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Pedagogical discourse styles of native and non-native language teachers

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PEDAGOGICAL DISCOURSE STYLES OF
NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHERS

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In loving memory of my Grandmother,
Onelia Edith Cingolani "Noni"
For showing me Genuine Compassion and Generosity

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to uncover the characteristics of foreign language instructors' discourse styles implemented in the classroom when teaching students the target language. Foreign language classrooms are unique to academia because the teachers of the language, depending on whether they are native or non- native speakers of the target language, learned it in different environments and for distinct purposes. Many of the previous studies examining the effect a teacher's ability in the target language will have on his/her instruction have focused on native and non-native speakers' teaching styles and/or methodologies. Rather than the effect on the teacher's style, the central question in this dissertation is how an instructor's native or non-native ability will affect his/her pedagogical discourse when presenting the target language to students.

Through the analysis of data collected from university classrooms with native and non-native instructors, three salient variances in the instructors' teaching discourse are revealed: the effect the L1 of the students has in presenting the L2, the pronouns used to address students and refer to speakers of the target language and the students' native language, and the positioning and quantity of code-switching implemented in the classes. Due to the non-native instructors sharing the same L1 as their students, they have an advantage of identifying the learning process of their students. Furthermore, non-native instructors build solidarity with their students by consistently using the first person plural pronoun when comparing the forms and cultures of their and the students' L1 to the forms and cultures of the target language. Code-switching in the classroom room is unique and different from that which is heard in speech communities. Contributing to previous literature on classroom code-switching, the present study reveals two significant motivations behind the instructors' code-switching: a pedagogical tool and topic expansion.

From the results revealed in this study, the non-native speakers are more pedagogically prepared to recognize their students' progress in the acquisition of the target language and to answer questions their students have about the target language. These results further aid in the preparation of language teachers in order to improve the overall outcome of future language students.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Foreign and second language pedagogy has undergone many studies in recent years in the field of Linguistics. With a greater demand for people to speak more than one language worldwide, a number of studies have been dedicated to observing and improving foreign language education. Researchers have especially focused on the teachers in foreign and second language classrooms in order to analyze their role in presenting target languages to students. Language, unlike many other academic subjects, is one of the more challenging materials to teach due to the fact that teachers are using the same tool they are instructing their students to produce—the spoken word. Students also rely on their own language skills to learn the foreign tongue. In order for them to truly understand the foreign language being presented to them, they must and will draw upon that which is familiar to them, their native tongue. The idea that each person possesses a language system that is in turn used to internalize a new system was recognized by von Humboldt when he claimed that "the same act which enables him [man] to spin language out of himself enables him to spin himself into language, and each language draws a circle around the people to whom it adheres which it is possible for the individual to escape only by stepping into a different one" (1830-1835, p. 530). Therefore, it can be said that it is only through knowing one language that a person is equipped to learn a second language.

Scholars are uncovering and investigating the effectiveness of the discourse[1] a teacher uses when attempting to teach a foreign language to students. While doing this, there has been a

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[1] Throughout this dissertation there will be a distinction drawn between the "discourse" or pedagogical language of an instructor and the target language studied by students. The target language that language teachers aim for their students to produce refers to the actual tongue, encompassing all its individual features: syntax, semantics, pragmatics, phonetics and phonology. This is a new and foreign language for the students and will generally be referred to with the term "target language" or by their specific language names; i.e. Spanish, English, French, etc.

recurring question among researchers of whether there is a similar pattern of discourse used by foreign and second language teachers in the classroom. Scholars are especially curious to know if there is a difference between the discourse styles a native speaker of the target language and a non-native speaker will use when engaged in teaching.

Scholars such as Nunan (1999) have observed a common discourse model used in language classrooms in the U.S. Typically this consists of patterns such as what has been referred to by Richards (2006) as the traditional Initiation-Response-Follow-up pattern (IRF), where a teacher initiates a question, a student answers, and the teacher gives positive or corrective feedback. Along the same principle, Wajnryb (1992) gives five main elements in the discourse of foreign and second language teachers: asking questions, giving feedback, repetition, formal language, and meta-language. According to Wajnryb, formal language differs from meta-language in that it refers to the discourse used to actually teach a specific point concerning the target language whereas meta-language is used to give directions and set up classroom tasks.

These main components of the discourse used by teachers in language classrooms are especially common in classrooms in the U.S. This may be a result of the textbook design incorporated in the majority of U.S. classrooms. Because of the similarities in textbooks used in lower level language classes, it is appropriate to say that most language instructors utilize a

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The discourse used by language teachers in the classroom refers to a system in use or what is referred to by Saussure as "*parole*" (1983, p. 8-9). This discourse is the main focus of this study and can be in either the L1 of the instructor or the target language of the class, which may in fact be the same language. Terms used to refer to this will be teacher or instructor "discourse" or "speech." This concept will be especially important in chapter 5 when the author examines how code-switching plays a role in language classrooms. At that time the author will distinguish the specific language by using its name; Spanish or English. All other references to the pedagogical language or discourse of the instructor refer to the instructor's *parole*, regardless of which actual language is being spoken.

comparable teaching discourse. However, as will be presented in this study, even within these broad categorical elements that make up the speech of language teachers, there can be variables, creating underlying differences in teachers' classroom discourse.

1.1. Basis for the Study

One of the more neglected areas of study surrounding the discourse language teachers utilize in the classroom are the characteristic aspects of the speech used by native-speaking (NS) teachers of the target language compared to that of non-native-speaking (NNS) teachers. Although there are many different reasons why this subject has seen such little research, one of the more common reasons to avoid such an issue is the fact that among applied linguists, it is to some extent a taboo topic. When the topic of NS versus NNS teachers of the target language arises, one would naturally assume an objective of such study would be to determine which of the two is more effective in language pedagogy. Clearly, neither NS nor NNS teachers of a target language want to be informed that they are less effective instructors solely on the basis of their L1. In his recent book, Braine (1999) gives detailed personal stories written by NNS teachers who are teaching English as a second language in a variety of settings. Most of these accounts have expressed a concern about the negative sentiment that has shrouded NNS instructors teaching the target language in a successful manner (Canagarajah, 1999; Kramsch & Lam, 1999; Li, 1999; Oda, 1999; Thomas, 1999). These accounts do not, however, give any real examples of the differences in the actual speech utilized by either NS or NNS teachers in the classroom. This topic is multi-faceted and does not have to be limited to examining the successes of any particular group of teachers.

Although there have been studies comparing NS and NNS teachers in the classroom (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Cook, 2005; Cots & Diaz, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005;

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Macaro, 2005), the majority of these studies are based upon surveys where the language instructors and/or students are asked questions intended to reveal whether they believe differences exist in the teaching styles of the two groups. And while some studies asked students which groups they felt more effective in teaching the target language, they were based on opinions of the students, not on the actual outcome of the students' acquisition and production of the target language (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Pacek, 2005). Surveys, while useful instruments, can yield biased results or can relay what participants think is happening but not be what is actually occurring. This dissertation seeks to uncover the differences in the discourse styles between NS and NNS teachers in the classroom based on recorded and transcribed data from classrooms where there are both types of instructors. By using actual data, the results presented are more thorough, factual and unbiased. Each of the salient features revealed in this dissertation will be verified by the collected data.

A more thorough investigation of the differences and/or similarities between the discourses used by NS and NNS teachers when instructing the target language can be an aid to both groups of teachers. The understanding of these differences can build confidence, understanding and a mutual respect among teachers. Teachers preparing to enter the foreign language classroom can learn effective teaching strategies instructors are currently using. In addition, a study such as the present one reveals areas where teachers need to direct more attention and adjust their classroom strategies. Real data and results can confirm and/or challenge speculation and accusations exposed in previous studies.

Although, at the onset of this study, an objective was not to determine which group is more or less effective in the outcome of teaching the target language to students, the data did reveal that the NNSs had clear advantages in recognizing the learning process of their students.

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Furthermore, the NNSs were able to identify with their students' questions about the target language and understand why students made specific mistakes when using the language. This is due to the NNSs having learned the target language in a similar fashion as their students. The data revealed in later chapters will verify these claims and can help in furthering the overall study of foreign and second language teaching.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

Part of the aim of this project has been to collect raw data from intermediate language classrooms in U.S. university settings where the instructors are NS and NNS of the target language in order to analyze what salient features could be observed from the data.   The central hypothesis in this study is that there will be some differences between the two groups, and throughout subsequent chapters, these differences will be uncovered and analyzed. The differences can stem from a number of features surrounding the teaching discourse of the participating instructors. Do the instructors address their students in different manners? Do they understand and answer students' questions differently? Do NS instructors speak more in the target language than the NNS instructors and when exactly will the NSs or the NNSs choose to speak in the target language versus the native language of the students? All of these are questions that will be investigated in this dissertation.

The tongue a person speaks can reflect the culture of which he/she is a member (Seeyle, 1993). Furthermore, the cultural aspects of a speaker's native tongue will affect his/her use of the tongue, or *parole*. An example of this is the manner in which speakers address others. Depending on the cultural norms of a speakers' L1 community, he/she may be more or less direct, polite, vague, clear, etc. Teachers also can differ in how they approach students due to the customs of the speech community of which they are participants. For example, a teacher who is

a native Japanese speaker may tend to be more polite with their students because they are from a culture where politeness is mandated (Matsumoto, 1989). A native English speaker, on the other hand, may be seen as more direct because English speakers are typically more direct when speaking to other people. Even within English speaking communities, there are those who are more direct than others. Related to the issue of politeness, languages that distinguish between a formal and informal manner of addressing another person can differ among communities even when the same language is spoken. An example of this is seen with the immense diversity of Spanish dialects from various countries. Each dialect contains its own norms affecting how speakers will address each other based on a number of factors including, among others, age, gender, and relationship between the speaker and hearer (Flores-Ferrán, 2007). If a speech community affects the discourse patterns among speakers in everyday life, one would expect teachers to also vary in their discourse with students depending on their L1 and speech community.

Personal pronouns and systems of address between NS and NNS teachers and their students is the issue that will be focused on in chapter 4. The principal hypothesis is that there will be significant differences between the personal pronouns used by the instructors represented in the study when addressing their students and when referring to speakers of the target language. Because, in the present study, there is a shared nationality between the NNS teacher and the students, the use of pronouns reflects the solidarity between them. It is also clear that the NNS instructors share a connection with the students through their mutual L1, and therefore they are able to include themselves in the same speech community as the students. The NS instructors, on the other hand, identify more closely with the culture and speech community of the target language. Therefore, their use of pronouns demonstrates the distance between the instructor and

the students. The NS teachers and students do not share the same connection as the NNS

teachers, and this will be shown through the instructors' pronominal systems of address and

reference.

The interlanguage of NNS instructors can also affect the discourse they use when

teaching the target language to students. An interlanguage, based on Selinker (1972) develops

when learners' L2 systems are emerging and can be ubiquitous and changing through any stage

of language learning and acquisition. Due to the fact that the L1 of the NS instructors and the

target language of the class are the same, there will clearly be no cross linguistic influence from

the NSs' native language when speaking to the students in the target language. The NNS

instructor, however, will experience cross linguistic influence from their L1 when speaking to

students in the target language[2]. This could aid NNS instructors in understanding their students'

difficulties or misunderstandings with the target language. In the study presented here the NNS

teachers and the students share the same L1, and therefore the instructor can relate better to what

the students are experiencing when learning the target language as a foreign language.

Additionally, the NNS instructors are able to address students' confusion with the target

language in a more efficient manner. This does not suggest, however, that there is never

confusion with the target language among students in a class with a NNS instructor. Regardless

of whether the teacher shares the same first language as his/her students, misunderstandings and

questions invariably transpire in classroom settings. These phenomena may surface in the form

of questions students ask about recently presented material they have been unable to completely

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[2] There is much debate in the literature on what "native" and "non-native" speaker status consist of, leading to the question of whether or not more fluent non-native speakers experience interference from their L1. For the purposes of this study, all the non-native participants learned Spanish after the age of 13, which many consider to be the "critical age" to learn a language. Because of this, they showed signs of interference from their L1, English, during early acquisition of their L2, Spanish. A more extensive definition of a "native" speaker" is referred to in chapter 2.

understand or in the inability of a teacher to understand the students' questions. Through the data, it will be shown, however, that NNS instructors can more often anticipate and predict the areas students will struggle with because they many times experienced the same confusion.

Another area which may be affected by the L1 of the NS and NNS instructors is the language in which they conduct their classes. A factor which may contribute to the use of one language over the other is the comfort the instructors feel with the languages. Not only will the NS instructors have more control when using their native language, but because their native language and the target language of the class are the same, they may choose to speak more in that language. The NNS teachers may choose to speak more in their L1 because it is also the L1 of the students and could help in their overall understanding. Additionally, the NNSs naturally feel more comfortable explaining difficult material in the language in which they have better control, resulting in using their native language more. This is a topic that will be further discussed in chapter 5 when the author analyzes the differences between code-switching in the classes of both groups of teachers.

The code-switching that transpires in the L2 classroom will be analyzed from two perspectives: first, the amount and type of code-switching used by each of the groups of instructors and second, the situations where the code-switching occurs within utterances. The hypothesis in this section is that there will be a difference in the amount of code-switching and where the code-switch takes place in the speech of NS teaching their native language to students and a NNS teaching their second language. Additionally, because the code-switching used by language instructors is significantly different than the code-switching heard between bilingual speakers, the instructors use code-switching purposefully, primarily to further the learning of their students.

The present study can greatly contribute to the field of second and foreign language pedagogy. The findings give accurate details of how both NSs and NNSs are presenting the target language to their students, which can later be used in analyzing the overall outcome and/or effectiveness of foreign language pedagogy in U.S. language classrooms. Additionally, studies such as this one enable educators to identify areas language teachers need to improve whether they are NSs or NNSs of the target language. Understanding and recognizing the advantages and disadvantages of NS and NNS teachers in the classroom can contribute to the preparation of language teachers by providing them with effective pedagogical strategies. Furthermore, the present study will hopefully allow for researchers to feel more comfortable talking about the contributions both NS and NNS teachers can bring to the classroom.

To enhance the apparent direction of this study, a graphical representation is presented in figure 1 below. Within the broader scope of language teachers' discourse, there is a similar pattern of presenting the target language to the students. This is accomplished by using formal language to present specific features and forms of the target language, questioning students in order to confirm their understanding of the new forms, giving feedback to students' responses, reviewing and repeating previous material and using meta-language to set up specific tasks and activities.

While language teachers demonstrate common patterns within their classroom discourse, the data collected for this dissertation show that within classroom discourse, there are consistent variations in the instructors' speech as a result of their native or non-native status in the target language. As noted in the diagram, these differences are: 1) the instructors' ability to understand and anticipate the influence the students' L1 has on their acquisition of the L2, 2) the instructors' pronoun choice when addressing students and referring to native speakers of the target language

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and native speakers of the students' L1 and 3) the instructors' use of code-switching between the students' L1 and the target language in the classroom.
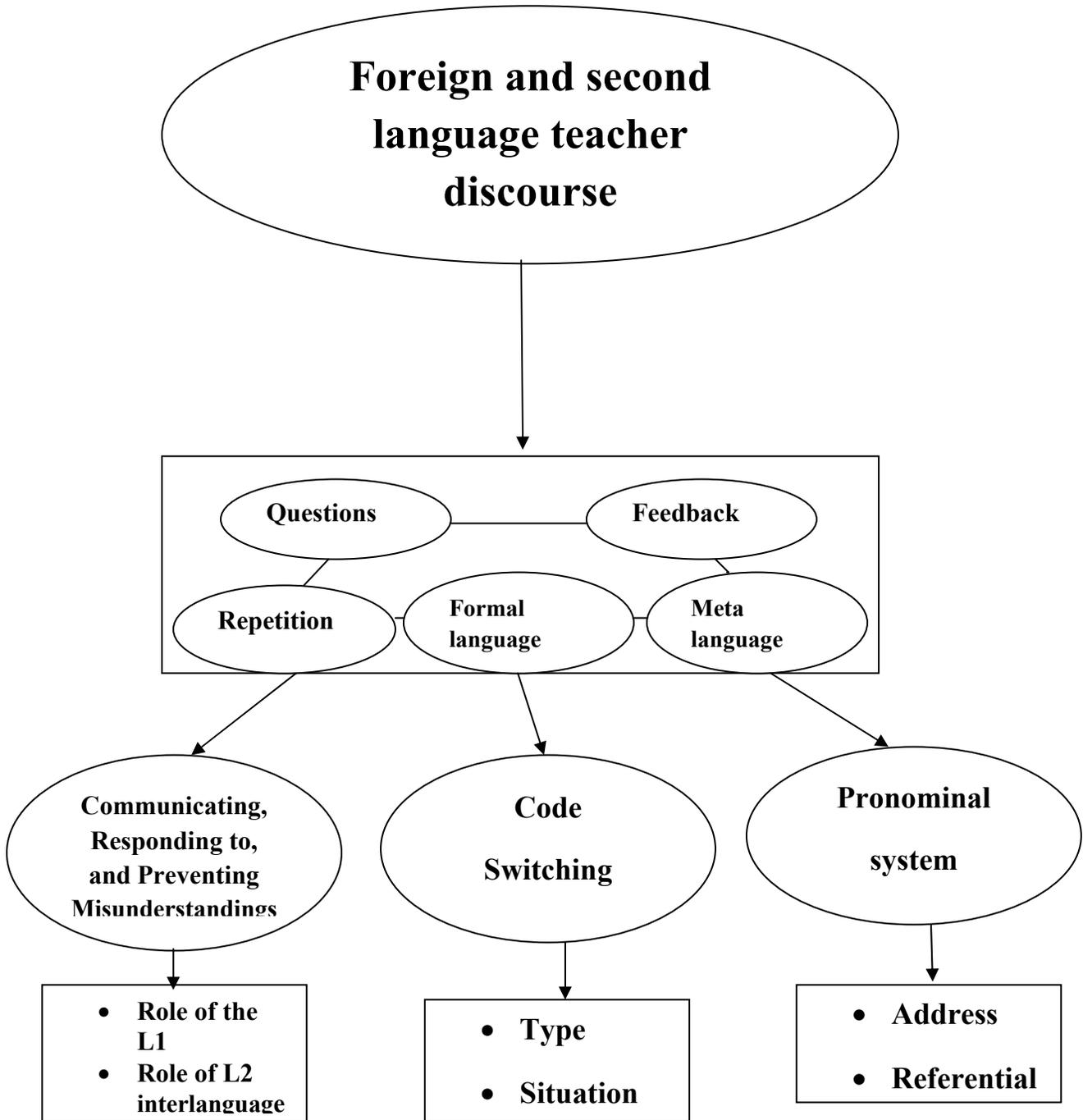
Figure 1: A visual diagram of the study

The main elements of a foreign or second language teacher's discourse consist of questions, feedback, repetition, formal language and meta-language. These pedagogical features have been analyzed and discussed in many studies within the field of applied linguistics. Very few studies, however have addressed the differences between the pedagogical languages incorporated by NS and NNS of the target language teaching to students who share the same language as the NNS teacher, which is often the situation in classrooms in the U.S. Throughout the subsequent chapters in this dissertation, data will be presented highlighting the three salient variations occurring in the NSs' and NNSs' classes. These comparative elements, often overlooked in previous studies on foreign language teachers, will be the central themes of this dissertation.

To the field of foreign language education, the results of this study reveal an innovative teaching strategy of using code-switching as a pedagogical instrument and in the expansion of presenting students with specific features of the target language. The present study also contributes to the overall preparation of language teachers, allowing NNSs to realize and, in turn, utilize, advantages they have by sharing the same first language as their students. The findings presented in this study are essential to the field of foreign and second language pedagogy, answering questions and addressing issues surrounding the current situation of language teachers in the U.S.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF PAST STUDIES

Over the past decade, there has been in increase in studies analyzing teachers in foreign

and second language classrooms (Chen, 2007; De Ridder, Vangehuchten, & Gómez, 2007;

Hüllen, 2006; Ji-eun & Kellogg, 2007; Sullivan, 2004; White, 2007; Widdowson, 2007). In

these studies, scholars have tried to distinguish the various methods and strategies teachers

utilize in order to better equip their students with the means necessary to understand and produce

the target language. The actual language or discourse[3] foreign language teachers utilize when

presenting the target language to their students shares similar characteristics (Nunan, 1999).

This discourse is characterized by the language used to *teach* a foreign tongue, whether it is in

the form of instruction, questions, feedback, praise, etc. At face value, the speech used by

language teachers, while structured and goal-oriented, is somewhat unnatural. If one were to

transport a section of a second or foreign language teacher's discourse outside of the classroom

into a natural setting, it would sound, in most cases, quite out of place. However, given that

classroom instruction is the *only* option many students have to be exposed to a second language,

teachers are inevitably stuck in a paradox between the realization of needing to teach students

how to use the target language while struggling not to simply teach *about* the language.

The classroom discourse used by teachers of second and foreign languages (FL) has also

been viewed as unnatural because many teachers alter the way they speak in the target language

in order to accommodate the students' understanding (Lynch, 1996). This kind of discourse is

referred to as "teacher talk" and is characterized by exaggeratingly slow speech, the rephrasing

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[3] See section 2.1 for a complete description of what constitutes a teacher's teaching "language or discourse" in the classroom

of many utterances, and frequent repetition of phrases (Long, 2002). Whether or not the adjusted

speech of the teacher ultimately affects the outcome of students' acquisition of the language is

yet to be determined because there are many different factors that affect a student's acquisition

of an FL other than the behavior of their teacher.

2.1. The Language of Foreign Language Teachers

The classroom discourse used by teachers of L2s and FLs when actually *teaching*

students the language, as noted above, is often referred to as "teacher talk" (Lynch, 1996).

"Teacher talk" does not refer to the actual *language* in which the instructor speaks, whether it is

the target or native language of the instructor and/or students; rather it describes the *style* of

language the instructor utilizes to present the target language to the students (Cots & Díaz,

2005). The majority of the research that has been conducted on the teacher talk incorporated into

FL classrooms stems from two viewpoints—teachers' speech modifications and teacher-student

interaction (Cots & Díaz, 2005).

From the viewpoint of teacher-student interaction, the focus has been on the most

commonly heard pattern in FL classrooms: questions and feedback. According to Richards

(2006) the speech pattern heard most often in language classrooms is the traditional teacher-

initiated Initiation-Response-Follow-up pattern (IRF), where a teacher initiates a question, a

student answers, and the teacher gives positive or corrective feedback. Richards goes on to

establish that while it is possible to have an unscripted, natural, spontaneous conversation in the

target language in the classroom, it requires that the teacher take on a different role, no longer

playing the authoritative or negotiator role, within the discourse. In order to engage in natural

conversation, the teacher must take on the role of a peer to the students rather than that of an

educator.

Other scholars, such as Wajnryb (1992) focus on the difference between the "formal language" and "meta-language" used by FL teachers in the classroom. The meta-language is when a teacher is setting up a task and giving instructions in that task, such as when an instructor says, "open your books to page 20," or "work in small groups on problem two." The definition of formal language, following Wajnryb, is when the teacher provides verbal instruction or asks questions about the target or second language (L2) material. Examples of this in a Spanish language classroom would be an instructor asking, "what is the plural of *la mesa* (table)," or when he/she is teaching greetings and asks, "*¿cómo estás?* (how are you)?" Although there may be some differences among instructors in the order in which they choose to teach certain things, such as greetings, verbal paradigms, etc., there is little variance in the actual formal language they use to teach.

Wajnryb (1992) identifies four salient features in FL teachers' discourse: the use of questions, error feedback, repetition, and formal and meta-language. Question/answer adjacency sequences are distinctive in the L2 classroom. According to Cazden (1988), the main reason for asking questions in L2 classrooms is to check for student comprehension. However, as Cazden points out, teachers' questions are also a tool to get students involved in the learning process. When students know they will be expected to answer questions at any point during a class period, they are more likely to be attentive to the class and to their own understanding of the material. Although this expectation might result in a higher anxiety level of the students because they are constantly being spotlighted, it can also encourage them to question the teacher about areas which are especially difficult for them.

The two most common types of questions used in L2 classrooms are yes/no questions and open-ended questions (Wajnryb, 1992). In lower level classes, teachers frequently use yes/no

questions, referred to in applied linguistics as comprehension check questions, simply because the students' L2 grammars and vocabularies are still very weak and limited. However, even in more advanced classes, yes/no questions serve the purpose of checking to make sure the students understand the material presented to them in a quick, efficient manner (Wajnryb, 1992). Even by simply inserting a tag question, teachers openly show their concern for the students' learning, which could facilitate an increase in the students' interest in the language.

Open-ended questions in the L2 provide students with the opportunity to use the L2 assuming they are answering in the L2; student responses allow the teacher to see where students are struggling most in their L2 communication. Open-ended questions are a strategy FL teachers use for scaffolding, building up from easier to more difficult questions. This strategy implements Krashen's (1985) hypothesis of presenting language learners with comprehensible input, while challenging them a step further in order to facilitate the learning of new input. Krashen's hypothesis became known as the monitor theory and is based on the hypothesis that if students are presented with material which does not build on what they previously learned, they will not be able to acquire the new material. Krashen claims that instructors need to be aware of the need to present questions starting with what they know students have acquired and feed off of that in order to present the new material. Scaffolding can follow the trajectory of asking simple questions allowing students to answer with one or two words, to gradually building up to where students are answering with full utterances.

In a FL classroom, it is expected that students will make mistakes, and that teachers will find themselves in the delicate situation of correcting a student. Although mistakes are frequent in any FL classroom, many teachers struggle to find a balance between pointing out students' mistakes and encouraging them to continue speaking, even while further mistakes are inevitable.

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There are two types of feedback language teachers give when making corrections: *implicit* and *explicit* (Lynch, 1996). Implicit feedback is not an overt correction, but rather a hint or signal to the student that a correction is needed. Implicit feedback to an mistake allows students to realize for themselves the mistake they made and correct it without actually being told the answer. According to many authors, this type of feedback is the more desired type in L2 classrooms because it continues to engage the student in their thought process in the target language (Shrum & Glisan, 2000). Some instructors may find, however, that this takes more time and is slightly more difficult than explicit correction.

Explicit feedback is when the teacher simply tells the student he/she is incorrect and corrects the answer for him/her. This is much more direct and unproductive, not allowing students to realize their mistake, and therefore not internalizing the correct form (Shurm & Glisan, 2000). Its use may reflect a time factor where explicit feedback cost less time and less interruption of the class.

Repetition is a common strategy used by L2 teachers to engage students in the language learning process and allow them to process the information that has been imparted to them (Chaudron, 1988). In L2 classrooms, repetition is seen both with students being asked to repeat what the instructor says, as well as instructors repeating what students have said (Chaudron, 1988). The repetition of students' utterances can be implemented in a variety of situations, including, for clarification purposes when the teacher does not completely hear or understand a student, in giving error feedback, and verifying a student's utterance (Chaudron, 1988).

Metalanguage, as mentioned earlier in this section, is the language a teacher uses in order to explicitly teach a specific feature of the target language. In all FL classrooms, the overall objective is to *teach* a new language, making the metalanguage of the teacher an extremely

crucial component of the FL classroom. When a FL teacher is explaining a new feature of the target language to the students, it is through the use of metalanguage (Filmore, 1982).

2.2. The Term 'Native Speaker'

Within the realm of studies observing FL teachers are numerous studies in which teachers who are native speakers of the target language (NST) are compared to teachers who are non-native speakers of the target language (NNST). Before such studies are further discussed, however, the issue of what is meant by a native speaker (NS) versus a non-native speaker (NNS) must be addressed. For some linguists, this question will always be shrouded with questions and ambiguity. Ferguson commented that "linguists…have long given a special place to the native speaker as the only true and reliable source of language data", (1983, p. vii) but then later argued that "…the whole mystique of native speaker and mother tongue should preferably be quietly dropped from the linguist's set of professional myths about language" (p. vii). This also seems to be the idea behind Paikeday's (1985) questioning the status of NSs and whether or not a NS truly exists. Chomsky answers Paikeday's queries with a strong genetic predisposition that every human retains in his/her mind, signifying, therefore, that being human is equal to being a NS of the language in a speaker's mind according to the speech community in which he/she was born.

Halliday makes the point that NSs, which he refers to as mother tongue (users), differ greatly from NNSs or students of a language in the following:

> …no language ever completely replaces the mother tongue. Certain kinds of ability seem to be particularly difficult to acquire in a second language. Among these, the following are perhaps most important in an educational context:
> **1.** saying the same thing in different ways,
> **2.** hesitating, and saying nothing very much…
> **3.** predicting what the other person is going to say…
> **4.** adding new verbal skills (learning new words and new meanings) when talking and listening.

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It is not being suggested that we can never learn to do these things in a second language…Nevertheless, there are vast numbers of children being educated through the medium of a second language, and of teachers trying to teach them, who have not mastered these essential abilities. (1978, pp. 199-200)

This is significant to comparative studies, as well as this dissertation, which focus on the differences between NST and NNST in FL classrooms. From observations in classrooms where the target language is being taught by a NST versus a NNST, there are indeed noticeable differences, which will be revealed in great detail in the following chapters.

Davies uses the metaphor of a "game analogy (of chess)" (1991, p. 81) to address the knowledge a NS possesses to the detriment of some, if not all, NNSs of the language. His claim is that NSs have 4 types of "knowledge" within their linguistic systems: 1) the knowledge of conventions or rules of the language, 2) the knowledge or ability to recognize the different elements of language automatically without giving much thought to the conventions, 3) the knowledge or ability to apply the conventions within interactions with other speakers and 4) the ability to apply the above three rules all at the same time. In giving the four types of knowledge, Davies goes on to claim that a NS, by possessing knowledges 1-3, has the competence of the language, and knowledge 4 demonstrates his/her skillfulness in performing as well. NNS may demonstrate that they are familiar with knowledge 1 of the target language, which Davies later refers to as "megalinguistic knowledge," but they are lacking in the other knowledges, and are therefore unable to perform the same as a NS. If this is true, it would affect how and what NNSTs are capable of teaching in their classrooms.

One interesting and important point worth mentioning at this time is the fact that, as Davies (1991) points out, NSs differ in many areas of language production among themselves. Some of the areas Davies addresses are "control of style, control of oratory, control of register,

control of range of vocabulary, control of range of accent and control of sentence structure" (89).

This is demonstrated especially when two NSs of a language are from differing dialects and/or speech communities. Furthermore, Ross (1979) has stated that although NSs seem to agree to a certain extent on the core structures of their language, there are times when this agreement comes into question concerning such matters as semantics and syntax.

In recent years, there has been a rise in the ambiguity and negativity surrounding the dichotomy of NS versus NNS. When there is a comparison of NSs versus NNSs, there is always the question of the superiority of one group over the other. Clearly a NS is going to have more control over and knowledge of his/her language than a NNS. For the NNS, the language was learned as an L2, and it can be argued that it is something which he/she will be in a perpetual state of learning and acquiring. In the field of pedagogy, there have been a rising number of NNSs teaching their L2, causing some to question their effectiveness in the classroom. This is due in part to the natural assumption that a NS of a language is going to understand his/her language better than a NNS, and therefore be able to teach it more effectively. However, there is still the issue of how to define a NS, and also whether or not a NNS can ever be considered a NS.

Due to the growing debate over the terminology NS versus NNS, other words and/or phrases have been used to replace them. Edge (1988) coined the terms "more accomplished" or "less accomplished," leaving the impression that there is a blurred line between true natives and L2 learners who have reached a certain degree of competence. Paikeday (1985), whose studies focus mainly on English-as-a-second-language (ESL) learners, uses the term "proficient user of English" and Rampton (1990) uses the terminology "expert speakers" and "affiliation." Although Davies (1991) continues to use the labels "native/non-native," he goes as far as to allow L2 learners to be called "native speakers" once they meet certain criteria, the most

important being "discourse and pragmatic control" and "creative performance." This allows for the speaker to identify him/herself to a group of speakers with which he/she feels most connected, creating a more unified group of speakers of language rather than a clear separateness between NSs and NNSs. Davies' position that a NNS may be referred to as a NS having met the above criteria is surprising and worth addressing. Native speakers, being members of the speech community from which they acquired their mother tongue, not only possess the linguistic system of their native language, but also the cultural norms represented by that language. As expressed by Von Humboldt,

> If language were not truly connected through its origins in depths of human nature with even the physical hereditary processes, how then could one's native tongue have so much power and intimacy for the ear of the uneducated and the educated alike, that after a long separation from it, it greets one like the sound of magic and creates deep yearning for itself during one's separation from it? (1830-1835, p. 530)

Although a NNS may feel a certain affinity towards his/her L2, it remains true that he/she is a NS of one language distinct from his/her L2.

While some researchers consider the native/non-native dichotomy ambiguous and not applicable to speakers today, Kramsch (1997) believes mobility between the two groups, while possible, is very rare. This is due to speakers' perceptions and sociological and psychological affiliation with a group of speakers. As Kramsch states, "more often than not, insiders do not want to become one of them, and even if given the choice, most language learners would not want to become one of them" (1997, p. 364).

Other scholars believe that because there is sometimes a negative connotation to the terminology 'L2 user' versus 'first language (L1) user', there needs to be more studies where the value of the L2 user is highlighted. Cook states, "the L2 user is a particular kind of person in their own right with their own knowledge of the L1 and the L2, rather than a monolingual with

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an added L2" (2005, p. 47). Cook (2005) devotes an article to this argument, hoping to defend the L2 user's position in the classroom where they are teaching a language that is not the speaker's L1. One of the arguments in her article is that although NNSTs may have a slight disadvantage linguistically in the target language, they are far more prepared pedagogically than NSTs. Cook believes this is because NNSTs have been students of the target language themselves. While an interesting argument, it should be questioned whether this is universally true and does it account for NNSTs at all levels of fluency? Additionally, Cook argues that in classrooms where the NNST shares the same L1 as his/her students, there are two languages at the instructor's disposal to better explain the more difficult and intricate details of the target language to the students. Although this may indeed be an advantage NNSTs have, it can also be a detriment to the overall learning of the students. Using the L1 of the students decreases their exposure to the target language, which in turn can affect their ability to produce the target language. However, as will be revealed through the data collected for this study, using the students' L1 can serve as pedagogical tool to explain more difficult features of the target language.

Due to sharing the same L1 as the students, NNSTs may also be more aware of students' errors occurring as a result of the manner and amount the students' L1 is affecting their understanding and production of the L2. Referred to as language transfer, this phenomenon will be further explored and discussed in the following section. Cook, however, does warn against the detriment of making too much use of the L1 in the classroom, confirming that it is the instructor's "duty to provide as much input in the L2 as possible simply because the class may be the only time when students encounter the L2 and in particular when it is actually being used for real classroom functions" (2005, p. 59). Throughout her article, Cook asserts that NNSTs are

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actually better models for their students because they demonstrate that it is possible to learn and become proficient in a L2.

The majority of the literature where the question of what constitutes a NS has been addressed deals with the English language. This may be due to the fact that English is a second and/or official language in many countries, and it is precisely in those countries where the distinction between NSs and NNSs is becoming more and more unclear. For example, in India and Pakistan, English is an official language but so are the numerous local dialects, some being spoken as close as five miles apart.

2.3. L1 Transfer when Learning an L2

An area which will affect not only a learner's production of the L2, but also influence the manner in which an instructor teaches the target language is whether the target language is the instructor's L1 or L2. If the instructor is a NNS of the target language, it is probable that he/she experienced a linguistic transfer from his/her L1 during early stages of acquisition. According to Nicoladis, language transfer, also referred to as cross-linguistic transfer[4], is "the structural influence of one language on another" (2008, p. 172). This would enable a NNS instructor to anticipate and recognize language transfer in his/her students as well. If the target language is the instructor's L1, he/she did not experience a linguistic transfer when learning his/her native tongue, which may become manifest in his/her inability to realize when students are using features from their L1 in L2 production. Research studies have shown that:

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[4] In recent years, the more favorable notion of "cross-linguistic influence" has replaced the outdated term, "language transfer," stemming from the behaviorist idea that a learner's L1 can negatively affect the acquisition of an L2. Cross-linguistic transfer can result for a number of reasons and can surface in many different facets of an L2 including discourse, pragmatics, syntax, phonology, semantics, and phonetics. Cross linguistic influence can also be a positive tool reinforcing the acquisition of a student's L2 through similarities between the L2 and his/her L1.

> …languages can interact and affect the learning of each other on various levels. They also prove that predictions of learner progression are extremely difficult and interactions often depend on learner niveau, the language constellation involved, and the area of language being examined, and numerous other factors. (Marx, 2001, p. 179)

The question of the extent to which a learner's L1 will affect his/her learning an L2 has been researched extensively in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) (Celaya Villanueva, 1992; Cenoz, 2001; Correa-Beningfield, 1985; Faerch & Kasper, 1989; Odlin, 1993; Ringbom, 2001; Tanaka, 1983; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). These studies have found that a learner's L1 can affect the rate of acquisition, the learner's phonological and phonetic awareness of the language, and the syntactic production of the language. Initially, language transfer was dominated by behaviorists' views from physiologists such as Watson (1924), Thorndike (1932), and Skinner (1957). Foremost in the theories proposed by behaviorists is the idea that if a learner's L1 shares many of the same features as the L2, a positive transfer will occur, allowing the learner to more easily learn and produce the target language. However, when the L1 and L2 are very different in terms of a given linguistic feature, there will be a negative transfer, causing the student to produce more mistakes, leading to bad habits, and ultimately hindering the learner from fully acquiring the language (Ellis, 1994).

While the majority of what behaviorists claimed concerning language transfer has been discredited or modified, the term language or linguistic transfer is still used among linguists when discussing SLA. The terminology itself has been criticized due to the fact that it does not encompass all that actually occurs when a student's L1 influences his/her production of an L2. Smith and Kellerman suggest using the term "cross-linguistic influence" because this term,

> ….is theory neutral, allowing one to subsume under one heading such phenomena as 'transfer', 'interference', 'avoidance', 'borrowing' and L2-related aspects of language loss and thus permitting discussion of the similarities and differences between these phenomena. (1986, p. 1)

While the term, "cross-linguistic influence" does seem well reasoned, it has yet to fully replace

the term language transfer. However, the definition itself has shifted from when originally

examined by the behaviorist camp. A better definition can be credited to Odlin who said,

> Transfer is the influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target
> language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly)
> acquired. (1989, p. 27)

There have been many studies where language transfer is considered a possible cause for

the errors learners make when using an L2. It can be difficult, however, to establish the exact

cause for a student's error, leading to a wide discrepancy in the data. This is demonstrated in the

table below which gives the percentages different investigators report that errors were due to

transfer.

Table 1: Percentage of interference errors reported by studies of L2 English grammar[5]

Study	Percentage of interference errors	Type of learner
Grauberg 1971	36	First language---German adult, advanced
George 1972	33 (approx.)	Mixed first language adult graduate
Dulay and Burt 1973	3	First language—Spanish children, mixed level
Tran-Chi-Chau 1971	51	First language—Chinese adult, mixed level
Mukkatesh 1977	23	First language—Arabic adult
Flick 1980	31	First language—Spanish adult, mixed level
Lott 1983	50 (approx.)	First language—Italian adult, university

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[5] In Ellis, R. 1985. Understanding second language acquisition. Oxford: Oxford University Press. P. 29.

From the data, it is questionable the effect an L1 has on error production in the L2 and whether researchers can agree on that amount.

Scholars do seem to be in agreement that the L1 can serve as a means to better understand and produce an L2 when the two languages share similar structures. Deemed *positive or facilitative transfer*, this can affect both syntax and semantic features of the languages. Ellis gives the example,

> In many cases, this (positive transfer) is obvious, as when two languages share a large number of cognates (for example, English and French), thus giving the learners a head start in vocabulary. Chinese learners of L2 Japanese have an enormous advantage over English learners because of the similarities of the Chinese and Japanese writing systems. They are able to make use of the written as well as spoken input straight away. (1994, p. 304)

A further aspect of language transfer that is discussed when determining the effect an L1 can have on L2 production is avoidance. As indicated in its name, avoidance occurs when a student is not comfortable with a specific feature of the L2 due to there not being a similar feature in his/her L1. A study demonstrating this was carried out by Schachter (1974) who found that Chinese and Japanese learners of English as an L2 made fewer errors in relative clause production than Persian or Arabic learners resulting from less production of the clauses overall. The table below reveals the results of Schachter's study:

Table 2: Relative clause production in five cases[6]

	Correct	Error	Total	Percentage of errors
Persian	131	43	174	25%
Arab	123	31	154	20%
Chinese	67	9	76	12%
Japanese	58	5	63	8%
American	173	0	173	0%

As is the case in English, Persian and Arabic nouns are post-modified, or right branching, while

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[6] In Schachter, J. 1974. "An error in error analysis." *Language Learning, 24.* P. 209.

Chinese and Japanese are pre-modified, or left-branching. This may be what caused Persian and Arabic speakers to use relative clauses more often than the other two groups.

Although there have been numerous studies surrounding language transfer, the bulk of these studies focus on the effect the phenomenon has on a learner's production of an L2. As will be seen in chapter 3 of this dissertation, language transfer can also manifest itself in language teaching. This is especially significant when teachers and students share the same L1 because it allows the instructor to fully recognize when students are producing errors due to L1 influence as well as anticipate areas students will comprehend more easily because of the similarities between the L1 and target languages.

2.4. Pioneering Studies on Native Speaking versus Non-Native Speaking Teachers

A question which arises when analyzing the teaching styles and discourse instructors use when teaching an L2 or FL is whether there are differences between NST and NNST of the target language. NST/NNST studies are a recent topic of interest within linguistic studies. Pioneering studies by Medgyes (1992, 1994) and Braine (1999) set the stage for further research to develop surrounding the issue.

George Braine (1999) held a colloquium at a 1996 TESOL conference dedicated to the NNST in TESOL where the interest in the role of the non-native English speaker teaching English as a L2 was overwhelming. Based on what was presented and discussed at that colloquium in 1996, much of which was in the format of personal narratives, Braine went on to compile a book with articles written by NNST of English. One of Braine's main points mentioned in his introduction is the controversy that surrounds the titles NS and NNS themselves. As he demonstrates, Chomsky (1965) defines a NS as an "ideal speaker-listener, in

a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly" (qtd. in Braine 1999). But, as Paikeday in *The Native Speaker is Dead* (1985) pointed out, the NS on having the final word of the "grammaticality and acceptability of language…represents an ideal, a convenient fiction, or a shibboleth rather than a reality like Dick or Jane" (qtd. in Kramsch 1997).

Medgyes (1993, 1994, 2000) has written numerous articles and a novel dedicated to comparing the teaching styles and behaviors of NST and NNST. In his research, Medgyes's main goal is to improve the image of non-native English speaking teachers (non-NEST) and in doing so, offer support and endorsement to English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) and ESL teachers around the world who are not NSs of English. His research is based on the following hypotheses:

1. Non-native English speaking teachers (non-NEST) differ in their teaching behavior;
2. These differences in teaching behavior are largely due to divergent levels of language proficiency;
3. The awareness of differences in language proficiency influences the non-NESTs' self perception and teaching attitudes. (p. 354)

Medgyes was able to confirm these hypotheses by conducting studies such as one where he administered a questionnaire with 23 questions to NESTs and NNESTs in ten different countries, including Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Israel, Mexico, Nigeria, Russia, Sweden, Yugoslavia, and Zimbabwe. Of the 216 subjects who participated in the study, 10% were NESTs. Two-thirds of the teachers confirmed that there were differences between NESTs and non-NESTs. The majority of these differences stemmed from a lack of vocabulary and fluency by the non-NESTs. The percentage of teachers who thought NESTs were more successful than non-NESTs in teaching English equaled the percentage who thought non-NESTs were more successful. One of the main variables which affected the responses of the participants was how

proficient the non-NESTs were. Medgyes concludes,

> It has been shown that the higher the non-NESTs' proficiency level in English, the less self-conscious, hesitant and insecure they will be. Those non-NESTs who have spent longer periods in English-speaking countries, whose teaching qualifications are higher, who have more frequent contact with NSs of English, have acquired a wider range of vocabulary, a more fluent ease of expression and a more authentic communicative appropriateness than their less fortunate colleagues. (p. 364)

Medgyes suggests that if the non-NESTs were given more opportunities to spend time in communities where English is the native language, their confidence would substantially increase, lessening the gap between perceived success of NEST verses non-NESTs.

In another study, Medgyes (2000) sought to validate his hypotheses issuing surveys to 325 teachers from 11 countries. Table 1 presents the findings he obtained from the surveys. Although there are many differences as seen in Table 1, Medgyes notes that these differences do not signify that one group consists of better or more qualified teachers. It simply confirms that there are differences in the teaching behaviors between NESTs and non-NESTs.

Table 3: Perceived differences in teaching behavior between NESTs and non-NESTs[7]

NESTs	non-NESTs
Own use of English	
Speak better English	Speak poorer English
Use real language	Use 'bookish' language
Use English more confidently	Use English less confidently
General attitude	
Adopt a more flexible approach	Adopt a more guided approach
Are more innovative	Are more cautious
Are less empathetic	Are more empathetic
Attend to perceived needs	Attend to real needs
Have far-fetched expectations	Have realistic expectations
Are more casual	Are more strict
Are less committed	Are more committed

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[7] In Arva, V. and Medgyes, P. (2000). "Native and non-native teachers in the classroom." *System, 28(3)*. P. 357.

(table 3 continued)
Attitude to teaching the language

Are less insightful	Are more insightful
Focus on:	Focus on:
fluency	accuracy
meaning	form
language in use	grammar rules
oral skills	printed word
colloquial registers	formal registers
Teach items in context	Teach items in isolation
Prefer free activities	Prefer controlled activities
Favor groupwork/pairwork	Favor frontal work
Use a variety of materials	Use a single textbook
Tolerate errors	Correct/punish for errors
Set fewer tests	Set more tests
Use no/less L1	Use more L1
Resort to no/less translation	Resort to more translation
Assign less homework	Assign more homework

Attitude to teaching culture

Supply more cultural information	Supply less cultural information

One of the arguments Medgyes (1992) makes is that a NST is going to have a stronger ability to convey information about the target language, and may choose to conduct a class predominantly in the target language. NNSTs of the target language have, as Medgyes deems it, "a linguistic handicap," and are in a constant state of acquisition (1992, p. 103). Paradoxically, Medgyes also claims that NNSTs are more "aggressive" and "grammar-centered" (1983, p. 3). As the author points out, NNSTs feel unsure in many aspects of the target language, and strive to retain some kind of advantage over their students, which can be manifested through their knowledge of the target language's grammar. NNSTs are more concerned with their students' learning the grammar of the target language, and are quick to identify mistakes in students' production of the language. NSTs, on the other hand, commonly use colloquial, or what would be deemed ungrammatical forms of the target language in everyday speech. Furthermore,

Medgyes argues that NSTs are not as grammar-focused in their classes as NNSTs. They ignore some rules in their own language production and when questions arise from their students, they are unsure of how to explain the use of ungrammatical forms or how grammar rules function in their native language (Medgyes, 1983).

In addition to the actual discourse NST/NNSTs utilize when teaching, other differences arise in their pedagogical language, which could result from a difference in their native cultures. Cultural differences can be manifested in several modalities including body language, (in)directness, and the use of politeness. For example, Medgyes points out that NNSTs of the target language are more aware of the language learning process, and can therefore teach "effective language learning strategies" (1992, p. 76). While the author argues that NNSTs are concerned with the students' production of grammatically correct utterances, he also reasons that NNSTs could be more empathetic towards students' mistakes. This would result from the fact that he/she at one time also learned the target language as an L2. Medgyes goes on to state that although NNST may be quicker to identify students' mistakes, they are more forgiving of the mistakes when they are the same or similar to the ones they made as an L2 learner of the target language.

2.4.1. Further Studies on Native Speaking versus Non-Native Speaking Teachers

Since Medgyes' pioneering studies analyzing the differences between NSTs and NNSTs, many other studies have been conducted concentrating on the more intricate details of language classrooms. Once again, it should be pointed out that the majority of these studies are from ESL and/or EFL classrooms. One such study was conducted by Llurda and Huguet in the Spanish city of Lleida, located in the Catalan province. The study was in the form of a questionnaire

distributed to 101 non-NNETs in primary and secondary schools. The questions, inspired by

Medgyes' work, sought to determine the teachers' self-awareness of three aspects of language

production and how this fits into the pedagogy of foreign languages:

> 1. Their own language skills and how their teaching was affected by them, as well as the teachers' perception of how their language skills had evolved over time;
> 2.   Their teaching ideology, expressed through two questions in which they had to indicate their teaching preferences for designing a language course and their goals as language teachers;
> 3. Their position with regard to the NS-NNS debate, with a two-fold emphasis: the preference of NSs or NNSs as language teachers, and their inclinations with regard to the need for culture knowledge on the part of the English language teacher. (2003, p. 222)

The researchers then put forth three hypotheses, which were later confirmed in their results:

> 1. Secondary education teachers will rate their own language proficiency higher than primary education teachers;
> 2.   Secondary education teachers will be more form-oriented than primary teachers, who will show a higher preference for a communicative orientation in language teaching;
> 3. Secondary education teachers will be more aware of 'political' issues concerning ELT (native vs. non-native teachers, cultural aspects in language teaching). (2003, p. 223)

Although the participants in Llurda and Huguet's study were all non-NESTs and the focus was

limited to two education levels, primary and secondary, the results are significant. They

demonstrate that the older and more advanced the educational level of the students, the more the

issue of the NS versus NNS debate becomes a concern. The secondary school teachers were

more aware of their position as NNSs of English, which was of little concern for the primary

school teachers. Llurda and Huguet's study also shows that with the older students in secondary

school, the teachers were more focused on the grammar of the target language, whereas primary

school teachers conduct their classes in a more communicative style. As seen in section 2.4. in

the research conducted by Medgyes, this is also a difference viewed in the classes of NESTs

versus non-NESTs where the former places more emphasis on communication and the latter on

grammar.

Another study analyzing the differences between NSTs and NNSTs was conducted by

McNeill (2005). His research sought to determine NSTs and NNSTs understanding and

sensitivity to the learners' language difficulty, or the areas of the target language learners

struggled with most. In his study, McNeill asked the following questions:

1. What similarities and differences can be detected in the way NS and NNS teachers predict learners' vocabulary difficulties in reading texts?
2. To what extent does the ability to predict learners' vocabulary difficulties vary among individual teachers?
3. What similarities and differences can be detected in the way 'novice' and 'expert' teachers predict vocabulary problems in reading texts?
4. To what extent does expertise improve the judgments of NNS teachers? (2005, p. 111)

McNeill hypothesized that teachers who were more aware of the difficulties students would have

with texts would be more effective language teachers and those who were not aware of students'

problem areas would be less successful teachers. McNeill's research is based on an experiment

in which four groups of teachers were given a reading text and were asked to identify the

difficulties in the vocabulary used in the text. Two of the groups consisted of non-NESTs whose

first language was Cantonese and the other two groups were NESTs. All the participants were

teaching ESL in Hong Kong. The difficult vocabulary within the text had been previously

determined by a vocabulary test administered to 200 language learners. The text was titled 'The

sword that can heal,' and was a science passage about laser surgery. From the vocabulary test

given to the students, 40 words were identified as being the most difficult words from the text.

The results from McNeill's study showed that the non-NESTs have a clear advantage in

predicting the vocabulary the students would perceive as difficult. It also helped that the non-

NESTs shared the same L1 as the students. McNeill concluded that the non-NESTs were more

likely to be effective in determining the problem areas their students would encounter, and

therefore would be able to focus on and address those areas more thoroughly, resulting in a more

successful outcome of language production from their students.

Due to his belief that there is a need for more research in the area of NNSTs versus NSTs, Llurda (2005) conducted a study in order to determine the necessary skills to become successful language teachers and whether or not non-NESTs possess these skills. He issued a survey to TESOL practicum supervisors who had been observing their NNS students teaching in ESL classrooms. The questions on the survey covered such issues as: language proficiency, language awareness and grammar, fluency, and foreign accent, as well as a section where the supervisors could give personal comments. The students' first languages varied, including a predominance of Asian languages, a high number of Spanish and Arabic speakers, and a lower number of French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Greek, Swahili, and Russian speakers. They were all participants in teaching programs in North American institutions. The hypothesis in Llurda's study was that "high-level language skills are essential for NNS language teachers' successful teaching. Pedagogical skills are also important, provided an acceptable level of the former has been achieved" (2005, p. 132). The results of his study showed that in terms of language awareness, NNSTs were found to be better or equal to NSTs: 50% equal; 34 % higher, and 17% lower. The same was found for fluency and grammar issues, yet 60% found that the NNSTs did have a "noticeable foreign accent" (2005, p. 135). There was a small percentage of teachers (ranging from 14% to 28%) who were deemed weak or had problems in English grammar and fluency.

Llurda concluded that the teachers who experience a language deficiency in English would have teaching problems especially in the following areas:

1. Conveying messages to their students in the target language.
2. Addressing their questions on language use; and
3. Providing a good language model. (2005, p. 146)

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Llurda suggests, as did many of the participating supervisors, that the less proficient ESL

teachers would have more success teaching English in countries where their first language is the

native language. In doing so, the teachers could use to their advantage the fact that their students

share the same first language as they do. This would especially be helpful when the teachers

struggle to find the necessary words to explain the more difficult and complicated areas of

English. In those circumstances, the teachers would be more successful in explaining the

material to the students in their native language.

Medgyes and Benke conducted a study which shifted focus from the perspective of the

instructors' view in the NS/NNS debate to how learners perceived their experiences in the

classrooms of NSTs and NNSTs. Three questions were central to their study:

> 1. In the ESL/EFL learners' judgment, which are the most characteristic features of NS and NNS teachers?
> 2. In which aspects of teaching behavior are the differences between the two groups the most apparent?
> 3. To what extent do learners' perceptions correspond to those held by the teachers themselves? (2005, p. 197)

The participants were 422 intermediate English learners, all of which had been exposed to more

than a year of English instruction by both a NEST and non-NEST. The researchers administered

a multi-item questionnaire with 23 statements that the respondents applied to a five-point Likert-

type scale[8]. The statements the participants responded to would determine how the learners

characterize a NEST and a non-NEST. There was also a section where respondents were given a

set of open-ended questions aimed at eliciting students' perceptions of the advantages and

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[8] Example of a Likert-type scale:

                    Strongly disagree--------------Strongly agree
Statement: 1   2   3   4   5
Assigns a lot of
Homework

disadvantages of NS and NNS teachers.

A firm conclusion that was determined from the open-ended questions is that the students believe non-NESTs have an advantage to teaching and explaining grammar. Because the NNS teachers were all from Hungary and were NSs of Hungarian, they were more familiar with the educational system and background of their students. As one respondent said "(the non-NEST is) on the same wavelength as their learners and can promote language learning more effectively" (2005, p. 206). However, there were some participants who observed that the non-NESTs used too much Hungarian in their lessons, and were too prone to rely on the mother tongue even when students felt they could have understood just as clearly had the teacher used more English to explain the material.

In the study, the NESTs were said to have the advantage to more successfully teach conversation classes and serve as better language models for the students. They were seen as more friendly by the students, and their lessons were viewed as more animated and interesting than those of their non-NESTs counterparts. Some of the participants found the NESTs too difficult to understand and vague in their grammar lessons. Because of a weak ability to explain grammar, some learners thought the NESTs avoided complicated issues and left others unexplained.

Benke and Medgyes (2005) wished to establish with their study that while there are differences in the teaching behaviors of NESTs and non-NESTs, neither group is supposed to be more effective or be the sole determining factor of whether a language learner will succeed in acquiring an L2. It was pointed out in the questionnaire that the participants expressed their appreciation for both groups. The researchers informed the readers that "an overwhelming majority of the respondents argued that in an ideal situation both NS and NNS teachers should be

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available to teach them, stressing that they would be ill-prepared to dispense with the services of either group" (2005, p. 208).

There are other studies which found similar results as those found in the studies mentioned above (Inbar-Lourie, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Pacek, 2005). The recent studies seeking to bring to the forefront the issue of the NS/NNS debate have focused on the perceptions of the differences in the teaching behaviors between the two groups. It has been analyzed from the viewpoint of the students as well as the teachers. And while it has been established, as seen with the studies mentioned in this chapter, that there are indeed differences in the behaviors of NS and NNS teachers, the studies have been limited to questionnaires and surveys. These studies have allowed for the readers to gain a clear view of how learners and teachers perceive differences to be in the classrooms of NS and NNS teachers, but it does not give a clear picture of what actually happens in the classrooms. The studies do not present original data from the classes of each group, explicitly showing the differences in the actual teaching language, or teacher talk, of the two groups. Another limitation with the current research on the NS/NNS debate is that they focus nearly exclusively on ESL and EFL teachers.

Recognizing a need for further studies analyzing the current situation in foreign language classrooms in the U.S., this dissertation seeks to uncover characteristics of the discourse styles of language teachers who are NSs and NNSs of the target language. As was presented in this chapter, there are seeming variances in the teaching methodologies and practices of NSs and NNSs. However, there is a lack in studies that examine the actual discourse language teachers rely on to present the material to students. The results presented in the next three chapters are based on classroom recordings that have been transcribed and thoroughly analyzed. The fact that real data was utilized ensured that an accurate view of what is happening in the classroom was

uncovered. The objectives in undertaking this study was to number one, determine some of the

intricate details identifying a language teacher's discourse in the classroom and number two,

establish whether there are noticeable differences between the styles of NSs versus NNSs.

CHAPTER 3
THE ROLE OF THE L1 IN TEACHING THE L2

The practice of teaching is a constant balance between teachers presenting new and, many times, foreign ideas to students, and the students understanding and later being able to use the new information. Teaching, like any other process that involves language, uses words as one of the means to communicate with students, and therefore involves complexities and misunderstandings. According to Shutter (1979), words themselves have no meaning, because by themselves they are simply a string of sounds. It is the speaker who gives meaning to words when presenting them to the listeners. In the world of academia, this would mean that teachers have the job of using words in a clear, comprehensible manner, thus enabling students to understand and find meaning in them.

There are times when students simply do not understand what the teacher has presented to them for various reasons. Many educators would agree that there are two common reactions by students when failing to comprehend what the teacher is saying; the student will either keep silent, and possibly later ask a friend for help, or the student will ask the teacher a question for clarification. If the student chooses the latter, it is at that time that the true understanding on the part of the student solely relies on the response of the teacher. An integral component to the understanding of the student is the necessity for the teacher to realize what is particularly difficult and confusing for the student. In other words, before the teacher can address the student's confusion, he/she must understand the student's question. If the teacher does not understand the question of the student, it will be especially difficult to respond to the student.

Situations involving teacher/student misunderstandings become even more common and complex when there are two different cultures and languages involved (House, 2003). An

example of this would be when the teacher is from a different culture or speech community than his/her students. This does not necessarily mean that the teacher and students speak a different language, but as House (2003) points out, they can be from two different speech communities that share a common language. For the purposes of this dissertation, however, the analysis will be taken from classrooms where the students and teachers speak distinct L1s. And although this could be the case in any discipline, the focus will be on university Spanish language classrooms at the intermediate level. After examining the literature behind misunderstandings in communication, examples will be given to clearly demonstrate the misunderstanding between a teacher whose native language is Spanish and various students, who are native English speakers. This will then be compared to how a native English speaking teacher more easily understands a student when he asks a question about a difficult concept that is not fully understood, almost to the point of the teacher being able to predict precisely why the student is perplexed by a specific feature in the target language. It is hypothesized that the native English speaking instructor can better comprehend the student's question due to the fact that they share a common first language, namely English. This allows the teacher to call upon his/her own experience as an L2 learner to comprehend the confusion on part of the student concerning a specific concept in the target language.

3.1. Misunderstandings in Communication

There are various studies and theories as to reasons why there sometimes occur breakdowns in communication between teacher and student due to the teacher not fully understanding students' questions or misunderstandings. In intercultural interactions, misunderstandings do not usually occur due to mishearings, mispronunciation or misuse of the rules of syntax governing either the language of the speaker or the hearer, but rather are a failure

to fully understand the speaker's true meaning or, in many cases, the hidden meaning underlying the discourse (Goffman, 1981, pp. 67-70). However, language classrooms may be an exception to this reasoning considering that many misunderstandings do transpire as a result of students' mispronunciations and/or mistakes in using the target language's syntax. Goffman's argument that at times listeners must uncover a deeper meaning behind a speaker's words can be likened to the idea that much of what is said and heard in normal discourse must be inferred in order for one to truly understand its meaning, rather than taken at the words' face value (House, 2003). This would mean that the teacher would not only have to infer what the words mean when a student asks a question, but where exactly they are coming from, that is, where the confusion is stemming from in the mind of the student. This can be difficult for language teachers who are teaching their native language as a foreign language to a group of adult students due to the fact that they did not experience similar confusion when they acquired the language as their L1.

Even more than a teacher's capability to infer what the student is asking or is unclear about, is his/her ability to align his/her response to fit the needs of the student. According to Goffman (1981), a response by an individual to another's question is inspired and influenced by what has been said previously and reveals the speaker's positioning to and connection with what is occurring at the moment. In other words, the speaker's response is an effort to align and achieve cohesion with what has just been said or asked and, when done so appropriately, is relevant to the present discourse. Goffman believes that when the response is not successful in aligning with the previous utterance, a miscommunication arises (1981, p. 55). This could happen in a classroom where a teacher who does not truly understand a student's question, attempts to answer it, yet never truly satisfies the student's curiosity.

When analyzing misunderstandings, it is worth mentioning the importance that communicative styles (Lakoff, 1990) and politeness and indirectness (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) play in determining the cause of the misunderstanding. Much of the literature on politeness is in agreement that politeness is one of the main factors surrounding interactions involving language. According to Lakoff, politeness is "a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange" (1990, p. 34).   In a classroom where the teacher and students are from different cultures, there may be distinct ideas of how politeness is used and revealed in language, which may ultimately result in a miscommunication between the students and teacher.

One consideration that must be taken into account when dealing with misunderstandings is the pragmatic meaning and background of the participants involved. Guided by principles or maxims, such as Grice's, the participants must continuously engage in pragmatic reasoning in order to understand the general idea of what is being said. Many times this requires the listener to bridge a gap between what is said and what is meant, and when there is a failure to do this, a misunderstanding results. In a study of misunderstandings in a teacher-learner setting by Turner and Hiraga, they found that a pragmatic "failure" resulting in a misunderstanding between speakers occurs at the level of the individual speech act, which may be caused by "the introduction of a 'taboo' topic into discourse, or from an underestimation of the 'size of imposition' or status difference between participants" (2003, p. 170). This would signify that, beyond the actual discourse between the teacher and his/her students, one must take into account the relationship between the two and how cultural differences can affect that interaction.

Somewhat different from the idea that communication between two participants requires the speaker to adhere to the cooperative principles suggested by Gricean Theory, Lévina's (1961)

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theory is based on the idea that a speaker is more self-oriented and works independently of his/her listener. According to Lévina, each participant in an interaction is aware of only him/herself and acts alone, concerned primarily with the presentation of his/her thoughts and meaning. The speaker's utterance does not depend on what has been previously said, but rather is solely concentrated on revealing the private world of the speaker to the listener, who in turn is free to interpret the utterance in whatever manner he/she deems appropriate. This theory especially allows room for misinterpretations to occur. If the speaker's utterance does not build on or cooperate with previous utterances, whether statements or questions, there would be a greater chance the utterance is not relevant to the discourse.

There is also a psychopathological view of misunderstandings presented by Langer (1989) and Heckhausen and Beckmann (1990) that can be related to Lévina's theory that speakers are basically selfish in their goal. Their claim points to non-thoughtful and automatic reactions by the speaker as the cause of misunderstandings between participants. According to these authors' view, there is a breakdown between the speaker and listener where there is little attention paid to the other participant's understanding. This can be a cause for misunderstandings between teachers and students in situations where teachers become frustrated with a student's continual misunderstanding of a specific feature of the material being presented. After many attempts to explain the material, the teacher is no longer concerned with whether or not the student fully understands, and moves on in the discourse.

One area of reasoning behind miscommunications among different cultures lies in the question of how much transfer occurs from one's first language when one attempts to understand questions or utterances in a second language. Many times this is the case in second and foreign language classrooms where the instructor is a native speaker of the target language but is faced

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with questions from the students who speak the teacher's second language. Even more complex is the fact that many times the students' questions are metalinguistic inquires about the native-speaking instructor's first language. There have been few studies carried out on the miscommunications in classrooms due to a native speaker teaching his/her first language and simply not being able to infer where the students' confusion is stemming from, one of the key components to Gricean Theory. Although many would argue that a native speaker is superior to a non-native in his/her ability to use the target language, Canagarajah (1999) argues that this does not necessarily mean s/he is effective in teaching his/her native language because s/he did not learn it as a second language, and therefore cannot relate to some of the issues students will encounter nor to the process of the acquisition by their students. Examples are presented below of misunderstandings demonstrating the difficulty native Spanish speaking instructors have to relate to the learning process of their native English speaking students.

3.1.1. The Participants in the Study and the Method Used to Collect Data

At the onset of this study, it was the author's intention to record and transcribe the discourse of various NS and NNS language teachers, which would later be analyzed in order to determine patterns in each of the groups' teaching discourses and to identify significant similarities and/or differences between the two groups. Prior to collecting the data, there were no preconceived expectations of what would be revealed. The classes chosen met the following criteria: 1) conducted in a university, 2) at an intermediate level, 3) contained 20-25 students, 4) the NNSs and students were NSs of American English, and 5) the NS teachers were from different countries in order to determine if the results were affected by the NS's nationality.

There were six participants total; three NSs and three NNSs. The NSs came from Spain, Nicaragua, and México and the NNSs were from different regions in the U.S. All the instructors had taught Spanish for at least 4 years in the U.S. The NSs all have lived in the U.S. for at least 10 years and all the participants were fluent in both English and Spanish[9]. Two of the NS teachers and two of the NNS teachers had formal training in second and foreign language pedagogy, while one NS and one NNS had no formal education in the teaching of languages.

Approximately four hours were transcribed from each class, totaling 24 hours. This method was chosen because it afforded the greatest possibility of obtaining an unbiased result, revealing an accurate account of what was happening in the classroom. At the onset of this study, it was not an objective to determine the instructors' perceptions of their performance or the students' opinions about the effectiveness of their instructors. The intention of the author was to gather pure data and analyze the teachers' discourse styles. However, in order to gain a clear context of the data recorded, the author of this study was present during each of the classes. This allows for the possibility of the instructors altering their discourse due to 'the observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972). After gathering the data, the common discourse features used by the NSs and NNSs was determined. Additionally, the author identified the differences between the two groups, which are the three main elements in this dissertation.

The classroom topics varied in theme and reflect grammar and vocabulary lessons, discussions of homework, material reviews and questions, and natural conversation. While the focus of this study was the teachers' pedagogical language, there were times when it was necessary to include students' utterances in order to give context to the teacher's discourse.

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[9] Although there were no formal proficiency assessments given to the participants, after extensive conversations and observations it was determined by the author that all the participants were highly proficient in both languages.

Students, in these instances, gave the author permission to use their utterances. As with many studies on discourse, there were uncontrollable variables in this study such as the dynamic in the classroom between the individual instructors and students, the attitude and motivations of the students to learn the language, and the response of students towards an instructor's style and/or teaching methodology.

3.1.1.1. Examples in the Classroom

The researcher noted areas in the data where students asked a question, narrowing down the questions into 2 groups: 1) questions intended to gain a better understanding of the material, and 2) all other questions. The questions asked for material clarification were then analyzed in order to determine if the students received a satisfactory answer from the instructor's first response or did the students elaborate on or reword their questions because they did not understand the instructor's initial explanation. The researcher then determined if there was further need for negotiation between the student and teacher because the student was still seeking a better clarification of the material. Student-teacher negotiation of meaning was determined when there was a dialogue between the student and instructor consisting of the student eliciting more information from at least 3 attempts by the instructor to respond to or answer the student's original question.

Table 4: Students' questions for material clarification

Students' questions	NNS teachers' classes	NS teachers' classes
Total number of questions for material clarification	23	18
Number of times student reworded his/her question	2	7
Number of instances of student-teacher negotiation of meaning	1	4

Although students asked more questions overall in the NNSs' classes, they were more unsatisfied with the NSs' initial responses to their questions. The ability for the NNSs to answer the students' questions precisely and clearly can be contributed to the NNSs' understanding of the students' question and knowing the exact answer that will satisfy their questions. Appealing to Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1996), the NNSs are familiar with the linguistic background of their students, having learned their L1 and L2 in the same manner, and are therefore able to address the students' questions with the precise information the students are seeking. The NSs, on the other hand, do not have the same insight into the students' learning process, causing them to give information which, although it may be applicable to the students' questions, does not fully answer their questions.

3.1.1.1.1. Examples from NSs Classes

At the time the following scenario was observed, the instructor was presenting the students with the imperfect subjunctive, a verbal form they had not previously seen.

1.1. T[10]: *Busqué un novio que…*

[I looked for a boyfriend that….]

1.2. SS: *Fuera.*

[Was.]

1.3. T: Claro, *fuera*. Imperfect subjunctive of *verbo ser*. In case of doubt, how is the

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[10]Transcription symbols used in this chapter:

T = instructor
SS = many students at one time
S = student
… = rising intonation
> = interruption
* = ungrammatical form or utterance

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third person plural, indicative *del verbo ser*? *Fueron*. Isn't it *fueron*?

[Of course, *fuera*[11].   Imperfect subjunctive of the verb *ser (*to be*)*. In case of doubt,

how is the third person plural indicative of the verb *ser?* Was. Isn't it was?]

1.4. SS: Mhmm

1.5. T: That'd be the imperfect subjunctive

1.6. S: So, the third person plural is the same as the preterit third person plural?

1.7. T: I'm sorry?

1.8. S: It's the same as the conjugation of the third person preterit?

1.9. T: No, we just use it, we just use this as a way to get you closer to the imperfect

subjunctive. These actually are verbal tenses.

1.10. S: Yeah >

1.11. T: But the imperfect subjunctive is its own verbal tense.

1.12. S: I know. But are you saying it's the same conjugation?

1.13. T: (long pause) Conjugations, no, I'm not saying that. There are three

conjugations in Spanish ar, er, and ir.

1.14. S: I know, but you're saying *cantaron*[12] is the third plural for subjunctive too.

1.15. T: No, for *el pretérito* indicative.

1.16. S: Okay, what is it for the imperfect subjunctive?

1.17. T: What I'm saying here is that we use this verbal form, the third person plural, to

help you realize how to do the six forms of the imperfect.

1.18. S: Yeah, I understand that. But what is it? What is the>

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[11] This was the correct answer of the verbal form to which the instructor was prompting students to give the answer.

[12] *cantaron* = they sang (preterit third person)

1.19. T: What is what?

1.20. S: The third person plural for imperfect subjunctive.

1.21. T: For imperfect?

1.22. S: For imperfect subjunctive.

1.23. T: Well, you tell me that. *Cantara, cantaras, cantara...*

1.24. S: *Cantaran?*

1.25. T: No, *cantáramos*, you need to check your suffixes, *cantáramos, cantarais,*

    cantaran. If you ask me the third person plural>

1.26. S: *Cantaran*, right? *-ran*?

1.27. T: *-ran*.

1.28. S: Right.

1.29. T: The third person plural of the *imperfecto de subjuntivo* for el *verbo cantar* is

    *cantar**an***. The third person plural *pretérito indicativo por el verbo cantar* is

    *cantar**on***.

1.30. S: I'm just now following why you're doing that. I just didn't know why you were

    comparing it to preterit tense.

1.31. T: I'm not comparing it. I'm using it as a tool to, to get to this one a little easier.

In example 2, the instructor was reviewing exercises in which students had to choose
whether to conjugate the verb in the subjunctive, indicative or infinitive form.

2.1. T: Mhmm. *Era imposible que sacaras una "A".*

    [Yes. It was impossible for you to make an "A".]

2.2. S: How do you know to use subjunctive when it's the same person doing it?

2.3. T: *Porque ésta es una frase que necesita el subjuntivo. Era imposible que, era*

imposible que sacaras una "A".

[Because this is a phrase that needs the subjunctive. It was impossible that[13], it was

impossible that you make an "A".]

2.4. S: But I mean why not say **era imposible que sacar una buena nota[14]*? What's the

change in subject?

[But I mean why not say, "*it was impossible that to get a good grade?"]

2.5. T: *Porque* this phrase is one that requires *subjuntivo y no infinitivo.*

[Because this phrase is one that requires subjunctive and not infinitive.]

2.6. S: Would it mean the same thing if you use the infinitive?

2.7. T: *No, no. No sería correcto. Necesitas subjuntivo con la frase "era imposible*

que" y también necesitas dos sujetos que sean diferentes. Sometimes you may have a

sentence in which the subject of the main clause and the second clause is the same,

mhmm, in that case you don't use subjunctive. Unless you have a *que*[15]. It would

sound a little bit weird in Spanish, but it's possible. That's why it's better, if you

have a *que*, use subjunctive.

[No, no. It wouldn't be correct. You need subjunctive with the phrase "it was

impossible that" and you also need two subjects that are different.]

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[13] "It was possible that" is the phrase the instructor is referring to that requires the subjunctive verbal form in Spanish.

[14] The student is asking whether it would be possible in Spanish to use the infinitive form of the verb *sacar* (to get) with the phrase "it was impossible to get a good grade," instead of the subjunctive verbal form.

[15] Many times in Spanish, phrases which require subjunctive include the word, "*que,*" translated into English as the word, "that." The majority of the time, it also signifies that there has been a change in the subject of the second clause from the first clause. However, there are also instances in Spanish when, as mentioned in line 6, there is no change in subject and the phrase still contains a "*que.*"

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In this example, the instructor is presenting the students the future perfect form.

3.1. T: O.k, he says," In a month I will already have quit smoking." "In a month I will already have quit smoking." In Spanish it would be "*dentro de un mes, ya habré dejado de fumar*". *Habré dejado.* Notice we use that verbal tense when you're talking about something that will have happened by a certain time. Or, "will you have started to feel better in three months?" "*¿Habrás comenzado a sentirte mejor dentro de tres meses?*" Again something that will have happened in a period of time. [*Dentro de un mes, ya habré dejado de fumar* = In a month I will have quit smoking. *¿Habrás comenzado a sentirte mejor dentro de tres meses?* = Will you have started to feel better in three months?]

3.2. S: Why don't you use *en*[16] there?

[*en* = in]

3.3. T: *¿Perdón?*

[Sorry?]

3.4. S: What is the literal translation of "*dentro de?*"

[*dentro de* = within (a length of time)]

3.5. T: A little[17] translation of…

3.6. S: A literal translation of *dentro de.*

3.7. T: A literal translation?

3.8. S: I thought it was *en.*

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[16] *En* is anther word in Spanish meaning "in." The student, unfamiliar with the phrase "*dentro de,*" is asking why the instructor did not use the word *en.*

[17] The instructor did not correctly hear the student and mistook the word "literal" for "little."

3.9. T: You thought what was *en*?

3.10. S: I thought *en* meant "in," as in, "in some time, you know, something happens."

3.11. T: Oh, for "in three months," "in three years."   There are two ways of saying that.

Una es "en" and the other one is *"dentro de."* Both are okay.

[One way (of saying "in") is *en* and the other is *dentro de*.]

3.12. S: So what does *dentro de* mean?

3.13. T: In.

3.1.1.2. Analysis

In example 1, the instructor began the lesson by explaining the conjugation of the imperfect subjunctive form. Many Spanish instructors and text books present the formation of the imperfect subjunctive as a variation of the third person plural of the indicative preterit form—one of the past verbal structures in Spanish. Students are encouraged to use the third person plural indicative preterit form as their base for all conjugated forms of the imperfect subjunctive. Here the instructor had just explained when to use the imperfect subjunctive and gave examples of how to conjugate the new form. He starts out this dialogue by asking students to correctly conjugate the verb *ser* (to be) in the imperfect subjunctive in order to complete the sentence he had given them. In line 1.6., the confusion of the student is manifested by his lack of understanding as to why the instructor compared the third person indicative preterit conjugation to the conjugation of the imperfect subjunctive. Spanish language instructors who have taught this form would agree that it is a common source of confusion for students because although the conjugations of the forms are similar, the uses are extremely different. The conjugation of the imperfect subjunctive becomes even more complex by the fact that its third person plural structure is a minimal pair with the third person plural of the preterit indicative structure,

differing by only one phoneme. For example, with the verb *cantar* (to sing), the same verb used in the example 1, the subjunctive conjugation in the third person plural is *cantaran* and the preterit conjugation is *cantaron*. This is what the student is questioning in lines 1.12. and 1.14., yet the instructor is unaware of what he is asking exactly. The student then rewords and elaborates his question in lines 1.14. and 1.16. The student was under the impression that the conjugation for the third person plural preterit and imperfect subjunctive were the same. Had the instructor answered his question directly after it was asked in line 1.16., the confusion would have been cleared up much earlier in the dialogue. But as the teacher indicates in line 1.19., he did not truly understand what the student was asking. The student actually answers his own question in line 1.24. when he correctly gives the third person plural imperfect subjunctive conjugation, *cantaran*. At that point, however, the instructor was going through the paradigm of the conjugation of the verb as seen in line 1.23., and the student's answer, although the correct answer to his original question, was out of line in the order of the paradigm, which would have been *cantáramos, cantarais,* and finally, *cantaran.* The instructor, however, did not understand that the student was not confused about the entire verbal paradigm, but just the form representing the third person plural. The main issue was the similarity between the conjugations *cantaran* and *cantaron*, and although it cannot be proven by the data above, it seems the instructor simply does not realize how close these conjugations are phonetically and why it would be confusing to a student. It is possible that the reason the instructor overlooks this feature is because he did not learn Spanish in the same manner, and therefore cannot infer the reasoning behind the student's question. It should be noted that it is possible that this same miscommunication would have occurred had the instructor been a native English speaker teaching Spanish.

Example 2 also demonstrates how the NNS instructor does not completely understand a student's question about the use of the imperfect subjunctive form. The student's question in line 2.2. addresses the reason for the use of the subjunctive in the phrase *era imposible que sacaras una "A"* (it was impossible for you to make an "A") when she believes there is not a change in subject. The subjunctive form is required in Spanish for impersonal expressions conveying an aspect of uncertainty and where there is a change in subject from the main clause to the dependent clause. Although there is not a specific subject given in the above expression, the dependent clause does refer to the subject "you". The instructor gives a general answer to the question in line 2.3. stating that the subjunctive is used because the phrase requires subjunctive. This does not satisfy the student's inquiry because it does not answer the question about whether or not there is a change in subject. The student rewords her question in line 2.4., but the instructor gives the same dissatisfying answer in line 2.5. In line 2.7., the instructor does answer the student's question to a certain extent, but he never is fully able to convey to the student that there is actually a change in subject from the main clause being an impersonal "it" to the subordinate clause referring to "you." As in example 1, it is possible that the instructor is unable to realize the student's misunderstanding because he did not learn Spanish as an L2.

In the third example a student is asking for the English translation of the prepositional phrase *dentro de* (within). Language students at the beginning and intermediate levels, for better or worse, often rely on translating the target language into their L1 in order to better comprehend what is said. This strategy, mentioned in more detail in section 3.2., helps students to process the new forms and later use them in original utterances. In example 1 of section 3.2.1.1. given below, a NNST realizes immediately when a student is incorrectly translating from the target language into his L1, causing him to produce an ungrammatical utterance. In example 3 from

the NST, there is a delay in the instructor realizing that the student, as a result of directly translating, is confused about the phrase *dentro de* when he had only known the word *en* to mean "in." The instructor does eventually understand the student's question, but when later asked about whether or not he did not hear the student or did not understand what the student was inquiring about, he indicated the latter. He revealed that he was unaware of the extent to which students are directly translating from Spanish to English.

3.2. The Role of Interlanguage in Understanding in the Classroom

Having examined the background behind miscommunications and analyzed examples in a classroom where there were NSTs of Spanish, a detailed look at the understanding between NNSTs of Spanish and the students will now be discussed. When one undertakes study of a second language beyond the critical age of around 13, it has been determined that there is a transfer or interference by the speaker's first language (Selinker, 1971). This is normally the result of the learner comparing certain forms or rules of the target language to those of his/her first language, and based on this comparison, the speaker may draw conclusions—whether correct or erroneous—about how the target language works. According to Zobl in a study he performed with French-speaking adults who were learning English as a second language,

> It is not true ignorance that induces transfer, but rather the perception by the learner, at a certain level of L2 development, of a well-motivated structural similarity between the L1 and the L2. (1979, p. 72)

Because early L2 learners only have their L1 on which to base new forms, they have a tendency to use direct translations to form utterances in the L2. Regardless of a learners' L1, there are certain core forms that students assume can translate into the L2. These are more commonly heard forms and/or phrases such as "how are you?" and "I'm fine." With forms that are considered more colloquial or slang, such as "what's up" or "that's cool," students tend to

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understand that perhaps there is not a direct translation due to the lack of coreness surrounding these phrases. The fact that phrases such as those given previously are unique to English enables students to recognize that there possibly are not phrases that can be directly translated and convey the same meaning. Spada and Lightbrown confirmed this with a study they performed on the stages a student goes through when learning French as a second language. They were able to conclude that "progress in L2 learning involves complex interactions between developmental processes and L1 constraints" (1999, p. 17). This would imply that if a Spanish teacher learned Spanish as his/her L2 at an age beyond the critical period, he/she too would have experienced a transfer of his/her L1 into his/her grammar of the L2 at the initial developmental stage of the L2 interlanguage.

There have been many studies on the interference from learners' L1 when studying an L2, and whether this increases or decreases with their greater ability to communicate in the L2 (Corder, 1983; Dommergues & Lane, 1976; Ellis, 1994, 1985; Jansen, Lalleman & Muysken, 1981; Larson-Freeman & Long, 1991; Seliger, 1978; Taylor, 1975). However, there have been virtually no studies on whether the transfer and interference of the L1 on the L2 of a teacher who is now teaching the L2 as a second language influences his/her ability to recognize the interference of the students' L1 in their learning of the L2. And even within the studies that have been conducted on the L1 influences of the L2, it remains unclear exactly where the transfer occurs. Jarvis concludes that,

> Despite the myriad of studies that have been conducted in this area, there still remains a surprising level of confusion in the field concerning when, where, in what form, and to what extent L1 influence will manifest itself in the learner's use or knowledge of a second language. …Until now, L1 influence has been treated largely as a you-know-it-when-you-see-it phenomenon. (2000, p. 2)

If this is the case, teachers of Spanish as an L2 who experienced L1 transfer when learning

Spanish as their L2 should recognize the influence the L1 of their learners has on their learning Spanish, especially when the L1 of the students is the same as the L1 of the instructor. This is demonstrated in the examples below.

3.2.1. Example of L1 Transfer in NNSs Classes

The example below is the only time in the data where there was a negotiation between a NNS instructor and a student about the meaning of a specific feature in the target language. The instructor is reviewing exercises with the students where they had to conjugate verbs in the imperfect subjunctive form to complete sentences.

4.1. T: *Número tres. Era probable que…*

[Number three. It was probable that…]

4.2. SS: *Hiciera.*

[It would be.]

4.3. T: *Hiciera.*

4.4. S: Can you kinda explain that a little? We were thinking it was ahh, *hiciéramos*.

[*hiciéramos* = 1st person plural, we had]

4.5. T: *Hacer buen tiempo toda la semana de nuestras vacaciones.* Ahhh. How do you say to have a good time? You say I had a good time at the party, for example. To have a good time?

[To have good weather all week during our vacation.]

4.6. S: Have a good time.

4.7. T: *Bueno, en español. En español.*

[Okay, in Spanish. In Spanish.]

4.8. S: *Tener buen tiempo.*

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[To have good time.[18]]

4.9. T: No, no, no. (writes on board) *Divertirse*. To have a good time. *Divertirse*.

Pasarla bien o pasarlo bien. También to have a good time. *Tenemos "hacer buen*

tiempo" ¿de qué hablamos?

[*Divertirse* = to have a good time. *Pasarla bien* or *pasarlo bien* = to have a good

time. We have "to have good weather." What are we talking about?]

4.10. S: To make good time, like not be late.

4.11. T: *Es que, okay, también. También. "Hicimos buen tiempo." Puede ser. Me*

parece un poco Spanglish, pero me parece. Normalmente "hacer buen tiempo," ¿de

qué hablamos?

[It's that, okay, also. Also. We made good time. It could be. It seems a little like

Spanglish to me, but it seems okay. Normally "to have good weather," what are we

talking about?]

4.12. T: *Hacer buen tiempo* (raises the window blinds, and points outside). *Hace buen*

tiempo (points outside), *¿no? Hace buen tiempo, ¿no? ¿De qué estoy hablando?*

[It's good weather. It's good weather, right? It's good weather, right? What am I

talking about?]

4.13. S: It's good weather.

4.14. T: *Hacer buen tiempo.* You're talking about the weather.

4.15. SS: (All indicate they have understood.)

4.16. T: *Por eso. Era probable que hiciera buen tiempo toda la semana de nuestras*

---

[18] Literally translated into English, this phrase means "to have a good time," but this is not the correct form in Spanish and does not make sense.

vacaciones. It was probable that the weather would be good the whole week during

our vacation.

[That's why. It was probably that it would be good weather the whole week during

our vacation.]

Because there was only one example in the data where a NNS instructor and a student

negotiated meaning in order for a clearer understanding, the researcher included examples

demonstrating how the NNS instructors were able to use their and the students' L1 as an

advantage. The common L1 was used to explain how the target language differed from the

students' native language as well as predict areas in which students would either struggle or have

questions.

5. T: *Te[19]*. *Yo te digo.* Um, we use these a lot with the verbs like *gustar*. Because in,

you know when we say in English, you know we say like I like the book, but what

you actually say in Spanish is the book is pleasing to me. *Me gusta el libro. A ella le*

gusta el libro. Cause it's pleasing to whom. Right? So you all already had practiced

these without even realizing it.

[You. I tell you. *Gustar* = to like. *Me gusta el libro* = I like the book. *A ella le*

gusta el libro = She likes the book.]

6. T: Um, on 33 they talk a little about the personal "*a*", which I just told you to get in

the habit of. If ever you have a direct object that's a person or a domesticated animal,

um, you have to put an "*a*" before it. Ahhh, it doesn't, it doesn't translate as anything

---

[19] *Te* is the indirect object pronoun in Spanish for the informal "you."

in English.

7.1. T[20]: We're focusing on these two *qué* and *cuál* but things get a little shady when

they're followed by the verb *ser*. Um, basically the gist of it is when you have *ser*

after *qué*, you're asking for a definition like *¿qué es? Es un papel*. You know? Like

I want to know what is this? Um, *¿qué es? ¿Qué es esto*? What is that? Um, *¿qué te

ocurre*? What's wrong? What's the matter? *¿Qué haces manaña*? What are you

doing tomorrow? Um, so that's looking for a definition. On the other hand, when

you say *cuál* with a form of *ser*, you mean some kind of "what," but you mean which

one out of a possible group. For example, and what throws us off is our use of

English. Cause in English we say, like we use "what" a lot more in English. Like in

English we say, what is your name? Right? So in you head you go, *¿qué es tu

carrera*? Right? *¿Qué es tu major? ¿Qué es tu especialización*? But that's not

asking the same question as it does in English. In English you're expecting like

"Biology" or "English" or you know, "Public Relations" or whatever. There's a

possible list. Kay? So if you say '*qué es*,' your asking to define your major. *¿Qué

es tu major*? Um, well, "it's what I study." "It's gonna be on my degree in a few

years." Right? That's not the question we're asking. Whereas what we really want

---

[20] The majority of the Spanish utterances the instructor uses in this example are translated either before or after his
utterances. The following is a list of translations for which he does not provide a translation:
Qué: What
Cuál: Which
Ser: To be
¿Qué es?: What is (this)?
Es un papel: It's a (piece of) paper.
¿Qué es esto?: What is this?
¿Qué es tu carrera?: What is your university course (also used as major)?
¿Qué es tu major?: What is your major?
¿Qué es tu especialización?: What is your specialization (also used as major)?
¿Cuál es tu carrera?: Which is your major?

to ask is '*¿cuál es tu carrera*?' Um, in English we say, "what's your name?" It would be wrong to translate it as '*¿qué es tu nombre*?' Kay? Because the answer would be something weird like well, "it's a word that my parents assigned me." (Laughter from students.) You know? That's not what we're trying to get at, what we're trying to get at is, 'which out of all the names is yours?' '*¿Cuál es tu nombre*?' What other sort of questions would we use "what" with in English, but you would use "which" in Spanish?

7.2. S: Telephone number.

7.3. T: Yeah. What is your telephone number? You know, you'd say '*¿cuál es tu teléfono*? And not '*¿qué es tu teléfono*?' Cause that's "define your telephone number." Address, social security number, you know, any sort of thing where there's a possibility of a certain amount you know and not a definition. Kay? But if you want to know, like what is something, yeah definitely use '*¿qué es*?' Kay? And when they're not followed by *ser*, it doesn't really matter. You could say like, you know, I could say, *¿qué libro es tuyo*? Like, what book is yours? Or *¿cuál libro es tuyo*? It doesn't really matter. The only time it really changes definition is when it comes before *ser*. Kay? Um, yeah, and you can read the, you know, the specification obviously. Look at the top of 31 cause I think this is a pretty good example. (Teacher reads from book.)

8.1. S: How do you know if a verb is stem changing?

8.2. T: I just learned them. You just have to memorize. Native speakers may have some kind of intuition about stem changing verbs, but we have to memorize them. And

some even sound like, like *aprender*, *comprender* they sound like they should be stem changing. *Nada más aprender*.

[And even some verbs like *aprender* (to learn) and *comprender* (to understand) they sound like they should be stem changing. (You) just have to learn (them).]

3.2.2. Analysis

In Example 4, the student is confused by the conjugation of the verb *hacer* (to do/make). The confusion stems from the fact that the sentence contains the Spanish idiom, "*hacer buen tiempo* (to have good weather)," and the word "*tiempo*" has the double meaning in Spanish of "weather" or "time" (as in a period of elapsed time). The student therefore translates the sentence directly in English as "to have a good time." Using this incorrect translation, he then uses the remainder of the sentence, "during our vacation," to infer that the subject is "we." This is why in line 4.4. the student asks why the conjugation for "*hacer*" is third person singular (the required form for the phrase "to have good weather") and not first person plural (we). In line 4.5. the instructor immediately realizes why the student is confused, and goes through an explanation of the differences between the phrases "to have a good time" and "to have good weather" in Spanish.

The instructor understands that the student's confusion revolves around deciphering the subject, and subsequently the conjugation, of the verb "*hacer*" in the utterance. He did not need to ask the student why he thought it would be conjugated as first person plural, but rather was able to infer the reason from the student's translation of the Spanish word "*tiempo*" as the English word "time." When asked about how he knew exactly why the student was confused about the conjugation, the instructor's reply was that it is a common error English speakers make when learning Spanish, and one which he had made when initially learning Spanish. This is a

clear case where the L1 of the student influences his use of the L2, and because the instructor had a similar experience as a learner, he was able to clearly see from the student's point of view why he was making this error.

Example 5 also demonstrates how the NNST uses the English translation of a Spanish phrase in order for students to gain a clearer understanding of how to use the Spanish verb "*gustar* (to like)". The object(s) or person(s) who is the agent of the verb "to like" in English acts as the indirect object in Spanish, and the object(s) or person(s) being liked functions as the grammatical subject. Therefore, some NNST consider it more effective to teach this verb and others with similar function by directly translating the utterances containing them into English and explaining how their roles within utterances differ in Spanish. This is what the instructor accomplishes in example 5 when he explains that in Spanish when one wishes to say "I like the book," one is actually saying, "the book is pleasing to me." The instructor is using his and the student's shared L1 as a tool in explaining a complicated form in the L2.

In example 6, the instructor reminds students about the use of a personal *"a"* in Spanish before human direct and indirect objects. He anticipates that students will ask about its translation into English, which is why he tells them that there is not a direct translation into English. When later asked why he instructed his students to simply "get in the habit" of using the *"a"*, his reply was because he had to do the same when he was first learning Spanish. He perceives that his students will learn Spanish in a similar manner he did, directly affecting how he presents the language to the students.

In example 7, the instructor uses direct translations of his native language, English, as a tool in teaching the difference between the question words *qué* (what) and *cuál* (which). Many times native English speaking students studying Spanish as a foreign language erroneously use

the word *qué* in questions where English uses the word "what." In Spanish, however, the Spanish question word *cuál* is more frequently used when followed by the verb *ser*. For English speakers, it can be difficult to understand why the question word "which" is used instead of the question word "what." The instructor explains how in Spanish if one used the question word "what," followed by the verb "to be," he/she would be asking for a definition of the item. He gives examples with the questions *"¿qué es tu major?"* and *"¿qué es tu nombre?"* He then explains how if one asked the questions in this manner, the answers would be rather awkward: "…it's what I study," "it's gonna be on my degree in a few years," and "it's a word that my parents assigned me." He even tells students that the question, "*¿qué es tu teléfono*?" would translate into English as "define your telephone number" and not "what is your telephone number." By explaining the material in this manner, the instructor appeals to the students' understanding and knowledge of English in order to enable them to better comprehend why Spanish uses the question word "which" for questions followed by the verb "to be" and for which there is a choice among a group of answers. It is clear that the teacher is using the fact that he is a native speaker of English and knows that the students are also native speakers of English to his advantage in explaining how the target language would sound if translated into their shared L1.

In Example 8, a student asks the instructor how to identify stem-changing verbs[21] in Spanish. Having been an L2 learner of Spanish, the instructor gives them the only way of which he is aware to learn these verbs, memorization. Furthermore, he separates himself and his

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[21] The term 'stem-changing verbs' refers to the class of verbs which show a change in orthography to the root vowel of their infinitival form when appearing in various finite forms.

students from the possible advantage native speakers may have to intuitively feel when a verb is a stem-changing verb. By doing this, he connects his language learning experience to that of his students.

3.3. Discussion

In classrooms of any subject there are many times miscommunications and misunderstandings between the teacher and his/her students. In foreign language classrooms, students are being introduced to a new linguistic system, notably different from their own, with the hope that they will learn it well enough to use it in productive communication with others. When students do not understand a certain function or form of the target language, they may choose to ask the instructor a question to clarify their confusion. The issue this chapter has addressed is the question of whether or not the instructor's first language, when shared with the students, can aid in understanding the students' questions and misunderstandings about the second language.

When students are exposed to a second language, it is believed that there is a transfer of linguistic properties of the L1 into the L2 (Towell & Hawkins, 1994). If an instructor is teaching his/her native language, there never would have been a transfer from an L1, which could result in difficulties in understanding students' confusion. The native speaker simply does not see the target language from the same perspective as his/her nonnative students. Towell and Hawkins (1994) note that the linguistic transfer of the L1 into the L2 affects all areas of competence involving the target language, including phonetics, syntax, lexicon, morphology, and discourse. This would lead one to conclude that if the instructor had experienced a similar transfer when learning the L2 that is now being taught, he/she would better understand the areas with which the students are most likely to struggle. This does not suggest that there will never be

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misunderstandings in a classroom where the teacher shares the L1 of the students; however, it does explain phenomena such as the example given in section 3.2.1.1. where the instructor was easily able to predict the exact source of the confusion of his student. The multilingual NNSTs have the advantage of being able to utilize the L1 they share with students and the target language in order to find innovative and different ways to teach the target language. Additionally, as seen with the examples in section 3.2.3., NNSTs can use the shared cultural background between themselves and students as a means to present cultural information about the countries and peoples who speak the target language.

CHAPTER 4
PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN LANGUAGE TEACHERS' DISCOURSE

The use of personal pronouns in speech to make reference to the speaker, hearer, or both can reflect a complex relationship and understanding of that relationship between all parties involved. When a speaker selects a pronoun to use in order to address another person or even to make reference to him/herself, the listener, or both, acute attention must be paid to the relationship between the two (Brown & Ford, 1961). Because of the necessity to recognize such a complex situation, the speaker is required to understand and be able to produce more than the simple words of which a language's personal pronoun set is comprised. When choosing which personal pronoun he/she will use to address or refer to the listener, the speaker is making an important decision of how he/she will assert his/her position in the relationship. In talking about the power of personal pronouns in her book, Lakoff refers to these components of grammar as "humble and earthly servants of language, (which) can be pressed into service to perform lofty symbolic functions" (1990, p. 183). While personal pronouns are powerful, complex features of language, all speakers of every language use them on a regular basis.

While pronouns are constantly used in discourse, their usage is not a feature of language which is easily acquired by children learning a first language. It is an aspect of language which many times can be difficult to grasp and has been shown to be acquired after many of the other elements of language by children. The understanding of the difficulty surrounding the use of personal pronouns in language support the claim that they are one of the more complex and ambiguous aspects of language. The scholar who has the greatest influence on the study of the order of acquisition of language in children is Roger Brown (1973) who produced a table of fourteen morphemes which reflected the order in which a child acquires them. Brown observed

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and recorded the language development of three different children, learning English as a first language, whom he met with for several years. Through his recordings, he was able to analyze the order they learned and produced these 14 morphemes. Brown stipulated that in order for the morpheme to be considered "acquired" the child had to have produced it 3 times in obligatory contexts and be correct 90 percent of the time. The following is the table of the 14 morphemes in the order Brown discovered the three children he studied had acquired them:

Table 4.: Order of Acquisition of 14 Grammatical Morphemes

  1. Present progressive
2/3. Prepositions *in/on*
  4. Plural
  5. Past irregular
  6. Possessive
  7. Uncontractible copula
  8. Articles
  9. Past regular
10. Third person regular
11. Third person irregular
12. Uncontractible auxiliary
13. Contractible copula
14. Contractible auxiliary (1973, p. 274)

Looking at the 14 morphemes acquired by children, one can see that pronouns do not even figure in the list. It truly does seem to be an aspect of language that can be difficult for children to acquire.

Understanding the complexity in acquiring personal pronouns in one's first language, the question arises how adult speakers of different languages are able to reveal their relationship to the listener through the use of personal pronouns. Pronoun usage is a multi-faceted feature in language classrooms because instructors are using pronouns to address and refer to their students while at the same time trying to teach their students how to use the pronominal system of a different language. While reviewing what has been studied on each component of the pronoun

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system, there will be specific examples of how the use of personal pronouns surfaced in Spanish language classrooms where there were NSs and NNSs of the target language. The data will determine whether there are differences or similarities in how each group of instructors chose to address their students and refer to other speakers.

4.1. Pronoun System

4.1.1. Address Pronouns

The definition of address for the purpose of the dissertation will be taken as the use of address referred to in Braun's address theory. According to Braun,

> The term denotes a speaker's linguistic reference to his/her collocutor(s). It does not include, according to our definition, linguistic means of opening interaction or of establishing first contact. Forms of address may serve as a means of initiating contact, but frequently other forms are used, e.g. English *Hey!,* German *Sag mal,…*, French *Pardon!* (cf. Schubert 1985c). All this, as well as verbal and nonverbal greeting, is excluded from our definition of address. (1988, p. 7)

In Braun's theory of address, the focus is on pronouns and nominal expressions. Many speakers address their listener with a nominal form, whether formal, such as Mr., Miss, Madam, Sir, etc. or informal such as Mom, Dad, bro, girl, etc. This study, however, will concentrate on solely the personal pronouns used in address.

When a speaker addresses a listener, he/she must make an immediate decision as to how he/she will address the speaker, which in some languages requires choosing between a formal and an intimate form. In many languages this is crucial because the verb morphology is dependent on the choice of the speakers' address forms (Clyne, Kretzenbacher, Norrby, & Warren, 2003). Joseph (1989) stated that address use portrays the attitude of the interlocutors towards their relationship more than any other aspect of language. It is also a feature of language which is most varied across cultures and even within some cultures (Clyne, et al., 2003).

In English the pronouns of address are relatively simple, limited to only second person singular and plural (you). These forms can, however, be more complex when the various dialectal forms of the second person plural are introduced such as "you all", "you guys", and "y'all". In most of the literature where pronouns of address in English are discussed, these are the forms which are mentioned, although it can be argued that there is one more pronoun of address in English, the pronoun "we" (Hyman, 2004). Although "we" is first person plural, and includes both speaker and hearer, it is the polite form many teachers use, while actually referring to second person plural, "you" (Quirk et al., 1985). This will be examined in more detail in a later section.

In other languages, such as French, German and Spanish, systems of pronominal address are much more complex. These three languages—as well as many others—have more than one way to address an individual, such as *tu* and *vous* in French, *du* and *Sie* in German and *tú, vos,* and *Usted* in Spanish, depending on whether the addressee warrants more or less formality as well as upon the largely unspoken rules of individual speech communities. The second person plural is also represented by divergent pronouns in these languages. And although plural pronouns represent more than one person or subject, they can also be used to add power or prestige to the subject (Lakoff, 1990). This was pointed out in Lakoff's study when she noted:

> So in several European languages, formal 'polite' address is accomplished by enhancing a singular addressee's symbolic status by the second-person plural. *Vous* in French means both 'you, more than one,' and 'you, singular and exalted'; in older English *ye* and *you*, as opposed to *thou* and *thee*, were both plural and polite. (1990, p. 183)

The pronoun "we" can also be a plural pronoun which augments one's status or power. Although it is not used on a regular basis now, the royal "we" was once heard by kings and queens to make themselves even greater or of higher statuses than their followers. There will be

more devoted to the use of the pronoun "we" in a later section of this chapter.

Along with the fact that Spanish has diverging pronouns corresponding to the second person singular and the second person plural, it can be further complicated by the fact that it is a *pro*-drop language, signifying that it allows constructions in which no overt subject, whether nominal or pronominal, is required in the sentence (Lafford & Salaberry, 2003). In the surface syntax of an utterance allowing for the omission of the subject pronoun or noun, the verb will indicate the subject by its conjugation.

Along with being a *pro*-drop language, it is worth noting that Spanish is an even more complex language because different pronominal forms of address are used depending on which country the speaker is from (Porto Dapena, 1986). Although all Spanish speaking countries recognize the two standard forms of singular address, *tú* and *Usted*, the Spanish spoken in the Americas makes exclusive use of the form *Ustedes* for second person plural in all occasions, while the speakers of peninsular Spanish use two forms of plural "you"; the intimate form *vosotros* and the polite or distant form *Ustedes* (Porto Dapena, 1986, p. 23). While Spaniards have the two forms for plural "you", the Spanish spoken in many Central and South American countries has two forms for the informal second person singular pronoun, *tú* or *vos*, which are used informally yet with different social meanings which vary from country to country (Porto Dapena, 1986, p. 23).

Due to the diverging uses of second person plural and singular pronouns in various languages, Brown and Gilman (1960) introduced the symbols, *T* and *V*, based on the Latin pronouns *tu* and *vos*. *T* represents the intimate or informal form of address, while *V* refers to the polite and/or distant form. Based on their findings, Brown and Gilman, contributed a speaker's choice of a *T* or *V* pronoun to be based on power and solidarity between the speaker and hearer

(1972, p. 280). The more solidarity there is between the speaker and hearer, the greater the

chance the speaker will opt to use the *T* pronoun of address. However, when there is an

inequality in status between the speaker and hearer, the speaker may choose to use a *V* pronoun.

In her article, Moreno compares *T* and *V* pronoun choice in Spanish to a "game with a strategy to

get certain objectives from the hearer or to show certain feelings towards the hearer" (2002, p.

15). And although native speakers of Spanish and other languages containing a *T/V* distinction

instinctually comprehend the societal rules governing their usage, it can be a difficult concept for

non-native speakers learning the language (Lafford & Salaberry, 2003). While modern English

does not have representative address forms corresponding to *T* and *V*, these can be compared

with the forms *thou* and *ye* from English spoken in 13th to the 18th centuries (Brown & Ford,

1961).

4.1.1.1. Address Pronouns in Language Classrooms

When teaching any material, instructors find themselves addressing students

continuously. Whether calling on a student to answer a question, negotiating with a student

about a question/answer, or simply checking for comprehension, teachers repeatedly use the

address pronouns of singular and plural "you". Due to the fact that Spanish distinguishes

between *T/V* pronouns, teachers of Spanish not only have to teach students the distinction

between the *T* and *V* pronouns, they also have to make a conscious choice of how they

themselves will address their students. This can be further complicated when students take

classes taught by NS instructors from different countries where the different forms of singular

and plural "you" mentioned in the above section are used. Although there may be a difference

between the use of the *T* and *V* pronouns between NS and NNS teachers, it remains clear whom

the speaker is addressing and/or referring to. The most complex issue in a Spanish language

classroom with the *T/V* pronouns is the acquisition and appropriate pragmatic use of the two.

Below are examples of how NS and NNS instructors addressed their students, reflecting their

choice of either a *T* or *V* pronoun.

4.1.1.1.1. Examples from NSs Classes

4.1.1.1.1.1. Second Person Singular

1. T[22]: That's why it's better, if you have a *que*, use subjunctive. ***¿Entiendes?***

[Do you (informal) understand?]

2. T: *Devuelve*, not *tú*, *en cuanto devuelve*, stem-changing verb. ***¿Entiendes?***

[You (formal) return, not *tú* (referring to second person informal singular), as soon as

you return. Do you (informal) understand?]

3. T: *¿**Quieres** empezar?*

[Do you (informal) want to begin?]

4. T: *Este*, next one. ***Usted***, *al final*, you, *señorita*. (points to student)

[Um, next one. You (formal), at the back, you, Miss.]

5. T: *¿**Comprendiste?** Número seis*.

[Did you (informal) understand? Number six.]

6. T: *Vamos. ¿Qué **tienes** para número diez?*

[Let's go. What do you (informal) have for number ten?]

7. T: Do **you** see the difference?

8. T: *¿**Ves?*** Do **you** understand?

[Do you (informal) see?]

While the three NS participants were from different countries, they all opted to consistently

address their students in the familiar, informal manner. The instructors' decision to address their

students with a *T* pronoun may be for various reasons. Studies have shown there are factors

other than power and solidarity defined by Brown and Gilman (1960) that a speaker takes into

consideration when choosing an address pronoun (de Oliveira, 2005). While *V* pronouns are

used to show respect to the listener and to maintain a certain distance between the speaker and

listener, studies have shown that over time there has been an increase in the use of the *T* pronoun,

tú, in various Spanish-speaking countries (Weber, 1941; Marín, 1972; Uber, 1985). The

instructors may have chosen to use *T* pronouns with their students so as not to create distance

from their students. Furthermore, students learning Spanish in intermediate classes in the U.S.

have usually been informed in beginning classes that the informal pronouns are used among

peers, to address younger family members, and to address children. Although it is possible that

students will later discover the usage of *T/V* pronouns is more complicated, the instructors may

have elected to use the informal pronoun in an attempt to establish that they consider their

students as peers, which also enforces the guidelines governing *T/V* pronouns the students heard

in previous classes. Furthermore, the choice of a *T* or *V* pronoun in the classroom may have

pedagogical implications on part of the instructor. If it is an objective of the instructor that

his/her students learn and use either a *T* or *V* pronoun more fluidly, he/she will reinforce one

pronoun over the other.

The sole exception found in the data is demonstrated in number four when the instructor

addresses a student with the *V* pronoun, *Usted*. In this circumstance, the instructor was

reviewing an exercise with the students in which each student alternated giving an answer. The

instructor was attempting to call to the attention of a specific student that it was her turn. With

the use of the *V* pronoun, the instructor distanced himself from the student, possibly because he

was asking for something from the student and wanted to appear less demanding. The *V*

pronoun lessens the force of the directive in this case by placing the student on a slightly higher

level than the instructor. Furthermore, the use of a *V* pronoun could be for personal reasons the

researcher was unable to detect. There are times when a speaker consciously chooses to address

the speaker with the *V* pronoun, *Usted*, to express frustration or anger with the hearer (Gili y

Gaya, 1961, p. 229).

4.1.1.1.1.2. Second Person Plural

9. T: Yeah? *¿Estamos?* *¿**Entienden?** ¿Preguntas?*

[Are we all (getting it)? Do you all understand? Questions?]

10. T: Okay? *¿**Entienden?** ¿Sí o no? ¿Preguntas? ¿Sí o no?*

[Do you all understand? Yes or no? Questions? Yes or no?]

11. T: *Bueno, **necesitan** estudiar esto un poco más.*

[Okay, you all need to study this a little more.]

12. T: ***Traigan** sus libros de actividades a clase el martes.*

[Bring your workbooks to class on Tuesday.]

13. T: *¿**Saben** por qué es así?*

[Do you all know why it's like this?]

14. T: *Bueno, **recordáis** que éste es muy fácil.* It's very easy.

[Good, remember that this is easy.]

15. T: *La paz. ¿Por qué? ¿**Habéis pensado** de dónde viene esto?*

[Peace. Why? Have you all thought about where this comes from?]

16. T: Okay? *Para esto tienes, quiero que **recordéis** muy rápidamente*, the verbal

tenses, *los tiempos verbales* that **you** know in subjunctive.

[For this you have, I want you to remember very quickly, the verbal tenses, the

verbal tenses that you know in subjunctive.]

17. T: Okay? *¿Entendéis?*

[Do you all understand?]

Addressing the students as a group, the reasoning behind the instructor's T/V pronoun choice is much clearer. As was previously mentioned, most Spanish speaking countries exclusively use the second person plural form, *Ustedes*, while peninsular Spanish speakers use *vosotros* as the informal second person plural and *Ustedes* for the formal form. Examples 9-13 were from the classes taught by the instructors from Central and North America and examples 14-17 were spoken by the instructor from Spain. The instructor from Spain addressed his students exclusively using the informal second person plural pronoun which was consistent with his second person singular choice.

4.1.1.1.2. Examples from NNSs Classes

4.1.1.1.2.1. Second Person Singular

18. T: *¿**Llegaste** a clase a las once y media?*

[Did you (informal) arrive to class at 11:30?]

19. T: What is, does anybody know what flan is? *¿**Sabes tú**?* (points to a student)

[Do you (informal) know?]

20. T: *¿Y **tú**? ¿Qué **hiciste** el fin de semana?*

[And you (informal)? What did you do this weekend?]

21. **T:** *Bueno, **dices** el verbo correcto, pero no es la conjugación correcta.*

[Well, you (informal) are saying the correct verb, but it is not the correct

conjugation.]

22. **T:** *-cían*[23], right? *Ellos reconocían.* I think **you**, **were you** trying to say this verb

(points to a verbal form on the board)?

[*Ellos reconocían* = They recognized.]

23. **T:** Uh, Mary[24], **can you** finish the sentence?

Similar to the address forms of the NSs, the NNSs used the informal *T* pronoun when addressing

individual students. None of the NNSs used the *V* pronoun, *Usted,* to address a student in any of

the classes observed. In examples 22 and 23, the instructors addressed their students with the

English pronoun, "you," which could represent either *tú* or *Usted.* However, because the data

consistently reveal the instructors' use of the *T* address pronoun, such as in examples 18-21, it is

probable that had the instructors used the target language to address their students in examples

22 and 23, they would have also chosen to use the informal pronoun. It is possible that the NNSs

chose to use the *T* pronoun for the same reasons as the NSs identified above. Additionally, the

NNSs may have drawn upon their own learning experiences in the L2 classroom, and therefore

opted to utilize the pronoun with which they were addressed as students.

4.1.1.1.2.2. Second Person Plural

24. **T:** *¿Cómo **están** todos?*

---

[23] The instructor is confirming the ending for a verbal form.

[24] Name has been changed for privacy purposes

[How are you all?]

25. T: *También **pueden** trabajar juntos.*

[Also you all can work together.]

26. T: Okay. ***Siguen trabajando** unos cinco minutos más, cuando terminamos de repasar.*

[Okay. You all keep working five more minutes when we will finish reviewing.]

27. T: *¿**Tienen** preguntas? ¿**Comprenden**?*

[Do you all have questions? Do you all understand?]

28. T: *Esto es para ayudarles con el examen. **Ustedes saben** que hay un examen, ¿no?*

[This is to help you all with the exam. You all know there is an exam, right?]

29. T: He gives to her. He gives something to her. Well, our indirect object pronouns are *me, te, le, nos,* and *les*. *¿Cuál **creen** que vamos a sustituir para 'a ella'?*

[Well, our indirect object pronouns are me, informal you, him/her/formal you, us, and them/you all. Which do you all think we are going to use to substitute for 'to her?']

All the NNS participants in the study exclusively used the second person plural form, *Ustedes*. While they knew the *vosotros* form, they rarely used it outside the classroom and found it more natural to use *Ustedes* to address their students.

4.1.2. Referential Pronouns

Referential pronouns can actually present a much more complex and delicate situation when being used by speakers. Although, there may be some confusion in languages requiring a choice between *T* and *V* pronouns, there is usually little doubt as to whom the speaker is addressing. Referential pronouns, on the other hand, can be confusing for a listener when attempting to decipher to whom exactly the speaker is referring. If the person being referred to is

not present at the time the speaker makes the reference, it requires the listener to use his/her

cognitive skills to know who the speaker is talking about. And many times speakers have the

choice to use more than one pronoun to refer to a listener and/or him/herself.

Although standard paradigms have portrayed the personal pronoun system as being stable

and unambiguous, this is not always the case. In his article, Hyman gives an excerpt from a

speech by Margaret Thatcher where she uses three different pronouns to refer to herself:

> When I got [to Oxford] I think the first thing I learned was that for the first time in my
> life you were totally divorced from your background. You go as an individual. So what
> did we learn? (2004, p. 161)

In this example, Margaret Thatcher begins by referencing herself in first person, then switches to

second person and ends by using the first person plural pronoun, "we", demonstrating the fluidity

which personal pronouns are used in language today.

In using the personal pronouns "I" and "you", the speaker references him/herself and the

listener through the aspect of language called *deixis* (Filmore, 1997). These pronouns bring the

participants, speaker and hearer, directly in contact with the speech act portrayed in the utterance

(Lakoff, 1990). It allows speakers to relay information in a more personal manner, as they are

directly a part of what they are saying. In her book, Lakoff mentions that therapists would tell

clients to use "I-statements" as a strategy to convey their feelings directly, giving their words

more conviction and genuineness (1990, p. 245). An example would be the statement "I am

feeling sad about x" instead of saying "that's sad." Religious leaders also lean more towards

using the personal pronoun "I" in their sermons, hoping to make a closer, more personal

connection with their listeners (Buchanan, 2007). This has been a relatively new outlook on

religious preaching. As Buchanan (2007) points out, preachers were traditionally discouraged

from using the personal "I" in their sermons, but are now encouraged to use it, allowing them to become a focal participant in conveying their personal experiences with their audience.

Non-deictic referents, those portrayed as being outside of an event, are seen as being less involved in the speech act of an utterance and can be more confusing for listeners to decipher about whom the speaker is talking. When a speaker uses the non-deictic third person to refer to him/herself, he/she distances him/herself from the listeners and the action. Third-person self reference is used by most academics to display objectivity and politeness (Lakoff, 1990). Indirectness linked to politeness is portrayed in languages other than through their pronoun systems. In Japanese culture, for instance, the social norm when asked a question by someone the listener does not know very well is to say as little as possible, remaining vague and indirect (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994). Bialystok and Hakuta give the example in their book that, when asked "where are you going," the appropriate, polite answer would be "west" or an equivalent, simple answer (1994, p. 163). Although this would be considered rude in American culture, the less a speaker positions him/herself as part of the speech act in Japanese culture, the more polite their utterances come across (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994).

While first and second person pronouns are relatively specific as to their referents, using plural personal pronouns can be somewhat tricky to encode. It is not as ambiguous when a speaker uses the pronouns, "I," "you," or "s/he" due to the fact that it is a singular person, creating little work for the listener to understand. The actual uses in certain languages involving *T/V* pronouns can be difficult for learners of those languages, but at least the listener can still decipher who the speaker is referring to. When plural pronouns are used, however, it can become more difficult for the listener to figure out which group of persons is the referent. For example, if the speaker uses the pronoun "they," it must be determined if the referent is *he + he*

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or *she + she,* or an infinite number of combinations. This is the case in any language, and as

Porto Dapena (1986) points out, in Spanish, the pronouns *nosotros* (we) and *ustedes* (you plural,

and formal in peninsular Spanish) or *vosotros* (informal you plural in peninsular Spanish) can be

especially confusing. The pronoun "we" can represent the summation of the speaker plus

various people and the pronouns used for "you" plural can refer to more than one listener or the

listener and other people who are not present. Porto Dapena demonstrates this as the following:

> *Nosotros = yo + tú; yo + tú + él,*
> *Y vosotros, aunque puede ser igual a tú + tú, significa otras veces tú + él.* (1986, p. 14)

> We = I + you; I + you + he
> and you plural, although it can be the same as you + you, at other times signifies
> you + he. (1986, p. 14)

In conversation between two or more people these pronouns can become confusing, and as will

be demonstrated in a later section, it can be just as confusing in the speech of teachers in second

language classrooms.

In her book, Lakoff (1990) refers to the use of plural personal pronouns as tools which

give power and prestige to specific groups, while alienating others by targeting them as

outsiders. She specifically gives examples of this through excerpts from speeches given by

politicians, whose use of the pronoun "we" is defined as the following:

> The *we* can be appealed to in terms of all men of goodwill, all right-thinking Americans,
> you and I together, and so on; and any convenient candidate for *they* status is free to be
> denied rights, mistreated, cast out, because they have no connection to us. (1990, p. 188)

By using "we" in a speech, the politician has made the listeners feel like they are part of his/her

team. In turn, the "they" heard in the speeches will be the outside group, the opponents.

According to Bialystok and Hukuta (1994) the choice to use inclusive personal pronouns, such as

"we" or "us", is a means to accomplish positive politeness, a term Brown and Levinson (1978)

gave to those utterances which work to minimize threat and appeal to common group membership and reciprocity. The example Bialystok and Hukuta give to convey this idea is when a speaker says something like "lend us two bucks then, would ya, Mac" (1994, p. 174). Although the speaker is asking for money for only him/herself, he/she includes the listener in the request by using the pronoun "us". By doing this, the speaker lessens the demanding speech act of asking for money by actually making the listener feel like he is apart of receiving the money.

4.1.2.1. Referential Pronouns in Language Classrooms

The NSs and NNSs used referential pronouns targeting three groups: specific individuals either inside or outside the classroom, speakers of the target language and speakers of the students' native language. When referring to a specific person or people, there was little confusion whom the pronoun denoted.

4.1.2.1.1. Examples from NSs Classes

30. T: *Yo sé que Ana [25]está loca y que **ella** estudia periodismo.*

[I know that Ana is crazy and that she studies Journalism.]

31. T: *Él[26] está enamorado.* **He's** in love with me.

32. T: *Bueno, ahora vamos a analizar un cuento de Isabel Allende que se llama El hombre de plata. **Ella** es una autora de Chile.*

[Good, now we are going to analyze a story by Isabel Allende that is called *El hombre de plata*. She is an author from Chile.]

33. T: ***Ellos** están juntos.* **They** discover the story *al mismo tiempo.*

---

[25] Names of students have been changed for privacy purposes.

[26] The instructor is referring to a person outside of the classroom.

[They are together. They discover the story at the same time.]

34. T: *Yo no recuerdo. ¿Se suicidó Frida Khalo?* Did **she** kill herself?

[I don't remember. Did Frida Khalo kill herself?]

35. T: *Surrealista. Surrealismo. Por eso pienso que **ella** es un poco excéntrica.*

[Surrealist. Surrealism. That's why I think she is a little eccentric.]

36. T: You can say, in a year I will have, mmm, married my husband. How would you say that? **She's**[27] not planning on getting married, so **she** can't compute that.

From the examples above, it is clear to whom the NS instructors are referring. The students were easily able to recognize and understand the person or people the pronoun designated. In examples 30 and 36, the instructors were referencing students who were in the class. Example 31 referred to a person outside the classroom and in examples 32, 34, and 35, the instructors were referring to famous personalities. The reference to "they" in example 33 was not directed at specific people, but rather it was referencing narrators and characters in any given short story.

4.1.2.1.2. Examples from NNSs Classes

37. T: *¿Y los demás? **Él**[28] se despertó una hora antes. ¿Y los de más? ¿Qué tal?*

[And everyone else? He woke up one hour ago. And everyone else? How are you?]

38. T: It's like a, it's a Spanish sort of drink. It's red wine and sometimes **they'll** add like hard alcohol to it and fruit cut up in it.

39. T: This is all about um, la vida de Rigoberta Menchú. **She's** a Guatemalan activist.

40. T: *Sí, es la misma pregunta que tuvo **ella**[29].*

---

[27] The instructor is referring to a student in the class who was asked to translate the utterance, "In a year I will have married my husband."

[28] The instructor is referring to a student.

[Yes, it is the same question that she had.]

41. T: Okay **ellos they** picked coffee.

42. T: *Les trataban casi como animales.* **They** used to treat them almost like animals.

Like the NSs' examples, the NNSs were also clear when using a third person reference pronoun. In examples 37 and 40, the instructors' pronouns were referring to students in the class. The "she" in example 39 referred to Rigoberta Menchú. The pronoun "they" used in examples 41 and 42 were in reference to story about people who lived in Central America in the late 20th century. In example 38, the instructor was not referring to specific people, but rather to native Spanish speakers collectively.

4.1.3. The pronoun *We*

4.1.3.1. *We* Functioning as an Address Pronoun

An often overlooked pronoun of address is first person plural, "we". There are various meanings "we" can have when used in spoken language. Quirk, Greenbrae, Leech, and Svartvik, (1985) distinguish up to eight different uses of "we":

a. inclusive *we* referring to all humans
b. authorial inclusion used in writing to include a reader
c. editorially in order to avoid using "I"
d. generic *we* used rhetorically and politically
e. *we* meaning *you* normally used by doctors and teachers in order to sound less authoritative
f. *we* meaning *s/he* used by a person referencing someone else.
g. Royal *we*
h. using plural *us* to refer to singular *me*: as in "help us out, here."

Quirk et al.'s interpretation of the "we" meaning "you" used by teachers is a non-threatening

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[29] The instructor is referring to a student.

technique used by teachers of all levels and subjects. This allows for teachers to lower the

affective filter level of their students, creating a relaxed and stress-free atmosphere, which can

aid in the overall L2 acquisition process (Weaver, 1996). Cazden denotes this use of "we" as

being a positive manner to impose an imperative on students, such as "ok, the rest of you, let's

get the chairs in a circle" (1988, p. 165). From this example, it can be argued that when a teacher

uses the pronoun "we" meaning "you", the speech act that follows is usually a directive. As

Searle explains:

> (…) speaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making
> statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises, and so on;
> and more abstractly, acts such as referring and predicating (…). (1969, p. 16)

Taking this into consideration, teachers use the pronoun "we" to make a directive such as, "today

'we' are going to have a quiz," which appears less direct, and therefore less threatening. It

removes the speaker from the role of one asking for something to actually include him/herself

with the hearer/performer. Advertisers have taken advantage of this strategy when trying to get a

consumer to purchase a certain product (Smith, 2004).   As Smith (2004) points out, using

inclusive personal pronouns allows advertisers to establish a relationship with the customers,

while personalizing their company. According to Brown and Levinson (1978), the inclusion of

the hearer with the speaker is a means of achieving positive politeness. It makes the hearer feel

liked and welcomed and is especially a means of protecting the students' positive face

considering the authoritative position of the teacher.

Other than attempting to save the listeners' positive face, speakers may choose to use the

inclusive pronouns "we" or "us" because they are getting a positive response from the listener.

In their article, Laks, Beckwith, and Cohen (1990) performed a study on the use of the inclusive

pronoun "we" by mothers with their toddler age children. They found that the more interactive

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and skilled in language the children were, the more often the mothers used an inclusive first person plural pronoun. When the toddler was more responsive to the language, the mother included the child in her own experiences. Although there seems to be a gap in studies such as these performed in second language classrooms, there is little reason to doubt that a teacher would not be more inclined to use an inclusive plural pronoun, "we" or "us", with students who, like toddlers learning their first language, are more expressive and receptive to the target language.

As will be seen in the examples below, both NS and NNS teachers make use of using "we" to soften a speech act intended as a directive. Overall, this was the most common form of address for both groups of instructors. This suggests that the instructors were more conscious of protecting the student's positive face than establishing their authoritative position in the classroom.

4.1.3.1.1. Examples from NSs Classes

43. T: *Bueno, pues, ya es la hora, ¿no? Entonces **vamos** a empezar con, primero la página ciento treinta y nueve **vamos** a ver los ejercicios que **hicimos** el otro día que no **terminamos**. Este, actividades del futuro. ¿Os recordáis donde **terminamos**?* Where did **we** leave it?

[Alright, well, it's time right? So we're going to start with page 139 first. We're going to look at the verbs we did the other day that we didn't finish. Um, activities in the future. Do you all remember where we finished?]

44. T: *Bueno, ahora **vamos** a analizar un cuento de Isabel Allende que se llama El hombre de plata. Plata significa, bueno, silver. El hombre de plata. Entonces **vamos** a poner en grupos.*

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[Good, now we are going to analyze a story by Isabel Allende that is called *El hombre de plata.* *Plata* means, well, silver. *El hombre de plata.* So, we are going to get into groups.]

45. T: *Bueno. **Vamos** a ir en la página, en la página setenta y siete. La página setenta y siete.*

[Good. We're going to page, page 77. Page 77.]

46. T: *Bueno, pues, este era el ejercicio que **habíamos**, que no **habíamos** terminado el otro día. Ahora **vamos** a ver los ejercicios del* semester book. I think **we** have the right one. **We** can do them together. Cause **we** had some problems the other day, right?

[Good, well, this was the exercise that we did, that we did not finish the other day. Now we are going to see the exercises from semester book.]

47. T: We have a lot of things to go over. Let me just write them right here, okay. So that's the plan for today. **We're** gonna learn *expresar cosas en pasado subjuntivo.*

[We're gonna learn to express things in the past subjunctive.]

48. T: *Vamos a hacer primero los ejercicios del* workbook. *Venga.* This will be fast. *Éstas son actividades del vocabulario.* **We** are in chapter (pause) *¿en qué capítulo* **estamos***?*

[We are going to first do the exercises from the workbook. Come on. This will be fast. These are activities from vocabulary. We are in chapter (pause) what chapter are we in?]

All the pronouns and verbs in bold from these examples refer to first person plural, and although the instructors do take part in the tasks to which they are referring, it is primarily intended for the students to be the main participants. These are clear examples of the use of "we" to lessen the force of a directive as well as assure students that they are not alone in doing these activities; but rather the instructors will aid in the tasks at hand. Instead of saying, "'you' are going to do X activity", the instructors include themselves in the group. Example 30 illustrates how the instructor included himself in initiating an activity of which the students were to be the primary participants. After he told the students "'we're going to look at the verbs we did the other day that we didn't finish," the students proceeded to complete an exercise they had previously started while the instructor called on them for the answers. He was not an actual participant, but by using the pronoun "we," he positioned himself on the same level as the students. Similarly, in example 31, the instructor told the students "'we' are going to analyze a story by Isabel Allende" and immediately following the instructor's statements, the students were placed in groups in order to analyze the story by themselves. In example 32, when the instructor told the students "'we' are going to page 77," she already had her book turned to that page. The main objective with her utterance was to convey to the students that *they* needed to turn to page 77.

Examples 33 and 35 are very similar to example 30 in that the instructors were initiating an exercise, and although they did proctor the exercises, it was the students who were expected to complete them. Example 34 is interesting because the instructor told the students "'we' are going to learn to express things in the past subjunctive," but he already knew how to use this verbal form. The students, however, did not know how to use the past subjunctive and therefore *they* were the ones who would learn the new form.

4.1.3.1.2. Examples from NNSs Classes

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49. T: **We've** seen direct object pronouns in 1101 and in 1102. Um, so, I'm not gonna spend a lot of time on em. **We're** gonna look more at em when **we** start doing indirect object pronouns.

50. T: **We** talked about the infinitive. Um, **we** know how to use the infinitive. Who's the subject of the infinitive?

51. T: Use the infinitive after verbs such as *querer, necesitar, esperar, tener* and *poder*. Kay? **We've** done this a lot.

[Use the infinitive after verbs such as to want, to need, to hope to have and to be able to.]

52. T: ***Vamos*** *a completar cada frase así usando una forma correcta del imperfecto de subjuntivo. Algunos de estos casos no* ***hemos estudiado*** *en el subjuntivo.*

[We are going to complete each phase like that using a correct form of the imperfect subjunctive. Some of these cases we have not studied in the subjunctive.]

53. T: *Porque es un pretérito irregular que no* ***estudiamos***. *No* ***aprendimos***. Because it is an irregular preterit that we did not study. We did not learn.

54. T: No, they're a little bit different. **We** learned the preterit first. **We** call the preterit the simple past. Why do **we** call it the simple past? When do you use the preterit?

In these examples, like those from the NSs, the instructors used "we" as a means to include themselves, and to ultimately appear less threatening and build the students' confidence. In example 36, the instructor told the students "'we've' seen direct object pronouns in 1101 and in 1102," when in actuality the current class was the first time all of those students had taken a class with him. Therefore, they could not have "seen direct object pronouns" together because he was

not their instructor for the lower level classes. In examples 37, when the instructor told the students "'we' know how to use the infinitive," it is certain that *he* knew how to use the infinitive, but it not completely clear if all the students knew. Therefore, this use of 'we' was not only directed to the students, but informed them of a feature they *should* know.   In examples 40 and 41 it is transparent that the instructors were talking exclusively about the students and were not directly connecting themselves to the utterances. These examples referenced features the students either already learned or had not learned in previous classes. It is obvious that the instructors had learned the features at a prior time. In example 39, similar to examples seen in the NSs' classes, the instructor was setting up a task the students were expected to perform. She did oversee the exercise, but she was not the one who gave the answers.

4.1.3.2. *We* with Referential Use

As seen a previous section, language teachers use the first person plural in order to include themselves in the same group as the students, lessening the force and authoritativeness of directives. The use of "we" with second person meaning is not the only use of an inclusive plural pronoun implemented in a language classroom. Many times language teachers truly are including themselves in the group of students because of shared characteristics or experiences. Other times teachers are excluding the students from the group, yet including themselves with another group, because of unshared characteristics or experiences. For this reason, there will be a distinction between the two uses of "we": the inclusive (*I + you*) and the exclusive (*I + them*). The use of the inclusive versus exclusive "we" was the most obvious divergence between how the NSs and NNSs used personal pronouns in the classroom.

This use of exclusive versus inclusive "we" in a language classroom is based on a shared feature between the instructor and his/her students. It cannot be determined by whether there is

overall solidarity between the speaker and listener because as was seen in a previous section of

this chapter, both NSs and NNS addressed their students with a *T* pronoun. This suggests that

the speaker, or instructor, did not wish to distance him/herself from his/her listeners, the students.

Brown and Gilman (1960) asserted that the more solidarity and shared characteristics exist

between the speaker and hearer, the more likely they will address each other with the reciprocal

T. When there is less solidarity or more distance between the speaker and hearer, the greater the

chance that there will be either a nonreciprocal address pattern based on power or a reciprocal *V*

will be used. The examples given in the section on address pronouns proves that both the NSs

and NNSs felt a certain amount of solidarity with their students, both utilizing a *T* pronoun when

addressing their students. The solidarity between teachers and students can be based on a

number of factors, including, age, sex, social class, and nationality. The one factor which was

known to differ between the NSs and NNSs in terms of what they had in common with their

students was whether or not they shared the same nationality.

While the *T/V* pronoun choice is an obvious cue as to how a speaker regards his/her status

in the speaker-hearer relationship, through her study, Stewart reveals,

> The terms 'power' and 'solidarity' or 'distance', which fit so well with many pragmatic
> accounts of language use, have long been associated, in the case of Romance languages,
> with the *tú/Vd.* (T/V) distinction (see Brown and Gilman 1960; Lambert and Tucker
> 1976). Yet the usefulness of these concepts in understanding the use of other personal
> pronouns for speaker-hearer reference has been underexplored. For example, *nosotros*,
> like *tú* and *Vd.*, derives its reference from the communicative situation in which it is used
> and, perhaps more than T/V, also serves to enable participants to renegotiate their
> relationship and their interactional goals. (2001, p. 156)

The data collected for this study revealed no differences in the instructors' pronoun choice in

addressing their students. In all but one case in a NS's class, the instructors opted to use the *T*

pronoun, *tú,* to address individual students. However, there were differences in their referential

use of the pronoun "we." This reveals their position not only regarding the speaker-hearer

relationship, but also how they view themselves in relation to speakers of the target language and

speakers of the students' native language.

When students are learning a foreign language in their L1 environment, every aspect of

the *subject* may appear alien and exotic, but they are still in the comfort of a familiar classroom

within their own community. When the teacher is also a member of that community, a

connection of solidarity may form between student and teacher resulting in the use of the

inclusive "we". However, the reverse can be said when a teacher is not a member of the

community and may feel like an outsider and subconsciously use the exclusive "we".

Although many times foreign language teachers, whether NS or NNS, strive to maintain a

certain physical and psychological distance in relation to their students, NNS teachers of the

target language do have in common that they share a cultural and historical heritage with the

students. NS teachers may reside in the same city as the students, but this is undermined by an

unshared culture and history.

Brown and Levinson also make the distinction between inclusive "we" and exclusive
"we":

> Thus in addition to the widespread use of V pronouns to singular addressees,
> there is also the widespread phenomenon of 'we' used to indicate 'I' + powerful.
> Apart from the royal 'we' which most of us don't experience, there is the
> episcopal 'we' and the business 'we'. There may be two distinct sources here.
> One is the 'we' that expresses the nature of the 'corporation sole' or the jural
> accompaniments of high office—'we' as office and incumbent and predecessors.
> Then there is also the 'we' of the group, with roots precisely analogous to
> the second source of 'you' (plural) discussed above: a reminder that I do not
> stand alone. The business 'we' perhaps attempts to draw on both sources of
> connotations of power. (1987, p. 202)

From this, it can be stated that when language teachers use the pronoun "we", they can either

create a relationship based on solidarity with their students or they can construct a barrier

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between themselves and their students based on the fact that they are in the more powerful position of the two.

4.1.3.2.1. Inclusive *We*

Apart from having a shared culture, the inclusive "we" can also result from the language teacher's feelings of sympathy and connection with the students. He/she too was at one time a student of the language and went through a process similar to that which his/her students are going through. This would more likely be the case with a NNS teacher whose students are of a shared nationality, which is the case in most Spanish classrooms in the U.S. with NNS teachers. Many NNS teachers may also be cognizant of problems students have with certain unfamiliar forms in the target language. The fact that the students and teacher are both NNS and the teacher went through the same process of second language learning creates a sense of community.

In the U.S., NNS Spanish teachers whose first language is American English are members of a larger, shared community with many of their students—the language community of the shared first language. The first language community has a collective awareness of a set of linguistic rules/principles—phonological, syntactic and semantic—which both students and teacher are familiar with. Depending on the NNS Spanish teacher's level of proficiency in the target language, the Spanish language community may be somewhat *foreign* to even him/her. NNS Spanish teachers and their students also share a cultural connection. They know what students enjoy doing on the weekends, how the school systems operate, what kind of music and movies are popular, and what American family life is like. This all leads to the argument that NNS teachers do share a common community with students, which can be expressed through their use of the inclusive pronoun "we".

Along with the pronoun "we", NNS teachers may use the pronoun "they" when referring to the community of NS Spanish speakers. An example of this would be when a teacher says "in Spanish, "they" say *'qué tiempo hace'* for what is the weather like," or "in Spanish-speaking countries, "'they' have much closer family units." Students may reinforce this by asking "what do 'they' (Spanish speakers) like to do for fun" or "what do 'they' like to eat?" The teacher does not say "we" and the students do not ask "you" because the teacher is not identified with the Spanish-speaking community. A shared community of "we" in the classroom is created between teacher and student and "they", those who speak Spanish in other countries, are on the outside. Below are examples illustrating this phenomenon.

4.1.3.2.1.1. Inclusive *We* Used by NNSs

55. T: Um, after prepositions; *'después de pintar'* after painting. A lot of times **we** use this prepositional verb as a gerund. Uh, like 'after eating it's good to rest,' 'after studying.'" And when the verb is the subject of the sentence. Um, and this is what I said about kind of working like a gerund. Um, **we** would use this in expressions like, like, skiing is fun. You know, you might want to say like *'esquiando es divertido.'* But **Spanish** doesn't do that. **They** use the infinitive. *'Esquiar es divertido.'*

después de pintar = after painting; *esquiando es divertido* = ungrammatical form of 'skiing is fun'; *esquiar es divertido* = grammatical form of 'skiing is fun'.

56. T: Um, in English **we** say, 'what's your name.' It would be wrong to translate it as *'¿qué es tu nombre?'* Okay, because the answer would be something weird like well, 'it's a word that my parents assigned me,' you know, that's not what **we're** trying to get at. What **we're** trying to get at is, 'which out of all the names is yours.' *¿Cuál es*

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tu nombre? What other sort of questions would **we** use 'what' with in English, but you would use 'which' in Spanish?

57. T: Um, that wouldn't make sense in English cause **we** don't conjugate the verbs enough.

58. T: Um, in English if **we** want to abbreviate that even more, how would **we** do it? What's a great two letter word **we** have in English?

59. T: Um, and I think in America **we're** just kinda losing that, it's all kinda lumped together.

60. T: You'll find that in Latin American countries, *el almuerzo* is the biggest, *es la comida más grande del día.* That's sorta different from here, what do **we** do? [You'll find that in Latin American countires, lunch is the biggest, it's the largest meal of the day.]

In example 55 the objective is to teach the students the different instances when the Spanish verb would be used in the infinitive as opposed to a conjugated form. The instructor includes himself, because he, a NS of English, would have also at one time been more inclined to use the gerund form over the infinitive. When the teacher uses "we", he informs the students that in English, "we" would not want to use the infinitive, but rather the gerund as in the examples he was giving. Later when he points out that "we" would want to say "skiing is fun," he again refers to himself as part of the group, reinforcing his status as a NS of English. Furthermore, the instructor refers to Spanish speakers as "they", strengthening his inclusion in the group with the students and distancing speakers of the target language. This increases the solidarity of the instructor with the students, and it can decrease his solidarity with Spanish speakers. The

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students know he is a NS of English and accept his including himself in the group as completely normal. In example 56 the instructor effectively uses the pronoun "we" to not only include the students, but all native English speakers. This is shown with his referring to how certain utterances would be translated "in English" versus how one would say them in Spanish. Examples 57-60 further show how the NNSs can connect with students by including themselves in the same group as the students.

4.1.3.2.2. Exclusive *We*

The exclusive pronoun "we" is used to signify that the speaker is a member of a group but the hearer remains on the outside. This is more likely to be the case in a NS teacher's classroom who does not share the students' language background. The teacher identifies him/herself with his/her language community, of which the students are not part. The NS Spanish teacher may also exclude him/herself by using first person, as in "'I' would say 'perdón' to get someone's attention" or "in 'my' country, 'I' eat lunch at 2 PM." Along with this, a NS Spanish teacher may be heard addressing the students as "you", while at the same time maintaining his/her position on the outside. An example of this is if the teacher were to ask, "what do 'you' say in English for *lo siento*" or "how do 'you' celebrate Christmas?" The teacher does not share the same culture with the students, which can create more distance between them.

Although the teacher is part of the community which is the main focus of the class, s/he realizes the students are not part of his/her community. Similar to what was mentioned earlier, students may address the NS teacher directly with the pronoun "you" when wanting to know how something is said or when inquiring about the culture of the target language.   For example, a student may ask "what do 'you' like to do for fun" or "what do 'you' like to eat?" Students

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associate the teacher directly with the community of the target language and do not identify him/her as part of their own community.

4.1.3.2.2.1. Exclusive *We* Used by NSs

Many times the NSs chose to use pronouns that clearly separated themselves from the students. This was accomplished by using the pronoun "we", referring to the instructor and other NSs of Spanish and also by consistently using the pronouns "I" and "you", further creating distance between themselves and the students.

61.1. T: *Aho*[30]

61.2. S: (Student is unable to complete the verb conjugation and remains silent.)

61.3. T: *'Tan pronto como,' 'tan pronto como' es una conjunción del tiempo.*

['As soon as', as soon as' is a conjunction of time[31].]

61.4. S: *Ahorren.* (student pronunciation of the answer: [axoren])

61.5. T: *Ahorren*, **we** do not pronounce that h. *a—o, a—o, a—o*[32]

[instructor's corrected pronunciation: [aoren] *ahorren* = they save.]

62.1. T: *Y por último, el color verde.*

[And lastly, the color green.]

62.2. S: *La esperanza.*

[Hope[33].]

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[30] The instructor here pronounces the first part of the verb "*ahorren*" (they save) in order to prompt the student to complete the verb.

[31] Here the instructor is trying to help the student realize the verb conjugation by cueing him/her with the key phrase in the sentence which indicates the verb conjugation.

[32] The instructor pronounces these two letters slowly in succession.

62.3. T: *Vaya por hecho, la esperanza, ¿pero eso es verdad o no? Sí **yo digo,** if **I** say 'green,' what do **you** say?

[Okay, for a fact, hope. But is that true or not? If I say, if I say 'green,' what do you say?]

62.4. S: Go.

62.5. T: (Laughs.) Go, you can go. *El dinero, la envidia, en países hispanos el verde significa la esperanza.* Hope. Uhuh. For **you** it's more *otra cosa.* Envy. Green with envy, no? But *para* **we** don't have that thing of *verde, envidia.* Well, **we** have that too, *sí. Pero en general el verde es un símbolo de esperanza.*

[Go, you can go. Money, envy, in Hispanic countries green means hope. Hope. Uhuh. For you it's more another thing. Envy. Green with envy, right? But for we don't have that thing of green, envy. Well, we have that too, yes. But in general green is a symbol of hope.]

63. T: *Un ejemplo que **tenemos** en español. En español es Aura. Muy buena. Me encanta. Muy buena, ¿eh?*

[One example that we have in Spanish. In Spanish is *Aura.* Very good. I love it. Very good.]

64. T: *No buscar por, buscar para,* **we** don't use anything else with *buscar.* Just simply *buscar.*

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[33] The student here is saying that the color green represents the feeling of hope.

[*buscar*[34] = to look for]

65. T: In Spanish it would be *dentro de un mes, ya habré dejado de fumar. Habré dejado.* Notice **we** use that verbal tense when you're talking about something that will have happened by a certain time.

[In Spanish it would be within one month I will have quit smoking. I will have quit.]

In example 61 the instructor corrects the pronunciation of a word a student had just said during an exercise. The teacher here clearly uses "we" referring to himself and a group, presumably native Spanish speakers, who are outside the classroom. He would not say "we" and intend to include the student because the student proves that *he would* pronounce the "h", whereas the teacher points out that "they" do not.

Example 62 is another illustration of when the instructor clearly sets himself apart from the students, using the exclusive personal pronoun "we". In this illustration, the teacher is referring to how emotions can be represented through various colors. This example is especially helpful because it addresses a cultural connection the instructor feels with other NS of Spanish, yet does not have with his students. In 62.3. the instructor separates himself from the students with use of first and second person. He is setting the stage for asking students what the color green represents in "their" culture. He therefore cannot include himself by asking what would "we" say, because the color does not mean the same thing for him. This is reinforced in 62.5. when he uses "you", again increasing the distance between himself and the students. In the last utterances of 62.5. the instructor uses the exclusive pronoun, "we", because he is referring to

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[34] In this example the instructor is teaching students that with the verb "*buscar*," it would be ungrammatical to add the preposition "for" in order to convey the same meaning as the English phrase "to look for."

what the color green symbolizes for him and other NS of Spanish.

The students in example 63 are clearly the outsiders of the group "we" to whom the instructor is referring. The instructor gives an example of a short story in Spanish containing magical realism. She includes herself with native Spanish speakers because the story is written by a NS, the Mexican author, Carlos Fuentes. Examples 64 and 65 further strengthen how the NSs utilize the pronoun "we" to separate themselves from the students.

4.2. Discussion

Pronouns are a part of language which clearly reflects the universal complexity surrounding the formation of all languages. But it also demonstrates the amazing ability each human being is given to be able to learn and produce language with unbelievable ease. Speakers choose pronouns to address and refer to their listeners as well as themselves, and by doing so unconsciously define the relationship they have with the listeners. With languages requiring a distinction between *T/V* pronouns, there is even more complexity added to the relationship between speaker and listener.

Pronouns used in Spanish language classrooms constantly reflect the solidarity between an instructor and the students as well create significant distance between the two. There were no significant differences among the NS and NNS instructors' use of *T/V* pronouns when addressing students or the pronouns they used to refer to a third person or persons. There were, however, notable differences in how the instructors used the pronoun "we" to refer to speakers of the target language and speakers of the students' native language.

While both the NSs and NNSs demonstrated a certain degree of solidarity with their students by using a *T* pronoun of address, the NNSs' solidarity was further strengthened with their utilizing the inclusive "we" pronoun. The use of the pronoun "we" in language instruction

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is not only significant in establishing the solidarity between instructors and students, it serves to

protect students' positive face. It is clear from the examples given in this chapter that both

groups of teachers have control over the use of "we" when wanting to lessen the speech act of

directives. The divergence in the use of the pronoun is when teachers are instructing material

with which they feel more or less identified. The NSs identify themselves with the target

language whereas the NNSs can more closely relate to the language and culture they share with

the students.

CHAPTER 5
CODE-SWITCHING IN THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Code-switching (CS) between Spanish and English is a phenomenon that is prevalent in many communities where these two languages are in contact. It has been subject to numerous studies examining both the sociolinguistic factors which trigger CS as well as the purely linguistic features, characterizing exactly where in utterances CS is most likely to occur (e.g., Gumperz, 1964, 1967, 1970, 1976; Hasselmo, 1970; Lipski, 1978; Pfaff, 1976; Poplack, 1977, 1980; Rayfield, 1970; Shaffer, 1978) . However, there have been few studies carried out on the occurrence of CS in classes where Spanish is taught as a second language (e.g., Flyman-Mattsson & Burenhult, 1999; Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez , 1973). Although the environments of a speech community and an academic classroom provide for divergent situations, language classrooms would be an optimal place for CS to occur. Not only are there two languages in direct contact, but it is also the instructor's principal objective to expose the students to a language in which they are not fluent. In order to do this, it would be necessary to incorporate the target language into the teaching and everyday language of the classroom.

In this chapter, there will be an analysis of the structure of CS in the language classroom as well as a discussion of the sociolinguistic reasons behind classroom CS. Additionally, the underlying issue of whether or not an instructor's status as a native speaker of the target language will affect the amount or positioning of CS will be addressed. Many instructors of second languages in the U.S. are native speakers (NS) of the target language while also fluent in their L2, English. For this reason one would expect CS between the instructor's native language and the native language of the students to occur frequently. It is common for instructors to feel most comfortable using their native tongue when teaching. However, many instructors will use the

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students' L1 in order to more effectively teach difficult grammar features not easily explained in the target language. The nonnative speaker (NNS), on the other hand, may not demonstrate as much CS for the very fact that he/she shares the same native language as the students, and therefore finds it easier to explain the material in the shared language.

This chapter will be divided into two principal sections: (1) the structural side of CS in the classroom and (2) the sociolinguistic side. Through the two sections, there will be a thorough comparison between CS seen in classrooms where the instructors are NSs of Spanish and where there are NNS instructors of Spanish. While there may be some similarities in the structure of the CS heard in classrooms and bilingual communities, due to the unique environment surrounding language classrooms, the data will present motivations behind classroom CS which are distinct from CS in bilingual speech communities.

5.1. The Structure behind Classroom Code-switching

Code-switching has been a delicate topic in the U.S. in recent years due to the large influx of Hispanic immigrants to metropolitan and even rural areas in much of the United States. To the average citizen, CS between Spanish and English refers to the term which was recently coined as Spanglish. Although Spanglish has gained a standing in its own right, it was shrouded with a somewhat negative connotation, and it undermined what was actually taking place when the two languages were coming into contact. The idea that CS, or Spanglish for that matter, constituted its own grammar was ignored. Today there is little debate that CS does consist of patterns and rules, taken from the languages involved, which can be applied to an infinite number of utterances and thus constitute a grammar of their own. While it is unknown whether the CS specifically utilized by teachers of Spanish demonstrates an underlying grammar each Spanish teacher possesses individually, Tarone (2006) alludes to the idea that the interlanguage

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of a speaker's L2 may be the result of the stabilizing force of fossilization, occurring during

SLA, resulting in the use of CS when the speaker is uncertain about a structure or form in his/her

L2.

Studies on CS have shown that there are rules regarding its usage. Poplack (1980**)**, when

analyzing the phenomenon in a Puerto Rican neighborhood in Harlem, New York, noticed two

main restrictions in the CS of the participants, which she termed the "free morpheme constraint"

and the "equivalence constraint." The free morpheme constraint determines that CS would not

normally occur between two linked morphemes. Therefore, for example, one would not hear

"*seguraly"* for *seguramente* "surely"[35]. Furthermore, verb affixes from one language would not

be added to the verb root of another, as in the ungrammatical example "**jumpiendo"* for

"jumping"[36].

 The free morpheme constraint also applies to colloquial phrases whose meanings would

be lost if one or more of the words were omitted. For example, the English phrase "rain or

shine" would never include a Spanish word and produce something such as "**llueve* or shine."

In turn, the Spanish phrase, "*gracias a Dios* (thank God)" would not be heard as "*thanks a

Dios."

The equivalence restraint requires that an utterance containing a CS not break either of

the language's grammatical rules. For instance, it would be unlikely for a person to say, "**le*

wrote him" for "I wrote him" because although Spanish grammar requires that an indirect object

pronoun prepose a verb in the simple present tense, it may never prepose the verb in English as

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[35] This would consist of the English adverbial suffix –ly being added to the feminine singular form of the Spanish adjective *seguro* (sure) instead of the Spanish adverbial suffix *–mente,* which is the normal manner in which Spanish adverbs are formed.

[36] *-iendo* is one of the two suffixes indicating the progressive, equivalent to English "–ing".

in this ungrammatical example. Another example that would never be heard is "*roja* apple" for "*manzana roja* (red apple)" because the adjective-noun syntax required in Spanish is distinct from the English structure.

Other than the restraints Poplack argues are indicative of CS, she also describes two situations where CS takes place in discourse, using the terms "intrasentential" and "emblematic." Intrasentential switches occur within the sentence and are usually at the head of a noun or verb phrase. In Poplack's study, this was the most witnessed type of switch due to the fact that the majority of the members of the Puerto Rican community in New York were bilinguals and fully fluent in both English and Spanish. Given their complete control of both languages, it is common for the New York community to easily switch between the two languages at various points within an utterance. On the other hand, the second type of switch, or emblematic, is seen occurring *outside* the actual utterance. These can be tag questions or hedges attached freely onto an utterance, adding no new information. Also considered emblematic is when the speaker switches at the utterance boundary. Emblematic switching is more commonly used by semi-bilinguals or those who speak one language significantly less fluently than the other.

Prior to analyzing the data for this study, there was little prospect that the CS demonstrated in the classroom would resemble the CS heard in bilingual communities. While all participants observed were fluent in both languages, they learned their L2 in a language classroom, rather than being raised in homes where both languages were spoken. Furthermore, the environment in which the instructors were using CS differed greatly from that which is witnessed in bilingual speech communities. From the onset it was anticipated that the CS the participants for this study used in their classes would not contain the same deftness or fluidity as the CS occurring between bilinguals.

5.1.1. Examples of Native Speakers' Code-switching

The examples given below were taken from Spanish NSs' classrooms and reflect intrasentential switching. Interestingly, the rules that Poplack (1980) gives regarding intrasentential switching also apply to CS which occurs in the classroom[37],[38].

1. T: So, *es presente de indicativo pero ahora haya visto*, as you already know, *se llama pretérito perfecto de subjuntivo.*

[So, it is present indicative but now you have seen, as you already know, it's called past perfect subjunctive.]

2. T: When that happens, you need to use *pretérito perfecto de subjuntivo*.

3. T: *¿Quién es* Jason King **by the way**?

[Who is Jason King by the way?]

4. T: For Friday I want you to bring *este ejercicio en la página dos noventa y cuatro* and from the semester book.

[For Friday I want you to bring this exercise on page 294…]

5. T: You use the *pretérito perfecto.*

[You use the past perfect.]

6. T: And then we'll do the *examen oral* with two people.

[And then we'll do the oral exam with two people.]

7. T: Do you remember the magical element *como la historia de Gabriel García*

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[37]Below are the transcription codes used in this chapter
T = teacher
S = student
SS = numerous students answering at the same time
> = dropped utterance
Bold lettering is used for the salient feature being discussed

[38] These switches do not occur in succession and may be taken from different class meetings

Márquez?

[Do you remember the magical element like the story by Gabriel García Márquez?]

8. T: They discover the story *al mismo tiempo*.

[They discover the story at the same time.]

Examples 1-8 demonstrate intrasentential switches from one language to another generated from the head of a specific phrase, whether it is a noun phrase, verb phrase, adverb phrase or prepositional phrase. Example 3 also contains the idiomatic phrase, "by the way," which remains intact with the switch in no way affecting its grammaticality. It is interesting to note that in examples 5 and 6, the switch takes place between the determiner and noun with the determiners in English and the nouns in Spanish. This is contrary to Poplack's (1980) claim that switches occur in positions so as to keep noun phrases intact in one language or the other. Contrary to these two examples, most of the data the author collected does, in fact, demonstrate that when there is a determiner or a preposition present at the moment of a switch this determiner or preposition also switches code.

In the NSs' classes, there are two main contexts which prove most conducive to emblematic switching—tag questions and repetition. Here are some examples which demonstrate emblematic switching:

9. T: You did another exercise about that, *verdad*, from *el* textbook.

[*verdad* = "right"]

10. T: So when you learn that, you can go there and see which chapter, *¿entendéis?*

[*¿entendéis?* = "do you all understand"]

11. T: *Si yo digo*, if I say green, what do you say?

[If I say, if I say green, what do you say?]

12. T: *Cuando alguien muere,* when somebody dies, they wear white.

[When someone dies, when somebody dies, they wear white.]

In examples 9 and 10 the instructor inserted a tag question at a point when there was a switch from one language to another, checking for students' comprehension. Using tag questions to verify that students are grasping the material is a very common pedagogical strategy in any classroom. Interestingly, when there was a switch where a tag question was present, the question was many times in the target language. This leads the researcher to conclude that the instructors used CS in these instances as a pedagogical means to reinforce the target language. The instructors recognized a need to ask students tag questions such as "do you all understand" many times throughout a class period, and therefore took advantage of further exposing students to the target language. Using CS as a pedagogical tool will be discussed in more detail in a later section. The latter two examples are pure repetition saying exactly the same thing first in Spanish followed by English, also a very common pedagogical strategy in language classrooms. In all the examples, there is no new information added to the utterance, appropriately illustrating emblematic CS.

5.1.2. Examples of Non-native Speakers' Code-switching

When analyzing the data for this study, it was interesting to note that while the NSs used CS emblematically and intrasententially, not favoring one type more than the other, the CS of the NNSs was almost always emblematic in nature. There could be various reasons for this. The NSs could feel more comfortable speaking the language they have a better proficiency in, while at the same time realizing a need to connect with the students in their native language. Therefore

it is easier for them to more freely switch between Spanish and English within the same sentence. The NNSs, on the other hand, may not be as inclined to speak Spanish (especially at lower levels of proficiency), noting that students understand them better when speaking in the shared language. Their switching could be more conscious, reflected by the fact that they are whole sentences or repeated phrases instead of switching within the same sentence.

While the CS used by the NNS instructors occurred more in emblematic situations, there were times when there was the insertion of Spanish words in utterances that were predominantly in English. But this was in a very different case than the intrasentential switching heard by the NSs. The NSs freely switched between Spanish and English in various utterances, whether within questions, instructions, grammar and vocabulary lessons, spontaneous conversation, corrections, openings and closings of the class, etc. The NNSs, however, restricted their intrasentential switching to grammar and vocabulary lessons where it was necessary to use the target language either when making a point about a specific feature or when referring to something written in the textbook. It is questionable whether this is actually a true depiction of CS because it is not representative of a continual flow of language use. The instructors purposely say the words or phrases in Spanish in order to make a point about them, not due to spontaneous switching within utterances. Examples are included in this dissertation in order to demonstrate how the NNSs lacked true intrasentential switching.

13. T: When two verbs work together to form one thought. It's called an auxiliary verb. Um, this is on page 241. Use the infinitive after verbs such as *querer, necesitar, esperar, tener* and *poder.* Kay? We've done this a lot. And they give you some examples of that like *tener* plus *que.*

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[Use the infinitive after verbs such as *to want, to need, to wait, to have and to be able to.* Kay? And they give you some example of that like *to have to*.]

14. **T:** What's the difference in '***tienes que estudiar'*** and ***'hay que estudiar?'*** What's the difference in *you have to study* and *one has to study?*

15. **T:** And after impersonal expressions like ***'es posible'*** or ***'es necesario'*** just use the infinitive.

[*es posible* = "it's possible"; *es necesario* = "it's necessary"]

16. **T:** And some even sound like, like ***'aprender,' 'comprender,'*** they sound like they should be stem changing.

[*aprender* = "to learn"; *compreder* = "to understand"]

These are just a few of the many examples where it is clear that the NNSs switching within the utterances was used only to highlight the specific Spanish words to which they were referring. This is further shown by the fact that in example 13, the instructor inserts an English conjunction ("and") when listing Spanish verbs in order to make a point about the language's grammar. The conjunction had nothing to do with the point being made, explaining why the instructor defaulted back to English.

The more common type of switching seen in the NNSs' classes was emblematic and mainly occurring as complete or repeated utterances, rather than tags or hedges.

17. **T:** First thing is look on page 241; ***la página doscientos cuarenta y una.***

page 241

18. **T:** Um, ***¿qué te ocurre?*** What's wrong, what's the matter? ***¿Qué haces manaña?***
What are you doing tomorrow?

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[Um, what's wrong with you? … What are you doing tomorrow?]

19. T: *El desayuno, ¿sí? Es la comida más importante del día,* uh-uh. *El desayuno.*

What do you eat for breakfast?

[Breakfast, right? It's the most important meal of the day. Breakfast.]

20. T: *Cuando era niño, yo jugaba mucho.* Um, *cuando era niño, yo iba a la playa.*

[When I was a child, I used to play a lot. Um, when I was a child, I used to go to the

beach.]

It is clear from examples 17-20 that when the NNSs switch emblematically between their native

language and the target language, there is a preference to switch *between* utterances rather than

within utterances. After reviewing the data from the NNSs, it was rare to find emblematic

switching with tags or hedges, which was common in the data from NSs. Example 20 is one of

the few examples where there is a switch between the discourse marker, "um," and the Spanish

phrase *cuando era niño.*

5.1.3. Discussion

Code-switching is a major part of second and foreign language classrooms. The

restrictions governing the use of CS in communities, such as the free morpheme and equivalence

constraints, are also seen implemented in language classrooms. Classroom CS consists of two

situational types, which are also seen in communities where CS is used—intrasentential and

emblematic. Like CS in bilingual communities, the syntactic rules for each language apply

regardless of the environment. Nonetheless, as will be discussed in later sections, the CS

observed in this study is significantly different from CS heard outside the classroom.

A significant factor characteristic of the CS in the classrooms of NSs is the discovery that it is more complex intrasententially. As seen with the data presented in this study, NSs mix Spanish and English in much of their language, whether teaching, setting up activities or in social discourse. The NNSs, on the other hand, very clearly keep the two languages separate with the intrasentential CS occurring strictly for grammatical clarity. Even the emblematic switches in the NNSs' language occur at the utterance boundary, demonstrating once again the separation of the use of the two languages.

5.2. Sociolinguistic Features of Classroom Code-switching

Code-switching, when implemented in natural conversation, can be triggered by sociolinguistic factors defining the speaker, listener, and the relationship between the two. Silva Corvalán says this when referring to motivation behind CS:

> …*la alternancia o intercambio de códigos, i.e, el uso del inglés y español por el mismo hablante dentro de un turno de habla. Dado que un bilingüe tiene dos códigos lingüísticos a su disposición, es de esperar que utilice ambos si la situación se lo permite.* (2001, p. 315)
> …the alternation or code-switching, for example, the use of English and Spanish by the same speaker in one speaking turn. Given that a bilingual has two linguistic codes at his disposal, it is expected that he would use both if the situation permitted it. (2001, p. 315)

Clearly CS has to be initiated by a speaker who has the capability to use two distinct languages. This is certainly the case in bilingual communities in the U.S. A Spanish instructor in the U.S. normally has the capability to use both Spanish and English. And because the main objective in a Spanish class is to teach the language, instructors may feel more liberty in switching back and forth freely during a class period. There are situations, however, when an instructor is weaker in one of the two languages in question, favoring his/her stronger language and preferring it over the other.

Silva Corvalán gives four factors promoting CS including, "*el entorno físico, los participantes, el tema de la conversación y la identificación étnica*" [the physical environment, the participants, the topic of conversation and the ethnic identity] (2001, p. 316). While the speaker definitely has to retain knowledge of two languages in order to use CS, the listener also has to be able to understand, and in most cases speak, the two languages in question. In addition CS may increase when the speakers are talking about aspects related more closely to their culture or ethnicity. The ethnicity and nationality of the participants also plays a role triggering CS among bilinguals. Upon realizing their listeners are of the same cultural heritage and can understand the speaker's languages or dialects, the speaker may choose to incorporate more CS into a dialogue. It is uncommon for a speaker to initiate CS into his/her speech if he/she is aware that the listener does not understand one of the speaker's languages or dialects. This may occur, however, when a speaker, unable to communicate fluently in the listener's native language, falls back on his/her L1 in order to express specific words or utterances, while aware that the listener may not understand.

There is a different and contrary situation between a Spanish instructor and his/her students. It is obvious that both the speaker and listener *do not* fully speak or understand both languages. The instructor, in most cases, has knowledge of both, but the students taking lower level language courses do not. Therefore, the fact that CS occurs most often between speakers capable of understanding and producing the same two languages—as is the case in bilingual communities—does not explain classroom CS. The motivating factors behind the CS used by instructors in language classrooms will be further discussed below.

Another variance between classroom CS and the CS heard in bilingual communities is the reality that the NS instructors generally do not share the same ethnicity or nationality with

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their students. Additionally the NNS instructors are using a language which is secondary to their

native culture and that of the students. It could be the argued that in language classrooms,

instructors strive to use the target language as much as possible in order to maximally expose the

students to the language and culture being studied, while using the students' native tongue to

ensure comprehension. Therefore it must be asserted that CS in the classroom occurs for very

different reasons than the reasons described by Silva-Corvalán (2001) for the CS witnessed in

bilingual communities.

Although having the same abilities in the two languages or a shared nationality or

ethnicity are not motivations for the occurrences of CS in Spanish language classrooms, there are

many other possible reasons to use CS in the classroom. Flyman-Mattsson and Burenhult

conducted a study on the use of CS in a French language classroom. The following reasons were

found to be motivating factors for CS in the French classrooms they studied:

> (a) Linguistic insecurity, e.g. the difficulty teachers experience in relating new
> concepts.
> (b) Topic switch, i.e. when the teacher switches code according to which topic
> is under discussion; it might be suggested, for instance, that certain aspects
> of foreign language teaching such as grammar instruction, are preferably
> expressed in the mother tongue of the students.
> (c) Affective functions, e.g. spontaneous expression of emotions and
> emotional understanding in discourse with students.
> (d) Socializing functions, i.e. when teachers turn to the students' first language
> to signal friendship and solidarity.
> (e) Repetitive functions, i.e. when teachers convey the same message in both
> languages for clarity. (1999, p. 3)

While the data collected for the present study also demonstrate CS occurring for the same 5

reasons given by Flyman-Mattsson and Burenhult (1999), these reasons were not sufficient in

determining why the instructors implemented CS in their classes. On numerous occasions in the

data, both the NSs and NNSs switched code for the following two reasons: CS as a pedagogical

tool and for topic expansion. These will be shown and elaborated on below. Both the NSs' and NNSs' classes proved to utilize CS at various points in their instruction; however, the NSs switched more often overall. Only the NSs use CS for linguistic insecurity, and the majority of the CS in either group served as a repetitive function in the classes.

5.2.1. Examples from the Data[39]

5.2.1.1. Linguistic Insecurity

The NSs observed for this study speak English fluently, as it was learned as a second language in their respective countries. They began taking English at the age of 13 or older, which is considered by most to be beyond the critical age for language learning. Prior to taking English as a second language classes, the only linguistic system they had been exposed to is that of their first language—Spanish. Furthermore, they were members of specific language communities containing their own rules, whether grammatical, phonological or social. This would have immense implications on the exact elements of English they would be able to acquire. Because the guiding principal of the critical age period specifies that after a certain age, learners will no longer be capable of fully acquiring a given language system, there is an implication that learning a second language as an adult would present a challenge. Therefore a speaker who is aware that the listener understands both languages at the speaker's disposal may choose the language in which he/she is stronger when unable to say the same thing in the L2.

The NNSs, having learned Spanish at an age past the critical age as well, may also have had difficulties acquiring certain features in Spanish. However, because they spoke

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[39] Some of the examples given here will be the same as in the section on the structure of code-switching, serving as appropriate illustrations in this section as well.

predominantly in either English or Spanish, with no specific patterns of CS, it is difficult to ascertain whether their use of CS was due to linguistic insecurity or for other reasons. With one of the NSs there were instances in the data which may be characterized as linguistic insecurity. However, because the native speakers' English proficiency was not tested for this dissertation, it is impossible to say without a doubt that this was the reason for a switch in languages. Flyman-Mattsson and Burenhult (1999) state that linguistic insecurity can be demonstrated by an instructor when he/she avoids certain words or structures due to his/her lack of confidence to use them. Here are examples of this[40]:

> **21. T:** So, *es **presente de indicativo** pero ahora haya visto,* as you already know, *se llama **pretérito perfecto de subjuntivo**. ¿Por qué?* Because it's probable that somebody has seen somebody in the past. Okay? This is the present, but it's talking referring to something that happened *en el pasado*. When that happens, you need to use ***pretérito perfecto de subjuntivo***. It's possible that you passed that biology class two years ago. You use the ***pretérito perfecto***. It's a general rule. Later we will see that it's not that easy, but I don't want to give you all at the same time. Okay? *¿Entendéis?*
>
> [So, it's present indicative but now you have seen, as you already know, it's called subjunctive preterit perfect. Why? Because it's probable that somebody in the past. Okay? This is present, but it's talking referring to something that happened in the past. When that happens you need to use subjunctive preterit perfect. It's possible that you passed that biology class two years ago. You use the preterit perfect. It's a

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[40] As in the previous section, the examples given do not occur in succession and may be taken from different class times.

general rule. Later we will see that it's not that easy, but I don't want to give you all at the same time. Okay? Do you all understand?]

22. T: *Es **el indicativo**, ¿verdad? **El subjuntivo*** would be 'use.' What if you say if you said '*usa'* instead of use?

[It is the indicative, right? The subjunctive would be 'use.']

23. T: We're gonna learn *expresar cosas en **pasado subjuntivo***. So there's an exercise.

[We're gonna learn to express things in the subjunctive past.]

24. T: ***El pretérito perfecto*** can be kinda tricky, but that's the way it is, okay?

[The preterit perfect (form) can be kinda tricky…]

25. T: *Ves, 'quiere,' **presente de indicativo**,* as you already know, cause we had a lot of practice on semester book and all of that. This is ***presente de subjuntivo***.

[You see, 'quiere[41],' present indicative, as you already know…This is the present subjunctive.]

26. T: This means that you need to review your ***pretéritos de indicativos***. That's one other reason you need to know the things you learn *en **el pasado**,* okay, in previous courses.

[This means that you need to review your preterit indicatives. That's one other reason you need to know the things you learn in the past (courses), okay, in previous courses.]

27. T: So out of the third person plural of ***indicativo*** comes the six forms of the ***imperfecto de subjuntivo***.

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[41] "*Quiere"* is third person simple present singular of the verb "to want."

[So out of the third person plural of (the) indicative (form) comes the six forms of the imperfect subjunctive.]

28. T: *'Quise' o 'quería'* because as I said it doesn't matter if you put it in **_pretérito_** or in **_imperfecto_**.

['I wanted' or 'I used to want' because as I said it doesn't matter if you put it in the preterit or imperfect.]

In the above examples, the instructor uses Spanish when naming verbal tenses, especially when they contain more than one word, such as "*pretérito perfecto de subjuntivo* (subjunctive preterit perfect)." In example 21 he uses the English word "present," which is a smaller, less complex term that he probably has confidence using. It is interesting to note that even when the entire proceeding and following utterances are in English, the instructor switches to Spanish with the verbal tense names, as seen in the majority of the examples given. It is possible that he was trying to avoid saying these names in English because of the insecurity he feels with them. On the other hand, the instructor could be using Spanish for names of verbal forms as a pedagogical tool allowing students to be exposed to them in the target language. Example 26, however, may contradict the idea of using CS as a means to teach the names of verbal forms in the target language. In this example the instructor uses the word "*pasado*" to refer to the time period and not when talking about the verbal tense. This could be an automatic response the instructor uses regardless of whether he is talking about the verbal form or the time period to which it refers. CS used as a pedagogical tool in language classrooms is not one of the motivations given in the article by Flyman-Mattsson and Burenhult (1999), but from the data presented here and in other

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consistent examples in the NS classes, it is a valid reason for classroom CS which should be considered.

5.2.1.2. Topic Switch

A topic switch in language classes can occur at various points within a class. For example, an instructor can switch between grammar lessons, from a vocabulary demonstration to a text book reading, from the opening/greeting of the class to initiating a quiz or exam, etc. From the data collected, one of the NSs consistently switched from the target language to English when he considered it a point more important for students to understand.

29.1. **T:** *Pase[42], te quiero que pases. Pases, tú, it's tú, ¿verdad? Mhmm. Número ocho* [Spend, I want you to spend. Spend, *tú*, it's the *tú* form, right? Mhmm. Number eight.]

29.2. **S**: Could you also say '*pasemos*'?

29.3. **T: Okay, it could be that one**. You could include yourself**.** It's because it's *nuestra* so that should include you, and so it has to be *pasemos* cause otherwise that one would say, my life, it would be *quiero que pases la vida conmigo.*

30. **T:** *¿Qué signfica 'vanguardia'? ¿Vanguardia? Es lo que está enfrente. Lo primero,* the first line. A vanguard. A *vanguardia. En español, vanguardia*. **Vanguard the first one in a line of artistic expressions, the first artist that start that style. That would be** *vanguardia*.

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[42] '*pase*' was the answer a student gave to an exercise

[What does vanguard mean? Vanguard? It's what's in front. The first, the first line.

A vanguard. A vanguard. En Spanish, *vanguardia*.]

31. **T:** *'Reproducciones,' sí, porque dice 'muchas' y 'paisajes'* **is male, it should be**

 muchos **and they gave you** *muchas* **so** *reproducciones*.

 ['Reproductions,' yes, because it says 'many[43]' and 'landscapes' is male.]

32. **T:** **Everytime you have the word** *imperfecto*, **the name of the verbal tense, it's**

 just one word. You have two words—*condicional perfecto*—**you have the word**

 perfecto, **it means there are two words**.

 [*imperfecto* = "imperfect"; *condicional perfecto* = "conditional perfect"]

In example 29, the NS is prompted to switch to English in order to explain a grammatical point

which came up from an exercise students were performing. In the instructor's first utterance, he

is repeating an answer of a verb conjugation given by a student. After a student questions the

answer and whether it should actually be conjugated in a different person, the instructor follows

up with an explanation, switching from Spanish to English. It is difficult to say for certain why

he switched to English here. It is probable that he wanted to be sure the students understood why

the verb in the answer should actually be in the first person plural (*pasemos*—'we spend time')

and not in the second person singular as was previously given. The understanding of the

instructor's grammatical observation was more important than students' exposure to the target

language.

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[43] In the exercise students were performing in this example, they had to choose an appropriate vocabulary word to complete the given sentences. The correct answer, "reproductions," is a feminine word, requiring the adjective, "many," to also be feminine. *"Muchas"* is the feminine form of "many," and therefore correctly modifies the noun, "reproductions."

Examples 30, 31, and 32 also demonstrate switches from Spanish to English when the instructor wanted students to understand the explanation he was giving for the material being discussed. In example 30 his concern was that students comprehend the meaning of the term "vanguard," and as such felt it would be more effective to give the definition in English. In example 31 he wanted to be sure students knew why the answer was "reproductions" and not "landscapes," given that the former term was in agreement with the feminine form of the adjective, "many," while the latter was not. And in example 32, the concern was for students to recognize that when the name of a verbal form contains the word "perfect," this is an indication that the form contains two words, an auxiliary and a past participle.

Although these examples do not actually demonstrate a change in *topic*, as the name Flyman-Mattsson and Burenhult (1999) gives suggests, they are more closely related to this reason than the other reasons given by the authors. More appropriately, an additional reason for switching codes could be deemed "topic expansion" rather than "topic switch." Throughout the data, there were instances when the instructors were explaining a feature using the target language, but sensed a need for more explanation regarding that feature. This could be because a student asked a question for clarification, as seen in example 29, or because the instructor could recognize from the students' puzzled looks that they did not understand. This would, in turn, influence the instructor to "expand" on the topic, switching to the students' native language in order to give them clearer view of the material. More representative of the name, the examples below can be considered true "topic switches:"

Examples from NSs:

> **33. T:** *Del arte, muy bien, entonces hay mucho vocabulario. El vocabulario relacionado con el arte.* **Maybe we will have a pop quiz on Friday on vocabulary, maybe so**

you may want to study the vocabulary because we may have a vocabulary pop quiz on Friday.

[About art, good, so there's a lot of vocabulary. Vocabulary related to art.]

34. **T:** So this is the plan, you see, it's a shorter one. I make it a little bit shorter. So, ***bueno, vamos a hablar entonces de dos nuevos tiempos verbales.***

[So, good, now we are going to talk about two new verb tenses.]

Examples from NNSs:

35. **T:** We also need to look at what you all need to study for the exam, um, on Thursday. So we'll talk about that towards the end of class. ***Entonces, el perfecto de subjuntivo. ¿Cómo se forma?***

[So, the perfect subjunctive. How is it formed?]

36. **T:** Lentils are like a little beany looking thing. ***Segundo plato, segundo plato. ¿Qué es esto?***

[Second dish, second dish. What is this?]

37. **T:** *Este verbo a veces, depende del hablante también ponen a veces el presente. Bueno. ¿Preguntas?* **Then let's go ahead and start the, uh, the exercises on the handout I gave you.**

[This verb sometimes, depends on the speaker also is sometimes in the present. Good. Questions?]

In example 33 the instructor is speaking in Spanish about the theme of the chapter, but switches to English when announcing a "pop quiz" they would be having on Friday. He wanted to be sure

the students understood in order to be able to study for the quiz. Example 34 is a clear switch in codes from the opening of a class to the start of grammar instruction. In the NNSs' classes, example 35, like example 34 from the NS class, demonstrates a switch from the start of a class to the beginning of a grammar lesson. In example 36, the instructor explains what "lentils" are and then switches topics and languages to ask for the meaning of the term "*segundo plato*." And in example 37, the instructor is giving a grammar explanation and then switches to instruct the students to begin a handout he had previously given them. Examples 33-37 clearly demonstrate occasions in the classroom where both the NSs and NNSs switched languages in order to shift topics.

5.2.1.3. Affective Functions

Affective expressions can cover a wide variety of uses, for instance spontaneous tags and fillers or emotional expressions such as words of approval, sympathy, praise, disappointment, and frustration. At times the instructors are trying to connect with students on a more personal level, and therefore are prompted to switch from Spanish to the students' native language, English. Other times, the switch represents a completely spontaneous reaction in which the instructor chose to switch to the language that was more natural or comfortable for him/her. Both the NSs and NNSs observed for this dissertation demonstrated instances of emotional or spontaneous CS. The examples found from the NSs' data illustrated emotional switches where there was a switch into English in order to truly convey his/her feelings, whether frustration or praise for the students.

38. T: It helps, guys, if you do this before, okay? *Insisto, insisto, ¿qué significa?*

Hmmm, siguiente, alguien, **anybody, surprise me.**

['I insist, I insist', what does that mean? Hmmm, next, anyone, anybody, surprise me.]

39. T: *¿Lo lograste? Muy bien,* **congratulations**.

[You did it? Very good, congratulations.]

40. T: *Número cinco,* **our friend, you plural informal. That one that gives you all those headaches.**

[Number five…]

41. T: *La película es muy bonita[44], toma tanto tiempo,* **I'm sorry. I would love to to have time to watch movies and stuff** *pero>*

[The movie is very nice, it takes too much time…]

In example 38, the instructor was going over homework the students should have done, but many had not. He was frustrated, and used the students' native language to express this. He wanted them to know he was frustrated and disappointed that they had not done the homework. Example 39 shows a time in the class when the instructor praised a student who had just made a discovery about a grammatical feature in Spanish. He used Spanish at first, but then switched to English to assure that he truly was happy for the student's accomplishment. Example 40 shows the instructor's sympathy towards the students. He knew the *vosotros* (second person plural) form of verbs is difficult for the students, and he expressed this in a manner he was sure they would understand. In the last example, the instructor was apologetic that they are unable to view a movie in class, and by switching to English, he expressed that he really would like to show the movie, but due to time it would be impossible. It is noteworthy that examples 38-41 demonstrate

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[44] Referring to the painter, Frida Kahlo, and the movie *Frida*.

times when the NSs wanted to express an emotional feeling or reaction to the students, and therefore chose to switch to the students' native language, ensuring their understanding. These switches appear to be a conscious decision where the instructors wanted to truly connect with students.

Other examples of affective CS from the both the NSs' and NNSs' data were more spontaneous in nature with switches between tag words or discourse markers:

Examples from NSs:

42. T: Yeah? *¿Estamos? ¿Entienden? ¿Preguntas?*

[Yeah? Are we (getting it)? Do you all understand? Questions?]

43. T: *La película, Cien años de soledad. Que tiene el realismo mágico; los elementos como sátira o el vudú. ¿Sí? Se mezcla con la verdad.* Okay[45], **good**.

[The movie, *One hundred years of solitude*. It has magical realism; elements like satire or voodoo. Yes? It's mixed with the truth. Okay, good.]

Examples from NNSs:

44.1. T: *Oscuro* is dark. *Clara* is light[46].

44.2. S: What is *amplio?*

44.3. T: *¿Cómo?*

[What?[47]]

44.4. S: What does *amplio* mean?

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[45] "Okay" is a discourse marker used in both English and Spanish and therefore does not represent a switch in languages.

[46] Here the instructor is giving the English translation for the Spanish words *oscuro* and *clara*.

[47] The instructor did not hear the student's question.

44.5. T: *Amplio*, like ample?

45.1. T: *La raza* is race. *La piel.* What is *la piel*?

45.2. S: Skin.

45.3. T: Skin. *¿Qué más?*

[What else?]

46. T: *Y de allí vamos a formar el imperfecto de subjuntivo. Fácil.* **Right**?

And from there we are going to form the imperfect subjunctive. Easy.

Examples 42-46 are representative of affective CS because the switch occurs when there is a tag question or discourse marker. There is not a significant difference in the examples from the NSs and NNSs. All were spontaneous reactions, and occurred both from English to Spanish and vice versa. Although there does not appear to be a conscious switch on the instructor's part, leading some to believe that they serve no pedagogical purpose, it is argued that students do learn the target language when natural classroom discourse is conducted in that language (Brown, 2000; Littlewood, 1981). Furthermore, language educators would argue that conducting a language class in the target language provides real context for students' exposure to the target language (Breen & Candlin, 1980; Brumfit, 1984).

5.2.1.4. Socializing Functions

Social interactions between an instructor and his/her students represents the few times when utterances could be transported and heard outside the classroom setting in a natural environment. These represent conversations which do not serve the purpose of teaching or

explaining and are usually times when the distance created by the instructor's position in relation to the students is lessened. While some language classes offer students greater opportunities to socialize with their instructors due to more time and/or a closer dynamic between the instructor and students, in most cases, this type of interaction takes place outside of the classroom setting. The classes observed in this study did not contain many examples of socialization between the instructor and students. Lower level language classes in most universities in the U.S. require that instructors move at a very rapid pace, allowing for little time for socialization to occur. For that reason, there were very few examples representing a social switch from either group observed.

Examples from NSs:

47.1. T: *Número dos*. *¿Quién es* Jason King **by the way? I have no clue.**

[Number two. Who is Jason King, by the way?]

47.2. SS: *De baloncesto.*

[From basketball]

47.3. T: *¿De baloncesto? ¿De baloncesto? Ah, un jugador de baloncesto.*

[From basketball? From basketball? Oh, a basketball player.]

48. T: And you are saying I gave them the money, *se lo*[48]. So, *¿qué otras cosas?* *¿Sara*[49], *qué harías tú?* **This is the Good Samaritan.** *Buen Ciudadano.* **Okay, I don't want to give it away, but there are many things you could have done. You could have gone to a spa. Get something done to your face**.

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[48] "*Se lo*" was the answer to an object pronoun exercise the students were doing at the time which required them to use the direct and indirect object pronouns together in order to say what they would do if they were to find a large sum of money on the street.

[49] Names were changed for privacy purposes.

[So, what other things? Sara, what would you do? This is the Good Samaritan.

Good Samaritan.]

49. T: *¿Cómo se llama mi juez?* **You know, the one that's in love with me.** What's

the name of my judge?

Examples from NNSs:

50. T: *No hay que ser rico para ir al museo[50].* **Kay? You don't have to be rich.**

(laughs) You don't have to be rich to be my girl[51].

51. T: **"**It was probable that the weather would be good the whole week during our

vacation.[52]**"** *Depende de tus vacaciones y adónde vas. Si vas a Alaska en noviembre.*

Depende también del tiempo que te guste. **Like right now, it's perfect weather for**

me. Seventy, eighty degrees. Sixty degrees would be even better. Ninety

degrees, ugh horrible.

[Depending on your vacation and where you go. If you go to Alaska in November.

Depending also on the weather you like.]

The examples above are utterances which could have occurred between friends or acquaintances

outside of the classroom. The fact that in every switch, the instructor, whether NS or NNS,

decided to switch from Spanish to English could signify that there was a preference to use

English, the native language of the students, in colloquial situations. The utterances in which the

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[50] The instructor is reading en example from the book demonstrating how to use the phrase "*hay que*" (have to) in Spanish.

[51] Upon realizing the example contained the lyrics of a Prince song, the instructor sang this utterance to the tune of the song.

[52] Reading an answer from a handout the students were doing.

switches occur are not representative of a teaching situation, but rather can be considered informal, social dialogue. Furthermore, examples 47 and 48 contain colloquial phrases, "by the way," "I have no clue," and "give it away" all of which are from a more informal vernacular and are commonly heard between two people in casual conversation. Example 50 also contains lyrics from a song that is sung in English, and therefore unlikely to be heard in Spanish, explaining why the instructor switched to English.

5.2.1.5. Repetitive Functions

Repetition is very common in second and foreign language classrooms. Chaudron (1988) describes repetition as a strategy that instructors use in order to reinforce the learning of the language in question. It is hoped that the more a student hears a certain feature of the language, the better chance s/he will have of remembering it. Many instructors also use repetition as a means to verify a student's correct answer. The reason for doing this could be in order to praise the student, confirm that other students heard the answer, or to reinforce the answer, helping students to remember it.

The principal reason for using CS in repeating utterances in language classrooms is to assure that all the students heard and understood what had been said. When comprehension is the reason for a CS to occur in a repeated phrase, it almost always occurs from Spanish to English in the present corpus. The instructor can be certain that the students will understand what is said in English. It also leads the author of the present study to conclude that CS as repetition serves as a pedagogical tool for the instructor. The students not only hear the utterance in the target language, but when the instructor repeats it in the students' L1, they are able to fully understand what the instructor said. Both the NSs and NNSs code-switched between repeated phrases.

Examples from NSs:

52. T: *¿Cómo se dice **lo contrario de "encontrar?"** **The opposite of "encontrar"?**

[How do you say the opposite of "to find"?]

53. T: *Bueno, recordáis que éste **es muy fácil.*** **It's very easy.**

[Good, remember that this is very easy.]

54. T: They discover *la historia al **mismo tiempo.*** **Same time.**

[They discover the story at the same time.]

55. T: *Entonces vamos a poner **en grupos.*** **In groups.**

[Then we are going to get in groups.]

56. T: *Vamos a ver el análisis. Análisis literario **de un cuento.*** **Of a story.**

[We are going to see analysis. Literary analysis of a story.]

57. T: *Sufra* sounds **more better to me.** *Suena mejor.*

[Suffer sound more better to me. It sounds better.]

58. T: *Hace muchos años, **¿qué significa esto? ¿Hace muchos años?*** **What does that mean?**

[A long time ago. What does this mean? A long time ago?]

Examples from NNSs:

59. T: *Quiero ir a la exposición.* **I want to go to the exposition**.

60. T: *Es importante hacer ejercicio.* You know, **it's important to do exercise**.

61. T: Um, *sin tener invitación.* **Without having an invitation.**

62. T: *Divertirse.* **To have a good time.**

63. T: *Al salir de la clase apaga las luces.* **Upon leaving the class, turn off the lights.**

64. T: *Quién.* **Who**.

65. T: *¿Qué haces mañana?* **What are you doing tomorrow?**

66. T: First thing is look on page two forty-one. ***La página dos cientos cuarenta y una.***

In example 52 the instructor repeated the part of the question which was the most important for the students to understand, and therefore increasing the possibility for them to give a correct answer. Similarly, in examples 55 and 58, the instructors were eliciting a response from students, and the repeated phrase in English shifted the dialogue to the students. In example 53 the instructor sought to make the students feel confident about the material presented to them. It is probable that the students could understand when the instructor said in Spanish that "it is very easy," but by repeating it in English, he reassured the students that the material in question was indeed easy. This also reinforced the instructor's confidence in the students to be able to perform the material. By building the students' confidence, he appears less as an authority figure, increasing the solidarity between himself and the students. Examples 54 and 56 demonstrate instances when the instructor felt it necessary to repeat the last part of an utterance either to keep the students' attention or to ensure their understanding of the portion of the utterances not containing cognates. Example 57 reveals an interesting case of CS and one of the few times when there is a repetitive switch from English to Spanish. It is likely due to the realization that the phrase "*more better" was grammatically incorrect, leading the instructor to confidently switch to his native language.

Examples 59-65 represent the majority of repetitive CS heard in the NNSs data. They demonstrate times in the classes where the instructors felt the need to repeat words or utterances to confirm students' understanding. Unlike the NSs, this was not a strategy to elicit responses from the students, but rather a technique to convey translations of unknown vocabulary.

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Example 66, however, is an exceptional case because it's unclear why the instructor switched from English to Spanish. It could be to take advantage of a pedagogical moment to expose students to a higher number in Spanish. Alternatively, it could simply be to fill the time it took students to actually turn to the indicated page in their textbooks. Either way, there is no doubt that the students understood perfectly well the page number having just heard it in English.

5.2.2. Analysis and Discussion

Code-switching is a consistent feature characteristic of any language classroom. With the data presented here, one can see that there are various reasons to implement the use of CS. The motivations Flyman-Mattsson and Burenhult (1999) found for CS in French language classrooms were also seen in the classes observed. However, two additional and prominent reasons were discovered and demonstrated—pedagogical strategy and topic expansion. The main difference between the CS in the NSs and NNSs classes was that the NSs switched more often. The NSs may have felt more comfortable using their native language, facilitating a more conducive environment for CS to occur. The NNSs, sharing the same native language as the students, may have seen less reason to CS, feeling students would understand more keeping the languages separate.

In all the classes, it is clear that the reasons for CS are very different from what is seen in a bilingual community. It is not a shared culture or identity connection which triggers CS, but rather the various other reasons outlined above. However what may be more similar to bilingual CS are the patterns and rules which classroom CS also follows. There is a structure to the CS, occurring at certain points and not randomly in a sentence. The descriptions set by Poplack (1980) for the positioning of CS in utterances occurring in bilingual communities can also apply to language classrooms. However, the data laid out in this chapter show that while NSs

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implement both intrasentential and emblematic switches in their classes, NNSs' uses of CS are almost exclusively emblematic. It is certain that this is because, as mentioned above, the NNSs chose to keep the two languages separate most of the time.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS

An intriguing reality about foreign and second language classrooms is the fact that in order for instructors to enable students to learn a foreign tongue, they must use the same tool to teach it—language. Teachers combine words and utterances hoping to enable students to do the very same thing in a language which is new and unknown to them. While every teacher has his/her own approach to and style of teaching, they all perform with the same instrument—language. The manner in which instructors address their students and use their words, with the common intention of presenting a new subject to students, forms their pedagogical discourse. This dissertation has sought to uncover specific characteristics of the pedagogical discourse styles native and non-native language teachers (NS/NNS) use in the classroom.

As was illustrated in chapter 2, the literature surrounding the NS/NNS debate has been angled towards the teaching methodologies and practices implemented by the two groups. The focus has been limited to whether NNSs of the target language of a course conduct their classes in the same manner as NSs and whether the fact that the target language is their second language affects the performance of the students. Concentrating primarily on *how* an instructor teaches a foreign language to students, these studies have overlooked the details within teachers' discourse. Of equal concern is the fact that the majority of these studies were based on surveys and questionnaires distributed to teachers and students. This form of collecting data succeeded in revealing opinions and perceptions students have towards NSs' versus NNSs' teaching styles and effectiveness. Furthermore, they allowed for instructors to critique themselves and reflect upon their teaching. However, because surveys and questionnaires are for the most part opinion-based, they do not necessarily provide accurate reflections of classroom language use.

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The objective of this study has ultimately been to determine if there is significant variation in the actual teaching discourse of NSs and NNSs, and to reveal those differences in detail. By doing this, the results of surveys and questionnaires used in other studies comparing NSs and NNSs are validated and substantiated through more objective empirical data. This study is unique to the fields of applied linguistics and language pedagogy due to the lack of studies analyzing the distinct features of NSs' and NNSs' classroom discourse styles. Discovering differences in the teaching discourse of the two groups allows for a clearer understanding of the differences in their methodologies and practices. Additionally, the present study can aid in preparing language teachers for the classroom, demonstrating unique and innovative ways instructors are presenting the material to their students as well as identify areas that can be improved.

6.1. Results

Each class observed for this study was an intermediate level Spanish language course and was composed of roughly 20-25 students. Also important was the fact that they utilized similar textbooks, preventing any major discrepancies in how the material was presented to the students; i.e. verb forms were presented to students through conjugation paradigms versus dialogues or readings. The instructors structured their lessons in a parallel fashion; each class began with a series of greetings, followed by a review of previous material, presentation of new material, and concluded with an overview of the material presented or a preview of what the next class would entail. The overall features of classroom discourse within each section were also nearly identical in each of the classes. The instructors would present new material followed, many times, by questions to verify that the students understood what was being discussed. Students would answer questions and the teachers would confirm correct answers or help students to identify

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mistakes they had made. This class sequence is commonly referred to as the initiation-response-follow-up pattern, and is a very common discourse pattern in foreign and second language classes. Additionally, the teachers set up tasks and activities they asked students to perform, giving directions and going over details which were confusing for students. Countless times all the instructors repeated themselves or echoed utterances the students had made for clarification purposes and to verify that other students had heard and comprehended what had been said. While the larger components of the instructors' discourse patterns were similar, there were some differences in more intricate details of the instructors' discourse styles.

6.1.1. The Effect of Teacher's L1 on Responses to Students' Misunderstandings and the Presentation of New Material

With any academic subject, there are areas which are more confusing for students and require extra attention and instruction by teachers. The majority of these subjects at one time were also foreign to the teachers who now strive to show students what they also learned as students. Due to this fact, teachers are often able to anticipate where students will struggle and the material on which the instructors will need to dedicate more time and attention. A striking difference with foreign and second languages is that there are teachers who learned the language as their native tongue. This is significant because they acquired the information in a completely different manner than the way in which their students are learning it as well as those who have already successfully learned it as a second language. Whether or not this would have an effect on their pedagogical discourse was the central question in chapter 3.

The results showed that the teachers' L1 affected three aspects of teacher-student interaction; first, the ease in which teachers understood the students' questions; second, the ability for the instructors to foresee students' difficulty with specific material; and third, the

capability the teachers had to use their L1 in order to relate to and, at times, present culturally sensitive material. The NNSs appeared to have had the advantage as a result of having learned the material they were teaching in the same format the students themselves were learning. This enabled them to have more foresight into the process by which the students were acquiring the language. At times they knew where students were going to have questions and/or struggle even before presenting material. NSs, too, could anticipate and were able to convey to students areas of their native language which they expected to be difficult for them. However, when the students actually voiced a concern, the NSs did not appear to fully grasp why the students were confused with specific features. This resulted in their having to further question students, trying to get them to explain in more detail what they were confused about. NNSs, on the other hand, were able to very quickly perceive the area(s) with which students were having difficulty. And they were able to do this having heard very little in way of questions by the students.

Additionally, the NNSs made insightful comparisons between their L1 and the target language, possibly thinking that students would have an easier time understanding and learning the target language by relating it to their L1. This may have been a strategy the instructors themselves found useful when they were students of the target language. Using the students' L1 as a point of reference when explaining target language forms was not only directed towards grammatical material, but rather was also used to compare cultural traditions and customs between the students' native culture and those of the countries where the target language is spoken.

Having learned the students' L1 as a foreign language, the NSs relied less on using it as a teaching strategy. Although the NSs were fluent in the native language of the students, feeling more comfortable with their own native language, they did not use it to the same extent as the

NNSs. Very rarely did the NSs draw comparisons between either the grammatical features of their L1 and the students L1 or the cultural practices of the two groups.

6.1.2. Personal Pronouns Used to Refer to Students and Speakers of the Target Language

Throughout the classes there were many instances which necessitated instructors to address and/or refer to their students as well as refer to the target language speakers. The personal pronoun they chose to do this revealed how the instructors viewed their position in relation to the students. For example, when an instructor from either group used the pronoun "we," he/she chose to identify his/her own in-group or out-group status of the group under discussion in the classroom. Examples of when instructors had to make a conscious choice of which personal pronoun to use was observed when they assigned students a task, referred to material the students had learned or were going to learn and clarified how certain structures were used by native speakers of the target language.

The data showed that both NSs and NNSs chose to use the pronoun "we" to lessen the force of a directive aimed at students. Instead of forcefully telling students "you will do x," they eased the command by saying such utterances as "we will do x." This is a common strategy in any academic classroom and was expected to be heard in the observed classes. However there was an incongruity in how the NSs and NNSs used the pronoun "we" when referring to their own cultures or peoples sharing their same nationality. NSs used "we" to refer to themselves and other native speakers of the target language, while NNSs used "we" in reference to themselves and the students.   This was reinforced by the NNSs assigning native speakers of the target language the pronoun "they" and the NSs referring to non-native speakers, including the students, as "you".

Although this may seem to be a minute detail in the discourse style of a language teacher, it reveals a significant position which the instructors are allocating themselves in relation to the students and the native speakers of the target language. By consistently including themselves with the students, the NNSs appear to be on a more equal plane or status as the students. Even while they are fluent in the target language, and therefore do have an advantage in the classroom, they come from the same background as the students. Furthermore, because the NNSs and the students were from the same country, these instructors were able to more easily connect with and relate to the students. The NSs, on the other hand, created distance between themselves and the students with their exclusive pronoun choice. However, they succeeded in decreasing the distance somewhat by using the pronoun "we" in order to ease the force of the commands they gave.

6.1.3. Code-switching

The final salient feature marking a difference between the discourse styles of NSs and NNSs was their use of code-switching (CS) in the classroom. Because it was a foreign language classroom, it was expected that there would be some CS between the target language and the native language of the students. Before addressing how the CS differed in each group's classrooms, it first had to be determined whether classroom CS varied from CS between speakers in bilingual speech communities. The data showed that the CS in the classroom, like that heard in speech communities, did indeed follow grammatical patterns. The switches consistently fell at phrasal boundaries within utterances or between whole utterances, which is similar to CS heard outside the classroom. Consequently, the CS the instructors demonstrated did not break the grammar rules of either language represented, following patterns demonstrated by bilingual speakers. While the structure of the CS used in bilingual speech communities and the CS

utilized by language teachers both follow grammatical patterns, the nature of the CS is extremely different. Many language teachers in the U.S., including the participants represented in this study, are not true bilinguals, but rather learned an L2 in a language classroom. Therefore, the CS used in the language classes does not reflect the same complexity as the CS bilingual speakers use.

Although neither NSs nor NNSs violated grammatical rules of either language with their classroom CS, the CS did differ between the two groups in its position within and between utterances. Feeling comfortable with both languages, NSs switched easily between the two, many times beginning an utterance in one language, switching back and forth within the utterance, and ending in a different language. NNSs, however, did not demonstrate such comfort switching freely between languages. This resulted in their limiting CS to utterance boundaries, producing an entire utterance in one language and then switching to the other or switching between a phrase and a tag question. It was noticeable that the NNSs kept the two languages separate, which may be a result of their native language being the same as that of the students and the target language being perceived as the objective of his/her teaching. In other words, the NNSs may have consciously used the target language when demonstrating certain features in the target language, while they spoke in the students' native language when they wanted to ensure that the entire utterance was clear and easily understood. Because the target language is also the native language of the NSs, they used it in a different manner, allowing for it to influence every aspect of their communication with the students. It was not as conscious a choice for them to speak in the target language since it is their first language, and therefore the language they feel most comfortable using.

It was clear that there were unique reasons for the CS heard in language classrooms that were distinct from the CS used in bilingual communities. CS between bilinguals occurs due to a cultural and linguistic connection between two speakers. Within a language classroom, there is an obvious disparity in the linguistic abilities of the teacher and students in the target language and when the instructor is a NS of the target language, there is also a tremendous difference in cultural customs and traditions. The empirical data from the present study shows that CS in the classroom occurs for unique reasons different from the motivations driving CS between bilinguals. As was found in previous studies, the CS in the present dissertation was found to occur for various reasons including, a sense of linguistic uneasiness, a change of topic, its use as a socializing function, its use as a strategy to praise and/or critique students and express the instructors' emotions or feelings towards a situation, and in repetition (Flyman-Mattsson & Burenhult, 1999). However, two additional reasons surfaced as significant motivating factors for the instructors to use CS in the classes observed for this study; an expansion of topic and its use as a pedagogical tool. Other than the use of CS in repetition, these additional reasons triggered the classroom CS more than the motivating factors mentioned previously. However, even within examples from CS within repeated phrases, the instructors repeated an utterance from the target language into the students' native language as a pedagogical tool to ensure the students' understanding. While there were times when certain motivations for CS appeared to be more prevalent among one group or the other, both NSs and NNSs demonstrated CS for all the reasons given above.

6.2. Implications for Future Studies

Studies analyzing and questioning the differences between NSs and NNSs teaching foreign and second languages have been controversial and shrouded with ambiguity. For that

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reason, they have been somewhat avoided in the field of linguistics. However, they are revealing and can unveil teaching methodologies and practices unique to each group which may aid in the overall effectiveness of language teaching. This is also a topic which reflects the current situation in all U.S. universities and many secondary and elementary schools. There are numerous instructors currently teaching a language they learned as a foreign or second language, therefore leading administrators and school board officials to question whether they are as adequately equipped as NSs to teach a subject in which some may feel they have limitations. It also leads some to question whether NSs can successfully relate to and understand the process their students are undergoing in order to learn and acquire a tongue which is completely foreign to them.

This dissertation has unveiled intricate details and variances in the teaching discourse styles of NSs and NNSs. The results revealed here can be further contrasted against other studies and/or future data to determine whether this would be the case in classrooms where other languages are taught or where there are teachers from countries other than the ones represented in this study. The question of what the results indicate in relation to student outcome and performance also remains. Are students of both NSs and NNSs instructors performing at equal or similar rates? Is one group of teachers more effective than the other? Or does the teacher's first language make little difference in the students' ability to learn? According to the results of this study, the NNSs were more effective in understanding the difficulty students had with specific grammatical features of the target language. While both the NSs and NNSs were able to answer students' questions, the NNSs' ability to perceive and anticipate complex structures in the target language enabled them to have more directed and precise explanations.

The results of this study can also be used to realize current trends in language teaching. The data demonstrate the strategies instructors implement to teach the target language to their students, such as appealing to the students' L1 in order for them to gain a better understanding of the target language and using CS as a tool to expose students to the language, while ensuring their comprehension. Analyzing the words and utterances teachers use to instruct their students is a fascinating aspect of academia and education. The pedagogical discourse of language teachers is one of the most vital features of the classroom and can ultimately affect students' ability to learn, acquire and produce the target language.

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VITA

Stacy Anne Reynolds-Case was born in September 1977, to Jim and Cindy Reynolds in New Orleans, Louisiana. Growing up in a Navy family, Stacy Anne was exposed to various surroundings and cultures. Her interest in the Spanish language and cultures can be traced back to living 3 years as a child Puerto Rico. After her father retired in Monroe, Louisiana, Stacy Anne graduated from Ouachita Christian School in 1996 and four years later earned a bachelor of arts degree from Millsaps College with a double major in Spanish and European studies. Stacy Anne studied in Salamanca, Spain, on a Rotary Ambassadorial Scholarship and earned a Diploma in Hispanic Studies from the University of Salamanca in 2001. After her studies in Spain, Stacy Anne graduated from the University of Southern Mississippi in 2002 with a master of arts degree in the Teaching of Languages. At that time, Stacy Anne accepted a position as a Spanish instructor at Louisiana Tech University. Taking a leave from Louisiana Tech, she began her doctoral studies in linguistics at Louisiana State University in 2006. Upon completing her course work in 2007, Stacy Anne returned to teaching at Louisiana Tech where she will remain once graduating with her doctorate in 2009. She currently lives in Downsville, Louisiana, with her husband, Jason, and two boys, Jackson and Benton.