印度人，和西方人关于生命的意识形态可以做一个类比。一个中国人，在太阳下看到自己的影子，他不会欣喜于光明，而不会恐惧影子的黑暗，因为他认为这个世界就是由光明和黑暗组成的，所以他的内心世界大多是平和的。他嘲笑西方人过于坚持。对于死亡，他恬然适从，他平静地面对死亡。而一个西方人，如果我们读一读柏拉图和圣经，就知道，他们对于道德的纯洁性的要求远远高于中国人。他们知道人有
There is an analogy which could be used to compare the ideology among Chinese, Indians and Westerners. If the Chinese see their shadows in the sunshine, they will not be thrilled by the brightness of the sun, or scared by the darkness of the shadow, because they believe that the world is composed of both the bright and the dark sides. Therefore they often maintain a mild and calm status inside. They sneer at the Westerners for being too insistent. Facing death, they remain peaceful. However, as for Westerners, if you have read Plato or Bible, you would know that they have much higher moral standards than the Chinese. They believe in original sin. They see the darkness of life. They cannot get rid of the psychological barrier that the sin human beings are born with cannot be washed away. Thus they have fears, which is a type of cultural ideology that follows them like a shadow. However Indians wonder what is behind the brightness and darkness. They think it is a kind of emptiness. So they say we should not be excited about the brightness, or afraid of the darkness. [TBWPW3]

Although the example above which contains an analogy of comparisons among the ideology of the Chinese, Indians and Westerners shows no preference over
one particular side, the choice of comparing the East to the West is determined by the teacher’s cultural identity. The question embedded in this behaviour lies in the reason for switching to Chinese, instead of maintaining the use of English, in order to express feelings concerning the teacher’s cultural identity, i.e. if cultural identity prompts the use of mother tongue or not.

Apart from cultural identity which seems to have an impact on teachers’ codeswitching behaviours, it has been perceived from the analysis of lecture talk that a certain number of codeswitching items have reflected teachers’ disciplinary identity as well. Disciplinary identity refers to the perceptions they possess of themselves which are affected by specific research interest areas. As a result, Teacher A, who specialises in literature, constantly involves contents containing literature in his Advanced English class which is expected to focus on L2 skills. Meanwhile Teacher B, who is passionate about researching philosophy, frequently extends discussions to philosophy-related topics in his British and American Poetry class. Similarly, both Teachers A and B chose to alter their language from English to Chinese to deliver the contents associated with their research interests. Examples selected from the lesson transcriptions are shown below.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{24} Examples displayed here are selected from Teacher A’s Advanced English class and Teacher B’s British and American Poetry class, as it is legitimate for A to talk literature in his American Literature course and B to discuss philosophy in Western Philosophy course.
The first group of examples are from Teacher A’s classes. In the first example, Teacher A extends his discussion from explaining the word “meta” to the names of ancient Chinese poets.

1) In Chinese, Yuan means the first. Another word with the same meaning is Xuan. In ancient China, Yuan equaled Xuan. They both meant the beginning of something. There is a poet in the Tang Dynasty called Liu Zong Yuan and his brother was named Liu Zong Xuan. However in the reign of Emperor Xuan, one’s name couldn’t contain the word Xuan. Therefore he had to change it. But he couldn’t change it to Yuan which had a similar meaning because in that case he and his brother would have the same name. So at last he changed it to another character: Yuan.) [TAAEW5]

The most common type of examples which reveals the influence of his disciplinary identity is to be found when Western literature and writers are discussed in his skills-based course. The following two excerpts are taken from Teacher A’s classroom talk to exemplify this viewpoint.
2) “Voltaire in Love” 伏尔泰，是法国的一位哲学家，这是写伏尔泰的一本传记。法国有一个著名的小说家叫莫洛亚，法文是 Maurois. 他写的biography 都是写英国的，比如 Byron, Shelley, Keats 等等。(Voltaire is a French philosopher. This book is a biography of Voltaire. There is a famous French writer called Maurois who wrote many biographies of famous English people, such as Byron, Shelley and Keats.) [TAAEW2]

3) 美国有一个作家叫 (There is an American writer called) Irving Shaw……

一部小说能看出不同国家的人对战争的认识，态度如何，对人类生存状况的理解都不同。(A novel could tell us the different understandings and attitudes towards war as well as the situation of human existence from people in different countries.) Their understandings of human existence are quite different. 所以了解西方文化一定要读它的文学作品 (Therefore understanding western culture has to be achieved by reading its literature) [TAAEW1]

Apart from literary knowledge, Teacher A also discusses the language in literature from the linguistic perspective in skills-based course where English language skills are expected to be the main focus:

4) 这种在文学语言中很常见。我们讲 (It is often seen in literary language. We call it) irony. 在(In) “Pride and Prejudice”, 第一段就是很好的(The
first sentence is the best) irony. 前半部分给你(The first half gives you) a high expectation – It is universally acknowledged that…然后突然来一个 (Then suddenly there is an) anti-climax: a single man in possession of large fortune must be in want of a wife. 一下造成一个落差，一个(A fall was created.) An ironic effect, 不是从语言上，而是从整体效果上。(not in terms of language, but in terms of the overall effect) [TAAEW3]

5) 诗歌的语言(Poetic language), poetic language should be vastly different from daily language. 诗歌的语言, 应该完全不同于日常用语。(should be completely different from daily language) 这是判断这是否是文学作品的标志。文学的语言就要求有创新。尤其是诗歌。(This is the criteria to judge if it is literature. Literary language requires creativity, especially poems.) [TAAEW3]

He also talks about the perspective Western scholars have in terms of researching Chinese classics in his skills-based course:

6) 外国人研究《水浒》很有意思。那天我看见一篇文章，题目就叫 “Wu Song – A Misogyny”. Women-hater. 在中国，没有人会认为武松仇恨女人。但是在外国人眼里就不一样。这是很有意思的。(It is interesting to know how foreigners study “Outlaws in the Marsh”. I read a paper titled “Wu Song – A
“Misogyny”. Women-hater. In China, nobody would think he is a women-hater but foreigners do, which is very interesting.) [TAAEW4]

The examples above taken from Teacher A’s class demonstrate that he lectures on literary themes to students not only in literature class but also in skilled-based English language classes. He introduces Western writers, comments on foreign literature works, compares different views held by foreign critics of Chinese literature and provides information on ancient Chinese culture/literature. The remarks made on all these subjects are mostly L1, rather than L2 which is supposed to be the dominant language in class. However knowledge of literature and culture etc is not supposed to be part of the syllabus in a skills-based course where improving students’ language skills is the main task for a teacher. It is thus speculated that Teacher A’s language use in class is to a certain extent affected by his disciplinary identity as a literature teacher and researcher.

The following three examples are taken from Teacher B’s classes. In his British and American Poetry class where poems should be the topic, he tends to incorporate philosophical knowledge in his talk. This knowledge is often drawn from the Chinese perspective, as shown in Examples 7 and 8.

7) 这句话让你们想起了谁？对，庄子。庄生晓梦迷蝴蝶，望帝春心托杜鹃。

庄子说：我在梦中看到自己变成了一只蝴蝶。我醒来后就暗自揣测，到
Whom does this sentence remind you of? Yes, Chuang-tzu. He dreamed of himself becoming a butterfly and when he woke up, he started to ponder: are the butterfly and I two separate things or are we the same thing? It sounds nonsense to people with a very strong sense of modern science. What is he talking about? But if you think about it without any prejudice, you would understand that he had a point. To what degree can I identify myself? What is “me”? What am I? Is that me - the one who is thinking or the one who is feeling? How can I know about “me”? That’s really a question. You have to understand and control yourself in the sense...
of the spiritual level. I am not only the one who exists physically. Therefore 
Chuang-tzu said he could not be sure that “I am who I am”. In that case, how 
can I identify the real me --- the one in deep sleep or the one fully awake? 
Freud interpreted dreams as our subconscious activity which he thought was 
a kind of compensation for reality. But Chuang-tzu did not think so. He 
thought that dreams and reality were the same thing. So there is no 
difference between that butterfly and me. He IS the butterfly. Nevertheless, 
he also said that the best status of living is to have no dreams, because when 
we don’t have any dreams, our conscious is finally becoming quiet and we 
come to an utter silence. At that time, we can experience the strongest 
feeling of happiness.) [TBBAPW1]

8) 中国人有一种很高的艺术境界，叫物我两忘。物中有我，我中有物。分辨 
不清哪个是我，哪个是物。这也是禅宗的境界。西方人是物我二元对立 
的。野渡无人舟自横，是无我之境。泪眼问花花不语，是有我之境。朱 
光潜说，无我是一种静谧的美。这是一种境界很高的美。 (Chinese people 
can achieve a very high level in art which is known to happen only when 
you forget everything around you, including yourself. You see things in 
yourself and yourself in things. You cannot distinguish yourself from other 
beings. This is also the state that the Chinese Zen promotes. However, as for 
the Westerners, other substances and they themselves are independent. In the 
poem “A boat alongside a wild ferry lies by itself”, it describes a state where
I totally forget the existence of myself; whereas in the poem “I asked the flowers in silent tears but gained no answers”, it depicts a condition in which “me” does exist. The Chinese scholar, Zhu Guang Qian says: “A condition where “me” does not exist is a quiet beauty.” This is beauty at a very high level.) [TBBAPW4]

Discussion of philosophy includes not only Chinese philosophy but also Western philosophy and philosophers:

9) Nietzsche once said that Prussia, before the war between Germany and France, had very strong characteristics of its own spirit and culture. However afterwards, since Germany defeated France and became very powerful, its spirit and culture were lost. Nietzsche had completely different attitudes towards his own country before and after the war. He loved it so much before and eagerly wanted to beat the mighty France for the sake of individual existence,
freedom and development. After the war, in his later days, he talked about
the Germans in the same way the Chinese talk about Japanese. The
powerfulness of Prussia’s military and politics led to the unlimited
expansion of its desire in economics. Meanwhile its own national spirit was
gradually capitalized and materialized.) [TBBAPW1]

It can be seen from the examples cited above that Teacher B tends to switch to
Chinese to discuss philosophy in his poetry class. He is likely to relate the
contents identified in poems to philosophical issues, especially to traditional
Chinese philosophy, and extend the discussion to philosophy in preference to
poetry or other forms of literature. It is considered that his codeswitching
behaviours under this circumstance are influenced by his disciplinary identity as
more of a philosophy teacher who teaches philosophy in English rather than a
traditional English teacher.

It should be noticed that all the examples provided above were originally in
Chinese with scattered English words at some points, which prompted the
question of the relationship between teachers’ identity and codeswitching
behaviours. To this end, after a year, the participants were invited again for
follow-up interviews in which the issue of identity was addressed implicitly.
The follow-up interviews aimed to firstly confirm the impact of teachers’
identity on their language use in class and then to further explore the underlying
reasons for delivering contents on Chinese literature/culture/philosophy etc. as well as the influence this was expected to exert on students.

4.2 Findings from Phase II

This part addresses the answers to the second set of the research questions consisting of four topics: curriculum making, content-based teaching, identity and teacher training. It begins with the subject of curriculum making in which the issue of content-based teaching is included, since “teaching content-based courses through English as a medium of instruction” is required by the current curriculum. The topic of teachers’ identity is discussed within the sub-theme of content-based teaching, because the influence of identity on teaching practice is detected from teachers’ Chinese language use in content-based courses. Having then moved on to qualities needed for the teachers, the analysis ends with the teachers’ suggestions for changes that should be made to the current curriculum as well as teacher training.

4.2.1 Curriculum Making

Three aspects proved to be particularly prominent within the issue of curriculum making: problems with current curriculum, cultivation objectives and content-based teaching.
4.2.1.1 Problems with current curriculum

The comments that the interviewees make on the current curriculum can be summarised as follows: 1) less literature-oriented compared with curriculum before 1949; 2) status of content and language teaching; 3) excessive emphasis on language skill courses.

Regarding the first point, both Teachers A and C reflect on the curriculum used before 1949 a number of times in their interviews. Teacher A believes that the curriculum back then was more literature-oriented and thus more reasonable. Before 1949 when the P.R.C. was founded, in Chinese universities the design of curriculum for foreign language departments was based on the American model and students were expected to become experts in foreign literature after graduation. As a result, students were required to enrol in various courses in literature reading from their first year. Teacher A speaks of the curriculum for foreign language departments in Tsinghua University at that time:

*The curriculum was designed by Wu Mi who graduated from Harvard University in America. Therefore he consulted the curriculum employed there. Students were reading extensively during the first year, which provided the basis for developing their English language proficiency as well as ability in understanding and appreciating literary texts. When they move on to the 3rd or 4th year, they focus on studying Shakespeare,*
Milton and Chaucer etc. In that case, teachers are not responsible for improving students’ language skills so they can concentrate on teaching how to appreciate Shakespeare’s works. Students who were cultivated in this way were certainly different from those now. Unfortunately it is impossible for us to do so now. [TAI3:218]

Teacher C agrees with this assessment of the more literature-based curriculum before 1949. He mentions Xi Nan University and other church schools before 1949 in which literature was the focus of the education in foreign language departments. He also argues that:

*It is unilateral to criticise this literature model during the Cultural Revolution, since from the perspective of linguistics, literary texts contain the richest language registers and reflect the best way that a language can be applied. Literary texts are also embedded with cultural connotations and pragmatic strategies which are considerably conducive to the students’ learning process.* [TCI3:37]

Teacher A begins expressing his views on content and language teaching with criticism of the description of the current curriculum. In the curriculum it is stated that skill- and content-based courses are of the same importance and teachers are advised to provide content knowledge in skill courses and help
enhance students’ language proficiency in content courses. He argues that course descriptions of this type are not clearly stated and to a large extent depend on how each teacher interprets and grasps them as well as the ability of each teacher.

*Teachers with high levels of competence can manage both language skills and contents well balanced in class whereas teachers who lack such competence are likely to only focus on language skills instead of content.* [TAI3:23]

It seems clear from Teacher A’s opinion above that language teaching, from his point of view, seems to be second best and a recourse for teachers who lack content knowledge. He seems to assume that if a teacher has the ability to teach content, the ability to teach language can be taken for granted.

Teacher C also seems to believe that content teachers can teach language. He states that “teaching skills and content should not be segregated. Instead language skills can be improved in content courses. For example, writing book reviews is a typical way of demonstrating both language skills and thoughts.” [TCI3:119]
This relates to another point about the design of the curriculum that both Teacher B and C highlight. In the curriculum it is stated that the first two years should be devoted to improving English language skills and content courses are introduced to students when they enter the 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 4\textsuperscript{th} year of study. Teacher B comments that “it is absurd to deliberately segregate the skill courses and content courses into two periods of four-year-studies”. [TBI3:93] He believes that these two types of courses are “inseparable, because students obtain language skills in contents and it is impossible that they should be taught skills first and then contents”. [TBI3:95]

All three interviewees agree that the objectives of language proficiency and mastery of subject knowledge can be achieved at the same time in content courses. Though acknowledging the importance of teaching language skills, their emphasis is placed on content teaching. This point is further confirmed through their teaching practice in content-based classes, where the understanding of subject knowledge is prioritized: language skills are to a large extent neglected and left for students to acquire on their own.

The excessive emphasis on language skill courses is criticized by all the interviewees as being a major critical problem with the current curriculum. Teacher A argues that the improper orientation of the curriculum leads to
misunderstanding from other disciplines towards English Language and Literature. He says:

*Our department is often misunderstood and despised by the School of Science and Technology. It is wrongly regarded that we are merely a tool and a language centre which educates students to speak English fluently and provide service language for other professions in the future. What they want from us is to teach their students English. We are not a discipline in their opinion. This is a vital problem that our discipline is facing now – we are regarded as a machine.* [TAI3:38]

It can be seen that the status of English as a discipline is of crucial importance to Teacher A and in his view the association of this with language teaching in the eyes of other academic downgrades it, in their eyes at least, from a discipline to merely a service.

He also claims that the proportion of the number of skills-based courses and time allocated on these courses are considerably high, in comparison with that of the content courses.

Teacher B agrees with the unnecessary amount of time spent on teaching language skills and considers that the lack of elements on culture and humanities
in the curriculum is due to the insufficient cultural awareness of the people who are responsible for establishing the curriculum. He explains:

*I think there is not a clear guide embedded in the current curriculum.*

*On the one hand, it realises that the mastery of English language skills should not be the only purpose of education in this department. It understands that language should be taught in context. I assume it has recognised the fact that if language competence is seen as the sole teaching and learning objective, ELL as a discipline will face serious challenges. It can be seen that the increasing number of independent language training centres have already posed their threat to our department. On the other hand, these realisations are not reflected in the curriculum. I think the people who constitute the curriculum have not achieved an appropriate level of cultural awareness and sensitivity of knowledge about humanities. Owing to historical reasons and their own teaching practice, they have not fully understood the importance of implementing content-based instruction...This curriculum is too old. It does not possess an accurate reflection of the current situation.*

[TBI3:64]

This view of Teacher B expands on Teacher A’s previous point about being misunderstood by drawing attention to the danger of the department being
regarded as no more than a language centre if their discipline is reduced to only language teaching.

Teacher C also believes that an excessive amount of time is spent on improving students’ English language skills rather than teaching them substantial subject knowledge, which results in the difficulty they encounter when writing dissertations.

They usually find there is not much to say in their dissertations, which is the problem. They don’t know which topic they should choose and what they should say about it. They have read so little literature and learned so little about relevant theories. They are basically ignorant of linguistics, literature and literary theory etc. [TCI3:114]

Additionally, it is claimed by Teacher C that the concept of cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals\textsuperscript{25}, as stated in the current curriculum, leads the discipline of ELL in the wrong direction. He thinks:

It weakens the characteristics of this discipline, because on the one hand time spent on language skills training is eliminated to make way for the other subject courses but on the other hand, students’ achievements in these subjects such as economics, media, politics etc. is

\textsuperscript{25} This concept has been discussed in the Literature Review chapter. It refers to a three-fold-paradigm: English language skill courses, content-based courses regarding English literature and culture, courses from other areas such as diplomacy, media, education, economics, politics etc. are taught in English.
incompetent compared with those majoring in Economics/Media/Politics etc Departments. [TCI3:4]

Teacher C’s opinion seems to suggest that, based on his understanding, English language teaching is not recognised as a discipline on its own. Furthermore, the concept of cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals should not be considered as the appropriate orientation for the curriculum either.

It can be noticed from above that while superficially all the interviewees seem to be criticizing the excessive amount of English language teaching regulated by the official curriculum, at a deeper level they are making an implicit case for the significance of discipline. According to them, the current curriculum appears to be leading the discipline in the wrong direction in terms of development and they possess their own beliefs about how the characteristics of this discipline should be represented and the direction future curriculum is expected to take in terms of disciplinary construction. Their understandings and suggestions are presented at the end of this part.

4.2.1.2 Cultivation objectives

The expression “cultivation objectives” refers to the type of people the teachers aim for their students to become. One of the objectives is to develop graduates who might be described as “cultivated citizens”, i.e. who have the broad cultural
knowledge (of literature, philosophy, etc.) and sensitivity that these teachers value so highly. In the absence of a generally accepted expression to describe this objective, the shorthand term “cultivation objective” will be used henceforth.

Interviewees’ views on cultivation objectives focus on two aspects: in relation to students’ future possible professions and the abilities and skills they are expected to possess.

Teacher A divides students’ future possible professions into two levels. With regard to the lower level, he argues that:

*Our department should differentiate itself from other universities which expand their recruitment significantly on a yearly basis. Instead we should concentrate on elite education. We should cultivate teachers, qualified translators and interpreters and even experts and excellent researchers.* [TAI3:275]

Meanwhile he notices that the real communication between the West and China has not been achieved. Therefore, on a higher level, graduates from this department are expected to become cultural ambassadors. He further explains:
Even though the communications between the East and the West are increasing rapidly, I still feel that the real communication has not been achieved. The East is still the East and the West is still the West. There still exists a great deal of misunderstanding between people. Superficial communications such as in technology and trade have been proved to be successful but deeper and more profound communications as people have failed. Therefore it is our objective to cultivate a group of people who act as cultural communication ambassadors in every area. They have a wide scope of knowledge and excellent communication skills. They are experts in their disciplines. This is the type of people we anticipate to cultivate. [TAI3:145]

The quote above indicates a particular view of education in the ELLD which goes further and deeper than the teaching of language skills and subject knowledge. It stresses the achievement of real communication between the East and the West centred on individuals on both sides who possess a wide range of knowledge, especially in terms of culture. This point of view is reflected in Teacher A’s classroom practice which is characterized by teaching comparatively. It also coincides with Teacher B’s idea of cross-cultural education as one of the directions for the development of this discipline.
The abilities and skills mentioned by the participants in the interviews can be listed as follows: a wide scope of knowledge, the ability to conduct research independently, knowledge about the West and China, English language proficiency, independent thinking abilities, critical acumen, ability to update their knowledge on one’s own initiative, a strong sense of cultural identity and consciousness as well as sensitivity towards culture and humanities. Each of them has their own emphasis and preference, but it is interesting to note how language proficiency features as only one factor amongst many, and that only one respondent (Teacher C) chooses to highlight it in his responses.

Teacher A lays emphasis on a wide scope of knowledge, the ability to conduct research independently and abundant knowledge of both the West and China.

*I think graduates from our department should possess a rich amount of knowledge of their discipline and be able to make substantial contributions to the society. It is not even enough to stay on the level of being translators. They should be capable of and interested in conducting independent research on British/American culture and British/American people. However when they research, they research from the Chinese point of view. The ultimate purpose of their research on British/American culture is to be of great use to the development of Chinese culture. This requires the researcher to not only understand Britain/America but also China.* [TAI3:135]
This Chinese perspective noted in the quote above is reflected in the analysis of Teacher A’s talk in class from Phase I in which he frequently switches from English to Chinese to lecture students on Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc while also making comparisons with the Western perspective.

Teacher B has a broader view of what is required, arguing that the objective is not to produce language learning machines but people with a strong sense of cultural identity and cultural consciousness in the current cross-cultural background which he believes is much more important for the sustainable development of China. He states:

*If we only teach our students language skills, what else can they do apart from speaking English? Do they have a fair understanding about this era they are living in and their future? I think as a university undergraduate, he or she should be enlightened and illuminated in the awareness and sensitivity on culture and humanities.* [TBI3:73]

He also believes that the graduates from this department are qualified for all kinds of jobs once they have acquired the awareness and sensitivity in culture and humanities.
I think they are suitable for every profession. I would not mind what they do. I believe they have many choices. When they are well educated in liberal arts and have developed a certain level of cultural awareness, they can work in education, politics, media, journalism, marketing or management etc. They can even work in economics if they are willing to, because I believe that the most of the skills that the current occupations require are the ability and dimension of self-retrospection. In fact the most successful people in the area of finance are normally history or philosophy majors instead of finance. Why? Because every skill or piece of knowledge demanded by a particular profession is floating on a type of culture. If culture is neglected, I don’t think we are able to make a correct judgment when a decision has to be made, because we are not equipped with the historical and cultural awareness which is essential to the modern people. Like what Karl Marx said: there is only one discipline which is history. [TBI3:78]

Teacher C agrees with Teacher A about the importance of the ability of conducting research independently and the possession of a wide scope of knowledge but insists that “excellent language proficiency is the priority” [TCI3:48]. In addition, students should be equipped with “independent thinking ability, critical acumen and ability to update knowledge on their own initiative” [TCI3:49].
He also considers that since the situation in the job market is changing dramatically all the time, there is no need to cultivate the students to meet the demands of the job market. Instead if a student is in possession of competent English language skills and a wide scope of knowledge, he or she is qualified for all kinds of jobs. As indicated above, Teacher B also believes that the graduates are qualified for all kinds of jobs as well but that jobs differ in terms of prerequisites.

4.2.1.3 Content-based teaching

In the current curriculum, it is suggested that courses in which contents are taught through English as a medium of instruction should be encouraged. It is understood by some scholars and researchers that this type of teaching approach is theoretically supported by the content-based instruction of the West (Chang, 2007; Chang et al, 2008; Chang and Zhao, 2010). As discussed in the Literature Review Chapter, implementation of the content-based instruction has taken place in some Chinese universities. It took the form of making more subject courses, rather than language skill courses, available for students. These subject courses including those on literature, culture, philosophy and other relevant disciplines aim to provide students with content knowledge and meanwhile consolidate their English language proficiency.
Among the five courses observed during Phase I of this research, three are subject courses of this type: *American Literature* taught by Teacher A, *Western Philosophy* and *British and American Poetry* taught by Teacher B. Protocol analyses on the participants’ codeswitching behaviours in these courses show an unusual pattern of Chinese use which involves a large amount of lecturing on Chinese literature/culture/philosophy etc. Therefore in the follow-up interviews, teachers were asked to explain their understanding of the theory of content-based instruction as well as the reasons for involving Chinese elements in the subject courses. The results are thus reported based on these two concerns.

Their understanding of the theory of content-based instruction includes: 1) the significance of content-based instruction theory; 2) differentiating with skills-based teaching; 3) the purpose of content-based teaching; 4) the use of various types of texts in content-based teaching; 5) teaching comparatively in the Chinese context. These will be discussed in turn, with the aim of developing a picture of how teachers perceive content-based instruction and how it is related to their teaching practice.

Teacher B agrees with the theory of CBI and its significance on teaching practice. He believes that “there has to be a context when teaching history, literature, philosophy etc to students” [TBI3:46]. He is more inclined to refer to the word “context” instead of “content”, which is interesting in view of his use
of asides. For example, the analysis of his talk in class shows that a philosophical point derived from the text can be extended to a particular philosopher relevant to this point and further expanded to the social and historical background in which the philosopher lives and how this philosophical point is reflected in the current society, which finally develops into a lengthy stretch of asides.

He is very explicit about the two aims of content-based instruction: “Firstly, teaching a second or foreign language in context helps improve the learning of language skills. Secondly, teaching content-based courses is conducive to developing students’ cultural awareness.” [TBI3:70]

Teacher A is more concerned to differentiate skills-based from content-based approaches. He compares the different approaches he employs as follows:

When I teach American Literature, I focus on students’ ability to understand and appreciate the literature. The language skills are placed as the second objective. While when I teach skills-based courses, my main task is to help them understand the vocabulary and sentence structures and practice translation. In the meantime, unlike in the literature class, I pay attention to broadening students’ scope of knowledge as well. [TAI3:70]
Similarly Teacher B states that in skills-based courses, he “has to combine the content of the texts with the language skills” [TBI3:250] and he is “not supposed to provoke wider and deeper discussions” [TBI3:250]. However he believes that no student will be interested in purely skills-based courses.

Classroom observations confirm that in the skills-based course taught by Teacher A, he does pay more attention to the vocabulary, sentence structures and translations than in content-based courses. However, in addition to language skills, a considerable amount of time is also spent on lecturing on literature, culture etc and delivering asides.

Teacher B particularly emphasizes that the purpose of teaching content-based courses is not to merely provide students with a large amount of knowledge. “Literature course will lose all its meaning if it is just about literary knowledge” [TBI3:261]. More importantly, content-based teaching is intended to “enlighten students and to provoke them to think independently” [TBI3:262]. Nonetheless he also hopes that through reading and studying the texts, students’ language competence could also be consolidated.

*Because I do not have a background in English Literature, when I teach poetry, I am not willing to spend too much time on discussing the*
technicalities of poems. Instead I prefer to view poems as a type of text through which I can encourage students to ponder on the cultural background and theme of the poems. I believe that literature-related courses should be taught in this way. It would be meaningless to only provide students with literary knowledge in literature class. Students will lose interest and the essential value of texts will be ignored. Texts are not simply knowledge. They contain strong practical implications [TBI3:256].

With regard to the descriptions of qualified teachers in the next part, Teacher A demands that more qualified teachers who can stimulate students rather than only cram them with knowledge are needed. This opinion coincides with that of Teacher B. In both cases, the subject is not seen as an end in itself but as a gateway to deeper cultural understanding. This reflects that having effectively rejected English language teaching as their discipline, their understanding of a true discipline is not restricted to English Literature either. In fact, their idea of the discipline seems to hinge more on the acquisition of cultural awareness and sensitivity through studying texts in humanities subjects such as literature, history, culture and philosophy.

Speaking of teaching in contexts, Teacher B advises that various types of texts should be used. He believes that “texts are all interrelated” [TBI3:333].
Therefore if literary texts can be utilized, so can historic and philosophical texts. Nevertheless he highlights that not every text is suitable for teaching undergraduates.

*Texts such as works of Kant and Hegel would be too difficult and abstract to select whereas works of Max Weber and Eric Fromm, who are social philosopher and psychological philosopher respectively, are based on social and cultural lives of human beings and social criticism which are appropriate for provoking thought provoking as well as language teaching.* [TBI3:122]

It should be noted that the selection of texts here is related to culture and language teaching rather than the discipline of Philosophy, which further confirms – as indicated above – that the participants’ idea of discipline is not only teaching subject knowledge but more importantly enlightening the students with ideas embedded in the subject knowledge.

In terms of teaching content-based courses in the Chinese contexts, Teachers A and B share the same viewpoint that “*content should be taught comparatively*”, which refers to the inclusion of contents from both Chinese and Western contexts and emphasis on their similarities and differences. Teacher A considers that “*when discussing Western history or culture, teachers should*
refer to Chinese counterparts for comparison” [TAI3:341]. The comparison can be “deliberate or unintentional” [TAI3:342].

For instance, when we are discussing thoughts of Nietzsche, Schopenhauer or Rousseau, the teacher can find similar ideas from distinguished thinkers in China such as Confucius or Mencius for reference to enable the comparison. However I understand that it is too demanding of a requirement for teachers and it is unlikely that the majority of the teachers in this department are capable of doing this. [TAI3:342]

It can be predicted that this approach of teaching comparatively requires that teachers possess not only subject background in Western literature and culture etc. but also the same from the Chinese perspective, which reflects the interviewees’ opinions on the qualities needed for current teachers discussed in the next part.

Teacher B attributes his reason for teaching comparatively to the relativity of knowledge. He explains:

When I was giving a lecture on the Confucian Culture and the Chinese Political System to scholars from America, because I am familiar with
the American political system, I often referred to events in America. They suddenly felt they could understand better. Why? Because they knew what they were familiar with, and then they came across something different, by comparing both they easily found out the necessity of the existence of both and how they could be interrelated. I think this is very important. What is knowledge? Knowledge is not this or that. Knowledge is relativity. This relativity is much more crucial than separate knowledge. That’s why I am inclined to quote from extensive sources, as I believe through understanding evidence from different resources, we are able to better comprehend what we are discussing now. [TBI3:285]

It is expected that knowledge about Western culture, literature and philosophy would appear in courses such as British/American Literature/History/Culture. Nonetheless, the existence of elements of Chinese culture, literature and philosophy are not included in the lesson contents and objectives. Their explanation about this type of involvement in subject courses is explored in what follows.

The involvement of Chinese literature/culture/philosophy in content classes can be often seen during the classroom observations in Phase I of this research in the form of codeswitching. It is also part of the reason for continuing with Phase II.
Their explanations concerning this behaviour can be illustrated through two perspectives: the reason for adopting this approach and the factors affecting their behaviour.

When asked about the reasons for teaching in this way, Teacher A considers that through the involvements of Chinese literature/culture/philosophy etc. in his American Literature class, he can help students improve their understanding of American literature as well as Chinese literature. The aim here would appear to be to approach literature comparatively: Teacher A seems content to leave things at this level.

Teacher B, however, seems to have a different aim, linked to the idea of cultural identity and the need to preserve this. He states that he aims to help students understand the thoughts better as well as “realise their cultural identity better” [TBI3:163]. The cultural identity, in his opinion, refers to “a nation’s ways of thinking, values and life characteristics which cannot afford to be lost under the circumstance of globalisation and cross-cultural background” [TBI3:165].

He further explains the importance of understanding one’s own culture and the need of cross-cultural comparison:
In class I tend to employ the knowledge of Chinese culture to raise students’ cross-cultural awareness... When we are in the process of learning Western culture, we won’t be able to comprehend it thoroughly provided that we understand our own culture. It is only through the other dimension that we apprehend ourselves better. We further confirm our cultural identity by comparing with a different type of culture. Moreover, from the perspective of ethic and logic, it is our responsibility to validate the legitimacy and verity of our moral standards... If we want to understand thoroughly the culture of another country, we have to possess comprehensive knowledge of our own culture, without which we are unable to go deep into another culture and fairly criticise it. We won’t be able to determine if we are going to accept it or reject it. What we decide to do depends on to what extent we appreciate our own culture. [TBI3:167]

It can be seen that Teachers A and B differ significantly in the reasons they give for including Chinese topics in classroom teaching. Teacher A aims to teach literature comparatively whereas Teacher B attempts to help students realise and understand their cultural identity. In addition, although Teacher A criticizes the current curriculum as lacking a literature orientation compared with that before 1949 (as discussed above), his actual approach does not reflect any intention to
revert to the traditional literature-based curriculum. Essentially he is promoting a new approach which features teaching literature comparatively.

The factors which are affecting their behaviours mainly fall into two categories: their self-consciousness and cultural identity. On the one hand, Teacher A admits that teaching students about Chinese literature/culture/philosophy etc. in his American Literature courses is “not a task regulated by the Ministry of Education” [TAI3:126], which to some extent reflects the freedom within the curriculum. Instead it is because of his “self-consciousness” [TAI3:126].

On the other hand, answers from Teacher A and B indicate that they are both to a certain extent influenced by their cultural identity as Chinese when attempting to lecture on Chinese literature/culture/philosophy etc. in courses where such elements are not part of the lesson objectives.

Teacher A confesses that sometimes the involvement of such Chinese elements is due to his national pride:

For example, Chaucer, the beginning of English literature, was living in the 14th century. What was China like back then? It was around the end of Yuan Dynasty and the beginning of Ming Dynasty, which was a comparatively late period for Chinese literature. I cannot help wonder
how many years in advance is our Book of Songs? It is inevitable for a Chinese person to think in this way. It is also the case for America, as it has an even shorter history. To be honest, I often have the feeling of cultural chauvinism in this situation, especially when I was visiting America. [TAI3:413]

This “chauvinism” point of view has also been mentioned in one of his lessons. Likewise, Teacher B also admits that the involvement of Chinese elements is owing to the fact that he, being a Chinese, is very proud of Chinese literature and culture. He says: “First of all, you are Chinese. If you do not even understand your own culture, you cannot call yourself Chinese” [TBI3:176].

The impact that cultural identity has exerted on their language use and the contents they deliver in class also reflects the freedom they have created within the curriculum. Since they believe they are entitled to teach students knowledge which is not included in the syllabus, they frequently codeswitch to provide information on Chinese literature and culture which is influenced by their Chinese identity.

4.2.2 Qualities Needed

The qualities needed in this context refer to the abilities, skills or awareness that the interviewees believe that a teacher in the ELLD should possess. Their
answers can be grouped under eight headings, some of which are individual views and not shared with other teachers interviewed: 1) literary taste; 2) critical thinking skills; 3) proficiency in English language; 4) cultural awareness; 5) subject background; 6) knowledge about Chinese literature and culture; 7) professional and qualified native-speaker-teachers; 8) balance between teaching and researching. These eight aspects also reflect the deficiencies in the qualities of teachers in the current situation. The suggestions for solving the deficiencies are illustrated in the next part.

Teacher A emphasizes the importance of teachers’ own literary taste, i.e. “the ability to appreciate the literary works and to be empathic about the work” [TAI3:315]. In addition, he criticizes the absence of literary taste cultivation in the Chinese education system from primary schools to universities.

*Literary taste is never on the agenda of education in China. From the courses in primary school, teachers do not pay any attention to the cultivation of students’ literary taste. They do not instruct the students to appreciate the literary works emotionally. What they know is to give students excessive exercises for practice.* [TAI3:319]

He believes that teachers should be capable of enlightening students in terms of how to think and how to understand and react to the author’s thoughts in literary
works, something which reflects his views of the curriculum and his approach to teaching, discussed above.

Both Teachers A and B notice the importance of critical thinking skills. Teacher A considers that this department needs teachers who are able to develop students’ creativity and critical thinking abilities. It is the teachers’ responsibility to stimulate students rather than to cram knowledge into their minds. He attributes the failure to achieve this as the reason for problems in the education system.

Compared with the aims of education in the West, we differ to a large extent. They aim to educate students with the ability to think independently and raise questions on their own whereas we are trying to cultivate walking encyclopedias. Their classes take the form of seminar or group discussions while we can only afford to give lectures due to the large number of students. In that case there is no opportunity in class for students to be stimulated or provoked. Our graduates do possess a wide scope of knowledge but they do not have critical acumen. Our teachers spend too much time on examinations, lesson planning and homework assessment. In fact their time should be spent on enlightening students and encouraging them to think critically.

[TAI3:291]
Teacher B also realises the significance of critical thinking skills but he believes that these skills are based on awareness and sensitivity to culture and humanities which he considers will help teachers enlighten the students and develop their cultural awareness in class.

Teachers should be in possession of a wide scope of knowledge in subjects of humanities such as literature, history and philosophy which is helpful to equip them with the abilities to be observational and critical about the society. In class it is expected that their knowledge and abilities be combined with the social reality so that the students can learn not only English language but also experience thinking about in humanities. ... Teachers should enlighten the students in literature, history and philosophy in order to help them obtain the awareness of cultural criticism. [TBI3:15]

His view on how to widen students’ knowledge and raise their cultural awareness is reflected in his talk in class, especially in the use of asides. Observation of his Western Philosophy and British and American Poetry courses reveals that he is likely to connect contents in the texts to the current social situation with the purpose of helping students develop critical acumen and observational abilities. It also reflects his perceptions on the lack of elements on
culture and humanities in the current curriculum, which was discussed in the previous part.

Teacher B also stresses that a teacher in the discipline of ELL is supposed to be proficient in the English language first before possessing any other abilities or skills ("English language proficiency is the priority. It is what differentiates us from other teachers in humanities. It is a must." [TBI3:13]), which coincides with his awareness of being in an English learning environment expressed in the interviews in Phase I of the research. While Teachers A and C frame their concerns in terms of the existing teachers’ educational background. Teacher A explains:

Many teachers do not have an educational background in a discipline other than English language. They graduated with neither degrees in linguistics nor literature. They are unlikely to teach subject courses because of their limited knowledge and teaching experience in any subject. [TAI3:327]

Teacher C claims that compared with universities with a comprehensive range of disciplines, teachers from his university come from a very “unitary educational background” [TCI3:62]. Since the majority of the teachers graduate with the degree in the same subject, “there is little space for the possibility of interdisciplinary education in this department.” [TCI3:63]
This criticism corresponds with the interviewees’ prior stress on drawing knowledge from different sources including culture, philosophy, history etc. in terms of teaching. The concept of “interdisciplinary education” referred to here should be differentiated from the notion of “cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals” encouraged in the curriculum. Teacher C’s understanding of interdisciplinary education involves the combination and integration of disciplines within the area of humanities, whereas “interdisciplinary intellectuals” noted in the curriculum refers to students with knowledge of ELL as well as relevant disciplines such as education, media, journalism, economics, politics etc.

He places the blame for the implausibility of interdisciplinary education partly on the current teachers’ lack of knowledge of Chinese literature and culture: “Our teachers know so little about Chinese literary classics and culture. As a result, it is difficult for them to teach courses related to Chinese literature or to teach comparatively in subject courses.” [TCI3:101]

It would seem that for Teacher A, this limitation is not confined to teachers from China; in fact, he thinks that similar weaknesses are often overlooked when considering teachers from English-speaking-countries: “It is wrongly believed by the majority of people that any native speakers of English can become teachers in ELLDs.” [TAI3:242] He considers that unless the
native-speaker-teacher is a major in Linguistics, English Literature or relevant disciplines, he or she is not qualified to teach. This opinion demonstrates again that for the teachers in this study, subject knowledge is regarded as more important than knowledge of English language.

In light of the views of these teachers on the importance of subject knowledge, it is interesting to note that in indicating the importance of striking a balance between teaching and researching, Teacher C underlines the importance of teaching as a means of maintaining an adequate level of linguistic competence:

*Teachers should be enthusiastic and active about conducting research studies. Otherwise they are unable to deliver the most updated research findings to their students. On the other hand teachers who only focus on researching tend to ignore their teaching practice, which will eventually affect their English language competence. [TC13:85]*

4.2.3 **Suggestions for Change**

The suggestions that follow respond respectively to the issues from two major perspectives illustrated above: the curriculum and the qualities need for the teachers (teacher training).
4.2.3.1 Suggested changes to the curriculum

Suggestions on this subject fall into two broad categories, the first academic and the second institutional: 1) the need to amend the curriculum significantly; 2) the need for a university-tailored-curriculum.

In terms of curriculum change, the interviewees propose three fundamental shifts: a move to an educational model of “language plus liberal arts”, the introduction of cross-cultural education and the adoption of a content-based approach.

Teacher A regards that the necessity of involving liberal arts education is based on the consideration of “becoming a complete man” [TAI3:43]. In his opinion, “as a complete man, one should have a wide scope of knowledge about the subjects in liberal arts, such as literature, philosophy and history etc” [TAI3:43]. Therefore such courses should be included in the curriculum. Teacher B agrees with the idea of liberal arts education. From his point of view, liberal arts education is a necessity in university education and should be made available for students in all disciplines:

Liberal arts should be the first issue to consider in terms of university education. It is not just about English Language and Literature. It can be extended to other disciplines as well. The awareness of culture and
humanities should be emphasized in every discipline, because it is pre-requisite for everyone before they enter society...What we are trying to do is to introduce a “Language plus Liberal Arts” educational model into this department. These two components are interactional. If we succeed in doing so, our graduates will be qualified for all kinds of professions...I believe that there are many issues connected to the social and cultural lives of human beings but they can be summarised into a few key issues. Our classrooms should be the place where opportunities are provided for students to discuss such ultimate issues so that they are equipped with the cultural awareness and critical acumen which will be very helpful for them to face society and their lives in the future. [TBI3:25,32]

He further states that since this discipline is called English Language and Literature, by definition it can be expected that language skills are not the most important element. What are valued most is in fact “the studies of culture, literature and linguistics in the contexts of English language” [TBI3:311]. Among these the most important concern is “the thoughts on humanities in the English background”. [TBI3:311]

Teacher C also agrees with liberal arts education but he uses the expression “return to liberal arts education” [TCI3:126]. It is assumed that he is referring
to liberal arts education in foreign language departments in China before 1949. He believes that “in order to maintain the characteristics of our discipline as part of the humanities area, we should return to liberal arts education.” [TCI3:127] In addition, Teachers B and C consider that the reason to build up a “language plus liberal arts” educational model in the ELLD is due to the limitations of this particular university. Since this university specializes in foreign language teaching, compared with comprehensive universities, it lacks support from other humanities departments in terms of liberal arts education.

It should be noticed that although there may be general agreement on the need for a “language plus liberal arts” approach among the three interviewees, they do not necessarily interpret this in the same way. Teacher A speaks from the perspective of the possession of knowledge. He believes that liberal arts education provides students with the knowledge that “a complete man” should possess, which reflects his emphasis on content teaching rather than language teaching within the current curriculum. However, Teacher B approaches liberal arts education from the importance of awareness of and sensitivity to culture and the humanities, which also coincides with his attitude towards the qualities that teachers and students are expected to obtain. In their discussion of the current curriculum, both Teacher A and Teacher C agree with the idea of liberal arts education with literature as the focus, as taught before 1949. It might be argued that advocating the implementation of liberal arts education now to a certain
extent reflects their willingness to return to an educational model from an earlier period.

The concept of cross-cultural education is raised by Teacher B. When asked about the reason behind this proposal, he replies:

*Education itself should reflect the whole era. This is a cross-cultural era now. There has been no other era in which people are more interested in the cultures of other countries. Human beings were interested in other countries in terms of economics, politics and military force. Now we feel we need to understand others more deeply in terms of culture. Therefore every foreign language department in every country has to react to this matter because we are all living in this era...When you are immersed in one type of culture, it is difficult for you to comprehend another type of culture, unless these two cultures are placed in a comparative dimension and a cross-cultural register. By comparison, you soon obtain the location of two different ideological systems. If you cannot understand what is opposite to you, you will never be able to understand yourself essentially.* [TBI3:338] 

He argues that cross-cultural education should have two objectives: to help students find their suitable professions and to help them grow and mature as a person. He says:
How can a student work in a cross-cultural environment when he or she does not possess any cross-cultural awareness? The awareness does not refer to the ability to identify who is English and who is American. That is too superficial. The awareness I have in mind is the ability to go deeper into someone’s culture and to understand the ideology behind that which determines an ordinary English or American person. This is a very important kind of awareness that I examine profoundly with my students. Like the ancient philosopher Chuang Tzu says, you not only know what it is and how it is but also why it is like this. [TBI3:354]

The cultural awareness mentioned here echoes the same term he uses to describe the qualities needed for teachers. It can be perceived that in his opinion cultural awareness should be possessed by both the teachers and students in this department. It also reflects his idea of a liberal arts curriculum, since he believes that one’s cultural awareness is raised and developed through the learning of knowledge and being enlightened in humanities subjects of such as literature, history and philosophy etc.; subjects that would feature in a liberal arts curriculum.

All three interviewees agree on the need for an approach based on the teaching of content, though it is apparent from the above that this is not regarded as an
end in itself. Recommendations raised on this topic involve content courses that should be available and the arrangement and balance of skill and content.

The interviewees list a few courses that they suggest should be available for students. All are content courses belonging to the area of humanities, as they all affirm the significance of liberal arts education discussed previously. Teacher B tells the researcher that they are attempting to abolish the long-existing Extensive Reading course in order to replace it with a reading course on humanities texts, a move that reflects the priorities already identified. Teacher A provides a longer list of the courses he hopes to be available:

*In my mind, there are several courses that we must have available in our department such as British History, American History, British Philosophy, American Philosophy, The History of English Language. As a discipline of English Language and Literature, our students deserve to know the process that English language has been experiencing. It is a real shame that we do not have such courses now...I sometimes provide students with knowledge on literature and culture in the skills-based courses but I understand that this should not be done in the skill courses. In fact it should take place in courses such as The History of Western Civilisation, Western Culture, and Western Philosophy etc. It would be more sensible in this way.* [TAI3:212]
He admits that he is not supposed to deliver certain contents in skill courses, but the reason he chooses to do so is to compensate for the absence of some compulsory courses from the curriculum.

Additionally, both Teachers A and C suggest that not only courses on Western literature/culture/philosophy etc. should be offered to students but also courses on the *Chinese humanities*. Teacher A further emphasizes that Chinese history, philosophy and literature should be taught in English. When asked about the reason, he explains that the most direct reason is to “facilitate teaching Chinese to foreigners” [TAI3:117], since the number of Confucius Colleges in universities abroad has been growing rapidly. However the more important reason is to “widen students’ knowledge on their own culture”. [TAI3:116]

It should be noted that although Teacher A argues that Chinese history, philosophy and literature should be taught in English, this is not reflected in his teaching practice, as classroom observations show that he often codeswitches to Chinese when referring to these Chinese topics.

Teacher C’s justification for teaching Chinese literature and culture is broader. He argues that because we are living in a “cross-cultural environment” [TCI3:33] now, students are expected to “retain knowledge of both Western and Chinese culture so that they can communicate cross-culturally”. [TCI3:34]
In general all the interviewees share the view that the ELLD is expected to move in the future towards eliminating the skills-based courses and increasing the number of content courses in order to facilitate a combination of both – teaching language and content in the content courses. In addition, the time for content-based courses should be moved from 3rd/4th-year as the current curriculum demands, to as early as 1st-year. This type of course is anticipated to be taught throughout the four years of study. Teacher A states:

*My ideal situation would be that there are very few skills-based courses. Courses on readings should be available from the first year. We teach grammar and vocabulary in reading courses. In a word, teach language in content-based courses. Language proficiency can also be improved without learning skills-based courses. I don’t think it is difficult to achieve that. We can even abolish all the skills-based courses and replace them with all content courses. Meanwhile teachers try to improve students’ language proficiency through these content courses. It is completely plausible to include language skills in content courses. For example, in the Western Philosophy course, the teacher can choose the History of Western Philosophy written by Rousseau as the guiding textbook. The language in this book is so beautiful that it is absolutely possible for the teacher to combine the language skills with the contents together.* [TA13:359]
Teacher C considers that content-based courses should be moved forward to the first-year-study to allow the integration of improving language skills and mastering subject content.

Teacher A recommends that the curriculum should be determined by each university individually. At present there is only one unified curriculum for every ELLD. Since these departments can exist in a foreign language university, a comprehensive university or a science and technology university, they have students with different entry levels hence different cultivation objectives for them. In view of this diversity, Teacher A suggests that “the curriculum should not be regulated by the Ministry of Education. Instead every university is entitled to constitute its own curriculums according to its situation”. [TAI3:217]

The university should possess the right to determine the cultivation objectives, design the courses which should be taught for students in different grades and establish a systematic and integrated curriculum. It is then this particular university’s responsibility to look for qualified teachers who are capable of teaching the courses designed. They can seek candidates from other universities in China or even scholars from abroad. I believe only in this way the misunderstanding about the discipline of ELL being a tool can be dissolved. [TAI3:174]
Teacher A’s opinion above seems to imply that the most essential problem which needs solving urgently is the right for each university to design its own curriculum. Once they have gained the right and have designed a curriculum appropriate to their individual levels and situations, they will be motivated to look for competent teachers. The rest of the problems regarding the disciplinary construction of ELLD cannot be resolved unless the right is gained for each university to design its own curricula.

4.2.3.2 Suggestions for teacher training

The solutions proposed by the interviewees for solving the problem of deficiencies in potential teachers can be summarized in one method: find subject specialists. In order to achieve this objective, four approaches are recommended: 1) establish an undergraduate scheme; 2) identify talented individuals among current students; 3) attract potential candidates from other universities and overseas; 4) develop current teachers into subject specialists.

Both Teacher A and Teacher B agree on an undergraduate-scheme in which students with potential are sponsored by the department or university to study towards a higher degree abroad and come back to teach new courses. Teacher A further explains:
We can definitely cultivate prospective teachers on our own. For instance, we teach Western Philosophy to current students. There must be a few of them who are interested in it. We can select candidates from them and fund them to give them the chance to study philosophy or other subjects in humanities they are interested in at renowned universities and to obtain a doctoral degree on the condition that they have to come back to this department to teach once they finish their studies. Once they come back, they will be able to offer new subject courses in the area of their doctoral research. [TAI3:189]

Teacher B suggests that current teachers “stimulate, inspire and encourage students” [TBI3:360] in class and try to “identify the talented ones and persuade them to pursue an academic path in teaching humanities subjects to English majors”. [TBI3:362] He says: “Among our undergraduates, there are some excellent students with proficient English language skills and critical thinking abilities. We need to grab and cultivate them.” [TBI3:365]

Both Teacher A and Teacher C suggest attracting potential subject specialists from elsewhere. Teacher A has reservations about attracting those from other universities in China, as teachers from other universities may not be “linguistically competent in terms of classroom teaching” [TAI3:195] if they haven’t received English language skills training of high quality in a
well-acknowledged institution. Therefore he is more inclined to opt for an 
undergraduate scheme. Teacher C, however, recommends casting the net wider 
and “being versatile in attracting qualified teachers from elsewhere”. [TCI3:60] 
He suggests learning from foreign universities and attempting to attract scholars 
with a wide scope of knowledge in this discipline from abroad.

Finally, Teachers B and C mention that current teachers who do not possess an 
education background in any particular subject should be encouraged to develop 
themselves into subject specialists. According to Teacher B, there are some 
teachers who have started this type of self-development already. In addition, 
Teacher C notices that the existing subject specialists in this department are 
expected to encourage and lead the young teachers along the desired path of 
self-development.

In conclusion, findings from Phase I of the study indicate that the category 
“lecturing literature, culture and philosophy etc.” appeared to be a prominent 
codeswitching category which has never been identified in any of the previous 
literature. Within this category, a large amount of time is devoted to lecturing on 
Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc. Analysis also revealed that 
codeswitching is used by the teachers in the study as a pedagogical strategy to 
deliver content which is not regulated by the official curriculum but believed to 
be important by the teachers themselves. Two factors have been identified that
seem to be affecting teachers’ codeswitching behaviours significantly: cultural and disciplinary identity, and lesson content and objectives.

Results generated from Phase II of the study illustrate the participants’ perceptions of the problems with the current curriculum, cultivation objectives, content-based teaching, qualities needed for teachers and their suggestions on curriculum reform and teacher training in the future. Qualitative interviewing data have shown that their attitudes on the issues around the development of ELLD are concentrated on their concept of an academic discipline. They all seem to agree with the fact that excessive amount of time is consumed by English language skills training and more emphasis should be placed on content-based teaching, because in their view language proficiency and content mastery can be achieved at the same time in content-based courses. Consequently they consider that the current curriculum with, a disproportionate emphasis on language, is pushing the development of this discipline in the wrong direction and thus requires urgent reform. Even though they propose a model of “language plus liberal arts” as the future orientation of the curriculum, they seem to interpret it in different ways.

In addition, although considerable emphasis is placed on the importance of content-based teaching in the interviews, their opinions diverge in terms of the purpose for doing so. One of the respondents sees content-based teaching as the
means to possess a wide scope of knowledge from both Western and Chinese perspectives in order to understand things from a cross-cultural perspective. Another respondent does not view subject knowledge as an end but instead as a gateway to deeper cultural awareness and sensitivity. Moreover, comparison of these views with evidence from their classroom teaching practice in content-based courses reveals a lack of correspondence between the two, because language teaching is to a large extent neglected and there is a heavy emphasis on content. Although this is claimed to be content-based teaching, essentially it has become merely content teaching.

Furthermore, the follow-up interviews confirmed that providing knowledge of Chinese literature, culture and philosophy, which is not considered as part of the syllabus, seems to be influenced by the teachers’ cultural identity, even though these teachers hold different opinions on the purpose of involving such elements in class. Teacher A regards providing students with information on Chinese topics as a teaching approach to help them understand both the Chinese and the Western literature, culture, and philosophy well. Teacher B tends to view this in a broader picture of realising and preserving one’s cultural identity in a cross-cultural environment.

Based on the findings reported in this chapter, teachers’ classroom teaching practice can be considered as being influenced by three broad factors: their
implicit ideology, theory and policy. Hence the next chapter will focus on discussing the issues raised in the Findings, followed by an attempt to conceptualise teachers’ teaching practice more broadly by using the notion of “the Third Space”.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

The findings in the previous chapter suggest that the teachers’ classroom practice is largely influenced by three factors: implicit ideology, theory and policy. “Implicit ideology” relates to the unstated views they possess towards culture and the concept of “a complete person” but not to the issue of their identities. The aspects of their cultural, disciplinary and professional identities are discussed as a means of explaining the emergence of this implicit ideology. The aspect of “theory” concerns their understanding of intercultural communication and content-based instruction as well as to what extent their understanding is reflected in their teaching practice. Lastly the factor of “policy” includes the national curriculum for ELLDs in China, together with departmental policy within the university where the research was conducted and the Chinese higher education system in general.

This chapter is thus structured around these three factors. It begins with a brief discussion of the codeswitching behaviours, which was the original focus of the study, followed by the discussion of the three influences mentioned above. Then an attempt is made to conceptualise the issues discussed using the notion of a “Third Space”. This notion and its application in other areas will be briefly introduced, followed by an explanation of how it serves as a useful conceptual framework for understanding the issues arising from the current research. This chapter ends with the recommendations of the study.
5.1 Codeswitching Behaviours

This section discusses issues which have emerged from the findings on codeswitching behaviours and aims to cover topics on codeswitching categories, time coding results, participants’ motivations for codeswitching, comparisons among participants and factors that affect their codeswitching behaviours.

As explained and presented in the Research Methodology Chapter, codeswitching categories in the current study have been designed through studying the transcripts of recorded lessons and adopting existing categories from previous literature. The table in Chapter 3, reproduced below, illustrates how the categories in this study relate to sources from previous studies.
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Table 5.1 Relationship between codeswitching categories in the current study and sources from previous literature
It can be seen from the table that similar terms can be found in the literature for seven of the ten categories listed. As described previously, wording has been adapted and modified when deciding on the codeswitching categories for the current study. There are three novel categories which have not been found in previous studies: lecturing text-related literature/culture/philosophy, meta-textual comments concerned with interpretation, evaluation of the text etc and emphasizing pronunciation. Switching to Chinese to emphasize the pronunciation of certain words is used to ensure that students’ attention is drawn to the correct pronunciation. Since this does not occur frequently in the classroom, it is not treated as a salient category. The appearance of “meta-textual comments” is considered to be relevant to the fact that both content and skills-based courses are covered by the classroom observations. It can be assumed that in content-based courses where language is not the sole learning objective, a certain amount of attention is given to the subject such as literature or philosophy. Under this circumstance teachers tend to use Chinese to express their own opinions on the texts, analyse the author’s intentions and make any comments related to the texts in order to enhance students’ understanding. Codeswitching in this situation could also be due to teachers’ own limited L2 proficiency or their concern for the weaker students in class.

The category “lecturing text-related literature/culture/philosophy” has proved to be prominent in both protocol analysis of codeswitching categories and time
coding. It has been witnessed in both skills-based and content-based courses and it involves literature, culture (and philosophy in Western Philosophy course) content from both the Western and Chinese perspectives. Teachers codeswitch to provide such knowledge to students as well as to make comparisons between the Western and Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc. Since neither the Chinese elements nor the cross-cultural aspect seems to be part of the syllabus, the existence of this category prompted the follow-up in-depth interviews which aimed to further investigate the reasons behind this category. In analysing data collected from Phase I of the study, it was hypothesized that the involvement of Chinese elements reflects the impact of the teachers’ cultural identity. The follow-up interviews confirmed this hypothesis and led to further discoveries regarding teaching comparatively or cross-culturally. Detailed discussions are provided in the following sections.

Compared with Guo (2007) where analysis of time coding was also applied, results from the current study have shown that the teachers tend to employ substantially more Chinese in class. While on average 19.4% of the teachers’ talk was in L1 in Guo (2007), in the current research this figure rose to 41.3% for Teacher A, 50.8% for Teacher B and 26.5% for Teacher C. The reason for this substantial difference might be that the lessons observed in Guo (2007) were skills-based courses taught to non-English majors, in which case it could be expected that English language skills would be the main focus of the lessons.
Compared to this, content seems to be more salient in the present study in which both skills-based and content-based courses were observed. Therefore teachers are more likely to resort to Chinese to explain the contents either because they are limited by their own English language proficiency or they are worried that students might not be able to understand.

Among the three participants, Teacher A and B tend to use Chinese much more frequently in class, especially to tell asides, anecdotes and personal opinions etc. The large amount of time during which Chinese is spoken (as shown in the previous paragraph) does not conform to their ideas concerning the proportion of English and Chinese that should be spoken in class (30% of English and 70% of Chinese for both Teacher A and B). It can be argued that the teachers might not be aware of the fact that the amount of Chinese they actually speak in class has considerably exceeded the limit they believed they employed. It is considered that legislating the amount of English used in class in the national curriculum would be impracticable, given the uneven development of ELT in different areas of China, the radical revision of teaching behaviour that this might involve and the practical difficulties of ensuring compliance. However, it is suggested that an effort should be made through teacher education and development at least to raise awareness of this issue and of strategies designed to increase the use of the target language in class, in order to ensure that students receive a reasonable amount of target language spoken in class.
However, the extensive use of asides etc. coincides with the teachers’ views on the motivations for codeswitching. When asked about the reasons for their codeswitching in the interviews, they give various answers but both emphasize that they do not codeswitch to save time. It is considered that since time is not an issue for them, they can freely utilize the lesson time to tell asides etc. In contrast to this, however, the amount of time Teacher C spends speaking Chinese is noticeably less than that of his colleagues. Furthermore he seldom gives asides etc. in class, which is in accordance with his claim that saving time is one of his motivations for codeswitching. This suggests that any response to the issue of L1 use in the classroom would need to take account of the relationship between syllabus content and time available, including consideration of the amount of flexibility allowed to individual teachers.

In the Literature Review chapter, teachers’ motivations for codeswitching and factors that affect their codeswitching behaviours in previous studies were reviewed and the results are summarised in Table 5.2 below (Dickson, 1996; Duff and Polio, 1990; Macaro, 1997, 2000, 2001b and 2005; Harbord, 1992; Polio and Duff, 1994; Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie, 2002).
### Table 5.2 Factors affecting codeswitching behaviours from previous literature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal factors</th>
<th>External factors</th>
<th>Function of interaction</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ language proficiency</td>
<td>Students’ language proficiency</td>
<td>To save time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ personal beliefs towards codeswitching</td>
<td>Students’ age</td>
<td>To help weak students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal teacher training</td>
<td>National/departmental policies</td>
<td>To facilitate communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language contrast/language type</td>
<td>To build teacher-student rapport</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Lesson content and objectives</td>
<td>To enhance learning</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Pedagogical materials</td>
<td>To enable students to value their own language and culture much more – to raise self-perception</td>
</tr>
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</table>

For the purposes of comparison, Table 5.3 represents the summary of the corresponding results from the current study. Different items are underlined.

### Table 5.3 Factors affecting codeswitching behaviours drawn from the current study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal factors</th>
<th>External factors</th>
<th>Function of interaction</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ language proficiency</td>
<td>Students’ language proficiency</td>
<td>To save time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ ability to comprehend and appreciate teaching content</td>
<td>Lesson content and objectives</td>
<td>To help weak students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ personal beliefs towards codeswitching</td>
<td>Language contrast/language type</td>
<td>To facilitate communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>Formal teacher training</td>
<td>Students’ reaction in class</td>
<td>To enhance learning</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>To enable students to value their own language and culture much more – to raise self-perception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>To widen students’ scope of knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>To bring students into the topic</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen from the two tables above that in general, results from the current study resemble those from previous research apart from a number of differences.

Most of the differences are due to the nature of content-based courses in the
present research (e.g. teachers’ ability to comprehend and appreciate teaching content; to widen students’ scope of knowledge; to bring students into the topic). The reason that “national/departmental policy” is not mentioned by the participants is likely to be the absence of relevant policy on teachers’ language use in EFL classes as well as their rejection of implementing CLT. As discussed in previous chapters, this study set out to investigate codeswitching in the broader context of CLT. It was assumed that with CLT being implemented as a national policy in English language education in China (Yu, 2001; Guo, 2007; Xue, 2009), more target language would be used in EFL classes, which was why during the first-round interviews teachers were asked for their opinions on the impact of CLT on their language use in class. However, all the teachers expressed negative views and doubts about the feasibility of implementing CLT in China. Their negativity may have been due to with the emphasis on content rather than language, reflecting the requirement for content-based instruction (teaching content-based courses through English as a medium of instruction) outlined in the Curriculum for English Majors (Teaching and Research Group of English High Education in China, 2000; Chang 2007). Hence, during the follow-up interviews, teachers’ codeswitching behaviours were further explored in the context of content-based instruction. This led to the discovery of a “content teaching” approach which they employed to replace content-based instruction: (the term “content teaching” is used to describe an approach which focuses primarily on content for its own sake, rather than as a means of
encouraging language learning, which is described using the conventional term “content-based instruction”). Issues concerning content teaching as well as the national curriculum are addressed in the following sections.

In answering the questions about codeswitching motivations, Teacher A stresses the importance of widening students’ knowledge scope by providing them with content in Chinese whereas Teacher B emphasizes raising students’ perception of their own native language and culture through the use of Chinese. Teacher A’s answer can be seen as being closely related to the content teaching approach discovered in the second phase of the research. Because he feels obliged to widen students’ scope of knowledge, he tends to focus on contents and neglect language teaching. Therefore the content-based course he teaches is in fact turned into a content teaching course (discussion of content-based instruction and content teaching can be found in the third section on “theory” of this chapter). Teacher B’s answer reflects the impact of his cultural identity on teaching practice which he confirmed in the follow-up interviews, and is further discussed in the next section.

With regard to comparisons among the three participants, Teachers A and C teach the same course to students of the same level but differ notably in codeswitching behaviours. Teacher A is inclined to codeswitch to lecture on text-related literature and culture while Teacher C does not codeswitch for this
purpose at all. It can be argued that disciplinary identity plays a crucial role in this situation. Since Teacher A is interested in researching literature and actively views himself as more of a literature teacher than an English language teacher, he is more likely to relate the contents in the texts to other literary resources and expand the discussion, which results in classroom time spent on lecturing text-related literature and culture.

In summary, the salient codeswitching category of “lecturing text-related literature, culture and philosophy” reflects the issue of cultural identity and hence prompted the second phase of the research where in-depth interviews were conducted to investigate more profound issues indirectly relevant to codeswitching such as curriculum making, content teaching and education on intercultural communication etc. To a certain extent, codeswitching in this context served as a device to redirect attention in the project to expanding and exploring a much broader picture of the development of English Language and Literature as a discipline in Chinese universities. The next section focuses on the impact of teachers’ implicit ideology on their teaching practice and begins with the topics of cultural, disciplinary and professional identities which are triggered by the particular codeswitching category of “lecturing text-related culture/literature/philosophy”.
5.2 Implicit Ideology

This section concentrates on the impact of teachers’ implicit ideology on their classroom teaching practice. It starts with the issues of teachers’ cultural, disciplinary and professional identities, though as stressed at the beginning of this chapter, identities are not considered as part of the implicit ideology but rather as a means to elicit the teachers’ understanding of “a complete person” as the educational objective, which, together with their views on the Chinese and Western educational systems, is discussed in the latter part of this section.

5.2.1 Cultural identity

“Essentialist” and “constructionist” traditionally represent two very different positions in theorising about the self and identity. Essentialist theories view identity “as an essential, cognitive, socialised, phenomenological or psychic phenomenon that governs human action” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:3). It is seen as located “inside” persons and is a feature of a person that is absolute and knowable. Questions based on this understanding concern what identities people possess, how they are distinguished from one another, how this correlates with various social science measures etc. It is considered that although people behave differently in different contexts, underneath they possess a “private, pre-discursive and stable identity” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:3). This view of treating identity as “a self-fashioning, agentive, internal project of the self” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:17) has a long history which can be traced back to
Enlightenment rationalism and idealism and the notion of true and authentic self during Romanticism (Taylor, 1989).

On the other hand, constructionist theories understand identity as a public phenomenon, a construction or performance which is interpreted by other people. This understanding stands in marked contrast to the “interior” account addressed above and relocates identity “from the ‘private’ realms of cognition and experience, to the ‘public’ realms of discourse and other semiotic systems of meaning making (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:4). Constructionist theories perceive identity as a socially constructed category and investigate how people perform, ascribe and resist identity. Hegel (1807) first addressed the idea of identity as an “intersubjective” rather than merely “subjective” matter, which represents an important conceptual shift of identity and self, and “social identity theory” was developed based on the sociological accounts of group and collective identities (Tajfel 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Hall (2004) argues that “an individual’s self-consciousness never exists in isolation…it always exists in relationship to ‘other’ or ‘others’ who serve to validate existence” (Hall, 2004:51).

While the approach adopted in this thesis reflects the constructionist position that identity is something which constructed and reconstructed through interactions with others, it draws more specifically on a postmodernist position.
Late modern identity theory both challenges and reflects aspects of the traditional positions and has seen the development of a number of alternatives including *queer theory* (Bersani, 1995; Butler, 1990), *hybridity* (Bhabha, 1994) and *crossing* (Rampton, 1995). Bhabha’s hybridity theory offers particular advantages in terms of understanding the nature of identity construction among the teachers in this study and will be further elaborated in this chapter.

In the process of interacting and communicating with others in their cultural group, individuals acquire and develop their identities. The cultural group membership of an individual is initially gained through the guidance of primary caretakers and peer associations during their formative years before factors such as physical appearance, racial traits, skin colour, language usage and self-appraisal form the construction of cultural identity. Cultural identity can be defined as “the emotional significance that we attach to our sense of belonging or affiliation with the larger culture” (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2005:93). It is the particular characteristic of the group communication system which emerges when people claim group membership in a particular event or situation. It is negotiated, co-created, reinforced, and challenged through communication (Hecht et al, 1993): “Who we are and how we are differs and emerges depending on who we are with, the cultural identities that are important to us and others, the context, the topic of conversation, and our interpretations and attributions” (Collier, 2003:419).
There are two important issues regarding understanding cultural identity specifically: value content and cultural identity salience. Value content refers to the expectations and standards which people hold in making evaluations. It is critical to understand the value contents of the cultural identity of people from different cultures in order to negotiate mindfully with them. Cultural identity salience is the strength of affiliation one has with his or her larger culture. Strong associations of membership affiliation suggest high cultural identity salience. Cultural identity salience normally operates on a conscious or an unconscious level. The extent to which one is willing to practise the norms of the mainstream culture depends on the influence the larger culture has exerted on one’s self-image (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2005). In the current study, Teacher B explicitly highlights the importance of helping students realise their cultural identity through comparing Chinese literature, culture and philosophy with their Western counterparts. This issue will be elaborated in the next section with regard to education in intercultural communication.

The influence of teachers’ cultural identity can be explained by the cognitive theories of bilingualism. Although bilingualism is essentially concerned with the process of language learning rather than teaching and neither the students nor teachers participating in this study are bilingual, research on the relationship between language and culture in the context of bilingualism provides an interesting perspective to some aspects of the teaching approach adopted by
participants in this study. Cummins (1978, 2000b) outlines the Developmental Interdependence hypothesis which suggests that a child’s second language competence is partly dependent on the proficiency level he or she has already achieved in the first language. In terms of bilingual education, what a student brings to the classroom regarding previous learning is a crucial starting point for the teacher; therefore the curriculum designers need to consider the child’s previous cultural and educational experience and knowledge. The knowledge, understanding and experience a student possesses can provide a meaningful context on which the teacher can build (Robson, 1995). Criticism of Cummins’ (1981b) theory of the relationship language and cognition which proposes two dimensions of communicative proficiency (context embedded/reduced communication and cognitively demanding/undemanding communication) suggests that “attempting to achieve context embeddedness in any curriculum situation requires empathic understanding of a child’s cultural background which itself is dynamic and ever evolving” (Baker, 2001:179). The cognitive functioning of an individual can be perceived as integrated, with easy transfer of knowledge and concepts between languages, subjected to the development in both languages (Baker, 2001). It can be seen that a student’s first language and native culture exerts a significant impact on the learning process of one’s second language. Although the theory was developed in research on bilingual children, it also applies to second language acquisition of adults.
Research evidence can be found of a link between cultural identity and language choice in the bilingual pedagogy adopted by teachers teaching minority languages to students in various complementary schools in the UK (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Blackledge and Creese, 2008). Research here provides evidence that in Chinese complementary schools bilingual teachers and students (ethnically Chinese) construct and engage in a flexible bilingual pedagogy which adopts a translinguaging approach employed by both teachers and students for identity performance as well as for language learning and teaching. This pedagogy emphasizes the overlapping of languages by teachers and students at the expense of enforcing the separation of languages. In addition, results from the Bengali schools indicate that teachers use codeswitching between English and Bengali to encourage the students to establish their cultural and national identity, in order to achieve the goal of teaching “heritage” through teaching “language”. However, the ethnically Bengali students do not always accept the imposed identity, instead contesting and negotiating subject positions that are ascribed to them institutionally. This situation differs from that of the current study because in the UK educational context it is legitimate for the teachers in these complementary schools to teach national and historical content as part of the teaching of “heritage identities” because this is required by the curriculum. In contrast, in the current study the participants actively incorporate Chinese elements (not required by curriculum) to construct cross-cultural comparisons in class. In both cases the teachers are affected by their cultural
identity but the study of Blackledge and Creese (2008) involves the negotiation of multicultural identities by the students. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that there is other classroom evidence of linguistic choices being made in the light of relevant cultural identities.

As far as the current study is concerned, looking at an educational environment in which teachers and students share the same cultural background and English is the second language for both parties, teachers realise the importance of students’ knowledge of Chinese language and culture in the process of understanding content in English and understanding the culture of English-speaking countries [see Section 4.2.1.3]. They thus borrow such knowledge and utilize it to help students better understand the lesson contents from the English perspective. Since students’ knowledge of Chinese language and culture is to a large extent equivalent to that of teachers, and one’s knowledge of native language and culture is a crucial factor of the formation of one’s cultural identity, it can be predicted that certain contents these teachers deliver in class are likely to reflect their cultural identity.

Extracts taken from the transcriptions of the lessons and illustrated in the Findings chapter have revealed that teachers’ cultural identity is a crucial factor affecting their codeswitching behaviours [TAAEW1:115; TAAEW4:70; TBWPW2:34; TBWPW1: 265]. Since teachers have a strong sense of belonging
to the Chinese culture, certain contents of Western literature, culture or philosophy in the texts which allow the space for cross-cultural comparison are likely to activate their thoughts on similar issues in the Chinese context. Under such circumstances, teachers tend to seize the opportunity and extend the classroom discussion by providing students with knowledge about Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc. which is not even part of the syllabus. In the process of providing such extra knowledge, their feeling of cultural superiority is revealed [Section 4.2.1.3]. It can be argued that teachers choose to switch to Chinese in this situation, rather than using English, because given the consideration that the teachers and students share the same first language and cultural background, using Chinese on these occasions is more likely to awaken students’ sense of attachment to Chinese culture as well and build up the rapport in class. Teachers’ identity in this context can be seen as static on a certain level since the influence of their cultural identity on their ideology has been formed outside the classroom and is thus brought to the class with them. However it can also be viewed as dynamic, as the process of interacting with students who share the same native language and culture with the teachers shapes the ways in which this cultural identity is represented and understood.

Both Teacher A and B have expressed in the interviews that they are aware of the impact of their cultural identity [Section 4.2.1.3]. Teacher A states that he feels prouder of the Chinese literature and culture in the American Literature
course than in skills-based courses. He further claims that “comparing Chinese and Western literature tends to lessen my appreciation and admiration of the history of Western literature” [TAI3:417]. On the one hand he understands the existence of “cultural chauvinism” which seems to be inevitable; on the other hand he suggests that efforts should be made to reduce it to the minimal amount. Teacher B, on the other hand, reveals a stronger sense of cultural identity. When asked the reason for providing students with extra knowledge on Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc, he answers: “First of all, you are a Chinese. If you do not understand your own culture, how can you call yourself Chinese?” [TBI3:176]. It seems that according to Teacher B, since the students are Chinese, the mastery of Chinese culture is a prerequisite for learning anything else. He acknowledges the influence of first language and native culture and regards that this type of influence is unavoidable in the second/foreign learning environment.

The impact of cultural identity is also reflected in the teachers’ constant reference to the Chinese standpoint during the interviews [e.g. TAI3:136]. For instance, Teacher A considers that “the ultimate goal of researching American and British culture is not to understand American and British culture only. More importantly, it represents a search for ways to make other cultures useful for the Chinese culture” [TAI3:140]. To this end, he believes that researchers in the field of foreign literature and culture should bear in mind their Chinese
standpoint and always study foreign countries from the Chinese perspective. Meanwhile Teacher B also explains that while providing students with Chinese elements creates a comparative dimension with regard to the Western counterpart, the fundamental aim is to “confirm ourselves to see to what extent our moral standards are valid and justified” [TBI3:180]. It is considered that teachers’ insistence on the Chinese standpoint, owing to the influence of their cultural identity, urges them to include extra knowledge from the Chinese perspective in class and this has an impact on their teaching practice.

Nonetheless Teacher A and B to a certain extent differ in their views concerning actively adding Chinese literature, culture and philosophy contents to courses such as American Literature and Western Philosophy [TAI3:78; TBI3:173]. It seems that Teacher B lays more emphasis on the importance of comparison while Teacher A focuses more on the understanding of Chinese elements. Teacher A is convinced that, “being Chinese, you (students) should have a comprehensive grasp of such knowledge. However they do not have access to it in class, since there are no such courses available in the curriculum, although this type of course used to exist in the curriculum before 1949” [TAI3:80]. Therefore he insists on involving it in his classes. In addition he suggests that there should be courses on Chinese history, philosophy and literature taught in English. On the contrary, Teacher B does not agree that his active incorporation of Chinese elements is due to students’ lack of access to it. He is more inclined
to believe that “the Chinese elements are conducive to being borrowed under certain circumstances where comparison is made between China and the Western countries so that students can achieve intercultural communication competence” [TBI3:176].

To summarise, the above discussion considered the influence of cultural identity on the contents Teacher A and B deliver in class. This influence is reflected in their classroom talk as well as in interviews. Their strong sense of belonging to the Chinese culture prompts them to constantly refer to the knowledge of literature, culture and philosophy etc from the Chinese perspective and compare it with the Western counterpart to students who share the same cultural background as them. They are aware of the influence of their cultural identity and have offered different explanations for their reference of Chinese elements. While Teacher A expects to provide students with this extra knowledge which he believes to be essential but absent from the current curriculum, Teacher B hopes to build a comparative dimension in these content-based courses so as to help students better understand and realise their own cultural identity. Further discussions on comparative literature/culture are provided in the section titled “theory” when intercultural communication theories are discussed further.
5.2.2 Disciplinary and professional identity

“Identity has been of central symbolic and instrumental significance in the lives of individual academics and in the workings of the academic world” (Henkel & Vabø, 2006:13). Academic identities are usually viewed as having developed primarily into two forms of knowledge-based and self-regulating organizations: the discipline and the higher education institution (Bauer et al, 1999). In the anthropological world, disciplines are regarded as “tribes” (Becher, 1989a) with academics’ own traditions and “categories of thought which provide the members of the field with shared concepts of theories, methods, techniques and problems” (Ylijoki, 2000:339). This point of view has led to the assumption that the “tribe” becomes self-sustaining with a distinct social, cultural and academic society (Becher and Trowler, 2001).

Analysing disciplinary practice in this way has provoked consideration of how social, cultural and academic elements have combined to produce different traditions and practices within those “tribes” (Brew, 2008). Meanwhile Pinch (1990) argues that the anthropological view of disciplines implies that all distinctive members in an academic group share a common sense of identity and pursue common ends. It is problematic to generalise disciplinary culture, as disciplinary identity is supposed to be formed within academic practice.
The discipline is normally assumed to be the predominant influence on the academics’ working lives in the literature on higher education, as it is through discipline that rewards are allocated and values are confirmed and respected (Henkel & Vabø, 2006). In disciplines (or fields) such as science, social science and humanities, identities are understood differently as having their own epistemological and social/cultural meanings.

Disciplines are also perceived as cultures, surrounded by different knowledge traditions that shape the way individuals define themselves (Clark, 1983; Geertz, 1983; Becher, 1989). Cultures are believed to be able to generate individual identities which can be more influential than any other impact on the lives of the academic members. To adopt Geertz’s (1983) formulation, disciplines constitute ways of being in the world. Välimaa (1995) broadens the notion of viewing disciplines as cultures and focuses on how different contexts illuminate different respects of academic identities, including the discipline, the institution as well as the nation itself.

There is evidence that, at least in some disciplines, such identity is developed through the process of study. Thompson (2009), for example, compared the development of disciplinary identity in assignments written by British History and Engineering majors and was able to identify differences between them. He discovered that History students tend to build a fuller identity as historians
through writing essays from their first year of study to the third year, whereas engineering students seem to have less opportunity to develop an established identity. Thompson suggests that the reason for this might be that engineering undergraduates have to complete assignments in different genres and as a result they are likely to try one type of identity and then discard it when they move to a new module which requires them to project another identity.

It might be thought that in the academy itself disciplinary identities are less fluid, but some researchers question this. Brew (2008) investigates a group of senior academics’ views of their disciplinary and interdisciplinary affiliations. She questions the anthropological metaphor of viewing disciples as bounded “tribes” and suggests that academics do not have a firm and fixed disciplinary identity. In fact academic work in universities challenges and changes how individuals perceive their disciplinary affiliation in the way that there is “a shift of emphasis away from viewing disciplinary identity as presenting academic distinctness or separateness, to an emphasis on relationships; on the coming together of academic areas” (Brew, 2008:433). In this sense, disciplines and the knowledge they produce should not be regarded as fixed and rigid structures as the boundaries have been constantly redefined in the course of academic activity. Hence it is suggested that the word “confluence” is more suitable as a metaphor to describe academic disciplines than the previous “territories”, “tribes” and “rivers”. From the perspective of the participants in the present research,
academic disciplines do not function as fixed “tribes”, since they do not position themselves as English language teachers or literature/philosophy teachers. Rather their sense of disciplinary identity is formed through the confluence of multiple disciplines, i.e. English language and literature or English language and philosophy.

In the current study the formation and shaping of the teachers’ disciplinary identity is considered to be affected by a number of factors: their perceptions of the development of their department, the current national curriculum, and the specific research areas they are interested in. Among these factors, their perceptions of the development of their department contradict the current national curriculum. According to the national curriculum, the teaching and learning of English language skills occupies a dominant position, whereas the teachers contend that the time for English language education should be eliminated and courses on liberal arts (humanities) substituted [See 4.2.1.1]. Their sense of discipline is associated with the ideal development direction of their department, of which they have a clear picture. In disciplinary terms, they feel affiliated to the English Language and Literature Department and guided by a curriculum which values liberal arts education instead of the current curriculum filled with (in their view) excessive emphasis on English language education. Meanwhile their perceptions of the development of their department are influenced by their individual research interests [See 3.2.4]. For example,
Teacher A’s research interest lies in literature, thus when he describes the development direction of his department, he traces it back to the curriculum before 1949 when literature was the focus and suggests returning to the curriculum of that time. On the other hand, Teacher B is interested in researching philosophy and cultural studies: therefore he speaks of the future direction of the department from a broader perspective and highlights the importance of developing students’ cultural awareness and sensitivity in a liberal arts education model.

Results from Phase I of the study have shown the examples extracted from teachers’ talk in class which provide evidence to support the fact that teachers’ disciplinary identity has influenced their codeswitching behaviours. They employ codeswitching as a pedagogical strategy to deliver the contents outside the syllabus and the contents they deliver are influenced by their research interests. For instance, Teacher A tends to switch to Chinese to discuss literature issues in his skills-based courses while Teacher B is likely to use codeswitching to provide knowledge of philosophy in his poetry lessons. Both of them relate to topics which are not part of the course contents, due to the influence of their disciplinary identity. In addition, they are both aware of such usage and provide their reasons for this. Teacher A understands that “the elements of literature/culture which I include in the skills-based course are not part of the syllabus and should be taught in courses such as The History of Western
Civilisation or Western Culture. However these courses are not included in the curriculum so I have to add this type of knowledge in my skill course because the students need it” [TAI3:79]. As far as Teacher B is concerned, he admits that since he does not possess a background in studying and researching poetry and tries to avoid discussing technical details about poems. Instead he rather prefers to use poems as a type of text and encourage students to ponder the cultural background and themes of the poems. Additionally, though his skills-based course was not observed, in the interviews when asked about the differences between teaching skills-based courses and content-based ones, he stated that in his skills-based courses he will also relate the texts to philosophy sometimes because “pure language skills will bore the students and few of them are truly interested in learning language skills” [TBI3:251].

It seems that the reason disciplinary identity is affecting the teachers’ talk in class is that these teachers feel responsible for providing students with the knowledge they are unable to obtain within the current curriculum and yet they choose to provide such knowledge in L1 instead of L2. However it can be argued that the disciplinary identity plays an important role because fundamentally the teachers are not willing to be viewed as English language teachers but rather as literature or philosophy teachers. This has provoked discussion of their professional identity. The following paragraphs further probe the question of how they see themselves in professional terms.
Teachers’ professional identity is conceptualised differently in this particular research area. In most studies, the concept of professional identity is defined differently or not defined at all (Beijaard et al, 2004). It is related to teachers’ concepts or images of self in some studies (Knowles, 1992; Nias, 1989) and it is argued that these concepts or images of self significantly determine the way teachers teach, the way they develop as teachers and the attitudes they hold towards educational changes. In other research studies, teachers’ roles, relationships with other concepts and concepts such as self-evaluation or reflection which are important to the development of teachers’ professional identity are emphasized (Goodson and Cole, 1994; Volkman and Anderson, 1998; Cooper and Olson, 1996; Kerby, 1991). It is further pointed out that teachers’ professional identity refers not only to the impact of the conceptions and expectations of other people, including generally accepted views on what teachers should know and do, but also to the issues teachers themselves find important in their professional work and lives including the roles they adopt derived from their personal backgrounds and teaching experiences (Tickle, 2000).

Professional identity is often regarded as “an ongoing process of integration of the ‘personal’ and the ‘professional’ sides of becoming and being a teacher” (Beijaard et al, 2004:113). Its formation concerns not only the question “Who
am I at this moment?” but also the question “Who do I want to become?” It is not a stable entity but rather a complex and dynamic equilibrium where professional self-image is balanced with various roles teachers feel they have to play (Volkmann and Anderson, 1998). In addition, professional identity is considered as multifaceted in the way that historical, sociological, psychological and cultural aspects may affect the teacher’s sense of self as a teacher (Cooper and Olson, 1996).

Beijaard et al (2000) investigated experienced secondary school teachers’ perceptions of professional identity. Teachers’ knowledge of their professional identity, put in simple words, is how they perceive themselves as teachers and what factors contribute to these perceptions. He discovered that teachers in the study were very capable of expressing how they currently view themselves professionally and most of them saw themselves as a combination of subject matter experts, didactical experts and pedagogical experts. It is contended that “teachers’ perceptions of their own professional identity affect their efficacy and professional development as well as their ability and willingness to cope with educational change and to implement innovations in their own teaching practice” (Beijaard et al, 2000:750).

As far as the current research is concerned, the teachers feel that they have no choice but to be viewed as English language teachers by both the national
curriculum and academics from other disciplines but they refuse to see themselves in this way. Instead they tend to perceive themselves as subject experts. In the interviews when asked what type of teacher they see themselves as, Teacher A says that since he has been teaching American Literature for years, he sees himself as more of a literature teacher, although he understands that he also teaches English skill courses. However Teacher B does not believe he is purely a philosophy teacher. Compared with the teachers in the philosophy department, he considers himself as “something in-between”: “I can’t be too philosophical in class. It is not entirely like teaching philosophy in English. I have to consider students’ L2 level when selecting texts for reading. At the same time I will keep in mind if the texts I select can provide them with some philosophical thoughts and inspire them to think actively” [TBI3:150].

It seems that there is a dilemma with regard to his professional identity for Teacher B. On the one hand, the outside world tends to view him as an English language teacher, which he refuses to accept: “I am definitely not an English language teacher. I am a teacher who uses English to spread humanities knowledge but I refuse to be viewed as an English teacher” [TBI3: 8; 140]. On the other hand, he is not completely a philosophy teacher either. As for Teacher A, although he is likely to see himself as a literature teacher, he cannot deny the fact that he still teaches English language skills in some courses. It can be argued that these teachers are struggling to avoid being perceived as English
language skills teachers because English language teaching is not a discipline but more of a “service” provided for other professions [Section 2.1.2.2]. They prefer to be acknowledged as part of the humanities academy, where they are recognised as experts in certain subjects.

As discussed earlier, professional identity is an ongoing process and its formation concerns not only the question of who the teachers are at a particular moment but also who they want to become in the future. In the present study, since they are not officially recognised as subject experts, they strive to include the liberal arts courses in the curriculum, thus establishing a basis for being accepted as humanities teachers in the future.

The current study also reflects the point Beijaard et al (2000) make about teachers’ perceptions of their professional identity affecting their willingness to cope with educational change and to implement innovations in their teaching practice. Teachers A and B in the present research tend to view themselves as literature/philosophy teachers more than English language teachers; therefore they choose to respond to the national curriculum in their own particular way through reducing the English language teaching while increase teaching subject knowledge in their classes. In addition, their perceptions of professional identity as humanities teachers provoke them to actively encourage the reform of the current curriculum and in the meantime replace the content-based instruction
with content teaching approach to accommodate their innovative ideas towards the lesson contents, simply because the current curriculum is forcing them to become the type of teacher they do not want to be.

To summarise, the reason that these teachers are affected by issues of disciplinary identity is that they do not want to become English language teachers in the way that the curriculum forces them to. Instead they prefer to see themselves as humanities teachers, which is also why they actively promote the inclusion of humanities courses in the curriculum. Teachers’ perceptions of the design of the curriculum are not only based on their personal backgrounds and experiences but also on beliefs about what the students require. Their views on the type of students they should aim to develop are influenced and shaped by their understanding towards the educational systems in both China and the Western countries. The next part therefore discusses the extent to which teachers’ understanding of educational systems influences their teaching practice.

5.2.3 Educational systems in China and the West

The perceptions teachers have of the educational systems in China and in the West, particularly English-speaking-countries seem to have significantly influenced their classroom teaching practice. Through comparing the Western educational system with that of China, their views on education in general have been shaped and they have developed a new perspective on education.
The educational system in China has been criticized as being tightly controlled and centralized, resulting in developing students with a wide scope of knowledge but limited critical acumen and independent thinking abilities. Teacher A expresses his thoughts on this issue:

Comparing the teaching methods of China and the West, we can see that we are mainly giving lectures, but seminars and group discussions dominate in American universities. This is because we have too many students and are not able to replace lectures with seminars. In addition, I think that education in America and Britain emphasizes creativity and originality. They do not expect the students to know everything but they do hope the students can be creative and ask questions. We are the opposite. We are developing encyclopedias who know everything but lack creativity and critical thinking abilities. It might be due to the differences between the Easterners and Westerners. Chinese people are not the only group who aim to develop intellectuals of this kind. Japanese and Koreans are of the same idea as well. Also we put excessive emphasis on exams and we believe examination is the only way to evaluate students’ achievement and teachers’ professional levels, whereas in the West they focus on what the students can write. Our teachers spend too much time on preparing the lessons because we are required to be meticulous and
comprehensive in preparation. However teachers in America may not spend the same amount of time on preparing the lessons because their job is to stimulate the students, not to cram them with knowledge. We are asked to be attentive to every detail in the textbook including the usage of every word but in fact students can check the vocabulary by themselves.

[TAI3:291-302]

Teacher A compares the educational system in China and in the West in terms of teaching methods, educational objectives and examinations. He points out that the current teaching method is dominated by teacher-fronted lectures; the educational system aims to develop encyclopedias and that there is excessive emphasis on written examinations. Consequently, students’ critical thinking abilities, creativity and originality cannot be fully developed. Teacher C also emphasizes the critical thinking abilities and he adds that education is expected to develop intellectuals with the ability to think independently and to upgrade knowledge independently. In addition, he criticizes the teachers in Chinese universities, compared with those of Western universities, for their lack of enthusiasm to keep up to date with research findings and to pass on this the information to their students. Similarly to Teacher A, Teacher B also discusses the teachers’ responsibility to encourage and stimulate students, leading them into deep-level thinking rather than providing them with knowledge. He also focuses on teachers’ capability to enhance students’ cultural appreciation and
intercultural communication competence, since education is supposed to reflect the cross-cultural era in which we now live.

In a word, the teachers’ views on educational system are affected and formed by their personal beliefs and through comparison with the Western educational system. Classroom observations provide evidence that their insights into the educational system have an effect on their teaching practice. For instance, since they believe it is beneficial to stimulate and encourage the students to think, instead of employing the cramming teaching approach which is a fairly typical method Chinese teachers would use (Xiao and Dyson, 1999), they put their beliefs into practice in class. The abilities (mentioned above) which they expect students to be equipped with are the educational objectives they bear in mind and work towards to achieving. The various abilities and competences constitute their ideal notion of “a complete person” which has further motivated and inspired them in their classroom teaching. The following section discusses this concept of “a complete person” since it seems so important to their view of what they are seeking to achieve.

5.2.4 How to develop “a complete person”

It is clear that the components of “a complete person” are formed and shaped through the reflections of these teachers on the educational system in China and in the West as well as the evaluation of their personal beliefs. The development
of the concept of “a complete person” is also considered to as a reaction to correct the misunderstanding and criticism from other disciplines. As previously discussed, the English Language and Literature Department in China is often regarded as a language centre which educates students in order to improve their English language proficiency. In order to resolve this misunderstanding and prove that this department is in fact much more than a language centre, and that essentially it belongs to the faculty of humanities, the teachers in the current study are endeavouring to establish the notion of “a complete person” as their educational objective.

The definition of “a complete person” can be approached from both the micro and the macro levels. Viewed from the micro level, “a complete person” equals a collection of essential and important abilities and skills including a wide scope of knowledge, critical thinking skills, creativity, originality, ability to think independently, to actively update one’s knowledge and conduct research studies on one’s own, cultural awareness, awareness in humanities (liberal arts) etc. Among these qualities, critical thinking skills are believed to be the most important element by all three participants in this study. In addition, Teacher A insists that “as a complete person, one should possess a comprehensive understanding of the knowledge in liberal arts” [TAI3:42]. Teacher B also emphasizes the importance of liberal arts education in the process of developing “a complete person”. Furthermore, he considers that liberal arts education
should be included within every discipline: “Not only students from English Language and Literature Department, but also every discipline, should highlight the awareness in humanities, because it is the awareness that everyone has to be equipped with before entering any professional field” [TBI3:26]. It seems clear that their view of “a complete person” is closely associated with the importance of liberal arts education: they have been pressing for the inclusion of liberal arts in the current curriculum for the discipline of English Language and Literature. Hence their perceptions of “a complete person” are affected by the future development and direction of their discipline. The extent to which they are able to develop “a complete person” successfully will be determined by the implementation of liberal arts in their department.

From the macro perspective, the idea of “a complete person” can be understood as “a cultured citizen”. A cultured citizen is well-educated and possesses a wide scope of knowledge in a comprehensive range of subjects. In the context of cross-cultural engagement associated with the current globalised environment, a cultured person is expected to understand cultural differences and behave properly in intercultural situations. Teacher A expects that the “complete” graduates can become experts in the area of intercultural communication, serving as communication ambassadors qualified to conduct deep-level communications with people in all kinds of professions. Teacher B believes that a “complete” or cultured person should also be able to confirm their own
cultural identity. He speaks of the ultimate goal of teaching and learning a foreign language as “not to invent a machine which can use a foreign language fluently but to develop an intellectual who understands his or her cultural identity and owns the cultural consciousness and awareness in the intercultural background, because this is more crucial to the sustainable development of a nation” [TBI3:436]. On the basis of the above, it can be argued that the concept of “a complete person” on the macro level has more profound implications than at the micro level. It surpasses the detailed abilities and skills illustrated on the micro level and relates the significance of this issue to the contributions “a complete person” can make to his or her own country.

Having defined the concept of “a complete person”, the issue remains of how to achieve this aim. Liberal arts education is only a general suggestion; various practical applications are required in order to implement liberal arts education. First of all, it is evident that there is little space for developing “a complete person” within the current curriculum where more than half of the total course time is devoted to teaching English language skills. To introduce liberal arts education into the English Language and Literature Department, a reform to the current curriculum is necessary. A “Language plus liberal arts” model is therefore proposed and a discussion of this is taken up in the section on “policy” later in this chapter.
Secondly, implementing liberal arts education will involve adding more courses on humanities subjects to the curriculum. Teacher A suggests a number of courses such as the History of Western Civilisation, British History, American History, British Philosophy, American Philosophy, The History of English Language etc. These courses will aim to focus principally on the understanding of subject knowledge, with less attention paid to improvement in L2 proficiency. However, Teacher B points out that introducing content courses in humanities subjects does not equal to developing students’ cultural awareness. Making content courses available is only the first step towards developing “a complete person”. The most important challenge lies in how to teach the content courses. According to Teacher B, “if a literature course is only about providing students with literary knowledge, I do not believe that students will feel they can learn much from it” [TBI3:260]. More importantly than subject knowledge which teachers are expected to provide for their students, attention should be given to encouraging them to think critically and independently about topics embedded in the texts and meanwhile enlightening and inspiring them through comparing the thoughts in the texts with the socio-cultural reality of the current world.

Thirdly, the teaching approaches suggested above raise requirements for the qualities of the teachers too. As noted in the previous chapter, it is considered that teachers are not only anticipated to possess an excellent command of English proficiency but also competent critical acumen, cultural sensitivity,
awareness in humanities, sufficient knowledge about the subject, literary taste and knowledge concerning both Western and Chinese literature and culture etc., since as it is a prerequisite that the teachers should possess the qualities they seek to develop in their students. Therefore, with regard to solving the problem of the shortage of teachers with a subject background in humanities to cope with the liberal arts education, prospective teachers would be evaluated in terms of these qualities in addition to their subject knowledge.

The teachers’ perceptions of the concept of “a complete person” are reflected in their classroom teaching practice. For instance, Teacher A regards the mastery of knowledge in liberal arts as the heart of developing “a complete person” and it is observed in his classes that he tends to associate the texts with contents of Western and Chinese literature, history, culture and philosophy etc. in both the skills-based and content-based courses. He also makes great efforts to provide students with knowledge in liberal arts subject whenever possible to help them towards becoming “complete persons”. Additionally he stresses that the intercultural communication competence is essential to the development of “a complete person”, hence he is inclined to teach his literature course comparatively and cross-culturally. As for Teacher B, he highlights the importance of encouraging, inspiring and enlightening students. As a result observation of his classes revealed that he was likely to raise questions concerning the meanings beyond the texts and to provoke students to think. He
also has a propensity for relating the texts to current social realities and encouraging students to make comparisons and to think critically.

In summary, this section on “implicit ideology” first discussed the impact of teachers’ cultural, disciplinary and professional identities on their teaching practice. The influence of cultural and disciplinary identity initially discovered in results from Phase I of the study is further confirmed in follow-up interviews as having a contributing and significant impact on teachers’ classroom practice. The influence of these two types of identity has been viewed in classroom observation as well as interviews. In terms of professional identity, these teachers are viewed as English language teachers by people outside but in fact they wish to be recognised as subject specialists (literature/philosophy teachers) rather than as pure English teachers. Their sense of this professional identity motivates them to incorporate knowledge which is not required by the national curriculum; however they base their judgment on their personal experience and beliefs as well as what they believe the students need most. Their ideas of the Western and Chinese educational systems have shaped their views of what kind of people they should develop, which leads to their notion of “a complete person”. Generally speaking “a complete person” refers to a cultured citizen. On a detailed level, it is a collection of a wide range of knowledge and skills such as critical thinking skills, creativity, originality, the ability to think independently and to actively update one’s knowledge etc. The discussion now moves to the
issue of “theory”, in which intercultural communication theory and CBI theory will be the focus.

5.3 Theory

This part discusses the impact of “theory” on teachers’ classroom practice and the issues emerging from it. It concentrates on discussing the influence of the theory on intercultural communication and on content-based instruction (CBI). Although CBI forms the focus of this section, it is preceded by a discussion of intercultural communication since this is linked to the concept of “cultured citizen”, which was mentioned in the previous section in connection with the concept of “a complete person”. The first segment will provide a brief introduction to the theories and literature related to intercultural communication and then relate these theories to the teaching practice observed in the current research. This will be followed by a comparison of cross-cultural contents and purposes in Teacher A’s and Teacher B’s lessons. The section ends with the implications of intercultural communication and cross-cultural comparison in classes. Moving on to more important issue concerning the theories of content-based instruction, teachers’ claims about their understanding of CBI and their actual practice are examined. Their practice is not considered as implementing CBI, but rather as content teaching. This is followed by an analysis of for the difference and the relevant implications.
5.3.1 Intercultural Communication

Culture is such a broad theme that no single definition or theory can encapsulate it. It is ubiquitous, multidimensional, complex and pervasive. It has been described statically as “the deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, social hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relationships, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving” (Samovar and Porter, 2003:8). However, it can also be defined dynamically as “a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member’s behaviour and each member’s interpretations of the ‘meaning’ of other people’s behaviour” (Spencer-Oatey 2000:4).

Culture is essentially a learned system of meaning. It is a value-laden meaning system which lays out a predictable world in which one is firmly oriented and thus helps individuals to understand their surroundings. To be a “cultivated” person in a cultural community implies that one has been nurtured according to the core values of the cultural community and has acquired the meanings of “right” and “wrong” behaviours and awareness of the consequences of their behavior in that cultural environment (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2005). Culture can be categorised into three types. On the surface level, it is popular culture
which is often referred to as “those cultural artifacts, processes, effects and meanings that are popular by definition, derivation, or general understanding” (Zelizer, 2001:299). Symbols, meanings and norms constitute the intermediate level of culture. They define the prescriptive rules of “proper” and “improper” actions in a certain culture. However, to understand the cultural logics which frame the distinctive behaviours, one has to enter deep level culture: traditions, beliefs and values (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2005). This deep level culture is emphasized by the participants in the current study, which will be further explained in the following paragraphs.

Culture influences every aspect of human life. It is the foundation of communication. When culture is diverse, communication practice may differ as well. Intercultural communication occurs when cultural group membership factors, such as cultural values, affect the communication process, either on a conscious or subconscious level. It is defined as “the symbolic exchange process whereby individuals from two (or more) different cultural communities negotiate shared meanings in an interactive situation” (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2005:39). Globalisation has enabled direct contact with culturally different people to be an inescapable part of life, especially in places with high immigration rates. It creates a world where people of culturally different backgrounds depend on each other, and inevitably leads to cultural diversity in all aspects of life. Understanding and accepting cultural differences becomes
essential in being an effective intercultural communicator in this global society (Samovar and Porter, 2003). More specifically, studying intercultural communication helps us to adapt ourselves to global and domestic workforce diversity, to engage in creative problem solving, to deepen self-awareness and to foster global and intrapersonal peace etc (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2005).

Increasing domestic cultural diversity and the globalisation of the economy have resulted in the need for intellectuals with knowledge and skills which contribute to effective intercultural communication. This type of competence is considered to be critical in terms of leading a successful and productive life in the 21st century (Chen and Starosta, 2003). Intercultural communication competence consists of three interrelated components: intercultural sensitivity, intercultural awareness and intercultural adroitness. Intercultural sensitivity represents the affective aspect of intercultural communication competence. It refers to the readiness of understanding and appreciating intercultural differences, whereas intercultural awareness is the cognitive aspect, indicating the understanding of the cultural conventions which influence people’s thinking and behaviours. The third component, intercultural adroitness, reflects the behavioural aspect of intercultural communication competence. This emphasizes the skills needed to act effectively in intercultural interactions (Chen and Starosta, 1996). As far as the current research is concerned, intercultural communication competence is stressed by the participants as an important ability that students should be
guided to develop. Although the participants may have not used the exact term “intercultural communication competence” and have not spoken specifically about the three components within the competence, it is clear from the interviews and classroom observations that the teachers endeavour to develop students’ intercultural communication competence in content-based courses. In this context it is considered that students have been equipped with a certain level of intercultural sensitivity, therefore teachers focus more on developing their intercultural awareness and adroitness.

A semiotic relationship exists that links communication, culture, teaching and learning. This has profound implications for culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2003) because learning and thinking are always located in a cultural setting and always depend on the utilisation of cultural resources (Bruner, 1996). Culture supplies the tools to search for meanings and to convey our understanding to other people. In a second/foreign language classroom, where more than one language is involved, intercultural communication is inevitable, since structures of various languages reflect different cultural values and patterns, and consequently influence how people understand and respond to social phenomena (Whorf, 1952, 1956). The remainder of this section discusses aspects of intercultural communication that emerge from the current study, in an environment where English is taught as a second language to native Chinese speakers.
In the content-based courses taught by Teachers A and B (American Literature, Western Philosophy and British and American Poetry), where elements on literature, philosophy and poetry from the Western perspective are the dominant lesson contents, classroom observations confirmed that in reality teachers tend to involve knowledge from the Chinese perspective and are inclined to teach cross-culturally. Four examples are provided as an illustration of this:

1) *Her eyes, lost in the fatty ridges of her face, looked like two small pieces of coal pressed into a lump of dough as they moved from one face to another while the visitors stated their errand.* 使我想起了鲁迅写祥林嫂。说她眼珠 - 间或一轮。这里它说她的眼球像嵌在隆起的肥肉中，活像一团面团当中的两个小煤球。揉好的面粉上按了两个小煤球。细节写得非常的精彩。(It reminds me of the Aunt Xianglin written by Lu Xun. He said her pupils barely move. Here it says her eyes...Chinese translation…The descriptions of the details are excellent.)\(^{26}\) [TAALW1]

In the first example above, the descriptions in “A Rose for Emily” remind Teacher A of a Chinese novel. Therefore he refers to the words in that novel in order to illustrate the similarities in both texts. It can be contended that to a certain extent the subject is no longer American Literature: instead the implicit focus has shifted to comparative literature (American and Chinese). The next

\(^{26}\) Words in brackets are translations of previous Chinese.
two examples illustrate a similar situation for Teacher B in which one sentence in the text enables him to extend his discussion to two Chinese poems which can be related to the original text, on a deep and emotional level.

2) “Happiness is an afterthought.” I like this word – afterthought – 怎么翻？(How to translate it?) 按字面意思来翻就是：快乐是时过境迁的感受。 (Literally it means happiness is something that can be felt after time passes.) “It comes after years of putting out the energy, making the commitments, standing by them, through thick and thin.” Agree? 我最喜欢席慕容的一首诗，是她第一次出关，《出塞曲》。“如果你听不懂出塞曲，那是因为你没有那颗心灵”。席慕容写这首诗的时候饱含深情。她是蒙古族，所以多年之后她第一次踏上故土，看到塞外的风景，所以她说：长城外的风景，出塞曲，你们平庸的心灵是听不懂的，只有经过了经年累月，像我这样流浪者的心灵，才能听懂出塞曲无尽的苍凉之美。这一点辛弃疾说的也很对，他说：少年不知愁滋味，欲赋新诗强说愁，而今识得愁滋味，欲说还休，欲说还休，却道天凉好个秋。我们获得的快乐在一定意义上恐怕也是如此。(My favourite poem of Xi Murong is the one named “The Song of Chu Sai” which describes her first experience of going north of the Great Wall. She said: “If you cannot understand this song, it is because you do not have a sensitive enough heart to understand it.” She is originally from the Mongolian minority group, so going to the north of Great Wall means going home for her, for
the first time in her life. That is why she thinks that an indifferent heart
would not understand the sadness in this song. Only a person with full
experience of living outside one’s hometown for many years, seeing the
beautiful landscapes to the north of Great Wall, can appreciate the beauty
of it. On this point, the poet Xin Qiji had similar opinions. He said:
“When I was young, I did not know what gloom and sadness meant. In
order to write poems, I forced myself to pretend to be gloomy; now I am
old enough to understand sadness. I try to express it but hesitate every
time I am going to open my mouth. I the end, I could only say – what a
cool lovely autumn!” I am wondering if happiness we obtain is to some
extent similar to this.) [TBWPW2]

In the second example, Teacher B refers to Chinese poems to explain the
sentence “Happiness is an afterthought” in the text; however on some occasions,
his intention is not just limited to using Chinese literature to better understand
the text but rather as a means of preparing for an extended discussion of
philosophy:

3) “Little Fly, Thy summer's play” Little fly always buzzes in the
summer's night, right? My thoughtless hands very casually intentionally
brush you away. Don’t make a noise around me. However the author
meditates on this tiny detail. He said: Am not I, A fly like thee? Or art not
thou, A man like me? 这句话让你们想起了谁？对，庄子。庄生晓梦迷蝴蝶，望帝春心托杜鹃。庄子说：我在梦中看到自己变成了一只蝴蝶。我醒来后就暗自揣测，到底我是我，蝴蝶是蝴蝶，还是我就是那蝴蝶，那蝴蝶就是我？ (Whom does this sentence remind you of? Yes, Chuang-tzu. He dreamed of becoming a butterfly and when he woke up, he started to ponder: are the butterfly and I two separate things or are we the same thing?) [TBBAPW7]

The third example resembles the first example in the way that Teacher B is also reminded of a Chinese poem by a sentence in the English poem he is teaching. Thus he makes a comparison between these two, but more importantly this comparison is used to prepare the ground for further discussion on the philosophical ideas hidden in the poems. Unlike this example, the next does not concentrate on philosophy but on a cross-cultural comparison between Western and Chinese people:

4) If thought is life, And strength and breath, And the want, Of thought is death; Then am I, A happy fly, If I live, Or if I die. If my life is crammed with thoughts, 如果我把我的一生献给沉思的事业。 (If I devote my whole life to the course of meditation…) 还记得那首诗吗？ (Do you still remember that poem?) Ode on Solitude. Alexander Pope said the greatest happiness is meditation. 西方人就本质而言的确是爱思考的动
Chinese people love life and practical happiness. But westerners are different. Their great happiness is to see through their life and find an ultimate explanation for their life, either in a philosophical way or religious way. In this sense, I have to admit that westerners have much higher moral requirements for themselves than us and all the requirements come from their inner world. Even today we say Cultural Christian, even now we have been in a highly industrialized and modernized era, deep in their hearts, there is always a soft place kept for religion.) [TBBAPW7]

With regard to the last example, Teacher B firstly relates the text to a poem written by Alexander Pope, and then the word “meditation” triggers an extended contrast between Chinese people and the Westerners in terms of their different ways of gaining true happiness.
This type of cross-cultural comparison is not only found in classroom observations but is also confirmed in the interviews with teachers. Teacher A admits that his American Literature course is not purely about American literature and he tends to teach it comparatively and cross-culturally. He refers to the American Literature courses he observed in American universities. The teachers made comparisons as well but within American literature. However, in the context of current research, Teacher A believes that since there exist both language and cultural differences, intercultural comparison is inevitable. He emphasizes the importance of developing students’ intercultural communication competence in class because he realizes that although communication between the East and the West has been widespread during recent decades, real communication has not been achieved. Communications on the superficial level such as through technology or foreign trade have proved to be successful; however, deep-level communication has not yet been accomplished. In his view, vast misunderstandings still exist between Eastern and Western people. To this end, he insists on teaching comparatively and cross-culturally in order to develop excellent intercultural communication competence in those who will thereby be able to serve as communication ambassadors in every profession.

Teacher B also highlights the development of intercultural communication competence and aims to help students develop this competence by introducing Chinese literature and culture in his courses, comparing these with their Western
counterparts. He is convinced that individuals cannot understand others until they understand themselves well; it is through the other dimension that people can gain a thorough understanding of themselves. In this context students will have to establish a solid understanding of Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc. first before embarking on studying them from the Western perspective, and it is not until they have obtained knowledge from both sides that they are able to develop intercultural communication competence. When asked why intercultural communication competence is so important, he states that it is because education is expected to reflect its era: we are currently in an intercultural era, thus the ability to communicate interculturally is vital.

The knowledge of culture, both Western and Chinese which these teachers seek to pass on to their students is deep-level culture which contains the traditions, beliefs and values. Classroom observations and interviews have revealed that teachers assume that students are equipped with the surface-level and intermediate level cultural knowledge. They are able to identify the cultural differences as well as proper and improper behaviours in a given interaction scene, and possess the cultural competence skills necessary in order to communicate. What they need most is to understand the underlying reasons that result in cultural differences. This includes culturally shared traditions such as myths, legends, ceremonies and rituals which are passed on from generation to generation, culturally shared beliefs which are a set of fundamental assumptions.
or worldviews that people hold to their hearts, and cultural values which refer to priorities that guide “proper” or “improper” behaviours and serve as the motivational bases for actions (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2005). As indicated in the Findings chapter, Teacher B speaks of his pursuit of deep-level culture:

What is the intercultural communication competence that we should develop in our students? It is not the ability to identify this person as British and that one as American. This is a very superficial competence. What I am attempting to do in my classroom is to guide the students to dig deeper into a certain culture and to understand the ideology behind it.

[TBI3:356]

However, to a certain extent, Teacher A and B differ in their ultimate purposes for including cross-cultural comparison in class. Teacher A believes that teaching literature comparatively is conducive to increasing students’ understanding of both American and Chinese literature and widening their knowledge. Moreover, he considers that acquiring intercultural communication competence will provide help for students in their hunt for jobs and will be beneficial when they encounter cultural communication events in the future. Teacher B, as noted above, regards teaching comparatively as an intentional approach to help students realise their cultural identity. The cultural identity he has in mind is the “way of thinking, national concepts and ideology, life
characteristics etc”. It can be assumed that the cultural identity to which Teacher B refers is built on national and ethnic cultures, in which group members share heritage and history that have been handed down for generations and are based on traditions, rituals, codes of language and norms. Socialisation promotes and reinforces particular values, beliefs and norms (Collier, 2003). Through utilising cross-cultural comparison in class, Teacher B hopes that students can realise and better understand their own cultural identity as well as learning about Chinese history, culture, traditions, values etc, as a foundation for developing intercultural communication competence.

The views of these teachers on intercultural communication have implications for curriculum design and teaching. They propose, for example, that relevant courses covering intercultural communication should be made available for students. Teacher A claims in the interviews that students inevitably encounter content on cultural differences in his skills-based and content-based courses but he believes that he is not supposed to teach cultural differences in these courses: instead elements of this topic should be covered in courses such as Cross-Cultural Communication. In addition, the validity of applying the teaching approach of cross-cultural comparison to content-based courses needs to be considered and stated clearly in the curriculum requirements. If this teaching approach is regarded as efficient and effective, it should be outlined in the curriculum so that teachers are encouraged to apply it. On the contrary, if
content-based courses such as American Literature and Western Philosophy are expected to focus solely on literature and philosophy from the Western perspective, corresponding suggestions should be provided for the teachers. In that case courses on Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc. as well as intercultural communication would need to be supplemented with other courses in order to fully develop students’ intercultural communication competence.

5.3.2. Content-Based Instruction

It should be noted that content-based instruction is not stated explicitly in the national curriculum as a compulsory teaching approach. In fact the curriculum requires a content- or knowledge-based type of course (as opposed to language skill courses) to be introduced to students in their third- and fourth-year of study. Researchers and practitioners consider that this content- or knowledge-based type of course implies “teaching content through English as a medium of instruction” which is theoretically supported by the concept of CBI from the West. Therefore research studies have been conducted to implement CBI in ELLD through making more content-based courses available to students. For example, in Chang’s research (Chang, 2007; Chang et al, 2008; Chang and Zhao, 2010), interventions involved a focus on English language proficiency and content knowledge, both of which were tested as outcomes, even though the national curriculum does not specify these as objectives.
Classroom observations during Phase I of the present research left the researcher with the following impression: in content-based courses such as American Literature, British and American Poetry and Western Philosophy where English language improvement was expected to take place through the learning of content (subject knowledge), content seemed to be the only objective of the lesson. The teaching of language, on the other hand, was to a large extent neglected. Although teachers would still explain a number of new vocabulary items or complicated sentence structures, the majority of class time was dedicated to content teaching and the two teachers (Teacher A and B) did not appear to be interested to teaching English language at all. Instead they made great efforts to provide content knowledge as well as looking at the ideas behind the texts.

In order to validate this hypothesis, analysis of the lesson recordings was conducted in order to calculate the time spent on teaching language and contents respectively in each lesson. This analysis only involves Teacher A and B’s content courses as mentioned above. The audio recordings of 22 lessons were played again and a stopwatch was used in this process. The stopwatch was pressed when the teacher started to teach language and pressed again when it was finished. At the end of each lesson, a record of the total time spent teaching language was made. As explained in the Research Methodology chapter, due to the fact that these lessons were essentially lectures with little interaction, the
time taken up by teaching content could be obtained by subtracting the time spent in teaching language from the total lesson time. The table below illustrates the results of the analysis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Name</th>
<th>Total Lesson Time</th>
<th>Language Teaching Time</th>
<th>Content Teaching Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AL1</td>
<td>1h17m00s</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>94.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL2</td>
<td>1h16m39s</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>96.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL3</td>
<td>1h12m46s</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>93.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL4</td>
<td>1h06m14s</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>93.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL5</td>
<td>1h29m14s</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>95.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL6</td>
<td>1h13m59s</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>97.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL7</td>
<td>1h22m46s</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>96.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL8</td>
<td>1h15m34s</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>92.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AL9</td>
<td>1h09m02s</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>95.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP1</td>
<td>1h03m27s</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>98.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP2</td>
<td>1h29m46s</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>97.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP3</td>
<td>1h37m23s</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>96.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP4</td>
<td>1h14m19s</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>97.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP5</td>
<td>1h38m30s</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>97.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP6</td>
<td>1h23m10s</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>98.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP7</td>
<td>1h37m34s</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>95.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP8</td>
<td>1h21m33s</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>96.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP9</td>
<td>1h46m30s</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>97.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BP1</td>
<td>1h01m40s</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>94.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BP2</td>
<td>1h32m11s</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>94.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BP3</td>
<td>1h15m47s</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>94.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BP4</td>
<td>1h30m19s</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>95.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4 – Time coding results for language and content teaching

Table 5.4 reveals that in a lesson lasting between one hour and one hour and thirty minutes, the time spent on teaching language does not exceed 10% of the total lesson time (in fact, in over two thirds of the lessons it does not exceed 5%).

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27 AL refers to American Literature; WP refers to Western Philosophy; BP refers to British and American Poetry. Among the three courses, the first is taught by Teacher A and the other two were taught by Teacher B.
In other words, the major part of the lesson time is devoted to teaching content. Therefore it can be argued that this is not content-based instruction as it is commonly understood. Instead, it is purely content teaching, since very little attention has been given to language teaching. The basic concept of CBI, as noted in the relevant section in Literature Review chapter, is teaching language through content. Given the overwhelming emphasis on content in the observed lessons, it can be assumed that there is little space for the improvement of the English language proficiency beyond that which is derived from listening to spoken English (and even this is limited by the amount of Chinese used in these lessons).

Nonetheless, in their interviews Teachers A and B claim that they fully understand the concept of CBI theory and they are actively implementing CBI in their classroom practice. Teacher A believes that there should be more content-based courses available and fewer skills-based ones, since language proficiency can be improved without skills-based courses. His ideal situation involves introducing a large number of content-based courses to the curriculum in which teachers explain grammar, expand students’ vocabulary and help students with their language skills in the process of reading and appreciating literary, historical and philosophical texts. He claims that in the American Literature course he teaches he pays equal attention to both language and content. When asked if he thinks the two objectives (language and content)
should be achieved at the same time, he agrees. Similarly, Teacher B also claims that he understands the theory of CBI and he agrees with its significance in second/foreign language teaching. As explained in the previous chapter, Teacher B believes that CBI is important in two ways: firstly, speaking from the linguistic point of view, CBI is helpful in second language acquisition and secondly, studying content (subject knowledge) is conducive to developing students’ awareness in culture and the humanities. He admits that in his Western Philosophy course, he pays more attention to the philosophical side of the texts but believes that students’ language competence is consolidated through reading and understanding the texts.

The views Teacher A and B expressed in the interviews suggest that they understand that language teaching is an essential part in the process of teaching content-based courses and they claim that they aim to teach language and contents at the same time. However their classroom practice does not reflect their claims. As indicated earlier, language teaching is to a large extent neglected. Although in their interviews they share views on the necessity of improving and consolidating students’ language proficiency, students seem to be left to their own devices when it comes to developing language proficiency. Although it can be argued that what students miss is only explanations of grammar and lexis and the learning of content promotes acquisition, in the current study, the teachers (especially Teacher B) tend to spend significantly
more time on associating the content in the text with other knowledge of literature, culture and philosophy than helping students understand the content. Essentially they are using the content as a means to discuss literature, culture and philosophy. In this sense their approach should not be regarded as content-based instruction since CBI refers to the “integration of particular content with language-teaching aims” (Brinton et al, 2003:2) and no language teaching aims are evident in the content-based courses taught by these teachers. In addition, CBI focuses on helping students acquire information via the second language whilst developing their academic language skills. These acquired language skills are then expected to be transferred and applied to their other courses delivered in the second language (Brinton et al, 2003). Since in the current study teachers do not emphasize developing language skills, it can be assumed that little explicit improvement in the L2 is likely to be gained in such courses. Chapter 2 showed that the CBI model in China does not resemble standard content-oriented teaching models such as theme-based language instruction or sheltered content instruction. The approach it most closely resembles is the adjunct model, where language and content courses are taught separately by two groups of teachers and language competence and the understanding of content knowledge are both assessed as course objectives. However, in the adjunct model content teachers understand there is no responsibility for them to teach language, whereas in the current context teachers do understand their share of this responsibility but opt to neglect it and
focus only on teaching content. Therefore it seems reasonable to conclude that
the teaching approach witnessed in content-based courses in this study is not
CBI; instead it is almost completely content teaching. As mentioned in the
Literature Review, the so-called content-based teaching approach in the Chinese
context did not base itself on any maturely developed teaching method in the
West such as CBI or CLIL from its initial development, though some
practitioners hold that the principle of CBI is embedded in the policy of
“teaching content through English as a medium of instruction” regulated by the
national curriculum. Now that the analysis of classroom recordings has revealed
that it is not CBI but in fact content teaching, there seems to be a strong case for
claiming that content teaching (or content-based teaching) in the Chinese
context, given its ad hoc developing nature, should be considered as a separate
teaching approach, independent of CBI or CLIL – at least in educational settings
such as the English departments in Chinese universities similar to those in the
current study.

Three possible reasons could explain the fact that the teachers’ claims do not
coincide with their practice. Firstly the teachers might lack sufficient and up to
date knowledge on the theory of CBI and its applications. Although it is highly
unlikely that experienced teachers like these would not have fully understood
the principles of CBI, some of the results from the interviews do reveal a
number of uncertainties with regard to their answers concerning CBI. For
example, when asked about his understanding of Western-style content-based teaching, Teacher A said he considered that it should be literature-based, rather than content-based. This answer might be due to his lack of understanding of CBI but is more likely to be connected with his personal research interests in literature, so that he hoped that the “content” in content-based teaching would take the form of literary contents. In addition, when Teacher B was asked the same question, he preferred to use the word “context” instead of “content”. He agreed that there should be a context when students were introduced to history, philosophy and classics and language should be learned in contexts as well. However he also emphasized that he was not speaking from the perspective of language teaching. On the contrary, he was speaking about the cultural awareness that students were anticipated to acquire apart from L2 proficiency. It is hard to assess just how much of a grasp of CBI these teachers have, but the level of their knowledge seems to be far less important determinant of their approach to teaching than their concern with content rather than language.

The second possible reason is that the teachers understand the theory of CBI well but do not realise that their classroom teaching practice does not conform to the principles of CBI. The interviews revealed that as they are influenced by their disciplinary identities as researchers in literature and philosophy, they emphasize the importance of learning subject knowledge significantly more than that of learning language. It is thus at least possible that they subconsciously
spend most of the lesson time on content and neglect language teaching without realising the full extent of this tendency.

The third and most probable reason is that the teachers understand that they are not implementing CBI in class. Instead, content teaching is used as a strategic approach, superficially complying with the requirements in the curriculum while delivering what they believe is most beneficial to the students. In this case, they deliberately avoid teaching language and make full use of the lesson time to provide subject knowledge for the students, encourage them to think critically and enlighten them through codeswitching\textsuperscript{28}. Since the teachers were not confronted with the contrast between their claims and their teaching practice in the interviews, it is impossible to assert conclusively that this is the reason for the contradiction. Nevertheless, judging from their answers with regard to other questions and their general attitude towards the education of ELLD in the interviews, the third reason seems to be the most likely explanation.

Based on the assumption that these teachers are aware that they are conducting content teaching instead of CBI, the focus thus shifts to why they would do this while they are responsible for teaching both language and content, which are equally important to the students, according to the curriculum. It can be inferred

\textsuperscript{28} Since the current study only focuses on teachers’ codeswitching behaviours and their personal beliefs, the role of students is not included. Thus students’ views on codeswitching (the use of L1 by teacher) are not examined. However the findings of Brooks-Lewis (2009) suggest that students welcome the incorporation of L1 in foreign language classes and consider it as beneficial to their foreign language learning experience.
from the results of the interviews that teachers are willing to teach solely content because they believe content (subject knowledge) rather than language proficiency is essential for the students, although Teacher A and B differ in their views on students’ language competence. Teacher B considers that the current students’ English language proficiency was at such a comparatively high standard that they would not require any help from the linguistic perspective in understanding the texts. In contrast, Teacher A holds the opinion that the students’ L2 proficiency still remains at an unsatisfactory level but because he views himself as a literature teacher, even though he teaches skills-based courses as well, he believes that there is no responsibility on his behalf to improve their L2 competency. Instead it is the skills-based course teachers’ responsibility to prepare the students linguistically while in his American Literature course, he aims to help them “understand the literary knowledge and enhance their abilities to appreciate literary texts” [TAI3:57].

Despite their different views on their students’ English level, they share the same beliefs on what the students need most: subject knowledge. Teacher A believes that there is an excessive amount of language teaching in the current curriculum, which is blurring the characteristics of the discipline and posing a threat for the teachers and students of the department. As indicated in the previous chapter, excessive language training leads the department to be misunderstood as a “tool” or a language centre which helps students develop
English language skills so that they can provide English as a service language for people in other professions. Therefore in order to correct this misunderstanding, these teachers feel they have to correct the current emphasis on language teaching and demonstrate the distinctive characteristics of this discipline. Nevertheless, Teacher B believes that ELLD should set a higher standard for itself than English language training, because with the development of ELT in every department of every university in China, ELLD is losing its advantages and facing serious challenges. Hence it would seem that these teachers provide as much content as possible to students while neglecting language teaching because they are influenced by their understanding of the development of ELLD as a discipline. It is the sense of disciplinarity that has influenced their classroom teaching practice.

The discussion of CBI and content teaching above has implications for approaches to the curriculum. The findings suggest that there should be more detailed requirements and course objectives listed in the curriculum for each course. If language level and mastery of content knowledge are both regarded as objectives, it should be stated clearly in the course descriptions, together with expected achievements of students and recommended teaching approaches. In this case, course evaluations would reflect the requirements from both the language and content perspectives. Likewise, if mastery of content knowledge is the sole objective, detailed descriptions of course requirements, objectives,
teaching approaches and evaluations should be provided in the curriculum as well.

This section has discussed the impact of “theory” on teachers’ classroom practice. It has concentrated on the theory of intercultural communication and content-based instruction. It has revealed that in the content-based courses observed where Western literature, culture and philosophy should be the focus of the lesson contents, teachers tend to add knowledge or elements from the Chinese perspective and make comparisons. On a certain level, the American Literature course has become a course on comparative literature, and Western Philosophy has been turned into a comparison of Western and Chinese philosophy. Teachers consider this cross-cultural or comparative teaching approach as legitimate as it is expected to develop students’ intercultural communication competence. In addition, in content-based courses where the second language should be taught through studying contents, as supported by the theory of content-based instruction, content teaching has dominated, and the time spent on language teaching is minimal. In fact these teachers are replacing content-based instruction with content teaching, because they believe students need more subject knowledge than language skills. The next section concentrates on the discussion of the influence of “policy” on teachers’ practice including national curriculum and departmental policy.
5.4 Policy

In this context, “policy” refers to two main areas: national curriculum and departmental policy. The influence of policy on the teachers’ classroom practice will be discussed in two categories. Firstly the issue of national curriculum for the English Language and Literature Department (ELLD) is discussed. This evaluates the participants’ perceptions of the development direction for this discipline and the reform of the current curriculum in connection with the literature addressed in Chapter Two. It also discusses the implications for teacher training triggered by the issue of curriculum. Secondly, the section on departmental policy and creating freedom begins with a review of the teachers’ classroom practice which is considered to be outside the curriculum in relation to the data from classroom observations and interviews in Phase I and II of the research. This is followed by a brief introduction to the history of Chinese higher education, in order to demonstrate the contrast between the stereotypical view of the Chinese education system as centralising and the actual freedom that these teachers possess and create within the national policy.

5.4.1 National Curriculum

It was stated in the Findings chapter that all the participants in this study agreed with a “language plus liberal arts” model as the future development direction of ELLD in China. According to Teacher A, the reason for advocating this model is due to misconceptions held by other disciplines who regard the ELLD as
merely a “tool” which only provides English language training to students whose graduates are expected to provide English as a service language as their professions. This argument of Teacher A coincides with the views of some researchers (e.g. Wang, 2001; Huang, 2010; Liu, 2000). This misunderstanding has emerged for historical reasons during the process of Chinese economic development elaborated in Chapter 2 (Huang, 2010). These scholars, together with Teacher A believe that being misunderstood by other disciplines along with excessive emphasis on English language skills training have weakened the characteristics of ELLD as a humanities discipline.

As a proposed means of correcting this misunderstanding, “cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals” in ELLD was promoted and established as a national policy in the official curriculum. However, Teacher C argues that this policy has been proved to be unsuccessful. His argument is supported by recent literature (Liu, 1996; Wang, 2001; Zhou and Fan, 2010; Hu and Sun, 2006) which argues that the implementation of this policy has created a disciplinary crisis for ELLD. Since the limited amount of time devoted to the learning of English language and literature while studying a limited number of courses from relevant disciplines such as international economics, media, politics etc is not helpful in turning the graduates into experts in these areas, students are likely to become less competent in the job market.
As pure language training and “cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals” have both been considered as unsuitable and implausible, the model of “language plus liberal arts” has been proposed. Although it seems that all the three participants agree with this model, they tend to interpret it in different ways. Teacher A’s perception of “liberal arts education” is connected with the curriculum for foreign language departments before 1949 when a Western model was adopted for Chinese universities. The curriculum back then was to a large extent literature-based and students were expected to graduate with an extensive knowledge of English and American literature. Hence when Teacher A suggests the liberal arts model, he is focusing on returning to the curriculum before 1949. In other words, his ideas about liberal arts focus almost exclusively on literature. It can be argued that Teacher A’s perspective is affected by his research interest and disciplinary identity. The interviews reveal that he is interested in literature, he has been teaching and researching American Literature for years and that he prefers to view himself as a literature teacher. Therefore his point of view on the definition of the discipline as well as its development direction inevitably relates to literature.

Similarly, Teacher C also refers to the curriculum before 1949 and considers that the curriculum back then reflected more of the characteristics of this discipline as a branch of humanities. He believes that literary texts contain the richest information about a language and acquiring a second language for his
students requires not only achieving a “survival level” of oral language but also studying the manifestation of the essence of this language, which is literature. However, he does emphasize that in applying the old curriculum to the current situation, it should be noted that not only literature courses but also culture courses need to be added. In addition, developing students’ critical acumen, independent thinking skills and the ability to update their knowledge should be reflected in the requirements of curriculum as well, which to a certain extent coincides with Teacher B’s interpretation of the “language plus liberal arts” model.

Teacher B speaks of the need for “language plus liberal arts” model from the perspective of nurturing students in humanities and raising their cultural awareness. He believes that liberal arts subjects are helpful in enlightening students in literature, culture and philosophy. This enlightenment should not be restricted to the humanities area but expanded to students of all backgrounds because everybody is expected to be equipped with a certain level of cultural awareness before they embark on any profession. It can be seen that Teacher B describes a much broader picture than Teacher A and C in the way that he does not specifically encourage a literature/culture-based curriculum or suggest returning to the Westernised curriculum as it was before 1949. Liberal arts education from his point of view is not accomplished through purely teaching literature or culture courses but rather through approaching literary, cultural or
philosophical texts, discovering their realistic applications, and relating them to current society. Through doing so, students’ historical and cultural awareness is raised and their critical acumen is strengthened. He particularly emphasizes developing the critical acumen of both teachers and students and their abilities in social observation.

The idea of returning to the humanities area and building a “language plus liberal arts” model for ELLD can also be found in recent literature (Hu and Sun, 2006; Dai and Zhang, 2007; Zheng, 2006; Wang, 2001; He, 2003; Zhang, 2003; Huang, 2010) [Section 2.1.2.2] and the problem of the current curriculum hindering the development of critical thinking skills for English majors is also addressed in literature (Huang, 2010; Wen et al, 2010). Although previous literature identifies the need to implement the “language plus liberal arts” model, developing students’ critical thinking, analytical and reasoning skills by teaching relevant liberal arts subjects, it does not suggest anything more than adding liberal-arts-related-courses for the students. However, Teacher B takes this much further by pointing out that making these courses available serves as only the first step in a liberal arts education and that teaching approaches and methods matter much more than the contents. Teaching these courses should not aim to ensure the mastery of the knowledge by students but should focus on the development of certain important skills, and it is the teachers’ responsibility to enlighten and encourage the students in class as much as possible.
Two issues have emerged from these teachers’ interpretations of the “language plus liberal arts” model. Firstly, even though it is a “language plus liberal arts” model by name, they seem to avoid discussing the importance of language education at all. Furthermore, the only perspective from which they tackle the language education in the curriculum is to complain about the excessive amount of time spent on skills-based courses which in their view leads to the discipline seeming to be detached from the humanities area it should belong to. It can be argued that although they acknowledge the place of language education within the curriculum, they believe the liberal arts aspect is more crucial as it represents the characteristics of this discipline and differentiates it from other disciplines. Secondly, their different interpretations of this model reflect that even within such a small sample of three people, there exist noticeable differences. Hence it can be presumed that the differences would be much greater if the interviews were conducted with a larger sample.

In addition, there seems to be a common view among scholars that language skills and content should not be separated. Instead, humanities knowledge should be considered in the process of material selection for skills-based courses and likewise attention to language skills in the texts can be considered in content-based courses (Hu and Sun, 2006; Wang 2001; Jin, 2010). However this argument is not raised within the discussion surrounding the curriculum. No previous direct comments have been made with regard to the two learning
periods during the four years of study proposed in the curriculum. It is stated in the curriculum that the first two years of study for English majors should be devoted to English language training and when students have achieved a certain level of proficiency and moved to their third and fourth year of learning, content-based courses are expected to be gradually introduced. All the three participants in the current study disagreed with this segregation of learning periods. They claim that it is against the nature of language learning to separate the process of acquiring language skills from contents. Teacher B holds the strongest view on this issue. He thinks it is absurd to divide the four years of study in this way, since language skills are gained and further consolidated in content learning; the two are inseparable. Teacher A and C also suggest that this division should be abolished and content-based courses should be made available for students throughout the four years. The teachers even argue that pure skills-based courses should be gradually replaced by content-based courses, as it is plausible that language skills can be taught in content-based courses as well. Compared with the opinions expressed in the literature, they seem to be willing to take more radical measures in rebalancing the proportion of skill- and content-based courses in the curriculum.

It can be argued their suggestion for abolishing the division of two learning periods to enable the skill- and content-based courses to exist concurrently is advisable. However, the decision to replace all the skills-based courses should
be treated with caution, since it has been seen from classroom observations that the two participants (Teacher A and B) do not pay much attention to language teaching in their content-based courses, although they both claim they do. It is therefore very possible that if all the skills-based courses are replaced by content-based ones that teachers like these will be likely to neglect teaching language, so students will be unable to receive formal and systematic language training. It therefore seems advisable that any proposed replacement should proceed slowly with the recognition that in the end it might be worthwhile to retain some skills-based courses to ensure that students’ language proficiency will be retained and consolidated.

The “language plus liberal arts” education model seems to be a desirable and effective means of keeping the characteristics of the ELLD discipline as part of the humanities area and developing students’ critical acumen, analytical and independent thinking skills, reasoning abilities etc. However, the actual design of the curriculum in detail based on this model remains an issue. The previous discussion has shown that teachers tend to be affected by their own research interests and disciplinary identities when formulating their views of the model, so any liberal arts course included in the future curriculum will need to include an appropriate balance of history, literature, culture, philosophy etc in order to avoid disproportionate stress on one particular aspect.
Additionally, as discussed earlier, cultural studies, cross-cultural comparison and intercultural communication should also be considered. Previous literature has criticized students from ELLD for lacking knowledge of both Western and Chinese culture (Xiao et al, 2010; Cong, 2000; Zhang and Zhu, 2002; Zhang, 2006; Zhang, 2003; Sun and Jin, 2010). It is thus suggested that a liberal-arts-oriented model should not only include courses from the Western perspective but also involve courses concerning Chinese literature, culture and philosophy in order to develop students’ abilities in intercultural communication.

More importantly, implementing the “language plus liberal arts” model inevitably triggers the issue of qualified teachers, as it is known that the majority of the teachers in ELLD in China do not have an educational background in humanities subjects. In this context, qualified teachers refer to those who are experts in one subject in humanities and meanwhile able to deliver lessons in fluent English. It can be expected that such qualified teachers are difficult to find in China where English is taught as a foreign language and students from humanities departments in universities learn all their subjects in Chinese. This issue has been addressed in previous literature where it is suggested that universities can look for potential candidates from graduates with a doctoral degree in humanities abroad and a Bachelor degree in English, send teachers to study in English-speaking-countries on a regular basis, organise research groups
and seminars to guide and supervise teachers in teaching and researching, and select teachers and send them to attend training courses in humanities departments (Hu and Sun, 2006; He et al, 2008; Zheng, 2006). The participants in the current study also recommend encouraging current teachers to develop interests in humanities subjects and looking for candidates from other universities in China or even from abroad. Moreover, Teachers A and B have shared some initial thoughts on building an undergraduate scheme to develop candidates for future teachers. Teacher A is more specific in this respect. He proposes that exceptional talents can be identified from among undergraduates who have demonstrated their interests in humanities. They can then be funded by the department or the university to study towards a doctoral degree in one of the disciplines in humanities in an English-speaking-country, but have to promise to come back to be a teacher and teach relevant humanities subjects.

It can be argued that even though it seems a lengthy period of time before one can witness the outcome of the undergraduate scheme (since it normally takes at least four years to complete both Master’s and doctoral degrees), this scheme is considered to be more feasible and reliable than other measures. Sending teachers to English-speaking-countries as visiting scholars, organising research groups, sending teachers to humanities departments for training courses, all seem to be short-term strategies which can only alleviate the problem temporarily but are unlikely to produce real experts in the required subjects.
However, the undergraduate scheme, though time-consuming, can at least guarantee that the candidates have a deep and comprehensive understanding of that discipline and are more qualified than the current teachers. Also, since they used to be English majors, their abilities to deliver the lessons in English can be anticipated to be stronger than others who studied humanities subjects for their Bachelor degrees. Nevertheless, in order to ensure the function of this undergraduate scheme, a fair and effective mechanism of selecting potential candidates has to be established in advance. Successful candidates are expected to demonstrate not only their learning abilities but also their genuine interest and a certain level of knowledge in the subject they are going to study.

5.4.2 Departmental Policy and Creating Freedom

Classroom observations have shown that teachers do not completely follow the requirements of the national curriculum. They possess a certain level of freedom within the curriculum. This argument can be supported by two sources of evidence: the way they conduct content-based courses and the active involvement of Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc. in both skills-based and content-based courses.

It has been pointed out in the previous chapter as well as earlier in this chapter that in the content-based courses where language learning is expected to take place through studying texts, the approach was almost exclusively content
teaching and language teaching was deliberately neglected. Although the teachers claimed that they were implementing the theory of content-based instruction, it was essentially just content teaching. It can be argued that by only delivering content but eliminating language teaching in content-based courses, the teachers possess a certain freedom within the curriculum, because it is emphasized in the curriculum that English language skills training should not only be reflected in the skills-based courses in first- and second-year of study but also be integrated to the learning of content-based courses when students move on to their third- and fourth-year of study. The teachers in the current study understand the requirements of the curriculum but they are also affected by their personal beliefs which contradict part of the curriculum, especially the large element of English language training and insufficient emphasis on the understanding of subject knowledge, cultural awareness and critical acumen. Therefore they utilize this freedom and provide the students with as much content knowledge as possible, which they believe is what the students need most and urgently. To a certain extent they seem to be creating a new type of course. This new type of course is neither a language skills course which can be expected in ELLD in China, nor a content-based course aiming to improve language competence through learning texts, which is required in the curriculum. It is in essence a content course which focuses on providing subject knowledge for students, raising their awareness in culture and humanities and meanwhile is taught in both English and Chinese.
Apart from content teaching, the active involvement of Chinese literature, culture and philosophy etc. also provides evidence that the teachers are to some extent free within the curriculum. There is evidence in the data of extensive content coverage, involving literary, cultural and philosophical knowledge from the Chinese perspective in both Teacher A and B’s content-based courses. These courses (American Literature and Western Philosophy) are supposed to concentrate on Western history, literature, culture, philosophy etc. However, according to these two teachers, when these courses are taught by a Chinese teacher to Chinese students, it is inevitable that Chinese elements are involved for the purpose of comparison with the Western equivalents. On the one hand, they claim that comparison enables students to understand the Western contents better. The teachers also consider that the Chinese elements are essential knowledge for the students but they are unable to receive this knowledge elsewhere since no such courses are available in the department. Therefore they feel they are responsible for building these elements into their own courses. Teacher A admits in the interview that providing input about Chinese elements is not the task assigned to him by the Ministry of Education in China but is the result of his own initiative. This type of active inclusion of Chinese literature, culture, philosophy etc. demonstrates that within the curriculum, teachers enjoy the freedom of adding contents which are not considered as part of the syllabus. The same applies to content courses where this behaviour is also influenced by the teachers’ personal beliefs about what is essential for the students and what
benefits them most. It can be argued that through doing so, they are inventing an innovative cross-cultural or comparative teaching approach which exists specifically within the second/foreign language learning context where comparison is possible. This new approach aims to combine the contents of both the Western and Chinese perspectives and provide comparisons when possible.

Interviews with the teachers also revealed that teachers not only possess freedom but also are actively creating more freedom outside the curriculum. Interviews with Teacher B indicated that a group of teachers in his department is attempting to design a new system for optional courses which is regarded as amending the requirements of the curriculum to a certain extent, but believed to be an improvement. He says:

*We are currently building a new system for optional humanities courses in order to try to raise students’ cultural awareness. The reason we are doing so is that generally speaking our university lacks the necessary cultural atmosphere and is not able to provide the aid we need. Therefore we have to build our department into a better place...We have a group of teachers who are endeavouring to battle for a place for the humanities subjects. They introduce various courses in humanities to students, even those in their first and second year and develop their interests...We are planning to introduce a new course named “Cultural*
“Studies” in which students will be asked to read classics extensively including literature, philosophy, history, education etc. We are also bringing more authentic texts to classrooms to replace our old textbooks... We are abolishing the “Extensive Reading” course and making more literature-related courses available to students... [TBI:53, 114]

It seems that there has been a small-scale reform of the curriculum advocated by a group of teachers within the department. Even though it is specified clearly in the curriculum that the skills-based courses should account for no less than 50% of the total course time, this group of teachers are still replacing some of the skills-based courses with content-based, or, as the quote above indicates, literature-based courses. More importantly, they are striving against the existing course arrangements listed in the curriculum and seeking to design a new system for optional courses by adding more humanities subjects for students to select. In order to strengthen the humanities characteristics of their discipline, they introduce courses on cultural studies and encourage students to read humanities texts extensively. They are aware that the national curriculum is not likely to regulate every aspect of their teaching practice and if they are not satisfied with the current curriculum, they are entitled to make revisions and even initiate small-scale reforms for the benefits of their students. Teacher B’s quote above

29 This is a skills-based course which aims to improve students’ English reading abilities.
also reveals his sense of crisis and challenge and the small group of teachers in his department. They have noticed the lack of cultural atmosphere in this university, which has affected the development of their department. They thus feel they have to take the initiative to improve the situation in the department in the hope of reinforcing the characteristics of ELLD from the humanities perspective. They also aim to establish the sense of disciplinarity among the other teachers and provide the students with what they believe is helpful, not only as graduates from universities but also as “complete” people.

One can argue that the freedom these teachers possess and are creating seems to contradict the stereotype of the Chinese higher education system which is highly centralised by the government and limits the autonomy of the individual university and department. An overview of the history of Chinese higher education from ancient Shang Dynasty to modern China is provided in the following paragraphs in order to give a wider context in which the current situation needs to be set. This overview indicates that before reforms in the 1980s, Chinese higher education had been characterized by rigid government control. Such control was regarded inevitable and necessary given the consideration of the highly centralised political and economic system (Du, 1992).

To better understand the strong contrast between the stereotype and reality, it is necessary to first study the historical evidence.
During the ancient times of the Shang Dynasty (1523 -1027 B.C.) schools were run and managed by the government to train officials. Teachers at that time were also government officials. Later, Confucius played an important role in advancing ancient Chinese higher education. His educational ideas, teaching practices and pedagogical thinking provided the foundation for feudal Chinese higher education for over 2000 years. The curriculum of Confucius-inspired higher education comprised The Four Books which constituted the essence of Confucian thinking. Confucian classics dominated the curricular content throughout feudal Chinese higher education and provided the rationale for the imperial examination system (Du, 1992).

The development of modern Chinese higher education (1840-1949) was prompted by a group of bourgeois reformists and followed by the European, American and Japanese influences due to the invasion of foreign forces of Chinese sovereignty. The influences infiltrated into the Chinese higher education system through the institutions these countries set up in China or the conscious modelling by scholars who had studied in these foreign countries (Bastid, 1987; Wang, 1936; Hayhoe, 1984). It should be noted that despite foreign dominance of China’s political sovereignty and economical status together with the extensive changes made on the Chinese higher education system, “education remained largely the prerogative of the Chinese government” (Du, 1992:5). Although the Japanese and American educational patterns were
followed successively in the process of borrowing and integration foreign elements, Chinese higher education at that time was not subordinated by any of the foreign educational systems.

The founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 marked a critical period of cultural and education development. Based on its Marxist-Leninist ideology, the Communist government rejected the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system of higher education and step by step gained complete control over all universities and colleges left by the Kuomingtang government, or supported by foreign countries. The Communist party aimed to build a new higher education system in line with its social environment and policies (Du, 1992). Extensive restructuring of the institutions was conducted. Meanwhile, higher education came under the control of the centrally planned economic development. There were centralised entrance examinations for universities and unified job assignments for graduates. Administration of all types of university was under the control of the national Ministry of Higher education. The curriculum was designed and developed at the national level by a group of prestigious professors chosen and guided by the Ministry of Higher education. After the restructuring measures proved to be failing, the Communist party sought to adopt the Soviet Union model by utilizing Russian teaching plans, course outlines, textbooks and instructional methods (Huang, 1987). It is considered that “the wholesale and uncritical borrowing from the Soviet Union, however, pushed Chinese higher
education toward centralisation and authoritarianism in tune with the political climate of the newly founded regime” (Du, 1992:9). Soon after breaking away from the Soviet model, Chinese higher education began to experience the most severe disruption in its history caused by the Cultural Revolution (Fingar and Reed, 1982).

After the Cultural Revolution ended, the post-Mao leadership recognised the problems and set out to reshape China’s higher education in the drastically changed political and economic situation. Significant reforms were implemented: institutions were given more power in terms of decision making and more autonomy in student enrolment, curriculum design, textbook selection, fund disposal and international exchange etc. However, although on the surface it seemed that the central government was distributing more autonomy to individual institutions and that the higher education system was not as centralised as before, the State Education Commission was established to strengthen the central government’s power over education. It was formerly known as the Ministry of Higher Education but actually had a much broader scope of power than its name suggests. This commission functioned as a central government agency and aimed to design general guidelines and overall plans for universities, coordinate the government’s work regarding education and make unified arrangements for educational reforms in China (Du, 1992). It could be argued that the essential characteristic of Chinese higher education, which is
centralisation, has never fundamentally changed and has always remained deeply in the system.

A historical overview of the Chinese higher education system provides evidence that centralisation has been a main characteristic of this system, but this is not reflected in the findings from the current research. Teachers not only seem to possess a certain amount of freedom within the curriculum but also are actively creating more freedom outside the curriculum by introducing new courses, designing a new system for optional courses etc. This contrast may suggest that the stereotype of Chinese higher education system that has been held by people outside China for a long time might be wrong in certain aspects. It used to be centralised and fully supervised by the Communist government but with the deepening of the educational reforms since the 1980s, the system now might not be as centralised as one would imagine and teachers seem more likely to actively identity the problems in the national curriculum and make due changes if possible according to their personal beliefs rather than conforming to the curriculum completely.

To summarise, this section has discussed the impact of “policy” on teachers’ classroom practice. Two aspects within “policy”, the national curriculum for ELLD and departmental policy in the university where the current research is
conducted, have been examined. It can be argued that although the national curriculum has restricted their teaching practice to some extent or has contradicted their expectations with respect to disciplinary development in a number of ways, it has not impeded the teachers’ thoughts about how to locate the position of their discipline within the academic system and how to find their own positions within this system. The elaborations above provide evidence that these teachers are not only actively pondering the appropriate direction for the development of the discipline but also are endeavouring to make necessary changes towards it. Specifically, they realise that in order to prevent their discipline from being mistaken for a language training enterprise, they have to first acknowledge the position of the discipline as is a branch of humanities studies. This position was acknowledged and reflected in the curriculum before 1949 but has been blurred and distorted by the practical needs of Chinese social and economic development.

Having understood the correct position of the discipline, they consider that to preserve the humanities characteristics of this discipline, there have to be more courses on humanities (liberal arts) available for the students. This in turn means that courses on English language skills are going to be eliminated. Therefore they are taking the initiative of building a new system of optional courses, replace skills-based courses with content-based ones, introduce more courses on humanities to students and make them available for first and second-year
students. In addition, they have considered the issue of teacher training which will inevitably appear with the change of the curriculum and have suggested a reasonable solution. Through doing so, they have undermined the stereotype of Chinese higher education system as being centralised and highly controlled and guided by the government. Furthermore, they have demonstrated that within the national curriculum, they possess a certain amount of freedom and they are able to create more freedom outside it.

5.5 The Third Space or Utopia

The above discussions of the impact of three aspects (implicit ideology, theory and policy) on teachers’ classroom practice reveal that the claims teachers make in the interviews, and particularly in the follow-up interviews, indicate that they are endeavouring to create a cross-cultural atmosphere in the classroom by teaching comparatively and cross-culturally, which according to them is required by the current era. Their goal is an environment in which students are encouraged to achieve intercultural communicative competence, helping to enrich their personal development as well as their future professional development. Teachers maintain that it is to this end that they incorporate knowledge of literature, culture and philosophy from both Western and Chinese perspectives and generate cross-cultural comparisons where possible. Since they consider the curriculum to be insufficient in terms of humanities content, they have to incorporate this type of knowledge in skills-based courses. They achieve
this by transforming content-based instruction to almost complete content teaching, seeking space within the national curriculum and creating freedom within departmental policy. On the basis of their claims in the interviews, it can be argued that between the Western perspective they represent in class as Western Philosophy/American Literature teachers and the Chinese perspective they embrace due to their own cultural identity, they are attempting to create a hybrid space. This emerges from both Western and Chinese element but is not fixed firmly in either side. This can be conceptualised within the framework of a Third Space.

It will be beneficial at this stage to summarise the discussion of the existence of other spaces, in particular the Third Space as it relates to cultural differences.

Foucault (1986) argues that the space in which we live in and in which our lives, our time and our history happen is in itself a heterogeneous space: “we do not live in a kind of void that could be coloured with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another” (Foucault, 1986:23). He believes that there are sites with the curious property of being related to with all the other sites but in such a way as to “suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror or reflect” (Foucault, 1986:24). There are two main types of space which are connected to others but
simultaneously contradict the others: utopias and heterotopias. Utopias are spaces with no real places. They represent society in a perfected form and are fundamentally unreal spaces. However heterotopias are real places which do exist: “They are formed in the very founding of the society which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places…and are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about” (Foucault, 1986:24).

Foucault (1986) believes that there exists a form of experience which can be regarded as a mirror, between utopias and heterotopias. The mirror is itself is essentially a utopia because the image one sees in the mirror does not exist. However it is also a heterotopia since the mirror is a real object which shapes the way one relates to one’s image. The mirror functions as a heterotopia in the sense that when people stand in front of the mirror and look at themselves, the mirror makes the place they stand absolutely real; however it also makes it absolutely unreal, because the place they occupy has to pass through this virtual point in order to be perceived. The mirror is a metaphor used to explain the duality of heterotopias. He also lists several principles of heterotopias and possible types of heterotopias or spaces which exhibit dual meanings (Foucault, 1986).
Foucault’s accounts of the notion of heterotopia and utopia provoke interpretations and applications across a range of disciplines such as geography, ethnography and socio-cultural studies etc. (Hirst and Vadeboncoeur, 2009; Kostogriz, 2009; Vadeboncoeur et al, 2006; Dudgeon and Fielder, 2006). In discussing the hybrid identities of Australians with relation to semiotic, dialogic and material spaces, Vadeboncoeur et al (2006) consider that the land of Australia was initially envisaged as a utopia and later became a heterotopia after the European immigrants arrived to settle. The geographical features of the landscape and the differences between the ways of thinking and speaking of the various groups within the population formed the complexity of this country. The differences thus created possibilities for ways to be other than either ‘European’ or ‘indigenous’ (Malouf, 1998).

In Australia, where immigrant Europeans have established political and cultural dominance at the expense of other cultural groups which were originally viewed as primitive and inferior, the conflicts between neo-colonial control and decolonisation have persisted (Dudgeon and Fielder, 2006). The concept of a “Third Space” is thus proposed to challenge both the cultural authority that imperialists desire and the inherent cultural purity claimed by minority groups (Bhabha, 1994), because according to Bhabha’s point of view, there is no homogeneous cultural place. He argues that “cultures are never unitary in themselves, nor simply dualistic in the relation of Self to Other” (Bhabha,
and therefore attempts to break the simplistic logic on the basis of which the dominant force tries to justify its ancestry while the minority group employs liberationist rhetoric to reconstruct itself as pure and innocent. He disagrees with any form of utopian oppositionality and argues that there is no absolute ground for any appeal to cultural superiority (Bhabha, 1994). For him “the Third Space” is not just an in-between place existing within two distinct cultures but in fact reflects a radically hybrid place (Bhabha, 1994): “The importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity…is ‘the Third Space’ which enables other positions to emerge” (Bhabha, 1990:211). The concept of the Third Space is essentially the notion of heterotopias that Foucault proposes: heterotopias, or the Third Spaces, are places which demonstrate not simply duality, but more profoundly, hybridity. Notions of spatiality, Third Space and hybridity are considered and applied in various ways within the field of education and include studies which emphasize methods of bridging school and home literacies (Leander and Sheehy, 2004), different cultural discourses and time scales (Lemke, 2000) and linking funds of knowledge (Moll and Greeberg, 1990). In the current research, they provide a means of understanding the ways in which the teachers involved both realise their academic identity (see below) and characterise their educational aim in terms of producing graduates who are ‘complete persons’, comfortable in the cultural space between “Chinese” and “Western”.
Moje et al (2004) outline three broad categories of perspectives on Third Space. The first category is the geographic and discursive perspectives which focus on the role of physical and socialized spaces in which people interact. Soja (1996) investigates the way physical space operates in the socialization of human interactions as well as the way social spaces shape the physical and suggests looking beyond the binary categories of physical and social spaces. The second perspective on Third Space refers to Bhabha (1994)’s critique of modern notion of culture and his view of Third Space being produced in and through language as people come together, as discussed in the previous paragraph. Lastly in the educational domain, three ways in which Third Spaces are currently conceptualised are identified: as bridge building from knowledge marginalized in schools to conventional academic knowledge; as a navigational space which encourages students to explore various funds of knowledge and bring their home learning experience to academic settings; and as a space of cultural, social and epistemological change where integration of home and school knowledge produces new forms of learning.

There is a sense in which the participants in the current study could be seen as creating a space for what might be described as marginalized knowledge (in the sense that traditional liberal arts education has, in their view, been excluded from the current university-curriculum), but they are not seeking to create a navigational space between knowledges; their aim is to open up space within
which they can establish a distinctive academic identity. The remainder of this discussion will therefore draw on work within the second category identified by Moje et al., drawing on a research study in the Australian academic context.

The relevance of work in this area to the current study is exemplified by Dudgeon and Fielder’s (2006) exploration of the concept of decolonisation through illustrating how Indigenous Australians create a Third Space within tertiary institutions as part of a broader project of cultural renaissance. Two examples of creating space are examined: the general way in which Indigenist academics open up space in the western domain of Australian academia and a particular Indigenous studies programme focusing on teaching and learning in a university in Western Australia. Cultural survival, reclamation and identity are priories for Indigenous Australians as part of a perceived cultural renaissance. Within the programme, an Indigenous culture course, which was at one time specifically aimed at Indigenous Australian students, is now taught to a disparate group including Indigenous students, white Australian students and overseas students. It is taught by a culturally diverse Indigenous and non-Indigenous staff. The notion of the Third Space is used in the context of the classroom, in the sense of opening up a hybrid space in-between the coloniser and the colonised. Intercultural learning, communication and negotiation form part of the course. Students are encouraged to reflect on their own social and cultural identities. A learning framework is designed to cross cultural borders,
validating and contextualising cultural and regional diversity. Indigenous students sometimes embrace a dual identity as students and cultural teachers to non-Indigenous students. It has been concluded that “the third spaces are created as ways of thinking and doing, as social and psychological, connected to individual agency and political action as part of making space within everyday institutional life” (Dudgeon and Fielder, 2006:396). In this case, it is the process of striving for decolonisation and moving beyond power relations which makes the pursuit of the Third Space worthwhile.

The issues identified in Dudgeon and Fielder (2006) illustrated above can be related to the current study in terms of the sorts of claims the teachers make in their interviews about their own dual position as both someone who understands his or her cultural identity and meanwhile owns the cultural consciousness and awareness in the intercultural background [TBI3:436]. The use of ‘owns’ in reference to cultural consciousness here is significant, suggesting a form of internalisation that amounts to inhabiting the relevant identity. There is evidence here that the teachers see themselves as creating a Third Space in class which allows them to embrace a hybrid identity. They aim to develop their students into “complete” people with cultural knowledge from both Western and Chinese perspectives, cultural sensitivity and awareness, and particularly intercultural communication competence. Therefore although they are only expected to teach knowledge of Western literature, culture and philosophy, the teachers actively
incorporate the same type of knowledge from the Chinese perspective. When asked the reason for doing so, they state that they are providing students with knowledge (Chinese literature, culture, philosophy etc) which should be reflected in the curriculum but is actually not and that by exposing students to both Chinese and Western perspectives they are trying position both themselves and their teaching in a cross-cultural space established between these two cultural realities. Based on their statements, then, it can be argued that between the Western and Chinese perspectives, the teachers are creating a Third Space which is a hybridity of the West and China. This hybridity rejects the duality of both sides but encourages their synthesis.

However a close look at the codeswitching instances and teachers’ classroom talk suggests that what teachers claim they are doing might not match what they actually do in class. Teachers claim in the interviews that they incorporate knowledge of Chinese literature, culture and philosophy and put it into a comparative dimension with knowledge of its Western counterparts in order to achieve a cross-cultural atmosphere in class. Students are thus able to develop intercultural communication competence. If this is the case, however, teachers’ talk should be concentrating on synthesizing Western and Chinese literature, culture and philosophy, rather than reinforcing the differences between them. It would seem that in practice the teachers’ talk is not in fact rejecting the duality
but rather depicting a dichotomous portrayal of a cultural divide. Examples of codeswitching can be used to elaborate this point from two perspectives.

Firstly, from the linguistic point of view, on most occasions, the teachers use English to discuss Western literature, culture and philosophy whereas they employ Chinese to provide the same type of knowledge from the Chinese perspective. In terms of the intimate connection between language and culture, this may be understandable, but it nevertheless serves to underline divisions rather than pointing to the possibility of synthesis. The following example is typical of the sort of switching found throughout the data set:

*Little Fly, Thy summer's play.* Little fly always makes a buzz in the summer’s night, right? My thoughtless hands very casually intentionally brush you away. Don’t make noise around me. However the author made a meditation about this very minute behaviour. He said: *Am not I, A fly like thee? Or art not thou, A man like me?* 这句话让你们想起了谁？对，庄子。庄生晓梦迷蝴蝶，望帝春心托杜鹃。庄子说：我在梦中看到自己变成了一只蝴蝶。我醒来后就暗自揣测，到底我是我，蝴蝶是蝴蝶，还是我就是那蝴蝶，那蝴蝶就是我？这个问题大家对于现代科学意识非常强的人来说，觉得庄子是在胡说八道。他在讲什么？但是如果你不要抱着成见，
去体悟这句话，你就知道这句话有它的深度。我在何种意义上是我？ (Whom does this sentence remind you of? Yes, Chuang-tzu. He dreamed of himself becoming a butterfly and when he woke up, he started to ponder: are the butterfly and I two separate things or are we the same thing? It sounds nonsense to people with a very strong sense of modern science. What is he talking about? But if you think about it without any prejudice, you would understand that he had a point. To what extent am I myself?30) [TBBAPW1]

Secondly, the teachers often draw attention to the differences between the West and China without making an effort to generate a synthesis from them. This contrast is to be found even in those examples where the sort of switching identified above does not occur, as in the following:

亚里士多德说，法律只能使人不变坏，不能使人变好。所以柏拉图说只有哲学才能使人变得高尚起来。诗与哲学之争从古希腊开始就有了。…马克思说宗教是一种麻醉。中国人是没有这种观念的，我们佛教讲轮回，就是让你做好人，做坏人下辈子是要被惩罚的。(Aristotle says that law can only prevent people from being bad but cannot make them into better people. So Plato

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30 Words in brackets are English translations of the Chinese sentences.
says that only philosophy can make people noble. The competition between poetry and philosophy started in ancient Greece…Marx thinks that religion is a type of anesthetic. Chinese people do not have the concept of religion. Our Buddhists believe in transmigration which encourages you to be a better person because you will be punished in your next life if you are bad in this life.)

[TAALW4]

In the example above, Teacher A compares different opinions existing between the West and China regarding how to make people good. Having displayed the functions of law, philosophy and religion, he does not seek to establish commonalities but instead emphasizes the cultural differences. In fact, the data set provides many examples where teachers use the subject matter as an opportunity to develop a dichotomous depiction of a cultural divide even where there is no obvious warrant for this. The following example is typical of this:

Alexander Pope said the greatest happiness is meditation. 西方人就本质而言的确是爱思考的动物。而中国人是爱生活的动物。中国人最热衷现实的快乐。在这快乐中获得有限与无限的双重快乐。但是西方人很奇怪，无论是以宗教还
Westerners essentially love thinking more than we do. Chinese people love life and practical happiness. But Westerners are different. Their great happiness is to see through their life and find an ultimate explanation for their life, either in a philosophical way or religious way. In this sense, I have to admit that the Westerners have much higher moral requirements for themselves than us. These are requirements from their inner world. Even today we talk of Cultural Christians, even though it is modernized and industrialized, in their hearts, there is always a vague area for religion."

[TBBAPW1]

The examples illustrated and explained above provide evidence for the claim that from the perspectives of linguistics and content, teachers’ talk in class does not reflect the creation of a Third Space between Western and Chinese culture. In fact, the use of different languages to segregate the different contents as well
as highlighting the culturally different points between the West and China without integrating or synthesizing reinforces cultural differences to a large extent. In that sense, it can be argued that the creation of a Third Space, although implied in their interview claims, is not reflected in the classroom discourse. Due to the existence of this mismatch, the Third Space (heterotopia) which has been proposed based on the teachers’ claims concerning their wish to create a cross-cultural atmosphere in class should not be considered as a heterotopia. It is, in essence, a utopia because the teachers’ claims only exist in an ideal world and are not achieved in their classroom talk.

To recapitulate, this section began with the introduction of the theory of utopia, heterotopia, the Third Space and their applications in relevant literature. Based on the claims teachers make in the interviews, their classroom teaching practice can be conceptualised using the Third Space metaphor. However a close look at the codeswitching instances from the Findings of Phase I of the study indicates that teachers’ classroom talk on most occasions actually reinforces the cultural differences instead of creating a Third Space which embraces the hybridity of two cultures. Therefore, although these teachers may be aiming to produce graduates who are ‘complete people’ able to inhabit a cultural space ‘between’ China and the West, their classroom discourse serves more to emphasise difference than embody synthesis.
5.6 Recommendations

Based on previous discussions, a number of recommendations can now be proposed. They can be divided into three areas: the future of English Language and Literature Departments, national policy and teacher training.

Firstly, as discussed previously, participants from the current study suggest that the English Language and Literature Departments in Chinese universities should aim at returning to the area of humanities where they were before 1949. Modern language and literature has always been considered as a discipline within humanities in Western countries, however in China this department is often viewed as an English language centre by other departments. Due to decades of nationwide development of English Language education in China, English proficiency is not only found among English majors but also in almost every graduate from leading universities. In this way English majors are losing their advantages and competitiveness. In addition, learning skills of a second language is considered to have the potential of undermining the incentive to think critically, show creativity and originality, and demonstrate cultural awareness and sensitivity. To this end there seems to be a case for arguing that the English Language and Literature Department should position itself as a discipline within the area of humanities and thereby distance itself from the image of being seen as a language centre. However, the current research involves only three participants, which is a small sample size. It is therefore
premature at this stage to assume the results generated from this sample will necessarily apply to other institutions nationwide. Therefore, before any decision on the positioning of ELLD in the context of humanities teaching in HE in China is officially made, it would be worth undertaking follow-up research in the form of a large-scale survey across the HE sector in China in order to establish whether the findings from the current study apply to other institutions in the country. The findings of this research could form the basis for the development of a questionnaire to be used in such a survey.

Secondly, national policy mainly concerns the establishment of the official curriculum for English Language and Literature Departments. If future research suggests that the ELLDs in China should return to the area of humanities, the official curriculum will need to undergo a thorough reform to reflect this development direction. In that case it is advisable that courses on humanities subjects be added into the curriculum whereas skills-based courses be gradually reduced. The division of two stages of learning (first two years for learning language and the next two years for studying content-based courses) should be abolished. Courses on humanities subjects are thus made available for students throughout the four years. Suggestions for humanities courses are: British History, American History, British Philosophy, American Philosophy, History of Western Civilisation and Australian/New Zealand Literature etc.
In addition, there seems to exist a lack of cultural elements in the current curriculum. The absent cultural elements refer to courses on Chinese culture, Western cultural studies and intercultural communication. Previous literature has criticized students from the English Language and Literature Department for their cultural aphasia which is manifested in their limited knowledge of Chinese and Western culture as well as insufficient intercultural communication competence. Since knowledge about Chinese and Western culture and intercultural communication are vital for developing students’ cultural awareness and sensitivity and will be helpful for them once they graduate and enter this intercultural society, there are strong arguments for introducing courses on such elements into in the curriculum.

The current curriculum is designed by the Ministry of Education and is applicable to the English Language and Literature Department in every university in China. It should be noted that there exists uneven development of English language education in China depending on geographical areas as well as different types of higher education institutions. English Language and Literature Departments exist in almost every type of institution: comprehensive universities with a wide range of disciplines, science and technology universities focusing on disciplines of natural sciences and foreign language studies universities which mainly target the education of foreign language and literature. It can be assumed that the attention that each English Language and Literature
Department receives varies in different types of universities but they share the same curriculum and are obliged to conform to the same requirements. This is not conducive to the development of either the leading universities or those at the bottom of the league table, because no unified curriculum is able to reflect the needs of such a wide range. Thus, as Teacher A in this research suggests, the curriculum should be university-tailored or even department-tailored and be supervised by the national university assessment system. In this sense, the universities/departments can effectively identify and determine the most suitable developmental path for themselves and establish correspondent requirements. Again, this proposition would need to be the subject of further research involving a much larger sample in order to establish the viability or otherwise of an element of local autonomy with regard to the national curriculum.

Based on the findings of the current research, the time spent on the usage of Chinese in class has been remarkable and the participants seem to be unaware of the amount of native language they are using. In the current curriculum it is stated that “generally speaking all the lessons should be conducted in English”, which can be seen as a rather vaguely described requirement. As indicated earlier in this chapter, an insistence on greater use of the target language based on quantifications of teachers’ language use in class would be almost impossible. However, there is an urgent need for awareness to be raised about the proportion of L1 and L2 spoken in both skill- and content-based courses in order to prevent
the excessive use of teachers’ native language in class. Any practical arrangements associated with this would also have to be set within the context of a broader strategy responding to the identity issues revealed by this research.

It was noted in the second chapter that the official curriculum for English Language and Literature Departments does not seem to be applicable as a set of national guidelines with an updated overview of the general situation. The curriculum appears incapable of keeping up with the latest developments in English Language and Literature as a discipline and thus fails to provide appropriate instructions and requirements for the universities. If further research across the HE sector in China bears out this view, this would represent a strong argument for establishing the official curriculum on the basis of the current development of the discipline and predictions for its development in the near future. Additionally, revising and updating the curriculum every ten years leaves a very long period between changes. It can be argued that it is implausible to expect a curriculum to guide the discipline appropriately for so long a period given the rate of dynamic change in the academic world. Therefore it is recommended that the curriculum be updated more frequently.

Lastly, if the reform of the curriculum is undertaken, it will require more qualified teachers. The inclusion of humanities subjects inevitably means that teachers with subject knowledge other than English language skills are needed.
Currently the majority of teachers have a degree in English Linguistics, in which case they do not have a suitable background for teaching humanities courses. Furthermore, they are expected to possess not only knowledge of certain subjects but also a wide scope of knowledge and abilities to enlighten and inspire the students to think critically in class. As the Chinese educational system has been criticized by participants in the current study, it seems preferable that any potential candidate acquires a doctoral degree in a humanities subject in an English-speaking country. To this end, an undergraduate scheme is proposed. Excellent undergraduates would be selected and sponsored by the department/university to study towards a doctoral degree in humanities subjects on the condition that they come back to become teachers in the department. As stressed in the previous chapter, to ensure this scheme is executed in a fair and efficient manner, a validated assessing system has to be established to guarantee that the most qualified undergraduates, who have demonstrated that they are interested in humanities and possess certain amount of knowledge in a particular subject, are selected.

In summary, this chapter discusses research findings regarding teachers’ codeswitching behaviours and the impact of implicit ideology, theory and policy on their classroom teaching practice. It also attempts to conceptualise the issues discussed using the notion of “the Third Space”. It reveals that in the process of
existing within the national curriculum while incorporating personal beliefs in teaching practice, based on teachers’ claims in interviews, they tend to actively create a Third Space in order to become the professionals they aspire to be; however, a close look at their talk in lessons points to the opposite conclusion. It is thus hoped that this discovery could facilitate and encourage future research on this topic.
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

This final chapter will begin with a summary of the findings of the study in the light of the research questions originally proposed, followed by a brief discussion of its limitations and contributions. It will conclude by indicating the relevance of this work in the context of developments in China.

6.1 Summary

This study originally set out to be a descriptive study aimed at investigating the codeswitching behaviours of three university English teachers in China, addressing the general question “What are the general codeswitching behaviours of these three teachers?” which was broken down into the following sub-questions:

1.1 In what circumstances is codeswitching employed?
1.2 Is there any evidence of change or development in the use of codeswitching through the semester?
1.3 What are the stated motivations behind their codeswitching behaviours?
1.4 To what extent do the three participants differ in their codeswitching behaviours?
1.5 What are the possible factors affecting their codeswitching behaviours?
Although questions #1.3 and #1.5 were eventually subsumed by further questions generated in Phase II of the project, the initial investigation in the first phase produced a clear picture of codeswitching behaviour:

1.1 In what circumstances is codeswitching employed?

Analysis of teachers’ talk revealed several prominent codeswitching categories such as “lecturing text-related literature, culture and philosophy”, “explaining vocabulary”, “asides etc.” and “meta-textual comments”; whereas other categories such as “giving procedural instructions”, “explaining grammar” and “raising questions” etc. remained insignificant in all situations. Time coding, on the other hand, revealed a surprisingly significant amount of time spent in speaking Chinese in class especially for Teachers A and B (an average of 41.3% and 50.8% respectively). This unexpected discovery, together with the prominent codeswitching category of “lecturing text-related literature, culture and philosophy”, raised concerns over the nature of teaching content-based courses, as opposed to skills-based courses. Thus follow-up in-depth interviews were prompted during Phase II of the study.

1.2 Is there any evidence of change or development in the use of codeswitching through the semester?

Overall, based on the total time spent on speaking Chinese in class, there was an increase for the three participants during the period when lessons were observed.
However, the increase was relatively slight and there were considerable fluctuations during the period. It is not possible to draw any clear conclusions from these findings, except to note that there was certainly no evidence of any diminution in the incidence of codeswitching or the quantity of Chinese spoken. This provides clear evidence that the situation which provided the basis for the exploration in Phase II was not merely a characteristic of early lessons in which the teacher might have been helping students to settle into a new topic.

1.3 What are the stated motivations behind their codeswitching behaviours?

The motivations for codeswitching which the participants expressed in the interviews and stimulated recalls were mainly as follows: to help weak students, to enhance learning, to facilitate communication, to widen students’ knowledge scope and to raise their awareness on their own language and culture etc. The last of these prompted consideration of the impact of the teachers’ cultural identity on their codeswitching behaviours and was an important consideration in the design of interviews for Phase II of the study.

1.4 To what extent do the three participants differ in their codeswitching behaviours?

In general, the three participants differed noticeably in codeswitching behaviours due to the different lesson contents and objectives as well as their
research interests. In terms of time, Teacher B codeswitched the most while Teacher C codeswitched the least.

1.5 What are the possible factors affecting their codeswitching behaviours?
The research indicated that there were both internal and external factors affecting the teachers’ codeswitching behaviours, prominent among which were teaching content, lesson objectives, students’ and teachers’ L2 proficiency, language contrast and teachers’ personal beliefs. Two salient factors (lesson contents and objectives; teachers’ cultural and disciplinary identities) were identified and explored in-depth. These two factors were further investigated in the follow-up interviews not in the context of codeswitching but with regard to classroom teaching practice in general.

The follow-up interviews (Phase II) opened up a broader picture of the motivations behind codeswitching and extended the discussion from this to the teachers’ views on the current national curriculum, teacher qualities, content-based instruction and the impact of their identities on teaching practice. Five further research questions were proposed for this phase and the findings are briefly summarised below.
2.1 What are the teachers’ perceptions of the current curriculum for undergraduates in the ELLD? What types of changes, if any, would they make to improve the curriculum?

Thematically coded interviewing results show that the participants believe that the current national curriculum fails to provide an appropriate guideline for the development of ELLD and place excessive emphasis on English language skills teaching, which exposes the ELLD to critical challenges and threats. In the teachers’ opinion the curriculum should reflect the characteristics of humanities in English Language and Literature as a discipline and hence involve more courses on humanities subjects whilst reducing the number of skills-based courses.

2.2 What are their views on the qualities required for the current teachers in their department? What are their suggestions concerning teacher training?

The teachers believe that a qualified teacher for an ELLD should possess sufficient English language skills, subject knowledge of humanities, critical acumen, cultural awareness and sensitivity, knowledge on Chinese literature and culture, and the ability to balance teaching and research. An “undergraduate scheme” is suggested to develop potential candidates for qualified teachers in the future.
2.3 What are their perceptions of content-based teaching, its theory and significance as well as its application within the Chinese context?

It was discovered that although the teachers understood that both L2 proficiency and the mastery of subject knowledge were the objectives of content-based courses, they were likely to neglect the language teaching part and focus only on teaching content. The teachers believe that there already exists an excessive number of skills-based courses during which students can learn English language skills, but what the students really need and what will make them competitive once they enter the society is subject knowledge of humanities. Essentially, in their current practice, these teachers have turned content-based courses into purely content courses with little language teaching.

2.4 How do they position themselves in the system in terms of their discipline?

To what extent do their social and disciplinary identities affect their classroom teaching practice?

The follow-up interviews revealed that the cultural and disciplinary identities of these teachers have a significant impact on their talk and the content they deliver in class. The teachers in this study feel that the curriculum positions them as mere English language teachers, when in fact they prefer to be acknowledged as part of the humanities academy even though they are aware that it seems unlikely that they can be literature/philosophy teachers in the ordinary sense.
6.2 Limitations

The current study has undergone drastic changes from its beginning. The research focus, rationale, data collection and analysis methods have been reshaped and updated constantly based on the direction of the study. While not undermining the outcomes, retrospective evaluation of the research process indicates that it would have been improved by involving one more active participant, conducting longer interviews with the teachers during Phase I and eliminating the time duration between videotaping lessons and stimulated recalls.

The major limitation of the current study, however, is the size of the sample. There are altogether three participants but only two of them (Teachers A and B) can be considered as main participants, since fewer lessons taught by Teacher C were observed and stimulated recall was not conducted with him in Phase I; also limited contributions were made by him during the follow-up interviews in Phase II. One might challenge the findings on the basis that such a small sample is unable to generate valid and reliable conclusions and the findings obtained from one particular university cannot represent the general situation in the Chinese context owing to the extremely uneven development of ELT in different areas of China.
Nonetheless, it can be argued that the current research was conducted in a leading higher education institution in a major city where ELT has been vigorously developed over decades. If the problems addressed in this thesis apply to such an elite university, it can be assumed that the problems will exist in some form throughout the whole system. If experienced teachers in this renowned university feel the threat and crisis that the English Language and Literature Department is facing and are concerned about their positions in the system, it seems reasonable to expect that teachers from such departments in less prestigious universities may have the same concerns. If such concerns were merely a matter of prestige, it might be suggested that they would be more likely to arise in a top university, but the findings of the thesis have revealed that they are much more extensive and deep-seated than this. Additionally, in order to understand the nature of the problem addressed, the researcher was required to probe deeply, including conducting longitudinal classroom observations and lengthy in-depth interviews at different intervals of the research. It would not have been plausible or feasible to conduct such a study with a large sample.

6.3 Contributions

The contributions that the current study makes can be elaborated from the following four perspectives: codeswitching behaviours, second language teaching theories, the disciplinary crisis in English Language and Literature
Departments in Chinese universities and the application of the Third Space theory in the area of applied linguistics.

Firstly both skills-based and content-based courses were observed for the purpose of investigating teachers’ codeswitching behaviours in Phase I of the research. The involvement of both types of courses and the comparison based on lesson contents and objectives represents an original if modest contribution in itself. The thesis also examines the changes in teachers’ codeswitching behaviours over a certain length of time, which has not been addressed in previous literature, though findings in this respect were inconclusive. The thesis also identifies a prominent codeswitching category, “lecturing text-related literature, culture and philosophy” in skills-based and content-based courses. This particular category has not been identified in previous studies and prompted the complete shift of focus of this study, leading to the decision to conduct follow-up in-depth interviews. In addition, the thesis points to a relationship between teachers’ codeswitching behaviours and identities, national policies and lesson content and objectives. The impact of identities (cultural and disciplinary identities) was further investigated in the second phase of the study.

Secondly the thesis reveals that widely recognised problems with the implementation of Communicative Language Teaching on a national level also apply to the implementation of content-based instruction (CBI). The teachers’
rejection of CLT as noted in Phase I of the study implies that they prefer not to focus on improving students’ listening and spoken English proficiency by employing CLT in class. They show a tendency to regard CLT as having low priority for second language learners since it ignores students’ reading and writing abilities. CBI, on the other hand, is in accordance with the requirement of “teaching content-based courses through English as a medium of instruction” outlined in national curriculum for English majors. It was anticipated that in these content-based courses, the improvement in English proficiency and the understanding of subject knowledge would be the two major objectives and that the courses would be conducted mainly in English mainly. However, the research revealed that although teachers claim in the interviews that they have a comprehensive understanding of the theories and significance of CBI and that they are putting it into practice in the classroom, CBI is replaced by pure content teaching in which English language teaching is to a large extent neglected. The research indicates that the employment of such content teaching reflects the teachers’ rejection of teaching English language skills, which in turn is part of a broader perception of the current curriculum and the development direction of the department for which they work. The thesis also argues that the teachers are actively creating a ‘third’ space in order to function within the national curriculum in a way that is consistent with their fundamental beliefs about their disciplinary orientation and perceived responsibilities to the students.
Thirdly, the current research reveals a fundamental problem concerning the development of English Language and Literature Departments (ELLDs) in Chinese universities. It argues that the ELLD is facing a critical challenge within academia. This disciplinary crisis is caused by the misunderstanding other disciplines have of the nature of ELLDs and the failure to establish an appropriate position in the system at this moment. It has been misunderstood as amounting to little more than an English language enterprise which develops students with competent English language skills. In the process of correcting this misunderstanding, the approach of “cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals” has been attempted, which has not achieved the aim of developing competitive graduates as expected. It is thus suggested that the ELLD should be regarded as part of the humanities area and liberal arts education should be added to the curriculum, together with existing English language education. The department should aim to develop students with not only advanced English language proficiency but, more importantly, a wide scope of knowledge in humanities subjects, cultural awareness and sensitivity, critical acumen, creativity and originality. Although the notion of bringing liberal arts education to ELLDs has been proposed a number of times in the literature, the current study is the first to address this problem through empirical research and the findings are generated on the basis of an in-depth study using lesson recordings and interviews.
Last but not least, the application of the concept of “the Third Space” to the field of applied linguistics represents a contribution to the ways in which second or foreign language teachers’ work might be conceptualised. Hence it is expected that it could provide insights for future research not only in the context of teachers’ language use in class and their responses to curriculum or syllabus constraints but also more broadly in respect of teacher identity and practice.

China has been developing rapidly and drastically in recent decades and is now acknowledged as the world’s second biggest economy (Barboza, 2010). Its development is not just limited to the economic sphere but also extends to aspects of education, social services, cultural communications etc. (The China Educational Development Yearbook, 2010). This thesis critically challenges the agenda of English language education in Chinese tertiary institutions. It is hoped that the issues raised and suggested in this thesis can contribute to the future development of English language education in China.
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Issue 4, 341 – 361.


Dear Teacher

My name is Xiaozhou Zhou and I am a PhD student at the Centre for Applied Linguistics, University of Warwick. I would like to invite you to participate in a research study named “University English Teachers’ Codeswitching Behaviours in Mainland China”. The purpose of my research is to investigate Chinese English teachers’ codeswitching behaviours. It takes the form of a case study involving two English teachers at university. Four research methods are utilized: classroom observation, interviews, stimulated recalls and documents. The study will run for 10 to 12 weeks from September, 2009 to December, 2009. It is hoped that this research will contribute to our understanding of the codeswitching behaviours of English teachers in China and generate insights that will inform future teacher training and development in China. In addition, analyses of the research findings will serve as part of the thesis of my doctoral degree and may be used in future academic publications arising from the research.

Firstly, I will be observing your class on a weekly basis for 10 to 12 weeks. Audio recording is applied to each class and one class will be video recorded. Secondly, as a participant in this research, you will be invited to three interviews with the researcher. Each interview will last for about half an hour. The second interview will take the form of stimulated recall. Thirdly, the researcher may ask you to provide a sample of your course plan or any materials related to your lesson preparation.

Please be assured that you can ask any questions about the study before you decide whether to participate or not. Should you decide to participate, please be aware that you may withdraw from the study without penalty at any time by advising me.

All information will be both strictly confidential and anonymous - you will NOT be identifiable. The data will be stored in locked cabinets. Only myself and my supervisor Dr. Keith Richards will have access to your data. This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Graduate Progress Committee, Centre for Applied Linguistics, University of Warwick.

I would really appreciate your participation in my research study so that I can develop current understanding of Chinese English teachers’ codeswitching behaviours. If you have any further enquiries about the study, please feel free to contact me on 0044 7503011402.

Sincerely,

Xiaozhou Zhou
PhD Programme in English Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics
Centre for Applied Linguistics, University of Warwick, E-mail: X.Zhou@warwick.ac.uk
Appendix B Consent Form

University English Teachers’ Codeswitching Behaviours in Mainland China Consent Form

This is a qualitative case study which aims to investigate Chinese English teachers’ codeswitching behaviours. This is a study undertaken by Xiaozhou Zhou, a PhD student at the Centre for Applied Linguistics, University of Warwick.

1. I have read and understood the information concerning this study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I have considered all the risks involved with this research.

2. I understand that I can withdraw from the study without consequence at any time simply by informing the researcher of my decision.

3. I understand who will have access to any identifying information I provide as well as what will happen to the data at the end of the project.

4. I am aware of who to contact should I have any questions following my participation in this study.

5. I understand that this project has been reviewed by and received ethical clearance through the Graduate Progress Committee, Centre for Applied Linguistics, University of Warwick.

I agree to participate in this study.

Name:________________
Date:_______________
Signature:____________

Researcher: __________
Date: ________________
Signature: ___________
Appendix C Sample Pages of Field Notes

10:10 - 11:15

(Unit 2)

(know)

(names of places, no equivalent.)

avoid - 避免

translation 'water' (obj) - 水

then -

addition - 非常惊讶

inspector - 检查

lagoon - 湖

Norman Conquest - 诺曼征服

British history - 历史 - 文化 - 语言 - 民俗

reproach - 批评
435

1. What's the explanation of this? (meaning)

2. The journey is better than the end. (Tao Te Ching)

3. What's your opinion?

4. Why people are not always satisfied with present happiness?

5. "The more you learn, the more you forget." (Aristotle)


7. Russell says, "Feel..."

8. It's the process of life. (an analogy to learning)

9. (Quote by Russell)
1. In Chinese, we commonly refer to more formal or informal style.

2. Some of these might be more formal.

3. In other words, we still -

4. I refer to being more formal.

5. The tone of my paper is conversational, or style.

6. Strike us as - give us the impression that...

7. indiscriminately - freely, without choice.

8. undergraduate class - students not postgraduate.

9. In a sense, the same - cliché, trite, bland.

Original at all. I am just starting to understand.
Appendix D Numbers of Codeswitching Items in Teacher A, B and C’s Lessons

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Summary of numbers of codeswitching items in Teacher A’s Advanced English class

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Summary of numbers of codeswitching items in Teacher A’s American Literature class
### Summary of numbers of codeswitching items in Teacher B’s British and American Poetry class

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### Summary of numbers of codeswitching items in Teacher B’s Western Philosophy class

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Summary of numbers of codeswitching items in Teacher C’s Advanced English class
Appendix E Time Coding Table
Sub
T length T length in seconds
Total C Total C in Total
seconds
C % Total E in seconds
Total E % Lit in seconds
Lit%T
Lit%C
Asides in Asides%T
seconds Asides%C
AE1
1:02:00
3720 0:15:35
935
25.1%
2785
74.9%
469
12.6%
50.2%
47
1.3%
5.0%
AE2
1:19:26
4766 0:37:08
2228
46.7%
2538
53.3%
786
16.5%
35.3%
207
4.3%
9.3%
AE3
1:23:26
5006 0:54:26
3266
65.2%
1740
34.8%
336
6.7%
10.3%
1259
25.1%
38.5%
AE4
1:23:15
4995 0:45:04
2704
54.1%
2291
45.9%
240
4.8%
8.9%
1835
36.7%
67.9%
AE5
1:26:05
5165 0:41:32
2672
51.7%
2493
48.3%
250
4.8%
9.4%
1616
31.3%
60.5%
AVE
48.6%
51.4%
9.1%
22.8%
19.8%
36.2%
AL1
1:16:57
4617 0:06:29
389
8.4%
4228
91.6%
35
0.8%
9.0%
23
0.5%
5.9%
AL2
1:16:39
4599 0:18:40
1120
24.4%
3479
75.6%
305
6.6%
27.2%
146
3.2%
13.0%
AL3
1:13:00
4380 0:25:42
1542
35.2%
2838
64.8%
0
0.0%
0.0%
692
15.8%
44.9%
AL4
1:06:14
3974 0:21:07
1267
31.9%
2707
68.1%
130
3.3%
10.3%
320
8.1%
25.3%
AL5
1:29:14
5354 0:32:04
1924
35.9%
3430
64.1%
240
4.5%
12.5%
555
10.4%
28.8%
AL6
1:23:59
5039 0:36:31
2191
43.5%
2848
56.5%
395
7.8%
18.0%
120
2.4%
5.5%
AL7
1:22:46
4966 0:37:07
2227
44.8%
2739
55.2%
418
8.4%
18.8%
1024
20.6%
46.0%
AL8
1:15:34
4534 0:34:49
2089
46.1%
2445
53.9%
387
8.5%
18.5%
630
13.9%
30.2%
AL9
1:10:28
4228 0:25:05
1505
35.6%
2723
64.4%
310
7.3%
20.6%
410
9.7%
27.2%
AVE
34.0%
66.0%
5.3%
15.0%
9.4%
25.2%
A-Ave
41.3%
58.7%
7.7%
18.9%
14.6%
30.7%
WP1
1:03:00
3780 0:25:16
1516
40.1%
2264
59.9%
599
15.8%
39.5%
815
21.6%
53.8%
WP2
1:54:12
6852 1:01:22
3682
53.7%
3170
46.3%
626
9.1%
17.0%
2127
31.0%
57.8%
WP3
1:37:23
5823 0:47:58
2878
49.4%
2945
50.6%
960
16.5%
33.4%
1841
31.6%
64.0%
WP4
1:14:19
4459 0:36:06
2166
48.6%
2293
51.4%
935
21.0%
43.2%
1066
23.9%
49.2%
WP5
1:46:30
6390 0:41:20
2480
38.8%
3910
61.2%
160
2.5%
6.5%
2161
33.8%
87.1%
WP6
1:23:10
4990 0:51:11
3071
61.5%
1919
38.5%
390
7.8%
12.7%
605
12.1%
19.7%
WP7
1:37:34
5854 1:01:40
3700
63.2%
2154
36.8%
785
13.4%
21.2%
2027
34.6%
54.8%
WP8
1:21:46
4906 0:50:17
3017
61.5%
1889
38.5%
299
6.1%
9.9%
2111
43.0%
70.0%
WP9
1:23:08
4988 0:52:20
3140
63.0%
1848
37.0%
1015
20.3%
32.3%
2159
43.3%
68.8%
AVE
53.3%
46.7%
12.5%
24.0%
30.6%
58.3%
EP1
1:37:45
5865 0:37:35
2255
38.4%
3610
61.6%
224
3.8%
9.9%
1088
18.6%
48.2%
EP2
0:56:11
3371 0:26:11
1571
46.6%
1800
53.4%
198
5.9%
12.6%
927
27.5%
59.0%
EP3
0:52:47
3167 0:32:28
1948
61.5%
1219
38.5%
350
11.1%
18.0%
877
27.7%
45.0%
EP4
1:53:00
6780 0:52:38
3158
46.6%
3622
53.4%
552
8.1%
17.5%
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33.4%
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AVE
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21.3%
26.8%
56.0%
B-Ave
50.8%
49.2%
9.9%
22.7%
28.7%
57.2%
CAE1
0:49:40
2980 0:09:08
548
18.4%
2432
81.6%
N/A
N/A
N/A
285
9.6%
52.0%
CAE2
0:39:39
2379 0:08:20
500
21.0%
1879
79.0%
N/A
N/A
N/A
57
2.4%
11.4%
CAE3
1:07:21
4041 0:13:24
804
19.9%
3237
80.1%
N/A
N/A
N/A
46
1.1%
5.7%
CAE4
1:18:33
4713 0:36:35
2195
46.6%
2518
53.4%
N/A
N/A
N/A
426
9.0%
19.4%
AVE
26.5%
73.5%
5.5%
22.1%

440


**Appendix F**

**Content Analysis Sheet for Interviews and Stimulated Recall in Phase I**

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| Unclassified statements | 10 | 49 | |

**List of statements:**

**Teacher A:**

1. After the implementation of CLT in China, it is obviously seen that though the spoken proficiency of the students has been improved, their ability to write and translate is decreasing.

2. From what I’ve seen, the advocating and implementation of CLT did not help students improve their communication competence.

3. They can speak fluently. In that sense, probably CLT did help them build up their confidence to speak English. But what they say matters too. Most of them speak broken English, even not grammatically correct, neither logically reasonable, but as long as what they say can be understood by the native speakers, it is often wrongly regarded that the CLT has a positive impact on their spoken English.
Anyway, I think the current situation of English language teaching is situated in a dilemma. If we go on with the CLT, I doubt that if the four skills of the students would be developed in a balanced way. I am always wondering to what extent the ability to read and write in a second language is related to the implementation of CLT. Probably the grammar translation method will help students more on reading and writing.

I reckon that the majority of the teachers buy the theory of CLT. They will try to employ some principles of CLT. But I do not think that the result is necessarily positive.

Some teachers who themselves are very good at spoken English are likely to implement CLT in class but I doubt whether or not this teaching method has helped them to achieve their lesson objectives. To be frank, it has nothing to do with the teacher’s oral language. What really matters is the content he or she delivers. Even though it is an oral English lesson, there still has to be something substantial for the students.

I always have doubts in if CLT should be regarded as a successful teaching method. It certainly has some impact on me but essentially I cannot agree with it. To be honest, I do not agree with it. The CLT began to prosper in China when I was in college. Some of my teachers, who were influenced by CLT, were using exclusively all L2 in class. I think the achievement was very much limited.

Anyway, in my opinion, the implementation of CLT is not successful, because on one hand, there are too many students in a classroom. On the other hand, Chinese students are not very easy to be motivated.

As for the English language teaching for English majors in China, I reckon that for freshmen and sophomores, CLT can be extensively used in order to help students practice listening and spoken English. However, when the students start their third and fourth year of learning, it is suggested that CLT should not be still used.

But their understanding stays at the stage of knowing the meaning of this
article only. What about the implications of the author? What does the author really want to convey? Probably the students find it difficult to understand if the teacher expresses this in English.

11. When you talk about something highly theoretical or profound theories, I think there should be some codeswitching behaviours on those occasions. Also, when the teacher is trying to input some Chinese culture or discuss the similarities and dissimilarities between Chinese culture and Western culture with the students, he or she probably needs Chinese to assist in expression and explanation.

12. The language contrast plays a very important role here. For us whose first language is Chinese and second language is English, comparing with those whose first language is German or French learning English as a second language, they will find much easier than we do, especially in terms of reading.

13. Apart from the profound theories I mentioned before, I think teachers’ L2 competence and students’ English level also affect teachers’ codeswitching behaviours. As a teacher, one should consider students’ ability to understand as the most important objective. Therefore, students’ L2 proficiency should be placed in priority. That is what I am most concerned.

14. When I teach an article to my students, there are two aspects I usually focus on. One is the author’s intentions of writing this article. The other is the reason why the editor of the textbook chose to include this article, especially in terms of literature classes. I am not sure about text books in England or other countries but I wonder there must be a reason for the compiler to include a certain article to the text book. They are most fundamental issues to me. All these depend on the teacher’s own ability to appreciate and understand the article as well we his or her L2 proficiency level.

15. There is a possibility that sometimes teachers’ codeswitching to Chinese is not because of helping students to understand but due to the limitation of L2 use of the teachers. The teacher cannot express it in English so that he or she
switches to Chinese. It is normal but should be treated with caution.

16. I think it might be 70% of English and 30% of Chinese. I always think that it is inappropriate for an English teacher to speak too much Chinese in class. A little Chinese is allowed but most of the teacher’s talk should be in English. If the Chinese use exceeds 30%, then the class is not qualified to be a second language class.

17. It all depends on the objective of the class. A skills-based class probably requires less L1 use than a content-based class. For example, when I am teaching Literary Theory to postgraduate students, I may have to use 50% of Chinese, because the content is too difficult for the students.

18. I do not think it is feasible yet practical to use exclusively all L2 in class, since students have no motivations to concentrate if they do not understand teachers’ language.

19. Generally speaking, I do not think that there is anything wrong to employ a little Chinese in class. According to my own experience, the classes taught by native speakers were not necessarily well received than those by Chinese teachers.

20. The motivation to save time might happen with high school teachers but rarely seen in universities. Sometimes it is to help weak students and sometimes it can be because the teacher cannot express it in English, which I think are the two main reasons.

Teacher B:

21. I have always been against the Communicative Language Teaching method and I have been resisting implementing it in my class. We can talk about it in two aspects: firstly, from the perspective of second language acquisition, for someone who is an L2 learner, if you focus completely on CLT, if this learner is a child, it may serve as a motivation/stimulus to some extent. But to an adult, especially high school students or college students, they have already formed an adult-way of thinking. In that case you teach them
English using the CLT method, obviously it does not conform with their needs of L2 learning of their age.

22. In addition, either from the perspective of the quality of language, or the requirement of language proficiency, emphasizing too much on CLT is actually setting our goals at a very low level. There is a Chinese saying: if you set yourself a very high goal, normally you end up with achieving something at a mediocre level. This is to tell people to always set high standards for themselves. CLT is too low an objective for an L2 learner. Therefore what he/she achieves must be even lower than that.

23. Secondly and more importantly, in the prospect of the relationship between language and culture as well as language and educational psychology…I strongly reject making every L2 lesson into a purely L2 language skills input lesson. Any language teaching should not be only limited to the teaching of language skills. If there is nothing concerning culture and humanity involved in a language class, I believe this kind of class has not reached the teaching objective essentially.

24. Even in a spoken language class, research findings have shown that, it is the content, rather than the language skills that a teacher delivers, that can be most beneficial for the students. Students feel that in the process of learning this language, they could experience the wonderful cultural meaning behind it, which may motivate them to learn this language well. Therefore I totally disagree with the view of teaching language purely based on the consideration of communication.

25. I think it is a failure so far. There are a few concepts that need to be made clear. For general foreign language training, how do you measure the learning/teaching result? Nowadays English language education has changed from elite education several decades before to a sort of popular education. Thus being as a popular education, focusing on communicative purposes has its own market. For people who need English in their work, this type of English teaching (CLT) is acceptable. I taught English to professionals and I
tried to teach them not only the language itself but also enlighten their thoughts. They found that there was something more meaningful waiting for them. The reason that CLT has occupied the majority of the market is that it is fairly easy to achieve. However we should never say that it is something we are supposed to do. This is the gap between reality and ideality.

26. E: Does CLT have an impact on your teaching practice and personal beliefs? B: I don’t think so. After all, what it matters is the result of a particular teaching method. In this multiplicate society, I won’t be against with anything different from me but meanwhile I insist on what I believe in. It is like my attitude towards interpretation: I am not against it but I won’t do it.

27. The role of L1 in second language education? It really depends…This question is too general and can only be answered if brought to concrete situations. However, it is even impossible to use 100% L2, according to the subjects I have taught in my teaching experience.

28. It largely depends on the teaching content. Firstly, based on my own views and practice, the proportion of L1 and L2 used in class is decided on the particular situation of a particular lesson. Secondly, I do not agree with deliberately employing 100% L2 in class. In fact I find that with L1 the teacher can explain more clearly and more vividly to the students.

29. If we can make full use of the Chinese culture as a comparison to enlighten the students, to raise their interests, to help them understand English culture better, why not? More importantly we are facing Chinese students, not students from other countries. In that case, I think it is a very effective and useful teaching method to incorporate Chinese culture within English classes.

30. I think it really depends on the situation. For instance, I used quite a lot of Chinese today, because the content was very difficult for the students. Sometimes I just feel like speaking Chinese more. To some extent it depends on my mood.

31. E: So you mean you will adjust your language choice based on students’
reaction? B: That’s right. It is very important to adjust teachers’ language use according to students’ reaction and the actual effect of the class. Actually I believe it is my primary principle. The second principle is to alter the language choice based on teaching content.

32. I think all the three factors you mentioned before count. Take the first one (teachers’ own L2 proficiency) for example, sometimes it is true that due to teachers’ lack of L2 proficiency, they have to resort to Chinese to complete a sentence. The second and the third one seem similar to me. They are strongly related. Teacher training programmes help shape teachers’ beliefs. Usually it is the accumulation of years of teaching experience that plays a vital role in their language use in class.

33. E: So it is a habitual/subconscious thing? B: Sometimes yes but this habit or subconscious behaviour is just a reflection of their teaching experience and beliefs.

34. I think sometimes teachers codeswitching to help students understand better. They are afraid that students cannot understand the English so they feel that have to repeat it in Chinese. Thus, students’ language proficiency should be regarded as an important consideration. Lesson contents/objectives were already covered in my previous talk. Basically I think these two are the most important external factors.

35. I don’t think it is to save time but I agree it is to help weak students. In addition, it can be to enhance learning or facilitate communication. But as for me, the biggest motivation of my codeswitching is to raise students’ self-perception on their own native language and culture. This is also what I’ve always been doing – to provide students the input on Chinese language and culture, to enable them to compare with English language and culture and to remind them to value their own culture.

Teacher C:

36. CLT seemed to flood in China suddenly since the end of 1980s. However
based on the feedback of its implementation, I think pure CLT is not suitable for China. One of the reasons is the language environment I mentioned before. The other is the influence of Chinese culture. Some people have researched CLT from this perspective.

37. I think CLT might be more suitable for teaching the first and second year students – their spoken English and listening courses etc, while for third or fourth students’ courses which are more knowledge-based (rather than skills-based) and more incorporated with humanities, such as literature and translation courses, it is very difficult to implement CLT. A language has many functions. Communication is only one of them. When relating to language as a means to facilitate culture exchange, CLT seems not helpful.

38. English majors have been criticized a lot recently for regarding L2 learning merely as language skill mastering but lacking a wide range of knowledge in relevant areas. Thus their way of thinking is not well developed in college. This type of criticism, to some extent, has formed a force to hold back the development of CLT in China.

39. I think it is still too early to say whether it is a success or not. I believe that we should have a compromised view on CLT. It may be suitable for first/second-year-students, as teachers will need to cultivate them to form a habit of communicating in English. But as for third/fourth-year-students, courses have changed from skills-based to more content-based, involving literature and translation courses, I doubt if we still have to focus a lot on communications and interactions in class.

40. My opinion is that CLT is better for teaching beginners than advanced learners. After all CLT emphasizes on spoken language but there are huge differences between spoken and written languages. So I think in terms of advanced learners, when the teacher focuses on improving writing ability, CLT might not be a good choice.

41. When I teach postgraduates courses such as Semantics which involves a lot of technical terms, using Chinese to translate or paraphrase some words
would help students understand better and make myself clearer...There should be no deliberate use of all English, since as for terminologies, I think students should know both English and Chinese versions.

42. I think it largely depends on the teaching content, the subject and the objectives expected to achieve, so it is difficult to define.

43. I think teaching content and lesson objectives are two important factors.

44. E: Do you think you are affected by students’ L2 proficiency? C: It is a problem, particularly in content-based courses. There are a lot of technical terms that students cannot understand in English. Therefore teachers have to codeswitching for translation.

45. There is no policy regulating that teachers have to speak in English exclusively and no Chinese should be used at all.

46. I think to save time is one of the motivations. As you can see, the Advanced English course I am teaching now, there are not many sessions throughout a term, excluding the time left for students to prepare their test and to guide them writing dissertations. Sometimes it feels that saving time is a very practical motivation.

47. To enhance learning is another motivation, because for some content/knowledge-based courses, there is a lot of input students do not understand when the teacher has to switch to L1 to help them learn.

48. Also when communicating with foreigners, you will find they are interested in Chinese culture. In that case you will need to be equipped with sufficient knowledge about your own culture in order to continue the conversation. Thus I sometimes provide students with both English and Chinese explanations on a specific topic/issue which I think will be helpful to them.

49. However I do feel that our students have so little chance of communicating with English native speakers. So probably for first/second-year students, the teacher should try to use English as much as possible in order to cultivate the students into forming the habit of thinking in English and speaking English. While when they become third/fourth-year students and start to receive
content-based courses rather than language skills, it is understandable that the teacher codeswitches sometimes in class.
Appendix G  Preliminary Results from Each Step of Thematic Analysis of Follow-up Interviews

Example pages showing the coding process:

Example page from transcriptions of Teacher A’s follow-up interview
例文摘自教师B的跟进访谈
E: 说英语专业学位的课程设置，大概有什么理解和认识？
C: 目前我们英语专业的课程设置，实际上现在国内有很多大学，有的过去很多是搞英语专业的，但是经过我们英语语言文学专业的特色化建设，这样的一个专业的毕业生后来的培养反而效果不明显。现在一些综合性大学，比如复旦大学，北大，南大，也在强调要归到英语语言文学专业本身，这也就是强调语言文学这一方面的课程，我们目前不太像一个真正意义上的传统的英语语言文学专业，好像也已经变成了一所学校内部是有这样所说的语言技能，另外一方面也是和其他专业一起搞跨学科专业，但是专业方面又没有办法和综合性大学，或者专业化的大学，比如金融，财经类大学比，这样优势就弱了。四年内又要涉及到在非母语的环境下，还学习其他的跨学科专业。那英语的语言技能肯定也会打折扣，四年里学不到的东西，再一个我们本身英语语言文学这个专业的课程也得不到保证，所以学生毕业以后没有什么专业的优势。
E: 你之前提到跨学科的专业指的是？
C: 跨学科就是说除了英语技能外，还学习经济啊，金融啊之类的，还有其他，那么如果是综合性大学的话，他们会比较方便，像上海这种传统的以外语语言文学作为特色的大学来说，去搞跨学科专业可能就不是最合适的，现在就是说要回归到英语语言文学专业，要强调人文性。
E: 你也能看到一些文章说要增加知识型课程，人文性课程，那么你对知识型课程有什么理解呢？
C: 我认为应该就是这样，就是要把中小学英语水平的提高，一般说大学生的阅读水平已经达到一定水平，特别是生词比较好的综合性大学，英语语言文学专业，我认为这个专业课程可以往前提高，就是一到二年级可以安排一些带有专业方向性的课程，像马克·吐温文学啊，中国思想文化经典啊，这种专业方向性的课程我认为可以贯穿四年的学习，也就是说语言技能的培养和学科的专业知识的培养可以结合起来。
E: 就是说不一定要等到二年级才去学，对不对？
C: 对，就是说，因为他水平如果不高的情况下，就可以从低年级就开始，直接进入相关专业的知识学习。
E: 你提到中国思想文化经典……
C: 对，西方的汉学家写的，非常好的英文的，用英语来介绍中国文化，这个也可以用来培养学生的跨文化交际能力。
E: 你为什么觉得这些文学的内容是很有价值的呢？
C: 我现在是对于跨文化的理解，要求学生以后言之有物的，国内也是这样，一些跨文化的作品，塑造的工作单位，这样的话，如果我们教授的话，这样的话，文学的……前两年也是我们对我们课程的批评，比如说我们英语专业的学生到外语文化的知识，就是我们过分强调基础的听说读写，技能的训练，而对于外文的思潮的接受，包括文学，读的不够，其实我还是强调我们这科学生的文化性，当然外文的时候批评所谓的文学道路，我认为是有问题的，至少是有片面性的，文学作品除了语言学的角度来判断的，也是在讲，register的类型是很丰富的，而且是语言最能贴近地方的，所以脸上要把文学学到手上的时候，我们必须要超然于这种实用性的，我们可以对于原文进行语言的加工，然后进行语言文学的引导，但是教授的手段，虽然有很多文化内涵，有很大的策略，这一类的，才能称之为有效的。不能满足于日常的口语的简单会话。
E: 你认为我们英语专业的学生，我们把他们培养成具有跨文化交际能力的人才，那么他们的毕业以后要从事什么样的工作才能应用这种能力呢？

Example page from transcriptions of Teacher C’s follow-up interview
List of codes:

List of codes from analysis result of Teacher A’s follow-up interview
List of codes from analysis result of Teacher B’s follow-up interview
List of codes from analysis result of Teacher C’s follow-up interview
Original thematic maps in Chinese:

Thematic map – Teacher A

Thematic map – Teacher B
Thematic map – Teacher C
Teacher A – Thematic Maps

- **Curriculum Requirements (CR)**
  - Compared with before 1949
    - More literature-oriented before 1949
    - CR before 1949 contained courses in liberal arts
  - Current Problems
    - Students linguistically incompetent & lack of literary taste
    - No liberal arts-related courses available now
    - No specificity; Regarded as a tool
    - Ambiguous course descriptions
  - Suggestions
    - Courses that should be available ideally
    - CR tailored by individual unis
    - Language and content being the objectives equally important & achieved simultaneously
Cultivation Objectives

Compared with Western education

What kind of people should we cultivate?

- Creativity vs Encyclopedias; Lack of critical thinking; Too much emphasis on exams
- Seminar/discussion vs lecture
- Stimulating students vs stuffing students
- Not cultivate students emotionally
- Teachers, officers, translators, interpreters, etc but more importantly, experts in this subject
- People who can communicate with native-speakers on a deeper level
- Communication ambassadors with foreigners in every area
- People with a wide scope of knowledge

Teacher Training

Current problems concerned qualified teachers in this Dept

- Lack of native-speaker-teachers; The existing ones are of poor quality
- Incapable teachers; Many teachers without own specificities/areas of research interests
- Attract from other units and even abroad - can only be done when CR allows relevant courses
- Undergraduate scheme - select good students, sponsor them to study higher degrees abroad and come back to teach

How to solve these problems
Teacher B – Thematic Maps

**Discipline Construction for English Language and Literature Department**

**Current Problems**
- From the perspective of students: those with high L2 competence need "thoughts" more than skills
- Some problems are determined by the characteristics of this university - specialising in foreign languages only
- Compared with Chinese/foreign languages dept in Western universities

**Developing Directions**
- Language skills + liberal arts
- Cross-cultural education

**Cultivation Objectives**
- Apart from English skills, they still have awareness and caliber in humanities
- Competency in history and culture, critical thinking, introspection ability etc, with which students are qualified for all kinds of jobs
- Language competency is no longer the one and only goal. We have to change their way of thinking.

**Reform of Curriculum Requirements (CR)**
- Understanding of CR; People who wrote the CR lacked of awareness in humanities
- Skill courses are not separate from content courses; Teach skills in the contents; Content courses begun from first year
- Add courses from humanities area
Teacher C – Thematic Maps

Curriculum Requirements (CR)

- Cultivating interdisciplinary intellectuals is not successful.
- The need of returning to the humanities education
- Combination of skill and content courses; Teach skills in content courses
- Teach Chinese literature and culture classics

- It weakens the disciplinary characteristics and causes the crisis for the discipline.

Cultivation Objectives

- What kind of intellectuals should we cultivate?
- Not to be oriented by the job market

Graduates with independent thinking abilities.
- Critical acumen
- Ability to upgrade their knowledge

Teacher Training

- What makes a qualified teacher
- Ideal teacher should be equipped with both knowledge on Chinese literature and proficient English language skills
- Problems with current teachers
- How to solve the problems - encourage young teachers and be versatile in attracting teachers from elsewhere
Content-based courses

- Move content courses to Year 1 and make them available throughout four years of studies
- Consider the situations in Chian when borrowing teaching theory/methods from the West

Current problems with English Language and Literature Department and responses

- The necessity of liberal arts education
- Limitations of this particular university
- Problems with the students
- Within liberal arts, apart from literature, culture aspects should also be emphasized.

  - Simplex education background of the teachers
  - The unavailability of interdisciplinary education in this university
Appendix I  Integrated Thematic Map

[Diagram with various branches and connections labeled with terms such as "Teacher Training", "Deficiencies", "Qualities Needed", "Teaching Skills", "Subject Knowledge", "Content-Based Instruction", "Understanding CBI", "Suggestions"]
CULTIVATION OBJECTIVES

From the perspective of occupation, people with a wide scope of knowledge who can communicate on a deeper level in English besides academic training should have awareness in humanities, critical thinking, introspection ability.

CURRICULUM REQUIREMENT

VS before 1949

More literature & liberal arts

People who made the curriculum should not focus on market-oriented ability to update knowledge, but should be liberal arts

Current problem with CR

Suggestion

Lack of people who make liberal arts courses, no awareness in humanities

CURRICULUM PROBLEMS IN ENGLISH

DEPARTMENT AND RESPONSES

Incompetent L2

Language liberal arts model

Cross-cultural education

Uni: problem with this uni

Open content course from L-1

added liberal arts courses