

## Interrogating code-switching in task-based language teaching

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### Abstract

This paper critically examines the learner behavior of code-switching in the communicative language teaching (CLT) classroom at the university level. The grammar-translation method is critically discussed in view of learners' background in language learning. Task-based language teaching (TBLT) and the nature of language are discussed in sufficient detail in order to show how and why TBLT can fail. Several teaching solutions are proposed. The paper argues that a comprehensive approach to the TBLT program, one which specifies learners' roles and allows for teacher mediation, can circumvent the discussed shortcomings. The paper also proposes specific awareness raising activities.

### Introduction

Teachers give students speaking tasks in order to exercise students' language skills. Challenging speaking tasks push students to use unfamiliar syntax, grammar, and vocabulary. During such tasks students often code-switch. In their minds, using the L1 enables task-completion. While they are acknowledging there is a problem to solve, the target language (TL) is willfully kept at a distance. While the L1 becomes the most effective tool in solving the problem, the L2 remains the object of study rather than the tool for learning. This undermines communicative language learning. Therefore, students need to be made aware of code-switching, their roles, and also the role of language in the task-based lesson. As teachers, we need to convince students that the L2 is a valid tool to solve problems. This paper, which grew out of classroom research and practice, addresses the question: Does a learner-group need to become a unique *speech community* in order for task-based learning to work successfully?

TBLT is a learner-centered teaching method which aims to teach the L2 through the communicative model (Nunan, 2004; Willis and Willis, 2007; Ellis, 2003). Learners undertake macro-skill tasks in order to learn to use the language so as to eventually benefit from the social capital (Bourdieu, 1991) it affords them as a global *lingua franca* (Kachru, 1992). The role of language learning materials is to feature, or make salient, specific language objectives and provide hints (ie. contextual support through mediation) as to what linguistic choices will lead to success on a task. In order to advance the learners' language skills, learning tasks must not only be linguistically complex but also socially meaningful so as to promote dialogical interaction. Ideally, meaningful and complex tasks promote the dialogical use of language which leads to deep cognitive processing (Gass, 1997), and so the acquisition of new skills.

Tasks may be defined by *type* (e.g., information gap, jigsaw, opinion exchange, decision-making,

problem-solving), or *function*—and represent real-world communicative needs (e.g. asking directions, or responding appropriately to complaints). In principle, learners *interact* in the L2 and they use communication strategies to maintain conversational (and task) integrity, thereby getting at meaning and form in their efforts. The process rather than the outcome(s) matters most (Ellis, 2003). Nunan (2004) notes: “Tasks with high cognitive demand and more complex communication, as marked by high density negotiation of meaning sequences, generate the ‘pushed output’ that Swain (1995) argued was a factor in second language acquisition” (p. 90).

During task completion, grammar becomes “an essential resource in making meaning” (Halliday, 1994, cited in Nunan 2004, p. 9). Swain looks at the trigger for this self-reflective language awareness: learners notice a gap between the knowledge they need and their current knowledge (Swain cited in Hadley, 2001).

The acquisition of sociolinguistic competence however is not the only reason to learn a language. A language can be studied to provide cultural insight into a foreign speech community.

If a language offers no obvious social capital to the learner, being pressured by the teacher to use it for communication—even in a language-learning classroom—can be met with resistance. What learners think and how they feel about a teaching method therefore impacts directly on the success of a method’s implementation.

A methodology in the Richards and Rodgers (1986; 2001) framework refers to the principled procedures and learning activities used to teach a language. The authors discuss method in relation to the nature of language. But what is it to know a second or foreign language? The European framework has long accepted communicative competence (CC) (Canale & Swain, 1980) as the measure. The CC model delineates four interrelated skill areas:

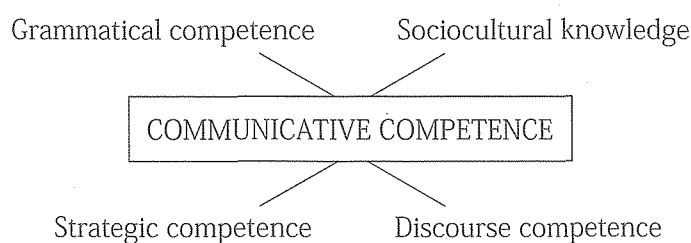


Fig 1: Communicative competence

The CC model therefore treats language as a social resource affording a language user—by way of skill in the different competences—social capital. The model, rightly or wrongly, for the EFL situation, situates language as woven into the social fabric of our lives. Ever since its inception, it has steered the design of communicative methodologies.

• While CC describes an interlocutor’s skill with a spoken language, second language acquisition theory (SLA) is also concerned with how languages are learned in unique linguistic contexts. Japan has long favored the grammar-translation method where the L2 has been treated as a system of grammar. The grammar-translation method has generally tended to classify the L2 as

separate from rich and complex social interactions. Teachers of the grammar-translation method use the L1 as catalyst to teach the L2, so in effect, the L2 is kept at a distance. An unfortunate connotation of the grammar-translation method is that words readily translate from one language to another. This notion works well enough at the elementary stages of learning:

English: *I'm afraid of her.* Indonesian: *Saya takut pada dia.*

Reducing language to a system of grammar however does not give the learner a chance to acquire communicative competence.

The question: "What is language?" has to consider the two faces of language. On the one hand we can treat language as a system of grammar (Chomsky 1987 cited in Cook and Newson, 2007), on the other: language as a social resource (Halliday, 1970). As a social resource, we see the communicative face of language: *getting things done* and *maintaining social relationships*. As a system of grammar, we see the corpus of syntax and vocabulary.

Another assumption of grammar-translation is that acquisition of grammar allows the L2 learner the ability to generate a potentially endless number of utterances from the grammar they have acquired. By implication, in the learners' minds, it follows that meaning emerges from grammar rather than the rich contexts which afford language a natural context. But as a result, language acquired through the grammar-translation method is likely to be awkward at best and always prone to pragmatic failure as learners will not have acquired the skills to negotiate meaning and deal with the demands of communication and connotative meaning. In effect, learning a foreign language through grammar-translation inevitably leads to communicative *in*competence. Learners need to learn to deal with both connotative meaning and ambiguity.

The validity of these criticisms can be clarified further by looking at language in relation to context. As early as 1923, Malinowski (2001) illustrated that utterances carried with them connotative meaning such that understanding a single utterance required considerable background information. "The structure of all this linguistic material is inextricably mixed up with, and dependent upon, the course of activity in which the utterances are embedded" (p. 393)

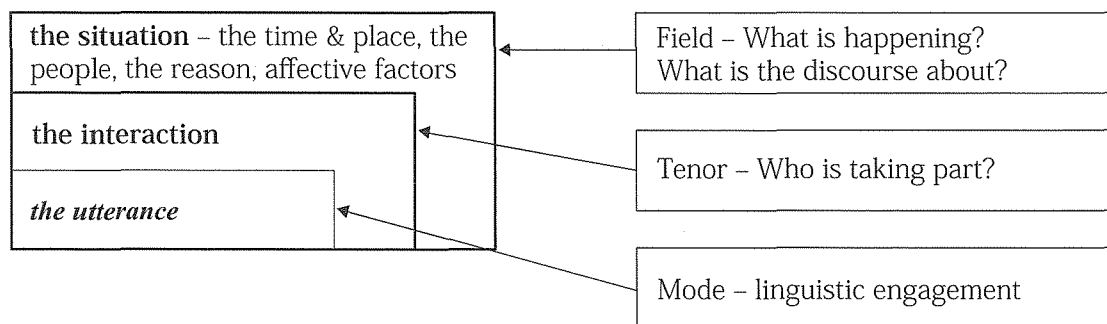


Figure 2: The meaning of *an utterance* is a function of the different levels in which it arose.

What is expressed corresponds to a situation dynamically, which means the context, rather

than grammar, influences how, and in what way, something is expressed. "...the grammatical system of language is closely related to the social and personal needs that language is required to serve" (Widdowson, 1978 cited in Tanskanen, 2006).

Another way to look at connotative meaning is by example of how implicatures are created in context.

Example 1:

A: That's the telephone.

B: I'm in the bath.

A: O.K.

A: That's the telephone.	(implicature: → Can you answer it?)
B: I'm in the bath.	(implicature: 'No, I can't.' [reason:] 'because, I'm in the bath.')
A: OK	(I understand you're indisposed, I'll get it.)

(Halliday, 1970)

Another example:

A: *Would you like another drink?*

B: *No, thank you, I must be leaving*

(Levinson, 1983 in Tsui, 1994)

The offer here elicits a refusal, and so by implicature, provides impetus for B to take leave. From the systemic functional linguistic perspective (Thompson, 2004), an utterance has (latent) meaning potential. "Would you like another drink?" in context, could have functioned to elicit a number of different responses.

A similar feature of spoken language ignored by the grammar-translation method is the inherent ambiguity of language in use. In reality, language use involves degrees of ambiguity and a tolerance for misunderstanding (Bailey, 2004). Bailey argues that the absence of explicit misunderstanding in interaction does not equate with congruence of opinion and understanding. We assume understanding is always possible but it is a complex achievement as it is not an independent state but arises out of coordinated interaction through stages of negotiation. 'The positive value assigned to understanding veils the conflict, ambiguity, and uncertainty that are part-and-parcel of social and communicative worlds' (Bailey, 2004, p. 395).

In principle therefore, the communicative methods, in contrast to grammar-translation, attempt to respond to the pragmatic features inherent in language used in unique contexts.

It follows, a methodology that responds to the question: "What does it mean to know a language" must respond to the real-world needs and habits of language users/learners and be based on a theory of language learning in the context of those specific learners.

Another important feature of verbal behavior a communicative methodology must contend with is learner-language; otherwise known as *interlanguage*.

Interlanguage refers to an inherently incomplete language system (Selinker, 1972). It is a learner's practical working belief about the L2 (with errors and gaps included). Notably, interlanguage is an evolving mental system subject to variation through the process of hypothesis testing (*ibid*).

Hence it is the interlanguage system that the communicative method targets for continuous transformation. And it is the process of hypothesis testing that forms the backbone of ideal learner behavior.

The interlanguage system is unique insofar as it is *not* an accurate representation of the L2 and it is influenced by the L1 (Ellis, 2007).

In contrast, since the grammar-translation method conceptualizes language as a discrete system, it circumvents the problems involved in engaging in the long and difficult process of L2 acquisition. It also fails to even address the fact that the interlanguage is both inevitable and an inaccurate representation of the L2 that is modified through communication.

To summarize, the notion of competence as a measure of language skill emerges from both the linguistic components and the social use of language. While CC is a relatively complete system in the first language (L1), it is an evolving system in the L2 (Selinker, 1972), subject to variation and pragmatic failure (Barron, 2003).

In addition, the acquisition of L2 pragmatic knowledge is also a problem for teaching because:

- Learners are sensitive to correction.
- Learners' perceptions of what is right and wrong (in a language) is socially conditioned. (Barron, 2003).

According to the CC measure, communicating at a level of competency in the L2 necessarily involves the learner also developing a strategic approach to language practice (Canale and Swain, 1980). From the point of view of acquisition, a strategic approach affords learners the opportunity to notice their errors so that their interlanguage system may be modified (Gass, 1997). The whole process of developing the interlanguage system is therefore contingent on a) meaningful communication, that b) involves *the negotiation of meaning*, at a level, c) where learners notice their errors. "Negotiation serves as a catalyst for change because of its focus on incorrect forms" (Gass, 1997). The strategic component of the CC model is therefore core to communicative methodologies as it allows learners to get at their interlanguage and modify it.

At the same time, interaction affords learners the opportunity to notice a particular type of evidence, negative evidence. Negative evidence shows what is *not* possible in L2 communication (Gass, 1997). Negative evidence is thought to trigger change in a learner's grammatical knowledge (*ibid*). This is a process of hypothesis testing made possible in dialogical communication; that is one-on-one communication where the negotiation of meaning matters. In other words, the negotiation of meaning involves interlocution at a level where interlocutors initiate

and respond in adjacency pairs. Notably, the coherent quality of a sequence of utterances is typical of adjacency pairs, as the first utterance delineates or limits the type of possible response as the example illustrates:

S1 I called the tractora "mmm"  
 S2 Machine (Mehan 1979 in Duranti, 1997)

"...by producing a second utterance, speakers can display their understanding of what the prior utterance is doing and their willingness to go along with whatever plan is implied by it (e.g. starting a conversation, closing, providing further information, changing topic" (Schegloff and Sacks 1984, p. 75 cited in Durant, 1997, p. 255).

"Adjacency pairs are thus important mechanisms for establishing intersubjectivity, that is, mutual understanding and coordination around a common activity" (Schegloff and Sacks, 1984 cited in Duranti, 1997, p 255). So in order for this to happen in L2 pair-work tasks, the learners have to choose to behave as part of an L2 speech community. There has to be therefore, a frame of mutual understanding (or a meta-communicative agreement) to act out the role of L2 learner. Learners roles in TBLT therefore need to be made explicit (to learners). This includes an explanation of what the method intends to do and how this is achieved .

The negotiation of meaning is a methodical process. First, the *listener* must notice any deficit of input just as a *speaker* must be on the lookout for negative evidence to validate whether or not their utterance hit the mark. When a deficit of meaning occurs, a repair strategy may begin. It is the repair strategy that leads to a conscious recognition of the mismatch between grammar and function.

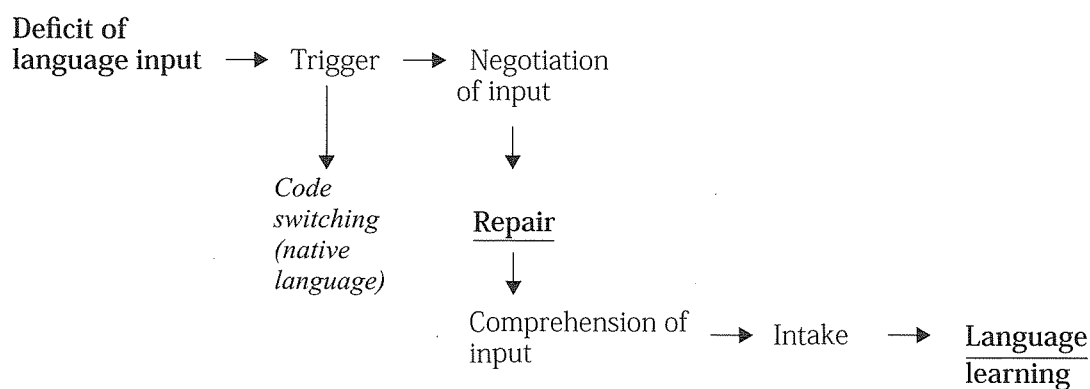


Table 1: Diagram showing code-switching vs. repair

The student's role entails a conscious decision to use the TL as a means to an end: that of laying bare the grammatical function in a dialogical process. Production tasks stretch the learner to "try forms they hadn't used before" (Gass, 1997 p. 139); this forces a switch from semantic interaction to syntactical language processing' (p. 148). A repair strategy therefore involves the

negotiation of meaning that encourages thinking about what is being. Learners observe themselves succeeding or failing with a particular syntax-construct. Yet as the diagram shows: deficits often trigger code-switching.

While systemic-functional linguistics (Thompson, 2004) identifies three meta-functions of language: getting things done, interpersonal communication, and self talk, it is worthwhile to delineate a fourth to learners:

*using interlanguage, in conscious agreement, in order to learn it.*

Nevertheless, I will contend that in many college level classrooms in Japan there is an unconscious agreement among learners to code-switch. This unconscious agreement frames communication in L1 pragmatics in general, and endorses code-switching in particular.

Code-switching is not only symptomatic of learners' lack of understanding about how languages are learned. It is not only a strategy to avoid interlanguage pragmatic failure. In the learners' minds, the L2 classroom is ultimately framed in L1 speech-community rules. Students I surveyed acknowledged 'wanting to go deeper on the issue', 'wanting to greet friends', 'using backchannel', and most notably: 'because classmates spoke to me in Japanese' (author's data). It is evident therefore that code-switching is not just a tool to enable task completion but the students' desire to communicate takes them out of the role of learner. Students' propensity to code-switch narrows the linguistic landscape of the L2 such that it is framed as an object of study (reminiscent of learners high-school grammar-translation days).

In contrast, complex task conditions ought to encourage a strategic approach to communication. Chappelle (1999) argues that "a classroom task should be compared with an out-of-class speech event through an analysis of multiple relevant task features" (p. 115). These features are described by Halliday (1977; 1989 cited in Chappelle, 1999) as follows: goal driven speech acts, processes, topical, that have duration and location. Minimally, a speech act involves

- The act of producing an utterance
- The choices involved in phrasing an utterance in language
- Locutionary intent: What effect the speaker intends to have on the person they address.

#### Code-switching and frames

Code-switching is after all a kind of strategic resource in many classroom interactions which offers the speaker benefits (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001). Code-switching (CS) itself is a completely rational social behavior and a complex linguistic resource that aids communication in a speech-community. CS as a social practice is based on what a speech community decides on as appropriate. CS is a rational decision to:

- Alter/enhance 'discourse persona' (identity)
- to signify group membership

- to better convey one's intentions
- cover lexical gaps
- function as a discourse marker
- to accommodate and collaborate with others
- to set shared frames of reference

Frame theory (Bateson, 1973) provides us a further insights into CS. Bateson, in observing monkeys at play, noticed mock attacks that were indistinguishable from real attacks to the human observer. From this observation, Bateson hypothesized *frames* which he described as: meta-communicative messages that accompanied a communicative event: the monkeys were 'exchanging signals which would carry the message "this is play"' (1973, p. 139).

In human communication, the frame also includes 'rules' such as when to talk, what to say, pacing and pairing, intonation, indirectness etc. (Tannen, 1986 cited in House, 1993). However frames might not be mutually understood. Gumperz (1982 cited in House, 1993). Saying things 'correctly' is a *conventional* speech act framed according to L1 principles (Barron, 2003).

Insofar as frames (unconsciously) orient speakers to the meta-discourse in communication, they potentially threaten to takeover the communicative classroom. Moreover, learners with a background in the grammar-translation method will be even more likely to code-switch as they have been literally trained to use the L1 as the primary learning tool.

There is some degree of cross-over here between frames and speech communities. Speech communities always adopt communication styles. "...when people come together through discursive practices, they behave as though they operate within a shared set of norms, local knowledge, beliefs and values" (Morgan, 2004, p. 13): It follows that socio-cultural knowledge/skill varies across languages accordingly.

Within frames, interaction necessarily involves the possibility of face-threatening behavior. "The home (L1) culture is looked on as the norm; the target language culture as deviant" (Barron, 2003, p. 25). Therefore, the frame ought to be understood in relation to the politeness system in which it operates.

- a. The deference system
  - equals but respect social distance
- b. The solidarity system
  - equals but enhanced involvement
- c. The hierarchy system
  - The power is asymmetrical and subordinates use distancing strategies.

In practice, Japanese learners-- unless taught--are certainly less likely to interrupt, correct, contradict, and negotiate meaning in accordance with local pragmatic rules of deference. In Japan, interrupting and clarifying meaning are often seen as inappropriate just as turn taking is clearly defined: speakers will politely listen to one another without being overtly concerned with the negotiation



of meaning. Rather than dismiss TBLT as unsuitable for the Japanese learner, it is probably more beneficial to them to point out the pragmatic differences between languages so that Japanese learners may begin to acquire socio-cultural/pragmatic skills.

Without a strategic approach to communication, it cannot be called dialogical and inevitably leads to silence as the following example illustrates:

S1: *I have a fever.*

S2: (no response)

S3: (no response)

S1: *I have a sick. I have a fever.*

S3: (takes out paper dictionary)

the teacher intervenes:

T: What word are you looking for (to S3).

S3: "fever"

(Author's data)

Consider how the conversation may have gone...

S1: *I have a fever.*

S2: (no response)

S3: Excuse me? What?

S1: *I have a sick. I have a fever.*

The grammar-translation view also ignores the reality that the L2 is an interlanguage system subject to variation and transformation. Proponents of this still-ubiquitous method usually leave their students quite ignorant of L2 pragmatics as students fumble through dictionaries in order to acquire new language. Dictionaries are not the only stumbling-bloc that stand in the way of a dialogical approach to communication in the L2.

The propensity to code-switch in oral classes in Japan is so ubiquitous that teachers (native speakers and Japanese English teachers) often feel ambivalent about it and unequipped to deal with it. Hence "the oft-voiced suggestion that English is too difficult for Japanese people to learn" (Seargeant, 2007, p. 55).

My own observations tell me that learners perceive using the L2 as something they should do as a simulation but framed in the L1. It is too often the case that when in fact a student decides to remain in the TL, this strategic decision is one that goes against the grain: hence: I code-switched "because [my] classmate spoke to me in Japanese". Unfortunately, when a learner tries using the L2. It incorrectly assumes that the other learners will cooperate which is evidently often not the case.

The following list was produced by brain-storming with students the reasons for their code-switching.

1. I wanted to greet my friends.
2. Because a classmate spoke to me in Japanese.
3. I used L1 as backchannel
4. Lack of know-how or an aversion to using circumlocution.
5. I had to ask my partner for something (e.g. textbook)
6. I wanted to know what was going on at the time.
7. I felt stressed.
8. I used self-talk.
9. I had a moment of insight.
10. It was a burden using the TL.
11. I didn't remember the English vocabulary so substituted L1.
12. I wanted to go deeper on the issue.
13. I wanted to say something funny.
14. I believe the word could not be expressed in the L2.
15. I feel weird speaking English to a Japanese person.

(Author's data)

The majority of the reasons mentioned here are strategic in the sense that they involve a special kind of response to communication: either, control of the learning process (5, 6), an affective strategy (7, 8, 9, 10, 13), or, involve L1 identity (1, 2, 15). In terms of dialogical skills: Nos 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, and 14, are all relevant.

Barron (2003) points out that pragmatic competence involves "promoting or maintaining interpersonal relationships (Barron, 2003, p. 33) according to a sociocultural system. Assuming Barron is correct, the overarching question is therefore: To what extent is the class a learning community? Indeed, to what extent does a class need to become a *speech community* in order for TBLT to work successfully?

As Johnson (1999) has pointed out, the idea of a class is not always what the term suggests: for unwilling learners do not attach any relevance to the study of foreign language. The classroom is not, in this sense, a speech community. Quoting Dougill (1995, p. 70 as cited in Seargeant): "the grammar-translation and memorization methods so popular in Japan are further evidence of the tradition of insularity, for they reflect the one-way importation of knowledge and information which characterized Japan's desire for modernization while retaining its own identity."

At the grass-roots level, teachers committed to making a go of TBLT still have to contend with struggling students: "My classmates like to speak English, but when we felt difficulty in explaining something complicated, we used Japanese" (Author's data). Hence the teacher has to be vigilant, monitor, and mediate. Assessing a learners' dialogical skills and teaching repair strategies is

a vital component of learning how to learn in the communicative methodologies.

*mediation*

Prahbu (1987) talks about the importance of mediation in specific relation to task completion. A task is “an activity which requires learners to arrive at an outcome through some process of thought, and which allows teachers to control and regulate that process” (Prabhu, 1987). Mediation therefore is a teaching practice where the teacher takes part in the learning process by sometimes modifying the input and the output. (Even in more general terms, the teacher has to teach learners their roles.) The mediator ‘force[s] the kind of distance needed between participants to allow extended negotiation’ (Gass, 1997 p. 158). Instead of reverting to the L1, TBLT attempts to keep students in the TL and make them feel overtly responsive to the learning process.

Another early proponent of task-based learning was Feuerstein who worked with traumatized children post-WWII. His idea of mediation is set out diagrammatically in Williams & Burden (1997).

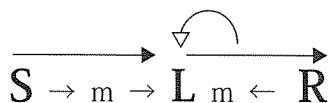


Figure 1. Feuerstein’s *mediated learning experience* (MLE) model (Williams & Burden, 1997). (Stimuli / mediation / learner / mediation / response)

“The mediator selects, changes, amplifies and interprets both the stimuli that come to the learner and the learner’s responses”(ICELP, 2008).

Mediation is also important at the instructional level as:

- Feedback is essential as learners use incorrect form (interlanguage) as they usually preference meaning and intention over accuracy. In the same vein, Willis and Willis (2007) recommend *form-focused instruction* (FFI); that is instruction that comes after a speech event. FFI raises awareness of otherwise-unnoticed grammar/function mismatches.
- learners for the most part only notice teaching points (and mistakes) that are relevant to their communicative needs (*ibid*).
- Learners listen to incorrect form and often imitate mistakes (Gass, 1997).

In summary, TBLT promotes acquisition if learners willingly stay in the target language and learn to negotiate meaning through authentic task objectives that allow for mediation and evaluation.

Learners are probably unaware of how code-switching is detrimental to SLA and CC. Awareness raising activities of the type discussed above and shown below in the appendices have

shown positive results in my own classes. After addressing code-switching, and coaching students into the method by teaching them specific roles, very few students continue to code-switch.

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## Appendix A -

Part A of this form was first generated from discussing code-switching with oral communication students at a Japanese university. Part B and Part C were completed as a learning journal assignment.

**Code-switching** is the practice of moving between languages in interaction.

### Code-switching survey

**Learning objective:** to better understand why and when you speak Japanese in the classroom.

**Instructions:** During the course of the lesson, please keep a record of when and why you spoke Japanese.

Part A: I spoke Japanese:

a. as backchannel while listening.	
b. because I needed to do something. I had to ask my partner for (e.g. dictionary, textbook, etc.) and it was easier to use Japanese.	
c. because I wanted to say something witty / funny spontaneously.	
d. I used self-talk.	
e. I wanted to greet my friends. It felt natural.	
f. I felt stressed.	
g. When I didn't remember the English vocabulary I used a Japanese word.	
h. I expressed myself at the moment of realization.	
i. I wanted to know what was going on at the time.	
j. Other:	

Part B: Survey: circle one.

	Agree / disagree
I feel comfortable using English backchannel expressions. (uh huh etc.)	1 1 2 1 3 1 4
I feel comfortable greeting others and expressing my feelings in the target language.	1 1 2 1 3 1 4
I feel comfortable repairing the communication (using English) when there is a misunderstanding.	1 1 2 1 3 1 4
I feel comfortable exploring the meaning of a word in English.	1 1 2 1 3 1 4
I feel comfortable responding to spoken instructions from the teacher.	1 1 2 1 3 1 4
I feel comfortable responding to written instructions in the textbook.	1 1 2 1 3 1 4
I feel comfortable asking my partner to use "English only please!" if they speak Japanese.	1 1 2 1 3 1 4

Part C:

**Critical thinking:** Communicative language learning is premised on the assumption that people acquire language during interaction. One real challenge of the language-learning classroom however is that people feel that they are part of a **speech community**, i.e. a group of speakers that are willing to express their thoughts and feelings in the target language.

Q: Do you think your English class is working well (functioning) as a speech community? Any Comments?

## Appendix B

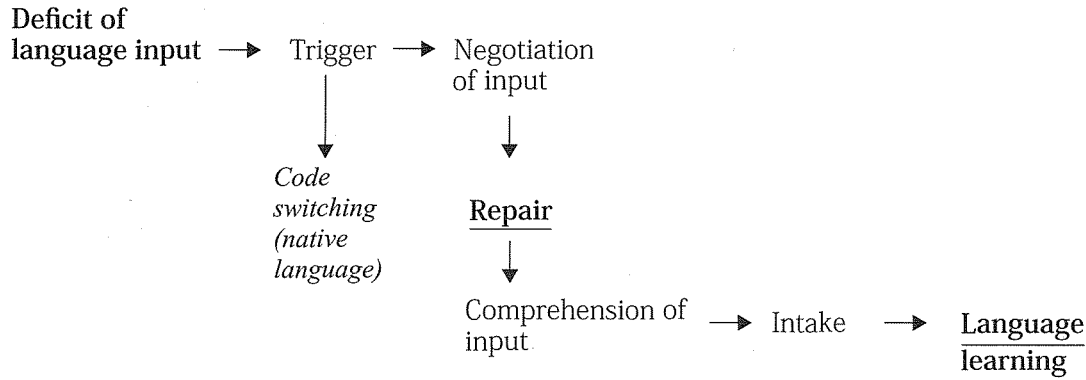
This handout was a follow-up to Appendix A. The form has three parts addressing a) the idea of a classroom speech community, b) what the negotiation of meaning looks like structurally, and c) the difference between how a learner feels in fluency tasks vs. pushed output tasks, d) a more complete list of reasons for CS.

### Code-switching and the negotiation of meaning

A) A **speech community** is a group of people who speak the same language. Members of a speech community understand each other because they share a lot of background information about each other. One of the

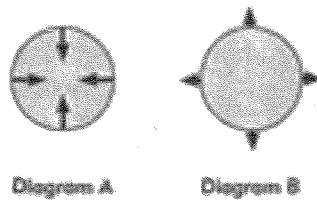
goals of the L2 language classroom is to learn the skills of a new speech community. This is not always easy as there is a tendency for students to use the L1 whenever the going gets tough.

B) One of the most common reasons for code-switching is shown here.



- 80% rule / if you don't understand at least 80% you probably need to repair.

C) Research suggests that **the negotiation of meaning** leads to new language being learned although people may feel differently. Why? Consider the following diagram.



In the two diagrams the mind is represented by a container. During easy communication speakers feel satisfied. They may also get the feeling that they are making progress as a learner. In difficult communication learners feel challenged: they have to use unfamiliar sentences and they have to try hard to communicate their ideas. Diagram A, shows the feeling of *fluency* in easy communication. Speakers feel full. Diagram B shows challenging communication, where speakers make mistakes and need to repair because the listener doesn't understand them. (Anton, 2011).

#### D. Reasons for code-switching

1. I wanted to greet my friends.
2. Because classmate spoke to me in Japanese.
3. as backchannel
4. an aversion to using circumlocution.
5. I had to ask my partner for something (e.g. textbook)
6. I wanted to know what was going on at the time.
7. I felt stressed.
8. I used self-talk.
9. I had a moment of insight.
10. It was a burden using the TL.
11. I didn't remember the English vocabulary.
12. I wanted to go deeper on the issue.
13. I wanted to say something funny.
14. I believe the word could not be expressed in the L2.
15. I feel weird speaking English to a Japanese person.