A Multilingual/Multi-competence Approach to Learning and Interaction in the JFL Classroom

日本語教育の教室内での学習と相互活動における多言語/多能力アプローチ

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Abstract:

Much is contested about foreign language learners and practices of language use, especially in relation to task-based activities. A close look at student interaction in language classrooms, particularly during task-based activities, can reveal some of the ways they should be viewed as multi-competent. This study uses conversation analysis (CA) to examine how novice learners of Japanese as a foreign language draw on many of the same resources and techniques that multilinguals do in social interaction. Rather than immediately regarding instances of language deviation as evidence of a lack of understanding, it is worth considering instead how learners achieve interactional competence in and through the talk co-constructively despite their limited communicative resources. As such, this study problematizes the monolingual tendencies that still plague many SLA theories and classroom practices, as well as challenges the assumptions behind Target Language Only (TLO) policies. Approaching talk in interaction from a multilingual perspective allows both researchers and teachers to create flexible approaches toward L1 use and other interactional practices in the classroom.

外国語学習者や言語使用の練習、特にタスクに基づいた活動（task-based activities)に関連したものについて、種々の問題が取り上げられている。しかし、言語教室内でのタスクに基づいた学生の活動を詳しく考察してみると、 学習者において問題視されているものが、実は multi-competent（多能力）に帰すものであるとみなすこともできる。本研究は会話分析を用い、いかに初級の日本語学習者が多言語話者と同じような 方策やリソースを使って社会相互活動を営んでいるかを検証する。学習者の言語活動に逸脱が生じた場合、 それを短絡的に理解不足と判断しがちだが、そうではなく限られた言語資源を駆使して会話の相互構築をしている相互活動能力 (Interactional competence) の達成課程であると理解することも大切である。当研究は、第二言語習得の理論や教室の活動が未だに モノリンガル的な思考に蝕まれていることを問題視し、対象言語のみを（Target Language Only)考慮にいれている政策を批判する。多言語的視点に立って相互活動を見ることによって、研究者も教師も学習者の教室内での第一言語の使用や他の様々な 言語活動に柔軟的な アプローチを生むこと可能性を示唆とする。

Introduction

Humans are fundamentally social beings, and this is reflected in the way we organize and conceptualize how we interact with one another. A part of that essential social characteristic is the phenomenon of language, and more specifically, language in social interaction. However, much is contested about the interactional competency language learners acquire in the foreign

language classroom and the multiple practices of language use that are found in task-based work. This study makes use of Conversation Analysis (CA) in order to understand the idea of 'multi-competence' in the Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) classroom. In doing so it will reexamine the competencies that language-learners possess and consider how those strategies are influenced by the educational policies of the institutions in which the learners are studying.

Ultimately, viewing the learner as "multi-competent" has fundamental implications for SLA researchers and language teaching professionals. When learners draw on different resources in classroom tasks or activities, they are not displaying a lack of knowledge of the target language, but rather revealing their multiple competencies through talk in interaction. By (re)conceptualizing the learner as a multilingual, multi-competent individual, this study builds on a range of recent research that has problematized the subtle monolingual tendencies that continue to plague many SLA theories and classroom practices (Canagarajah, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Franceschini, 2011; Garcia & Sylvan, 2011; Wei, 2011). In particular, the current study aims to expand research into interactional practices in the JFL classroom, particularly with regard to the ways both language and semiotic resources are used within the framework of language learning activities (Mori, 2003; Mori, 2004; Mori & Hasegawa, 2009; Young & Miller, 2004).

This in turn calls into question the appropriateness of One Language Only and One Language at a Time policies adopted by many foreign language classrooms (see Wei & Wu, 2009). Although seemingly beneficial, there are drawbacks to adopting such Target Language Only policies (TLO) without carefully examining the discourse of the language classroom and the interactional needs of the students who learn there.

In addition, the current research will address two criticisms of the term *multi-competence:* first, that the term still lacks a "social embeddedness", or in other words, it remains a term that is still largely used within the generativist position of language competence, and second, that multilinguals are the only ones who can have multiple competencies (Franceschini, 2011, pp. 349-350). Multi-competence can and should encompass all language speakers, and be born out of language in interaction. In the end, a turn towards multi-competence constitutes a more appropriate framework to analyze different theories on language, learning, and education policies in SLA.

Multi-Competence

The term *competence* has been used and adapted to various degrees, not only in research pertaining to SLA, but also in generativist approaches to language. Originally, Cook started to use the term *multi-competence* in the 1990s.[1] Franceschini (2011) sees *multi-competence* as a "supersystem" that combines the various competencies that each speaker brings to an interaction (see also Cook, 1992). Holistically, multi-competent language users can be perceived as competent based on how they draw on all of their resources, including language, semiotic gestures and prior knowledge. Competence is not determined based on how many languages a user has learned, but on the individual's experience and flexibility in using them (Hall, Cheng & Carlson, 2006). In this sense, regardless of the number of languages at their disposal, novice language learners are just as diverse as multi-linguals with respect to the interactional resources they use, including: semiotic resources; intonation, gesture, dialect, volume, pitch, and speed. In Hellerman and Lee's (2014) support for a bilingual turn in SLA, competence is something that is constantly displayed to others and becomes visible through the speaker's interactional practices (p.55; see also Ortega, 2010). This means that all practices in social interaction are held accountable by all speakers and should not be treated immediately as errors in language. Language learners are drawing from a diverse pool of interactional resources simply because those competencies are available to them, and L2 language learners use these techniques in multiple ways to complete tasks given to them by teachers. Therefore, in discussing competence, the current research will combine both the notion of interactional competence (Hall, 1995; Young, 2004), and that of multiple areas of

language knowledge, or, what can be referred to as multi-competence (Cook, 1992; Franceschini, 2011).

In order to understand the phenomenon of talk in interaction, this paper will use CA to analyze several transcripts of learner talk in a JFL classroom and relate it to a framework that combines multilingualism and SLA.

Data

CA and language learning have been used by various researchers to differing degrees (Mondada & Doehler, 2004; Seedhouse, 2004; Young & Miller, 2004), specifically in Japanese language contexts including language learning (Mori, 2003; Mori, 2004; Mori & Hasegawa, 2009), the development of interactional competence during study abroad experiences (Ishida, 2009; 2011), and NNS & NS pair conversation (Hosoda, 2006). Although stemming from sociological concerns, the use of CA has broadened over the past fifteen years within the fields of applied linguistics and studies into second language acquisition. A bilingual (or multilingual) approach to how interaction informs issues in learning is certainly not new; however, it still remains a central point of discussion in the field of SLA (see Hellerman & Lee, 2014).

The data collected in the current study is based on a video-recording of a Japanese foreign language (JFL) classroom at a large U.S. university, and the analysis focuses particularly on instances of learner interaction during task-based pair work. The class consists of low-intermediate level students in an intensive Japanese course and involves asking a series of questions projected on a screen at the front of the class. Each pair of students is expected to answer the questions communicatively based on their own experiences. According to Littlewood (2014), communicative tasks can be viewed on a continuum, from "pure" tasks that make use of authentic communication (such as role-plays and open-ended questions) to "weak" tasks (such as substitution exercises and awareness raising activities). In the data to be analyzed in this study, the task that the students are completing falls somewhere in the middle of Littlewood's continuum under information-gap related activities and personalized question prompts. To some extent, the task also provides opportunities for what CA calls "mundane" conversation, because it gives speakers the freedom to choose their responses based on their own life experiences.

Analysis

In the first excerpt, Andy and Kris (both pseudonyms) are engaging in the paired task by taking turns asking each other questions that involve comparative grammatical forms.

Excerpt 1 (0:48~)

```
01 K        ((Facing front, reading from task on screen))
02          sengakki      ni kurabete       (.)
            last semester to compare-CONT
03          [kongakki        wa=
             this semester TOP
04          [((A reading screen))
05 K        ((turns head to A))
06          =doh desu ka.
             how COP  Q
            Compared to last semester, how is this semester?
07          (1.5)/((A displays thinking face))
08 A        tch soh      desu ka.
                that way COP  Q
               Hmm, let me think.
09          [((A holds mouth open wide, frozen face))]
10          [                 (6.0)                   ]
```

```
11              ((A mouths words silently then turns to K))
12 A            sengakki      ni eh kurabete      kongakki
                Last semester to    compare-CONT this semester
13              wa: (0.3) a:h↑ (.) >kantan des yo.<
                TOP                 easy   COP IP
```
Compared to last semester this semester is easy.
```
14              (.)
15 K            ah dooshite desu ka
                   why      COP  IP
```
Ah why is that?
```
16 A            >soh  des ne.< Ah (.) jugyoo (.) wa:,
                 This COP IP            class       TOP
17              motto: ah motto:::
                more       more
```
Let me see. Ah class is more: ah more …
```
18              (.) yasashii- (0.5)
                    easy
19 K            (1.2)/((nods))
20              ya. yasahii shi.
                   Easy     and
```
easier and
```
21              ((facial expressions))
22 K            ((turns head to A))
23 A            ah takusa:n shukudai ja:- ga  nai shi
                   a lot     homework COP  TOP NEG and
```
ah I don't ha- have a lot of homework.
```
24 K            ah, soh  des ne,
                CoS this COP IP
```
Yes, that's right.

There are several places where Andy draws on interactional resources to complete the task. Kris initiates a comparative question by reading it from the screen (lines 1-6), making speakership transition relevant at the end of his turn. Since the final part of the turn is directed to Andy, both partners orient toward him as the selected next speaker in line 6. However, at this point Andy delays his response, first with a gap of silence in line 7, in which his facial expression demonstrates that he understands it his turn to talk, then with a brief expression of hesitation, '*tch soh des ka*' (line 8). This is followed by an extended six-second gap in which Andy appears to be re-reading the prompt and perhaps combining it with private speech (Ohta, 2001) that allows him to formulate and then deliver the response in a relatively fluent manner. This seems to indicate that he is attempting to formulate a response, but needs extra time to do so in the target language, Japanese. Although the transcript is unable to adequately capture all of the fine detail, Andy also employs a range of multimodal resources, such as facial expressions, gaze direction and bodily position to indicate to Kris the progression of his internal state as he processes the question and then puts together his response.

It is also worth noting Andy's mid-turn use of *ah* in line 13. In Japanese 'ah' often marks a change of epistemic state, from not-knowing to now-knowing (Schegloff, 2007), and is therefore akin to 'oh' in English, which Heritage (1984) calls a change-of-state token (see also Ikeda, 2007). This suggests two things about the turn-in-progress. Firstly, *ah* reveals that Andy may have been reading up until this point, or at least partly relying on the prompt as he completes his turn: the first part of his turn recycles much of the question that Kris has just asked him and the new information that Andy provides ('*kantan des yo*') comes at the end of the turn and is prefaced by *ah,* indicating either that he just thought of it, or that he is marking a transition from new knowledge. Secondly, this transition is accompanied by a change in Andy's facial expressions that

mark the change in information state; he raises his eyebrows and moves his head backwards.

The learners then go on to manage the talk by conducting follow up questions that no longer rely directly on the on-screen prompt as a resource. In line 15, Kris initiates a post-expansion sequence (Schegloff, 2007), by asking '*dohshite des ka*', a formulaic (and thus easily produced) question that initiates an account, making an answer sequentially due from Andy once again. While Andy's turn is ultimately coherent, it is also marked with a variety of self-initiated repairs, both forward-oriented word searches (Brouwer, 2003; Greer, 2013) and backward-oriented self-corrections. An outside observer might be tempted to retrospectively characterize these as disfluencies, but they are also interactional practices that help Andy accomplish the turn as he is producing it. He begins his response in line 15 by briefly receipting the question ('*soh des ne*'), and his marked use of English *ah* throughout the turn (lines 16 and 17), followed immediately with eyebrow raises, indicating a possible uncertainty in the correctness of his response. Here *ah* is not a change-of-state token but a hesitation marker that holds the floor while gaining the speaker time to formulate the turn. In addition to the gestures, gaps of silence in lines 19 and 22 indicate points in the talk where verbal uptake might be relevant from Kris, although he accomplishes this with only a head nod or turn towards Andy.

In the beginning, Andy uses the teacher's written prompt on the screen to manage his response to Kris' question. In addition, the silence, gestures, and body orientation all highlight different interactional competences that are available to Andy in order to complete what might seem to be a difficult utterance in the L2. Excerpt 2 provides further evidence of the participants' multi-competence, and goes on to explore some of Andy's more specific personal resources. This segment takes place just after Excerpt 1, and this time it is Andy who initiates the sequence by reading the prompt question off the screen.

Excerpt 2 (1:30~)

```
01 A      ah:? (1.8) Sensee (.) ah (.) sensei  ni kurabete:
          HM         teacher   HM      teacher to compare-CONT
02        (.) hai, sensee  ni kurabete     wa
              yes  teacher to compare-CONT TOP
03        ah. gakusee wa:: [(1.5)
          HM  student TOP
          Ah, compared to the teacher- ah teacher, yes compared to the teacher ah,
          how are the students?
04                          [((K nods))
05 K      doh[(de)-
          how
06 A         [dochira no   hoo ga- dochira no   hoo ga
              which  CONJ -er  SUB  which  CONJ -er  SUB
07        kantan des ka?
          easy   COP Q
          which has- which has it easier?
08           [((shaking head/furrows brow: "doubtful face"))
09 K      ehah hah he:a. Hh. hai  soo des ne.
                              yes  that COP IP
10        Sensee  ni kurabete
          teacher to compare-CONT
11        gakkohsei gakusei wa ahh (.) motto taihen des.
          student*  student TOP HM      more  hard   COP
          Hmm, let me see. Compared to teachers, students- students have it harder.
12 A      hai. Dooshite des ka
          RT   why      COP Q
          Yes, why is that?
```

```
13 K        ah sensei  wa   etto. (1.0)
            HM teacher TOP  HM
14          jugyoo ga  hitotsu dake (.)
            lessons SUB one      only
15          benkyoo shimasu.=Demo gakusee wa
            study   do-POL   but   student TOP
16          takusan takusan jugyoo to- to-
            many    many    lesson
17          tora nakyaikemasen [ne.
            take must          IP
            Um. teachers are, well, they study only one class. But students
            have to- have to take a lot of classes.
18          ((A's head nodding))
19 A                              [hai. hokona (.)  hokona
                                   yes  other       other
20          gakusee to   benkyoo  shimasu?
            student with study    do-POL
            Yes, they study with other, other students.
21          ((moving hands together))
22 K        [hai.
             Yes
23 A        [hai.=
             Yes
24 K        =[Hai soh  desu
              yes that TOP
             Yes, that's right.
25 A        [err benkyoo
                 study
26          (.)
27          [benkyo- benkyoo deki:?
             study   study   can-
            They study- can study?
28 K        [shinakya
             do-must
             They have to
29 A        ben- benkyoo dekimasu?
            Stu- study   can-POL
            They can study.
30 K        ah hai.
            ah yes.
```

Looking to the prompt projected on to the screen to read the next question, Andy begins in line 1 by using the hesitation device *ah* and pausing in the middle of his turn as he completes his question to Kris. At the end of his turn, there is a longer pause (line 3) after which Kris begins to help Andy complete his question (line 5). Since the prompt consists only of the first part of the question (*Sensei ni kurabete, gakusei wa…*), it is at this point that Andy has to rely on his own linguistic knowledge to complete the question in real time. As he does so, he marks his turn ending as uncertain by shaking his head, furrowing his brow and using extreme pitch to complete the utterance. It is as though he is using these paralinguistic resources to comment on the legitimacy of the linguistic elements of the turn even as he is producing it. However, rather than attend to the details of the turn's form, Kris instead accepts Andy's question and responds in lines 9 to 11 in a way that makes sense of Andy's prior turn despite its insufficiencies; while the question is literally asking *which is more simple, teachers or students*, Kris treats it as asking "*who has it easier?*", an interpretation that could also be possible under certain sequential contexts. Note in

his response Kris uses the word *taihen* ('a lot of trouble'), which reformulates Andy's question as referring to the lives/lifestyles of teachers and students, rather than some other aspect of *kantan*/'simple'. In this sense, Kris has become a co-constructor of Andy's turn, regardless of its grammatical correctness. Both Andy and Kris are constructing the talk together and that modifies and extends the task, allowing them authorship and ownership of the way they produce it.

In lines 13-17, Kris completes his turn, claiming that students have it harder because they have more classes than teachers do, which leads Andy to follow this response with one of his own. It is interesting to note the deviation from the initial task here. Andy is extending the talk with a post-expansion of Kris' talk in Japanese, agreeing that, *yes they study with other students*. This can be seen as an attempt to move beyond the initial task given by the teacher. However, the gestures and intonation in Andy's talk also indicate some uncertainty in his own language ability. Andy's gestures frequently accompany talk that is problematic or difficult to complete without assistance from his partner, and in fact provide meta-cues for the recipient about the speaker's attitude toward the turn he is producing.

The use of multimodal resources such as gestures and intonation together with L2 Japanese can likewise be found in the next excerpt. Here we will look at another aspect of multi-competence; how the L1 (English) can be used to assist completion of the turn. In this segment of the data, Andy has just finished answering Kris' next question, which asked how other classes, in comparison to Japanese class, were. This time, however, Kris does not provide a follow-up question, so Andy prompts him to do so by voicing it for him.

Excerpt 3 (2:54~)

```
01 A        °you are supposed to say° (.) doos↑hite des ka=
                                          why        COP Q
                                          Why is that?
02 K        =Ah. Dooshite des [ka?
                why        COP  Q
            Ah. why is that?
03 A                          [((laughing)) a heh HA HA

04          Soh  des ne. Uh.h.m.
            that COP IP
05          hoka  no   kurasu- (.)
            other CONJ class
06          ga: (1.0) ummm. Less? (.) Chi- chiisai? [um
            SUB                                 small
            Ah, let me see. Uh.h.m. other classes are u,m, less…small- smaller? um
07          ((hand gestures backward))
08 K                                                 [ha:i
                                                      yes
09 A        chiisai shukudai ga  aru shi  .h
            small   homework NOM  COP CONJ
            I have small homework and..
10 K        chiisai wa small desu ne::
            small   TOP       COP  IP
             Chiisai is small, huh.
11 A        Wh- I don't know less.
12          ((gestures vigorously inward to self))
13 K        Motto sukunai.
            more  fewer
            more less
14 A        Motto sukunai?        ((head tilt towards K))
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               more less?
15 K           hai:.[°I think°
               yes
16 A               [motto
                    more
17 K           motto [sukunai
               more   less
18 A                 [motto sukunai ah shukudai ga  aru shi:
                      more  less       homework NOM COP CONJ
19             aahm hh.
20             [          (2.5)       ]
21             [((gestures upward))]  tch and moko-
22             motto sukunai tesuto ga  aru shi
               more  fewer   test   NOM COP and
               I have more less homework and tch a:nd mo- more less tests
23 K           a   hai soh  des ne.
               CoS yes that COP IP
               Ah, yes, I see.
```

In line 1, Andy uses his L1 (English) to enact the post-expansion turn that Kris is supposed to have completed, an act that suggests a desire to stick to the task, regardless of whether or not it is natural in the talk to ask such a question at this point. This is an interesting interactional side-sequence that may indicate that this task seems somewhat artificial to Andy, as he subsequently responds to Kris' delayed '*dohshite des ka*' with a burst of laughter in line 3. Although the video does not show where the teacher is in relation to the focal participants at this point, the reduced volume level in the way Andy produces the L1 segment of his turn in line 1 suggests a strong orientation toward adhering to the "Japanese-Only" language policy of the classroom.

However, this Target Language Only policy becomes problematic as the learners complete this part of the task. In lines 3-8, Andy begins a response that includes a word search sequence initiating forward-oriented repair on a lexical item that is sequentially due in line 6. At the first mid-turn pause in line 6, (coming just after *hoka no kurasu ga*) Kris is probably unlikely to predict the problematic item Andy is searching for. It is at this point that Andy produces the L1 version of the word he is looking for ('less') followed immediately by the closest equivalent he has available to him (*chiisai*/small). Greer (2013) notes that such language alternation functions as a form of bilingual prospective indexical, alerting the recipient to the target word and enabling him to monitor the ongoing interaction until the forward-oriented repair is complete. The use of English interactional hesitation markers like *ah* and *umm,* together with the English lexical term *less* suggests that relying on the L1 is one successful way to deal with an inability to express talk fully in the L2. Kris produces a *hai* (*yes*) in line 8, but this is hearable as an uptake token rather than as a confirmation of Andy's equation of *chiisai* with *less.* In line 9, Andy goes on to produce the remainder of the turn with the term *chiisai* ('small') in place of his intended *less*, which leads Kris to initiate other-repair in line 10 by explicitly stating that *chiisai* means small, a form of backward-oriented repair that appears as a translation (Greer, 2008). This occasions an extended insertion sequence in which the participants negotiate the word and therefore move beyond the task itself. Rather than viewing this segment as a deviation from the task, learners use multiple conversation techniques to teach each other and manage the difficulty of the task collaboratively.

Further, the other-repair that Kris offers in line 9 highlights the ungrammaticality and out-of-context lexical choice of Andy's *chiisai.* Kris interrupts Andy's turn to deviate from the task and negotiate the meaning of *chiisai.* However, unlike earlier in Excerpt 2, where Kris does not attend to the language form of Andy's talk, in this excerpt the task is put on hold in order to address the confusion of the English term *less.*

Such an interruption deserves further analysis. Other-initiated other-repair is a non-

preferred action (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977), meaning that it occurs less frequently than self-repair and is usually delivered in a mitigated way in order to avoid confrontation. Andy responds immediately to the potentially face-threatening nature of Kris' correction by formulating in line 11 an immediate account for why he used *chiisai*; "*I don't know less*". This first complete English utterance represents an action that momentarily draws the interaction away from the task as planned by the teacher. Together with a vigorous inward hand movement, Andy makes use of different embodied resources to explain his actions to Kris, and this arguably leads to language learning when Kris provides him with a more suitable lexical item *motto sukunai* in the next turn (line 13). As highlighted in Excerpt 2, gesture accompanies problematic talk (line 6) and serves as an interactional resource to complete the turn with the help of a partner (line 13).

Kris' suggestion to use *motto sukunai* (literally 'more less', i.e. 'lesser') is taken up by Andy, but not without further complications for the ongoing talk. In such direct other-repair of problematic talk, we can see that Kris also shows uncertainty by downgrading his prior assertion with the post-positioned use of *I think* produced at very low volume.

Finally, in line 13 the task resumes, although Andy continues to use an extended 2.5 second pause, arm movements and the L1 to complete his turn. The mid-turn use of the English lexical item *and* (line 21), accompanied by a full arm gesture, perhaps reveals the turn construction as particularly challenging for these novice L2 users. However, Kris does not interactionally orient to Andy's use of L1, instead choosing to remain on task by continuing the activity in line 23.

These three episodes of low-intermediate language learning conversations reveal how two students build their actions around a task given by the teacher, although not always in the target language, and even sometimes without any spoken interaction at all. In particular, the learner Andy uses an array of interactionally defined resources to manage his own turn, respond to his partner, and maintain his role as a student in a language classroom. Language learning tasks, then, are opportunities for language learners to define and manage the task, sometimes moving beyond the original task-as-plan. In these instances, the task becomes a collaborative opportunity to expand learning (such as in Excerpt 3, where Andy's vocabulary knowledge was extended) that individually may not otherwise be possible.

Discussion: The Language Learner Redefined as Multilingual

Whether they are able to draw on a variety of languages or a variety of styles within one language, all language learners need to make use of endogenously defined resources within interaction. In contrast to exogenous theories of learning, an endogenous approach marks the need to look at what participants need and orient to in the interaction itself. The resources available to multilingual speakers in a linguistically dynamic interaction are always contingent, defined within and born out of the moment-to-moment interaction.

Mondada (2007) found that in the institutional work context, multilingual speakers codeswitch and gesture as they continually organize action based on vertical hierarchal power differences. Moreover, multilingual employees make visible the institutional order and build intersubjectivity between an array of multiple languages and dialects to address a variety of speakers. Language learners in the institutional context of the language classroom are similar to the afore-mentioned multilingual workers in that they must negotiate the goals of the institution, the goals of the classroom focus, and their own individual intentions simultaneously within the activity. Furthermore, in the localized talk learners negotiate the activity by drawing on their own individual linguistic and paralinguistic resources. Languages are holistic systems and speakers all draw from the same pool of interactionally defined resources that each person brings to the talk.

Therefore, the term 'multi-competence' seems to better capture the variety of resources that both monolingual and multilingual speakers draw on in social interaction. However, multilingual studies and SLA studies tend to define language differently. Cenoz and Gorter

(2011) put forward the following diagram (Figure 1) to illustrate the two common ways we can view languages in general: the traditional approach and the "focus on multilingualism" approach.
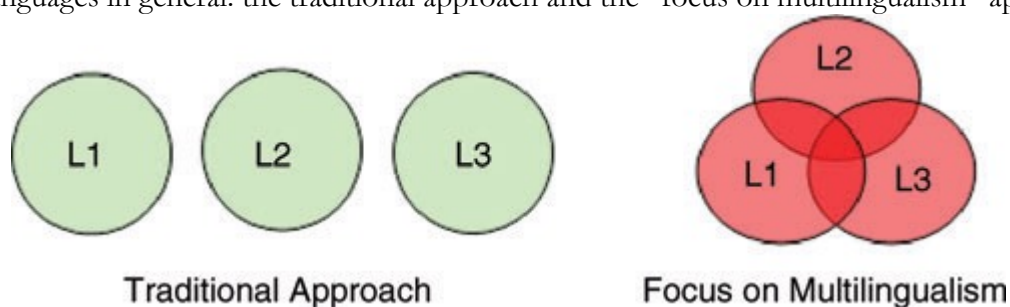

Figure 1. Traditional versus Focus on Multilingualism approach to language learning (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011)

Although both of these diagrams emphasize the need to acquire additional languages, the traditional approach assumes that the speaker will acquire them in a separate fashion, and in their use, refrain from drawing on other languages as resources. The focus on a multilingualism approach sees the languages as integrated, and therefore multiple languages will naturally become valuable resources for the learner (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011). Even in a classroom where the use of L1 is often discouraged, speakers are never restricted to purely using the target language alone to complete their tasks. As supported by the conversational data above, they also deploy a range of semiotic resources from within the same language, as well as across multiple languages if they have access to them. In addition to a spoken medium, multimodal practices also work toward achievement of some activity in the interaction. Learning how to complete a task requires the ability to use resources from a complex socio-historical learning experience. As such, learning becomes an act of gradual participation in a social community of users, rather than simply being the pure acquisition of linguistic form (Young & Miller, 2004). Furthermore, when speakers are allowed to draw on multiple languages, they are in fact learning how to be *multilingual* (Hornberger, 2005). In addition, they will gradually become aware of how to use language as a dynamic resource in other contexts. If we support the view that learning occurs through participation in social activity, the notion of a TLO policy in a foreign language classroom seems counter-intuitive.

Conclusion

Among others, Mori (2004) has challenged the exclusive TLO policy in the classroom as the only option available for language learning task-work. Strategic use of the L1 can have a positive effect on supporting activities in the classroom, reveal anxiety in learners, and support the accurate use of linguistic forms. Moreover, this research does not "necessarily indicate a charge toward learning" (Mori, 2004, p.547; see also Hancock, 1997). In this study, the analysis of L1 use and gesture reveals the transformation of lesson task-as-plan into task-as-process (see Seedhouse, 2004), and highlights the diversity of resources learners draw on to make themselves understood throughout the activity. The analysis simultaneously shows the complex and often conflicting goals between students, teachers, and language learning curricula manifested by a socially situated conversation occurring in the real world.

To address a multilingual perspective, teachers may benefit from adopting flexible teaching strategies, assessment methods, and in-class modifications to manage each classroom on a case-by-case basis. Multilingual practices can inform SLA of pedagogical "strategic language planning", or "flexible bilingual pedagogy" for language learners (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; see also Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Furthermore, we must question the role that TLO plays, if the

learners' use of multiple types of resources is apt to increase learning opportunities, rather than deviate or prevent them (Mori, 2004). By observing the full embodiment of a multi-competent language user, teachers can actively decide whether or not their classrooms should reflect strict institutional policy, or cater to the local management of the task by the individuals. In this sense, the teacher ultimately becomes a liaison between the institutional goals and the individual interactional practices they witness in classroom activities.

In general then, it is important to consider the complex classroom environment that learners create before applying language policies. This also points to a critical evaluation of the language-learning environment as an ongoing process of observation, evaluation, and review of current classroom practices. In evaluating language problems, we need to find "ways of rethinking language in the contemporary world, a need arising from an acute awareness that there is all too often a lack of fit between ostensible language problems and the languages promoted as part of the solution" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p. 3). It is only after we do this that we can begin to put theory into practice. A clear deconstruction of SLA, *'second,' 'language,'* and *'acquisition,'* may force research to orient toward a dynamic approach to theory, one that focuses on multilingualism and multi-competencies, as L2 learners integrate, shape, and transform language practice on the ground.

Acknowledgement

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Endnote
[1] For a more complete literature review of *competence*, see Franceschini (2011, pp.347-348).

Appendix

Transcript conventions

Based on Jeffersonian transcription conventions as outlined in Psathas (1995), Hutchby and Woofit (1998), ten Have (1999) and Markee and Kasper (2004).

SIMULTANEOUS UTTERANCES

huh [oh] no	Left square brackets mark the start of overlapping talk
[what]	Right square brackets mark the end of an overlap

CONTIGUOUS UTTERANCES

=	Equal signs indicate that:
	a) Turn continues at the next identical symbol on the next line
	b) Talk is latched; that is, there is no interval between the end of prior turn and the start of next turn

INTERVALS WITHIN AND BETWEEN UTTERANCES

(0.4)	Numerals in parentheses mark silence, in tenths of a second
(.)	A period in parentheses indicates a micropause (less than 0.1 sec)

CHARACTERISTICS OF SPEECH DELIVERY

hhh hee hah	indicate laughter or breathiness
.hh	indicates audible inhalation
hh	indicates audible exhalation
<u>dog</u>	Underlining indicates marked stress
yes?	A question mark indicates rising intonation
yes.	A period indicates falling intonation
so,	A comma indicates low-rising intonation, suggesting continuation
HUH	Capitals indicate increased loudness
°thanks°	Degree signs indicate decreased volume
$No way$	Dollar signs indicate utterance is delivered in a "laughing voice"
><	Inward-facing indents embed talk which is faster than the surrounding speech
<>	Outward-facing indents embed talk that is slower than the surrounding speech
go:::d	One or more colons indicate lengthening of the preceding sound. Each additional colon represents a lengthening of one beat
no bu-	A single hyphen indicates an abrupt cut-off, with level pitch

COMMENTARY IN THE TRANSCRIPT
((hand clap))   Double parentheses indicate transcriber's comments,
                 including description of non-verbal behaviour
the (park)   Single parentheses indicate an uncertain transcription

OTHER TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS
→   An arrow in the transcript margin draws attention to a particular
                 phenomenon the analyst wishes to discuss

TRANSLATION

ore	*ja*	*nai*	Italics indicate talk is in Japanese
me	COP	NEG	Second line gives a literal English gloss of each item
It's not me			Third line gives a vernacular English translation in Times New Roman font

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN LITERAL GLOSS
                 Based on Tanaka (1999) and Takagi (2001)
IP   Interactional particle (e.g. *ne*, *sa*, *no*, *yo*, *na*)
NOM   Nominative particle (*-ga*)
TOP   Topic Marker   (*-wa*)

Q   Question marker   (*ka* and its variants)
POL   Politeness marker

VN   Verb nominaliser (*nan, no, n*)
HM   Hesitation marker   (*eto, ano*)

Verbs and Adjectival forms
COP   Copulative verb, variations of the verb *to be*
NEG   Negative morpheme
CONT   Continuing (non-final) form