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Keeping It in the Target Language

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Abstract

This article investigates how target language use can be optimized in the language classroom to enhance language development. Principles and guidelines for integration of the target language are extracted from empirical evidence and best practices demonstrated by teachers who maximize target language. Classroom tested strategies and examples are described and illustrated.

Introduction

There is much debate about the use of the target language (TL) and first language (L1) in the foreign language classroom. How much TL will maximize language development? When should L1 be used and how often? Language teachers are receiving mixed messages that range from 100% exclusive use of target language to selective integration of L1 to maximize the benefits of code-switching. This article extracts principles and guidelines for integration of the TL in the language classroom from (a) empirical evidence regarding the use of the TL and L1 in the language classroom, and (b) best practices demonstrated through classroom observations of teachers who maximize L2. In addition, classroom-tested strategies and examples designed to optimize and expand L2 use in the classroom are described and illustrated. These examples embody classroom tasks that develop and expand learning skills and build connections between TL and L1 that promote language development.
What we have learned from research

Macaro (2005) points out that there is a continuum of perspectives on target language and first language use. On the one side of the spectrum advocates for TL see little pedagogical or communicative value in the first language. Drawing on Krashen’s (1982) comprehensible input hypothesis, proponents argue that exposing learners to extensive periods of comprehensible TL input will ensure mastery of the target language. Swain (1985) builds on this theoretical rationale by arguing that producing the TL is an important aspect of the learning process and learners must be provided opportunities to produce written and spoken output related to the input. Researchers have shown that the amount of TL input does affect learners’ target language development (e.g. Larsen-Freeman, 1985; Lightbown, 1991; Liu, 2008; Turnbull, 2001) and have established a direct and positive correlation between learner achievement and teacher use of the target language (Carroll, 1975; Wolf, 1977; Burstall, Jamison, Cohen, & Hargreaves, 1974). Van Lier (2000) and Cook (2001), however, heed that simply using L2 does not guarantee TL learning since input must become intake in order to become internalized.

MacDonald (1993) and Wong-Fillmore (1985) asserted that TL use will result in increased motivation as students realize the immediate usefulness of TL. Such support for exclusive target-language use has led language professionals, publishers and teachers to accept target language use as best practice in second and foreign language learning and teaching.

Challenges to this position of exclusive use of TL have emerged in the research community that question this perspective. Macaro (2000) found that the majority of second and foreign language teachers believe that while code-switching (switching between one or more languages in the context of a single conversation) is often necessary, they also believe it is errant and lamentable. Teacher use of TL is crucial as it serves as the significant, and sometimes only, source of authentic, scaffolded input. While participants in Macaro’s study agreed that the target language should be the “predominant language of interaction in the classroom” (p. 68), qualitative studies (Duff & Polio, 1990; Macaro, 1997; Poli & Duff, 1994; Turnbull, 1999, 2005) have revealed that the amount of target language used by teachers in the classroom varies greatly.

Several studies have confirmed that the first language can be beneficial as a cognitive tool that aids in second language learning (e.g. Anton & DiCamilla, 1998; Swain & Lapkin, 2000; Watanabe, 2008). Dickson (1992) found that it is not the quantity of exposure to TL that is important, but the quality of exposure. Such studies have provoked a reexamination of exclusive TL use resulting in advocacy for maximized target language use (Swain & Lapkin, 2000; Turnbull, 2001; Turnbull & Arnett, 2002). These scholars argue that by using L1 as a frame of reference, language can be more easily processed by the learners as language moves from input to intake (Turnbull, 2001, p. 533), resulting in a greater understanding of the TL (Dickson, 1992; Py, 1996). However, caution is advised against overuse of L1 (Ellis, 1984; Atkinson, 1995) as this can result in and lead to student de-motivation (MacDonald, 1993).
Code-switching can be an effective teaching strategy when it is used deliberately to further the students’ TL proficiency by using L1 as a reference point and to help construct knowledge in the TL (Coste, 1997). L1 is recommended when “the cost of the TL is too great” (Cook, 2001, p. 418) and when it assists students’ understanding of particular concepts. Swain & Lapkin (2000) noted that using L1 to mediate TL learning can create a more affective learning environment.

Lapkin (2000) argues that denying students’ access to L1 deprives them of an invaluable cognitive tool. When a teacher uses L1 in the TL classroom, learners use it as a cognitive tool to help “scaffold” their learning (Anton & DiCamilla, 1998). The three primary reasons students use L1 during collaborative tasks include: increasing efficiency, focusing attention, and facilitating interpersonal interactions (Swain & Lapkin, 2000).

Research suggests that code-switching often occurs when using unknown language words (Knight, 1996) or for social interaction (Tarone & Swain, 1995). Kern (1994) found in his examination of a reading comprehension task that students used L1 to their advantage in order to (a) reduce the limitations of working memory, (b) comprehend the meaning of the text, (c) secure meaning into long term memory, (d) transform input into more familiar terms (thereby reducing anxiety) and (e) understand lexical items. Macaro (2000) reported that teachers most frequently used L1 when (a) teaching grammar explicitly, (b) providing complex procedural instructions, (c) controlling students’ behavior, (d) building personal relationships with learners and (e) checking for comprehension quickly when time pressures dictate. Code-switching becomes a useful communication strategy when the amount of input modification needed is too great for the time allocated to them. Macaro concluded that code-switching is beneficial when it improves the learning of the TL. There exists, however, a lack of consensus on the effect of code-switching in second/FL classrooms.

There is relatively little empirical evidence as to the amount or nature of TL versus L1 use upon which to make sound pedagogical and policy decisions (Levine, 2003). The question of how much TL the teacher and students use and when is very much linked to a variety of related classroom practices. Levine found that the TL was used most often for topic/theme-based communication, less for communication about grammar, and even less for communication about tests, quizzes and assignments. Most interesting is his finding that there exists a negative correlation between reported amounts of TL use and reported TL use anxiety. Greater TL use may not necessarily translate into greater anxiety for many learners. Many students feel comfortable with more TL use when that is what they are used to.

Creating a learning environment where TL is standard

How do teachers create and sustain a learning environment in which students become “used to” TL input and output? An immersion-style learning environment requires significant attention and preparation regarding the development of a curriculum that represents best practices and promotes a respectful and risk-taking community within the classroom. The following principles stem from research
and inquiry on TL classroom use as well as from teacher practitioners who make maximal and nearly exclusive use of the TL in their language classrooms. These principles can serve as guidelines for language teachers and are designed to assist language educators to introduce and sustain the TL while creating an engaging learning environment which approximates authentic language communication.

**Principles for keeping it in the TL**

1. **Build a curriculum grounded in theory and standards:** *Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century* (1999) is rooted in a socio-cultural approach to language learning and teaching that emphasize communication, specifically three modes of communication: interpretive, interpersonal and presentational. Learners are placed in the role of active constructors of knowledge through a series of well-scaffolded tasks created by the teacher. Teachers identify and students personalize learning outcomes, preferably in the form of can-do statements at the onset of the instructional unit in order to make transparent what students will know and be able to do with language at the conclusion of the lesson, unit, semester, or program (backward design). The teacher introduces the content and context, carefully crafts learning tasks that actively engage the learners in the learning process and facilitates as they practice and perform these tasks. Finally, students review the learning goals and reflect at what level of quality they have achieved the learning outcomes. Formative and summative assessments provide useful feedback that improves the learning during and after the lesson. Well-constructed and standards-based lessons place the student in the role of active learner and create a context and learning environment where the TL can be optimized.

2. **Create a respectful community of learning that promotes risk taking:** A community based on mutual respect among students and between teacher and students promotes a comfortable and low affective environment in which students feel free to produce language without fear of being mocked. One effective strategy that communicates to students the importance of respect consists of posting and using the following acrostic that defines clearly and makes transparent to students what respectful behavior looks like in a learning community:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reglas de nuestra comunidad</th>
<th>Rules of our community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respetar personas y cosas de la clase.</td>
<td>Respect people and things in class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espanol, Espanol, Espanol.</td>
<td>Use the TL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea responsable.</td>
<td>Be responsible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepara para clase cada dia.</td>
<td>Prepare for class each day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estudia-habla con amigos.</td>
<td>Study-talk with friends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten una actitud positiva.</td>
<td>Have a positive attitude.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtén asistencias si es necesario.</td>
<td>Obtain assistance if needed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 1. Rules of the community*
Risk-taking is crucial in a communicative language classroom and an important characteristic for a language learner to acquire. While high risk taking yields positive results in second language learning (Brown, 2000), the “key to risk-taking as a peak performance strategy is not simply in taking the risks. It is in learning from your failures” (p. 150). Creating a safe space where students are free to attempt and practice language without reprisal is “necessary to develop an ample affective framework to overcome learner’s anxiety of learning the target language” (Dufeu, 1994, p. 89-90).

Building a respectful, risk-taking environment requires time, modeling and much practice. It is as important to teach respect as it is to teach language. Respectful behaviors can be learned. A pedagogical approach that can assist in helping students to understand the importance of a respectful environment can be initiated by introducing Krashen’s Affective Filter Hypothesis (1982). Krashen posits that learning is decreased when negative emotions such as anxiety, self-doubt or boredom interfere with acquiring a second language. These negative elements can be minimized through the creation of a low-anxiety environment where learners are motivated through comprehensible input, where errors are viewed as developmental and as necessary in order to acquire language and where risk taking is rewarded. It is important to celebrate “aha” moments when students self-correct through a smile, “high five” or external rewards (e.g. Euro). Students
thus become fully aware of the importance of taking risks and making errors during the language acquisition process.

3. **Employ “meta moments” that encourage learner reflection:** Using “meta moments” allows learners to see clear purpose and rationale behind the strategies and approaches used by the teacher in the classroom. Metacognitive strategies can “help learners exercise ‘executive control’ through planning, arranging, focusing, and evaluating their own learning” (Oxford, 1992/1993, p. 18). Affective learning strategies “enable learners to control feelings, motivations, and attitudes related to language learning” (Oxford, p. 19). For example, after a teacher has introduced a story using PowerPoint (PPT) in which the vocabulary comprehension is enhanced through visual images, the teacher can pause and ask, “How did this become comprehensible to you? Why do you think I used an image rather than the English translation to communicate the meaning? How did this help you to decode the meaning of the story?”

Grammar structures can be introduced inductively as the teacher provides students with four sentences that illustrate the usage of a particular structure (e.g. the preterite in Spanish). After studying the four sentences in pairs, students are asked to create a rule that explains the verb formation. The teacher asks the students, “Why did I do it this way rather than give you the rule?” Once students internalize that teachers are experts/professionals who understand how to increase learning and that teachers clearly have purpose in what they do in the classroom, trust builds between the student and teacher. Students begin to realize there is purpose to each activity and a clear rationale for how the learning is introduced. This strategy results in a growing relationship of trust between the teacher and students, and the students relax in knowing the teacher is there to guide them toward accomplishment of the learning goal through the tasks in which they participate. As Graham declares, “For learners, a vital component of self-directed learning lies in the on-going evaluation of the methods they have employed on tasks and of their achievements” (p. 170).

4. **Use comprehensible input (visualization, gestures, non-verbal clues, prior knowledge):** When introducing vocabulary, or telling a story, use images, preferably culturally authentic visuals. By using images to enhance the textual input, recall and recognition is enhanced by presenting information in multiple sensory forms (visual and verbal). This eliminates the need for the L1 as learners use background knowledge and visuals to decode meaning. For example: When introducing new vocabulary or grammatical concepts, use a story which serves as rich context allowing learners to fill in the linguistic gaps that may occur. Select a story that has a clear plot and story line and contains repetition and simple structural patterns that ease comprehension. The story is introduced through a text and images that support comprehension of the text. While reading or acting out the story to the students, the teacher uses gestures and non-verbal clues to assist learners in decoding key/new words. Such teacher behavioral aids promote contextual guessing and provide students with much needed confidence to not rely solely on word for word translation as they navigate the text. In order to involve the students actively in the text, students, working in pairs, can sequence
the pictures (provided to students) as the teacher re-tells or acts out the story. This optimizes memory benefits of simultaneous aural and visual input and creates a language rich environment.

5. **Teach concrete learning strategies that improve learning (e.g. circumlocution, chunking, graphic organizers/mind mapping, goal setting, self-assessment, mnemonics):** Learning strategies are defined as “the special thoughts or behaviours that individuals use to help them comprehend, learn, or retain new information” (O’Malley and Chamot, 1990, p. 1). Language research suggests that training students to use learning strategies can (a) help them become better language learners (b) promote the self-directed involvement necessary for developing communicative ability. Oxford’s example (1992/1993) illustrates concretely how language learning strategies can facilitate the internalization, storage and retrieval of new language: “In learning ESL, Trang watches U.S. TV soap operas, guessing the meaning of new expressions and predicting what will come next (p. 18 ).” Memory strategies “aid in entering information into long-term memory and retrieving information when needed for communication (p. 18)” while cognitive language learning strategies “are used for forming and revising internal mental models and receiving and producing messages in the target language (p. 18).”

Interactive games are an excellent venue for promoting spontaneous language use and building circumlocution skills. For example: A learning task based on the $20,000 Pyramid TV game show calls for three or more students to face the classroom audience while one student faces the overhead screen (back to the classroom audience) containing a list of six vocabulary words related to a story that was read. The team has 60 seconds to correctly guess the vocabulary words based solely on the description of the student who can see the projected vocabulary words. Rules include describing and talking around the vocabulary word without using any part of the word and without using hands. Students are encouraged to use the story to provide a context for the vocabulary words to assist in identifying the word quickly and efficiently. When students participate in such task-based games, anxiety is significantly reduced and the students become so engaged in the task that they are willing to take risks to communicate their message. The ability to talk around a word that they may not know explicitly is a strategic tool that promotes authentic interpersonal communication in the language classroom.

6. **Reward errors and celebrate self-correction:** Errors are seen as developmental and are rewarded by the teacher and peers by lauding self-correction when students correct their own mistakes. Such an approach to error correction promotes risk-taking and promotes a safe learning environment. Students need to understand that making an error is not only a natural and frequent occurrence while learning a new language but also a critical part of the language acquisition process. An explanation of the importance of making errors as indicators of progress is critical in order for students to notice and attend to form. These explanations should be accompanied by celebrations of self-corrections as they occur. The teacher asks students to reflect on how she approaches and reacts to errors in the classroom. For example, “Students, have you noticed specific ways I correct errors during
class?” Some may respond, “Yes, sometimes you repeat what we say in a different way.” The teacher can respond, “That’s correct. It is called recasting. Many times it goes unnoticed by students because it can be quite ambiguous. Why do you believe I would employ such a technique?” A possible response may be, “You do not want to call too much attention to one student.” “Yes, this is correct, but I would like you to listen for these types of errors and try to determine the error yourself. If you are able to do this, it will help you repair the error; this is an incredible learning indicator and should be considered a success. I get excited when I hear you make errors and self-correct.” This allows students to become more aware of strategies that can assist in error correction and draws attention to the methods, especially the more implicit techniques, that result in more discernment and noticing of grammar structures on the part of the students. Such an approach to error correction promotes risk-taking and creates a more affective learning community. It is important for the teacher to keep track of the more common misconceptions of grammar structures and return to these via direct teaching or through a learning task that promotes practice with these shared errors.

7. **Exhibit enthusiasm for your students’ learning—celebrate each “oh” and “aha”:** Oftentimes non-verbal clues communicate more than language. Effective ways for teachers to inherently communicate encouragement are behaviors such as varying voice speech, making eye contact using body language, using facial expressions and providing constant encouragement. These teaching behaviors express supportiveness and communicate an “I am on your team” attitude. All students need encouragement to be able to do their best. Encouragement motivates students to continue participating in an activity and is best transmitted to students in the form of feedback. A sincere compliment instills confidence in your students and communicates your belief in them. You can push students to higher levels of learning and achievement by telling them through your encouragement that they can do it, they can perform the task you have assigned.

8. **Integrate technology to move from consumer of language to user of language (input to output):** Technology offers the world language teacher the opportunity to create a learning environment where language communication is authentic, relevant, and meaningful. Web 2.0 applications place language learners in the role of producing language and are especially effective in promoting creativity. Popplet, Prezi, Voki, and Toondoo are but a few examples of the myriad tools available on the Web that put the learner in the role of producer of language. The vast majority are free and user-friendly websites which students can utilize to create diverse projects which can serve as assessments and progress indicators of language proficiency. When students are motivated, they produce their best work, work they are proud of and want to share with others.

Below are examples of student products from a level one Spanish course as well as a level three Spanish course that illustrate how digital media can be used to produce TL in the classroom. Using Popplet, a Web 2.0 mind mapping tool, students can create elaborate mental maps for organizing vocabulary, or deconstructing stories, songs or poems. This site is extremely user friendly and students may collaborate simultaneously. The students also have the option of adding photos, songs, videos, images and drawings with a click of a button.
Prezi is another online tool that can be used for multimedia presentations. Prezi is user-friendly, creative and visually stunning. (See Figure 4, next page) This presentational tool can easily incorporate and import videos, photos, pdfs and maps. This site also allows two or more students to collaborate on a project. The slide below provides a glimpse of a student-prepared Prezi in which they depict an ideal party they would like to host in their classroom. The Prezi group who was voted the most creative by their peers is awarded the honor of actually hosting a classroom party. This requires creating invitations, preparing the food and providing entertainment, all of which is conducted in the TL.

Voki is a Web 2.0 tool that allows users to create their own visual avatar and use the TL actively for comprehension/listening activities. For example: Students can mimic their own physical characteristics and use the TL to describe themselves, their hobbies, and interests without revealing their name. Equipped with a list of students in the classroom, classmates go from computer to computer in a gallery walk and attempt to identify each individual. These avatars can also be projected on a screen as a whole class activity as students identify their peers. Such a personalized and authentic language task motivates learners to listen intently for meaning as they are focused on the task of identifying the individuals.
Figure 4. Prezi presentation

Figure 5. Voki avatar
Toondoo is a Web 2.0 tool in which students can create their own comic strip or storyboard detailing a story, or offering an alternative ending to a story read in class. This activity allows for personalization of content in ways that promote creativity.

9. **Use extrinsic motivation strategies and move toward intrinsic motivation**:
Building an affective communicative learning environment requires a great deal of comprehensible input by the teacher, but it is essential that students become producers of the language as well. The students may need some incentive at the onset of the course. One effective strategy is to reward participation through the awarding of speaking points for the use of the TL. This can be in the form of a tangible token of sorts. Students earn such rewards for using complete phrases in the TL during class, asking and answering questions, sharing ideas and opinions and using the TL during communicatively task based activities. The goal is to encourage discourse among students and between the students and teacher. These points/tokens can also be earned for spontaneous conversation outside of class. This can be documented through a note and signature signed by the individual with whom the student spoke. The experience of authentic communication in the TL outside the classroom walls increases motivation and makes language learning meaningful. With practice and growing confidence, the students will notice their own improvement and will experience a sense of pride and accomplishment. In turn, motivation will move from extrinsic to intrinsic. (See Figure 7 on following page.)

10. **Teach grammar inductively—“crack the code”**: Research indicates teachers typically resort to L1 when teaching grammar. In order to overcome this temptation, grammar can be approached inductively and presented in a context that will allow students to discover rules of grammar on their own, thereby processing more deeply and enhancing comprehension. This results in a greater sense of accomplishment and promotes self-efficacy, the realization that with effort they can achieve their goals. This technique also encourages students to be active and engaged participants in their own learning via a problem solving task.

   One way to introduce this inductive approach when introducing a grammar concept is to select a story or very short text that introduces varied forms of one
new grammar structure, for example, *I, he/she/it, we, they*. The teacher tells or reads the story as students focus on interpreting the auditory input for meaning. The teacher then provides the students with a textual version of the story asking students to focus on the grammar structure. In pairs, students work in a think/ pair/share mode dubbed “crack the code.” They talk aloud and work to decipher the rules of the new grammar concept solely by its use in the story. The teacher facilitates this task by moving about the room asking questions and supporting ideas, but not providing the answer. When a pair has “cracked the code,” the teacher asks them to share their ideas or rules with the class. They explain how they came to the conclusion allowing the teacher to identify misconceptions for later review. This activity is a great discovery learning task that promotes cognitive engagement, collaborative learning and empowers students as they realize their own skills and abilities.

11. **Personalize lessons by using stories and pictures from your real life adventures:** Using stories and photos from your own life will help form a connection with students and give them a glimpse of your real life outside of the classroom. When teachers personalize instruction, students’ interest is piqued and the effort invested in comprehending the TL is greatly enhanced.

In the example pictured below, the teacher introduced new vocabulary in context by using a story about her own experiences (related to the travel/plane vocabulary) while she lived abroad in Italy. The students’ main focus was on comprehending new vocabulary presented, but the real life context of the story sparked a great deal of discourse and questions in TL on the part of the students. Students were motivated to learn more about this exciting adventure, “Was it real?”, “How old were you then?”, “Where is this?”, “Were you afraid?” Such
spontaneous questions and dialogue are real and authentic. The focus shifts to meaning and authentic communication resulting in students speaking freely in order to express their ideas.

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 8.** Personalization of lessons piques student interest

12. **Connect curriculum to authentic lives of students:** Pop icons in music and television, as well as social media tools (Facebook, Twitter, texting), constitute a large part of the lives of today’s students. Integrating pop culture into the classroom increases student motivation and captures their attention. The use of photos of pop icons eliminates the pressure to understand each word as images activate background knowledge and provide immediate visual information. One effective learning activity that combines pop culture and social media tools can be accomplished by using cell phones in class together with an online digital survey such as polleverywhere.com. Teachers can create surveys, multiple choice, true/false or open-ended questions and students use their cell phones to text in responses. The results are immediately projected on the Smart board screen or projector. Students read, respond and view results posted by peers, which can provoke follow-up discussions.

Another simple, yet effective strategy to promote discussion is to use photos of popular musicians or actors. These can easily be used in a number of communicative lessons, such as comparison or description activities. The photos below were used in a Spanish course as they learned to compare two or more items. Partner A had a picture of Taylor Swift; Partner B had a picture of Demi Lovato. As Partner A described the features of the individual in her photo, she could use
her background knowledge to provide additional information to get Partner B to identify the individual. For example: “She has won top country music awards; she has dated a lot of high profile men; she sings about her ex-boyfriends; she is dating Conor Kennedy.” Such insights and facts allow the learner to show what she knows and share this in the format of a learning task that is both enjoyable, promotes risk-taking and stimulates conversation.

Figure 9: Using Pop culture in the language classroom

By using students’ background knowledge and the context of their daily lives, the gap between linguistic and cognitive abilities is reduced. One of the major reasons students experience anxiety in the language classroom is due to the fact they are cognitively functioning at the formal operational level (Piaget, 1977), yet, linguistically, in the TL they are functioning at the infant or pre-operational level. This gap between the cognitive and linguistic ability can be narrowed by using contexts from their daily lives that use their acquired knowledge and build on it to decode meaning.

Professional Community

Building a professional community (peers, administrators, parents, students) where inquiry and continual development are valued and encouraged is key to sustaining a vibrant school environment where teachers and learners are actively engaged in teaching and learning.

It is important to establish a “community of inquiry” with peers in the language department that is grounded in a common philosophy of teaching
and learning. This will promote a sharing of ideas and resources and create a vibrant and organic environment of learning. This will also ensure horizontal and vertical articulation for students as they move from one language level to the next to ensure a trajectory of growth in language proficiency. Communicate with administrators about what you do (language teaching), how you do it (pedagogy) and how you assess the progress and achievement of your students. Invite them to observe, participate and unpack a lesson with you to provide a first-hand view of standards-based teaching and learning. Moments invested in such efforts are well-worth the reward when languages are seen as an integral part of the school curriculum. These efforts allow others to see the important role language learning plays in building students’ academic success (strategies, motivation, persistence) and the important connections and contributions of foreign languages to other disciplines (content based language learning).

Conclusion

The strategies for keeping it in the TL outlined here may result in higher language proficiency for students, as well as promote intrinsic motivation for learning a FL, resulting in lower attrition and greater appreciation of language learning. Together with best pedagogical practices, maximizing the TL in the classroom will ensure a lively and engaging language experience that can approximate authentic language use and make language learning meaningful to learners. Too often, language learning is regarded as a “seat time experience” with little connection to the everyday world in which learners live. When students cross the threshold of your classroom and expect to understand and respond in the TL, language learning becomes real and the ability to communicate in another language becomes a highly-valued skill that can be shared with others.

References


