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Beyond Language Deficiency: Students' Code-switching in International Program of Vocational Higher Education in Indonesia

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meaningful communication. Students' code-switching also showed a collectivist behaviour

among the participants when their switching into a particular language for showing solidarity

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Article history:	Abstract: Code-switching (switching in-and-out from one language to another) has been an
Received 12/12/2020 Approved 4/2/2021	international debate whether it is a simply language avoidance or a communication strategy. It is thus crucial to see in what way and in what situations students made use code-switching in the classroom. The study was conducted in an English Medium Instruction at vocational tertiary level in East Java, Indonesia involving six students in the classroom observation and semi-structured interview in three content-subject classrooms. This study reported that
Keywords: Students' code-switching International program	students' code-switching functioned for transmitting information to their peers, managing their interaction and building interpersonal relations. This study argues that code-switching is not merely done due to a language deficiency rather is an intentional strategy to make a

INTRODUCTION

and concern to their peers.

In today's world, the use of English has become more important since it is considered as the most popular foreign language. In Indonesia, the teaching of English has been implemented over time from the level of primary (not compulsory) up to higher degree levels. The Indonesian national policy on internationalisation of education stated in Higher Education Act No. 12 (Act of The Republic of Indonesia, 2012) suggests that bilingual or international programs be established at the tertiary level of education rather than at lower levels. Therefore, some universities have established bilingual/international programs in order to cope with the demand of globalisation and internationalisation.

Previously, bilingual programmes was popular at the school level, and often called RSBI (Pilot International Standard Schools) which was established in 2003. This was to equip the need to make the generation more skillful with English (Act of The Republic of Indonesia 2003). Yet, bilingual education at that level was officially stopped in January 2013 since it was regarded that it had discriminated the poor against the rich which by only exclusively giving a place for students with high economic status (Hamied 2012; Margana 2013). Today, the government encourages tertiary level institutions to open international programmes, as proposed in higher education policy Number 12 (Act of The Republic of Indonesia 2012), in order to equip their graduates with English skills and make them more job ready and competitive. Not only the students, the teachers at university level are nowadays demanded to fulfill some commands dealing with international publication such as publishing in reputable journal word wide, disseminating their research in international conference, teaching and doing joint research with overseas universities. These expectations have consequently made teaching and learning in tertiary level more demanding. However, both Indonesian students and teachers in fact still use first language or vernacular language in social discourse and they almost do not use English outside the classroom. As the classroom participants are multilingual, the use of code-switching is unavoidable. Classroom code-switching has attracted the attention of researchers in Indonesia, as evident from the amount of research reported in unpublished theses (e.g. Susanti, 2007; Putriani, 2009; Purnama & Lutfi 2010; Handayani, 2012); journal articles and book chapters published locally (e.g. Usadiati, 2010; Suganda, 2012); and journals and book chapters published internationally (e.g. Mujiono, Poedjosoedarmo, Subroto & Wiratno, 2013; Zainil, 2013; Le Van Canh & Hamied, 2014). In fact classroom code-switching had not gained much attention in research until the policy of English bilingual education at school was introduced in 2003. Through the implementation of the Pilot International Standard School (RSBI), some research then focused on classroom investigations of how English was used by the school teachers and students (e.g. Suganda, 2012; Susanti, 2007; Purnama & Lutfi, 2010; Handayani, 2012).

Nowadays bilingual/international programs in tertiary level are also supported by the government, and this should lead to more code-switching research at that level. However, the majority of studies in classroom code-switching in Indonesia have been done at school level, few of them at university level. Moreover, the context of these studies was mainly done in EFL classrooms; there have

not been any in bilingual programs at tertiary level. Le Van Canh and Hamied (2014) report that there is a dearth of research in classroom code-switching at the tertiary level. They argue that the existing studies collected the data without doing prolonged observations and did not provide further implications regarding pedagogical problems and policy.

Code-switching studies at a tertiary level mainly explored the reasons and functions of code-switching, and participant perceptions of code-switching (e.g. Mujiono, Poedjosoedarmo, Subroto & Wiratno 2013; Manara 2007; Suganda 2012; Le Van Canh & Hamied 2014; Purnama & Lutfi, 2010). Most of those studies were looking at how teachers code-switched, a little research is concerned with how students use code-switching for the purpose of classroom communication. Likewise, those studies were mainly done at school level to find out factors and functions of teachers' code-switching (e.g. Suganda 2012; Purnama & Lutfi, 2010; Zainil 2013). In short, little research has not been done in Indonesia for exploring how students use code-switching to learn using ethnographic investigation. Therefore, the present study is paying considerable attention to the nature of the context in which students' code-switching takes place.

Context

The higher education institution where this study took place began implementing an EMI program- Accounting and Business Administration. As an English teacher, I became aware that the program had attracted many students and considerable attention, but it had been executed without sufficient preparation. For example, Bahasa Indonesia and English were to be used as the medium of instruction but there was no clear policy about the proportion of each language during instruction. Besides, teachers in this program were not ready to teach bilingually because they had low English proficiency. To solve this problem, the teachers were sent to undertake English courses. Some teachers confessed that they felt burdened and under pressure. Another challenge for the teachers was to provide their own materials for teaching in this program due to the lack of suitable textbooks. Several teachers used monolingual textbooks in Bahasa Indonesia while some of them used English references to support their teaching.

Students in this program found it hard to follow the classroom instruction, and sometimes did not understand the teachers' explanations. Nevertheless they still expected their teachers to use English so that they could gain more language exposure. These informal observations initiated my interest to investigate in what way and in what situations students made use of code-switching in the classroom by focusing on the sociocultural and pedagogical functions of students' code-switching.

Review of related work

Code-switching and language deficiency

Code-switching is the use of more than one code or language during a speech event involving two different grammatical systems (Gumperz 1982, p. 59). Bilinguals usually code-switch for communicative purposes, in which case, they will use their abilities and alternate between languages in an unchanged setting and often within the same utterance (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Code-switching can thus be said to occur during the conversation, from sentence to sentence, or within the sentence. It is also seen as a spontaneous phenomenon for bilingual speakers, however 'there exists the underlying characteristic of consciousness' (Moodley, 2007, p. 713).

The literature so far reports both positive and negative points of view on code-switching, reflecting the theory of virtual and maximal positions coined by Macaro (2005, 2009, 2014). The virtual position believes that mastering language is best done exclusively in the target language since there will be more exposure which leads to comprehensible input. The maximal position, on the other hand, speculates that first language is useful to develop communication and to gain more access in the target language in a judicious way. In brief, the virtual position would oppose the use of code-switching whereas the maximal position would justify the benefit of code-switching.

Other researchers also noted some negative viewpoints about code-switching such as considering it a sign of language deficit (e.g. Probyn, 2009), a sign of language fatigue (Le Van Canh & Hamied, 2014), and destructive of the ethnicity of language (Grosjean, 1982). However, for over two decades there have been publications arguing that code-switching is pedagogically and socially valuable (Barnard & McLellan, 2014), one of which is Macaro who found that code-switching helped learners develop their linguistic knowledge such as vocabulary without being detrimental to the development of their linguistic skills (2009, p. 48). Therefore, he argues that banning first language use in classroom communication will reduce the cognitive and metacognitive resources for learners.

Research in classroom code-switching in students' context

Studies of students'code-switching have been conducted in many different contexts which prominently show that code-switching by students are connected to their language insufficiency. However, those studies have successfuly identified that these switchings revealed interesting motivation and purposes. In Pakistan, Memon, Altaf, & Khuwaja (2016) reported that code-switching in a university was done for some purposes such as socializing, repetition, and clarification. In Iraqi colleges, research by Al-Azzawi et al (2018) described the sociolinguistic functions of code-switching done by Senegalese international students to reveal solidarity, intimacy, and for their group identity. These students conveyed that different languages bring different motivation. Take for example, switching to French was done when students wanted to include people from the educated elite; shuttling to Arabic was the result when they communicated with Arab students for the everyday conversation, whereas switching to English was done for the adaptation strategy since it was a part of curriculum. In this context, being multilingual speakers gave unique linguistic experiences for these students.

In primary school in Indonesia, such as in Surakarta the use of Bahasa Indonesia is sometimes affected by the use of vernacular language, Javanese (Saddhono & Rohmadi 2014). There were some factors why these phenomenon happened i.e. among many are teachers' habit to use Javanese and to balance the students' language capacity; even it was found out that the students' lack of Indonesian vocabulary for the students. In fact the use of this code-switching can create an informal situation in the classroom, as well as the grammatical aspect of Bahasa Indonesia.

Another study in Indonesian context by Bouti and Malabar (2021) reported that code-switching is generally used by the presenter of proposal seminar in the level of intrasentential. There were some factors influencing the participants for using code-switching such as finding lexical equivalence, quoting someone else's words, inserting sentence fillers, and feeling empathetic about something, and when they need to clarify speech content. Another research in an Indonesian tertiary context by Nurhamidah, Fauziati, & Supriyadi (2018) demonstrated students' code-switching can function for "translation, clarification, response, and identity sharing" (p.87). In this case, code-switching was seen as an asset to support communication in the classroom.

A study exploring students' language attitudes toward the use of Arabic and English as a Medium of instruction at a Kuwait university reported that students had a positive attitudes in code-switching rather than monolingual instruction since code-switching helps them strengthen their comprehension and reduce the confusion on the explanation (Alenezi 2010).

In a nutshell, research of students' code-switching often showcases language deficiency and overly dependent to the use of first language to make meaning. The reported studies, however, made a point that code-switching itself boosted meaningful interaction. Those studies also acknowleged that code-switching have been used as a facilitating tool for students' learning.

Theoretical framework

This study aimed to investigate in what way students made use of code-switching and how they made meaning by interacting with each other using code-switching. Such communication in the classroom requires a focus on participants' interaction which is provided by interactional sociolinguistics as postulated by John Gumperz (1982, 1999, 2008). Gumperz (2008) coined the phrase interactional sociolinguistics (IS) to investigate how language conveys meaning in interaction, and particularly to see how discourse and context are linked together. IS proposes an approach which enables us 'to interpret what participants intend to convey in everyday communicative practice' (Gumperz, 2008, p. 215). IS is concerned with speech exchanges involving two or more speakers, it also concentrates on the meaning making process. IS has a feature of using a discourse analysis approach with qualitative analysis and ethnographic investigations. The position of IS is at the intersection of linguistics and anthropology therefore it describes discourse strategies connected with culturally identifiable speakers; for this reason IS carefully investigates the effects of the interaction on culturally different speakers (Tannen, 1992, p. 12).

Gumperz (1982) made a distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching to identify social functions reflected in code-switching. Situational code-switching is conditioned by change of situation, commonly identified by the changing of speaker or setting, therefore it takes place over more than one interaction. Metaphorical code-switching, in contrast, occurs in a single interaction and deals with the changes of mood, degree of formality of the language or other components associated with codes and the effect of communications. The effect of communications brought about by metaphorical code-switching carries conversational implicature (Grice, 1975) because the interpretation is highly contextually dependent. Briefly, conversational code-switching refers to metaphorical rather than situational contexts, but classroom code-switching may also be situational whether through change of speakers or change of task.

The heart of IS analysis is the detailed transcription of the data. This typically involves prosodic and intonational contours in the transcription; however the conventions of the transcription system might depend on specific methodological practices and the requirements of the particular discipline (Tannen, 1992). The present study did not require transcription of prosodic and intonational contours; rather it required detail of the classroom moment and conversational links. Therefore, this study is applying the principles of IS adapted into the specific methodology which fits best with the research purpose and design.

METHOD

Research design

Ethnographic case study was selected as the methodology since it best fits the purpose of this study which includes identifying the values and norms of a particular group. Case study has become a key method for understanding how a specific unit such as a person or a group functions, in this case we are focused on students' code-switching, in the real world over a significant period of time (Van Lier, 2005, p. 196). A case study provides sufficient scope and vicarious experience by giving thick description of a setting which views social, physical and cultural elements (Lincoln & Guba, 2013, p. 80). Van Lier points out that the challenge for case study researchers is telling the story of research in a vivid and realistic narrative (2005, p. 206).

The ethnographic qualitative procedures were for interpreting a culture-sharing group's patterns over a prolonged period of time (Creswell, 2012, p. 462). Culture in this case refers to the behaviour and way of life of the individuals or a group. Ethnographic case study data is usually generated from multiple methods such as observations with field notes which may also include audio and video taping and photographing, interviews, artefacts, documents, etc. The study involved in-class observation with field notes and audioand-video recordings, followed by semi-structured interviews. The classwork was multilingual, whereas the interviews were in Bahasa Indonesia, the language of greatest fluency for all participants. The study was conducted over one semester from July to December (six months) and involved 7-8 classroom observation of three classes, sessions lasting between 60 and 90 minutes. The semi-structured interview with students included some stimulated recall, using the video as prompt to help them consider how they were performing a particular task (Gass and Mackey 2000, 17), and to revive their memories so that they might explain their actions and behaviours (Stough and Palmer 2003, 209).

Participants

The research participants were the Indonesian students undertaking an international class program (ICP) in the institution. The students who participated were chosen based on their ability to provide opportunities to achieve the objectives of the study. These students were sitting in the bilingual classes on which the participant teachers in this study were involved. This paper employs part of the data in the PhD projects of the author (Cahyani, 2018). Those teachers had to be teaching in the bilingual program and were selected after they responded positively to the invitation to be involved in the study. The study was conducted in three classes of the Accounting and Business administration departments. Totally there were 52 students in three observed classes—six students participated in one-on-one interviews and three of six of them were involved in stimulated recall. Seven students, of whom six participated in the interview, were involved in a focus group discussion. They were selected from different classes of the EMI in order to identify variations. In obtaining the students' consent, the researcher sent participant form agreement and those who agreed to participate submitted the letter. Usually in the first week, formal teaching and learning activities could not be done since the teaching schedule was not fixed; therefore the researcher used the opportunity to come to the classes to see the students and seek their consent.

Data analysis

The analysis of classroom data was done by first reviewing all videos to select the sessions having a lot of code-switching. The examples of code-switching were then transcribed from the selected 15 sessions (see transcription convention in the Appendix). Subsequently, by displaying all code-switching examples, it was possible to use IS combined with Ferguson's work to identify key features and interactive functions for switching out of English and switching back into English. Adopting a IS perspective, a search was then made for examples where

- 1. the code-switching was an intentional strategy to assist meaning making and
- the two languages worked together as a unity for achieving communication.

These instances were then categorised in functional categories.

The analysis of interview data first involved transcribing from the audio recordings, which were then reduced by eliminating repetitive data. The data were then sorted based on the functional categories generated from the classroom data.

RESULTS

This study found that students' code-switching were identified into three functional categories:

- 1. For constructing and transmitting knowledge showing switching into L1 was an option for students to continue the communication, compared with switching to the TL when they wanted to comply with the requirement to use English
- 2. For interaction management indicating the way students managed the classroom interaction which could not be separated from the value of L1
 - 3. For interpersonal relations showing students' social connections with their peers

In this case, code-switching functioned to help students' cope with language difficulties, to smooth communication, to deal with the requirement to use English, as well as to show social respect with peers and teachers.

Code-switching for constructing and transferring knowledge

Generally for students, transmitting knowledge primarily occurs in the students' oral presentations which were expected to be given mainly in English, also when the students were giving information in response to a question from the teacher or other students. In the presentation of each code-switching strategy, the classroom data are commonly presented before the interviews and stimulated recall. The data are written in bold to easily locate the code-switching moment from the classroom interaction, and to state the main reasons for participants' code-switching from the interview/stimulated recall. There are three functions of students' code-switching found in the category for constructing and transferring knowledge: to cope with the difficulty of structuring questions, and to address the needs of their peers.

To cope with the difficulty of structuring questions in English

This strategy occurred when speakers were delivering questions in English but they found it difficult to make sense of the sentence; therefore they switched out of English. The data below is a moment when the teacher (T5) explained how to measure financial capacity for a person who wanted to propose a bank loan. The teacher encouraged students to raise a question which was then responded to by S4:

T5: Questions?

S4: Another salary ma'am?

T5: Another salary? How much?

S4: () eeh capacity... to count capacity.

T5: Laiya ini kan untuk menghitung capacity-nya (Indeed, this is for counting the capacity).

S4: Selain gaji... (besides the salary)

T5: ... oh dari financial statement. Itu dia liatnya dimana? (Oh from the financial statement. Where can you check this?) ((while writing on the white board)) di laporan laba rugi (in a profit and loss statement), profit and loss statement.

Note: T5: Teacher 5, S4: Student 4

When S4 first delivered a question in English, he doubted that his English was intelligible to the teacher. Therefore, he switched into Bahasa Indonesia after the teacher clarified his question in Bahasa Indonesia. This teacher's clarification made the student switch the language into Bahasa Indonesia. The student confirmed his reason in doing code-switching as follows:

I have a difficulty to structure the words into a sentence (S4, stimulated recall).

From S4's statement, he switched out of English for delivering questions because structuring a question in English was not easy for him. Consequently, he switched into Bahasa Indonesia to make the language intelligible for the teacher.

To address the needs of their peers

This strategy took place when speakers responded to the needs of their peers by switching to L1. Code-switching was done because the students were concerned with their peers who might not understand. Code-switching was done to ensure understanding and to make the language easier to grasp by their peers, such as in the following data:

P: Any question?

Ss: ((Some were raising right hands))

P: ((Pointing to S7))

S7: Okay thank you eehh. Can you explain to me about ((reading a note)) capability of limited managerial ((not sure with her English, looking at the presenters and smiling)), bisakah anda jelaskan mengenai kemampuan menejerial yang terbatas(Can you tell me about the limited managerial skills)? ((nodding))

Note: P: Presenter, Ss: students, S7: student asking question

The student (S7) was delivering the question first in English but after she saw that her friends did not seem to understand her question, she deliberately switched into Bahasa Indonesia to make the question more easily understood.

Code-switching for interaction management

This code-switching refers to students' activities during their presentation to facilitate, guide or smooth their communication with their peers. This links to, but is different from, the teachers' code-switching for classroom management, which involves the teacher's activities to run the classroom including handing out of papers, assigning tasks and giving results to students. The function of code-switching for classroom management is illustrated here in regard to students' managing their interaction with peers or with the whole class including the teacher i.e. how they signalled a shift and closed a forum.

To signal a shift

Signalling a shift is a common situation in students' code-switching. The following data occurred in the question-and-answer session of the student presentation where S4 invited some questions to his classmates.

Sx: Assalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarokatuh (May the peace, mercy, and blessings of Allah be with you)

Ss: Waalaikum salam (Peace be unto you)

Sx: I have two questions ((pronounced /kwisien/))

S4: question ((correcting his peer's pronunciation))

Sx: The first is... is the cooperative ((reading a note)) only in Indonesia or in abroad there is cooperative too? Eehh second, from a while ago you explain advantage about cooperative now eh please tell me about which is from cooperative ((smiling and looking not sure with what she said)), thank you.

S4: You are welcome. So many questions. Silahkan selanjutnya (Next please).

Note: Sx: student asking question, Ss: all students

The last part of the excerpt informs us that S4 switched out of English into Bahasa Indonesia in order to signal a shift to get more questions from other classroom members.

To close a presentation

The second strategy in this category is that one speaker employed code-switching when he closed a presentation. The following example took place when a student closed his group presentation:

S4: Silahkan berdiri (stand up please) ((talking slowly to other presenters in his group)). Okay thank you very much for.. ((mumbling, unclear voice)) if I have some mistakes I am so sorry for all of you here and then ehh thank you about ask ya.. apa (what is that).. ((rolling hand gesture to remember an English word)) ask question just now to me, good idea and good luck for you, and give us applause.

This data tells us that S4 switched into English when talking to the audience in order to close the presentation. This code-switching is therefore to comply with the requirement to use English. From the way he closed the presentation, we see that S4 used English words to express Indonesian cultural norms by apologising for any mistakes his group may have made during the presentation. This value does not exist in the target language culture but it does exist in Indonesian culture or in Bahasa Indonesia. In the interview, S4 stated his argument:

Because it is the language used by our culture, that is the way we close the meeting. So I translated all using English (S4, stimulated recall).

It seems clear that his intention for offering an apology was because he was using the formula used by his own culture and he also mentioned that it was the manner for closing the meeting informally even though he was speaking English at the time.

Code-switching for interpersonal relations

This function embarks that code-switching aims to build relational relationship with their classmates. This includes to chide their peers and to ask permisson from the teacher.

To chide their peers

Sometimes students switched into L1 when they wanted to remind their peers. This data was taken when one presenter talked a lot and dominated the presentation.

S5: Time's up ((looking at her wrist watch)). Satu jam lo kamu (you have spent one hour).

The student (S5) wanted to chide the presenter by switching into Bahasa Indonesia to inform the presenter that he had spent one hour to speak which was too much. She passed her criticism first in English and then she elaborated it in Bahasa Indonesia.

To ask permission from the teacher

Asking permission refers to a situation where a speaker sought approval from the teacher to do something. The following example captures a moment when T5 pointed to a group to do their presentation but the group was not ready. S4 who happened to be one of the members of the group talked to the teacher to ask permission:

T5: Ehh sorry for last week because we have a very special meeting in a central office. Okay as I said on my short message that we are going to have a presentation from..? ((pointing to a group which was supposed to present that day)).

S4: One? Two?

T5: Two groups in a week? S4 take the seat. ((Talking to S4))

S4: Our group?

T5: Yang tadi disebut, kan (we did mention it, right)?

S4: Fotokopi dulu ya ma'am (can I photocopy it now ma'am)? I make the paper.

T5: ((nodding)) Just prepare the slides ((Power Point slides)).

The excerpt above demonstrates that the teacher (T5) pointed to S4's group to get prepared for the presentation but the group was not ready; it was shown by his clarifying question our group? The teacher answered in Bahasa Indonesia to confirm that it was his group that should do the presentation. Afterwards, S4 asked for permission to photocopy the paper. S4 delivered his request firstly in Bahasa Indonesia then switched into English to state the purpose i.e. to prepare the handout and the paper. The teacher did not give him permission to copy the handout; instead she asked him to prepare directly for the presentation.

DISCUSSION

The findings of students' code-switching for constructing and transferring knowledge showed more about their difficulties in communicating their ideas in English, which is illustrated by the way they switched from English into Bahasa Indonesia. Students often switched to L1 because of a linguistic gap in the TL, for example in the moment when one student wanted to directly ask a question to the teacher, and he found it difficult to structure it in English. There was negotiation of meaning between the teacher and the student which finally the student switched into L1 to make his question clear. The student constructed information for the teacher by switching to Bahasa Indonesia so that his language became intelligible. The student data often showed how students transmitted knowledge and information, but not how they constructed it; which means it was not a two-way communication; there was no negotiation between students and teachers or students and their peers.

Another scene reveals that a student faced difficulties to find the equivalent expression in the TL when explaining the content of the presentation. The student switched into L1 to communicate her idea more easily. This implies that students' code-switching out of TL was due to a language problem. Eldridge's study (1996) also found that students switched to the native language because of their inability to find the equivalent expression in the target language, he named this function equivalence (p. 305). In Eldridge's study, the students' retrospective statements indicated that switching to the native language was because the lexical items were unknown in the TL. Students in this present study also stated that they had difficulties to structure the lexical items into sentences in the target language, therefore switching to L1 was their option to continue the communication.

Students code-switched for managing their interaction in presentations have some functions i.e. to signal a shift, and to lead a discussion. However it was found that students did not only switch to one language to handle their communication but the way they switched was triggered by their motivation to use a particular language. An interesting moment happened in the end session of a group presentation, where one student switched into English to close the presentation to comply with the requirement for using English, but he surprisingly continued to use English to ask for an apology to the audience which actually showed a way to close a formal conversation in Bahasa Indonesia. The student kept the cultural value of the native language when he used English expressions. This situation suggests that the way students managed their interaction in code-switching could not be separated from the values of their first language. In fact other studies only reported the way students handled the conversations without connection to other aspects, such as in Reyes (2004, pp. 85-86) who found children code-switched for topic, situation and question shifts. This present study, however, found it was more than an issue of handling interactions in classroom presentations. In the student's reflection, he presented the argument that he was following the correct way to close a meeting. The speaker argued even though he spoke English at that time, he was in Indonesia where the culture demanded him to employ such a particular discourse. In this situation, code-switching had a place for reflecting the speakers' identity parallel to the use of the national language. Hamied (2012) asserts that nationalism, which Indonesian people commonly possess, has been strengthened as a result of the spread and use of Bahasa Indonesia throughout the country, which implies that code-switching behaviour in certain groups is influenced by 'both cognitive and social factors' (Seidlitz, 2003, p. 35).

The findings on code-switching for interpersonal relations suggest that the students code-switched when they dealt with social connections with their peers, such as chiding, making a joke and entertaining peers. In this case, code-switching functioned as showing social respect, and expressing solidarity. In other words, code-switching was aimed to make the classroom situation more socially comfortable. Conversely, switching to the TL occurred when a student asked permission from the teacher in showing that he complied with the requirement to use English.

These results corroborate with other studies which also found code-switching by learners was for interpersonal relations, for instance Moodley found that students switched between the native language and English for phatic functions such as for group management and influencing peers' behaviour (2007, p. 713). Moodley's study reported on data which were gathered mainly from students' interactions, not between students and teachers which is different from the present study which included data from interactions between students and also between teachers and students.

CONCLUSION

Students' code-switching focused more on communicating their thoughts and getting attention from their peers. Students often emphasised a message by reiterating it between languages; in this way code-switching was used as a strategy to reduce communication breakdown and to transfer the speaker's thoughts more easily to the hearers. Students' code-switching clearly showed their difficulties to communicate in the TL due to their language insufficiencies. Nonetheless, students were fully aware of the classroom commitment to use English alongside L1. Their code-switching often demonstrated the way they followed this requirement or for obeying the rules, such as when a student closed his group presentation and asked permission from the teacher. Students mentioned that their limitations in English often made them switch into Bahasa Indonesia so they could continue their communication. For instance when they were trying to ask questions in English, or find the equivalent expression in English; all of which showed their difficulties in producing spontaneous language. On the other hand, students also employed code-switching when they interacted with their peers and when they built personal relationships with peers.

It is true that language became a problem in expressing students' thoughts, but it was not the main problem which could hinder making the meanings they wanted to make. Students' reason for switching into L1 was not only due to language deficiency; they also

switched for respecting their peers and gaining their attention during presentations. Students' code-switching practice was affected by their lack of English proficiency; however it was also strategically influenced by their social and interpersonal aspects to build positive communication with their peers.

Without code-switching, students could not make a meaningful communication since they would often encounter a lexical gap for fully expressing their thoughts in L2. Hence, code-switching became an accommodating strategy the students in enacting their tasks in the classroom. This study therefore endorses the view that code-switching can assist learners to make meaningful communication (e.g. Greggio & Gill 2007; Moodley 2007; Moore 2002; Reyes 2004; Rezvani & Rasekh 2011) particularly for novice learners of English when they often find a great gap in the target language.

In the broader community in East Java and Indonesia, the social and cultural aspects within the Eastern community also affected code-switching practices, the cultural element of collectivism seemed obvious, that teachers and students shared interconnectedness in their relationship as the members of the group. Collectivist cultures deal with a value system 'in which a person's identity, attitudes and actions are determined to a large degree by the groups to which he or she belongs' (Littlewood, 2001, p. 5). In this cultural perspective, people will put the community needs before the individuals and 'good' people are those who are helpful, giving, and mindful of other people's needs. Students' code-switching to show their concern for their peers and to show their solidarity demonstrated the collectivist principles of understanding and respecting each other. The Javanese culture was also reflected in the classroom practice where teachers and students negotiated their tasks and obligations when speaking without separating from their identity as Javanese. The cultural values seemed to be strongly embedded in code-switching practices, such as when students close a presentation by apologising for their mistakes.

It is undeniable that the significant role of English as the international language has influenced people to master it. In Indonesia, like other Asian countries, people are highly motivated to learn English, just as what Alwasilah advocates 'without English one would not be able to function to the full' (as cited in Hamied, 2012, p. 76). Therefore English is the language that people choose to learn for instrumental reasons. Obviously, Indonesian people live in a multilingual setting where Bahasa Indonesia is used as the national language and the vernacular languages are so varied, the English exposures are limited to classroom use, not in a natural language learning environment. It is a difficult job to master English in this atmosphere where it is not practically used. The role of codeswitching as evidenced in the data supports the fact that meaningful target language communication should be seen as a ladder which bilingual speakers can step on, gradually gain improvement and eventually master. Code-switching therefore should be taken as a strategy for more understanding in this multilingual world (Cahyani, de Courcy, & Barnett, 2018).

Today the issue to preserve the national and local languages is a concern in the outer and expanding circle countries, and also supports the development of multilingualism. In this environment, the bilingual courses or English as Medium of Instruction (EMI) supports code-switching as a legitimate strategy (Kirkpatrick, 2014, p. 26) for communication, social and pedagogical purposes.

As reflected by this study code-switching served as a strategic and cognitive purpose (Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, 2009, p. 132), the functions and features of code-switching should be taken into account in bilingual classroom policy to help learners in the process of becoming bilingual speakers as well as to be successful in learning the content. Furthermore, there should be awareness-raising of code-switching which can be embedded in the classroom curricula (Ferguson, 2009, p. 234). This finding showed that code-switching in the context of a bilingual classroom differs from L2 classrooms. Therefore, further investigation is necessary to examine how naturalistic code-switching and L2 classroom code-switching are employed by students in different classrooms.

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Appendix A

Transcription convention, adapted from Dressler and Kreuz (2000) and Du Bois (1991)

Code	Meaning
T	Teacher
S	Student
Ss	Students
	Pause

Overlapping speech

[] ((behaviour)) Paralinguistic behaviour: whispering, coughing, laughing

Unclear or unintelligible speech