NEGOTIATING LANGUAGE USE IN CALL'S FOURTH PHASE: AN INTRODUCTION TO A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO CODE-SWITCHING ELECTRONICALLY

Steve Daniel Przymus University of Arizona

This article offers a critical discourse analysis of how language learners negotiate language use in intercultural computer mediated communication (CMC) activities and takes a revitalized and resituated look at code-switching (CS) for the purpose of enhancing the public self-image of online interactants by positioning interactants as proficient second language (L2) users. Warschauer (2000) first proposed the idea of a "third stage" of computer assisted language learning (CALL) where the Internet and multimedia would provide a new type of authentic discourse and open greater opportunities for increased student agency through social interactions (p. 64). Bax (2003) similarly argued for the conception of a "third phase" of CALL. Bax characterized this phase as the ubiquitous use of technology for language learning and the creation of a state of "normalization" of technology use and integration (p. 13). This article proposes a fourth phase (Ariew, 2014)¹ made distinctive by its sociocultural lens used to examine what kinds of knowledge, relationships, and identities are co-constructed through increased intercultural CMC opportunities afforded by CALL's ubiquitous use. I adopt an approach informed by systemic functional linguistic (SFL) (Eggins, 2004; Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Martin & Rose, 2007a, 2008) that demonstrates how language is a meaning making system in To accomplish this, I analyzed 154 emails between intercultural emails. participants to show how a face-saving and face-giving (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Goffman, 1967) textual flow, or mode, is created through code-switching (CS) at the phatic-referential switch. In the final section, I introduce a CS framework for online face-work (Park, 2008) called a Functional Approach to Code-switching Electronically (FACE).

Keywords: code-switching, computer mediated communication, critical discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics

INTRODUCTION

As more schools and universities move to a 1-to-1 or a bring-your-own-device (BYOD) curricular environment, the opportunities for language teachers to connect their students with students around the world via computer mediated communication (CMC) is becoming common pedagogical practice. These opportunities open global pathways for providing authentic language practice and for developing intercultural competencies among their students (Belz &

http://slat.arizona.edu/arizona-working-papers-second-language-acquisition-teaching

¹ Robert Ariew, at the University of Arizona, first proposed the *fourth phase* of CALL during a personal communication on January 22, 2014.

Thorne, 2006; Chapelle, 2009; Sauro, 2011). The once sanguine view of computer assisted language learning's (CALL) normalization in what is known as the "third phase" (Bax, 2003; Warschauer, 2000) is no longer a seductive, futuristic view of CALL's role in language teaching. Increased connectivity and mobile technology have shifted pedagogical decision-making around technology.

The mobile and ubiquitous nature of technology in language learning has made it imperative that we consider its implications for the kind of interactions that take place between language learners. Ariew (personal communication, January 22, 2014) proposes a *fourth phase* in the evolution of CALL's history in language teaching, one that takes into consideration how this normalized, mobile use of CALL impacts social interactions, and what implications this has for language teaching. The mobile environment afforded by new technologies has changed the landscape of CALL and thus the interactions between learners. The distinguishing sociocultural variable of CALL's fourth phase is that social interaction is largely based on anonymity and the affordances of online interaction for learners to experiment with their imagined identities in ways that are normally constrained in face to face interactions. Thus, learners' co-constructed knowledge and identities cannot be viewed with traditional lenses in this new sociocultural landscape.

The main aim of this article is to take a critical look at the perhaps too eager desire of teachers to jump into CMC in order to capitalize on new technologies that facilitate intercultural communication. By doing so, they may actually set up their students for communicative challenges and failure from not taking into full consideration the cultural ideologies and behaviors that students must successfully traverse in intercultural CMC partnerships (Belz, 2001). I utilize a multidisciplinary approach in order to resituate the concepts of face (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Goffman, 1955, 1967; Park, 2008) and code-switching (CS) (Gumperz, 1977; Myers Scotton, 1983; Poplack, 1980) in the context of school-based intercultural CMC that includes perspectives from sociocultural theory (Bakhtin, 1981; Lantolf, 2000a, 2000b; Vygotsky, 1978; Warschauer, 2005; Wertsch, 1991), critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 1992a, 2009, 2011a; Fowler & Kress, 1979; Kress, 2011), and an application of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1977, 1978, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Martin & Rose, 2007a, 2008).

Code-switching (CS), a practice performed by many of the world's speakers as part of quotidian social existence, has proven important in the creation and maintenance of personal and professional relationships (Androutsopoulos, 2006; Heredia & Altarriba, 2001; Poplack, 1980). For educators and learners in CALL's fourth phase, a critical question to address is how does CS, as a face-work strategy for creating and maintaining personal and professional relationships, function when you cannot see the other person's face? To a great degree, the context-appropriate use of CS depends on the successful interpretation of the interlocutor's body language, the real-time use of language, and all the semiosis included in "negotiation for meaning" (Long & Porter, 1985, p. 215). Can online CS still have the same impact of enhancing the face, or public self-image, of interactants, and in doing so create positive personal and educational relationships?

An analysis of CS for face-work in intercultural, educational CMC activities can be further understood through a combination of multiple lines of theory. First we can look at how the individual, alone in front of a computer screen, uses CS for face-work through Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, where the concept of face is "...the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (p. 61). Secondly, if CMC activities are to be considered as online communities of practice, we can view CS through Goffman's (1967) notion

of face, where focus is placed on language use in terms of relationships with social groups and the public (Park, 2008, p. 2052).

In considering the mobile and anonymous nature of CALL's fourth phase as an emerging, ubiquitous, and somewhat compulsory environment for learners' identity creation, the following two research questions target learner identification and language negotiation in intercultural CMC activities: 1) How can individuals use CS to establish positive social value and collaboration in intercultural CMC activities, when separated by thousands of miles and hours of time amid asynchronous communication? 2) How can teachers intervene to create a structure for CS in intercultural CMC activities as a resource for the in situ management of self-identity and positive relationships?

After contextualizing these questions in the scholarship of pedagogy and sociocultural theory in Section One, and critical discourse analysis (CDA) in Section Two, I begin to answer the first research question in Section Three by analyzing the data from a year's worth of bilingual and intercultural email correspondences and discuss a curious pattern that emerges. I adopt a systemic functional linguistics (SFL) approach to analyze the tenor, field, and mode of these online correspondences and how they are written to nurture a positive interpersonal relationship through the conscious or unconscious use of CS. These three aspects of context significantly differ in CMC activities compared to face-to-face interaction. The importance of a fourth phase of CALL becomes clearer when recognizing how these SFL registers differ in CMC. First, the field, or exchange of information, no longer takes place between students in the classroom. Secondly, the tenor, or social roles and relationships between participants, include multicultural variables and cannot be nurtured face-to-face or always in real time. And finally, the mode, or channel of communication, becomes almost completely written, via online synchronous or asynchronous messages.

I conclude by working off of the curious pattern of CS that emerges from these emails to address the second research question and introduce a framework for organizing this important use of CS through intentional language shifts during phatic and referential speech functions (Duranti, 1999; Jakobson, 1990), which make up these online exchanges. Because I believe that language users engage in CS in CMC as a strategy of linguistic politeness and face-work to "...reduce social friction and enhance each other's face, or public self-image, during social interaction" (Park, 2008, p. 2051), I call this framework a Functional Approach to Code-Switching Electronically (FACE). I believe that FACE can help teachers structure CMC activities in a way that recognizes that sociocultural interactions, involving knowledge and identity construction and power sharing, are different in CALL's fourth phase. I also believe that FACE will give students a concrete framework for negotiating language use for face-work positioning them as proficient L2 users.

1. PEDAGOGICAL CONCERNS FROM A SOCIOCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Not every best-intended language teacher who wants to expose his/her students to authentic language use through intercultural CMC is trained in sociocultural theory, and many may inadvertently favor immediate intercultural communication over intercultural competence. Shin (2006) points out that intercultural CMC affords students the opportunity to co-construct the contexts of their CMC activities due to the different social and institutional dimensions that collide during these activities (see also Belz, 2002, 2003; Kramsch & Thorne, 2002; O'Dowd, 2003; Ware, 2005; Ware & Kramsch, 2005). But the success and longevity of these intercultural

projects depends on whether students can pragmatically negotiate the cultural tensions that often arise as a result of these different dimensions. Shin continues by claiming, "These layers of context show that the occurrence of social interactions in language learning needs to be understood in relation not only to immediate situational contexts, but also to the broad cultural and social contexts shaping immediate situations" (para. 1). Teachers cannot assume that their students already possess this intercultural communicative competence or that alone they will be able to go beyond their "...self-referential notions of the other language and culture" (Byrnes, 2006, p. 244).

Belz & Thorne (2006) have written about the potential of the Internet in mediating the process of intercultural foreign language education. From a sociocultural perspective, my concern is that pedagogical practices implemented to target this mediation of intercultural and foreign language education, afforded by CALL's fourth phase, will be viewed as intercultural education panaceas. Chapelle (2009) points to the pedagogical benefits, but also the challenges presented by issues of identity and social constraints in intercultural negotiated language CMC activities and states, "It follows that pedagogy should be designed in a way that keeps the communication flowing without fatal breakdowns caused by conflicting activity systems among participants" (p. 747, see also Russell, 2001; Thorne, 2003). Levy (2009) addresses the urgent need to focus on "well-conceived pedagogy" in practices that involve cross-cultural exchanges in order to avoid failed communication (p. 777; see also Belz, 2005; Gonglewski & DuBravac, 2006; O'Dowd & Ritter, 2006).

I believe the first step to this well-conceived pedagogy is a greater understanding of linguistic face-work for establishing interactants' positive social value in fostering collaboration among students in intercultural CMC activities. According to Park (2008), linguistic politeness is a sociocultural strategy "...for reducing social friction by smoothing social interactions and reducing conflict during social encounters" (p. 2051; see also Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983). Brown & Levinson (1987) discuss two opposite aspects of face that are interconnected and important in our understanding of student face-work in intercultural CMC activities. First, let us consider the use of CS to create positive face or the "involvement" aspect of face (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61). According to Brown & Levinson, this is "the positive consistent selfimage or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" (p. 61). The other aspect of face discussed by Brown & Levinson (1987) is the "independence" face value or negative face (p. 61). This avoidance or hesitation to interact can be observed from students in CMC activities who do not feel at the same proficiency level as their telecollaboration interactants. This may be understood as displays of agency, resistance, and autonomy in preserving their own social stance by not participating. Feelings of insecurity of language proficiency can never be completely erased, but perhaps be mitigated through structuring the language use of intercultural CMC participants. FACE provides this language negotiation structure through CS and the equal sharing of language use in messages. What is the pedagogical risk of not taking face-work into account? In the next section we turn our attention to the field of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and to a discussion on what is being constructed in terms of students' identity, power, and agency during intercultural CMC activities.

2. A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF INTERCULTURAL CMC

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is interested in the "inequality of power" produced in discourse (Fowler & Kress, 1979, p. 195). CDA in education considers all semiotic elements involved in social interactions, or texts, and understands that texts are shaped by social structures and social practices (Fairclough, 2011b). In viewing CMC as a multimodal and multicultural textual interaction, teachers need to consider the inequality of power that students may be constructing in their CMC interactions. It is perhaps most important for educators to consider this in the context of sustained, long-term intercultural CMC projects, where there appears to be much success. I caution teachers in measuring the success of CMC activities solely by the persistence of communication and collaboration and call for teachers to take a critical look at what ideologies are being promoted, what languages are being privileged, and which language users are being positioned as the most important and powerful in the dyad.

Even though the concern of Internet -based English hegemony has somewhat diminished (see Crystal, 2004; Graddol, 1997, 2008; Nunberg, 1999; Vincent, 2008; Wallraff, 2000), the potential for cultural and linguistic imperialism still demands considerable attention as a possible outcome of intercultural CMC activities, along with the potential for the spread of Anglorhetorical norms or "rhetorical colonialism" (Vincent, 2008, p. 410). According to Vincent, "CMC, in particular, involves (perhaps mostly informal) interpersonal interaction within and across cultures, thus the possibility of the leveling influence of netiquette norms on more informal, interpersonal interaction styles around the world is not to be ignored" (pp. 411-412).

Without a consistent, structured approach to language use in these intercultural interactions, students are left with great autonomy in negotiating when to use and how to use certain languages within the context of the interactions. While at first, this increased student agency can be viewed as a positive outcome of unstructured CMC projects, we cannot ignore that these choices are meaningful and "are semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental) which can be generally identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors" (Fairclough, 2009, p. 164). Fairclough (1992a) expresses this point further by describing Halliday's (1973) view of language "as systems of 'options' amongst which speakers make 'selections' according to social circumstances ... and that choices of forms are always meaningful" (p. 26). Who's meaning is being accepted as matter of fact in CMC activities?

I am most concerned with bilingual intercultural CMC projects where even the simplest act of always using one language over the other for specific parts of the interaction can be construed as giving more prominence to that language and thus implicitly more prominence to the speakers and culture associated with that language. I propose that in school-based intercultural CMC interactions, we must view these written dialogues as multifunctional, in that they simultaneously represent the world (Halliday's ideational function) and enact social relations and identities (Halliday's interpersonal function) (Waugh et al., forthcoming). In CALL's fourth phase, educators need to be critical of these interactions and avoid unsystematic language negotiation that may lead to an imbalance of power, a negative influence on interactants' identities, and failed communication.

A potential pedagogical intervention, one that considers this influence of language use on identity creation and relationships of power, may arise from a revitalized look at the importance of linguistic politeness and face-work accomplished through greater transparency of language use and consistent CS. A normative structure to negotiating language use, one with shared

expectations, may serve to lower the affective filter of CMC interactants. This in turn may facilitate the creation of group affinity that may decrease the chances for communicative failure that sometimes arise from a lack of transparency regarding the why and when people choose the language that they choose in intercultural CMC dialogues. Duff (2012) points to "...how interlocutors' actions, perceptions and *language use* serve to position language learners/users and their investments in particular ways...the focus is not just the 'objective' identities of individuals but how certain aspects of their identities are construed subjectively by others" (p. 8; see also, Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). I believe that consistent CS may create positive collaborative relationships in CMC activities by positioning the identities of interactants as proficient L2 speakers.

Below I report the findings of a critical discourse analysis of over 150 intercultural emails that I exchanged with a university professor from Southern Mexico. Through this analysis and discussion, we concretely see how CS can be used in CMC to create a positive tenor in the dialogue and save the face of both language users as competent bilinguals, all the while respecting culturally appropriate negotiation of language.

3.1. A SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTIC (SFL) ANALYSIS OF CODE-SWITCHING FOR FACE-WORK IN INTERCULTURAL, BILINGUAL EMAILS

As previously discussed, we cannot ignore that language is being used as a meaning making system in educational CMC activities. SFL is a useful framework for analyzing the semantics and pragmatics of bilingual discourse. The construct of a CMC interaction represents a *curious* genre. According to genre theory (Eggins, 2004; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Martin, 2009; Martin & Rose, 2008), out of all of the uses of language, people in different cultures repeatedly use certain genres to live out their lives. Written discourse, such as letters, is one of these genres.

I call the genre of CMC activities *curious* because the formal monologic nature of written language and the embedded informal dialogues of oral language (Wold, 1992) over-lap extensively in certain CMC activities, such as email. The structure of the formulaic letter genre remains, but in order to respect the bilingual proficiency of both individuals, face-giving and face-saving can be achieved by using CS in a dialogic manner as a strategy for relationship building and maintenance. Due to the thread of conversations that emails belong to, there is less of a monologic nature to email and more of a dialogic feel. One can refer to a previous message, which often times occupies the space just to the top or bottom of the current message, for context, and unlike traditional letter writing, the whole history of the email dialogue is saved and available for later review and analysis.

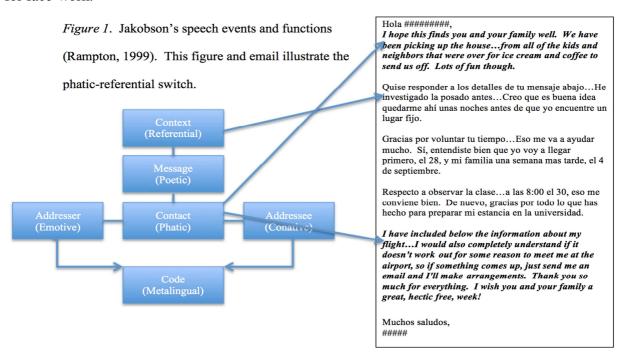
SFL provides a holistic approach for understanding that people involved in discourse cannot achieve everything that they want to all at once. The genre level of discourse is broken up into smaller steps to show how individuals make meaning through phases, as they go, in order to by the end of the text accomplish their desired purpose (Martin, 2009, p. 12). In order to create a textual flow that fuses a co-construction of knowledge with a positive interpersonal relationship, the field, tenor, and mode of each email need to be considered. The genre of written discourse, played out on the field of intercultural email correspondence, is what Halliday (1977) calls "text as semantic choice in social context" (p. 23). In this vein, the field of these email messages represents the ideational resources, which create the reality of exchanging

information in order to collaborate educationally, to co-construct knowledge, and to focus on the subject matter at hand; typically what is referred to in CMC activities as the theme or topic.

Drawing from the experiential and logical shared knowledge that both individuals in the dialogue are language learners and emerging bilinguals, we gain a better understanding of the field, and thus the need for creating a face saving and giving tenor in order to establish and maintain working social relationships. This positive tenor creates solidarity and a sharing of power that can otherwise be lacking in CMC activities. In order to fuse the ideational (field) and the interpersonal (tenor) meaning together, the structure of these emails is considered and the marriage of the knowledge building resources with the interpersonal resources is manifested through the CS organization and textual flow, which Halliday (1977), Martin (2009), and Eggins (2004) refer to as mode. The mode of an email interaction, typified as lacking in visual and aural contact and somewhat in rapid feedback, makes CS intriguing.

3.2. THE PHATIC-REFERENTIAL SWITCH

Jakobson's (1960) speech events and functions serve as a useful way for understanding the CS organization of these emails. In an email excerpt below we can see that the interlocuters code-switched between the phatic language function of creating personal contact and the referential function of expressing the context of the email. This email excerpt from Stage One of the 154 emails analyzed in this study, along with Figure 1, demonstrates this textual flow of CS for face-work.



It is important to include a brief observation about the cultural differences in interpersonal communication I have witnessed, which may influence a learner's amount and tendency to use phatic communication. Many Spanish speakers, at varying levels depending on country and region, place an importance on creating a personal relationship before getting to the business of a dialogue (Fant & Grindsted, 1995; Grindsted, 1994, 1995; Placencia, 1998, 2005).

This use of phatic communication is observed throughout these emails, typically embedded in the interchanges regarding family members at the beginning of each email. The phatic-referential switch may lend itself naturally to completing this cultural discourse style and in doing so, may ameliorate some cultural tensions that arise when students communicate interculturally.

For learners in the United States, they may have a great desire to jump into the business of talking about the theme or topic of the dialogue, and they might not consider the importance of building tenor and establishing a personal relationship by sharing about their families and asking about their partners' families and lives. Belz (2002) reports on the frustrations of German university students that their American counterparts did not share enough personal information and were too focused on completing the CMC academic project. This tension experienced by CMC participants could perhaps be lessened through a consistent framework for CS at the phatic-referential switch, which would assure that importance is given to needed phatic communication. As we will see below, 93% of all of the CS in the emails analyzed in this study took place at the phatic-referential switch.

3.3. AN ANALYSIS OF CODE-SWITCHING FOR FACE-WORK IN A YEAR'S WORTH OF INTERCULTURAL EMAILS

In order to take a closer look at the textual organization, flow, or mode of CS in intercultural CMC activities, I analyzed 154 intercultural emails written over one complete year between August of 2010 and August of 2011. All of these emails were exchanged between myself (Steve) and a university professor, Carmen (pseudonym), from Southern Mexico who acted as my mentor during my time as a Fulbright teacher/researcher. I recognize that by choosing an autoethnographic approach, as both participant and researcher, I am confronted with the challenges of interpreting personal observations and behaviors. Ethnographic knowledge, however, is interpretive, and emerges from social interaction and negotiation (Malkki, & Cerwonka, 2007). Duff (2012) calls for research to "...bring together in innovative, interesting, and multidimensional ways the contingencies and hybridity of teacher, researcher, and student/learner/research participants' experiences with respect to issues of identity and agency in the same study" (p. 24). Duff proposes that one way to achieve this is by representing experiences "...multilingually rather than monolingually, through translation, or using codeswitching in the research reports themselves" (p. 24).

In order to analyze the impact of CS as face-work on the impact of successful intercultural CMC activities, I separated the 154 emails into three stages; *Stage One: Before moving to Mexico, Stage Two: While living in Mexico*, and *Stage Three: After moving back to the U.S.*, and will show what impact the presence or absence of CS had on the interpersonal and professional relationship of the two interactants. In this discussion I look at the emails from each stage to show the curious systematic CS for face-work, and later use this analysis for the introduction of the FACE framework. The negotiation of language use in these emails and the strategic use or non-use of CS was never discussed between myself and Carmen, making these emails an intriguing snapshot into our practical habitus as proud bilinguals and academics, constructing a working and personal relationship separated in distance by thousands of miles, in time by busy work schedules and families, and by differences in culture.

Of the 154 emails analyzed, 41 contained CS. What perhaps is most interesting is the effect that the absence of CS had on the participants' relationship, but first I analyze the 41

emails with CS. Table 1 shows the total CS by participant and by stage. It can clearly be observed that I code-switched more than Carmen, especially in Stage Three when I was trying to use two languages in order to re-construct a positive personal and professional relationship. How the negotiation of language impacted the relationship will be discussed further through the analysis of language use in these emails during each stage.

	Code-Switching	All English	All Spanish
Stage One: Before	12/16	2/16	2/16
moving to Mexico	Steve: 8	Steve: 0	Steve: 0
	Carmen: 4	Carmen: 2	Carmen: 2
Stage Two: While	8/65	21/65	36/65
living in Mexico	Steve: 5	Steve: 8	Steve: 20
	Carmen: 3	Carmen: 13	Carmen: 16
Stage Three: After	21/73	45/73	7/73
moving back to U.S.	Steve: 19	Steve: 21	Steve: 5
	Carmen: 2	Carmen: 24	Carmen: 2
Total:	41/154 (27%)	68/154 (44%)	45/154 (29%)

Table 1. A breakdown of email language use

3.3.1. Stage One: Before Moving to Mexico

Stage One, although the smallest in time and amount of emails exchanged, represents the stage with the most CS. I posit that this was done in order to establish a positive relationship for collaboration and friendship. This was most likely done both consciously and unconsciously as a face-saving strategy to insulate ourselves as proficient bilinguals and as a face-giving strategy to position each other as advanced L2 users. Many language learners feel great pride in having achieved a high level of proficiency in their L2, and both protecting this ego and acknowledging it in others can be highly important, especially when beginning a professional collaboration.

I see many similarities here to environments created in school-based CMC activities. It is natural for participants to position each other, through observations and implicit comments, as more proficient or less proficient. Sometimes, however, this idea is made explicit, as in the case mentioned above with the telecollaboration project between students from a U.S. and a German university (Belz, 2002). According to Belz (2002), German students positioned their American counterparts as less proficient L2 learners by their use and negotiation of language in the correspondences, and the American students also positioned themselves as inferior L2 learners (p. 65).

What can be learned from the CS in the Stage One emails is the importance of privileging both the phatic and the referential functions of these emails. Creating personal contact within these emails helped to create a positive personal and professional relationship. In the email excerpt below, we see that Carmen uncharacteristically starts quickly in the referential function by discussing possible work scenarios that I might encounter upon arriving at the university in Mexico. After discussing work, Carmen switches languages with the Spanish phrase *cambiando de tema* (on another topic) in order to provide a personal contact and fulfill the phatic function by talking about her family. I believe that this transition from discussing work to talking about family is made rather naturally through her use of CS. By CS into her L1 and my L2, she is also

sending a message that she recognizes that I am proficient in my L2 and that we can conduct our correspondence by sharing languages. This "bald-off-record" politeness strategy acts to position me as an advanced Spanish speaker (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 69). In an important CS back to English for the postscript, Carmen adds one more semi-referential task of arranging transportation for the day of my arrival.

Hi Steve.

I got your point CBI/CBLT as they are actually used in the US for bilingual classes (usually full immersion... sink or swim right?) Yes Introducción a la Didáctica is taught with first semester BA students and it is taught in English. I think that would be a great idea!! I have already talked with my colleague...I'm pretty sure she will be willing to collaborate with you... She wanted to know if you will be co-teaching with her or if you will only be acting as a researcher. Her class is twice a week Monday and Wednesday 8-10 a.m., so maybe you could teach one session and she the other (just an idea). Any thoughts? As I said, the exact thing will be sorted out when you arrive.

Bueno, espero que no te hayas aburrido con este e-mail tan largo. Te deseo suerte en los últimos arreglos para tu viaje a #######.

Saludos,

Carmen

PS BTW.. What time do you arrive on the 28th? Are you coming by bus or plane? Maybbe I can go pick you up at the airport or bus station. Do let me know to try to organize my schedule for Saturday.

As mentioned above, CS at the phatic-referential switch not only aided in creating positive face and tenor, but also privileged both the phatic and referential functions, thus assuring that personal contact was made in these emails. This might explain why our relationship was the strongest in this stage.

3.3.2. Stage Two: While Living in Mexico

Table 1 shows that there was very little CS in Stage Two. This could be explained in part by my own immersion in the Spanish language while living and working in Mexico and by my own need to establish my Spanish proficiency as a faculty member at the university. At closer inspection, however, we can see that the lack of CS diminished the phatic function of our emails. Many factors could have added to the increasing strain on our relationship during Stage Two, but I argue that a negotiation for language prominence in positioning ourselves as advanced L2 users

may have been an important factor. This can be observed by looking at the instances in Stage Two where I initiated a communication strand all in Spanish. In every instance where I began a new email strand all in Spanish, at the beginning of Stage Two, Carmen responded with an all-English email.

Hola Carmen,
Aquí tienen un enlace a la encuesta. Ya está viva y lista para contar respuestas.
http://www.#################################
Favor de enviar el enlace a #####. Gracias por todo.
Saludos,
Steve
Got it

It is easy to see in the two-email strand above from Stage Two that little phatic language was used to create a personal contact and that there was no CS. Carmen's quick response in English, "Got it", perhaps is an adequate description of how busy both individuals were at this moment in the semester, but certainly represents the nature of our online communication during Stage Two. Our relationship became much more professional than personal, as not as much time or attention was placed on negotiating language for linguistic politeness and face-work through CS.

3.3.3. Stage Three: After Moving Back to the U.S.

Stage Three can be described by having very little reciprocal CS. Upon moving back to the United States, I was eager to re-strengthen the positive personal relationship of Stage One, and attempted to achieve this through CS with the first several emails. Table 1 shows that I wrote 19 CS emails, mostly at the beginning and then again towards the end of the year, and that Carmen wrote two. Carmen showed a preference for all English during Stage Three. Perhaps this was the result of an expectation of language use based on my having returned to the United States, or perhaps it was a conscious or unconscious strategy for repositioning herself as an advanced English user.

An intriguing shift back to CS occurred in a strand of emails toward the end of the year. These emails corresponded with the height of our personal and professional relationship during Stage Three, during which time we presented together at a conference in Mexico and were collaborating on a student exchange program between Carmen's university and a university in the U.S. This could be viewed as using CS to re-establish the personal and professional relationship when it was needed most. The email below, from this time in Stage Three, clearly demonstrates how Carmen begins with the phatic function of creating personal contact by talking about my family and asking that I bring pictures to Mexico. Although she does not CS at the first phatic-referential switch, she does at the second switch moving from referential business talk back to the phatic connection relating our conversation to our families. This second switch

back to phatic communication at the end of the letter was an influential example of when and where to switch languages in intercultural CMC activities that led to the structure of the FACE framework explained in the next section.

Dear Steve,

I can't wait to see you and hear it directly from you how ######, ### and ##### are doing. Please do bring some pictures!!

We have already set an appointment for Monday the 27tha at noon...In this meeting we expect you to clearly present what your suggestions and expectations are, what will the university over there offer our students and what is expected from our university...

With regards about the meeting with the teachers to present your blog...the 27th is the beginning of the last week of work before the holidays, so many people already take off asking for permission (we are allowed up to 10 days permission per year) so don't expect a huge turn

up. I'm fast forwarding your mail and my response to ####### so we are on the same page!! (¿Si se dice así o estoy deletreando mal "page"?.. escrito se ve muy raro!!

######## está muy bien y creciendo.. cada vez habla más y hace más cosas, pero está un poco "chipi" con la llegada del hermanito y a veces hace berrinche, pero supongo que eso es normal, pues todavía no entiende muy bien que pasa y por que su mamá ahora tiene una panza tan grande!!

Descansa, yo también ya me voy a dormir.

Saludos a toda la familia.

Although our correspondence has slowed since the end of the analyzed year of emails, Carmen and I have continued to communicate and CS sporadically. Through this analysis of language negotiation, I have realized the importance of both giving face and saving the face of both individuals in an intercultural CMC situation by positioning each other as proficient users of their L2s through CS (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Goffman, 1967). Furthermore, I see the negotiation of CS at the phatic-referential switch as not only a strategy for privileging the use and status of each language equally, but also for addressing the need for educating students about culturally appropriate discourse styles, and for creating positive interpersonal relationships which are crucial for the sustainability and success of intercultural communication.

4. A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO CODE-SWITCHING ELECTRONICALLY (FACE)

Sociocultural theory is an appropriate backdrop to understanding the need for a consistent framework for how to negotiate language use in intercultural CMC activities. Through sociocultural theory, our pedagogical lens focuses on the mediation of information and how this mediation transforms our knowledge and human activity (Warschauer, 2005). "Both teachers and researchers need to take into account both how this mediation occurs at the micro level, and also how it intersects with, and contributes to, broader social, cultural, historical, and economic trends" (Warschauer, 2005, p. 11). Warschauer continues to suggest that teachers need to re-

think the traditional form of writing when it comes to students interacting online. This becomes even more important when CMC activities are also intercultural activities, as another layer of challenges arises from trying to understand culturally different perspectives of language use, values, motivations, and discourse styles while collaborating with students from other cultures. Incipient interactions cannot be mistaken as a direct window into the figured worlds of students from other cultures.

Through my personal experience of telecollaborating interculturally, I have been propelled to develop a framework to address strategic CS for face-work and for conferring a greater analytical and practical importance upon the phatic function of communication. The Functional Approach to Code-switching Electronically (FACE) framework organizes the flow of an email text into three parts, accomplished by two phatic-referential switches. Figure 2 below illustrates the first phatic contact at the beginning of an email as an extended greeting. This extended greeting is important for the establishment of a positive tenor, or interpersonal relationship in the telecollaboration. This can be done in either the composer's L1 or L2 and will determine the language of the referential function as the opposite language.

Switching languages from the first phatic contact to the referential part of the email sends a natural message that the focus will now shift to a more business-like talk, or in the case of school-based intercultural CMC activities, the topic or theme of the lesson to be discussed. This first phatic-referential code-switch also sends the message that both languages will be shared in the dialogue and that the writer assumes a bilingual competence of the interactant that acts to position neither as superior nor inferior in second language proficiency. This switch is demonstrated in the email below between myself and another bilingual teacher in Mexico. The Mexican teacher begins with a brief but substantive greeting regarding the health of my daughter. She then switches into Spanish for the referential context of the email, which in this case is the preparation for a conference panel presentation. She uses her L2 for the first phatic contact, her L1 for the referential function, and switches back to her L2 for the second phatic contact.

What was not frequently done in the year's worth of emails analyzed above was CS from the referential back to the phatic to end an email. This serves at least two purposes for our discussion on a functional approach for CS electronically. First, returning to SFL, we can see that this referential-phatic switch at the end of the email is an example of the mode of the text once again fusing the ideational resources with the interpersonal resources in order to strengthen the positive tenor at the end of the email. Secondly, since most referential parts of an email will likely be longer than the initial phatic connection, returning to the phatic function at the end works to balance the amount of each language used in the email, thus privileging the L2 competencies of both interactants and enhancing the positive bilingual face of both.

Figure 2 demonstrates how the structure of language use changes by email. Thus, if I start an email today with my L2, I will start the next email with my L1 in order not to repeat the same cycle. This gives each individual the opportunity to demonstrate L2 proficiency in both the phatic and referential functions of emails over an extended correspondence. This is indeed how this bilingual Mexican teacher and I have treated the language use of our emails. Perhaps the most convincing note to the effectiveness of the FACE framework is that the same Mexican teacher and I have stayed in contact. We are currently collaborating on a research project and we are still CS.

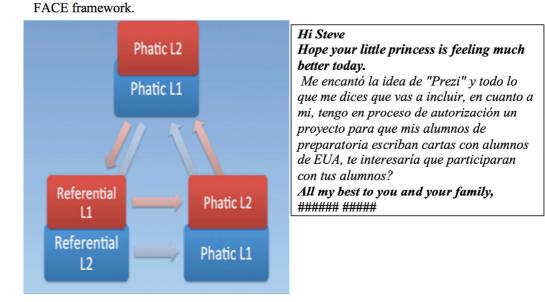


Figure 2. The FACE framework. This figure and email illustrate the structure of the

CONCLUSION

This article has provided the conceptual framework for a pedagogical intervention to promote the structured use of CS as a strategy of linguistic face-work in intercultural CMC activities. Telecollaboration or intercultural CMC projects are seen as an essential 21st century practice for expanding learners' knowledge of and interaction with L1 speakers of the target language, and for exposing students to authentic language use, such as the practice of CS (Chapelle, 2009, p. 748; see also Thorne & Black, 2007). Why people CS has been widely studied (Heredia & Altarriba, 2001; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Myers Scotton, 1983; Poplack, 1980; Scotton, & Wry 1977). In addressing the first research question, we can draw from this study that CS can be used in a social, personal way to create an intimacy based on shared linguistic knowledge of two languages and shared experiences of what it means to be a bilingual. CS can also be a strategy for negotiating an identity within professional and educational collaboration. Both of these reasons, I argue, have their origins in wanting to enhance the positive public self-image of both individuals in order to keep the working relationship healthy.

I am not advocating fixing all possible problems that may arise in an intercultural CMC activity. After all, it is in the cultural clashes where much learning happens. However, Belz (2002) suggests that a certain amount of "calculated pedagogical intervention" is needed in order to propel the development of students' learning (p. 75; see also Lantolf and Pavlenko, 2001). Considering the second research question, I propose that this calculated pedagogical intervention could take the form of a transparent negotiation of language use, structured through CS. Other than creating more space for phatic contact, the FACE framework does not influence content but rather language use ideology. Through the sharing of languages, not one language or person is privileged over the other. If we diminish the problems that may arise from discourse structure,

what remain are the problems and cultural clashes that are a result of what the students actually say. This is not something we can, nor should we try to control.

Teaching and learning in CALL's fourth phase means paying close attention to the relationships and interactions resulting from the normalization and mobile landscape of CALL. "Discussions of *identity* in CMC studies...tend to emphasize the individual freedom granted by anonymity to develop virtual identities" (Androutsopoulos, 2006, p. 423). I believe that these virtual identities are the driving forces behind the need to consider a fourth phase of CALL and to research the sociocultural interactions taking place in this new phase. What knowledge is being co-constructed, how are students being positioned, and what identities are they creating? Do these identities match the identities that students imagine for themselves (Kanno & Norton, 2003)? What life-long perceptions toward language learning are being formed from CALL created relationships? I believe that this paper, which gives great prominence to learners' identity construction through CS on their language acquisition and learning, begins the process of answering some of these questions.

Users have diverse resources available for creating identities online, one of these is the use of CS as an in-group language (Androutsopoulos, 2006, p. 423; see also Baym, 1998). Even though CMC activities create a spatial distance between interlocutors and thus the perception that dialogues are less personal, we need to remember, "...the individual himself stubbornly remains as a deity of considerable importance" (Goffman, 1967 [1956]: p. 95). For this reason, the bilingual individual may have the need and the tendency to save face, in two languages.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my two university and Fulbright colleagues and friends from Mexico whose emails make up the bulk of the study data, the two anonymous reviewers for their excellent suggestions, and Dr. David Gramling for his multiple reads and thoughtful and experienced insight.

REFERENCES

- Androutsopoulos, J. (2006). Introduction: Sociolinguistics and computer mediated communication. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 10(4), 419-438.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). The dialogic imagination, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 69.
- Bax, S. (2003). CALL—past, present and future. *System*, 31(1), 13-28.
- Baym, N. K. (1998). The emergence of on-line community. cybersociety, 2(0), 35-68.
- Belz, J. A. (2001). Institutional and individual dimensions of transatlantic group work in network-based language teaching. *ReCALL*, *13*(02), 213-231.
- Belz, J. A. (2002). Social dimensions of telecollaborative foreign language study. *Language Learning & Technology*, 6(1), 60-81.
- Belz, J. A. (2003). Linguistic perspectives on the development of intercultural competence in telecollaboration. *Language Learning & Technology*, 7(2), 68-117.
- Belz, J. A. (2005). Intercultural questioning, discovery and tension in Internet-mediated language learning partnerships. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *5*(1), 3-39.
- Belz, J. A. & S. L. Thorne (2006). Introduction: Internet-mediated intercultural foreign language education and the intercultural speaker. In J. A. Belz & S. Thorne (eds.), *Internet-mediated intercultural foreign language education*. Boston, MA: Thomson Heinle, iix–xxv.
- Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A critical introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Byrnes, H. (2006), Perspectives. The Modern Language Journal, 90: 244–246. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4781.2006.00395_1.x
- Chapelle, C. A. (2009). The Relationship Between Second Language Acquisition Theory and Computer Assisted Language Learning. *The Modern Language Journal*, *93*(s1), 741-753.
- Crystal, D. (2004). The Language Revolution. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Duff, P. (2012). Identity, agency, and second language acquisition. *Handbook of second language acquisition*, 410-426.
- Duranti, A. (Ed.). (1999). Language Matters in Anthropology: A Lexicon for the Millennium. American anthropological Association.
- Eggins, S. (2004). Introduction to systemic functional linguistics. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Fairclough, N. (1992a). Discourse and social change. Cambridge: Polity.
- Fairclough, N. (2009). A dialectical-relational approach. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 162-186). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fairclough, N. (2011a). 6 Semiotic Aspects of Social Transformation and Learning. *An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education*, 119.
- Fairclough, N. (2011b). Semiotic aspects of social transformation and learning. In R. Rogers (Ed.), *An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education* (2nd ed., pp. 119-127). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Fant, L., & Grindsted, A. (1995). Conflict and consensus in Spanish vs. Scandinavian negotiation interaction. *Hermes Journal of Linguistics*, 15, 111-141.
- Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. and Trew, T. (1979) Language and Social Control. London: Routledge

- Gonglewski, M., & DuBravac, S. (2006). Multiliteracy: Second language literacy in the multimedia environment. *Calling on CALL: From theory and research to new directions in foreign language teaching*, 43-68.
- Goffman, E. (1955). On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes*.
- Goffman, E. (1967). Interaction ritual. Chicago: Aldine.
- Graddol, D. (1997). More about the future of English? IATEFL Newsletter.
- Graddol, D. (2008). Why global English may mean the end of 'English as a Foreign Language'. ULIS.
- Grindsted, A. (1994). The impact of cultural styles on negotiation: a case study of Spaniards and Danes. *Professional Communication, IEEE Transactions on*, *37*(1), 34-38.
- Grindsted, A. (1995). Dyadic and polyadic sequencing patterns in Spanish and Danish negotiation interaction. *The discourse of business negotiation*, 8, 203.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1977). The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching. *RELC Journal*, 8(2), 1-34.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1977). Text as semantic choice in social contexts. *Grammars and descriptions*, 176-225.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1978). Language as Social Semiotic: The Social interpretation of language and meaning. London: Edward Arnold/Baltimore, MD: University Park press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). An introduction to functional grammar. London: Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. (2004). Introducing functional grammar. *New York: Edward Arnold*.
- Heredia, R. R., & Altarriba, J. (2001). Bilingual language mixing: Why do bilinguals codeswitch? *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 10(5), 164-168.
- Jakobson, R. (1960). Closing statement: Linguistics and poetics. Style in language, 350, 377.
- Jakobson, R. (1990). The speech event and the functions of language. *On language*, 69-79.
- Kanno, Y., & Norton, B. (2003). Imagined communities and educational possibilities: Introduction. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 2(4), 241-249.
- Kramsch, C., & Thorne, S. (2002). Foreign language learning as global communicative practice. *Globalization and language teaching*, 83-100.
- Leeuwen, T. V., & Kress, G. (2006). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Kress, G. (2011). Discourse analysis and education: A multimodal social semiotic approach. In Rogers, R, ed. *An Introduction to critical discourse analysis in education, 2nd ed.* New York: Routledge, 205-226.
- Lakoff, R. (1973). The logic of politeness, or minding your p's and q's. *Chicago Linguistics Society*, 9, 292–305.
- Lantolf, J. (2000a). Introducing sociocultural theory. In J. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Lantolf, J. (2000b). Second language learning as a mediated process. *Language Learning*, 33(2), 79-96.
- Lantolf, J. P., & Pavlenko, A. (2001). (S)econd (L)anguage (A)ctivity theory: Understanding second language learners as people. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 141-158). New York: Longman.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation. Cambridge University Press.

- Leech, G.N. (1983). *Principles of pragmatics*. London, United Kingdom: Longman.
- Le Page, R. B., & Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985). Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity. Cambridge University Press.
- Levy, M. (2009). Technologies in use for second language learning. *The Modern Language Journal*, 93(s1), 769-782.
- Long, M. H., & Porter, P. A. (1985). Group work, interlanguage talk, and second language acquisition. *TESOL Quarterly*, 19(2), 207-228.
- Malkki, L. H., & Cerwonka, A. (2007). *Improvising Theory: Process and Temporality in Ethnographic Fieldwork*. University of Chicago Press.
- Martin, J. R. (2009). Genre and language learning: A social semiotic perspective. *Linguistics* and *Education*, 20(1), 10-21.
- Martin, J. R. & Rose, D. (2007a). *Working with Discourse. Meaning Beyond the Clause.* 2nd *Ed.* London: Continuum [2003].
- Martin, J. R. & Rose, D. (2008). Genre Relations. Mapping culture. London: Equinox.
- Myers Scotton, C. (1983). The negotiation of identities in conversation: A theory of markedness and code choice. *International journal of the sociology of language*, 1983(44), 115-136.
- Nunberg, G. (1999). The whole world wired, in M. H. Laforest and J. Vincent (eds), *English* and the Other: AION Anglistica-new series 3(1), pp. 229-231. [originally a 1996 PBS Radio "Fresh Air" talk].
- O'Dowd, R. (2003). Understanding the "other side": Intercultural learning in a Spanish-English e-mail exchange. *Language Learning & Technology*, 7(2), 118-144.
- O'Dowd, R., & Ritter, M. (2006). Understanding and working with 'failed communication' in telecollaborative exchanges. *CALICO Journal*, *23*(3), 623-642.
- Park, J. R. (2008). Linguistic politeness and face work in computer mediated communication, Part 1: A theoretical framework. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 59(13), 2051-2059.
- Placencia, M. E. (1998). Pragmatic variation: Ecuadorian Spanish vs. Peninsular Spanish. *Spanish Applied Linguistics*, 2(1), 71-106.
- Placencia, M. E. (2005). Pragmatic variation in corner store interactions in Quito and Madrid. *Hispania*, 583-598.
- Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL: toward a typology of code-switching1. *Linguistics*, 18(7-8), 581-618.
- Rampton, B. (1999). Dichotomies, difference, and ritual in second language learning and teaching. *Applied Linguistics*, 20(3), 316-340.
- Russell, D. (2001). Looking beyond the interface: Activity theory and distributed learning. In M. Lea & K. Nicoll (Eds.), *Distributed learning* (pp. 64–82). New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Sauro, S. (2011). SCMC for SLA: A research synthesis. CALICO Journal, 28(2), 369-391.
- Scotton, C. M., & Ury, W. (1977). Bilingual strategies: The social functions of code-switching. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 1977(13), 5-20.
- Shin, D. S. (2006). ESL students' computer-mediated communication practices: Context configuration. *Language Learning & Technology*, 10(3), 65-84.
- Thorne, S. L. (2003). Artifacts and cultures-of-use in intercultural communication. *Language Learning & Technology*, 7(2), 38–67.

- Thorne, S. L., & Black, R. W. (2007). Language and literacy development in computer-mediated contexts and communities. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 27, 133-160.
- Vincent, J. (2008). Netiquette Rules OK!... OK?: speculating on rhetorical cleansing and English linguistic and cultural imperialism through email netiquette style guides.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). Mind in society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wallraff, B. (2000). What global language? In *The Atlantic Online*, November 2000, http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/2000/11/wallraff.htm.
- Ware, P. (2005). "Missed" communication in online communication: Tensions in a German-American telecollaboration. *Language Learning & Technology*, *9*(2), 64-89. Retrieved July 28, 2006, from http://llt.msu.edu/vol9num2/ware/default.html
- Ware, P., & Kramsch, C. (2005). Toward an intercultural stance: Teaching German and English through telecollaboration. *Modern Language Journal*, 89(2), 190-205.
- Warschauer, M. (2000). The death of cyberspace and the rebirth of CALL. *English Teachers' Journal*, 53(1), 61-67.
- Warschauer, M. (2005). Sociocultural perspectives on CALL. In J. Egbert and G. M. Petrie (Eds.) *CALL Research Perspectives* (pp. 41-51). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Earlbaum.
- Waugh, L. R., Catalano, T., Al Masaeed, K., Hong Do, T., & Renigar, P. G. (Forthcoming). Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Approaches, Relation to Pragmatics, Critique, Trends and New Directions. In Mey & Capone (Eds.) *Interdisciplinary studies in pragmatics, culture and society.* Berlin: Springer Verlag
- Wenger, E. (1998). Chapter 12. Education. From *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1991). *Voices of the mind: A sociocultural approach to mediated action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wold, A. H. (1992). Oral and written language: Arguments against a simple dichotomy. *The dialogical alternative: Towards a theory of language and mind*, 175-193.